

# THE TURNBULL LIBRARY RECORD



WELLINGTON NEW ZEALAND  
THE FRIENDS OF THE TURNBULL LIBRARY

May 1971

VOLUME 4 (n.s.) NUMBER 1





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## THE UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF KATHERINE MANSFIELD

### Part III

Parts I and II of this series were drawn exclusively from Notebook I in the Library's Mansfield manuscripts. In this, the third part, the remaining sections of Notebook I are given, together with *Toots*, an unfinished play, which is on loose sheets with some other unpublished loose pieces in MS Papers 119 (Mansfield unbound manuscripts). Reasons for giving *Toots* at this point are partly to avoid breaking into another Notebook half-way through this part of the series, and partly because it has already aroused a good deal of interest among those who have had access to the manuscripts and it seemed useful to publish it as soon as possible for the benefit of people who have difficulty in reading it in the original.

The portions of Notebook I given here are of minor interest but nevertheless should not be ignored. Of 'Radiana and Guido' little need be said except that each page of the manuscript has been scored through once with a heavy ink line, making it clear that Katherine Mansfield rejected this piece herself. Its interest for scholars is in being able to see the kind of turgid material which came to her in this period and which in critical mood she felt she must reject. 'London Is Calling Me' is simply a moment of longing for London expressed in verse form. The fact that Katherine Mansfield dated it (it was written nine months before she actually did manage to escape from New Zealand) suggests that it was a moment of some intensity, or at least significance for her. The last two fragments of the Notebook seem to be two different attempts at the same theme, both abandoned before they reached a point of clarity. As in the earlier parts of this series, the page numbers of the Notebook are given in brackets after each piece. A paragraph occurring immediately after the last of these pieces, and published by Middleton Murry on p34 of the *Journal* ('I shall never be able to change my handwriting . . .') is dated April 1908, so it can safely be assumed that all the Notebook I material published here was written prior to that date.

*Toots* exists in two drafts. The first, rough draft (labelled by Katherine Mansfield 'very rough') is extremely difficult to read but varies in only minor respects from the more legible draft. The latter, where it varies, does so by expanding phrases and paragraphs, and it also extends beyond the limit of the first draft. The main problem is that of dating. The pages are loose, physically unrelated to anything else, so that dating must be conjectural, and I have conjectured in the following manner. The heroine is Laura – the Laura of 'The Garden Party' but



treated with less critical detachment. It is a self-indulgent picture, done with some clumsiness of expression, suggesting an early date – perhaps not long after *Juliet*. But other suggestions belie this. A prominent figure is Pip (based of course on Katherine Mansfield's brother Leslie) who is portrayed not as the child whom she knew in New Zealand, but as a young man, boldly drawn and fully realised. This brings one at once to 1915 when Mansfield and Murry were living in Acacia Road and Leslie came to England for a few months before going to France and to his death. It was during this reunion with Leslie that Katherine Mansfield began her series of intense recollections of their childhood in New Zealand which were later honed into some of her finest stories. Many of these recollections she put on paper before Leslie's death, and most of them were published in the *Journal*. It seems likely that *Toots* was part of the whole process of stirring up of childhood and adolescent memories which was triggered off by Leslie's visit. Then, too, one is startled, in *Toots*, by Pip's description to his mother of his feeling of bliss. His words closely echo those describing the feelings of Bertha in 'Bliss' which was conceived in 1915 in Acacia Road though not written until three years later. And finally, in a search of all the manuscripts for sheets of paper which physically matched those on which *Toots* is written, I found only two. They contain a fragment which can be read only with the greatest difficulty, but because they are probably significant in dating *Toots*, a transcription is worth giving:

'She stepped down on to the platform, and quite suddenly, as though this were part of her programme and she had fully expected and prepared for it to happen she gave a strange little smile. She felt herself what a fearful mockery of a smile it was and she went up close to Max and stood in front of him.

But before they reached the end of the platform she could bear it no longer – she turned her back on the people and staring up at a huge red and green poster which announced a sale of winter costumes at B——mans [?] she paused for a moment. She said to herself as she stroked her muff "keep calm!" but it was too late. She had no more power over herself. She could not get calm. She was somehow quite out of her own control. She faced Max and lifting her arms she stammered I must you know I must have love, because I cannot live without love you know it's no –

At the words that block of ice which had become her bosom melted, melted, into warm tears and she felt these tears were great warm ripples flung over her whole body. Yes she wept, as it were, from head to foot. She lowered herself over the darling familiar muff and felt she and he would dissolve away in tears. It was all over. What was all over. Everything! The battle was lost.'

(MS Papers 119:12)



The content of this fragment reminds one that in 1915 Katherine Mansfield made three trips to France to join her lover Francis Carco, and it is likely that this bit of scribble was a by-product of that situation. The name 'Max' is peripherally interesting in that she refers in a letter to her husband, in this period, to Max Jacob who was one of Beatrice Hastings' lovers. None of these pointers is conclusive but together they add up to a strong probability that *Toots* was written in 1915.

As with the earlier pieces the interest of *Toots* is mainly biographical, extending the picture of the family which we have already from the New Zealand short stories and other sources. The name 'Toots', on the surface so improbable, serves to emphasise the inconsequential nature of the mother's personality. The whole thing is sufficiently developed to give one a real sense of frustration on finding that it breaks off just at the point when Pip is about to make an observation on Laura. But clearly it died of asphyxiation, strangled by its author's failure to approach her material from the outside and treat it with sensitive restraint.

Margaret Scott

[*Radiana and Guido*]<sup>1</sup>

SCENE: A little room with dull purple hangings. Four Roman candles set in heavy wrought-iron holders shed a pale light. Across the windows yellow curtains are hung, straight and fine. On a couch below the windows a woman is seated, holding up a little mirror to her face and shaking the petals of a yellow chrysanthemum over her hair.

*Radiana*: Ah! how beautiful. They are like little pieces of perfumed gold falling over my hair. They are like little drops of pure amber, falling falling into the darkness of my hair. They are like flakes of golden snow – summer snow. (She leans back against the dull purple cushions.) O I am wrapt in the perfume of the chrysanthemums. The air is full of the perfume. It is as though there had been a dead body in the room. It is the body of Summer who is lying dead in the room, and all her beautiful gold is spent. My fingers burn with the scent of her dead body. O, I thirst, I thirst. My soul is like a great stretch of sand on which the sun has shone all the long day – it is dried up, parched, hot. It is waiting for the fierce waves to beat upon it, to hold it in a green strong embrace.

(Enter Guido)

*Guido*: *Radiana*, *Radiana*. No – stir not. Ah! how beautiful you are – golden and white like the heart of a water lily, and the petals in your hair are like the little stars in the dark night sweetness. Your face in the depths of your hair is like a pale flower in a deep forest. Never have I



seen you so beautiful! Your gown is the colour of a cloud of narcissus blossoms and your hands are like strange white moths . . . (He seats himself beside her.) Look at me, speak to me Radiana. In the opening of the morning sky I rode forth towards the mountains. All the day have I journeyed – in the emerald of the forests, and when the sky was like a great flaming opal I saw the white tower of your castle far ahead of me. Last night I woke from a dream, fearful and overpowering, that hovered round my room – vague, shadow-like. And as I lay still, staring into the purple darkness, your face came before me, the sweetness of your eyelids and the shadows that lie under your eyes. And in the intensity of my longing I cried aloud and beat upon the pillows of my couch and shook and shuddered with the strength of myself. At last I rose, and leaning far out of the window I plucked a bunch of grapes to quench my parched mouth – but they tasted of strong blood and I felt I was drowning, suffocating [in] the heart of a purple sea. And the light of your face was as the light of the moon above the waters . . . So I –

*Radiana*: O – I am afraid, I am afraid. Somewhere under these hangings, know you not, Summer lies dead. Ah – the perfume of her dead body stifles me. Loosen my girdle, Guido, I cannot breathe.

*Guido*: Radiana you dream, you have been too much alone. See, see – I am weeping. The tears are falling down my face and on to your sweet throat – you are so beautiful you are tragic, weak. One cannot live and hold so much beauty.

*Radiana*: Take off your cloak and wrap me in its folds. I am cold and weary. I am tired of passion, weary with Love. In the hours of the night I have called and cried for you. I have wept in the long darknesses till my hair was heavy and damp with my tears. Through the days I have leaned against my balcony and pulled the petals one by one from the roses that grow there so passionately, so beautifully. I have watched the petals fluttering to my feet one by one till my feet were covered with the crimson of them and I was standing in a pool of blood. And at the fall of each petal I have whispered your name. I have been like a virgin crying her roses, but my beads were rose-petals, were drops of blood. In the evening hour I have stood by the fountain when the water that plunged into the air was red with the colour of the sky and I have wept for you – till I could fancy my tears were of blood, all red like the fountain water . . . it is gone . . . my strength, my desire . . . is spent . . .

*Guido*: Radiana, Radiana, your brow is so hot – it is almost burning under my hand. Speak to me again – her breath is like the perfume of incense. You are [—]<sup>2</sup>. Your body is white and cool like a shell cast by the sea on to the dull shore. Look I will raise you to your feet. My arms are round you, I am very strong. Stand here in the darkness of this room, let me feel your body leaning against me. Can I not give you



strength? It is as though I had a great torch in my heart that leaps up and flames and burns, all over my body. I feel as though my hair were on fire. Radiana, Radiana let me give you my strength. Let me pour into you the fire that is consuming me . . .

*Radiana:* Ah! Ah!

(A breath of cold air blows through the room. The light of the candles is quenched. The yellow curtains blow in and out from the windows, silently, heavily. Guido in the darkness lifts Radiana in his arms and lays her upon the couch.)

*Guido:* See I showered all your hair around you. It is so dark I can see only your face and your hands and your little white feet. Your face is like a little moon, a wan moon in the fierceness of a stormnight.

*Radiana:* O the perfume of the dead body.

*Guido:* It is the smoke from the candles – the night air has blown their light out.

*Radiana:* O the dead body of the Summer.

*Guido:* Why are you so pale? Why are you shuddering? Close your eyes, close your eyes. What do you see?

*Radiana:* Ah!

*Guido:* Hold me! Hold to me! I shall keep it away. I shall hold your hand against my face. See how hot I am and you so cold. Your fingers are damp and there is a strange scent . . . Radiana, Radiana. Horror, horror – I am holding a dead body. It is the perfume of your dead body, and I am afraid. I shall wrap you round in your hair, shut out your face, hide your hands, cover your feet.

(Suddenly he springs to his feet and wrenches down one of the yellow curtains from the window. He flings it over her body.) (pp65a–69a)



[*London Is Calling Me*]<sup>1</sup>

And London is calling me the live-long day  
Out here it is the Summertime.  
The days are hot and white.  
The gardens are ablaze with flowers,  
The sky with stars at night.  
And [—] past my [— —]<sup>3</sup>  
I watch the sparkling bay . . .  
With London ever calling me  
The live long day.<sup>4</sup>

The people all about the place  
They're meaning to be kind.  
They drive around to visit me  
From miles and miles behind.  
But I had rather sit alone,  
Why can't they stay away.  
It's London ever calling me  
The live long day.

I know the bush is beautiful,  
The cities up to date.  
In life, they say, we're on the top —  
It's England, though, that's late.  
But I, with all my longing heart,  
I care not what they say.  
It's London ever calling me  
The live long day.

When I get back to London streets,  
When I am there again,  
I shall forget that Summer's here  
While I am in the rain.  
But I shall only feel at last  
The wizard has his way,  
And London's ever calling me  
The live long day.

5.x.07.

London, London I know what I shall do.  
I have been almost stifling here,  
And mad with love of you.  
And poverty I welcome, yes —

(pp125a-126a)



She sat on the broad window-sill, her hands clasped loosely in her lap. Just below her in the garden a passion-flower twined round a little fence – in the half-light the blossoms were like pale hands among the leaves. In the distance a little belt of pine trees, dark and motionless against a saffron evening sky.

Inside the room she could see, dimly, the piano, the two tall pewter candlesticks, and a shallow bowl full of tall crimson carnations. The Australian Student was playing, and turning round and round on the revolving music stool, and talking excitedly. They were both smoking beautiful cigarettes. It gave Rana such pleasure to sit there in the gloom smoking and listening that she felt languid with delight. 'Well here's a pretty kettle of fish' said the Monkey. 'He's done for himself rather considerably.'

He jumped from his perch on to the floor and ran to the man, dragging his silver chain after him. He felt in the man's pockets – to the<sup>5</sup> one waist-coat – a little silver pencil and a lump of sugar . . . nothing else. 'Neither of these possessions can make much tangible difference to the gentleman's future welfare' said the monkey, nibbling the sugar and scratching his head with the little silver pencil. And through the uncurtained window the moon shone in, upon the Broken Things.

High and white and sweet was the moon, and sky like black velvet. The monkey finished the sugar and carefully licked his paw, then, glancing up he saw the man. With one bound he fled into the shadow, and then, crouching, whimpering, shivering, he crept into his corner.

\* \* \* \* \*

Everybody spoke of the dark man as a crank. Some went even so far as to say he followed a cult, and that is sufficiently damning for an archangel in these days. His entire establishment consisted of the terracotta plastered room. (pp127a-128a)

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*The Man, the Monkey and the Mask*

He had lived there a very long time – ten years – twenty years – even more – he himself was astonishingly vague. And it was a small terracotta plastered wall on the fourth floor, but undoubtedly there was a balcony quite three feet long that was the great attraction. The man had few possessions – a bed, a chair, a wide cupboard, and a grand piano. He had no pictures, but directly opposite the piano a little black velvet curtain hid the Mask. And in one corner he kept the monkey tethered by a thin silver chain to a white perch.



Everybody spoke of the Man as a crank – some even whispered that he followed a cult, and that is sufficient to damn the reputation of an archangel. Small wonder that he had few friends. He was tall and thin – emaciated even – but in his face shone that divine, never-to-be-mistaken light of Youth.<sup>6</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

The long day pulsed slowly through. Late in the afternoon the Man crept out of bed and over to the window. He pulled it wide open and leaned out. From the street came a muttering confused nightly sound, but he looked over the shining silver roofs of the houses. There was a jagged scarlet wound in the pale sky. The wind blew towards him – he stood motionless, hardly thinking – yet some dark ghost seemed to be confronting his inner self, shrieking why, why and wherefore? Then the night came – the sky was filled with the gold of stars. Lights woke in the houses opposite. He felt curiously remote from it all – the sole spectator at some colossal stupendous drama. He looked down into the street. A girl, slight and very shabbily dressed, was walking up the area steps of the house opposite. She had a blue gingham apron over her dress. In one hand she held a letter. She looked so astonishingly young that he felt glad she was forced to cross the broad. The pillar box stood in the shadow, a few yards away.

Then he noticed a man, standing on the pavement waiting. The girl noticed him too. She put her hand up to her hair, anxiously pulled her apron straight, and almost ran forward. She lifted her hand to drop the letter, and the man waiting on the pavement suddenly caught hold of her and kissed her – twice. The girl slipped her arms round his neck – kissed him on the mouth.

