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THE TURNBULL LIBRARY RECORD



WELLINGTON NEW ZEALAND
THE FRIENDS OF THE TURNBULL LIBRARY

October 1971
VOLUME 4 (n.s.) NUMBER 2

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THOMAS ARNOLD AND CAPTAIN COLLINSON

Two recent manuscript acquisitions of the Library nicely complement each other, and throw light on some of the intellectual interests and aspirations of young men in the Wellington district in the first decade of colonial settlement. The first is a very characteristic letter from Thomas Arnold the Younger to Captain T. B. Collinson, RE, written from Tasmania in 1851 but in part reviewing their earlier association in New Zealand. The second is General Collinson's private account, written at the end of the century 'for the information and satisfaction of my children', of *Seven Years Service on the borders of the Pacific Ocean, 1843-50*. Collinson's memoir is of great historical and topographical interest, and deserves much fuller description than can be given here. The chief purpose of this note is to publish the Arnold letter, and use some extracts from Collinson's reminiscences to elucidate this rather surprising friendship.

Let the two principals introduce each other. In June 1848, twelve days after his arrival at Wellington in the *John Wickliffe*, Tom Arnold began a walk up the coast to Otaki: '... I set forth, having for a companion Capt Collinson of the Engineers, who was going to visit the officers at Porirua. Collinson is I suppose about 26 or 27 years old, a sincere good man, with something of a sarcastic turn ordinarily, but when there is any good work to be done active and earnest at once.' And here is Collinson, looking back affectionately across fifty years at the young Arnold of 1848: he brings him in at the end of a shrewd and lively series of character sketches of such men as Domett, Fox, Sir Godfrey Thomas, Dillon Bell, Petre, Weld, under the heading 'Society in Wellington, 1848-49':

There is one member of our Society, and a very prominent one, whom I have not mentioned at all yet... that is *Tom Arnold*: a son of the great schoolmaster, he was educated in the highest manner of the day and under the best teachers. . . . Naturally he was a studious, wide minded and large hearted man, of simple and gentle disposition; a character in short on which a strong impression would be made by the teaching of more powerful characters than his own. The result, as far as I was capable of judging, was that the multitude of doctrines tended to produce rather a vagueness in all. We all loved him; it was impossible not to love so aimiable [*sic*] and openhearted a young fellow, who was so full of the best learning of the day, and straight from the society of the principal men of the day, in art, science and politics. He became at once the representative with us of the advanced party in the philosophy of life.

From these two comments, the basis of a continuing friendship is already clear. The impetuous and unworldly Tom Arnold admired the

greater maturity and experience of a practical serving officer; Collinson, aware of the limitations of his narrow professional training ('being only a soldier with some smattering of science from Woolwich Academy'), was fascinated by this young Oxford intellectual with the famous name and the endless flow of 'Jacobinical' ideas. In the bachelor parties at Wellington where Tom Arnold sang the 'Shan van Vocht' to the delight of young Irish officers of the 65th, while Domett declaimed 'Of Nelson and the North', Collinson must have been a relatively sober figure – cast, in his own words, for 'the rôle of representative of the Church and State'. But he was far from being a stuffy or conventional Tory.

The Arnold children who had grown up at Fox How regarded themselves as northcountrymen; Collinson 'was born and bred at Gateshead on the coaly Tyne', and apparently kept his accent. (He tells how the cook's daughter at the Cockatoo Hotel exclaimed, as soon as he opened his mouth, 'Smash! mother, he's a Geordie!'). After leaving Woolwich he had been engaged on Ordnance survey work, largely in Ireland and the north of England. In 1843 he was posted to the brand-new colony of Hong Kong, where he made the first exact survey and maps of the island, and fitted in short visits to Amoy and Canton. In 1846 he was transferred to Wellington, which he reached via Sydney and Auckland by the end of that year.

In Auckland, Collinson was quickly on intimate terms with Governor Grey ('a slight young looking man in delicate health' whose 'heart was in his head'), with Bishop Selwyn ('a model missionary bishop'), and with Alfred Domett (a disciple of T. Carlyle's 'heroic school', who told the young sapper that 'the Maories were still savages'). He stayed for a month in 'The College at Bishop Auckland', gained a much more favourable impression of the Maori character, and took passage for Port Nicholson in the brig *Victoria* in company with Tamihana, son of Te Rauparaha. Soon after his arrival there was an 'alarm at Wanganui' and he was ordered to take up 200 men of the 58th Regiment; they sailed in *HMS Calliope*, on which old Te Rauparaha was still held prisoner, and Collinson made a pencil sketch of this distinguished captive. During 1847 he was on active service in the troubles at Wanganui, and was involved in the death-sentence on five Maori rebels (for which he was sternly rebuked later in a letter from Bishop Selwyn). Early in 1848 he returned to Wellington, where he more than once shared lodgings with Domett. This, then, was the modest but experienced Captain of Engineers Tom Arnold met in his first week in Wellington.

By the end of August 1848, Tom Arnold had cleared part of a 'bush section' on the Porirua Road, and built a small whare: he was still determined to be a settler and work with his hands in a new democratic

community. Clearly Collinson was sceptical. By his own account, it was he who took Governor Grey out to visit the hermit of Tawa Flat: in elderly reminiscence, he makes the most of the occasion:

The visit of the Governor was like that of the Roman Senate to Cincinnatus, to ask him to give up his agricultural efforts, and come and help to save the state, by accepting the office of Private Secretary to himself. This was an offer that any young man might have been proud of, and which anyone in the Colony would have jumped at. But Arnold had been trained in a higher school; he did not like colonial politics, and he did not much admire what he had heard of Sir G. Grey's policy [:] he declined it, to Sir George's surprise, and to mine also: though Domett said indignantly, 'of course he did'.

The last full year both Arnold and Collinson spent in New Zealand was 1849: Tom Arnold was by then teaching in his little school at Nelson, but there were further contacts both in Wellington and at the Wairau. At the end of the year Arnold left for Van Diemen's Land to take up a position as Inspector of Schools; within three months Collinson also was in Tasmania, where he spent a month on the first stage of his return journey to England, and became acquainted with the Sorell sisters (Tom Arnold was by this time engaged to Julia Sorell, whom he married in June 1850). The letter which follows is Arnold's first direct communication with his friend since their parting in Hobart in April 1850.

THOMAS ARNOLD TO CAPTAIN COLLINSON

Hobart Town Sept. 5th 1851

'Tena-koe, Karehana'

My dear Collinson

At a party at Mrs Postmaster Smith's the day before yesterday, Clarke told me that Sir William had heard from you and that in the letter you 'blew up' him and me for not having written. I confess my transgressions in this respect, and throw myself on your favourable consideration. But really I expected to have heard from you on your way home; instead of which you wrote to no one but Clarke. However I suppose you thought you would wait to hear how things fared with me. They fare, my dear friend, as well as a man's heart could wish or expect here below. I have not come to a compromise with my creditors, and am not likely to do so; although certainly, from having furnished a house on credit, I have a good many debts; but they are diminishing, not increasing; and that is the main point. Perhaps I should have done well to have taken your advice and waited a month or two so as to have saved up a little money to start upon; and yet – much might be said on the other side. But the sum of all is that I am very happy, and that Julia and I understand each other perfectly, and that we have a

little daughter who is the image of her mother, and (in the eyes of her papa) as beautiful as the morning.

I received from you not long ago a number of the Gateshead Observer with a letter in it written by your father, as appeared from the name and address at the foot of it in your handwriting. I suppose you meant by this to jog my memory. I heard of your arrival in England from Mr Dobson, and of your having met Mrs Charles Stanley in a letter from her to Clarke. The last thing I heard – and it gave me great pleasure – was that you had been appointed one of the Executive Committee to the Great Exhibition.

About this same Exhibition – what think you of it? Doubts sometimes cross my mind as to the unmixed good effects which are expected to flow from it. In the first place – though this might be called the ill timed suggestion of a pessimist – the contrast between the splendour of the Crystal Palace and the appalling misery and crime which seem to be more rife than ever in the lower strata of London social life, is enough by itself to cast a cloud over the brightness of the former. Secondly, it seems calculated to give a great impulse to the production of articles of mere luxury, and to stimulate the taste for a showy style of living; a taste which, as it is, urges so many silly and vain people to live above their means, and thus brings on insolvencies, by which in the end the labourer is the greatest sufferer. You must not however think me blind to the bright side of the picture – to that wonderful activity and various intelligence, which could plan, produce, and collect together such a multitude of objects of use or ornament; in one sense it is certainly a *great* exhibition; but it is a very measurable computable sort of greatness, overpower as it may the dazzled imaginations of newspaper editors. After all the Crystal Palace is but the Leviathan of shops; Prince Albert a fitting hero for a nation of ‘boutiquiers’; and the Napoleonic dictum still holds good.

Sept. 12th

Tomorrow the ‘Auriga’ sails, and I must take every opportunity of finishing this letter that I can get. My sisters in law, Gussie and Ada, are still unmarried, and Clarke still the ‘devoué serviteur’ of the former; I have not seen very much of Clarke since you went away. He is politic – rusé – diplomatic, fond of intrigue; and all this does not suit me. Yet I really like him, and he is almost the only man here of my own age whom I can talk to. We dined at Government House last night; it was rather a pleasant party. A beautiful specimen of the Sydney gold, as it is found alternating with quartz, was produced. The Governor has recently made a tour round the other side of the island, and has been winning thereby considerable popularity. Even at Launceston he was very well received. When he was returning, a party in Hobart Town resolved upon a public demonstration to welcome him back to his

'capital'. The thing was well got up; flags, triumphal arches, and all the rest, selon les règles; great crowds of people went to see the sight, such as had never been seen congregated in Hobart Town streets before. On the evening of the day that this took place a demonstration of the 'Native youths' and others took place, against Transportation. There was a great bon-fire on Knocklofty and Lord Grey was burnt in effigy. Certain parties unknown burnt Sir William in effigy also, though this had not been intended by those who got up the demonstration. Mr Knight the barrister, whom you may recollect, was present as a spectator during the affair; taking no other part in it than to join in the cheers for the Queen, Sir William Molesworth, and Mr Gregson; which perhaps he had better not have done. A few days after he was, rather needlessly I think, officially called to account for having been present at the meeting; and after a long interview with the Governor, he sent in his resignation of the two Commissionerships which he holds, and also the commission of the peace, in a thundering letter, which will I dare say be published.

I hope you will not forget to visit Fox How when you are in the North; you know I gave you a note to my mother expressly in the hope that you would go there. I wish too you would make my eldest brother's acquaintance, should you have an opportunity. Oddly enough he has been appointed an Inspector of schools! He was to be married at Whitsuntide to a Miss Wightman, daughter of the Judge. I think you would get on together very well.

The Nelson papers are sent to me regularly, so that I have not quite lost sight of that jolly little settlement. It is in a very sound and flourishing condition, owing chiefly to the land being in so many hands; which again is owing in no small degree to the Arbitration between the Company and the land-purchasers (in which I was Company's Arbitrator) which led to the distribution of a number of compensation awards in land scrip. This scrip being freely sold, has led to the excellent result above mentioned. I have written to Bell twice since I left Nelson, but have never heard from him. Weld has gone home; remember me to him if you see him. I heard from Dashwood the other day; he is still at 'Taikowaike'. Do you remember the walk we took together from Budge's along the Boulder Bank to the Bluff, and the singular grotto that we discovered?

Sept. 14th

I must close this letter, for it is late on Sunday night, and the 'Auriga' sails tomorrow morning. May all success attend you my dear Collinson, and may God bless you, wherever you go, and whatever you do. Do not quite forget

your sincere friend
T. Arnold

Here (avoiding excessive annotation) one may notice the Maori salutation ('Karihana' was Collinson's Maori name); the comments on Lieutenant Andrew Clarke, RE, who had been best man at Tom Arnold's wedding, and was then acting as private secretary to the Governor of Van Diemen's Land, Sir William Denison; the not misplaced pride of the young married Arnolds in their first child (who was to become the celebrated Victorian novelist, Mrs Humphry Ward); the typically idealistic reflections on the Great Exhibition, in which Collinson – again typically – was playing a modest practical part; and the amusing account of an early colonial 'demonstration' against the continued Transportation of convicts, which Denison stoutly supported. How Collinson might have got on with the Olympian Matthew Arnold we shall never know, though their cooler temperaments might have indeed proved congenial. The affectionate references to mutual friends in New Zealand that close the letter (Edwin Dashwood and William Budge were early Wairau settlers; 'Budge's island' at the Wairau bar ceased to be practicable farmland after the severe earthquake of 1855; the other names are familiar) show how strong the impression of New Zealand remained.

The subsequent career of Thomas Arnold was full of reversals and surprises – that was to be expected. Thomas Bernard Collinson (1822–1902) made his steady rise in the service, to retire in 1873 with the rank of Major-General. He married the daughter of a Chancellor of Durham Cathedral, his brother became an admiral and was knighted: he ends up, indeed, as something of an establishment figure. But when he sat down to write his memoir in retirement (1892–4), it was the New Zealand years that came most vividly to mind – the years of independent authority as a subaltern and captain that he never knew again as colonel; the years when he was closely associated with brilliant young men who believed they were helping to found 'an exceptional colony'.

James Bertram

NEW ZEALAND MANUSCRIPTS HELD IN AUSTRALIA

In 1969 I was awarded an Anzac Fellowship to seek out New Zealand historical research material held in Australia. Anzac Fellowships were established in 1967 in response to a suggestion by the then Prime Minister of Australia, the Right Honourable Harold Holt. Each country reciprocally awards two a year and the fields of interest which come within the conditions of the Fellowship are wide; agriculture, commerce, industry, the arts, and public service. The Fellowship's purpose is to further good relations and co-operation between the two countries.

New Zealand's historical research resources have benefited greatly from the co-operation of the Australian repositories which I visited. All of them willingly gave permission and staff-assistance for the copying of manuscripts and historical pictures. I am particularly grateful for the encouragement and help I received from Mr Gordon Richardson, OBE, Principal Librarian of the Library of New South Wales, and Sir Harold White, the then National Librarian.

It is not possible yet to issue a list of the manuscripts identified. In this article I will indicate only the type of manuscripts located and mention a few examples. One feature that seems to have emerged as the manuscripts have been catalogued is that, looked at as a whole, they reflect a pattern of relationships between New Zealand and Australia since the beginning of European settlement. That the pattern is sometimes disturbed a little is probably due to the activities of two notable collectors, David Scott Mitchell (1836-1907) and Mr Rex de C. Nan Kivell. Mr Mitchell purchased far outside his own state and country, and Mr Nan Kivell has made most of his purchases in Britain and Europe.

That two-thirds of the New Zealand manuscripts identified are held by the Mitchell Library is a tribute to the Library's founder and to those who vigorously acted on his collection policy after his death; it also evidences the degree of inter-relationship between New Zealand and New South Wales during the past 180 years. The decade represented by the greatest number of manuscripts is the 1840s. The holdings for the 1830s, fifties and sixties are fairly heavy and are closely followed by the 1820s. With the exception of literary manuscripts - which begin appearing regularly in the 1890s - surviving manuscripts for other decades are spread evenly but thinly.

A summary listing of the New Zealand highlights is in Miss Ida Leeson's book *The Mitchell Library*, (1936).

The bulk of the pre-1840 New Zealand records held in Australia is, as in New Zealand, of missionary origin. Chief amongst these, in influence and in the amount of shelving taken up by what has survived him, is Samuel Marsden (1764-1838). Some of the correspondence and

journals relating specifically to New Zealand have been separated out within the Mitchell Marsden collection, but there is other New Zealand material to be found in sequences that are mainly concerned with New South Wales and elsewhere. Because of the time that would have been needed to select the New Zealand material, and because there are sound arguments for not being able to approach an understanding of Marsden without his Australian context, many of the records of Marsden as landowner, litigant, clergyman, and magistrate, have been copied for the Turnbull.

For many years Sydney was the centre of Methodism in the South Pacific. Official papers of the Methodist Church of Australasia – Department of Overseas Missions, which was based on Sydney, are now in the Mitchell as well as important holdings of private papers of Methodist missionaries in the Pacific and New Zealand. Among these is a journal, 1830–82, of James Watkin (1805–1886) which includes 1840–44 entries, made at the mission at Waikouaiti, established at the request of Johnny Jones, the well-known whaler. The difficulties of proselyting one aspect of European life while another was in full swing not very far away are enlarged upon. Other Methodist material held is the diary, 1818–25, of Walter Lawry (1793–1859) which covers Lawry's departure for Tonga; a visit to the Bay of Islands in July 1822; and his sojourn in Tonga, 1822–23.

One of the large family collections held in the Mitchell is that of the King family which, in three generations, has had some contact with New Zealand. Philip Gidley King (1758–1808) was Lieutenant-Governor of Norfolk Island when Tuki and Huru were kidnapped to instruct convicts in the penal colony in flax dressing. Accounts of this affair and the return of the two men to New Zealand is given in papers held in both the Mitchell and National libraries. Philip Parker King (1791–1856) was a friend of Governor FitzRoy and Sir James Everard Home. Each of the men wrote to King and an interesting aspect of Home's letters, 1844–45, is his change in attitude to FitzRoy from relative sympathy to exasperation. The third generation of the family to be reminded of this country's existence was Philip Gidley King (1807–1904) who received many letters from G. W. Rusden (1819–1903) during, and just after, the Bryce v Rusden hearing, 1886.

