

# The Turnbull Library RECORD



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ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY  
*Research Endowment Fund*

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The Board of the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust invites applications for grants from its Research Endowment Fund.

The Fund has the general objectives of 'the advancement of learning and the arts and sciences through the support of scholarly research and publication based on the collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library' and it may create scholarships and fellowships, make grants for research and publication, and sponsor seminars, conferences and lectures.

Grants are now being made available to provide additional support for scholars at all levels who wish to conduct research towards a publication based on the Library's collections.

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## Contents

- 5 The Seat of Government Commission, 1864:  
an Australian intervention *A. G. Bagnall*

- 22 Artists of the Hobson Album, 1:  
Edward Ashworth, 1814-1896 *Janet Paul*

- 33 Nathaniel Bacon and Francis Spira:  
the presbyterian and the apostate *Brian Opie*

- 51 Research notes

- 53 Notes on accessions to the Drawings & Prints  
Collection, June 1983 to December 1984

- 58 Notes on manuscript accessions,  
April to September 1984

- 62 Notes on contributors







# The Seat of Government Commission, 1864: an Australian intervention

A.G. BAGNALL

On negative evidence the most protracted series of non-events in New Zealand history were the steps leading to the decision in 1864 to transfer the capital from Auckland to Wellington. The often lengthy debates from 1856 until 1863 on the merits of an administrative capital closer to the geographic centre, which provoked threats from Auckland that it would secede if deprived of its almost divine right and by Otago that it would withdraw if nothing was done, resulted in a compromise decision to abide by the choice of an 'impartial tribunal', perhaps from beyond the seas. The selection of Wellington led to an immediate outburst by Auckland, followed by Otago, but the 'Separation' issue, which rumbled on in the far south until the end of the provincial period, was out-riden.

A cursory glance at the standard works reveals little. A now vintage handbook on the legislature, Frank Simpson's *Parliament in New Zealand* (1947), has a succinct paragraph on the topic so far avoided by the *Parliamentary Record*, the Oxford compendium, the *Encyclopaedia* (although it would have been in McLintock's unwritten second volume of parliamentary history), Sinclair, Oliver, back to that remote but invaluable contemporary, Alfred Saunders, a faltering exception. He started well but when Nelson and its neighbouring candidate, The Grove, were passed over, lost interest. Nevertheless, if we work back to an imprint of 1866 there is light in the pages of a still neglected chronicler, C.R. Carter, at least on the moves leading to the adoption of the Australian compromise resolution. Una Platts is unique in drawing on Carter for a summary in *The Lively Capital* but baulks at the final steps, perhaps too painful to enlarge upon.

Clearly, there must be good reason for breaking silence on so moribund a topic of which any extended treatment would be far from the range of this journal. However, the generous gift to the writer, when in Australia recently, of copies of four most interesting letters by Joseph Docker, written from New Zealand as one of the three commissioners appointed, was more than an excuse,<sup>1</sup> when a check revealed that the Library held the Commission's minutes and associated documents.<sup>2</sup>

Controversy about the site of the capital arose within three years from the meeting of the first parliament. Henry Sewell, during his



three weeks reign as Premier, suggested, on 25 April 1856, that as Auckland had only twelve of the thirty-seven seats in the House, twenty-two of which were in the southern provinces, the northern capital should host only one session in three.<sup>3</sup> A month later he managed to get through a motion which gave the Governor authority 'to select a more convenient central place'. Sewell, with some later commentators, favoured Nelson, but after some shuffling it was decided that the next session should be in Auckland as before.

When the gold discovery of 1861 led to a sudden explosion of Otago population, pressure mounted for a change. Thomas Dick, Member for Dunedin City, moved a resolution in August 1862 urging the selection of a central site. The debate on the question was appropriately in Wellington, during the second session of the third Parliament (July to September 1862), as the result of a decision on the lines of Sewell's original 'rotation' proposal. In Saunders's words, 'It had more than once been decided or understood that the next meeting... would be in Wellington; but, so far, something had always turned up to prevent it.'<sup>4</sup> The interlude is best remembered for the wreck of the *White Swan*, carrying a number of members and some records. Although the losses were confined to the vessel and a few files, and the quantity of the latter somewhat exaggerated,<sup>5</sup> it was not a good omen for change. In the short term Dick's motion was lost by one vote. During the debate, Stafford, the Premier for the five crucial years 1856 to 1861, expressed his preference for the Marlborough Sounds, the place 'intended by nature for the purpose', rather than Nelson.<sup>6</sup>