The watcher left the window. He staggered across the room, wrenched the black velvet curtain from the mask – ‘damn you damn you damn you’ she [i.e., he] screamed, and struck her [—]<sup>2</sup> on her smiling mouth. (In the corner the monkey was very much occupied searching for fleas.)

But the mask crashed down upon the floor in a thousand pieces, and the man fell too, silently. He looked like a bundle of worn out rags.

(pp129–132)

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[Toots]<sup>1</sup>

*Toots:* (puts down her tea cup and begins to rock gently) But really, as time goes on I seem to become more and more selfish. I feel I want nothing and nobody except my own home and my own children *within hail*. Nice for the poor children! The extraordinary thing is that when they were children I never realised they’d grow up and marry and



leave the nest. No. I always imagined us as one large family party, living here or travelling about – of course, each of them living their own individual lives – but *all* of them coming down to breakfast in the morning and pulling their pa-man's beard . . . Don't you know? . . . (She smiles at Bee absently and hands her a plate of biscuits, saying in an absent voice:) Have an almond finger, dear – won't you? They're awfully good – so short and nutty! (But before Bee has time to take one she puts the plate down and gets up and begins to walk slowly about the room.) Of course no outsider could know – not even you, Bee dear – how united we were, how happy! What jokes we had – what rare old giggles! How we used to kick each other under the table and make faces when the Pa-man would persist in reading out long lists of figures about frozen meat or wool or something . . . And how they used to come and sit in my room at night after I had gone to bed and while their Pa-man was massaging his last remaining hairs and *would* not go – until they were simply chased out with a hair brush . . . Long after they were grown up, I mean . . . Yes . . . I can see them now . . . Margot undoing those two lovely rich silky plaits, Irene manicuring her beautiful little nails, Pip smelling all the pots on my dressing table and Laura *moon*ing over at the window. (She sits down again and blows her nose.) Then came that *fatal* trip to England when Margot married Duncan Henderson. Of course he is a delightful person and desirable in every way and would have been a charming friend for her to correspond with and keep in touch with . . . don't you know? But why – why go to the lengths of marrying him and starting the break up of it all . . . No, I shall never forget my feelings at having to leave that darling child so many thousands of miles away. Of course I had to keep up for Stanley's sake but I had barely got over it when my precious Irene was snatched from me – before my very eyes – whirled off the very deck of the ship, so to speak, by Jimmy Curwen. (Stretches out her arms.) There again – what was there to be said? A delightful person, desirable in every way, rich, handsome, a Southern American – and they are always so perfect to their women . . . Before I could look round another child was gone. I fully expected to arrive home here and find that Laura was engaged *at least* and Pip an old married man . . .

Bee: (puts down her cup. Takes a needle out of her bodice and threads it, screwing up her eyes) I took good care that nothing of that sort should happen!

Toots: Oh, I don't suppose it needed such frightfully good care. They are so wrapped up in each other, those two. Pip understands Laura far better than I do and a million times better than her father ever could.

Bee: (dryly) She is difficult, very!

Toots: Oh, I – don't – know – Of course at times I think she is simply intolerable, but then one can't expect all one's children to be alike.



Margot and Irene never passed through these phases but I suppose there are hundreds of other brainy brilliant girls just like Laura. She's too clever, really, and far too intense. Intense isn't the word, my dear! She never can take a decent respectable interest in anything; she's always head over ears before one can say fruit knife . . . When she *is* good – what I call good – I'm not saying this because I'm her mother – I'm speaking quite impersonally – she's fascinating, irresistible! But then she so very seldom is *what I call good*.

*Bee*: I think she has got very handsome lately – don't you?

*Toots*: Yes, hasn't she! In the evenings, my dear, sometimes I can't take my eyes off her. She looks like some wonderful little foreign princess. And then perhaps next morning she'll come down in an old black blouse, a bit of black ribbon round her neck – *obviously* no stays, *bags* under her eyes, and ask in a hollow voice for coffee without any milk . . . On those occasions when I go up to her room I always find either Tolstoi under her pillow or that other man, the man with the impossible name – Dosty-something – *Dosty-osti* I always call him.<sup>7</sup> Poor child! How it maddens her!

*Bee*: I think it is a very good thing for Laura that Margot is coming out here to live. It ought to steady her very much, having Margot here and the interest of Margot's life.

*Toots*: Yes, I expect you're right. I hadn't really thought what it would mean to anybody except to me. Think of it! I haven't seen the dear child for six months – and she always was – *such* a mother's baby.

*Bee*: I shouldn't be surprised if she were feeling more of a mother's baby than ever just now.

*Toots*: Why? What do you mean by *just now*?

*Bee*: Isn't there any talk of a family?

*Toots*: (energetically) Good Heavens! I hope not! She's never breathed a word to me. I think it's the greatest mistake for young married people to *rush* into having children. When you're young and with the whole of your life before you surely it's the height of folly to sit down calmly and have baby after baby. Besides it's so easily prevented now-a-days. Certainly if I had my time over again I'd never lead off with a baby. A baby is one of the *last cards* I should play . . . Besides there can't be anything of that sort in the wind. If there had been I don't think Duncan would have left her to travel by herself. He'd have waited for her. He never would have come on a month ahead like this.

*Bee*: Quite frankly – of course it's no affair of mine – I still can't understand why he has rushed on ahead like this and left her to settle up all their affairs. Of course he had his appointment but his appointment could surely have waited a month. It seems to me *odd*. No doubt I'm old fashioned and behind these independent times.

*Toots*: No, I agree. I think it *is* odd, very odd, but I'm afraid – typical. I



had a feeling from the first moment that I saw them together that he didn't appreciate the treasure he had got and that he was bound to take advantage of her angelic unselfishness. I only hope I'm wrong. I only hope he is all that she imagines he is. That's why I shall be very glad to have him under my eye for a month and really get to know him without her. I've put him in the Bachelor's Quarters, beside Pip's rooms. He ought to be very snug there all to himself. (The clock strikes five.) By Jove! it's five already. They ought to be here in half an hour. Stanley is going down to the wharf but he has to go straight back to the office for a board meeting so Pip will drive up with Duncan. I'd better tell the faithful lunatic to put a kettle on. They are sure to be dying for a cup of tea. (She rings and crosses to the window.) Heavens! the wind! What a vile day! Just the kind of day one would *not* choose to arrive anywhere. The garden will be blown to ribbons by tomorrow morning. (Enter Jennie with her cap on crooked.)

*Jennie*: Did you ring, Mrs Brandon?

*Toots*: (vaguely) Er – yes – Jennie – I *did* take that liberty for once. Would you put on a kettle and have some tea ready for when Mr Henderson arrives. And – Jennie, where is the gardener; I can't see a hint of him in the garden. He's not blown away by any chance – is he?

*Jennie*: Oh, no, Mrs Brandon. He's having a nice 'ot cup of tea in the kitching with me.

*Toots*: But Jennie he can't *still* be drinking that nice hot cup of tea; he was at it two hours ago!

*Jennie*: Oh, Lor, no, Mrs Brandon! That was 'is cup with 'is dinner.

*Toots*: Well, you might just ask him from me *not* to forget all about the garden – will you? He might just occasionally look at it out of the kitchen window at any rate . . . And Jennie, put a can of really hot water covered with a towel in Mr Henderson's room. (Jennie nods and goes.) I don't want the poor soul to feel that he has fallen amongst absolute Maoris.

*Bee*: (very pink, folding up her work) I must say I do disapprove, my dear, of the way you treat your servants. I had Jennie in the most perfect order while you were away. She was like a little machine about the house. And now she answers back. She's got all her wretched Colonial habits again.

*Toots*: I know – it's my fault. It's my weakness for human beings. If ever I feel that a servant is turning into a machine I always have to give her something to turn her back again – a petticoat that I haven't finished with or a pair of shoes that I love my own feet in or a ticket for the theatre. Hark! Do you hear? That's the cab isn't it?

*Bee*: (flustered) My dear, I must go.

*Toots*: No, why should you? Stay and meet Duncan. Of course I meant you to stay. (There is the sound of a big door opening and



laughing voices – the door gives a terrific slam – someone calls excitedly – ‘Toots!’)

*Toots:* (calling) In the morning room! (She runs to the door but it is opened. Duncan and Philip enter in big coats and caps, pulling off their gloves. Their noses are red with the cold wind. Duncan stuffs his gloves and cap into his pocket, comes forward and takes Toots by the elbows. Bends and kisses her. Pip looks on with merry eyes.

*Duncan:* My dear little Mater!

*Toots:* My dear Duncan – welcome to our hearth! How splendid you are looking and how cold – you poor huge creature. Such a day to arrive! (She leads him forward.) Bee dear, here he is. Duncan, this is my old friend Miss Wing.

*Duncan:* (very cordial) How do you do, Miss Wing. I’m delighted!

*Pip:* (runs forward. He is bursting with laughter and keeps shaking his head as though he had just come out of the sea.) Here, let me give you a hand with your coat – may I? (To Toots) You haven’t got an idea of what the weather is like on the wharf my dear! It’s simply too awful – isn’t it?

*Duncan:* It certainly is one of the roughest days I’ve ever struck.

*Pip:* (laughing all the while) And if you’d only seen the poor old Pa-man staggering along the railway lines with me holding on his hat with the crook of his umbrella. I told him to tie his handkerchief over his hat and fasten it in a neat knot under his chin – but he wouldn’t hear of it. And when we got to the place where the lighter should have been – the wind simply playing the fiddle with his sciatic nerves – and when the lighter did come and we watched it going up and down – but going *up and down* – my dear . . . and I thought that in two T’s we’d be going up and down with it I never felt so sorry for anyone in all my life. But of course he stuck to it like a Trojan and all the way out to the ship he pretended he liked it and said he used to go fishing down the Sounds in just that kind of weather.

*Toots:* Poor old darling. I hope he has a good nip of brandy when he gets back to the office. I’ve a great mind to phone and tell him to.

*Pip:* No, of course don’t do anything of the kind, silly. He’d be furious with me. (Duncan and Bee have been talking together. They raise their voices.)

*Bee:* But what on earth can she have done it for?

*Duncan:* That’s what puzzled me. It really did seem too dangerous a thing to do for the mere fun of it. I thought there must be some Prince Charming on board but I had a good look round and nobody appeared to be signalling. (Turns to Toots) As I was telling Miss Wing, Mater – While we were waiting for the lighter I was looking through my glasses at the shore and I saw a girl walking along a stone embankment by the edge of the sea. A frightfully dangerous place it looked! She was



simply blown about in the wind like a little woollen ball. More than once she was blown right over – right on to the rocks. But she got up again each time and came on until she reached a kind of platform or something.

*Pip*: Yes, where the people fish from.

*Duncan*: And there she stood, waving at the ship. Just not being blown into the sea!

*Toots*: (who hasn't heard a word but has been warming Pip's hands in hers – holding one hand against her breast and rubbing it and then holding the other, says in her absent voice) Fan-cy! (Waking up.) Tell me, how did you leave Margot!

*Duncan*: Splendid – simply splendid! Of course she sent all kinds of loving messages to you all – I wish, for many reasons that she could have come with me – but it wasn't possible. For one thing she had so much that she wanted to settle and for another I had a very special piece of writing on hand and I felt a quiet voyage would be just the place to do it in.

*Toots*: (dryly) Oh I am sure it was *much* the wisest plan. I thought it most sensible and *modern* of you both. Personally I think it's a great mistake at the best of times to travel with one's husband – or any man for the matter of that.

*Pip*: Pooh! I like that – what about me! You'd give your eyes if I'd fly off with you.

*Toots*: Even if I would – that's got nothing to do with it. You're not a man; you're nothing but a child.

*Pip*: (warmly) And what are you I should like to know. You're nothing but an infant in arms. I could put you in a basket and tuck you under my arm and only lift the lid and let you sit on my knee when it came out sunny. (Puts his arm round Toots' shoulder and chuckles) We know what Bee is thinking, don't we Toots. (mimics) I may be old fashioned and behind the times but it does seem to me odd that a child should speak so to its parent. (He shades his eyes with his hand and pretends to stagger back a step.) Good Heavens! Do I see aright? A *new black velvet blouse* trimmed with a neat red and white glacé check?? I'm surprised at you Bee! I wouldn't have believed it! Or (goes over to Miss Bee, takes her hand and kissing it says to her ardently and warmly) was it for me? Am I the happy man?

*Bee*: Let me go this instant, Philip! (Pip tries to put his arm round her waist.)

*Toots*: Philip, behave yourself this instant, sir! I don't know what you will be thinking of us Duncan.

*Duncan*: (cordial to a fault) Ah, Mater, don't apologise. I like it, it makes me feel like one of the family.

*Toots*: (strangely) That's splendid! (Quickly) Wouldn't you boys like



some tea? Pip, show Duncan his rooms while the tea is coming. You don't have to go back to the office today – do you?

*Pip*: No, darling.

*Toots*: Well, put your slippers on, my son.

*Pip*: Oui, ma mère. (He puts his hand on Duncan's shoulder.) This way, old boy. (at the door) Mother, where is Laura?

*Toots*: At the Library<sup>8</sup> reading the Chinese Classics.

*Pip*: Clever Dick! Avanti – signor. Observe with what ease the young Colonial rolls the foreign tongue. (They go out.)

*Toots*: (at the door) If there is no hot water in Duncan's room – just curse down the kitchen stairs – will you? (She comes back into the room and very deliberately shuts the door.)

*Bee*: (who has been rearranging herself.) Now I really must go, Toots dear.

*Toots*: (pays no attention) Well, what do you think of him?

*Bee*: He's far better looking than his photograph made him out to be.

*Toots*: (reluctantly) Yes, I suppose he *is* what you'd call good looking.

*Bee*: And his voice is charming – a charming *english* voice.

*Toots*: (naively) Isn't it strange that I can't take to him? Somehow he doesn't seem to be in the least one of *us* – not to belong in the very faintest degree to *our tribe* if you know what I mean. But I really haven't got any right to say that about him just now – the moment he has arrived and I dare say *feels* his nose is red and is dying to – – – wash his hands and part his hair. In fact I think it's beastly of me to shut the door on him and begin criticising like that. I take back what I said Bee. I really am unscrupulous – just as bad as the children.

*Bee*: (kissing her) My dear Toots, you may always be certain that anything you ever tell me never goes the length of my little finger further.

*Toots*: Oh, that's not what I care about at all. Goodbye, dear. I'll come with you to the door. And while I remember I'll get you the pot of my new cape gooseberry jam before I forget. (The stage is empty. It gets dusky. The wind is heard rushing and hooting. Some one wrenches open the french windows and comes through, shutting them after her as though she were being pursued by the furious wind. It is Laura. She wears a big black coat. A scarf round her neck and a white woollen cap pulled over her ears. When she has shut the windows, she staggers forward, her hands clasped at the back of her head, panting and laughing silently, and saying in a breathless whisper 'How marvellous it was. How marvellous . . .' She crosses her arms over her breast hugging her shoulders. 'And how terrified I was! How absolutely terrified!' She stands quite still for a moment and then blurts out angrily 'And the joke was that some arrogant fool actually thought I was waving to him and started waving back!' It is quite dusky. Only the shapes of things are seen and Laura's white wool cap. The door



opens letting in a bright light from the hall. Duncan enters – hesitates. Laura goes up to him and says in a shy soft voice: ‘Good evening. I am Laura. And you’re my new brother-in-law Duncan, aren’t you.’ She puts out her hand and as he clasps hers and is about to speak she says with a strong American accent: ‘*Pleased* to meet you, Mr Henderson.’ And walks out.)