The magnificent Macarthur collection contains a reference to New Zealand in a letter, 10 May 1810, written by G. Blaxcell (1777–1817) to John Macarthur in London, which encloses a copy of an earlier letter written 6 November 1810 '... in consequence of a report which prevails here that the "Boyd" has been cut off by the natives of New Zealand and every person on board massacred . . .'. Fifty-five years later John Macarthur's fourth son James (1798–1867) received a letter from Invercargill by a Duncan Macarthur which began: 'Sir, You may

probably remember being in the Caledonian Hotel Oban Scotland when you were on your European tour. I was proprietor of the Hotel at the time and before leaving you were kind enough to say that if ever I came to New South Wales you would be glad to be of service to me . . . In 1847 I gave up the hotel my wife and myself being of opinion that it was an unsuitable place to rear a family in . . .'. The letter goes on to describe how Duncan arrived in Otago in 1861 and ' . . . From want of colonial experience I unfortunately speculated . . .' and then mentions that his ' . . . object now in writing to you is to solicit the favour of your kind interference on my behalf . . .'.

Among the whaling records held in the Mitchell are those of Weller Brothers who operated in New Zealand out of Sydney. Covering the years 1832-41, they include drafts or copies of letters concerned with whaling in Otago; land transactions, shipments of timber, fish, and potatoes from Otago to Sydney; and a letter to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales requesting permission to purchase a howitzer and ammunition to protect their Otago shore party against the Cloudy Bay tribes. Governor Macquarie's papers include a transcript of a letter 27 January 1810 signed by Sydney merchants Simeon Lord, Alexander Riley, Thomas Kent, and Francis Williams, applying for permission to establish a settlement to obtain flax in the North Island and asking for Kent to be granted a Commission of Peace to assist him in dealing with marauding sailors. Fifteen pages, 1833-36, concerning Thomas McDonnell's (1788-1864) ownership and registration of the barque *Sir George Murray* built at Hokianga (and which, therefore, had registration problems); McDonnell's trading at Hokianga; Maoris in the timber trade, and the spread of Christianity among them are found in the papers of Alexander Riley (1784-1825) and his successors. An interesting journal, 1831-34, also copied, was kept by Henry Ransome, an ordinary seaman on board the whaler *Elizabeth* of London. Ransome paid three visits to the Bay of Islands totalling about two and a half months and gives what appears to be a description of the Bay and its European and Maori inhabitants that is neither exaggerated nor sensational. For those curious about the more notorious brig *Elizabeth* chartered by Ngati Toa to avenge themselves on Ngai Tahu, the Mitchell original of the agreements between Captain Stewart and his crew have been copied. Finally for the period up to the end of the 1840s it should be mentioned that the Australian background of many government officials in New Zealand at that time becomes evident when one sees the amount of material held on Sir George Grey (1812-1898), E. J. Eyre (1815-1901), and the Busby family.

Records of the 1850s are found in the journals of naval and merchant officers who called at New Zealand. George Newall, Master and Supercargo of the *Sea Breeze* provides an insight into the difficulties of

exchanging a cargo of coffee for one of gum in Auckland, in 1855. From 1851-59 *HMS Pandora* charted the New Zealand coast. One of the officers, Morton Jones, kept private journals during that time in which he included many maps and watercolours and descriptions of the settlers' society. Regarding these journals and other matters connected in one way or another with this article it is worth quoting a letter, 29 June 1911, written by Alexander Turnbull to S. P. Smith although the letter itself, having never left the Turnbull Library, is hardly a New Zealand manuscript held in Australia.

Dear Mr Smith,

Many thanks for so kindly sending me a leaf of the 'Lyttelton Times', dated 24 inst. containing the article headed 'Early Records'.

The catalogue referred to by the writer of this article was issued by a comparatively new firm of dealers in London who evidently are very enterprising in laying hands on literature and MSS. relating to Australasia, New Zealand and the South Seas: Morton Jones' Journal however must have been a new acquisition because it was not reported to me for sale but I have cabled and trust I may be in time to secure it for my collection. I likewise ordered some original sketches of Auckland but the set of six pictures by G. Hyde Page I had to let go as I did not feel able to pay the price especially in view of the fact that I do not make a point of collecting pictures.

There is nothing much else on Australasia in the catalogue not already in my library.

I told Mr Hamilton [the then Director of the Dominion Museum] about Page's pictures and he interviewed Mr Buddo [Minister of Internal Affairs] who, in turn, saw Sir James Carroll [Native Minister]. I likewise spoke to Mr Buddo and impressed upon him the necessity of cabling at once if the Government wished to secure them. I have not heard what has been done. [Five of the Pages were acquired by the Library by private sale after the Second World War.]

With so many keen and wealthy Australian collectors in the market one has to be 'spry' in seizing opportunities which present themselves in getting MSS. and rare books on Australasia and 'Taihoa - he no good' in cases such as the one I am alluding to.

Private collectors, such as the late Dr. Hocken of New Zealand and the late Mr Mitchell of New South Wales made considerable personal sacrifice to do the work that should have been done by the governments of their respective colonies, without hope or wish for reward, and only those who come after them will know and acknowledge the extent of the services rendered by these two gentlemen.

In New Zealand we have no National Library, no National Museum [apparently Mr Hamilton's institution did not qualify. See footnote 1,

p 32, Dr E. H. McCormick's *The fascinating folly* . . . Dunedin, 1961.] and no National Art Gallery whilst the important Australian States are supplied with these institutions by their governments who seem to recognise that besides the material welfare of the people, their mental welfare should also be provided for.

As you may wish to keep the 'Lyttelton Times' article I return it to you herewith and with kind regards.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Alex. H. Turnbull.

The soldiers who fought in the wars of the 1860s often had Australian connections. Regular regiments were sent to New Zealand from Australia and some volunteers were recruited there. A feature of the material written in the 1870s is the increasing number of diaries of a visit to the country by tourists.

The bulk of literary manuscripts held in the Mitchell written during the final years of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth seem to indicate that Sydney periodicals such as the *Bulletin* were a means of publication for many New Zealand writers to the degree that Sydney might then be regarded as one of New Zealand's literary centres. Many pieces of verse as well as literary correspondence are found in the papers of editors such as A. G. Stephens who corresponded with people like A. E. Currie, Edward Tregear, Jessie Mackay, and Hubert Church.

The second largest collection of New Zealand manuscripts held in Australia is in the National Library in Canberra. In the papers of Federal politicians held there you sometimes find reports on New Zealand issues similar to those they were concerned with and letters from New Zealand politicians. Similarly there is correspondence with New Zealand authors in personal papers of Australian writers held by the National Library. But the main source of New Zealand historical material held in the National Library is in the Nan Kivell Collection, one of the finest New Zealand, Pacific, and Australian collections of historical manuscripts and pictures acquired in the twentieth century. Much of the New Zealand material in it was bought in the 1920s, 30s, and 40s when the Turnbull was poorly financed. The remainder has been acquired in later years. If any proof were needed to show why a senior member of the Turnbull staff should be employed in London to seek out New Zealand research material held in Britain and Europe, it is furnished by seeing what Mr Nan Kivell collected. Many of the manuscripts in the collection are by missionaries and churchmen who probably sent them home to relatives in England. Among these were James Buller, G. A. Selwyn, and Richard Taylor. The Taylor papers, for example, cover the years 1839-68 and refer to the discovery

of Moa bones in 1839, the wars of the forties and sixties, and letters from Maori parishioners.

The Anzac Fellowship allowed me to visit the state libraries of South Australia, Victoria, and Tasmania and Trinity College Library and the Archives of the University of Melbourne. South Australia was the first Wakefield settlement so it is not surprising that the Archives of its State Library contains records with New Zealand connections. Chief among these are the papers, 1836-1942, of the Tinline family, particularly of John Tinline (1821-1907). Among the papers are deeds, accounts, sheep returns, and correspondence relating to Tinline's 'Lyndon' estate at Amuri. Also copied for Turnbull were papers relating to the South Australian activities of Sir George Grey, E. J. Eyre, and Sir Richard Hanson (1805-1876), and letters, 1844-45, written by Lady Grey to a South Australian friend.

In Hobart, Sir William Crowther has gathered one of the finest whaling collections in this part of the world and then generously donated it to the State Library of Tasmania. He has also given his kind permission for those of his whaling logs of interest to New Zealand to be copied. There are over a dozen of them and they cover the years 1829 to 1905. A notable old New Zealander who had close relatives in Hobart was F. E. Maning and the originals of his letters, 1844-66, to them on matters financial and personal but with comments on New Zealand and Hokianga, are found in the Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts of the State Library of Tasmania.

In the Library of Trinity College, University of Melbourne, is the G. W. Rusden collection, 1805-92, which contains much inwards correspondence from New Zealand beginning with Rusden's visit to New Zealand, the writing of his *History* . . . , its publication, and then Bryce's libel case. W. B. D. Mantell (1820-1895), whose personal papers are one of the Turnbull's most interesting and useful collections, was a close friend of Rusden's and evidence of this is found by the large number of his letters among Rusden's papers. Many of the other correspondents were either living in New Zealand at the time or associated with it. Among them are Octavius Hadfield, Sir Frederick Weld, Sir Arthur Gordon, F. E. Maning, F. D. Fenton and Sir John Gorst. Other Rusden manuscripts are found in the Library of the Royal Historical Society of Victoria which also holds a letter 29 September 1913 from Alexander Turnbull answering an enquiry about sketches or engravings of W. F. Evelyn Liardet of which Mr Turnbull had a few. Melbourne is said to be the financial centre of Australia and if you go to the Archives of the University of Melbourne you soon discover that it is one of New Zealand's financial centres. Among the business records in the Archives are those of the Kauri Timber Co for the years 1888-1954 containing photographs and maps of timber mills in the

Auckland and Westland provinces.

Finally I want to thank the Anzac Fellowship authorities for providing me with the generous means which allowed me to spend six months searching for these research sources.

R. F. Grover

AN ENQUIRY INTO CERTAIN NINETEENTH CENTURY PRINTS

THE HEAPHY LITHOGRAPHS

Probably the best known and the most popular pictures in New Zealand are the views of Thorndon, Te Aro and Nelson painted in 1841 by Charles Heaphy, v.c. (1820-81).¹ This supposition was confirmed when in 1963 'The Queen's Prints' inaugurated the annual series of Turnbull Library Prints. They were taken from the original Heaphy water-colours in the Library's collections which were once in the possession of the New Zealand Company and were acquired by Mr Turnbull in 1915 from Messrs Francis Edwards Ltd, London.² The edition of 1,500 sets of the three prints was sold out within two months and constant enquiries for the prints have continued since. In 1952 the Friends of the Turnbull Library had issued two smaller Heaphy prints from the 1839 view of sawyers in the kauri forest and the Thorndon view, titled *Wellington Harbour, showing the beach, now Lambton Quay, and Thorndon*. Both scenes were dated 1840. And now, in 1971, we have the publication by Avon Fine Prints Ltd, Christchurch, of reproductions of the Heaphy lithographs.

This therefore seems an appropriate time to publish some comments upon the early issues although it must be made clear at the outset that this survey raises more questions than it succeeds in answering.

It is apparent to anyone who makes a comparative study of the Heaphy lithographs that there are variant versions. Yet collectors of New Zealand prints do not realise what a rich field lies open to them in this one sequence alone. Although a few people have for many years been well aware of there being differences, it is difficult to obtain sufficient examples for study, and many copies are in very bad condition while some have been trimmed. The earlier issues, especially, are very subject to heavy foxing, as in the case of the Turnbull holdings. I understand that Avon had great difficulty in finding reasonably matching copies that could be used to make a set for reproduction and in printing them adjustments had to be made to obtain a suitable balance in colouring for all three.

The Turnbull collections contain a total of 22 Heaphy lithographs at the time of writing: over the years the founder's copies have been added to by gift and by purchase. It is now policy to buy additional copies that are certainly different from those already held.

For a considerable period I have been studying them and taking every opportunity of also inspecting all other examples which I could find. Several years ago Mrs Diana Pope (then the Library's Art Librarian) assisted me in drawing up a preliminary table of variant issues

and more recently Mrs Enid Ellis (also sometime Art Librarian at the Turnbull) and her husband and I have had lengthy and often acrimonious discussions of the problems encountered. At first my concern was only with the colouring – although this was hand-colouring in the early issues there are certain consistencies, overall. But I quickly became aware that the ‘black and white’ copies – in reality, lithographs in tint – also manifested variations among themselves. Differences in paper became quite obvious as soon as one studied this aspect. But from the outset the most baffling problem was that of there being different publishers.

A significant point is that certainly at least two separate sets of plates were used. With practice, one can soon detect marked variations between some versions. It soon became apparent that a great many Heaphy lithographs may virtually be regarded as forgeries, since new engravings had been made to produce lithographs that purported to be those of the first issue. Some indication of a few vital clues will be given later in this summary: they merely afford a means of instant identification between genuine(?) and forged(?) issues – the reason for the queries will become apparent below. Mr and Mrs Ellis analyse specific differences in some detail in their forthcoming book, *Early Prints of New Zealand, 1642–1875*, to be published by Avon.

First, a cursory glance at the early publishing history of the lithographs. The New Zealand Company was surprisingly modern in its approach to public relations. From the first the Company – or, Edward Gibbon Wakefield? – believed in taking the public into its confidence; or, up to a point, at least . . . Publications poured forth, extolling the merits of emigration, to New Zealand in particular; of this country as a whole; and of, above all, the Company’s settlements. *The New Zealand Gazette*, our first newspaper, issued the first number in London on 21 August 1839, before the first emigrants sailed. There was an enlarged second edition of the first number on 6 September.

The New Zealand Journal, published fortnightly in London, was also ostensibly independent³ but, in Hocken’s words, was ‘written in the interests of the New Zealand Company’.⁴ Initially it was printed and published by Henry Hobbs Chambers and edited by H. S. (later to be Mr Justice) Chapman, but an announcement for the fourth volume was issued with the 1843 bound-up edition of Chapman’s six 1842 papers of *The New Zealand Portfolio*. Here the *Journal* is given as being published by Smith, Elder and Co, Stewart and Murray (the firm’s printers) and Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh. It regularly printed enthusiastic reports from the happy colonists and followed the Company’s line against Governor Hobson.

In the first few years of colonisation more than a score of pamphlets and books were published, many written by employees and associates

of the Company although not all were sponsored by it. Brees, for example, after the expiration of his contract as their chief surveyor, 1842-45, had a dispute with the directors about the watercolours he had made here.⁵ Not all, by any means, were favourable to the Wakefields and their colleagues. In the second number of *The Australian and New Zealand Monthly Magazine* (published by Smith, Elder and Co), February 1842, a review of Theophilus Heale's book⁶ noted its 'dryness, egotism, and want of point, added to the grumbling vituperations projected against the New Zealand Company . . . '.

Smith, Elder and Co, founded in 1816 as booksellers, entered publishing in 1819, to become powerful as publishers, East India agents and bankers. Alexander Elder's 'love of art was responsible for the illustrated works' long published by them and 'the firm's interest in art assumed a considerable extension from 1840 onwards'; they even 'took some part of the business of the Art Union'.⁷

This was just the firm, reputable, prominent and enterprising, to become unofficially as it were official publishers to the New Zealand Company. Many of their publications were the forerunners of didactic and 'do-it-yourself' books with practical directions on the culture of sugar-cane and so on, including *A Treatise on Sheep, Addressed to the Flock-masters of Australia, New Zealand, and Southern Africa*. From 1840 they brought out in rapid succession and often in edition after edition, such works as *An Account of the Settlements of the New Zealand Company, from Personal Observations during a Residence there* by the Honourable Henry William Petre (son of Lord Petre, a prominent director of the Company) but actually written for him by Chapman; *The Climate and Capabilities of New Zealand* by William Swainson, FRS; and many more 'Works on Emigration' and 'Works on New Zealand'.

John Arrowsmith's many excellent maps were published by Smith, Elder, including of course his New Zealand maps, as well as detailed plans of Port Nicholson and Wellington by Captain W. Mein Smith, Surveyor-General to the New Zealand Company.

Thorndon

In any event, on 18 September 1841 in *The New Zealand Journal*, no 44, p 232, appeared a half-page woodcut 'Thorndon Flat, and Part of the City of Wellington, the First New Zealand Settlement' with the rest of the page occupied by a 'Key to the View of the City of Wellington'. Heaphy is not mentioned but the woodcut is taken directly from his Thorndon view, without the added figures of the lithograph. According to the lithograph Heaphy made his painting in April. In the *Journal*, no 41 of 7 August, p 193, we find that after some time without news from New Zealand, 'At length the Brougham has arrived, after an unprecedentedly quick passage of 92 days. She brings letters to the

5th May . . .'. She must also have brought Heaphey's watercolour to the Company.

On 2 October 1841 in *The New Zealand Journal*, no 45, p 243, is given 'The New Zealand Library: A Catalogue of Works relating to New Zealand' beginning with Cook's Voyages and ending on pp 245-6 with a section headed 'Engravings'. The first entry is Earle's *Sketches*, mis-dated 1837 and noted as 'now out of print'. There are only two other items. 'II. A View of the Harbour of Port Nicholson, looking up the Valley of the Hutt. Published by Moon. 1840. A very beautiful landscape from a sketch by Mr Heaphey.' [*sic* (The *Journal* was never very strong on names.)] The work referred to is the lithograph, by Allom, with a map of the harbour inset in the caption, 'Birdseye View of Port Nicholson, in New Zealand. Shewing the site of the Town of Wellington, the River and Valley of the Hutt and adjacent Country taken from the Charts and Drawings made during Col. Wakefield's Survey in October, 1839, and now in the possession of the New Zealand Company.' [Now a rare item.] The Library's lithograph in colour of No. II has been trimmed and lacks publisher's imprint but another, owned by a Wellington collector, is published by F. G. Moon, noted for his vast illustrated work *The Holy Land* by David Roberts, published over the period 1842-47. The Hocken Library, however, holds a different, uncoloured version published by Trelawny Saunders and printed by Hullmandel and Walton. Hullmandel took Walton into partnership in 1843. Another such copy is in private hands in Wellington. Although Hullmandel and Walton remained active until the 1850s, by the time of the death of the founder in 1850 Day and Haghe had replaced the firm as the leading lithographic printers.