A year later, in 1863, during the October/November session, there was further debate. Two new factors gave the southerners grounds for hope. Wellington, Nelson and Marlborough members reached an understanding during a private meeting before the debate and the 1862 Representation Act had given an additional four seats to Otago. C.R. Carter, a self-taught successful contractor, one-time Chartist with, later, a penchant for world travel—and New Zealand book collecting—seems to have taken the initiative behind the scenes. Informal discussions had shown that most of the members on either side of Cook Strait were 'far from indisposed to submit the rival claims of the two provinces to a species of arbitration'.<sup>7</sup> At a meeting at the Masonic Hotel on 11 November twelve members agreed that, in order to ensure the transfer of the Government to some suitable locality in 'Cook's Strait', they would 'forego their own provincial prepossessions, and submit to the final arbitrament of an independent tribunal...'. To this end,

... proper steps should be taken to request the Governments of New South Wales, Victoria, and Tasmania, to appoint a Commission consisting of three gentlemen,



unconnected with New Zealand, to take evidence and determine the site. One Commissioner to be appointed by each of the above named Governors.

The full resolutions, as Carter explained, 'never appeared in print' but were embodied in a resolution put before the House by Domett on 20 November, except for the final provision which was withdrawn to 'allow an address to the Governor to be subsequently introduced in its stead'. Carter gives an excellent summary of the debate,<sup>8</sup> amendments proposed and lost, personalities, the white anger of Stafford, who although a Nelson member was not a party to the agreement and known to be unwilling to rock the Auckland boat, the vital support of Fitzgerald, and final victory by 24 to 17 at two fifteen in the morning.

As Carter had said, the resolution, as carried in the Legislative Council nine days later, was to 'leave the decision on a site for the seat of Government in some suitable locality on Cook's Straits to the arbitrament of an impartial tribunal'. Dr David Monro, as Speaker, signed the copy of the resolution which was sent to Grey under the signature of Frederick Whitaker, Chief of the Executive and privately a strong Auckland supporter, with the suggestion that the Governors of three colonies would 'readily lend their aid in the selection of such Commissioners'. The resolution had anticipated the steps necessary to implement the decision with the requisite financial authority to acquire a site and erect buildings for the offices of Government, meetings of the General Assembly and the Governor's residence.<sup>9</sup> Grey was enjoined to exercise haste as 'continued delay in the settlement of this question will only tend to keep alive those feelings of rivalry and jealousy between different parts of the Colony... which threaten at no distant period... [its] dismemberment...'.<sup>9</sup>

The Auckland reaction was to be expected, but the protest from Otago at this juncture was a little surprising. The Otago vote in the House was divided, five in favour and four against.<sup>10</sup> Now, in a printed memorial, Otago asked the Governor to 'Suspend Taking Action... for the Removal of the Seat of Government... until after the next election'. The province's grievances would not be remedied simply by the proposed change. It was claimed, by some convolution of thought, that in 'making the Government of Auckland more difficult, the Removal will in Reality leave the Ministry less time to attend to the affairs of Otago'. It was, Otago considered, 'exceedingly undignified' to invoke the assistance of Governors of neighbouring colonies 'to adjust a purely domestic affair...'.<sup>11</sup>

To Auckland it was not merely undignified but 'unconstitutional'. Whitaker's friends in the Provincial Council, on 28 December, in a special session between Christmas and New Year,



considered a lengthy report from its own Seat of Government Committee. The principal recommendation was that an immediate address be sent to the three Governors concerned 'protesting in the strongest terms against any interference on their part with the administration of the internal affairs of this Colony... such interference being unconstitutional and uncalled for'. There was an overt threat—any decision 'must prove unsatisfactory to the greater portion of the population... [and] will never be acquiesced in by them!'.<sup>12</sup>