Quick curtain.  
End of Act I.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

### Act II<sup>9</sup>

The Morning Room as before. Mr Brandon lies on the leather sofa against the back wall to the right of the door. Pip sprawls over the table cutting open and tearing the wrappers from a big packet of new English and American magazines. He wears white flannel trousers white boots and a white flannel shirt open at the throat, and sleeves rolled up above the elbows. Mrs Brandon walks about the room – now giving herself a glance in the mirror over the mantelpiece, now pulling the blinds half an inch lower, now bending over the back of Pip’s chair and looking at the pictures with him. She is dressed in black muslin with a grey ostrich feather scarf dropping from her shoulders. Mr Brandon’s hands are folded over his belly – he has spread his handkerchief over his face and very occasionally he gives a loud beatific sounding snore. Although the blinds are more than half way down one realises it is an exquisite, hot Sunday afternoon.

*Pip*: I can’t think why it is but I always feel the need of a sweet toothful on Sunday afternoons – do you? Have you got a chocolate button tucked away in the drawer of the sewing machine or do you think there is by any chance an odd, rather *gritty* jujube at the bottom of your work bag, darling?

*Toots*: No, I know there isn’t. There’s nothing except a chip of that awful liquorice the Pa-man bought for his cold mixed up with the sealing wax in the pen tray. Any good?

*Pip*: (shudders and says in a hollow voice) No good! Come here, Toots. Don’t you think that girl is awfully pretty.

*Toots*: Lovely! What a tragedy it is that actresses so often look like Princesses and Princesses so seldom look like actresses. (She bends over him smelling his hair.) How delicious your hair smells, child – like fresh pineapple.

*Pip*: (leans against her smiling with half shut eyes.) Oh, *Mother* . . . Do you ever get a feeling for no reason at all, just out of the blue – a feeling of such terrific happiness that it’s almost unbearable. You feel that it’s all bottled up here (puts his hand on his breast) and that if you



don't give it to somebody or get rid of it somehow, *tear* it out of yourself you'll simply die – of – bliss . . . And at the same time – you feel as though you can do anything you want to – *anything*. Fly – knock down a mountain or any darned thing – Just the moment you said my hair smelled of pineapples – I got one of those *waves* – you see for no reason – and if I hugged you now I'd break all your little bones – I couldn't help it. I'm a giant . . . Do you know what I mean? (Mr Brandon gives a long snore.)

*Pip*: (Sotto voce: very sentimental, sings)

Sleep darling sleep the day-light

Di-i-ies down in the gold-holden west!

*Toots*: Sh-sh! Don't wake him. He'll make me rush off for a walk and I'm so much happier here.

*Pip*: Shall I take him out instead of you.

*Toots*: My dear! the skies would fall –

*Pip*: O well I don't want to particularly. I'm booked to play tennis at the Graces. How awfully quiet the house is. Where's everybody.

*Toots*: Duncan is writing letters and Laura hasn't come down yet. I can't think what has come over the child – she has simply stayed in bed today – I took her up some fruit after lunch and she said she was getting up then. She didn't look a scrap tired – on the contrary she looked marvellously well. How did she get on last night? Was she a success?

*Pip*:

(MS Papers 119:8)

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Title supplied.

<sup>2</sup> Illegible word.

<sup>3</sup> This line looks legible on the surface but I have not been able to make anything of it.

<sup>4</sup> These two lines have been marked with two vertical ink strokes at the side.

<sup>5</sup> An uncertain reading.

<sup>6</sup> The narrative is interrupted here with a variety of jottings and notes, some of which were published in the *Journal*.

<sup>7</sup> This passage is important, suggesting as it does that Katherine Mansfield was already reading the Russians in New Zealand in 1907–8. An investigation of the holdings of the General Assembly Library (which she called the Parliamentary Library) in Wellington, where she is known to have spent much time, reveals that a copy of Tchekov's *Black Monk and Other Stories* in English translation had been in the Library since August 1904. In view of the fact that Charles Wilson, the General Assembly Librarian at that time, was, according to Miss Ida Baker, helpful to Katherine Mansfield with guidance and suggestions about her reading, and if she were already reading Tolstoi and 'Dosty-osti' it is likely that she was also introduced to Tchekov. The point has considerable significance for students of Tchekov's influence on Katherine Mansfield, particularly in the light of a long correspondence on the subject in the *Times Literary Supplement* in 1951. I am indebted to Mr J. Traue of the General Assembly Library for helping me to find the copy in question of *Black Monk and Other Stories*. (Can one wring any generalisations about Tchekov and New Zealand literature from the fact

that the issue card currently in the back of the book dates from 1929 and bears, second on the list, the name E. H. McCormick in his own hand?)

<sup>8</sup>The first draft has 'At the Parliamentary Library'.

<sup>9</sup>The manuscript carries a small pencil sketch of the stage set, with the props lettered and listed at the side, thus:

- A. - door.
- B. - french windows.
- C. - leather sofa.
- D. - piano (upright).
- E. - deep corner couch covered in chinz [*sic*].
- F. - fireplace and leather seat in front of it.
- G. - revolving book case.
- H. - bookshelves above writing table.
- I. - two armchairs covered in same chinz [*sic*] as couch and a low table between them for tea or work.
- J. - writing table.



## A CARMELITE BOOK OF HOURS

The Carmelites were one of the four mendicant orders in late medieval France. These friars, wearing the distinctive white mantle, travelled round the country-side preaching, praying and living on the alms of the faithful. The Order claimed its origin from Mount Carmel in Palestine, upon which, the Carmelite annals stated, hermits had lived from the time of the Old Testament prophets, Elijah and Elisha. From then until the fall of Acre in AD 1291 the 'Carmelites' lived a strict, contemplative eremitical life. Sometime in the twelfth century they began to leave their mountain and to travel to the West where they came into contact with the monastic rules of the cenobitic orders. Back in the East they obtained their own rule from Albert of Vercelli, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. In 1226 this was confirmed by Pope Honorius III and more and more monks congregated in the West in the name of Carmel. They migrated first to Cyprus and thence to Sicily, France and England. In 1229 they appealed to Rome for a house in Southern Italy and were formally recognized by Gregory IX as a mendicant order. About this time the name of their order was changed to *Fratres Ordinis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmeli*. The harsh eastern rule was relaxed and modified by the English Carmelite hermit, Simon Stock, General of the Order in 1247, and the Carmelites, like the more famous Franciscan friars, took on preaching and pastoral duties. The final relaxation of the more severe restrictions of their Rule was sanctioned by Pope Eugenius IV in February 1432. The Carmelites now became totally western, active in court and university circles, and their eastern origin became buried in their liturgy.<sup>1</sup>

By 1450 women were admitted to the Order. In the sixteenth century the Rule was again revised and tightened by Saint Teresa and the modern Carmelites are now again among the more closed orders. There are two Carmelite houses in New Zealand, both of them for nuns, one being in Auckland and the other in Christchurch. The latter was the subject of an NZBC documentary in 1969.

The Carmelites of the late middle ages travelled, like Chaucer's friar, from place to place. They stopped to preach where they could and were known from their distinctive habits of white cloth as the 'White Friars'. Because they were comparatively independent of each other, very few of their own records have survived. But while they left few possessions and made few major contributions to theological scholarship, they were familiar to every medieval village.

In 1958 several original medieval manuscripts were presented to the Turnbull Library by Sir John Ilott. One of these, a little Book of Hours, has proved to have been specially made for a Carmelite friar. It is a small, easily handled, neatly illuminated prayer-book owned suc-



cessively by at least two Carmelite friars in the very early sixteenth century. Presumably it was carried round from village to village as one of the very personal possessions of a wandering medieval monk. Its style is north-eastern French and it was apparently made for a Friar d'Argent and given before 1511 to a Friar Johannes of Malzéville, a district near Nancy.

The manuscript itself is a small Book of Hours. Books of Hours contain the regular round of prayers and psalms to be recited daily in private and are generally intended clearly for lay use. On rare occasions, however, Books of Hours were written out for the religious orders and printed editions have been traced for all the orders except the Trinitarians.<sup>2</sup> There are only three printed editions of the Carmelite Hours known to exist (c1487, and two in 1516)<sup>3</sup> but the British Museum has no record of any other manuscript version of the use.<sup>4</sup> Of 618 manuscripts recorded in the fourteenth century Carmelite Library in Florence there is not a single Book of Hours.<sup>5</sup> Of the thirty other known Books of Hours in Australasia, this is the only one which can be definitely ascribed to any religious order.<sup>6</sup> A Book of Hours made for a Carmelite friar thus becomes a particularly interesting manuscript.

A Carmelite friar owned very few books. Soon after joining the Order he was given a book allowance which, at the end of his noviciate, he was to spend on his basic text, a Breviary. This book contained a fuller version of the Book of Hours.<sup>7</sup> If there was any money left over from the purchase of his Breviary it might be spent on other books.<sup>8</sup> A mendicant friar would not have been able to possess many books. The books that he did own were his for life and could not be sold, given away or pledged, and they were recoverable on his death by the convent where he said his first Mass. From here they could be redistributed again but only to those friars who would respect the gift and keep it within their Order.<sup>9</sup> Friends and relatives of an individual friar could give him money to buy books and there exists at York Minster a Carmelite manuscript which was written for a friar around 1381 with money *ex elemosinis amicorum suorum*.<sup>10</sup> A book given or bequeathed to a friar could not be received for his own use unless he wrote for permission to his prior, and, on his death, the book was recoverable again by the Order, even if the friar died while he was outside his own province.

Preserved in Australia there are five fifteenth century fragments or editions of works by a Carmelite author, Baptista Mantuanus, which were printed in 1488-9.<sup>11</sup> In a private collection in Victoria there is a manuscript Book of Hours, of the Use of Paris, which was owned in the seventeenth century by a Carmelite house. The text itself is not Carmelite.<sup>12</sup> It would appear that there are no other medieval Carmelite books in Australasia.



The Carmelite Book of Hours in the Turnbull collection is written in Latin and dates from between *circa* 1498 and 1511. It is written on 103 leaves of vellum, 158 × 107 mm. The collation consists of: (8)<sup>1-2</sup> (9)<sup>3</sup> (8)<sup>4-8</sup> (6)<sup>9</sup> (8)<sup>10-13</sup>. Leaf 18 is an original insertion into the third gathering; there is a bifoliate missing from the centre of the ninth gathering. The second, fifth and ninth gatherings open with illuminated borders, but sideways catchwords are visible at the end of the fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth gatherings. Pin-holes for ruling the guide-lines are visible in the second, ninth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth gatherings. The text of the manuscript is composed of nineteen lines of black ink, with pale red ruling. The script is a French *littera hybrida* of *circa* 1500. The style would suggest an Alsace-Lorraine origin.

This Book of Hours contains:

1. *Calendar* (11r-12v) followed by two pages blank.
2. *Prayers* – for before Mass (14r, 14v and 15r), to the Virgin (15r) and for after receipt of Communion (15v-16r).
3. *Sequuntur quindecim psalmi* – The Fifteen Psalms of Degree (17r).
4. *The Gospel Sequences* – both from Saint John (24r and 24v), followed by a prayer.
5. *Hours of the Holy Cross* (26r).
6. *Sequuntur septem psalmi penitenciales* (rubric 27v) in error for: *Hours of the Holy Spirit* (29r).
7. *Penitential Psalms* (30r) followed by the *Litany of the Saints* (36v).
8. *Psalmi capitulares*, followed by prayers (41r).
9. *Hours of the Virgin* (Use of Carmel) (42r). Matins (42r), Lauds (52v), Prime (58v), Terce (61v), Sext (63r), None (64v), Vespers (66v), Compline [first leaf missing] (69r).
10. *Office of the Dead* (72r). Vespers (72r); Matins – 1st nocturn (75r), 2nd nocturn (78v), 3rd nocturn (83r); Lauds (88r).
11. *Psalmi capitulares* (92r) followed by prayers.
12. *Prayers* to God the Father (93r), to God the Son (93r), to the Holy Ghost (93v), to the Virgin (94r and 96v), the *Flos Carmeli* (98r), and five prayers to Christ (99r).
13. *Memorials* to the Good Angel (100v), to John the Baptist (100v), to Elisha (101r), to John the Evangelist (101v), and to Peter and Paul (101v).

The text of the manuscript ends on leaf 101v; there are two original blank leaves indicating that there were no further Memorials. Leaves 25v and 98v are also ruled and left blank.

At the beginning of most Books of Hours is a Calendar for the whole year listing in order the particular saints to be venerated on each day. This can be of great help in determining the origin of a manuscript as



different localities and religious interests venerated different groups of saints. The Calendar of this manuscript is unmistakably Carmelite.

Among the major feasts of the Carmelite year<sup>13</sup> were the eight feasts of the Virgin. In the Calendar of this Book of Hours these dates have been singled out in red ink and called 'full' or 'double' feasts. They are:

1. March 25 *Annunciatio dominica – totum duplex* – The Annunciation; of great significance to the Carmelites many of whose churches were dedicated to the Annunciation.
2. July 2 *Visitatio beati marie – totum* – The Visitation. Introduced into the Carmelite calendar by the General Chapter of 1391 and raised to the rank of *totum duplex*, as here, in 1420.
3. July 16 *Commemoratio sollemnis sancte marie patrone ordinis nostri – duplex* – The Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel; known under several names and instituted by the Carmelites between 1376 and 1386. It did not become a feast of the Universal Church until 1726.
4. August 5 *Festum nivie – duplex* – Our Lady of the Snows; introduced by the Carmelites at the same time as the Visitation.
5. August 15 *Assumptio virginis gloriose – totum duplex* – The Assumption, the feast *par excellence* of the Carmelite Order till at least the end of the fifteenth century.
6. September 8 *Nativitatis gloriose virginis marie – totum* – The Birth of the Virgin.
7. November 21 *Presentatio virginis gloriose – duplex* – The Presentation; introduced with the Visitation.
8. December 8 *Conceptio immaculate virginis marie – totum* – The Conception of Mary was directed to be observed as a solemn feast by the Carmelite chapter at Toulouse in 1306, and was made even more solemn in 1396. The Carmelites, like the Franciscans, defended the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in the endless medieval controversies.

Other particularly important Carmelite feasts, singled out for special veneration are:

February 2 *Purificatio sacrae virginis marie – totum duplex* – The Carmelite friars celebrated the feast of the Purification with a procession with candles.

July 26 *Anne matris virginis marie – duplex* – In 1375 the Carmelite General Chapter decreed the commemoration of Saint Anne to be next to that of her daughter, the Virgin Mary.

March 19 *Joseph confessoris nutricis domini – duplex* – It was claimed by Pope Benedict XIV that the Carmelites first introduced the worship of Joseph into the West. Although there is no evidence for this, the feast was very important in the Order.