'III. A View of part of the Town of Wellington, and a portion of the shore of Lambton Harbour. From a drawing by Mr. Heaphey, with a Key. Published by Smith and Elder. Oct. 1, 1841. This beautiful lithographic drawing may be obtained, either plain or coloured; and, although it embraces only a small part of the town, it is, we are assured, extremely correct.' There is a brief review of the print on p 250. 'This is a neatly executed lithographic drawing from an original by Mr. Heaphey. The woodcut in our last number was from the same original, but the larger print is, of course, much more picturesque. It is an excellent companion to Moon's print of Port Nicholson, published last year.'

Duppa's New Plymouth and Heaphey's Mount Egmont

After such attention, Smith, Elder apparently did not feel it necessary to advertise the Thorndon view in the *Journal*, which afforded further free publicity on 30 October, no 47, p 274, to: 'A large Panoramic view of the New Plymouth Settlement in the district of Taranaki. - Showing the range of houses recently built by the natives, in anticipation of the

arrival of the emigrants, with Mount Egmont in the distance, from a drawing by George Duppa,⁸ Esq. Smith, Elder, and Co., Cornhill. This is a view of the west coast of New Zealand from Cape Egmont and the Sugar Loaf Islands, to Point Albatross and the Gannet Islands. It makes a pleasing landscape, and may be had either plain or coloured. The cheapness of this and the other prints and plans lately published by Smith, Elder, and Co., bring them within reach of a large body of purchasers.'

The reason for mentioning this Duppa lithograph, now also a rare item, is that the publishers seem to have concentrated their attention upon it rather than upon the fourth and rarest Heaphy lithograph, that of New Plymouth and Mount Egmont published possibly in December 1841, which must now be considered before the Te Aro view is dealt with. Considered by many to be one of our finest colonial paintings, 'Mount Egmont from the Southward', a highly stylised personal interpretation by Heaphy, remains in the words of Eric McCormick 'one of the few satisfying paintings of that inspiration – and snare – for New Zealand artists.'⁹ The Turnbull is fortunate to possess it and, interestingly enough, a small faint pencil sketch that is obviously Heaphy's preliminary study. Of the four Heaphy lithographs, the Egmont is furthest from the watercolour – which was published in 1964 in the second series of Turnbull Prints – and it seems possible that there was an alternative watercolour, for Allom in the lithograph returns much more closely to the pencil sketch.

Although I once thought that Heaphy might have made the sketch in 1839 when he sailed up the western coast with Colonel Wakefield in the *Tory*, this does not now seem possible. The first sight of the mountain must certainly have impressed the young artist vastly – and may have been the genesis of the watercolour we know ('emotion recollected in tranquillity') – and Jerningham Wakefield records that between 18 and 27 November as the *Tory* sailed from Kapiti to New Plymouth, 'during the next seven days we were tormented by fresh gales from between west and north during the day, and calm moonlight nights. . . . We enjoyed magnificent views of Tonga Riro, a high snowy mountain about ninety miles from the coast, in which the Whanganui takes its rise, and also of Mount Egmont or Taranaki. The latter forms a beautiful object from the sea. It rises gradually and evenly from a circle thirty or forty miles in diameter, one-third of which circle is formed by the sea.'¹⁰ But Heaphy's view, in all three versions, is certainly inland: and there is no mention of any landing being made, except by Dieffenbach and Barrett only when the site of New Plymouth, Ngamotu, was reached.

This means that the most likely occasion would have been in September 1840, when Heaphy travelled to Ngamotu and back with the

Company surveyors Stokes and Park. The report by Stokes to Mein Smith on his trip was published in *The New Zealand Journal* in two successive issues and in the second part, on 30 October 1841, no 47, p 266, we find that at Waimate Pah about 25 miles before the party came to Otuamatua, they 'saw Mount Egmont for the first time since our departure from Wanganui' [where it had been visible 'in the extreme distance'], 'its sides covered with snow, and its head buried in the clouds; the base of the mountain appeared about twenty miles distant.' Significantly enough, as we shall see shortly, on the homeward journey, wrote Park, 'between Otuamatua and Oaudi, we saw several clearings the natives had made for potatoes . . . we were now travelling round the base of Mount Egmont, which rises very gradually and majestically from a vast level plain. From the edge of the cliff, to where the wood commences, is about four or five miles; this is covered with fern, flax, grass, and other vegetation . . . the wood continues to the base of the mountain, and covers its sides to rather more than a third of its height; the space above this to the snow is free from wood; and at this period, a third of the height of the mountain was covered with snow.' Despite discrepancies, there is no little correspondence between what Stokes wrote and the Heaphy view.

It is difficult to know exactly when the Egmont lithograph was first published but as mentioned earlier it would seem likely to have been about December 1841. The Plymouth Company, founded in January 1840 to colonise Taranaki, had run into financial difficulties through the failure of its bankers and by a deed dated 10 May 1841 was merged with the New Zealand Company,¹¹ which set up a West of England Board with offices in Plymouth; and which now had a more immediate interest in New Plymouth. *The New Zealand Journal* on 2 October 1841 reviewed *Information respecting the Settlement of New Plymouth in New Zealand* . . . compiled under the direction of the West of England Board of the New Zealand Company. London: Smith Elder & Co., 1841. In this booklet Appendix (No 1) by F. Dillon Bell, is dated 16 September 1841.

The lithographed frontispiece of this work with no engraver's name given, is the Duppa view, titled 'Part of the New Plymouth Settlement in the District of Taranake, New Zealand'. The sub-title also has the information about 'the Range of Houses' given above, but adds 'Mount Egmont, 30 miles distant'.

On both sides of the back wrapper Smith, Elder advertise their Works on New Zealand, including Petre's *An account* . . . and, 'Just Published, price 3s. plain, and 5s. coloured, with a descriptive Key, A LARGE VIEW OF LAMBTON HARBOUR, IN PORT NICHOLSON, NEW ZEALAND, Comprehending the Water Frontage of the Town of Wellington, Beautifully executed in Tinted Lithography, from the Original Draw-

ing, by C. Heaphy, Draughtsman, to the New Zealand Company'. And, 'Just Published, price 5s., beautifully tinted, A LARGE PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE NEW PLYMOUTH SETTLEMENTS, in the Districts of Taranaki, New Zealand; Taken from the Anchorage Bay, shewing the range of Houses recently built by the Natives, in anticipation of the arrival of Emigrants, &c. From a Drawing taken on board the "Brougham", by George Duppa, Esq.'.

Petre's book *An account of the settlements of the New Zealand Company* . . . , however, carries as its first plate facing p [5] Heaphy's Thorndon view, 'Drawn by Ch^s Heaphy. Engraved by J. C. Armytage.' It is not from the watercolour but from Allom's large lithograph with the added figures and was described as having been 'reduced and engraved to accompany these pages'. Petre considered the engraving as a 'faithful picture of what actually existed at the time'.

A second lithograph in the first edition of Petre facing p 24 is the Duppa view again, exactly as in *Information respecting . . . New Plymouth* (clearly lithographs from the same stone) with a footnote to the text: 'The accompanying view of the site of New Plymouth is taken from a drawing made on the spot by one of the Company's surveyors. - H.W.P.' But in the advertisements at the end of the 3rd edition, 1841, is: 'Price 3s. plain and 5s. coloured. A LARGE VIEW OF MOUNT EGMONT; Taken from the North Shore of Cook's Straits, New Zealand; the foreground shewing the Natives burning off Wood for Potato Grounds. Executed in the highest style of Tinted Lithography by T. Allom, from a drawing by Charles Heaphy.' The Duppa view of New Plymouth is here advertised as being also available at 3s, plain. The second and later editions show the engraver as J. C. Armytage, the plates being at pp 19 and 28 respectively. In the 4th edition, 1842, all the lithographs were still 'Just Published'. By May 1842, when the 5th edition of Petre was advertised, a cheaper edition was also available, without the folding map supplied in the five dearer editions and with the two lithographs replaced by woodcuts of the same two views. It had been available while the 4th edition was still being advertised. Both the Armytage lithographs were used also in Chapman's *The New Zealand Portfolio* (1843).

In the 3rd edition of Petre, among Smith, Elder's publications advertised are two items that are relevant to this enquiry. One was *The New Zealand Almanack for 1842*, which I have not been able to sight. It was described by the publisher as a large royal sheet . . . 'With a View of Lambton Harbour and Wellington' and the likelihood is that Smith, Elder would again make use of the Thorndon view. Also advertised was *How to Colonize . . .* by Ross D. Mangles, Esq, MP, which includes at p [55] 'A Statement of Ships Despatched by the New Zealand Company, up to 13 November 1841'. Although only the Heaphy

Thorndon and the Duppa New Plymouth are included in the advertisements, since the title-page bears the date 1842 it is probable that it came out in January of that year and the 3rd edition of Petre – and the Heaphy Egmont lithograph – in December 1841. There is little consistency in Smith, Elder's advertising of the lithographs, for in their *Index Reference to accompany Plan of the Town of New Plymouth* . . . from the original Survey by Frederick A. Carrington, published about September 1842, the Duppa view and the Heaphy Egmont only are listed: and both are still 'Just Published'.

Nelson

In November 1841 Heaphy was with Captain Arthur Wakefield, RN, when the latter founded Nelson, but almost immediately on his return to Wellington sailed for England with despatches to the Company from Colonel Wakefield. He left on 28 November¹² in the schooner *Balley*, which reached London at the end of March 1842.

The stores brig *Arrow* was the first ship of Arthur Wakefield's expedition to enter Nelson Haven, on 1 November 1841. In her honour, wrote Wakefield, 'Fired a gun and gave three cheers'. On 4 November the *Will Watch* was taken in but the *Whitby* grounded on the Arrow Reef. She was lightened and hove off the next day. As soon as the material could be unloaded, the erection of a wooden prefabricated emigrants' barracks had begun, opposite Haulashore Island and the Arrow Rock. Wakefield noted that by 16 November the building was being roofed and on 20 November one wing of the barracks was completed.

The *Arrow*, taking Heaphy to Wellington, set off on 17 November but grounded and did not sail until 20 November. In his view of Nelson Haven Heaphy shows the well at the right foreground and the barracks building at the left, so apparently made his picture just before he sailed, possibly adding finishing touches on 20 November. It has occasioned some comment that he seems to have too many ships in the view, but the answer seems to be that he was following an accepted 'artistic convention' in showing one ship twice. The *Whitby* was towed in by the ships' boats after her grounding and we see this taking place and the three vessels are also all depicted at anchor in the Haven. Another ship leaving Nelson, out in Tasman Bay, may represent the schooner *Eliza* which had come in on 6 November and sailed on 9 November; or, more probably, the *Arrow* departing.

In the invaluable *New Zealand Journal* the editor notes, no 58, of 2 April 1842, p 77, 'Our intelligence by the *Balley* reaches the 27th November' and, p 75, quotes a despatch from Colonel Wakefield, dated 24 November 1841: 'I have engaged with Mr Heaphy to proceed in the *Balley*. He will take with him the charts and drawings he has

made during his late trip to Tasman's Gulf . . . '.

As a result, in no 64, of 25 June 1842, p 155, reviews include: '1. *A View of Nelson Haven in Tasman's Gulph*: including part of the included [*sic*] town of Nelson. 21 inches by 14. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 65, Cornhill. 2. *A View of part of the Town of Wellington*: looking towards the south-east, and comprising one-third of the water frontage. (Uniform with the above.) London: Smith, Elder, and co., 65 Cornhill. When we inform our readers that these lithograph prints are executed by Allom, from watercolour drawings made by Heaphey, the Company's draftsman, in November last, we need scarcely say another word in favour of their fidelity and beauty. It is well known to all who are connected with New Zealand, that Heaphey's drawings are portraits. He possesses what has been called an "educated eye", and even without being acquainted with the spot, a bare inspection convinces one that the drawing must be a likeness – an impression confirmed by all that are acquainted with the subjects of Heaphey's faithful pencil. Allom, on his part, has done ample justice to the originals; his productions are, as usual, exquisite specimens of lithography, and the cheapness at which they are brought out will place them within the reach of a large class of persons interested in the colony.

'The view of Nelson is calculated to prepossess the spectator in favour of the site of the new Colony; that of Wellington requires the spectator to turn his back upon the view first published, looking N.E., and the two together embrace about two-thirds of the water frontage of the town of Wellington. They impress us with a conception of the excellence of the harbour, and aided by the Surveyor-General's plan of the town, and the chart of the harbour, give us a pretty accurate notion of the site of the first Colony.'

This time, in spite of so superlative a puff, Smith, Elder did not rely on it alone, and on p 156 of the same number ran this advertisement, repeated on p 168 of no 65 of 9 July 1842: 'VIEWS RECENTLY TAKEN IN NEW ZEALAND. Just published, on a scale of 21 × 14 inches, price 2s6d tinted; and 5s. beautifully coloured after nature. *A VIEW OF NELSON HAVEN, IN TASMAN'S GULF*, including part of the intended Town of Nelson.'

TE ARO

'Also, uniform with the above, *A VIEW OF THE TOWN OF WELLINGTON*, looking towards the South East, and comprising one-third of the water frontage. "These splendid views are exquisitely drawn on stone, by J. [*sic*] Allom, from the original paintings made in November last, by C. Heaphey, draftsman to the New Zealand Company, and convey a most faithful and complete idea of the general scenery of this very beautiful and interesting country." – *London*

Review. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 65, Cornhill.'

Apparently no key to this Te Aro view was published. Note that the newly published lithographs in tint are priced at only 2s6d as against 3s for the Thorndon view and the Duppa New Plymouth. The coloured versions of all remain constant at 5s. Interestingly, in some advertisements the Duppa is offered only in colour and then appears again later both in tint and in colour. The Heaphys were always offered in both options. Charles Ritter's *The Colonization of New Zealand*. Translated from the German, from Smith, Elder and reviewed in the *Journal* on 1 May 1842 carries a translator's preface dated April 1842 and advertises the Thorndon and Duppa views – both 'Just Published', the Duppa offered only in colour – and Heaphy's Egmont in tint and colour. In Heaphy's own *Narrative*, in September, the publishers' advertisements at the back, under 'Views, Plans, etc.' include the same items as Ritter, but they follow a repetition of the *Journal* advertisement for the Te Aro and Nelson views, including the *London Review* quotation.

New Zealand, Nelson, the Latest Settlement of the New Zealand Company, by Kappa [the 'p's are Greek on the title-page], published by Smith, Elder, was noted in the *Journal*, no 72 of 15 October 1842, p 251. Dr Hocken attributes the work to John Ward.¹³ On the next page of the same issue of the *Journal* is this advertisement: 'The author of "Nelson, the Latest Settlement of the New Zealand Company", who is a surgeon, accustomed to naval affairs, proposes proceeding to . . . Nelson in the spring of 1844 with his family and is desirous of communicating with respectable parties intending to emigrate, whose views are similar to those expressed in that pamphlet. . . .' On p 7 of the pamphlet he wrote of 'The accounts already received from Nelson, accompanied by the pretty coloured-drawing by Heaphy, (in which our old friends, the *Whitby* and *Will Watch*, are again introduced to us, in their holiday clothes,) . . .'

Charles Heaphy's own only major publication, of 142 pages, '*Narrative of a Residence in Various Parts of New Zealand*. Together with a Description of the Present State of the Company's Settlements. By Charles Heaphy, Draftsman to the New Zealand Company. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 65, Cornhill. 1842.' was favourably reviewed at length, apparently from an advance copy, in the *New Zealand Journal*, no 68, of 20 August 1842, pp 202–3. It may not have been by chance that in the same issue appeared proposals for the founding of a fourth settlement, in the Canterbury area reported upon by Duppa and Daniells in early 1841. In no 69 of 3 September, at p 209 'On 1st August was published *The New Zealand Portfolio*', the first number being reviewed at p 213. At p 216 an extract from the *Colonial Gazette* records that among about 170 immigrants sailing on the emigrant ship

Prince of Wales (582 tons – ‘built especially for the “passenger-trade”, and her accommodations are very superior’) was ‘Mr C. Heaphy, late the Company’s draughtsman in the colony’.

On the same page: ‘This day is published, price 2s6d, cloth, NARRATIVE OF A RESIDENCE IN VARIOUS PARTS OF NEW ZEALAND, together with a Description of the present state of the Company’s Settlements. By Charles Heaphy. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 65, Cornhill.’ No 70 of the *Journal*, 17 September, p 235, publishes a letter from Heaphy, written from Gravesend on 1 September, urging the setting up of a committee to encourage industrial development in New Zealand, in which he has great faith.