Grey sensibly and politely waved aside the appeal while formally transmitting it with the invitations to the respective Governors to nominate individual commissioners.<sup>13</sup> The first choice of Sir John Young (New South Wales), was the State's distinguished servant, Sir Edward Deas Thomson, who declined on health grounds. The availability of Joseph Docker, 'a distinguished member of the Legislative Council', was formally advised on 14 April. From Melbourne Governor C.H. Darling notified the willingness of Sir Francis Murphy to act, and Sir Thomas Gore Browne from Hobarttown, for whatever reason, took a little longer to decide and Ronald Campbell Gunn left Tasmania with his letter of introduction dated 20 June.<sup>14</sup> They were an interesting trio; all immigrant settlers with pastoral experience, two with medical training, and the third of strong scientific interest and knowledge; all with political and administrative background, but there the similarities ended.

Sir Joseph Docker (1802-1884), surgeon, landowner, architect and designer of *Thornthwaite*, his homestead in the upper Hunter Valley, was also an artist and pioneer photographer—not to be confused with his Victorian cousin of the same names (1793-1865) of *Bontharambo*. Although it was his experience in various Cabinet posts which provided the grounds for his appointment, his interest to us now is as a recorder and tiro photographer. He had brought with him from Sydney the somewhat bulky camera and equipment for the collodion or wet plate process to record the tour.<sup>15</sup> In his own judgement the results were uneven and although some local scenes and portraits may still survive unidentified in New Zealand collections the main body of his plates appears to have been an Australian library casualty.

Sir Francis Murphy (1809-1891), like Docker, was at the outset of his career a surgeon and later a pastoralist. From a magistracy at Goulburn he moved to Port Phillip with his family in 1846 and took up another run. He was in the Victorian Legislative Council from 1851 to 1855 but after the establishment of representative government was elected to the House and was Speaker for fifteen years, his incumbency when appointed to the Commission. He was plain,



blunt, able, wealthy but without any of the interests of his colleagues.

Ronald Campbell Gunn (1808-1881), prison superintendent, administrator, politician, estate manager, and above all botanist, perhaps met with more response from New Zealanders of similar background interests. The son of an army officer at Cape Town, he emigrated to Tasmania in 1830 at the suggestion of an elder brother then in the colony, where his abilities, range of interest, understanding of people, humour and engaging personality ensured his success. Like Colenso in New Zealand he was for decades a collector for the Hookers at Kew to whose insatiable expectations he once penned a bantering letter of defence worthy of an anthology. For some seven years he was the editor of the *Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science*, Australia's first scientific serial.<sup>16</sup>

The Commission, of course, needed a secretary, the choice being Frederick J. Eaton (1839-1881), a former London War Office clerk who emigrated to New Zealand to take up farming. In view of the Waikato War he was happy to accept a temporary place in the Colonial Defence Office at ten shillings per day, two months before the Commission's arrival. As the latest appointee he could be spared with least dislocation and was seconded accordingly.<sup>17</sup> The commissioners were each paid £5 5s. per day, and Eaton £1 1s., both parties plus expenses.

In view of the communication delays of the period the act was brought together in remarkably short time. Despite local rumours of several ships from various ports by which members might be expected individually the party sensibly assembled in Sydney and crossed to Auckland in the *Prince Alfred*. The ten days between their arrival on 23 July and their departure for Wellington on 3 August were occupied in the formalities of their appointment and a visit to the Waikato. Press detail on their Auckland activities is understandably meagre. The province, after all, had asked them not to come. There certainly would have been a meeting with Grey who as Governor had signed and presumably handed over the formal commission of 29 July<sup>18</sup> authorising them to nominate a site in accordance with the quoted resolution.