May 25 *Marie, Jacobi et salo<sup>e</sup> – duplex* – The Three Marys (i.e., Mary



Magdalene; Mary, mother 'of James', and Mary, the wife of Cleophas [John 19:25].) The feast was given a double rite in the Carmelite General Chapter of 1342.

June 14 *Helizei prophete principis carmeli* – *duplex* – The Old Testament prophet, Elisha. The Carmelite martyrology of 1480 calls Elisha 'after Elijah, father and leader of our holy Order.' He is here called 'Leader of Carmel'.

October 6 *Patriarcharum abraham, ysaac et iacob* – The anniversary of the discovery of the tombs of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, all of whom were associated with Mount Carmel.

October 21 *Hylarionis conditor ordinis nostri* – Saint Hilarion, a fourth century hermit in Palestine.

The Calendar also contains the names of various saints, not written in red, but which were of veneration to the Carmelite Order and would not appear in the usual Roman Calendar at all. These are:

February 18: Saint Simeon, second bishop of Jerusalem.

September 25: Saint Cleophas.

December 17: Saint Lazarus.

Also included are a number of saints who were themselves members of the Carmelite Order. These are:

March 6 *Cirilli presbytri et doctoris ordinis nostri* – *duplex* – Saint Cyril of Constantinople, Prior General in Palestine who died in 1235. His feast is no longer important in the modern Carmelite Calendar.

May 5 *Angeli martyris ordinis nostri* – Saint Angelo, a Carmelite martyr who died in 1220. This feast was approved by Pope Pius II about 1459.

May 16 *Sancti Symonis Stock ordinis nostri* – *duplex* – Saint Simon Stock, the English Prior General of the Carmelite Order who died at Bordeaux in 1265. In 1951 the Carmelites returned his relics from Bordeaux to Aylesford in Kent where the first General Chapter of the Order was held in 1247.

January 7 *Petri Thome ordinis nostri* – Saint Peter Thomas, a fourteenth century Carmelite scholar.<sup>15</sup>

August 7 *Sancti Alberti confessor* – *duplex* – Saint Albert was Prior of Trapani and Provincial of Sicily. His feast was prescribed for the Carmelites in 1411 but he has, even now, never been formally canonized by the Roman Church.

The manuscript includes two Carmelite feasts which would appear to help date the book.

July 15 *Divisio apostolorum* – *duplex* – The inclusion of the feast of the Division of the Apostles in the Carmelite calendar is the result of an interesting accident. It first appears in the original printed edition of the Carmelite Breviary produced in Brussels in 1480. The supervision of this printed text was performed by Valentine of Cologne who included the Division of the Apostles as a local feast of his home town, Cologne.



The printers of subsequent breviaries, recognizing that the feast did not belong to the Universal Church of Rome, assumed it to be a specifically Carmelite one. It was copied in the printed Carmelite breviaries of 1490, 1495, 1504, etc. The feast was never officially authorized by the Carmelite Order.

Its inclusion in this manuscript dates the book as after 1480 and shows that somewhere in the transmission of the text a manuscript has been transcribed from a printed book.

September 16 *Joachimi patris virginis marie – duplex* – The feast of Joachim did not become 'duplex' until 1498 when it was chosen by the General Chapter of the Carmelites at Nîmes. Its inclusion here, in the handwriting of the original scribe, would not necessarily prove that the Book of Hours post-dates 1498 but it does strongly suggest it. The other limit for the manuscript is the ownership inscription dated 1511 (16v).

The main text of a Book of Hours is the Office, or 'Hours', of the Virgin. While the arrangement of psalms and prayers within this office is basically the same in all manuscripts there exist certain variations within the different manuscript texts of the Office. When generations of scribes copied books in a particular district there tended to grow up distinctive variations peculiar to the diocese or interest behind that Book of Hours. This was known as the 'use' of a Book of Hours. A careful study of these 'uses' was prepared by F. Madan and published in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* in 1920.<sup>16</sup> In this he identifies four characteristics distinctive of a Book of Hours of Carmelite Use all of which features are to be found in the present manuscript. The Hour of Prime contains the antiphon *Assumpta est* and the capitulum *Ab initio* (60v and 61r) while the Hour of None contains the antiphon *Pulchra es* and the antiphon *Sicut cinnamomum* (66r).

Following the Office of the Dead in this Book of Hours are various series of prayers. Amongst these is to be found the famous Carmelite hymn, the *Flos Carmeli*, (leaf 98r). It is preceded by two lines blank and followed by a page and a half left blank. In this manuscript the hymn reads:

*Flos Carmeli vitis florigera  
Splendor celi virgo puerpera  
Singularis.  
Mater mitis sed viri nescia  
Carmelitis da privilegia  
Stella maris.*

And beneath it:

*Ora pro nobis virgo pia.  
Dum fluet unda maris curretque per ethera Phebus, vivet Carmeli  
candidus ordo monti.*



(Flower of Carmel, flowering vine,  
Light of heaven, a virgin bringing forth a child,  
Unparalleled.  
Fruitful mother but without knowledge of a man –  
Grant the privileges of Carmel,  
Star of the sea.

Pray for us, holy Virgin.  
As long as the waves of the sea flow  
And Phoebus drives across the skies,  
May the bright Order of Mount Carmel live.)

This hymn occurs in numerous Carmelite manuscripts from the late fourteenth century.<sup>17</sup> It was recited by the friars on the feast of Simon Stock (16 May) and a very old tradition ascribes it to him. It is an interesting example of the strong, almost pagan, devotion of the Carmelites to the Virgin Mary in the middle ages. The original oratory on Mount Carmel was dedicated to the Virgin, vows were made to her, and in the Carmelite Constitutions of 1294 the Order was declared to be identified with her name.<sup>18</sup> According to one Carmelite tradition the Virgin, while still alive, was reputed to have personally joined the Order on Mount Carmel.<sup>19</sup>

Also of interest in ascribing this Book of Hours to a Carmelite origin is the inclusion, among the five Memorials, of Elisha, the Old Testament prophet (1011). Each Memorial, following the usual practice in Books of Hours, contains an anthem and a prayer. The prayer to Elisha runs:

*Deus qui beatum helizeum prophetam montis Carmeli incolam altis mirificasti prodigiis et illustrasti doctrinis, tribue nobis quesumus ut eius exempla sequentes ad te pervenire mereamur.*

(God, who exalted by portents the blessed prophet Elisha, dweller of the heights of Mount Carmel, and who made him famous by scriptures, grant us, we pray, that, following his example, we may deserve to come unto you.)

It is unusual for an Old Testament figure to appear in a series of invocations to the saints. The Carmelites, however, traced their descent from Elisha and Elijah whom they saw as the first of the holy men to dedicate their lives to God on Mount Carmel. In the Calendar of this manuscript Elisha is given a double rite and is styled *princeps carmeli*. The feast of Elijah (20 July) does not occur in this manuscript and was not introduced into the Carmelite Calendar until the second half of the sixteenth century.

This Book of Hours is also attractively decorated and illuminated. The capital letters are in burnished gold decorated with flowing black



penwork, or in blue paint decorated with red penwork. Each Office within the book opens with a brightly coloured border. These are: Leaf 17v: Three-sided border of trefoils and stylized flowers with, at foot, a miniature of a Carmelite friar kneeling before a shield.

Leaf 26v: Full illuminated border showing the instruments of the Passion: the cross, spear, nails, hammer, pliers, whip, post, cock, etc.

Leaf 28v: Three-sided border of trefoils and formal flowers over patterned background of pink, gold and brown dotted with gold.

Leaf 30v: Full-page decoration. Central miniature of David kneeling in prayer before a medieval walled castle and city; his harp lies before him and an angel of vengeance flies over the city. Within the full border is a smaller miniature of David killing Goliath.

Leaf 42v: Full-page decoration. Central miniature of the Annunciation with, in the background, the Devil in a tree handing an apple to Eve. Grisaille border of trefoils on matt gold with strawberry, peacock, bird and housefly in full colour.

Leaves 58r ff: Three-sided illuminated borders to each of the canonical hours from Prime onwards.

Leaf 72v: Full-page decoration. Central miniature of the Raising of Lazarus. Border of trefoils and a bird on matt gold.

The borders are of high standard, but the painted figures are rather expressionless and are sometimes slightly rubbed.

The manuscript is neatly bound in early nineteenth century stamped mottled calf. The spine is labelled simply 'UFFIZIO', the Italian for 'Office'. The whole book is now preserved in a green box.

In the study of medieval manuscripts the 'provenance' is often of great importance. It appears likely that the original owner of this manuscript was the Carmelite friar whose 'portrait' appears on leaf 17r at the beginning of the Psalms of Degree. Here a friar, holding a banderole reading *O mater dei, memento mei*,<sup>20</sup> kneels before a shield showing the Risen Christ. He wears the traditional dark brown habit of the Carmelites, covered with the white cloak bestowed upon Simon Stock by the Virgin Mary and introduced into the Carmelite Order by the command of Pope Innocent IV. Beneath is what appears to be his name: 'F. + . P. d'ARGENT'. While most Books of Hours of the late fifteenth century were produced in commercial workshops, there was still a trade in commissioned manuscripts. When a Book of Hours was specially written out for a particular subscriber, the patron's name and portrait were often inserted to add a personal touch to the finished manuscript. In this manuscript the tiny letters inserted by the scribe at the beginning of each sentence as a guide to the illuminator would seem to show that this book was not produced solely by one person. It is therefore unlikely that Friar d'Argent wrote it himself for his own use. There would appear to be two alternatives. Either the friar, despite his



Sequitur quidam psalmus.

**D**uctorum nostrum in hoc domum

Qui fecit celum et terram. p. salmore.

**E**t dñm cum tribulaverat  
manu et excludunt in do  
mine libera animam meam a labne iniqui  
et a lingua dolosa. **A**ud dñs tibi

aut quid apponatur tibi ad linguam

colophon. Sagitte rotundis acute:

cūm carboibue desolatorū. ~~h~~ en

nichil q̄ incolatus meus prolo ngat









Leaf 30v of Carmelite Book of Hours showing David kneeling in prayer in front of walled castle and town. Within border David killing Goliath.







vow of poverty, paid to have the book written out, or, secondly, it may have been commissioned by a relative or friend of the friar, perhaps on some occasion such as the taking of the friar's final vows. It would then have been presented to him. Probably it was virtually the only book he possessed and, though it is in reasonably good condition, it shows evident signs of having been used.

It has been described how, on a Carmelite's death, his books were returned to the chapter where he celebrated his first Mass. The books would then be redistributed among other friars who needed them. On leaf 16v, opposite the d'Argent picture, is an added inscription: *l[aus] x[pist]e scripsit fr[ater] Jo[hannes] de Malzevilla. 1511.* (To the praise of Christ, Friar John of Malzéville wrote this – 1511.) Malzéville is a district in north-eastern France near the town of Nancy and it appears that a friar from here was the man to whom the manuscript was passed on.

After the early sixteenth century the history of this book becomes vague. On the final blank vellum leaf are a number of scribbles in different hands dating from the seventeenth century and mentioning various names. These include Ferdinando Carli, Carlo Carli, and Sig. Andreo Lucresti. On the recto of the leaf is a neater note: *Dominus Ferdinandus Carli Petrasancensis.*

Though the binding of this book is also Italian, it was apparently back into northern Europe, into England, by the nineteenth century. On leaf 101v is an autograph which appears to read 'J. Durrie'. Pasted in the front is a catalogue-cutting with the price 16 guineas added in pencil and a note that a similar book sold for £95. There is an auction sticker reading 'Lot 4'. Eventually it passed into the collection of Sir John Ilott, possibly in the early 1920s, who presented it to the Turnbull Library in 1958.

The book was described very briefly in the *Turnbull Library Record* in 1960<sup>21</sup> as one of the manuscripts from the Ilott Collection. In 1967 it was sent to the Fisher Library in Sydney for the Australasian exhibition of medieval manuscripts becoming item 59 in the *Catalogue of the Exhibition*. This makes no mention of its Carmelite origin. A photograph of leaf 28r (the opening of the Penitential Psalms) was reproduced as Plate XIV in the catalogue. The Book of Hours was again on exhibition from July 1970 as item 1 in 'Manuscripts and Books' in the Turnbull Library's Jubilee Exhibition.

This book has been seen and handled by very many people since it was prepared and written out in late medieval France. From being buffeted in the travelling bag of a wandering friar, it has passed from collection to collection through the centuries. From being a personal private book of devotions it has now become, in the twentieth century and in New Zealand, an example of medieval art and a historical docu-



ment of a religious order of the late middle ages.

Christopher de Hamel

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>For the history of the Carmelite Order, see: *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol III, 1967, under 'Carmelites - History'; Knowles, David: *The Religious Orders in Britain*, Vol I, (CUP) 1950; Nigg, Walter: *Warriors of God: The Great Religious Orders and their Founders*, (translated, Mary Ilford; London, 1959).

<sup>2</sup>Lacombe, Paul: *Livres d'Heures Imprimés au XV<sup>e</sup> et au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siecle . . . Catalogue*. (Paris, 1907; reprint, 1963) p xxxi.

<sup>3</sup>Bohatta, Hanns: *Bibliographie der Livres d'Heures . . . des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, (Vienna, 1924) p 58. All told, 1,582 editions of the Book of Hours are described.

<sup>4</sup>I am grateful to Miss J. M. Backhouse, Assistant Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum, for confirmation of a number of points concerning this Book of Hours.

<sup>5</sup>Humphreys, K. W.: *The Library of the Carmelites of Florence at the End of the Fourteenth Century*, (Amsterdam, 1964). Inventory of the library, pp 30-89.

<sup>6</sup>See: Sinclair, K. V.: *Descriptive Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Western Manuscripts in Australia*, (Sydney UP) 1969. The only possible exception is MS 159 (pp 253-256) which may prove to be Augustinian.

<sup>7</sup>The Turnbull Library owns, for example, a Breviary which apparently belonged to a fourteenth century Franciscan nun of the Order of the Poor Clares in Germany.

<sup>8</sup>Humphreys, K. W.: *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars 1215-1400*, (Amsterdam, 1964) pp 79 and 81. cf also *The Library of the Carmelites* (op cit) p 8.

<sup>9</sup>Cf the warning of the Carmelite General Chapter in Milan, 1345, against giving books to unsuitable friars. *Book Provisions* (op cit) p 78.

<sup>10</sup>*Book Provisions* (op cit) pp 78-9.

<sup>11</sup>Kelly, Celsus: *Franciscan Scholarship in the Middle Ages . . . Catholic Review* Vol V, No 3, June, 1949, p 147.

<sup>12</sup>Sinclair: *Descriptive Catalogue* (op cit) p 388.

<sup>13</sup>For most of the information here on the Carmelite liturgy, see: King, A. A.: *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (Milwaukee, 1955) pp 235-324.

<sup>14</sup>All contractions have been expanded in transcription.

<sup>15</sup>The date, 7 January, is interesting; King gives the date as 16 January while the Carmelite Calendar of 1609 gives it as the 29th. (See: King: *Liturgies*, p 283). An interesting account of the life of Peter Thomas is to be found in Humphreys' *Book Provisions* (op cit) pp 77-8.