Heaphy sailed for New Zealand in the *Prince of Wales* on 2 September 1842, the day before the publication of his *Narrative*, and after a quick passage he arrived back in Nelson on 22 December.¹⁴ In the *Journal*, no 66 of 23 July, p 180, was an advertisement (repeated in the next issue, p 192): ‘NEW ZEALAND AGENCY. Messrs. Nattrass and Heaphy being about to return to the New Zealand Company’s Settlements in Cook’s Straits, intend (should sufficient inducement offer) to undertake the Agency of Land and other Property. Having been resident in the Colony from its formation, and being practically acquainted with each of the Company’s settled districts, and with mercantile affairs, they feel confident that the execution of any commissions entrusted to their care would give entire satisfaction. . . .’ It would seem that sufficient inducement did not offer. Although he took up some land in the Motueka Valley which he named Poenamu Farm,¹⁵ he did not spend more than four consecutive months farming.

He carried out some exploration and survey work for the New Zealand Company in the Nelson district from time to time but gradually he did more such work for the government as a free-lance until in March 1848 Ligar, the Surveyor-General, appointed him draughtsman in the Auckland Survey Office,¹⁶ so beginning his long and distinguished career as a civil servant. That Heaphy had left the employ of the Company while in England is confirmed by the Fifth Report of the Directors, 31 May 1842: ‘Your Directors are informed by Mr. Heaphy, late their draftsman in the colony,* (several of whose interesting views have already been published,) that when he left Wellington in November last . . . *The passages hereafter quoted from Mr Heaphy, have been taken from a pamphlet now in preparation for the press by that gentleman, and communicated by him to the Directors.’

Heaphy was therefore in the direct employ of the Company for only about three years, not for twelve as stated in Scholefield¹⁷ and elsewhere. Over the next few years his occupation varied in the jury lists published each February in *The Nelson Examiner* – Surveyor, Motuaka [*sic*], 1844; Surveyor, Trafalgar Street, Nelson, 1845; Gentleman, Nile

Street, Nelson, 1846; Artist, Collingwood Street, 1847; Draftsman, Bronti [*sic*] Street, 1848.¹⁸ His future official posts were to be as diverse, but similarly loosely clustered around his surveying interests.

Another frequent assumption is that the artist himself supervised the engraving of the Heaphy lithographs by Allom. We have seen that this could not have been so as to the Thorndon and Egmont views, although it is probable that he could have been concerned with those of Te Aro and Nelson. Many of Heaphy's watercolours received by the Company were date-stamped on receipt (usually about five months after despatch from New Zealand), which often provides a useful clue as to the approximate date he made the picture. The original paintings of the four lithographs are not stamped.

Titles of Watercolours and Lithographs

The Thorndon watercolour is signed *Cha^s Heaphy* at lower left, and titled *Thorndon Flat and part of the City of Wellington*, in ink in the artist's hand. The Te Aro watercolour is signed *Cha^s Heaphy*, again in ink but at lower right, with no title given by the artist. In another hand is inscribed in pencil at left on the lower margin: 'Drawn in September 1841 by C. Heaphy, Draftsman to the New Zealand Company' and, below this, centred, the title used for the lithograph. But this was first written to read: 'comprising a portion' – 'a portion' has been crossed out in pencil and the title continues with the words 'about one-third'. The Nelson watercolour conforms in presentation, with *Cha^s Heaphy* in ink at lower right; and pencilled in another hand, 'Drawn in November 1841 by C. Heaphy . . .' followed as before by the title of the lithograph. The original title in ink by Heaphy, 'Nelson Haven', is crossed out in pencil. The Egmont watercolour is signed as before *Cha^s Heaphy*, lower left, and is titled in ink: 'Mt Egmont from the southward'. Below, in another hand, is pencilled 'New Zealand'. The pencil sketch is roughly titled at the top, 'Mt Egmont from the S.'

There are variations in the captioning of the lithographs. The Thorndon view is given as: 'Drawn in April, 1841, by Cha^s Heaphy Draughtsman to the New Zealand Company', at left. In centre, 'Printed by C. Hullmandel'. At right, 'T. Allom lithog.' There follows the title as already given in the Smith, Elder advertisements, 'Part of Lambton Harbour . . .'. Below the title: 'Published for the New Zealand Company by Smith Elder & Co., Cornhill, London.'. The Te Aro view is quite different, commencing at left with: 'On Stone by T. Allom, from a Drawing made in September, 1841, by C. Heaphy, Draftsman to the New Zealand Company'. At right: 'Printed by C. Hullmandel'. Below is the title advertised: 'View of a Part of the Town of Wellington . . .'. Nelson Haven matches Te Aro except for the substitution of ' . . . a drawing made in November 1841 . . .'. Mount

Egmont has: 'Lithographed by T. Allom from a Drawing by Cha^s Heaphy, Draftsman to the New Zealand Company' at left. 'Printed by C. Hullmandel' at right.

Variations in Lithographs (First Issue)

It should be noted that although we have always assumed that all four lithographs were published by Smith, Elder and Co for the New Zealand Company, I have no record of this having been sighted on any Te Aro or Nelson lithographs, although it is stated on all the early Thorndon and Egmont lithographs which have been sighted. Yet Smith, Elder advertised all four among their publications for many years. The Library, and other, early issues of Te Aro and Nelson bear no publisher at all, nor any reference to their being published for the Company.

Since the lithographs were intended to encourage emigration, Allom made some important changes in the views by introducing figures of the contented colonists going about their daily business. Otherwise he was much more faithful to the original than many engravers were. (It is distressing to find some so-called historians in this country making erroneous assumptions based on the evidence of lithographs, which are notoriously unreliable, particularly so in many cases due to variations made by the engraver.) That Allom was successful in his endeavours is shown by the review quoted above concerning the lithograph that 'is calculated to prepossess the spectator in favour of the site of the new colony.'

In the Thorndon view Allom introduced two groups of Maoris beside the flagpole and a top-hatted gentleman in a frock-coat, George Hunter (of Bethune and Hunter), first Mayor of Wellington.¹⁹ There are, as in all four prints, other minor changes and additions. The Te Aro view gains Scotsmen milking the goats at the right, while the couple riding on the beach have been re-adjusted in position and direction. The Nelson view has lost its well, replaced by an affable Maori of whom no prospective emigrant might be afraid as he tends his fire; and at the left a large tree-trunk has been added, with three healthy settlers working on it. The Egmont view, as mentioned before and as may be seen in the accompanying illustrations, suffered the greatest change, with the introduction of much extraneous material, including Maoris, but in general tending further toward the pencil sketch than the water-colour.

In the production of the lithographs we again find the Company acting as might be expected, in the grand manner – Heaphy had written²⁰ from Nelson in November 1841 that 'no expense was spared' by the Company. Thomas Allom (1804–72),²¹ was distinguished as an architect but was as much an artist, and specialised in drawings for

illustrated works. For many years he exhibited at the Royal Academy. He had already engraved the *Birdseye View* published by Moon in 1840. Later he was to etch the four views of Lyttelton and Canterbury (one by Miss Mary Townsend afterwards Mrs Dr Donald, and three by Sir William Fox), which with their descriptive text constituted no 11 of the *Canterbury Papers*, 1851. The publisher, John W. Parker and Son, at the same time issued the plates as a separate volume, priced at 2s 6d, *The Four Illustrative Views of the Canterbury Settlement*. The artist's son, Albert James Allom, emigrated to New Zealand as one of Brees's survey team, arriving with him in the *Brougham*, 9 February 1842. H. S. Chapman was a friend of the family. I have seen one water-colour painted by young Allom, of the Resident Agent's house at Nelson.

As for the printer, Charles Joseph Hullmandel (1789–1850) was one of the leading lithographers of his day, who contributed to the introduction of the art into England, who was noted for the delicacy of his work and who invented the lithotint process. Lithographs in tint were printed by the use of two separate stones but lithotints used a process requiring only one stone. A number of outstanding lithographs and illustrated books were printed by Hullmandel.²²

Up to this point we have been considering what are undoubtedly the first issue of the Heaphy lithographs. They are rather rare, usually badly foxed and seldom in good general condition. Although the hand-colouring varies, the majority appear to be in rich and deep colourings, with a predominance of a rather deep blue – which may even have inspired the 'blue' Hoytes which were, and still are, so popular.

Second Issue

We come now to the major problem, the presumed 'second issue' of the lithographs, identical with the first except that these bear the name of a different publisher – 'London: Published & Sold by Trelawny Saunders, Colonial Library, 6, Charing Cross'. It would seem significant that again it has always been presumed that there were Trelawny Saunders issues of all four views, yet again I have no record of any Trelawny Saunders issues of Thorndon or Egmont. All sighted have been of Te Aro and Nelson only, and these have all been lithographs in tint, none being hand-coloured. The engraving is nevertheless identical with that of the first issue which bears no publisher. (No Thorndons nor Egmonts without publisher have been sighted.)

The last publication of the first issue so far located is at the back of Smith, Elder's 1849 *An Account of the Settlement of New Plymouth in New Zealand* . . . by Charles Hursthouse, Jun., in a 'Catalogue of Smith, Elder & Co.'s Publications. Works in the Press.', separately paged. The

VARIANT VERSIONS OF THE HEAPHY LITHOGRAPHS AS RECORDED AT THE ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

NB Smith, Elder & Co advertised all four views as their publications until at least 1849

THORNDON (April 1841) 1st issue, 1 October 1841 published by Smith, Elder for New Zealand Company. <i>The publisher's hand-colouring is rich, with a deep brightish blue predominant (Uncoloured copies are lithographs in tint)</i>	EGMONT [September 1840] 1st issue, ? December 1841 published by Smith, Elder for New Zealand Company.	TE ARO (September 1841) 1st issue, June 1842 no publisher given.	NELSON (November 1841) 1st issue, June 1842 no publisher given.
Re-engraved, date unknown; 'published by Smith, Elder for New Zealand Company' <i>The standard hand-colouring is more subdued, with a yellowish-green predominant (Te Aro, only, is recorded as a black and white lithograph, not a lithograph in tint)</i>	Re-engraved, date unknown; 'published by Smith, Elder for New Zealand Company'	2nd issue, date unknown published by Trelawny Saunders <i>Uncoloured lithographs in tint</i>	2nd issue, date unknown published by Trelawny Saunders
As above	As above <i>In the few copies recorded, the hand-colouring is much paler and softer</i>	As above	As above
As above, but believed to be post-World War II	As above, but believed to be post-World War II <i>The hand-colouring is very bright indeed; Maori cloaks are yellow in Thorndon and Nelson</i>	As above, but believed to be post-World War II	As above, but believed to be post-World War II

second to last page, p 31, under the heading 'Embellished Works and Prints', has: 'VIEWS OF SETTLEMENTS IN NEW ZEALAND:- View of Wellington, New Zealand. Plain 3s., coloured 5s. View of Lambton Harbour, New Zealand. . . . View of New Plymouth, New Zealand. . . . View of Mount Egmont, New Zealand. They . . . exhibit the appearance of the country under the influence of colonization; showing the first habitations of the settlers, and the dawns of commerce and civilization on a savage state. They are executed in tinted Lithography by Mr. Allom.' Already Heaphy's views were becoming of historical interest as a record of the beginnings of the colony. The prices are identical for each print. All the plain copies are now 3s; and the Nelson view is not listed.

It should be mentioned that this catalogue is dated January, 1848, although in the 1849 publication. A similar list dated July 1846, with an identical entry to the above for the lithographs, is included in Smith, Elder's 1847 publication, George French Angas's *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand* . . .

I have been unable to find any advertisements as yet for the Trelawny Saunders issue of Heaphy lithographs. Surprisingly, neither *The New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* nor *The Illustrated London News* (which commenced in 1842) carry any reference to the lithographs, although the latter frequently presented New Zealand illustrations. But at p 206 in the issue of 25 March 1853 the *Illustrated London News* does have a woodcut after Heaphy's Te Aro watercolour, 'introducing to our readers a series of engravings illustrative of the boundless material resources of these islands . . .'. These took so long to eventuate that there may have been plans, later abandoned, to use the lithographs.

Trelawny Saunders, himself a geographer, minor publisher and one-time temporary librarian to the Royal Geographical Society, has proved somewhat elusive. There are however a number of traces of his publishing activities.²³ A full-page advertisement on p [3] of the *Canterbury Papers Advertiser* to no 1-2, 1850, has: 'Extract from Trelawny Saunder's Catalogue of Recent Publications on Emigration and Colonization . . . Saunder's Colonial Reading Rooms are supplied with New Zealand Newspapers . . .'. The *New Zealand Journal* is included. In 1848 Kingston's *The Colonist* was published by Trelawny Wm. Saunders, 6 Charing Cross (a threepenny 32p periodical); in 1849, Scott's *Colonial Inquiry*, a 24-page speech, and Torrens's *Letters* in a collected 2nd edition of over 200 pages, with the same imprint; 1851, Knowles's *The Canterbury Settlement*, 27 pages; and 1852 Southey's *The Rise, Progress, and Present State of Colonial Sheep and Wools*, 333 pages, published by Effingham Wilson, 'also by T. W. Saunders, Charing Cross' and by a firm in Leeds.

Further, in 1851 Weld's *Hints to Intending Sheep-Farmers in New*

Zealand (12 pages) was published by Trelawny Saunders, 6 Charing Cross and the 2nd edition (15 pages) in 1853 by Saunders and Stanford of the same address. (Hocken, p 164, incorrectly gives the 2nd edition, from these partners, in 1851.) By 1857 Edward Stanford, alone, of 6 Charing Cross, brought out Hursthouse's *New Zealand, or Zealandia, The Britain of the South*, and other imprints confirm that Trelawny Saunders had ceased obvious association at this period.

Since Edward Stanford obviously took over Trelawny Saunders' publishing business after being in partnership with him, he may have been responsible for the early lithographs that bear no imprint. Yet this seems out of character, for on the inside of the back wrapper of *Canterbury Papers*, New Series, no 1, March 1859, is an advertisement for 'Books, Maps, and Views, Descriptive of New Zealand, published by Edward Stanford, 6 Charing Cross, S.W.'. The 'Views' section features – unsuspected and I believe hitherto not noted – '*Pictorial Illustrations of New Zealand*, by S. C. Brees . . . Price 21s. (published at £2.2s.)'. [The editions of 1847–49 were published by John Williams and Co, Library of Arts.] Perhaps these were merely remainders.

Trelawny Saunders was also the author and publisher in 1853 of *The Asiatic Mediterranean, and its Australian Port: The Settlement of Port Flinders, and the Province of Albert, in the Gulf of Carpentaria, practically proposed*, where he describes himself in the title-page as 'Cosmographer; Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and of the Statistical Society of London.', and gives his address as 31 Torriano Terrace, Kentish Town.

The book advocates the formation of a new colony, Albert, in the far north of Australia, but whether he personally visited Australia is uncertain.

The article in *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol 42, 1872, pp 513–6, *Notes to accompany the map of Ttahuantin-Suyu, or the Empire of the Yncas*, by Trelawny Saunders, reveals that he also compiled the large folding map, based on an article in the preceding volume by Clements R. Markham, the Secretary of the Society. This is apparently the sole contribution by Saunders to the *Journal*. The total evidence provides little reason to explain why he was 'so eminent a geographer', as Markham described him.

Evidence of his further association with the publication of New Zealand views is his imprint – as Trelawney [*sic*] Saunders – on the uncoloured lithographs of two Otago pencil sketches by Charles Kettle. These are the 'View of the Lower Harbour of Otago from Port Chalmers' and the 'View of part of Dunedin, and Upper Harbour, from Stafford Street'. The originals of these lithographs were included among the New Zealand Company pictures purchased by Mr Turnbull from Francis Edwards. Both the drawings bear the Company date-

stamp, 'June 26 1849'. Other things being equal, this could be a clue as to when Trelawny Saunders issued Heaphy lithographs. The Kettle lithographs carry 'C. H. Kettle Delt' and 'Standidge & Co. Litho. Old Jewry'. This same firm printed the Hogan lithographs of Auckland in 1852.

'Third Issue'

Claims that there exists a putative 'third issue' from the first plates do not seem to stand up to investigation. They were based on the assumption that all four views existed, with no publisher's imprint. But the only ones recorded to date in this category are the Te Aro and Nelson, that fill the apparent gap in the first issue, which must be presumed to have all come from Smith, Elder and Co.

The true third issue is apparently that which was formerly identified tentatively as a fourth. This is the one which might well be the first of the so-called 'forged' issues. The possibility cannot be ignored, however, that Smith, Elder themselves had new engravings made when the first became too worn to use. They were advertising the lithographs for at least eight years, after all, although we have no idea of the size of their (or any) printing. As in all subsequent versions, the captions of the first issue are reproduced with careful exactitude – the Thorndon and Egmont still aver that they were published by Smith, Elder and Co for the New Zealand Company; Te Aro and Nelson have no publisher given.

But there can be no question that the original lithographs had been re-engraved, carefully done to give the impression that these new prints were the same issue as the earlier ones, but not done quite carefully enough. The first clue in identifying many of this issue is the colouring, which is much paler than in previous issues, with a predominance of almost a greenish-yellow toning rather than the former blues and browns. Not all, however, are in this colouring. As in earlier issues when both coloured and plain versions were available, some of the plain were coloured by artists other than those who hand-coloured the publisher's sets. And, this time, the only uncoloured copy we have recorded is the Te Aro, which is not a lithograph in tint but a straight black and white lithograph.

There are a very great many minute variations between the original plate lithographs and the forged ones: I have counted twenty-seven in the Thorndon view alone and there are probably more. But for instant identification of the forgeries there are very obvious discrepancies. In the Thorndon view, on the beach below Clay Point, an old man is to be seen near the cattle. In the first issues he could be a shepherd or a workman, perhaps, but he is leaning forward upon his walking stick as if for support. In the forgery he looks more like a prosperous mer-

chant, leaning back with his hands resting lightly upon the stick in front of his paunch as he apparently lays down the law.