The ever facetiously superior *Daily Southern Cross* honoured them with a leading article of two columns on how their task appeared from the capital:

These gentlemen of high character and position have been chosen by three Governors of equally high character and yet more lofty position... some of us may feel a shade of disappointment at the thought. Dear me, these men are, after all, very like our selves... heroes... [to] face the terrors of Cooks Straits in winter... of all places the least likely to become the seat of Government in New Zealand...<sup>19</sup>



Although the campaign in the Waikato had virtually ended with the battle of Orakau four months earlier, many of the troops were still in camp and significant skirmishing was continuing on the southern and eastern limits of British power. The *Herald's* Te Awamutu correspondent reported their arrival at the camp on 28 July with an A.D.C. to be greeted by General Carey. A garbled placename suggests that Kihikihi might have been their furthest night stop but the journalist gloating in revolting prose at the territorial spoils of the campaign could only say that '... they must have been impressed with the resources of this vast and inexhaustible tract of country'.<sup>20</sup>

He would have been disappointed at Docker's impressions in his first surviving letter:

What we have seen of the interior has uniformly consisted of bare undulating plains covered with fern instead of grass and without a tree or shrub for fifty miles at a stretch interspersed with swamps on which the flax grows... occasionally these swamps collect into small lakes which when they have a few trees near them are picturesque enough but then you cannot get near them as these margins are all swampy...

Docker's description might have been a reflection of his pictorial disappointment for he had little opportunity to try out his new equipment which was heavy and bulky. Each shot apparently required an exposure of ten minutes:

... I took the camera with me to the front and saw several nice points of view... [but] we were always too early in the morning in starting or too late in arriving to do anything... The plates Mr Hitzer prepared were good for nothing; they came out all spots and streaky so that those I did get... were worthless...<sup>21</sup>

The *Lord Ashley* on which they travelled to Wellington made an overnight stop at Napier permitting Gunn to visit Colenso in his eyrie by Milton Road, probably their first meeting which Colenso later mentioned to Hooker. The coastal voyage was in company with Dr I.E. Featherston, Provincial Superintendent of eleven years standing. On arrival in Wellington on 7 August Murphy and Docker accompanied Featherston to Government House 'which had been prepared for their reception'. Gunn had to be rescued from Queen's Hotel on the Quay—a slight hint that at this point of time he was, very briefly, the odd man out.<sup>22</sup>

Although there was no suggestion that the journey south had been taken up with political discussion, Featherston would have been his most urbane and ingratiating self in discreetly dispelling much of the Auckland-induced anti-Wellington mythology. Gisborne has pointed out that his influence over men 'was almost magnetic'.<sup>23</sup> As a strong provincialist his views on several matters would have been in tune with those of representatives of three separate states. Docker, writing cautiously to a son in distant



Australia, warned that 'we cannot arrive as yet at any conclusion with regard to our ultimate decision; when we have seen the other places we shall be better able to judge...'. They were so feted and made much of that, although 'doubtless very pleasant to be paid five guineas a day to eat and drink... the absolute deprivation of almost a single hour of privacy is underpaid at that amount'. But 'if our decision should leak out in any way, I daresay we should meet with a different reception from the disappointed province...'.

On the day after their arrival in Wellington they held their first meeting at noon in Government House when Murphy was appointed Chairman. As Docker later commented, 'Although I was named first in the commission I thought it expedient to cede the chairmanship to Sir Francis as it was evident we should get on better...'.<sup>24</sup> It was a wise decision. Apart from his title, Murphy had broader experience and higher standing in the legislature of his state than did Docker in New South Wales. Docker, henceforth, was more free to observe and photograph.

Members agreed also on general principles by which the various localities were to be appraised, such as their relative central position and access by sea and land, 'water capabilities', harbour approaches, depth of water, anchorage, protection from the prevailing winds, tides etc. Of comparable importance was the potential of the town itself, the resources of the surrounding country, its capability for defence, and, finally, natural disadvantages and the extent to which these were 'capable of removal or amelioration'.

The first Wellington witness was R.J. Duncan, manager of the New Zealand Steam Navigation Company, who had earlier agreed to make the company's newest vessel, the *Rangatira*, available to the Commission throughout the survey. Some evidence presented, although not in itself of the highest importance, is now of intriguing value to the local historian—for example, the fact that at the period of post-Crimean war artillery development, a battery on Ward Island could prevent the entry of a hostile vessel—'Wards Island would be the key of the Harbor'; but Major Coote's additional proposal for guns not merely at the Pilot Station but on Barrett's Reef might have daunted the most intrepid Royal Engineer of the period.<sup>25</sup>

Not that any bland calm in Wellington's weather gave grounds for such an assumption. To Docker's disappointment it was most seasonal—'so bad, blowing a gale with constant showers that I have only got three pictures as yet'. He had, notwithstanding, 'a capital darkroom in a bathroom attached to my bedroom which enables me to prepare plates when I can get a moment of time. There is a very fine effect produced by snowy mountains in the background when the mist and cloud will allow you to see them.'