<sup>16</sup>Madan, F.: *Hours of the Virgin: Tests for Localization - Bodleian Quarterly Record*, Vol III (1920-1922), pp 40-44.

<sup>17</sup>King: *Liturgies* (op cit) pp 274-5.

<sup>18</sup>*New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol III (op cit).

<sup>19</sup>*Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed, 1937), Vol IV, p 887.

<sup>20</sup>'Oh Mother of God, remember me.' An identical banderole occurs in the ownership miniature of the Hours of Catherine of Cleves. See Plummer, John: *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (London, 1966) Plate 1.

<sup>21</sup>*Turnbull Library Record*, Vol XIV, March 1960, p 5.



## THE JOURNAL OF ERASMUS DARWIN ROGERS, THE FIRST MAN ON HEARD ISLAND

Many men have dreamed of discovering an uncharted island yielding incalculable wealth. Despite the extent of the oceans, the world has only a limited number of islands, few of which yield immediate or even long-term wealth. The following article describes a journal, apparently bought by Alexander Turnbull from an unknown source, of four voyages left by one such favoured explorer, Captain Erasmus Darwin Rogers. Rogers found his 'treasure island' as recently as 1855 and in as unlikely a place as the border of Antarctica, when he made the first landfall on Heard Island in the southern Indian Ocean.

Whaling and sealing logbooks are primarily dour records of daily nautical events kept for the eventual scrutiny of each ship's owners. Journals, which by definition are personal records rather than official, are occasionally less bald, but alas Rogers' is not among the exceptions. For example, on first sighting Heard Island his description of it is given in only a dozen sentences, and without expressing its obvious wealth in money terms. Therefore the significance, and romance, of this journal would not be apparent without extensive explanatory notes which, it is hoped, will provide some perspective to his dry factual reporting, and provide the context of his 'discovery'.

This report is truly a joint effort for the first writer (Richards) would not venture beyond his normal frame of reference without the assistance and experience of the second writer (Miss Helen Winslow). During her brief visit to Wellington Miss Winslow provided an invaluable assessment of the importance of these four voyages in the context of the American whaling and sealing industries of the period and the expansion of both which Rogers' discovery permitted. It is hoped that she will prepare a more detailed and scholarly report for American research workers, for the following is primarily a preliminary account for Australian and New Zealand readers.

Rogers' journal bears the title 'Journal of the Voyage on board the *Charles Carroll* of New London, bound to Dessolation [Island] and from thence home, Captain Thomas Long Master, Kept by Erasmus D. Rogers'. This voyage commenced from New London on 21 July 1847 and the final entry records the departure from Saint Helena for home on 12 April 1848. But the same volume includes accounts of three further voyages by the same writer after he had achieved the rank of captain. The second, a brief account of a short trading voyage by the schooner *E. L. Frost* to the Californian goldfields and return from November 1849 to mid 1850, need not be described here. It is the record of the third and fourth voyages, from 19 August 1851 to 24 June 1853, and from 15 November 1853 to 8 June 1856, in the ship *Corinthian* of



New London 'for Dessolation and else where' under Captain Erasmus D. Rogers, which add substantially to our knowledge of the early whaling and sea elephant industries on Kerguelen or Desolation Island, and their commencement on newly discovered Heard Island.

First, however, the early whalers and sealers known to have been active in Kerguelen waters are listed in some detail in order to show that by the time Rogers commenced his journal in 1847 the area had been well known and frequently visited for at least fifty years. From this arises the question as to how Heard, a high island often visible over long distances and only some 260 miles to the south, had remained so long undiscovered by the whalers, the sealers and the sea elephant hunters.

#### *Earliest Visitors*

Kerguelen is a high volcanic island, some 80 miles long by 20 miles wide, lying isolated in the southern Indian Ocean at latitude 49 degrees South, longitude 69 degrees East. The coast line is a series of drowned valleys and fiords, the interior has much bare rock and extensive glaciers. The climate is severe with coastal temperatures always close to freezing, though seldom below, even in winter. The biting winds never stop. The island was first discovered on 12 February 1772 by Kerguelen who with two ships revisited it from 14 December 1773 to 18 January 1774, made several landings and proclaimed its continuing French sovereignty.

In the last week of 1776, Captain Cook, unaware of Kerguelen's visits, renamed it Desolation, by which name it soon became known to American whalers and sealers. The first of these were two Nantucket whalers, *Asia* and *Alliance* which called after a voyage including a visit to the West Australian coast. Another American whaler, the *Nancy* of Bedford, Mass. cruised offshore in late 1798 or early 1799.<sup>1</sup>

The first known sealing ashore was that of Captain Robert Rhodes of the British whaler *Hillsborough*, who landed a sealing gang for eight months in 1799 while he charted the east coast. It is not known whether this gang obtained any sealskins but they took 450 tuns of excellent sea elephant oil.<sup>2</sup>

It is evident that there were many sealing visitors in the early nineteenth century. John Nunn, a British sealer who wrote an excellent narrative account of his shipwreck and his experiences ashore from August 1825 to March 1828, refers to a number of earlier British visitors, including the *Francis* (1818-20), the *Favorite* (1818-20), and the *Monmouth* (dates unknown) as well as his own ship *Royal Sovereign* (1825-26?); and his rescuers, *Sprightly* and *Lively*. Except for the latter which were Enderby ships, most of the former seem to have been owned by William Bennett, a London oil merchant just as important as the Enderby family. Judging by the number of cutters which Nunn



found had been left on the island by sealers intending to return, it seems evident that British merchants operated a thriving sealing industry on Desolation at an early date.

It should also be mentioned that in Monument Bay, Nunn noted the grave of Captain Matley of the *Duke of Portland* of London, owned by Messrs Bennett of Rotherhide. The tombstone on which Matley's death was recorded as 12 December 1810<sup>3</sup> had been sent out by his widow on the next voyage of the *Duke of Portland*.

A French sealing expedition for Nantes called in 1825–26 in the ship *Emilie*, as did the *Union*, an American whaler from Sag Harbour, NY.<sup>4</sup> Some British sealers are believed to have been wrecked there in 1832 or 1833. According to his chart, Captain Peter Kemp, of the 147-ton sealing schooner *Magnet*, also owned by William Bennett, left Desolation about 25 or 26 November 1833 on a voyage of discovery to the Antarctic coast which now bears his name.<sup>5</sup> On 21 April 1834, Kemp was drowned while taking 320 barrels of oil from Desolation to Cape-town so he also may have been a regular visitor.<sup>6</sup>

No doubt there were many casual visitors too, especially whalers. For example, Captain Russell of the *Arab* of Fairhaven called in November 1835 during a whaling cruise.<sup>7</sup> The most notable of these casual visitors was Captain James Ross, RN, who from 12 May to 20 July 1840 extended Cook's survey to provide the first readily available chart.

#### *First Mate Aboard the Charles Carroll*

In the latter half of the nineteenth century after the English had exhausted the island's sealing resources, the Americans established a new industry based upon the blubber of sea elephants. By supplementing this seasonal 'elephanting' with off-shore and bay whaling, they established an extensive and highly lucrative industry. New London, Massachusetts, dominated though later a few other New England ports and a few Australians were also involved.

The beginnings of the New London sea-elephant trade at Desolation may not be clearly known for the earliest records of ships departing specifically for Desolation begin in 1844 when three New London partnerships despatched a veritable fleet of two ships and five schooners.<sup>8</sup>

During the next decade there were on the average three New London ships and four tenders at Desolation each year. Voyages generally lasted from two to five years during which very good cargoes were obtained.

One of the original New London vessels was the 404-ton ship *Charles Carroll*, Captain Thomas Long, which reached home in June 1845 and made a second voyage from August 1845 to May 1847.<sup>9</sup>

It is not known whether Erasmus Rogers was aboard the *Charles Carroll* for either of its two relatively short, earlier voyages, but, as first mate, he was an experienced seaman when he commenced his journal



on 21 July 1847 as that ship began her third voyage to Desolation.

When Rogers in the *Charles Carroll* arrived at Desolation on 7 November 1847 the sea elephant industry there was already well developed with three 'mother' ships and four tenders operating systematically from various points about the coast. Shortly after their arrival, a fifth tender, *Diana*, was found ashore where it had been stranded some years before by an English sealing expedition. Rogers soon repaired her as his own command, and remained aboard her, apart for short periods at the ship, until at least April 1848. Rogers also repaired an English shallop found ashore.

Their first elephanting season commenced in December 1847. The ships, the tenders and occasionally the ship's boats were stationed at various points about the island while gangs of men were sent ashore, often for many weeks at a time, with only barrels and their beached and upturned boats for shelter. Skins and blubber were collected into depots (and buried for storage when necessary) which the tenders visited from time to time to deliver them aboard the ships where the blubber was minced and boiled down. It seems also likely that blubber was minced and boiled ashore at Pot Harbour (Accessable Bay) which seems to have been the sealers' main focal point on the island.

Because Rogers moved about the coast delivering, servicing and collecting shore gangs, his journal reflects much more than had he been merely an AB working ashore on one or two stretches of the bleak coast. He seems to have kept a meticulous record of the skins and blubber taken at each locality, but without a record of the quantities taken by the other tenders, his figures are insufficient for comparisons of the 'productivity' of the various areas involved. His record, of course, does reveal a prodigious slaughter of sea elephants; bulls, cows and pups together.

Rogers spent from 6 December 1847 to 19 January 1848, Kerguelen's brief summer, on the exposed western (windward) coast taking mainly adult bulls. On 29 January, the ships assembled in Pot Harbour before abandoning 'elephanting' for off-season whaling for right whales until early March. The *Diana* under Rogers cruised with the other tenders off the south east coast where at least nine right whales and several calves were taken, five and one calf by the *Diana* between 8 and 13 February. Thereafter the weather was too bad to permit further off-shore pelagic whaling, even by the ships.

On 6 March 1848 one of the tenders, the *Atlas*, 'started to the windward for elephant', probably to look for off-season strays, but Rogers spent from March to September 'bay whaling' for humpbacks in the sheltered bays along the indented south and south eastern coasts. The weather in June was very bad – one seaman was washed overboard and drowned – and the first whale was not taken until July. At least thirteen



humpbacks were taken, several with calves. These adult female humpbacks were much smaller, probably averaging from 25 to 30 barrels each.

From 7 September to 31 January 1849 'elephanting' recommenced with Rogers delivering, servicing and collecting shore gangs, mainly along the south, south east and west coasts.

On 1 February 1849 the *Charles Carroll* departed for home, which was reached on 3 June 1849 after a sixty-three day stay at Georgetown, St Helena, possibly to cure scurvy. Aboard were 3,600 barrels of 'whale oil'.

As noted earlier, Rogers captained the trading schooner *E. L. Frost* on a trading voyage to the Californian goldfields and back from November 1849 to mid-1850. (The journal entries are brief and disjointed.)

#### *Captain Rogers of the Corinthian*

The industry at Desolation was flourishing and had proved so lucrative that New London owners purchased two new ships and a schooner for this trade in 1851<sup>10</sup> and by December at Desolation there were three ships and six schooners carrying 175 men (almost all of whom were under 25 years old).

Rogers was then given command of the largest Desolation veteran, the 505-ton *Corinthian* which left New London on 19 August 1851, and reached Desolation ninety-six days later. Two cutters left ashore, *Industry* and *Kerguelen*, were refitted before 'elephanting' commenced in December. However the season was over and in January 1852 the cutters and six tenders were left behind to search about the bays of stragglers, whilst the three ships, *Corinthian*, *Peruvian* and *Julius Caesar*, undertook whaling cruises off-shore for right whales. It is known that the latter ship took 800 barrels and 6,000 lb of whale bone in a 41-day cruise,<sup>11</sup> but the *Corinthian* probably did not do so well.

Rogers took two right whales on 24 and 26 January and lost a third on 31 January with 'Dambd hard luck'. At least four others were killed but later lost because the weather was too rough to allow the carcasses to be brought alongside and 'cut in'. During February the weather was so rough only five whales and one calf were saved. A boatsteerer was drowned and foul weather kept the *Corinthian* off-shore well after her provisions had run low. It was not until 29 February that she finally entered Three Island Harbour, where all six schooners were also sheltering. After an even less successful cruise for two weeks near the south east coast, the *Corinthian* beat her way into Pot Harbour. All three ships spent the remainder of the winter there for Desolation's boisterous winds prohibit off-shore pelagic whaling for nine months of the year.

The shallower draughted tenders, however, were able to continue



bay whaling, for humpbacks, in the extensive inland harbours and bays along the east coast. Rogers transferred to the *Atlas* where he took eight humpbacks between April and June but lost at least as many again, mainly through bad weather. Of the other tenders, the *Franklin* lost several and saved three, while the *Maria* took at least four in June alone.

Though right whale captures are recorded on 17 July (80 barrels), 13 August (100 barrels), and 19 September, the record for the latter part of the season is not clear, partly because from 19 July to 31 December 1852 the journal is kept not by Rogers but by his first mate, John Beaumis. Rogers spent this period in Pot Harbour aboard the *Corinthian*.

However it should be mentioned that just before relinquishing his journal, and presumably his command of the *Atlas*, Rogers had deserted bay whaling for a week's cruise in her from 10 to 17 July to check the southern and south-eastern beaches for stray sea elephants. One hundred and twenty were taken there, while, presumably, other schooners and cutters may have made similar unseasonal forays on other beaches around the island.

The only full elephanting season of this voyage was from 13 September to 31 December 1852 during which time Beaumis kept the *Atlas* busy landing, provisioning and collecting gangs along the southern coasts, especially the south west, though some visits were also made briefly to the east and northern coasts. Again a meticulous record was kept of the catch but without similar data for the same period at other points of the coast, an overall analysis is not possible. Suffice to say that the journal gives ample evidence of a highly successful season for the *Atlas* made frequent trips to Pot Harbour to discharge blubber for mincing and boiling on the ships, and also, from time to time, some barrels of oil from blubber boiled down by the gangs ashore or on the *Atlas* itself.

A second off-shore whaling season commenced in the *Corinthian* on 12 January 1853 and lasted until 7 March. Rogers took at least five right whales and a calf in January and eight in February. But in each month at least three others were lost before they could be brought to the ship and 'cut in'. Where recorded the average yield per adult whale was 64 barrels. On 4 March, Captain Rogers told Captain Morgan of the *Julius Caesar* that he had taken fourteen whales that season and remarked, with justified pride, that he required only one more to fill his ship.<sup>12</sup>

The *Julius Caesar* left Desolation for home that day with 2,391 barrels of 'whale oil' and 10,500 lb of whale-bone. The *Corinthian* followed on 20 March with a very rich cargo of 3,058 barrels of 'whale oil' and 1,000 lb of whale-bone.<sup>13</sup> En route home a week was spent at Moca-medez in Angola. The *Corinthian* reached New London on 24 June 1853, a full ship after a voyage of less than two years.