The Te Aro view has one immediately obvious discrepancy. The house on the beach, second to the left from Willis Street, has only three windows instead of four. In the Nelson print it is more difficult to pick out positive variations; the simplest clue is the oars of the boat to the left of the flag-staff, which are depicted much more clearly than in the original issue, where they are rather indistinct. I have not sighted a re-engraved Egmont view since nearly twenty years ago, before I began investigations.

All the issues from the second plates are on much thicker and softer paper than were the first issues. Although this paper tears and creases readily, they are usually in much better condition and newer looking than the earlier prints; and do not seem susceptible to foxing as those are.

Fourth and Fifth Issues?

A fourth (?) issue gives quite a different impression, although all captioning remains unchanged. Although the prints look a little brighter, the colouring is paler and softer than in the initial forgeries. A probable fifth issue may possibly be no more than copies of the fourth, coloured in modern times. They are coloured very brightly indeed, almost garishly. The key feature is the noticeable yellowness of the Maori cloaks in both the Thorndon and Nelson views, while in these and also in the Te Aro view there is a slight yellowness to the sails of the ships that is quite lacking in the apparent fourth issue, where they are more inclined to an off-white.

Without any real evidence to support my supposition, for some time I have surmised that the first re-engraved issue might have been made in 1890, on the jubilee of the settlement of Wellington. And that, just possibly, the fifth issue first appeared in 1940: the latter certainly seems to have come to light since World War II. A Wellington collector tells me that he heard in London that some time this century early plates had been discovered, or possibly new ones made, and more copies run off. This could link with a Christchurch collector having also been told some years ago that a dealer in Australia had a large stock of Heaphy lithographs.

Certainly about five or so years ago I saw at least four of the 'modern' Thorndons and two Te Aro views that had been purchased in Australia within about a year by different people at prices of 40 guineas or more each. The Library acquired a similar Nelson in quite recent years.

One other thing is certain. Overseas and New Zealand experience proves that whenever a reprint or facsimile of an early book or print is issued as such, prices for the original issues rise. More people become aware of the item in question, and purchasers of the recent version seek



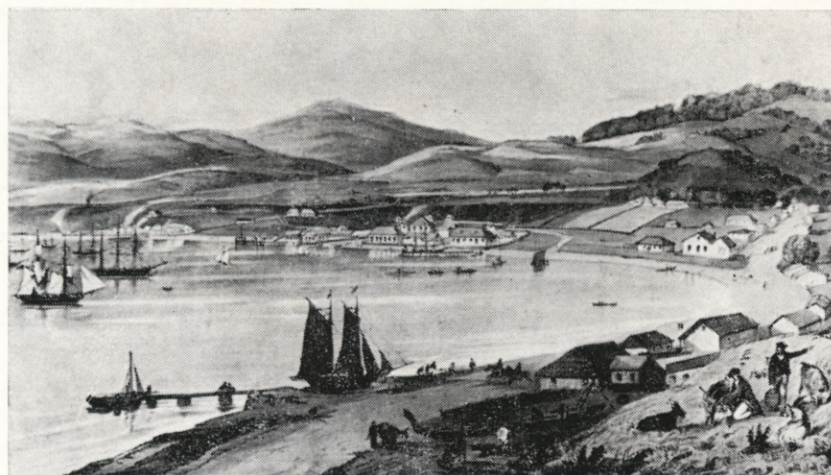
Native scholars at the College 1846

Thomas Bernard Collinson *Seven years' service on the borders of the Pacific Ocean 1843-50* Vol I, 1892-94.

Drawing (24 × 15 cm) from manuscript held in Alexander Turnbull Library.

T. B. COLLINSON 1822-1902





From top of page: Preliminary watercolour (National Art Gallery);
watercolour; and lithograph of Heaphy's *Te Aro*.

◀ Original pencil sketch; watercolour; and lithograph of Heaphy's —
Egmont.



Boys -
way to New Plymouth

The boys on the way to New Plymouth (16.5 cm × 22.5 cm)

T. B. COLLINSON 1822-1902

The fashionable quarter of Auckland in 1846 (16.5 cm × 24 cm)



The fashionable quarter

*Auckland from Capt Hentzen's
window N.Z.
in 1846*

to obtain an earlier copy as well. In the past no price distinction has been made between the various issues, but perhaps surprisingly the 1963 Queen's Prints, which went out of print soon after issue, have stabilised at the top price of \$200 a set.

Perhaps, of course, this is a tribute to the quality of Heaphy's pictures irrespective of what form their publication takes. Even more likely, probably, is the historical interest inherent in them, more especially the two Wellington views. These were both taken from Clay Point, the bluff which stood exactly where Stewart Dawson's jewellers shop now is, at the junction of Lambton Quay and Willis Street. Below lies Lambton Quay of today, then the beachline, running up to Pipitea Point. Everything to seaward of Lambton Quay stands on reclaimed land. The spit projecting half way along the beach is Kumutoto Point, where the Midland Hotel stands now, opposite Woodward Street – Kumutoto Stream and Pa were up that street. The large green space on the left centre further along, now Parliament grounds, shows Colonel Wakefield's house about where the front steps of Parliament now are. The little thatched hut below is Dicky Barrett's first grog-shop, which served as post office and the first public library in the country, and where church services were held – after Barrett's Hotel opened in 1840 to become the social and political heart of Wellington. It is the two-storeyed prefabricated wooden building, originally brought out by Dr Evans to be used as a school, and Heaphy shows it clearly just a little further north along the old Lambton beach.

So in the Te Aro view, with Upper Willis Street at extreme right but no Manners Street yet in existence. The cove was soon filled in to allow Willis Street to continue straight across where the water was. The beach running off towards Mount Victoria is now roughly Wakefield Street. The Town Hall and Public Library stand in what was the sea. The jetties and stores have all been covered by reclamation. Then comes Te Aro pa, and, beyond, Oriental Bay still far from being developed for even the first time.

Whether it will ever be possible to discover the full publishing history of the Heaphy Lithographs is doubtful. But it is to be hoped that publication of this enquiry may bring us more leads, some of which may in time produce final answers to one of the most complex problems in the field of New Zealand print collecting.

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- ²³I am indebted to Mrs E. M. Ellis for pointing out the reference in the *Canterbury Papers* and to Miss Lila Hamilton for drawing my attention to Sir Clements Markham's *The Fifty Years Work of the Royal Geographical Society* (London, 1881).

[JAMES CHOYCE]
A
NARRATIVE OF
SOME
ADVENTURES VOYAGES AND TRAVELS
IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD
BY
A BRITISH MARRINER
WRITTEN BY HIMSELF
1825

These memoirs cover the years 1793 to 1823, during which time the writer endured more adventures than usually come to a dozen men in a similar period. The title page as transcribed above contains no mention of James Choyce as the author. However the signature 'James Choyce' is faintly visible in ink on the front endpaper and Mr C. R. H. Taylor, when Chief Librarian, established in 1937 that James Choyce appears in a muster book (P.R.O. Ad. 37/1189) where he is shown as having joined the *Theseus* off Lorient from a French prison, an event he describes in the narrative. I discuss this point later with other evidence of the authenticity of his reminiscences.

Choyce left home at the age of sixteen, in 1793, and apprenticed himself in the Southern Whale Fishery. Nominally an able-seaman on various whaling ships plying in Caribbean waters and along the west coast of South America where he saw and described such fabulous creatures as terrapins and flamingoes, he dwells, in the memoirs, mainly on his adventures on land as a rather unruly prisoner-of-war, first of the Spanish and then of the French.

On his second voyage – in the *Lydia* – he and his shipmates were all taken prisoner by surprise by the Governor of Payta, Peru, upon the latter's receiving news of the declaration of war between Spain and England, early in 1797.

For the next four years he was trundled around the Peruvian countryside from jail to jail with his comrades, most of whom he describes as continuously under the bad influence of 'aquadiente'. This method of travel around Peru was strange and rather frightening for the Englishmen: 'After sunset that same Evening they mounted us on Mules and tied our Legs under their Bellies, and guarded by upwards of a Hundred Soldiers we set off on our Land expedition, But as we could not well understand each other, We was at a loss to know what they was going to do with us, For My own part I wishd myself safe out of their Hands. for the Moast of them being Indians and Blacks and wearing a thing like a Striped Blanket with a hole in the Middle which they put their Heads through They appeard to me very quer Beings . . .' At one stage

they were taken inland to Tarma and on to Cerro de Pasco, the area of the silver mines. The English sailors, however, were not set to work in the mines, but were billeted with various European shopkeepers, etc, for whom they worked for their keep. Choyce regularly planned and executed escapes, accompanied by various numbers of his fellow-prisoners. As even in the jails the prisoners were allowed a great deal of freedom, the actual exit from the prison was not the most hazardous part of the escape; the trouble was in staying out of the hands of the police. Many of these escapes were from seaside jails and ended in long days spent in small crafts drifting along the coast without proper provisions until tired, starved, thirsty, and severely sunburnt, they came ashore in search of food and were recaptured. But one escape, which nearly succeeded, was planned and executed in Cerro de Pasco.

Choyce gives his vivid impressions of the life led in Peru by both Europeans and natives at the close of the eighteenth century, the attitudes they had to foreigners (especially the heathen English), and the conduct of his own countrymen. He also describes earthquakes, llamas, and other phenomena quite novel to him. These descriptions are colourful and detailed, and are clearly those of an observant man. The following excerpt is typical of many: '[At San Matheo] I saw for the first time People rideing on Viccunias or Guanacos these are a very tractable Animal with a long neck and hind quarters like a Camel but the Head and forequarters and all the Feet are like unto those of a Sheep – They have very long fine Wool for which they are much priz'd They are Natives of the Cordelara Mountains and Delight in Snow. They make a noise not unlike the Crowing of a Cock Their Backs are as High as a Donkey but their Heads are much hyher. They Carry a person very well and usually go on a Gallop. They seemed to be shy of us for on our approaching any of them they would stamp with their fore feet and speat at us because We was strangers But the Spaniards usd to tell us it was because We was no Christians.'

Before peace was declared between England and Spain, Choyce was granted a passport and was transported to Panama and across the isthmus to Porto Bello where he was again imprisoned. Later he and others were taken to Carthagena where they were ransomed by a British ship from Jamaica. He was immediately placed aboard an English frigate, where he found the treatment of sailors rather severe; he also resented being forced to fight against the Spanish since, when freeing him, they had warned him not to or he would forfeit his life if captured. Peace was at last declared between Spain and England; Choyce shortly after deserted the British navy near Vera Cruz, and after several adventures found his way to Europe on a Spanish ship, in April 1802. His one desire was to reach England again, but upon arriving there he found most of his relations dead, and decided to

return to sea.

In August 1802 he joined the whaling ship *Diana* on a voyage to Trinidad, Brazil, the Island of Tristan de Cunha, and Cape Town. On reaching St Helena on the return voyage, December 1803, they received news of war between France and England. Shortly afterwards they were captured by a French privateer, *Le Blond*.

Here, as he says, 'was the Beginning of all My worst Troubles'. He and the other prisoners from his boat and from several others captured by the same French vessel were set ashore at St Jean de Luz, near Bordeaux. They were then marched under guard and on foot inland to Bayonne, Pau, Tarbes, and Mirande. Here Choyce organised his last major unsuccessful escape; he and two companions dropped out of line during the next day's march, and headed for the Spanish border, well over the Pyrenees. They struggled for several days over the mountains through the snow with no clothes but those left on their backs by the French sailors who had plundered their prisoners, and with no food but a three-pound loaf of bread luckily served out to each prisoner on the day of their escape. At the border, however, they were apprehended by the French customs officers and brought back to France. Choyce by this time, being bilingual, had adopted a Spanish name as being preferable to an English name in Napoleonic France. Still, he was kept a prisoner.

Now, however, he walked in chains: 'and the following morning They put a Chain round our Necks with a Padlock under our Chins being in this Manner Chain'd together They gave us a Pound of Brown Bread each, then March'd us off with two Gendarmes and in this Manner We arrived in Four Days at *Tarbs*'. And in this manner he was marched the entire length of France – through Auch, Toulouse, Grisolles, Montauban, Cahors, Souillac, St Quentin, Cambrai, Sedan, Damvillers, and at last Verdun. They did not remain there long, and were soon moved via Metz, and Boulay to Sarrelibre (now Saarlouis), in August 1804. This march of some 1,089 miles, as Choyce computes it, was accomplished entirely on foot, in chains, fed only on brown bread. They were bedded down at night in town jails, often with hardened French criminals, and were forced to drag, because of the chain, any companion who was too sick from fever and ague to walk. The conditions were indescribable. And Choyce has few kind words for the wealthy English detained in France at the commencement of war (mainly at Verdun) as hostages. They were interested only in money and fun, and did nothing to help these lower class countrymen of theirs. Often subscription money collected in England for the prisoners never reached them, but was pocketed by the *ad hoc* committees set up to distribute the money.

By 1808, Choyce was fed up with French prisons and annoyed with

not receiving his proper allowance. He decided to offer to enlist in the French navy, as all non-English prisoners were allowed to do, and find some way to escape from there. His Spanish pseudonym served him well, and he was despatched to Lorient, but not, as he had hoped, a free man; he marched under guard and occasionally chained to a band of French 'desarters'. He took ill of fever and had his share of being dragged along on the chain. He had to fight for his life one night against French prisoners at Châlons, spent one night in a charnel house, and a day and two nights in the company of a man who had died shortly after Choyce had joined him in the jail. At last he reached Lorient, having walked some 708 miles, and was taken aboard a French ship in the harbour.

As this was 1808, the English fleet was in command of the high seas and blockading the harbour of Lorient, standing some distance from the harbour entrance which was guarded by three French ships. Being set ashore to live in tents while the ships were being cleaned in preparation for Napoleon's visit to the place, Choyce devised a means of escape along an arm of the harbour running parallel to the shore, and with one companion paddled out to the British men of war. He was taken aboard the *HMS Theseus* where his detailed knowledge of the harbour and disposition of the French ships was considered valuable. He was present at and took part in the Battle of Aix Roads, April 1809. In this battle Lord Cochrane experimented with fire ships – without much success – and was later court-martialled for disobeying orders not to follow up the battle by destroying the stranded French ships. Choyce gives detailed and fairly accurate accounts of the battle and mentions the fact of Cochrane's misdemeanour.

His ship was shortly sent back to England with French prisoners. On being allowed twenty-four hours' leave in England, Choyce decided not to return, as chances of advancement seemed poor. As soon as he reached London, however, he was impressed and again sent to sea aboard a whaler. On this voyage he went around Cape Horn to the Galapagos Islands (1810), Peru, and back to England (1811). He was impressed again, but managed to raise the £80 required to supply two substitutes.

The last few pages of the memoirs recount later whaling voyages he undertook; so that he must have returned to sea almost immediately. These later voyages can be summarized fairly quickly:

1) On the *Inspector*, 1812, to Timor and other islands in the Indian Seas, Straits of Panther (descriptions of natives), Malacca Passage, Island of Celebes (descriptions of people and houses), Philippine Islands, Spice Islands, St Helena, where they ran into bad storms which damaged the ship and for days they were supplied by passing vessels; England was reached on Christmas Day 1814.

2) 1815 to Falkland Islands (recounted tales of shipwrecked men they found there), Cape Horn, Peru, Galapagos Islands, Tumbes River (heard of peace between England and America), Payta, Cape Horn, Coast of Brazil (heard of 'Peace with all the World'), England, 1816.

It was on this voyage that Choyce witnessed a volcanic eruption on Albemarle, one of the Galapagos Islands, late in December 1815. He described the eruption as follows: 'After leaving Charls^s Island We Cruiz'd among the Islands and on the 27th of Dec^r the Island of Albemarl Baring East from us Six or Seven Leagues, and the South Head baring ESE and Narbio NE^{BN} Between Five and Six Oclock in the Morning it being then calm We heard a rumbling noise like distant Thunder at the same time the Top of a Mountain – on the South part of Albemarl – fell in and a large body of Smoke and Fire ascended to a Prodigious hight at the same time a stream of Burning Lava Ishuing from the Crator and runing down towards the Sea Covering to all appearance a Mile of Ground in Breadth. In the afternoon having a breeze We stood in towards the Volcano and before Sunset perceiv'd another Volcano had broke out Two or Three miles from the former but not so large. After Dark it appear'd aufully grand and We Could then See its dimentions. The Face of the Mountain seem'd to be a Continual Body of Fire the streams of Burning Lava was runing several Miles and extended quite down to the Sea. . . .'

Choyce now improved his position on the whalers; on the last two voyages he sailed as Chief Mate and Master respectively. He was to experience the unruly behaviour of sailors much as his superiors had received from him twenty years before.

3) On the *Elizabeth Frances*, February 1818, as Chief Mate, bad storms in the North Sea, Yarmouth, Dover, Madeira, Cape Verde Islands, Falkland Islands, Cape Horn, Peru, Cape St Francisco (mention of the Patriots versus the Spanish during the Spanish-American Revolution), Galapagos Islands, Island of Juan Fernandez (Robinson Crusoe Island), Valparaiso, Cape Horn, England in 1820.

4) On the *Sarah Ann*, September 1820, as Master of the whaling ship, Cape Horn, Island of Juan Fernandez (tales of English, Americans and Spanish who plundered the ships and killed the sailors of any ships they managed to inveigle ashore), also murderers on Island of St Marys, Easter Island, scurvy, Peru, refused right to get provisions in Santa by orders of General San Martin, some sailors deserted to join the Patriots and make their fortune, most whalers off to Japan as whales were becoming scarcer off the coasts of South America, reached Bay of Concepcion in January 1823, where he met Duperrey who was setting off on his voyage of discovery; Choyce took back for him some despatches to the French Government; Cape Horn; reached England on 13 June 1823.

At this point the memoirs come to an abrupt end.

It is, perhaps, worth noting that some of his stories can be substantiated. I cannot pretend to have verified many of his claims – that would require studying the geography of Peru and the history of the Spanish-American revolt, as well as tracking down records of all of the whaling ships Choyce claimed to have sailed in – but the most obvious points I have checked quickly and in all cases they corroborate Choyce. The war between England and Spain which resulted in his capture early in 1797, the outbreak of war with France again in 1803, Lord Cochrane's court-martial and his later re-appearance as commander of the patriots' navy in the South American revolt against Spain, and the date of Duperrey's stay at Concepcion – in all these cases the dates and facts in Choyce's narrative are correct. In the last case, Choyce's date is within a day or two of when Duperrey records that his ship anchored in the Bay of Concepcion.

A glance at a map showing the harbour of Lorient proves beyond a doubt that Choyce knew his territory when he described his escape from the French Navy. The arm of the harbour down which the two men paddled is separated from the sea by an extremely narrow strip of land across which they dragged their small boat to the open sea, thus escaping the notice of the French frigates guarding the harbour entrance.

And the most romantic adventure of all, his being picked up by the *HMS Theseus*, outside Lorient, has been recorded. As mentioned in the introductory paragraph, a letter from the Public Record Office, dated 18 November 1937, gave the following information:

‘There seems to be no reference to Phillip Watts or his companion in this muster book. In the next volume, however, (Ad. 37/1189), a “Gilbert Watts” appears who with a companion, James Choyce, is described as joining the *Theseus* off Lorient from a French prison on June 29th, 1808. James Choyce is described as A.B., aged 30, born in Chelsea. The Captain's Log of the *Theseus* for June 29th reads as follows: “Fired several guns at some armed boats. Sent the boats manned and armed to cut off fishing boats. At 8 the boats returned.”’

The impressions left with the reader of the memoirs, besides astonishment that he survived all his adventures, are the leniency and freedom in the Peruvian jails and the relatively kind treatment received at the hands of the Spaniards, in comparison with that of the French during the Napoleonic Wars; his descriptions of sailors' behaviour; his determination to return to England despite his treatment by Englishmen and despite offers to work in Peru and to serve on board a Spanish ship; and, of course, the descriptions of the peoples, manners, and customs of these far-away places as early as the 1800s. Altogether, a fascinating memoir.

Dorothy Reid

HENRY BAXTER FLECK 1905-1971

On 19 May the Chairman of Trustees, Mr A. D. McIntosh, announced that the late H. B. Fleck, a senior architect in the Ministry of Works, had left his entire estate to the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust. In expressing his appreciation of this most generous and public spirited action, Mr McIntosh said that the value of the bequest was expected to be about \$30,000. In fact after duty and administration expenses had been paid the Trust will receive about \$45,000.

Henry Baxter Fleck was born in Gloucester, England, on 21 November 1905, and came to New Zealand with his parents at the age of seven. He was educated at the Otago Boys' High School, passing his matriculation examination in 1921 and later taking up draughting work as a career. From 1928 until 1932 he worked as an architectural draughtsman with Messrs Gray, Young, Morton & Young in Wellington. He returned to England in 1932 for some seven years working for private architects in the Cotswold district and then as a member of the architectural staff of the London Metropolitan Police. While in England he passed his RIBA Intermediate Examination and on his return to Wellington, just before the outbreak of war, rejoined the staff of Messrs Gray, Young.

He was on active service in the Pacific from November 1941 until July 1944 in the RNZAF, after which he joined the Housing Construction Department as a Senior Draughtsman. In 1947 he was appointed to the permanent staff of the PWD and in 1963 he was promoted to the position of Senior Architect obtaining his Registration in 1965.

During his service in the Architectural Division he was engaged on a number of important projects such as the design for the buildings at Laucala Bay, Fiji, in 1955, the drawings for Scott Base, Antarctica, and more recently he was engaged in studies for airport control towers and terminal buildings. He retired from the Ministry of Works in September 1970 because of ill-health – he had already undergone operations for cancer of the tongue with great fortitude and cheerfulness – and died on 3 February 1971.

Colleagues speak of his retiring disposition, his modesty and his conscientious dedication to his work which was of a very high standard. His shyness, for many, made him a difficult person to get to know although he had good friends in New Zealand and overseas. For much of his life he lived in Kelburn with his mother, who predeceased him only by six months, and whom he looked after and at times nursed with conscientious devotion.

I was privileged to have met Mr Fleck at the Library and at his home

in October 1970, shortly before his final illness, when he discussed his proposed bequest. In accordance with the wish that he expressed, a set of four Sheraton dining chairs and a table are now part of the Library furnishings with other smaller articles. Although he was not a regular user of the Library at least two of his friends were former members of staff who, indirectly, may have inspired or encouraged his munificent bequest.

A. G. Bagnall

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Messrs I. F. Calder, T. J. Haiselden, F. G. F. Sheppard and G. A. Warden and Mrs Margaret Alington in the preparation of this note.

A KATHERINE MANSFIELD FIRST?

The Lonesome Child

In *The Dominion*, Wellington, on page 6 of the issue of Saturday, 6 June 1908, there is a poem written by Kathleen Beauchamp, later Katherine Mansfield, called 'The Lonesome Child'. This poem appears in *Poems* by Katherine Mansfield, published by Constable and Co Ltd, London, in 1923, and in later editions, with this note: The child verses at the end of the volume were written when Katherine Mansfield was still at Queen's College, Harley Street, London. They were saved from destruction by one of her friends.

Her verse, 'Why Love is Blind' was published in *The New Zealand Free Lance* on 20 June 1908. In July 1908, 'Study: The Death of a Rose' was published in *The Triad*, a New Zealand critical magazine edited by C. N. Baeyertz.

Except for two childish stories that appeared in the Wellington Girls' High School Magazine, *The Reporter*, in 1898 and 1899, these are the two earliest items to have been listed as works by Katherine Mansfield published in New Zealand.

Thus 'The Lonesome Child', published 6 June 1908, may be her first work to appear in a public journal in New Zealand.

This particular publication has never been included in any list of Katherine Mansfield's works.

Since it was printed in the Society News Column of *The Dominion*, with the descriptions of parties, several of which were being given for Kathleen Beauchamp before her departure from New Zealand for England in July 1908, it is likely that it was produced at a party, as later in the month was her prize-winning verse, 'Why Love is Blind', which also appeared in the Society column. A curious coincidence is that Katherine Mansfield's first publication in England in *The Daily Mail*, 3 November 1909, was in the Table Talk column.

Maude E. Morris

About the time this note by Mrs Morris was being sent to the printer a staff member, Mr P. L. Barton, noticed in the *New Zealand Times* of 11 December 1913, a Katherine Mansfield sketch 'Old Tar', (a Karori story). The story, reprinted from the London newspaper, the *Westminster Gazette* of 25 October 1913, clearly centres around a local character who builds a long planned house to the great interest of the inhabitants of Karori and 'Wadesville'. It seems to have escaped any comprehensive KM collection.

MAJOR ACCESSIONS OF ORIGINAL ART
MATERIAL BETWEEN MAY 1969 AND JUNE 1971

This entry excludes paintings and sketches in the Webster collection which will be listed later; as well as sketches in manuscripts such as Captain T. B. Collinson's autobiography.

[ANGAS, George French] 1822-1886

Nene Hokianga [1844]

Watercolour 30 cm × 22 cm. Original for plate 17 (Nene or Tamati Waka) in the *New Zealanders Illustrated* (1847).

PURCHASE

—*Women of the Ngati Toa Tribe. Porirua Cook's Streights. August 1844.*

Watercolour 30 cm × 22 cm. Identified by artist as E Rua, E Pari, and E Hoki. Original for plate 13 in the *New Zealanders Illustrated* (1847).

PURCHASE

ARDEN, Henry Hamer 1845-1935

Two watercolours of New Plymouth. [1860s]

PURCHASE

ARTIST UNKNOWN

[Massacre Bay, Nelson, 1843]

Watercolour 76 cm × 55.5 cm

PURCHASE

ARTIST UNKNOWN

La France

Oil. 47 cm × 63 cm.

DONATION: Mrs Sidet, Wellington.

AUBREY, C[hristopher]

[Battery buildings of the Woodstock goldmining company, at the junction of the Waitawheta Stream and Ohinemuri River] 1897.

37 cm × 53.5 cm.

PURCHASE

BARRAUD, Charles Decimus 1832-1897

[The barracks, Napier] [ca 1866]

Watercolour. 29.5 cm × 47 cm.

DONATION: Miss E. M. D. Acland, Somerset, England.

BARNES, Frank

SS Hinemoa

Oil.

DONATION: Mrs E. L. Jackson, Wellington.

[BARRAUD, William Francis] 1850-1926

Tokaano 1908

Watercolour. 26 cm × 36 cm.

PURCHASE

BARRAUD, Charles Decimus 1832-1897

Three watercolours.

[Maori woman in cloak] 1856

Te Rangihāeta 1856

[Bush Walk, Taita] 1856

PURCHASE

[BOSCAWEN, Colonel —]

Umurakau Pa, Te Whaite [1895]

Watercolour. 15 cm × 26 cm.

DONATION: Estate of Mrs Hume-Hogg, Hatuma.

BLOMFIELD, Charles 1848-1926

Pink Terraces 1890

Oil on canvas. 43 cm × 58 cm.

White Terraces 1888

Oil on canvas. 43 cm × 58 cm.

DONATION: Estate of Mrs Hume-Hogg, Hatuma.

BRIDGE, Colonel Cyprian 1808-*ca* 1883

Album of watercolours and pencil sketches.

ON INDEFINITE LOAN FROM: Mrs J. Ihimaera, Wellington.

CAYLEY, Neville Henry Peniston 1853-1903

Eight watercolours of Australian birds [*ca* 1900]

PURCHASE

[CRAWFORD, James Coutts] 1817-1889

Fifty watercolour and pencil sketches of New Zealand subjects 1839-50.

ON LOAN FROM: Brigadier H. N. Crawford.

DISTON, J. Swinton

Whakatane, Bay of Plenty, New Zealand [*ca* 1900?]

Watercolour. 17 cm × 35 cm.

DONATION: Mrs F. Hanson, Wellington.

FOX, Sir William 1812-1893

Francis Joseph Glacier, Waikato River, Westland, New Zealand [1872]

25.5 cm × 42 cm.

DONATION: Estate of Miss M. V. Mueller, Auckland.

—Two watercolours of Wellington [1840s].

PURCHASE

[FRANKLIN, Sir John or another (? Dr John Richardson) on same Arctic expeditions] 1786-1847

Carleton House from the East [1820]

Black conté and white chalk on grey paper. 13 cm × 21 cm.

Great Slave Lake S.W. 1820

Black conté and white chalk on grey paper. 16.5 cm × 23.5 cm.

[Rocky Mountains] [1820 or 1826]

Black conté and white chalk on grey paper. 19.5 cm × 22 cm.

Rocky Mountains, from Mackenzies River

Pencil. 16 cm × 23.5 cm. [1820 or 1826]

[Eskimo canoes on lake] [1820 or 1826]

Pencil and watercolour. 16 cm × 24 cm.

Part of the Upper Winnipeg falls (this in Sir John Franklin's handwriting)
[1820-1 or 1826]

Pencil. 13.5 cm × 20.5 cm.

[Mackenzies River?] [?1826]

Pencil. 13.5 cm × 20.5 cm.

First view of the Rocky mounts from Mackenzie River

[1820-1 or 1826] Pencil 15.5 cm × 22 cm.

[Wooded islands and boat]

Watercolour and pencil. 16 cm × 21 cm.

PROVENANCE: Purchased with drawings by William Swainson from a descendant.

[GILFILLAN, John Alexander] 1793-1863

Te Rauparaha 1842

Pencil and wash. 20.5 cm × 16.5 cm.

PURCHASE

[GOLD, Lt-Gen. Charles Emilius] 1803-1871

Thirty-four watercolour paintings. 1847-60

Collection includes ten Wellington landscapes; five Taranaki scenes, 1860; a number of studies of New Zealand bush and tree ferns; eight other landscape studies and an animated 'Maori War Dance'.

PURCHASE

HUBBARD, Percy

Orderly room NZAC 1883 Parihaka

1883 watercolour. 9.8 cm × 13.8 cm.

DONATION: Mr J. N. Harrison, Takapau.

[JACK, James Whitson] 1860?-1950

Rimutaka [ca 1885]

Watercolour. 17.5 cm × 25 cm.

DONATION: Mrs June Starke.

[KINDER, John] 1819-1903

Tongariro. January 3 1862

Watercolour. 25.5 cm × 35 cm. Unfinished sketch with pencil notes.

PURCHASE

[LIARDET, Wilbraham Frederick Evelyn] 1799-1878

[The scene of the Wairau Massacre, at Tuamarina, Blenheim]

[ca 1866] 30 cm × 48 cm.

PURCHASE

[MARTENS, Conrad] 1801-1878

Kororarika, Bay of Islands [1835]

Watercolour on grey paper. 19 cm × 29 cm.

PURCHASE

— [Explorers(?) outside cave.] [1840s]

Coloured pencil and watercolour. 8.5 cm × 11 cm.

Initialed CM l.l.

PURCHASE

— *View of one of the Society Islands. Eimeo near Otaite.*

Pencil drawing. 15.7 cm × 24 cm.

PURCHASE

MINCHIN, R. E.

[Lion Peak] *Milford Sound, New Zealand*

Watercolour [ca 1890]. 35 cm × 25 cm.

PURCHASE

OLIVER, Admiral Richard Aldworth 1811–1889

Eagle Tower Carnarvon. July 17 [18]46

Watercolour. 37 cm × 27 cm.

DONATION: G. S. C. Oliver, England.

SANDYS, E[dward] R[oper Stapleton]

Ten charcoal drawings of New Zealand landscapes. [ca 1888?]

Artist on *HMS Opal* in Russell 1887, in Auckland 1888.

[SMITH, Captain William Mein, RA] 1798–1869

Bush cleared from Underwood near Mr Petre's Valley in the Hutt, N.Z.

[1850s] Watercolour.

PURCHASE

— Three watercolours.

[Dead tree] [ca 1850s?]

24 cm × 16.5 cm.

Hutt Valley. 1st Gorge Looking South 1851

18 cm × 25 cm.

[Fort Richmond and the Hutt Bridge] [ca 1850]

16 cm × 24 cm.

DONATION: Miss Dorothy Tully

STURTEVANT, G. N.

Four watercolours of Lyall Bay, Wellington Harbour and Auckland Harbour.

DONATION: Estate of Ellen Mary Sturtevant.

SWAINSON, Edith Stanway 1844–1903

Seven pencil drawings.

Tree studies and scenes mainly about Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers.

One drawing: *Taku Tuan Cottage. Port Phillip* dated 31 August 18[5]8
has written on back 'Copied from Papa. ESS.'

— *View in the Greenstone River, Otago* [1860s]. Unsigned but titled in

ESS's hand. Oil on paper.

PURCHASE

— [Landscape with Mountains and lake – ? South Island] [1860s?]

Oil on paper. 9 cm × 14 cm. Initialled ESS l.l.

PURCHASE

SWAINSON, L[ucelle] F[rances] 1842–?

Fern Grove April 1857

Pencil. 17 cm × 22 cm.

PURCHASE

SWAINSON, M[ary] 1826–1854

Kitchen at Hawk[eshead] [ca 1844]

Pencil. 12 cm × 22 cm.

PURCHASE

SWAINSON, William 1789–1855

Twelve Sicilian sketches. Pencil and sepia wash: ink and wash 'Drawn with burnt paper'. [1807–15]

PURCHASE

— Two Sicilian drawings. Pencil.

PURCHASE

— *Cheri Bay. Zante* [Zakynthos] 19 May 1812

Ink and wash. 17 cm × 32.5 cm. And two other drawings in similar style [Greece] *Heathy . . . Grand water* [1812]. Ink and wash. 17 cm × 30.5 cm.

[Greece? Valley] [1812?]

Pencil. 17 cm × 44.5 cm.

PURCHASE

— Bird Study n.d.

Pencil drawing. 22 cm × 16 cm.

PURCHASE

— Two colour lithographs of sea shells. 22 cm × 13 cm. [1830s]

PURCHASE

— Five pencil drawings.

Young Cabbage Tree; our Cows; Hawkeshead 1847

12 cm × 9.5 cm.

Soft Leaved tree fern. Upper Hutt 1848

16 cm × 11 cm.

Rhodes Farm, Porirua [ca 1845–50]

9 cm × 14 cm.

Cave at Brown's Point, Kapiti Is.

12 cm × 17.5 cm.

Native Hutt, Kapiti Island

11 cm × 15.5 cm.

PURCHASE

— Thirteen pencil drawings of New Zealand subjects. 1845-54
One Australian drawing. Pencil on green paper. *Teihatuan. P. Phillip*
15 July '53 Common wattle.
21 cm × 14 cm.

PURCHASE

TYRRELL, A. E.
Trentham Bathing Parade Bridge
Oil.

DONATION: Waikato Art Gallery, Hamilton.

WAGEMAN, — ?
[Portrait of William Swainson] 1839.
Pencil. 25.5 cm × 20.5 cm.
On back is written 'My Father, William Swainson, the Naturalist at
the age of 50 — Portrait by Wageman 1839.' Signed E[dwin]
N[ewcombe] Swainson'.