Our knowledge of this highly successful voyage is substantially enhanced by the excellent narrative account kept aboard the *Julius Caesar* by Dr Nathaniel Taylor who spent much time with both Captain Rogers and John Beaumis.<sup>14</sup> He commented that the friendly relations which existed between the rival captains (who often represented rival owners) resulted in an equal division of all beaches which the sea elephants frequented for the main elephanting season in 1852. This may have been one factor in their combined success. His account of daily life there adds warmth and detail entirely lacking in Rogers' journal, including, for example, that Captain Morgan's wife was aboard the *Julius Caesar*, that Captain Brown's wife and daughter held piano recitals aboard the *Peruvian*, and that on the *Corinthian* on 25 December Mrs Williams (of the tiny 119-ton schooner *Franklin*) was delivered of a 10 lb son. Rogers mentions none of these ladies and appears to have been a bachelor.

#### *Rogers Returns to Desolation Again*

A record number of vessels were active at Desolation by the end of 1853 when there were four ships and seven schooners, plus many shallops and longboats, active along the coasts.

The ship *Corinthian*, again under the command of Captain Erasmus D. Rogers, left New London on 15 November 1853.<sup>15</sup> After brief stops at Brava and Tristan D'Acunha for potatoes, and a close inspection of Bouvet Island, Rogers brought the *Corinthian* into Pot Harbour at Desolation Island on 16 April 1854. Bay whaling commenced promptly with the early capture of a humpback. Rogers had unusually good luck and caught right whales throughout the 'bay whaling' season: three in April, at least five in May, and three small whales in June. Their whalebone would be a bonus worth almost as much as their oil. No catches are mentioned in July, which in part is because from 15 to 24 July Rogers took the *Atlas* around the southern shores where 224 stray 'winter' sea elephants were taken. Whaling was resumed until 25 August, apparently without any further success.

The main sea elephant season began on 1 September when Rogers set out in the *Corinthian* to deposit gangs along the north coasts, and to participate in the sealing along the exposed western coasts until early December. He then transferred to the *Atlas* to collect depots along the north and north west coasts before returning to Pot Harbour to rejoin the *Corinthian* and the tenders for the New Year.

An extraordinarily lucrative week of whaling ensued in Pot Harbour from 4 to 11 January when no less than twenty-four whales were taken, four by the *Corinthian*. None were recorded before or after that profitable week.

It will be recognised that a seasonal pattern of activities was well established. The main elephanting season was limited from between



September to January whereafter their captors had to make do with offshore whaling for right whales each January and February and some whaling inshore from the schooners between March and September, mainly for humpbacks.

The seasonal habits of the sea elephants at Desolation are also clearly evident. A few juvenile males and females were taken in September and October, adult females and their pups in November and December, and adult males in December and January.

*The New Land Reported to the South and East*

When the New London bark, *Hannah Brewer*, arrived at Pot Harbour on 21 January 1855, Captain Smith brought the news, probably obtained via Captain Maury, that in November 1853 Captain James J. Heard of the barque *Oriental* had discovered a new island some 260 miles south of Desolation.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, on 10 February 1855, Rogers wrote 'At 9 a.m. started from Pott Harbour for offshore and to look for the land reported to the S & E of Desolation.' After steering south-south-west in bad stormy weather for five days, he wrote on 15 February:

'At daylight raised land ahead bearing SSW dist. about twenty miles. Made sail and stood in to land with the wind from the W. run in to leeward within a mile and a half. Saw plenty of elephant on 3 different beaches, all within 3 miles on the east side of the island. Found no harbour. To leeward landed with one boat [NB First landing on Heard Island] and sounded off the beach with another. Found 5 fathoms water close in and good beaches to work. Hard bottom. I should think it was 40 miles from E to W and looks like two islands or a deep bay is on the N side, and looks as though there was harbours in the bay. There is a large rock to the NE of the land about 10 miles.'

'It blows so heavy I could not work up to find a harbour as I would like to. Should think the three beaches had 2,500 barrels of oil on them, mostly cows.'

'The lat. 53.00 S and long. 73.29 E point.'

[The correct figures are 53.06 S and 73.30 E]

Rogers had 'discovered' a lizard shape island some 25 miles by 10 miles, with a high mountain range from NW to SE. Almost all the island is covered in permanent ice which, between bold, black-cliffed headlands, flows in deeply crevassed glaciers to the sea where they terminate in high ice cliffs. Bleak, stark and inhospitable, the landscape is more desolate than Desolation, under 300 miles to the north where the glaciers have retreated into the interior. On Heard, the 9,000-foot volcano, Big Ben, provides a vast catchment whose glaciers cover everything except a few parts of the north-east coast, and even these are frequently covered by winter snow. Freezing winds blow constantly, snow falls even in summer, and the climate is truly execrable.



Unlike Desolation where there is a meagre stunted vegetation, on Heard there is even less, with the greater part of the land entirely devoid of plant life.

As an island, Rogers' 130 square mile discovery was not much. But as a treasure trove, its wealth was staggering. He would know that the value of the sea elephants he saw (on three of the four main beaches) was worth, even if conservatively estimated with a very low contemporary price of only 70 cents per gallon,<sup>17</sup> not less than \$US57,000. Clearly Heard Island would provide the basis for a new industry for many years. It soon became the richest sea elephant breeding ground known to the industry.

#### *The Riddle of the Multiple Discovery of Heard Island*

Before following the development of the new industry on Heard Island, however, some comment must be made as to how Heard, a high island often visible over long distances, had remained so long undiscovered by the sealers, whalers and sea elephant hunters.

The volume of visitors at Desolation, both before and after 1860, has been described at some length in order to show the frequency with which vessels cruised only a few hundred miles to the north of Heard. To those must be added the commercial and other traffic from Europe and America, to the South Pacific, Australia, New Zealand and even China.

If the curt note 'saw land' which appears on the chart of Captain Peter Kemp of the English brig *Magnet* on 27 November 1833 some two or three days after leaving Desolation, was actually the very first discovery of 'Heard' Island, it may be passed over as his premature death prevented the wide dissemination of news of his discovery.<sup>18</sup> The first rediscovery was in November 1853 by a trading barque, *Oriental*, under Captain J. J. Heard, whilst en route from Boston to Melbourne. The island which bears Heard's name was then the subject of a bewildering number of rediscoveries, mainly by traders, only the first few of which need be mentioned here: In January 1854 Captain McDonald of the British ship *Samarang* rediscovered Heard Island and the small western group which bears his name. A Captain Young reported them at about the same time, but McDonald was the first to make them generally known.<sup>19</sup> In December 1854 the English merchant ships *Earl of Eglinton* (Captain James S. Hutton), *Herald of the Morning* (Captain John Attwaye) and *Lincluden Castle* (Captain Rees) each independently rediscovered and renamed Heard and McDonald Islands.<sup>20</sup> As noted, Rogers' 'rediscovery' followed on 15 February 1855. As late as 1858 Captain J. Meyer of the German ship *La Rochette* renamed them 'Koenig Max Inseln'.<sup>21</sup>

The independent arrival of eight ships in four years where none had been before seems inexplicable. What factor which had previously



discouraged vessels from entering the dangerous iceberg-carrying waters about Heard Island no longer applied after the early 1850s? The only speculation which seems at all likely is that suddenly the world's captains became more aware of, and more interested in, the substantial economies which can be gained by following great circle routes between the North Atlantic and Australia, some of which pass between Desolation and Heard Island. What factors could have prompted the abandonment of the safer, established routes passing closer to the Cape? What urgency could justify the increased risks? Could it be that the multiple discoveries of Heard are in some way related to the flood of merchantmen and transports which rushed to Australia upon the announcement of the discovery of gold there in 1851? As yet this is mere speculation, the verification of which must await the attention of someone better acquainted with the merchant marine fleet of the 1850s which serviced the Australian goldfields.

*Captain Rogers Establishes the Heard Island Industry*

Captain Rogers returned to Desolation to advise his tenders of the bonanza he had found. After taking aboard casks previously landed there, the *Corinthian* left Pot Harbour on 26 February 1855 leading a small flotilla of three tenders: the *Atlas*, *Mechanic* and *Marcia*. On 1 March, Rogers wrote:

'Saw the land to the westward about ten miles. Found it to be an island not seen before for 2 to four miles long.' [This must have been McDonald Island.] 'Raised the *Atlas*. Saw the large island to leeward and run down to it. I went on board the *Atlas* and sounded in two bites [bays] and found hard bottom. Could lay in one of them with the wind from any way but the eastward with heavy anchors, with anchors heavy enough but I should think that it blowed very heavy in the place. Run down to leeward and looked behind another bluff land but found no harbour and went to the ship. [*Corinthian*] At 4 pm the schooner *Atlas* went in to anchor. Saw the *Mechanic* to wind about five miles.'

On 3 March the *Corinthian* and the schooners anchored in 'the so-called Atlas Harbour' and all available hands spent from 3 to 11 March ashore, after which 'over 14 rafts of blubber' were rafted aboard the ship. (A source with access to contemporary sealers states that four or five hundred barrels were procured on the first day, a staggering haul which would be worth almost \$US10,000.<sup>22</sup>) Their success was all the more remarkable since this was only the very end of the normal elephanting season for Heard where all the bulls and most of the cows depart in late February leaving only a few stray cows and juveniles in March and April. Perhaps Rogers recognised that the season at Heard is different from that at Desolation, some 260 miles to the north, for after only eight days the *Corinthian* and her fleet left Heard for the relative shelter of Desolation.



Whaling was resumed from Pot Harbour where the *Corinthian* remained until January 1856. After the heady success at Heard, the return for whaling was meagre: Rogers who was apparently in charge of the *Mechanic*, recorded taking only a humpback on 23 April and a right whale on 4 June. Thereafter the four tenders took 11 whales in June, five in July and two in August, probably mainly humpbacks. During the last week in July, the customary brief elephanting cruise was made to check the southern beaches for winter stragglers.

The *Marcia* was absent between 20 March and 30 May, having been despatched to Capetown with Rogers' report to his owners, Perkins and Smith, on the new island and his recommendations that they urgently despatch at least one additional ship for this promising new field. The response was immediate. Perkins and Smith bought the 420-ton ship *Laurens* which was despatched under Captain Franklin Smith, Junior, on 17 September 1855.<sup>23</sup> Clearly, however, the discovery was an ill-kept secret for two other businessmen followed suit with newly purchased ships which set forth in October.<sup>24</sup>

Meanwhile the elephanting season was resumed on Desolation in early September with the *Mechanic* operating along the north and especially the north-west coasts throughout the normal season until the New Year.

On 20 January 1856, Rogers, once again on the *Corinthian*, wrote 'Good weather, got all ready for Heard's Island' which is his first mention of that name. On 23 January 'came to anchor in Corinthian Bay [Heard Island] with the *Mechanic*, *Marcia* and *Laurens*'. A busy and lucrative period ensued. On 1 February Rogers wrote 'went to the weather bay and took off some blubber. Come on to blow from the eastward and had to stay onshore all night with 30 men and stayed in Captain Smith's [new] house. His men and ours counted 74 men.' The *Franklin* is also mentioned at Heard Island on 7 February, and on 13 February the brig *Zoe* arrived there too. It took the *Corinthian* less than a month to complete her cargo for she left Heard for Desolation on 20 February. After making the necessary preparations there for the voyage home she departed in company with two tenders, the *Atlas* and the *Franklin*, on 10 March.

Rogers mentions a week spent en route at St Helena, but concludes his journal when the *Corinthian* reached New London on 9 June 1856. Within the next two weeks, four other vessels arrived home from Desolation and Heard Island. Their cargoes were as follows:

	Whale oil	Bone	Length of voyage
ship <i>Corinthian</i>	3,208 barrels	21,937 lb	31 months
schooner <i>Marcia</i>	218 barrels	—	32 months
schooner <i>Atlas</i>	115 barrels	—	58 months
schooner <i>Franklin</i>	133 barrels	—	59 months



bark <i>Alert</i>	3,374 barrels	7,400 lb	33 months
	<hr/> 7,048 barrels	<hr/> 29,337 lb	

If the respective owners obtained average prices for 1856, that is, 79½ cents per gallon for the whale (and sea elephant) oil, and 58 cents per pound for the right whale baleen or bone, the cargoes unloaded at New London that fortnight valued over \$US184,000 gross, of which Captain Rogers had brought home just over \$US89,000.

#### *Conclusion*

Captain Rogers made another profitable voyage to Desolation and Heard Islands in the *Corinthian* from 9 July 1856 to 10 April 1858<sup>26</sup> but was lost at sea on 10 August 1858.<sup>27</sup> [Meanwhile a veritable 'gold rush' had developed on 'his' island.]

Captain Smith of the *Laurens*, who with Rogers is reputed to have fully explored and mapped Heard Island, brought home in May 1857 a huge cargo of 4,324 barrels valued at over \$US130,000.<sup>28</sup> In 1857 Captain Henry Rogers, with a gang of 25 men, was the first to remain on Heard Island throughout the winter.<sup>29</sup> Such vast profits could not be kept secret, and other American ports soon entered the trade (Fairhaven in 1857; Mystic, Warren (Rhode Island) and Nantucket in 1858).<sup>30</sup> Australia's first, the *Elizabeth Jane* of Hobart, arrived in 1859.<sup>31</sup>

The Desolation and Heard sea elephant industries rapidly achieved a high degree of sophistication. Though by 1874 their decline was evident, the various scientific and narrative reports by the members of the *Challenger* expedition of their visits to Desolation and Heard that year, provide excellent descriptions of the activities there. On Heard alone in 1874, there were forty men, some of whom had returned year after year to the slaughter, to the isolation, to the perpetually howling winds and to the permanent snow from which their miserable huts sunk in the black lava ground for warmth and protection. By then the slaughter had been tremendous. One scientist noted that the rookeries of former times, and indeed the tracks of the sealers, could be readily traced for sea elephant bones lay on some beaches in curved piles so thick as to appear like the lines of flotsam and jetsam left by high tides.<sup>32</sup>

The island could not support such slaughter indefinitely: the last American ship to depart solely for elephanting at Desolation and Heard left New London in 1887. Thereafter the islands were visited only at very long intervals by a few scientific expeditions. The first official occupation of Kerguelen (Desolation) was in 1949 when the French asserted their claims to sovereignty by establishing several permanent scientific research stations. Last year, these included over eighty men. Similarly, after the sovereignty of Heard had been transferred from Great Britain, in 1947 the Australian Government estab-



lished a permanent research station for meteorological, hydrological and biological studies. In 1951 there were 15 men on Heard and about 4,000 unmolested sea elephants.<sup>33</sup>

#### *Acknowledgement*

Both authors wish to thank Mrs G. Hughes of the Library's Reference staff for her special assistance in obtaining some of the more obscure references to Heard and Kerguelen Islands.

Rhys Richards  
Helen Winslow

#### NOTES FOOTNOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- <sup>2</sup>Roberts, B., 'Chronological list of Antarctic Expeditions' in *Polar Record*, Vol 9, Nos 59 and 60, May–September 1958, pp 97–134 and 191–239. Also Jurgensen, J., *Efterretning om Englaen Dernes og Nordamerikanernes*, Copenhagen, 1807, pp 25–6.
- <sup>3</sup>Clark, W. D. (ed), *Narrative of the wreck of the Favorite on the Island of Desolation: Detailing the Adventures, Suffering and Privations of John Nunn . . .* W. E. Painter, London, 1850.
- <sup>4</sup>Roberts, B., *ibid.*
- <sup>5</sup>Price, A. G., *The Winning of Australian Antarctica*, Angus and Robertson, 1962, pp 4–5.
- <sup>6</sup>*South African Commercial Advertiser*, 17 May 1834. (Pers. comm. Dr John Cumpston, 19 March 1970.)
- <sup>7</sup>Logbook in Old Dartmouth Historical Society Whaling Museum, New Bedford.
- <sup>8–13</sup>Starbuck, A., *History of the American Whale Fishery from its Earliest Inception to the Year 1876*, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1878.
- <sup>13–14</sup>Taylor, N. W., *Life on a Whaler, or Antarctic Adventures on the Island of Desolation*, New London County Historical Society, New London, Conn., 1929 (with introduction by Howard Palmer).
- <sup>15</sup>Starbuck, A., *ibid.*
- <sup>16</sup>Roberts, B., *ibid.*
- <sup>17</sup>Starbuck, A., *ibid.*
- <sup>18–21</sup>Roberts, B., *ibid.*
- <sup>22</sup>Thomson, C. W., and Murray, J., Report of the Scientific Results of the Voyage of HMS *Challenger* During the Years 1873–76, *Narrative*, Vol I, First Part, Chapter X, p 376, Longmans, 1885.
- <sup>23–25</sup>Starbuck, A., *ibid.*
- <sup>26</sup>Rogers' log of his 1856–58 voyage is now in the Nicholson Collection, Providence Public Library, Providence, Rhode Island.
- <sup>27</sup>Roberts, B., *ibid.*
- <sup>28–29</sup>Palmer, H., in Taylor, N. W., *ibid.*, pp iv–v.
- <sup>30–31</sup>Roberts, B., *ibid.*
- <sup>32</sup>Thomson, C. W., and Murray, J., *ibid.*, p 373. (Many other reports of the *Challenger* expedition were also consulted.)
- <sup>33</sup>Scholes, A., *Fourteen Men*, F. W. Cheshire, Melbourne, 1949.



## NOTES ON MANUSCRIPT ACCESSIONS

A SELECTIVE LIST OF ACQUISITIONS DECEMBER 1969 TO DECEMBER 1970

The following list continues the *Notes* in the *Record* for March 1970. As before entries are arranged in two categories, firstly original manuscripts which have been donated or purchased, and secondly, material lent to the Library for photocopying. Again the volume of photocopies involved compels the omission of copies of manuscripts held in other libraries or copied either by the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau or as part of the Australian Joint Copying Programme.

### A. ORIGINAL MATERIAL

AUTOMOBILE Association of Wellington Inc.

Correspondence and notes on AA maps, 1943-48. 3 ins. Donation: The Automobile Association.

Files (3) of correspondence, notes; also 13 loose letters, 1941, 1948[?], 1956.

BLACKBALL District Coal Miners' Union.

Minute books, 1945-61. 2v. Donation: Mr J. P. Davey, Kilgour Road, Blackball.

Includes (loose at back) Roa Miners' Union Statement of Receipts and Expenditure, 1961.

*Access subject to restriction.*

BURT, W. R.

Chatham Islands collection, 1842-1966. 4 ft. Donation: Mr W. R. Burt. Correspondence, official and unofficial; MS reports, and records; newspaper cuttings; scrapbooks; printed articles and reports.

BURTON, Ormond Edward, 1893-

Papers, ca 1896-1965. 3 ft. Donation: Mr O. E. Burton.

Main group contains correspondence during Ormond Burton's imprisonment, 1940-44. Also includes his unpublished autobiography, articles, talks, and other material mainly relating to his work in the Methodist Church.

COLLINSON, T. B.

Seven years' service on the borders of the Pacific Ocean 1843-1850 . . . vol 1 1892-4 [autobiography]. Purchase Sotheby's, November 1970. ca 150 pages. 80 sketches and maps, etc.

Outlines Captain Collinson's voyage to Hong Kong, Australia and New Zealand with details of his New Zealand experiences and military service 1846-50.

DENNISTON Coal Miners' Industrial Union of Workers.

Papers, 1937-69. 9 items. Donation: The Denniston Coal Miners' Industrial Union of Workers.

Includes letterbook, 1967-68; letter from Angus McLagan re Preference



Clauses; plan for mine accident scene, 1968, and Union agreements.  
*Access subject to restriction.*

FEDERATED Seamen's Union of New Zealand.

Papers, 1893-1935. 25 ft. Donation: The Union.

1 *Executive Council*. (a) Correspondence, 1896-1935. Includes correspondence with USS Co, Government departments, shipowners, and local branches of the Union. Also, with NZ Alliance of Labour, 1919-26. (b) Minutes, 1906-26.

2 *Wellington Local Branch of the Seamen's Union*. Correspondence, 1893-1928. (Outwards correspondence only, 1893-1918). Similar content as for 1.

3 *General material*: newspaper cuttings, reports on meetings, 1907-26, assorted notes on history, definition, etc, of the Union, 1919-24; rules . . . etc.

*Access subject to restriction.*

GROVE family.

Accounts, 1764-93. 29v. 16-26 cm. Various bindings.

Financial records of Edward and Mary Grove (and others) at Shenstone Park, Staffordshire.

In photocopy only: 'State of my affairs', 1770, 1772, 1773 (3 v.)

Donated by Mrs M. A. Dalgety, Palmerston North who holds the 3 volumes of originals of photocopy material. M/E only in MS cat.

HAWKINS, William Webster

Diary, 1864-66. Illustrations of New Zealand, 1866-67. 2v. Purchase: Christie's, Sydney.

The diary gives an account of Hawkins' voyage to New Zealand, and subsequent life on Kekerengu Station, Marlborough, with journeys to Flaxbourne and Christchurch. Numerous pen sketches accompany the entries.

*Illustrations of New Zealand* gives an account in annotated sketches of a trip from Blenheim through Picton, to Wellington, and up the Wairarapa to the Whareama River - with the return trip.

HERITAGE (Wellington) Inc.

Papers, ca1942-68. 4 ft. Donation: Heritage (Wellington) Inc.

Files of correspondence, alphabetically under beneficiary, on the dependants of deceased ex-Servicemen aided by Heritage.

*Access subject to restriction.*

INANGAHUA Gold and Coal Miners' Industrial Union of Workers

Papers, 1897-1960. 3½ ft. Donation: The Union.

Contents: Correspondence, 1929-68. Daybooks, 1897-1949 (with Big River Daybook, 1911-27). Minute books, 1937-60 (part of period for Waiuta branch only). Accounts. Grey Miners' Central Committee, cyclostyled material. United Mine Workers of New Zealand, Minute books, 1924-50, and Charming Creek Miners' Union Minutebook,



1946-57.

*Access subject to restriction.*

KING, Sir Frederic Truby, 1858-1938.

Papers 1854-1938. 31 items. Donation: Mrs Mary White, Australia. Letters and telegrams of condolence on the death of Sir Truby King, 1938. Letter, 1881, from Truby King to his father from Edinburgh, and several photos. Letters, 1854-61, from Truby King's father, Thomas King, to the latter's wife.

JOHNSON, George Randall, 1833-1919.

Papers, 1858-1906. 92 items. Donation: Mrs C. Hall, England. Mainly letters from Lucy Johnson (Russell) to her sister, about Wellington life and society in the 1870s. Also: documents relating to Johnson's appointment to the Legislative Council: letters to his wife, 1900, with observations on the state of the country and the Seddon government.

JOUAN, Henri, 1821-1907.

Journal tenu à bord de la goélette *Kamehameha* et à Taio-hae (île Nukuhiva, Marquises) d'avril 1855 à novembre 1856: suivi du journal: De Tahiti à Valparaiso, passages sur le brig-goélette du Protectorat *Caroline Hort* du 27 Novembre 1858 au 21 Janvier 1859; du Séjour à Valparaiso; du journal de Valparaiso au Havre, passages sur le trois-mâts français *Chuquisaca* 6 Mars - 6 Juin 1859, 103p.

Purchase Ropiteau-O'Reilly sale, Paris June 1969.

KELLEHER, John Arnold.

Upper Hutt; a history, 1840-59. 332 l. Donation: Miss S. E. Fraser, Upper Hutt.

Unpublished account of early settling, development of transport, churches, industries, education, and the surrounding districts.

LAWRENCE, Warwick Ritchie Crawford, 1915-

Huzza for New Zealand! The life and work of Captain William Mein Smith, Royal Artillery, 1799-1869, first Surveyor-General to the New Zealand Company.

1968. 425 l. Donation: the author.

LONDON Missionary Society.

Papers, 1801-1808. 8 items.

Letters from missionaries on Tahiti, including 4 from Davies, and others from Youl, Eyre, Tessier, Jefferson.

Purchased Ropiteau-O'Reilly sale, Paris, June, 1969.

McLEAN, Donald, 1820-1877, and Robert Donald Douglas, 1852-1929.

Additional papers, 1850-. 8 ft. Purchase: Sotheby's, London.

Inwards correspondence, of which about two-thirds is R. D. D. McLean's. Also a considerable section of McLean and Hart family correspondence. Letters to Donald McLean include Domett, Colenso, Grey, Heaphy, Maning, Richard Taylor, and others.



This acquisition complements what is in the existing McLean papers held by the Library.

MIEVILLE, Frederick Louis, b 1830.

Journal, 1851-58. 5v. Donation: New Zealand High Commission, London.

Reminiscences written in 1911 of Mieville's life in New Zealand especially in the Matura Valley, Southland, on Glenham Station. Mieville came to New Zealand in 1851, and later returned to England.

MILLERTON State Colliery Medical and Accident Association.

Papers, 1913-69. 1 ft. Donation: Millerton State Colliery Medical and Accident Association.

Letterbooks, minute books, medical attention day-books, cashbooks.

*Access subject to restriction.*

MOORE, Dallas James, 1943-

Notes on Old Saint Paul's, 1859-1965. 2v. Donation: Mr R. I. M. Burnett, New Zealand Historic Places Trust.

Detailed notes on the history, architecture, restoration, and daily operation of Old Saint Paul's, Wellington. Compiled for the publication *Old Saint Paul's, the first hundred years*. Pub. no 6, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 1970.

NGATA, Sir Apirana Turupa, 1874-1950.

The Treaty of Waitangi; an explanation. 18p. Donation: Mr Ian Wards, Department of Internal Affairs.

Photocopy of a typescript of an early draft.

NORTH, Thomas.

Ledger, 1883-84. 72 l. Donation: The estate of Miss E. M. North.

North was a solicitor in Reefton; volume gives brief debit and credit entries under the names of numerous clients in Nelson and Westland.

PATERSON, A. S. & Co. Ltd.

Papers, 1900-25. c 20 ft. Donation: A. S. Paterson & Co.

Business records of a wholesale grocery and general merchant firm. Includes letterbooks, ledger balances, aggregate returns, cashbooks, directors' letters. Also correspondence of Stronach Paterson in America, England, concerning business activities in these countries.

PAUATAHANUI School.

School register, 1873-1913. 32p. Donation: Mr Walter Brown, Wellington.

First few pages missing. Contains roll of students, age, date of admission, withdrawal, occupation of parents, and progress at school.

RAMSDEN, George Eric Oakes, 1898-1962.

Further papers, c1906-10. 8v. Donation: Mr Frank Lewis, Australia.

(a) Eric Ramsden: Notebooks (2v) on Rangiatea Royal Commission, 1905, and on Te Puea, Southern Cross, Fenton. (b) Sir Peter Buck: Notebooks (5v) on medical and Maori ethnological pursuits. (c) Note-



book (iv) also on medical activities, possibly kept by Buck's wife.

RHODES, Harold Winston, 1905-

Papers. 1 ft. Purchase: Professor H. W. Rhodes.

Correspondence with New Zealand literary figures (1960s).

*Access subject to restriction.*

ROBLEY, Horatio Gordon, 1840-1930.

A history of the Maori tiki, by Te Ropere. 12p. Donation.

A brief, illustrated account in Robley's hand.

ROE family.

Papers, 1888-1944. 6 ins. Donation: Miss P. A. Roe, Levin.

Records, mainly of F. G. Roe, relating to Levin Post Office, Borough Council, District High School, and land dealings. Includes a section of newspaper cuttings from the *Levin Daily Chronicle*.

Photocopies also held by Levin Public Library.

SARGESON, Frank, 1903-

Papers, 1927-70. 8 ft. Purchase: Frank Sargeson.

Correspondence, personal and general; MSS of work, both published and unpublished; photographs, cuttings.

*Not yet available.*

SEALY, Henry John.

Diaries, 1863-77. 5v. Donation: Mr G. H. V. Hewitt, Alice Springs, Australia.

Record of surveying activities in South Canterbury, with much detail on personalities, and farming and social activities. These volumes follow on from the one already held by the Library (1861-63, Hawke's Bay and Wellington provinces, and the Otago goldfields). A further volume is expected to complete the series.

SIMPSON, William, 1834-1873.

Papers, 1850-73. 34 items. Donation: Miss E. Morton, Auckland.

Testimonials, certificates and official correspondence connected with Captain Simpson's posts, mainly as conveyor of Judge Rogan, of the Native Lands Court, to the Chatham Islands; also as temporary customs officer, and as pilot at Hokianga Harbour.

STARTUP, Robin McGill, 1933-

Correspondence file relating to New Zealand military postal history during the Maori Wars, 1860-66. 1958-64. 2 ins. Donation: Mr R. Startup, Masterton.

Inwards and outwards correspondence with libraries, institutions, individuals, concerning many aspects of the Maori Wars, particularly the British troop movements and postal system.

STRANGE-MURE, William.

Letterbooks (private and business), 1874-97. 8v. Donation: Mr W. T. H. Strange-Mure, Wellington.

Private outwards correspondence from Sydney, 1874-81 (3v), from



Wellington, 1884-97 (3v); and correspondence of Central Agency Office, Lambton Quay, Wellington, 1884-85 (2v).

Strange-Mure worked as a clerk-accountant, including five years for the NZ Government Life Insurance Office, until his appointment in November 1884 as manager of the Central Agency. Correspondence 1894-97 details the difficulties of a jobless family man in the slump. Most private correspondence is addressed to his family in England.

TAYLOR, William, and Charles John, d 1897.

Papers, 1848-90. 56 items. Purchase: Mr R. C. B. Oliver, England. Inwards correspondence (1849-73) includes 2 letters from Alfred Domett (whose daughter Elizabeth married C. J. Taylor). One (1873) discusses his afterthoughts on *Ranolf and Amohia*, and in some detail its reception by readers and critics. Also: papers of appointment.

TINLINE, John, 1821-1907.

Letters (inwards), 1849-92. 9 items. Donation: Miss Murray, Adelaide. Mostly 1880s. These concern Tinline's sheepfarming and surveying activities, a unique photo of the solar eclipse, 1885, and personal matters. Also includes photographs.

TULLY, John, b 1825.

Diary, 1843-46. 93p. Donation: Miss Dorothy Tully, Greytown. Brief-entry record of activities of young surveyor's assistant engaged by the New Zealand Company. Concerns surveying at Wainuiomata and the Taieri Valley, Otago; drawing up plans and writing correspondence at the office at Wellington; social activities and shipping in Wellington.