PURCHASE

WILLIAMS, Lieut-Col. Edward Arthur ca 1824-1898
Three watercolours.

Col. Warre's residence at New Plymouth 10 June '65

12.5 cm × 34 cm.

Auckland Harbor [1864?]

16.5 cm × 25 cm.

Auckland, 2 August '64

12 cm × 25 cm.

PURCHASE

— [unsigned]
[Looking across Wanganui River to the town] [?1865]
Watercolour. 18 cm × 33 cm.

PURCHASE

FRIENDS OF THE TURNBULL LIBRARY

ANNUAL REPORT 1970/71

Membership. The Society's increasing membership continues to be a matter for satisfaction to the Committee, the total as at 31 March 1971 being 478 (including 16 life members), an increase of 149 during the year. Fifty-four exchanges are also currently maintained with advantage to the resources of the Library.

Jubilee. The main events during the year were the functions commemorating the Library's 50th Jubilee, which were reported in the August 1970 issue of the *Record*. As President I am glad, formally, to place on record my appreciation of the addresses given by Professor J. C. Beaglehole and Dr E. H. McCormick. Dr McCormick's address *Alexander Turnbull – Some Biographical Reflections* was given under the auspices of this Society.

Officers. The officers of the Society, elected at the Annual General Meeting, are: President, Professor D. F. McKenzie; Immediate Past President, Canon N. Williams; Secretary, Miss M. Walton; Treasurer, Miss D. Sherratt; Committee, Mrs I. Winchester, Messrs J. Berry, D. Glover, L. C. Staffan, C. R. H. Taylor, J. E. Traue and I. McL. Wards.

At the conclusion of the Annual General Meeting held on 29 September 1970 Mr A. G. Bagnall gave an admirably judged talk about the history of the North Island Main Trunk Railway.

I would like to thank Miss M. Walton, Secretary, and Miss D. Sherratt, Treasurer, for their splendid help throughout the year.

Sale of Publications. Returns from the sale of publications, associated with the Library and its interests, have continued to support members' subscriptions as a major source of the Society's income. The Committee was very pleased to be able to accept the offer of the New Zealand Administration of Expo '70 to make available to members a limited edition of Miss S. Skerman's prints of the 'Bush Walk'. The rapid sale of the set of 90 – your Committee donated to the Library a set of the ten separate subjects – was proof of the appreciation of this most interesting and unusual offer. Sales of greeting cards continue slowly and the Committee has decided to issue another three this year, one reproduction being a separate issue of a scene from one of the Endowment Trust's forthcoming 1971 series. The *Record* continues to flourish under the excellent editorial direction of Mr Bagnall. Three issues were published, financial assistance with the Jubilee number being given by the Endowment Trust. The Society also published the catalogue of the Jubilee Exhibition which was distributed gratis to members.

In conclusion I would like to take this opportunity of reminding all concerned that membership of the Society implies both privilege and obligation. The material benefits to individuals lie chiefly in the receipt of the Society's publications and the opportunity to purchase others at a discount; less tangible but no less significant is the opportunity of being associated with an institution whose collections are part of the national heritage. Reciprocally, membership of such a Society usually carries the obligation to assist in the development of the Library's resources in however humble a way and I am hopeful that our Committee will shortly be able to give specific leads as to how this potential goodwill can be made effective.

D. F. McKenzie, *President*

VIGNETTE FROM THE PAST

Extract from letter to J. H. E. Schroder from Iris Wilkinson (Robin Hyde).

'... As for the Turnbull Library, I've been going there lately and enjoy it even the dog-eared volumes of sermons by first Colonial ministers, but my style is cramped a little by a very sweet old lady with white hair who insists on helping me when ever I don't want it. She won't let me burrow, or ferret, or meander. She finds me the best books on everything and supervises my every step. Now, is that helpfulness or is it suspicion?' *Extract from letter to J. H. E. Schroder from Iris Wilkinsou (Robin Hyde), 6 January 1928*

FRIENDS OF THE TURNBULL LIBRARY (INC)

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 MARCH 1971

Last year

\$	ACCUMULATED FUNDS	\$	\$
2,571	Balance 1 April 1970	2,999.10	
428	Surplus for year	234.90	
<u>\$2,999</u>			<u>\$3,234.00</u>
	These are represented by:		
	ASSETS		
13	Cash on hand	9.45	
256	Cash at bank	390.91	
817	Post Office Savings Bank	1,275.06	
1,603	Stock of Publications	1,373.08	
21	Crockery	—	
<u>2,710</u>			<u>3,048.50</u>
	INVESTMENTS (Hugh Walpole Endowment)		
497	Post Office Savings Bank (Other)	251.07	
600	HVEP & Gas Board Debenture	600.00	
<u>1,097</u>			<u>851.07</u>
<u>3,807</u>			<u>3,899.57</u>
	LESS LIABILITIES		
10	Subscriptions paid in Advance	—	
	HUGH WALPOLE ENDOWMENT		
482	Balance 1 April 1970	496.56	
15	Interest received	12.82	
<u>497</u>		<u>509.38</u>	
—	Less Purchase of Walpole material, donated to Library	258.31	
<u>497</u>			<u>251.07</u>
301	LIFE MEMBERSHIP RESERVE	301.50	
—	Contributions during year	113.00	
			<u>414.50</u>
<u>\$2,999</u>			<u>\$3,234.00</u>

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 1971

Last Year				
\$	INCOME	\$	\$	\$
542	Subscriptions		1,281.75	
533	Profit on sale of publications –			
	General		261.70	
	Sue Skerman Prints		440.00	
74	Interest		90.50	
<u>1,149</u>				2,073.95
	EXPENSES			
8	Printing and stationery		30.63	
19	General Expenses		36.81	
16	Audit fee		19.50	
—	Crockery written off		20.55	
10	Treasurer's honorarium		—	
624	Journal printing		834.83	
	Jubilee expenses –			
44	Meetings	90.93		
—	Catalogue	268.00		
—	Journal	557.80		
		<u>916.73</u>		
—	Less Grant	200.00		
		<u>716.73</u>		
—	Sue Skerman Prints donated			
	(at cost)	150.00		
—	Donation, 2 prints	30.00		
		<u>180.00</u>		
721				<u>1,839.05</u>
<u>\$428</u>	EXCESS INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE			<u>\$234.90</u>

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have examined the records of the Friends of the Turnbull Library (Inc) for the year ended 31 March 1971. In our opinion, the Balance Sheet and above Statement of Income and Expenditure correctly sets out the financial position and the transactions for the year, according to the records and explanations given to us. We have accepted the Secretary's Certificate as to the quantities and values of stock of the Society as at 31 March 1971.

PATTRICK, FEIL & CO
Honorary Auditors

Wellington
9 June 1971

ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

REPORT BY THE CHIEF LIBRARIAN, A. G. BAGNALL, TO NATIONAL LIBRARIAN

The fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the Library to the public (on 28 June 1920) was marked by a number of functions in June and July which are noted later. It may be said that the Library commences its second half-century not merely as a division of the National Library with safeguards to ensure its continuing identity but with a clearly defined role and purpose. By concentrating on the development of its Pacific and New Zealand collections over the full range of Library materials with some support for its rare book programme its holdings will represent the National Library collections in the subject areas covered sectionally in this report.

The solution to the accommodation problem in a National Library building is still some way off but in the short term the occupation of the Free Lance building, probably early in 1972, should offer some opportunity for a more functional organisation even within its limited area.

The Trustees Committee for the Library met on four occasions during the year. Sir John Illott announced his resignation as Chairman at the May meeting and appropriate recognition of his outstanding service to the Library and his donations to it were placed on record. Mr A. D. McIntosh, CMG, the newly appointed Chairman of Trustees of the National Library was appointed Chairman of the Committee at the December meeting.

In earlier reports and elsewhere reference has been made to the need for a Library liaison officer in London. At a time when economy is necessary in various directions it must still be said that the need for a senior qualified person to be able to negotiate on the Library's behalf is paramount and is not made unnecessary by the splendid assistance given by New Zealand House together with the occasional brief services able to be rendered by members of the Library staff coincidentally in London. Failing such an appointment in the immediate future a regular annual visit of at least three months' duration would pay for itself in the equivalent value of material located and acquired.

The appointment in August 1970 of Mr W. J. H. Baillie as the National Library's first Conservation Officer is a most important step for the future preservation of the priceless materials in the collections. The urgent measures necessary to ensure that the manuscripts, paintings, photographs and rare books now in the Library will be available for future generations are overdue.

Acquisitions

Acquisition in the Library's basic subject areas has continued satis-

factorily; difficulties in the Pacific area continue and personal contact is needed to establish agencies, exchange and other facilities. Even within New Zealand the identification of fugitive and occasionally, substantial items, is time consuming. In the periodicals sector the formal extension of the Copyright depository privilege to the Library when completed should result in more efficient and complete coverage. A wide range of long-playing New Zealand recorded music is being regularly accessioned as part of a programme to develop a national collection of all aspects of musical composition.

Material on microfilm has continued to increase, a particularly significant intake being the copies of the New Zealand manuscripts in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, identified in 1969 by Mr R. F. Grover. Purchases of non-Pacific rare books have had to be restricted although a small number of Milton items and some eighteenth century titles were acquired.

Through the good offices of Mr A. D. McIntosh negotiations for the Library's share of the collection of the late K. A. Webster were successfully taken a stage further. Pending a final settlement some hundreds of items arrived in the Library in November. The acquisition covers New Zealand manuscripts, pamphlets, books as well as a good deal of ephemera and pamphlet material on the social and political background to emigration from the United Kingdom during the early decades of the nineteenth century. It will be some time before the collection is fully catalogued.

Important acquisitions other than of printed books are noted in the appropriate sections and at the end is an appendix listing donors to whose generosity the Library is indebted for the gift of significant items and in some cases collections. The Library has also benefitted by material passed on by other institutions notably the Hocken Library, the Auckland Institute and Museum, the City of Auckland Public Libraries, Hastings Public Library, Gisborne Public Library and the Library of the Army Department.

Catalogue Section

During the year 3,285 books, pamphlets and music items were catalogued as well as 136 sound recordings and 47 microfilms. These microfilms represent only a small number of those held by the Library, such acquisitions covering chiefly newspapers, manuscripts, rare books and theses.

Monthly issues of the *New Zealand National Bibliography* were prepared in the section throughout the year. In Section I – books, pamphlets, art prints, music scores and sound recordings, 1,604 items were listed as compared with 1,508 in 1969. 491 annuals were entered in Section III as compared with 437 in 1969. The annual cumulation for 1969 was published in October 1970, and during the year printed cards

were issued for 259 titles.

Work on the second volume of the retrospective *New Zealand National Bibliography to the year 1960* is well advanced and publication is planned for early 1972. By the end of this year it is expected that most of the significant titles held in the Library in the pre-1890 period will be listed.

The Catalogue Section continues to maintain the Union Catalogue of pre-1801 books held in New Zealand. Senior staff members have continued supervision of the cataloguing of the Library's art, manuscript and map collections as well as the control of the Library's binding programme.

Reference Section

During the year the number of readers was 6,102 compared with 4,661 last year, an increase of over $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. Books used totalled 27,175 compared with 24,338 and the number of letters answered rose to 658 compared with 557. Interloan requests satisfied were 282 compared with 177 last year. Photocopying orders for Xerox and microfilm copies rose from 1,514 in 1969 to 2,345 in 1970. In November 1970 a Rank-Xerox 720 machine was installed in the Library and it is expected that there will be a further increase in orders. To summarise increase in use an average of five more people per day used ten more books per day during the year. Having regard to the limited staff available to deal with this increase in the service demanded by the public, the work accomplished has been achieved only at some sacrifice of standards.

Subjects on which scholars did research were the early development of the New Zealand Department of Education, with special reference to Reverend W. J. Habens, biographies of Sir Peter Buck, Sir John Bates Thurston, Reverend Henry Williams, William Williams, F. A. Weld and Peter Dillon, and comparative studies in land settlement, Australia and New Zealand 1880-1914. Many scholars from overseas used the Reading Room, particularly from Australia and America.

Correspondence dealt with such varied subjects as the Waikato river steamer service, 19th century visits of the St Leon Circus, ballooning in New Zealand, a bibliography of the Cook Islands, Mangungu mission station, the age of Bulls school, Maori pa on the Otara river, 19th century furniture-making in New Zealand and women in New Zealand.

Because of pressure of other work only limited progress has been made with the retrospective newspaper and other indexes.

Manuscripts Collection

The rate of acquisition by both donation and purchase was maintained during the year at a satisfactory level. The fact remains, nevertheless, that more manuscripts could be obtained if a field officer were available to follow up clues systematically.

Among the donations were substantial Union records such as those of the Federated Seamen's Union (1893-1935) and a number of West Coast unions including the Inangahua Gold and Coal Miners' Union. Among business archives received were the records of A. S. Paterson and Company, while Mr Harold Pearce donated some commercial records of Edward Pearce which relate to the Levin and Company archives already received. Miss Dorothy Tully presented the diary of John Tully a New Zealand Company surveyor in the Wellington region and the donation of a further five diaries of the Hawke's Bay and Canterbury surveyor H. B. Sealy extended an already significant holding. Mr W. B. Burt presented a most important collection of early records and documents dealing with the Chatham Islands. In another area of research interest are the papers of O. E. Burton and a war diary of Sir Peter Buck.

Purchases included a collection of early letters of F. E. Maning, the author of the classic *Old New Zealand*, the 1866-7 journal of a Marlborough visitor, W. W. Hawkins, and the New Zealand autobiography of Colonel T. B. Collinson of the 1840s illustrated with his own sketches. In the field of literary manuscripts the acquisition of the Frank Sargeson papers represents one of the most important steps the Library has been able to take in the recent past. A full list of acquisitions is given in the May 1971 *Turnbull Library Record*.

As before, much manuscript has been borrowed for copying and the resources of the Library have been enhanced by membership of the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, and the receipt of material through the Australian Joint Copying Project as well as from the Mitchell Library and other Australian libraries visited by Mr Grover.

Art Collection

Acquisitions during the year totalled 81 original works and 95 prints. The collection now consists of approximately 8,000 originals with 97 additional albums of sketches and 10,500 prints.

Among important donations were three watercolours of the Hutt and Wairarapa by Mein Smith, presented by a descendant of the artist, Miss Dorothy Tully, Greytown, and a watercolour of Whakatane by J. Swinton Diston, from Mrs F. Manson, Wellington.

The Friends of the Turnbull Library presented a set of ten Susan Skerman prints derived from the artist's studies for her Bush Walk at Expo 70; and the New Zealand Commissioner-General for Expo 70 generously presented Miss Skerman's working drawings for the Bush Walk.

The Endowment Trust Board purchased a watercolour portrait of Te Rauparaha sketched from life in 1842 by J. A. Gilfillan - one of the outstanding art acquisitions since Mr Turnbull's death; three C. D. Barraud watercolours, purchased in Paris, one being a full-length

portrait of Te Rangihaeata, dated 1856; and thirty-four watercolours by General C. E. Gold, mostly views in Wellington and Taranaki, which were bought at auction at Christie's in London together with a watercolour of Massacre Bay in the eighteen-forties which has associations with Heaphy.

Among the general purchases were eleven charcoal drawings of New Zealand landscapes in 1860 by E. R. Sandys, of *HMS Opal*; two watercolours of Wellington in the eighteen-forties by Fox; from England a watercolour of a bush scene by Mein Smith; two watercolours of New Plymouth in the 'sixties by H. H. Arden; and an 1866 watercolour of the scene of the Wairau massacre, by W. F. E. Liardet.

Twenty-seven paintings were lent to the Library for photographing; and several hundred photographs of paintings in the National Library of Australia and other Australian institutions were received as a result of Mr Grover's trip in 1969. These most usefully complement photographs of New Zealand works in the British Museum.

The increasing interest in New Zealand art, reflected in rising auction prices, lifted to 230 the number of enquiries dealt with by correspondence or in person (as against 156 in the previous year), while there were 160 telephone enquiries (94 last year) most of the queries being concerned with the identification of subjects, attribution of artists or biographical information on artists.

There was also a marked increase in the demands made upon the art holdings for reproductions in New Zealand and overseas in illustrating books, as art prints and on television.

As in all sections of the Library, heavier demands upon the wider services provided by the section are made the more difficult to meet by lack of adequate space and working facilities.

Map Collection

The appointment of a full-time map librarian at the beginning of 1970 has enabled the work of the section to be greatly extended. A large backlog of cataloguing was dealt with (1,700 maps were accessioned, compared with 500 in 1968-9), and a more active acquisitions policy has been pursued. Many gaps in the holdings of current Lands and Survey maps have been filled, and approaches to various local and *ad hoc* bodies have resulted in significant additions to the map collection. A large and interesting collection of some 800 Wellington and region subdivisional plans was deposited on permanent loan by Gordon Harcourt Ltd, usefully supplementing a large number of such plans already held. Over 230 reference enquiries were dealt with, two-thirds of these being from the public, the other third from staff members, particularly in the Reference section.

In 1970 235 maps were catalogued for the *New Zealand National Bibliography*, compared with 189 in 1969.

Photograph Collection

The Photograph Collection continues to be well used by members of the public and Government Departments and this has resulted in a total of 727 orders being handled during the year. An increasing number of these orders are for super-enlargements for displays and for murals.

Accessioned negatives now total 93,868, there being also 71,801 catalogued prints and 23,500 loose prints. Three hundred and fifty-eight albums are also held.