WALPOLE, Sir Hugh Seymour, 1884-1941.

Letters to A. J. A. Symons, 1936-41. 13 items. Purchase: Bernard Quaritch Ltd, London.

These concern literary and social matters, and include comment on Lord Alfred Douglas, Richard Le Gallienne, William Watson, and Queen Mary. They show the author's tastes in books and people.

WELLINGTON Harmonic Society.

Papers, 1962-69. 10 ins. Donation: the Society.

General correspondence, balance sheets, programmes, news clippings, and photographs.

WILLIAMS, Harold Whitmore, 1876-1928.

Miscellaneous papers, 1905-29. 35 items. Donation: Mrs O. W. Williams, Taradale.

Letters (18) from Harold Williams, 1905-28, mainly to his father in New Zealand and relating personal and political news. Typescript play *Harold Williams*, by O. A. Gillespie. Inwards correspondence to H. Williams, and other family correspondence, 1905-54.

WOOD, H. W.

The Wood family and Wainuiomata; story compiled by H. W. Wood,



son of John and Eliza Wood, Bunnythorpe. 1970. 13 l. Donation: Mr H. W. Wood.

Typescript accounts, with MS annotations, tracing the course of the Wood family in New Zealand. Much of the detail is genealogical.

P. B. L. Crisp

## B. COPIED MATERIAL

ALLEN, Charles E.

Eighty years in New Zealand. 78 l. Photocopy of original lent by Mrs R. H. Allen, Palmerston North.

Reminiscences of the life of the author's father, the surveyor George Frederic Allen, who surveyed in the Mangamahu and inland high country, North Island.

BLACK'S Point Museum.

Material relating to the Inangahua County, 1872-87, 1967-70. 45 l. Photocopies of originals lent by the Black's Point Museum.

Contains mainly material relating to mining, but also concerns the *Inangahua Herald*.

CHATHAM Islands.

Miscellaneous papers, 1873-1952. 192 l. Photocopies of originals lent through Mr Rhys Richards, Wellington.

Various legal papers; inquiry into wrecks; wills, Land Court papers, correspondence, general surveys and information, 1944-48, 1951-52. Also Report on Farming, 1938, and newspaper cuttings, 1946 and 1952.

GUDGEON, Walter Edward, 1842-1920.

Autobiography; with related documents. Microfilm (neg.) of original lent by Mr Elsdon Craig, Auckland.

Typescript autobiography covers Gudgeon's career at first as Resident Magistrate, East Coast, with other New Zealand offices, then in the Cook Islands, ultimately as the British Resident and Judge of the Native Land Court. Large section deals with the annexation of the Cook Islands. Following the typescript are various items of official correspondence, notices, minutes, etc, connected mainly with Gudgeon's administration in the Cook Islands. At front are several Maori tribes' genealogies.

*Access subject to restriction.*

HASTWELL, W. R.

Account books, 1861-67, 1875-94. 323 l. Photocopies from originals lent by Mrs T. H. Tully, Masterton.

Financial record of an accountant in the Greymouth district. Includes land-leasing, purchasing, and involves numerous clients.

SWAINSON family.

Papers mainly relating to their travels, 1810-55, 1879. 4v. Photocopies of originals lent by Mr G. M. Swainson, Palmerston North.



Mainly accounts of tours by Mary and William Swainson: Serra of San Joze, Serra Branca, nd; France, 1828; Lakes and Scotland, 1818; the Brazils, 1816-18; Italy, Greece, Sicily, 1810-15. One volume contains 'Memoranda and accounts of the Strickland and Swainson families'.

#### TE PUIA Cemetery.

Register of burials, 1907-15. 16 l. Photocopy of original lent by Mr Walter McCracken, Gisborne.

Gives name and birthplace of each person buried at the cemetery, with date and place of death. Some committee proposals and decisions at front.

#### THIERRY, Charles Philip Hippolytus, baron de, 1793-1864.

Records concerning Baron de Thierry, 1851-53. Microfilm (neg.) of originals in the Foreign Office and Executive files of the Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

#### WARBURTON-GROVE family.

Papers, 1838-99. Microfilm (neg., ca 110 ft.) of originals lent by Mrs M. A. Dalgety, Palmerston North.

Contents: (a) Eliot Warburton papers (Bartholomew Eliot George Warburton). Literary correspondence, including letters from Robert Browning (3), T. B. Macaulay (3), Aubrey de Vere, Monckton Milnes, J. G. Lockhart, Charles J. Lever. Large group of correspondence relating to Eliot Warburton's historical work *Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, and the romance *Reginald Hastings*. Also letters from Eliot Warburton to his parents relating in some detail his travels in the Middle East. (b) Warburton family in New Zealand. Correspondence involving mainly G. H. E. Warburton, Wellington and Palmerston North. (c) Grove family. A small group, England.



## NOTES AND COMMENTARY

### *The Library Building*

It is not now expected that the Library will move into the Free Lance Building on the Terrace until the autumn of 1972. Contracts for the alterations necessary to house the Library, as well as part of the Central Division, will be let shortly, but the work involved is not expected to be completed until next year. Even after the move it is the view of the Trustees that the Library should continue to make use of the Turnbull Building until its demolition is necessary. A firm date for this step is difficult to obtain, but the final act may still be three or four years ahead. Consideration is being given to ways, other than mere storage, in which the building can usefully be used during the period without adding further to staffing difficulties. So far as the Library is concerned, the Free Lance plans in their draft form are largely the work of Mr R. F. Grover. Mr Grover will also act as the Library's liaison officer with Mr T. B. O'Neill, Director of Extension Services, the senior librarian in the National Library, who will be working with Mr Peter Boyes of the Ministry of Works Architectural Division, on the plans for the National Library. Work has started on the preparation of sketch plans.

### *Staff*

Mrs Margaret Scott (Manuscripts Librarian) in December was awarded a Winn-Manson-Menton Fellowship, which will enable her to continue her work on editing the letters of Katherine Mansfield while living in Menton and working in the Villa Isola Bella. Mrs Scott, who left for Europe in January, will be visiting Miss Ida Baker and following up other research leads in her work both before and after her residence in Menton. It is expected that she will resume duties as Manuscripts Librarian in January 1972. During her absence Mrs June Starke is Acting Manuscripts Librarian, assisted by Mrs Dorothy Reid, who replaces Mr P. B. L. Crisp.

### *Tongan Archives*

The Library in 1968 was invited by the Tongan Government to take temporary custody of some of its archives. These, on receipt in January 1969, were found to comprise about two hundred feet of records, chiefly Minute Papers, files from the Premier's Office, with a small group of other miscellaneous material. The series covers approximately the years 1926 to 1954, and was recently sorted into its appropriate archival sequences by Mr Andrew Thornley, now working as a VSA student in the Fijian Archives in Suva. The Tongan Government has kindly given permission for microfilm copies to be taken of the papers, access to which will be with the permission of the Tongan Government on the recommendation of the Library.



### *Webster Collection*

By arrangement with Messrs Maggs Bros, London, the Library received in November the bulk of the material from the collection which it is purchasing from the estate of the late K. A. Webster. The materials to hand include some items located initially from Mr Webster's own catalogue, but largely comprise the selection made by Miss M. Walton in London in August 1969. The most significant items are manuscripts, broadsides, and other ephemera, printed pamphlets and extracts from periodicals. The manuscripts are specifically of New Zealand interest, but the broadsides and other printed material, covers what may be regarded particularly as the social background of colonialization from Britain in the early nineteenth century. The broadsides represent material not hitherto available for research in this country.

### *Other Acquisitions*

The Library was fortunate in obtaining at Sotheby's in November the New Zealand volume of Captain T. B. Collinson's autobiography (outlined in 'Notes on Manuscript Accessions'). Accompanying the narrative, which gives Collinson's impressions of military operations and social life in Wellington and Wanganui at the time, are many pencil sketches of considerable historical and topographical interest. About the same time the Chief Librarian was pleased to be able to arrange, by courtesy of Mr J. Eyles, Director of the Nelson Museum, for the copying of the two volumes of the diary of Lieutenant C. J. Ewen, held in the Museum since 1952. The existence of this diary was not generally known until the Chief Librarian saw it in a display case in the Museum, although sketches by Ewen are in the Nan Kivell Collection in the National Library of Australia. The diary deals chiefly with his military duties in the Wellington area, much of Ewen's time being spent in the Barracks at Paremata, with notes of travel through the country. With the Journals of Lieutenant Bennett and Ensign Best, the Library's holdings of records of army officers of the 1840s is now of some significance.

### *Carmelite Book of the Hours*

Mr Christopher De Hamel, BA(HONS), a graduate of the History Department of the University of Otago with special interest in and knowledge of medieval manuscripts, was fortunately able to work in the Library during the long vacation. One of his particular studies was an illuminated manuscript which forms part of the donation of Sir John Ilott. Mr De Hamel was able to establish that this was a very rare Carmelite Book of the Hours and we are pleased to publish the results of his research in this issue of the *Record*.



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GREETING CARDS

*Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte Sound, February 1777*, from an aquatint by John Webber AND *The Death of Captain Cook, Kealakekua Bay, Hawaii, February 1779*, from an aquatint after John Cleveley. Both in colour, approximately  $6 \times 7\frac{3}{4}$  inches, 25 cents each.

*Te Wherowhero's Pa at Kaitote, 1844*, from a watercolour by George French Angas in the Rex Nan Kivell Collection, Canberra. In colour, approximately  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  inches, 25 cents each. (Limited stocks)

*Kaka-beak; Koromiko; Convolvulus; Native Iris; Native Dandelion; Tree Fuchsia*. Six engravings of New Zealand flora after the copper-plates in the British Museum (Natural History) made from watercolours prepared for Banks from Parkinson's sketches on Cook's first voyage. In black and white,  $7 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$  inches, 10 cents each.

COOK'S CHART

*Captain James Cook's Chart of New Zealand, 1769-70*, reproduced from the original MS in the British Museum by courtesy of the Trustees. Approximately  $14 \times 14$  inches. In black and white, 20 cents each.

COLOUR TRANSPARENCIES

1, *Library Building*; 2, *Entrance Hall*; 3, *Rare Book Room*; 4, *Earle's painting of his meeting with Hongi, 1827*; 5, *Heaphy's painting of Thorndon, 1841*; 6, *Heaphy's painting of Te Aro, 1841*; 7, *Heaphy's painting of Kakariki (Native Parrots), 1839*; 8, *Illuminated Manuscript, 15th century*; 9, *Katherine Mansfield items*; 10, *Rare book bindings*. 35 mm, in colour, 25 cents each OR 5 (your choice) for \$1; the pair of Heaphy views of Wellington, 40 cents the pair.



## CATALOGUES

*The Jubilee Exhibition Catalogue – 'Eighty Years in the Collecting'*, with detailed annotations on the selected rare books, manuscripts and paintings exhibited. 31p. price 25 cents.

*Early New Zealand Paintings from the Alexander Turnbull Library*, with brief notes on the artists and the fifty paintings in the 1965 touring exhibition. 17p. price 25 cents each.

*The Rex Nan Kivell Collection of Early New Zealand Pictures*: annotated catalogue of the 1953–54 touring exhibition by the Library for the Department of Internal Affairs. 27p. 4 col. plates. gratis.

*Oil Paintings by William Hodges, RA* (draughtsman on Cook's second voyage, 1772–75): annotated catalogue by Anthony Murray-Oliver of the ten views exhibited in New Zealand by courtesy of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, 1959–60. (Alexander Turnbull Library Bulletin No 15) 16 p. illus. gratis.

## OFFPRINTS

of the articles on the artist S. C. Brees in November 1968 *Turnbull Library Record* are available at 25 cents each.

### PLEASE NOTE:

There will be a new issue of greeting cards by the Friends about the middle of this year.

The Turnbull Library Prints for 1971 will be three views of the thermal regions, from paintings by Barraud and Blomfield.

Friends will be advised when these cards and prints are available.

There are now only limited stocks (about 100 of each) of the Jubilee Print (von Tempsky) and the Barraud view of Wellington. Single prints of the Wellington print are exhausted and it is now available only as part of the set of three Barrauds.

The subscription to The Friends of the Turnbull Library, including two issues per annum of *The Turnbull Library Record*, is \$2.50 annually.



## SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM THE ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

Published for the Library by the Government Printer:

McCORMICK, E. H. — *Tasman and New Zealand: a bibliographical study*. (Bulletin number 14) 1959. 72p, plates 75 c.

MARKHAM, Edward — *New Zealand or Recollections of It*, edited with an introduction by E. H. McCormick. (Monograph series, number 1) 1963. 114p illus. (some plates in colour) \$3.00.

BEST, A. D. W. — *The Journal of Ensign Best, 1837-1843*, edited with an introduction and notes by Nancy M. Taylor. (Monograph series, number 2) 1966. 465p plates (col. frontis.) \$3.50.

Published by the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust Board:

### *The FOX PRINTS and the FOX PORTFOLIO*

Three reproductions in colour of watercolours by Sir William Fox, two being in the Nelson area and one of Otarua Pa on the Ruamahanga. Coloured surface of each, approximately 9 x 12 ins. \$2.00 each, with descriptive leaflet. ALSO six other prints — Kaiteriteri; Lake Rotorua; Tiraumea river; Tuakau; Hokitika; Pohaturoa rock — with a brochure by Dr E. H. McCormick. Edition of 2,000. Portfolio 14½ x 18½ ins. Sold as a set of 6, at \$10 or singly at \$3.00 each.

### *The BARRAUD PRINTS 1967:*

Wellington 1861; Lake Papaitonga, Horowhenua; The Barracks, Napier. Coloured surface, approximately 10 x 15 ins. \$2.00 each, with notes.

### *The EMILY HARRIS PRINTS*

New Zealand flower paintings Rangiora, Blueberry, Mountain cabbage-tree. Coloured surfaces, approximately 18 x 12 ins. Edition of 2,500. \$2.00 each, with notes; set of 3, in illustrated folder, \$6.00.

### *MAPLESTONE PRINTS*

Hawkestone Street, Wellington; New Plymouth; Scene near Stoke Nelson. All 1849. Format and price as for Emily Harris prints.

### *The CYPRIAN BRIDGE PRINTS 1970*

*HMS North Star* at the destruction of Pomare's Pa, Otuihu, Bay of Islands, 30 April 1845; Capture of Kawiti's Pa, Ruapekapeka, Bay of Islands, 11 January 1846. Format as for the Barraud, Harris and Maplestone Prints. \$2.00 each; the pair, in illustrated folder, \$4.00

### *The JUBILEE PRINT*

Encampment of the Forest Rangers, attacking Te Putahi Pa, on the Whenuakura River, Taranaki, 7 January 1866. By Major G. F. von Tempsky. Coloured surface, 12 x 17 ins. Hand-numbered edition de luxe, limited to 500 copies, in illustrated folder. \$10.00

All Friends are entitled to a 10% discount, on request, on all Turnbull prints except the Jubilee issue (von Tempsky) which will be available to Friends at the special price of \$7.50.

(See also inside back cover)