Donations during the year have included collections of negatives from Gordon Burt, Earle Andrew and W. R. Burt. Much valuable material has also been lent for copying, including a collection of very early negatives of Hokitika and district lent by Mr W. H. Shannon.

Conservation

With the arrival in August of the National Library's Conservation Officer after a tour through the United States of America to institutions actively involved in dealing with problems of preservation in libraries, progress will be made in dealing with our own problems in this area.

Pending the renovation of premises for his laboratory and workshop, the Conservation Officer has been concerned with the establishment of procedures for dealing with bulk binding repairs and microfilm production as a preservation technique. Due to the heavy use of the collection for reference purposes a large portion is in need of repair.

It is hoped to take full advantage of the facilities of the Government Printing Office in an effort to make progress despite restriction in staff and facilities within the Library.

Exhibitions, Displays and Publicity

The Jubilee Exhibition was the most comprehensive the Library has mounted, to show highlights from the original collections and from acquisitions made during fifty years as a State library. In the exhibits of books and manuscripts equal emphasis was placed upon the rare book and English literature collections as well as upon the Pacific and New Zealand collections. A special display covered the founder and his family background. One hundred pictures were chosen to illustrate the point that although historical interest is the important criterion and amateur work may be very important, yet the Library's art collection as a whole stands comparison with many of the country's art galleries. An extensively annotated catalogue accompanied the exhibition.

A Jubilee window display in Kirkcaldie and Stains Ltd attracted considerable public attention. During New Zealand Book Week a small display was mounted in the entrance hall of the Library. Paintings from the Bett Collection, on deposit in the Library, were lent for a Nelson Historical Exhibition and paintings from the Turnbull collections were lent for an exhibition of early New Zealand art at the

Wairarapa Arts Centre. The Susan Skerman working drawings were exhibited at the Waikato Art Gallery and the Wairarapa Arts Centre before the Library took delivery of them.

Extensive newspaper and radio publicity was accorded the Library throughout New Zealand, in part associated with the Jubilee and the new print releases.

Jubilee

Three functions marked the 50th Jubilee of the opening of the Library. On the evening of 30 June an address entitled *The Library and the Cosmos* was delivered by Professor J. C. Beaglehole, OM, CMG, HON DLITT (OXON). The occasion was arranged by the Trustees' Special Committee for the Turnbull Library and was chaired by the Honourable D. J. Riddiford, Minister of Justice, a member of the Committee. At a further reception on 9 July a preview of the Jubilee Exhibition was opened by the Honourable B. E. Talboys, Minister of Education.

The Friends of the Turnbull Library celebrated the Jubilee on the evening of 16 July, when Dr E. H. McCormick presented his address, *Alexander Turnbull – Some Biographical Reflections*. The then chairman of the Friends (Canon Nigel Williams) being abroad, the chair was taken by Professor D. F. McKenzie, the present chairman of the Society.

Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust

The Board in September appointed Mr A. D. McIntosh, CMG, as successor to Sir John Illott who regrettably was obliged to retire on account of ill-health after four years' service as chairman. Four meetings were held during the year when matters arising from the administration of the Board's funds were considered. Major items purchased by the Board were the manuscripts of Frank Sargeson and Denis Glover, the New Zealand volume of the autobiography of Captain T. B. Collinson and a Gilfillan painting of Te Rauparaha.

The assets of the Board amounted to \$57,254 as at 31 March 1970. Receipts during the year totalled \$9,636 from the sale of prints and donations. Payments included \$3,660 for print purchases and \$4,527 for the purchase of items for the collection.

The 1970 print series consisted of a limited edition of a painting by Gustavus von Tempsky (issued as the Library's 'Jubilee' print) and two paintings of the 1845–6 war in the Bay of Islands by Major Cyprian Bridge.

Publications

In addition to the annual print series of the Endowment Trust and the Jubilee Print, and the Jubilee Exhibition catalogue, three issues of *The Turnbull Library Record* were published by the Friends of the Turnbull Library. The Endowment Trust has in course of publication a work by Dr Andrew Sharp, *Duperrey in New Zealand* and expects that the

biography of A. H. Turnbull by Dr E. H. McCormick will be completed later this year.

APPENDIX

Library Donors April 1970–March 1971

Mr I. C. Abernethy, Miss P. Aitken, Miss R. T. Alidin, Miss M. B. Anderson, Mrs C. H. Andrews, Mr P. Andrews, Mr W. J. C. Ashcroft, Mr P. Averi, Mrs N. M. Baillie, Mr D. H. Balm, Miss M. C. Barker, Mr A. C. Barrington, Mr K. McL. Baxter, Mr C. H. Beach, Professor J. C. Beaglehole, Reverend A. Broughton, Mrs G. M. Brown, Mr K. Brown, Mr W. Brown, Mr M. Bruce, Mr F. Burrell, Mr W. B. Burt, Reverend O. Burton, Mrs K. M. Butters, Mrs Callaghan, Mr J. Callanan, Mr J. S. Carmichael, Mr S. T. Carter, Mr J. H. Christie, Mr K. Clement, Mrs M. Clements, Mr F. T. Clerc, Mr B. E. F. S. Collins, Mr J. Commons, Professor J. B. Condliffe, Miss R. R. Coull, Mrs J. M. Couper, Mr Cretney, Miss E. Currie, Mrs M. A. Dalgety, Mr J. P. Davey, Mr J. Doherty, Lt-Col. C. Earle, Mr G. J. Elliott, Mr E. A. Ewen, Mrs E. C. Fisher, Mr O. Flo, Mr T. C. Forester, Miss I. Forrest, Mr G. R. Gallant, Mr K. S. Gandy, Mr W. M. Gardiner, Mr F. Gay, Mrs P. Godsiff, Miss M. Gordon, Mr R. F. Graham, Reverend K. Gregory, Mrs D. A. Hall, Mr B. G. Hamlin, Mr T. Hankinson, Mrs F. Hanson, Mrs Z. Hardyment, Mr J. A. Harrison, Mr C. A. Harvey, Mr R. C. Hedditch, Mr A. S. Helm, Mr T. J. Henry, Mr R. E. Hereford, Mrs M. Hetley, Mr G. H. V. Hewitt, Mr L. W. Houliston, Mr S. Hunt, Mr M. T. Hutton, Sir J. Ilott, Mrs L. M. Inglis, Mrs E. L. Jackson, Mr H. R. Jackson, Mr D. L. Jenkins, Mrs D. E. Johnson, Mr D. H. Johnson, Mr I. Johnston, Mr A. L. Jones, Mrs C. E. Kay, Mr R. F. Keam, Mr H. Keith, Mrs C. F. Lang, Mr P. Lawlor, Mr B. L. Leverton, Mr F. Lewis, Mr G. R. Lewthwaite, Professor L. W. McCaskill, Mr B. J. McCormack, Mr R. H. McKenzie, Mr K. M. McKillop, Mr I. D. McLean, Mr J. McNeish, Professor H. T. Manning, Dame Ngaio Marsh, Mr M. Marshall, Mr H. G. R. Mason, Miss R. Mason, Mr J. R. Matthews, Mr R. C. Medland, Mrs L. A. Miller, Mr W. Miller, Mr P. R. Millward, Mr L. A. L. Moore, Mr E. L. Mulcock, Mr H. D. Mullon, Mr D. F. Murdoch, Sister M. Murdoch, Mr L. Nicholls, Mr J. Nissen, Mr P. O'Farrell, Mrs Osborne, Mr P. O'Shea, Father M. Palmer, Mr H. W. Parkinson, Mr N. Z. Parsloe, Mr R. H. Pavitt, Mr L. Paszkowski, Mrs F. Pearce, Mr H. S. Pearce, Miss J. Perkins, Dr G. C. Petersen, Lt-Col R. B. Phillipps, Mr A. J. Pickering, Mr R. Pinney, Mr Pointon, Mr F. Ponder, Mr R. E. Pope, Count Stefan C. Potocki, Mr P. Prescott, Mrs L. Prodingier, Mr J. D. Raeside, Mr A. J. Ratliff, Reverend H. E. Reaney, Mrs C. A. Rennie, Mr R. Richards, Lady Jessie M. Richmond, Mrs W. H. Robieson, Miss L. Rodda, Miss P. A. Roe, Mr F. Rogers, Mr W. B. Ross, Mr W. Ross Taylor, Mr G. H. Scott, Mr G. C. Shaw, Mr E. P. Simcox, Mr J. R. Simonsen, Mrs Simpson, Miss M. M. Slatter, Mr D. Smith, Mr R. J. Smith, Mrs K. So, Mrs E. J. Springer, Mr L. J. R. Starke, Mr R. M. Startup, Mrs H. J. Steptoe, Professor J. Stevens, Mrs L. H. Stevenson, Reverend J. E. Stewart, Mr J. S. Strange, Mr W. T. H. Strange-More, Mrs E. Store, Mr C. R. H. Taylor, Mr G. Taylor, Mrs D. R. Te Kanawa Mrs A. Thackrah, Mrs E. J. Trolove, Mr G. A. Tuck, Miss D. Tully, Mr M. J. Turnbull, Mr and Mrs Verrall, Mr Wareing, Right Reverend A. K. Warren, Mrs M. E. Watson, Mrs C. W. Watts, Miss G. Wheeler, Mrs L. P. Wheeler, Mrs A. White, Mrs M. White, Mrs C. Whiteley, Mrs M. Williams, Mrs O. W. Williams, Mrs C. M. Wilson, Mr G. B. Wilson, Mr L. G. Wilson, Reverend Dr R. M. Wiltgen, Mr C. Winstone, Miss O. Wolters, Mr H. W. Wood, Miss A. Woodhouse, Mrs P. R. Woodhouse, Mr P. Zwartz.

NOTES AND COMMENTARY

Recent Exhibitions

The Library's collections of 12th to 16th century manuscripts (about a score) and of *incunabula* (about 70) have long been regarded as being chiefly useful as examples in our coverage of the history of the book. However, Mr Christopher de Hamel of Knox College, Dunedin, while employed here as a vacation-worker made an especial study of our holdings in those fields and found much of considerable interest and value. He arranged an outstanding exhibition and it is hoped that he may be able to expand his captions for publication as one of the library's Bibliographical Lists.

The 72 Piranesi etchings, part of the 1953 bequest of Percy Watts Rule of Timaru, were exhibited by the Auckland City Art Gallery in 1963 and in this Library on their return. They have again been shown here to accompany the exhibition of mediaeval manuscripts and early printed books.

Mr A. D. McIntosh, CMG, Chairman of Trustees, on Wednesday, 1 September, opened an exhibition of New Zealand land sub-divisional maps and deeds. The exhibition, largely prepared by Mr B. W. Marshall, Map Librarian, assisted by Miss K. S. Williams and the Chief Librarian, was arranged in conjunction with the Lands and Deeds Division of the Justice Department, who kindly supplied appropriate documents. The display, which was the first occasion on which the Library had prepared a selection from its map holdings, was mounted to mark in part the centenary – actually in September 1970 – of the introduction of the Land Transfer or Torrens System into New Zealand by the passing of the Land Transfer Act in 1870.

Library Functions

Following the conclusion of the Annual General Meeting on 9 June, Mr R. F. Grover spoke on 'New Zealand historical resources held in Australia'. A revision of his paper is in this issue.

On 4 August Professor D. F. McKenzie addressed members on the Indecent Publications Tribunal, an intimate view by a former member. It is a matter for regret that this fascinating survey illustrated by appropriate examples of all categories of publications, which had been considered by the Tribunal, was not recorded. However, informality of the occasion no doubt gave Professor McKenzie an opportunity to range freely over problems and issues which had exercised him considerably while acting in this most difficult and increasingly onerous role.

Recent Acquisitions

The Library's recent purchases and donations of paintings and sketches are included in the formal list of acquisitions in this issue prepared by Mrs Janet Paul. Recent highlights, however, were the purchase at Sotheby's of thirty-four New Zealand paintings of the 1860s by Lieutenant-Colonel Gold and a wide range of Swainson sketches similarly purchased at a Wanganui auction earlier this year. Mrs Paul's investigations, still in progress, have provisionally identified in the Swainson group a most interesting small collection of Canadian sketches done by Sir John Franklin and/or Dr John Richardson during Canadian arctic exploring expeditions in 1820 and 1826.

The Library has acquired from Messrs T. J. and H. H. Harper a collection of papers relating to the Reverend Richard Taylor and the Harper family which formed part of the residue of the estate of the late Miss Laura Harper. In addition to some interesting earlier correspondence and journals of the Reverend Richard Taylor himself, the most significant item is his sketch book, one of several which he apparently made up from his field books for members of the family. This however is clearly the most important so far seen, containing as it does the original drawings for the head pieces in *Te ika a Maui*.

Mrs Rosamund Wilson has most generously donated the Rolleston papers in her possession with many others elsewhere in the family, which she brought together as the research foundation for her book, *William and Mary Rolleston* (1970).

Forthcoming publications

The Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust last year decided that it should itself undertake the publication of appropriate monographs based on material in the Library. Following advice of the bequest of the late H. B. Fleck, the Trust also decided that such works should be published with the assistance of funds from this bequest, all such works to carry the note on the back of the title-page 'H. B. Fleck Memorial Fund'. The first book to be published in this series, Dr Andrew Sharp's *Duperrey's Visit to New Zealand in 1824*, should be available in November. The New Zealand price has been provisionally fixed at \$4.75. The Trust, in conjunction with the Victoria University of Wellington, is also publishing the *London Journal of Edward Jerningham Wakefield*, edited by Professor Joan Stevens, which should be on the market in the latter part of 1972. It is hoped also that 1972 will see the first steps in the publication of Dr McCormick's biography of A. H. Turnbull now approaching completion.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Professor James Bertram is a Professor of English at the Victoria University of Wellington and is the author of *New Zealand letters of Thomas Arnold the younger* (1966).

Mr R. F. Grover is Assistant Chief Librarian. The paper in this issue is based on his talk to the Friends of the Turnbull Library on 9 June 1971 when he outlined his work as an Anzac Fellow in Australia in 1969.

Mr A. A. St. C. M. Murray-Oliver, Education Officer, has long made a study of New Zealand art history. He is the author of *Captain Cook's artists in the Pacific 1769-1779*, (1969) and *Augustus Earle in New Zealand*, (1968).

Mrs Dorothy Reid, Assistant Manuscripts Librarian, is a graduate of London and Toronto universities. She is completing her PhD thesis on British foreign policy 1859-1865.

Mrs Maude Morris, since the death of her husband Guy Morris in 1949, has continued his interests in Katherine Mansfield and the Katherine Mansfield collection which he built up. Her earlier articles *At the Bay* will be recalled by many readers.

Mrs Janet Paul took up her duties as Art Librarian in April last. She is well known to many New Zealanders as the partner with her late husband, Blackwood Paul, in the publishing firm of Messrs Blackwood Paul, and is an artist in her own right.

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Librarian in charge of Catalogue Section: Miss K. S. Williams, MA, ANZLA

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and Senior Cataloguers:*

Mr P. L. Barton, ANZLA, Mrs R. L. Bell, NZLA cert.,
Mrs M. A. Crawford, BA, DIP NZLS

First Assistant Reference Section: Miss J. M. Bergen, BA, ANZLA

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Mrs M. J. W. Caudwell, BA

Manuscripts Librarian: Mrs M. A. Scott, BA, DIP NZLS

Acting Manuscripts Librarian: Mrs J. I. Starke, BA (HONS), DIP NZLS

Assistant Manuscripts Librarian:

Mrs D. J. Reid, BA (TORONTO), MSC (LONDON)

Acquisitions Librarian: Miss D. M. Sherratt, BA

Education Officer: Mr A. A. St. C. M. Murray-Oliver, MA, ANZLA

Art Librarian: Mrs J. E. Paul, BA (HONS)

Map Librarian: Mr B. W. Marshall, MA, DIP NZLS

Librarian in charge Photographic Section: Miss M. J. Lord, NZLA cert.

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GREETING CARDS

Colonel Wm. Wakefield's House, Parliament Hill, Wellington, ca 1843, from a hand-coloured engraving by Melville in *Pictorial Illustrations of New Zealand* by S. C. Brees. In colour, 4z × 7 ins, 15 cents each.

The Pink Terraces, from an oil by Blomfield, 1888. 6z × 8z ins. In colour, 25 cents each.

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 × 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.

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

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.

THE 1971 TURNBULL LIBRARY PRINTS

are now available – THE WHITE TERRACES, by C. D. Barraud; OHINEMUTU VILLAGE, by Charles Blomfield; and LAKE TAUPO, WITH MOUNTS TONGARIRO, NGAURUHOE AND RUAPEHU. Please note that these are \$3 each, with descriptive text-sheet; or \$8 the set of 3 in folder illustrated in colour by THE PINK TERRACES, by Blomfield. Edition of 2,500.

THE BARRAUD PRINTS

issued for 1967, are now restricted to the views of Lake Papaitonga and the Barracks at Napier, at \$2 each with text-sheet; or \$4 the pair in folder illustrated in black and white with the view of Wellington 1861. COMPLETE SETS OF 3, AND THE SINGLE WELLINGTON VIEW, ARE NO LONGER AVAILABLE, 2,500 copies of 'Wellington' having been sold.

An illustrated catalogue of Alexander Turnbull Library publications – including the print series – is available free on request.

ALL PUBLICATIONS ARE AVAILABLE FROM THE LIBRARY,
BOX 8016, WELLINGTON.

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 Otaraia 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 Rotoroa; 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)