A change of scene was imminent. Coincidentally with the Commission's visit Featherston was about to ride up to Manawatu to pay the Maori owners £12,000 in gold, due on the purchase of the upper Manawatu or Ahuataranga Block. It was desirable that Murphy and partners should see something of the province—and Wanganui—although, as Docker commented somewhat gloomily, the visit meant that they would be obliged also to travel into the hinterlands of Marlborough and Nelson.

Apart from Wellington, Wanganui was the only contender north of the strait, a burgeoning garrison town in the build-up for Cameron's later 'advance' up the coast. The Chamber of Commerce, buoyant in the expectation of profit from supply and other benefits, was metaphorically reaching for the sky in the mood of its jumbo-jet candidature a century later. The chance of being the capital, however remote, was worth some effort and a fillip to its curious struggle for independence from the Wellington Provincial Council.<sup>26</sup> This campaign, an annoyance, if not a worry to Featherston, would doubtless have prompted him to persuade Murphy to give the town the honour of an examination. For Docker and Gunn it was to be the highlight of the tour.

Accordingly, a week after their arrival, early one afternoon, they left for Otaki and places north 'in a carriage with an American van to carry all our luggage', Docker again regretting the constraints of travel and duty while his 'apparatus' rolled unused amongst the baggage. Five hours later, 'after a most romantic drive... which made me disgusted that I had not time to stop...', the party arrived at 'Horokiwi' (Pauatahanui) where they dried out 'and slept in a middling inn'. Next morning, after Docker had secured one picture, they set off 'up a very beautiful gorge' to the extensive view from the Paekakariki summit, everything from Queen Charlotte Sound to Egmont, which, at Featherston's request, Docker took in 'three views... but they were not well suited [to] the camera being too extensive'. The zigzag descent 'without the slightest protection on the outside where the hill went almost sheer down', was not a time for photography.<sup>27</sup>

After lunch at Waikanae, Docker and Gunn rode ahead with Featherston to take pictures at Otaki 'with some Maoris to carry the camera to the pa of a famous chief called Wi Tako who had lately made his submission and who Dr F. was very anxious I should take':

I told him I was afraid it was no use trying with a dry plate; however he [Wi Tako] stood very well and I think it would have been very fair only I found on developing it in the evening that I had put in the plate with its back foremost, so that it had got scratched & going through the glass was out of focus.



Featherston also 'paraded' before him other notable chiefs, including Tamihana Te Rauparaha and an unidentified sister of the great Te Rauparaha himself. 'As I could work wet collodion here I got two groups of them on negatives.' The party then visited the Maori church, called on Mrs Hadfield (the Archdeacon was away) and continued on to the ferry at the mouth of the Manawatu. Here, by arrangement, was the Resident Magistrate, Walter Buller, to escort them up-river in canoes, but heavy rain, an unpromising outlook—and Sir Francis... very complaining'—prompted their withdrawal from the Gorge purchase ceremony to which Featherston and Buller with the golden bags continued separately.

The commissioners continued up the beach to Scott's Ferry at the Rangitikei where they crossed 'squatting down in a Maori canoe'. In the morning there were striking views of both Egmont and Ruapehu, i.e. 'Tongariro the great mountain in the interior covered with snow... there seemed to be on its side an open crater for a cloud would constantly form and disappear upwards, shortly afterwards again forming...'.<sup>28</sup> Lunch was twelve miles on, inland at Te Arataumihi<sup>29</sup> 'on the middle Rangitikei', after which Docker, who had been on horseback for the two preceding days, took to the van; the carriage seems to have been left at Pauatahanui. A further fifteen miles saw them at Turakina for the night, from where, next day, they proceeded, partly by a 'fine macadamised road', to the Wanganui River and another ferry into town.

Here, as Docker noted with amusement, 'the distinguished individuals', in the words of the *Chronicle*, were received only by Colonel Logan, commander of the 700 men of the 57th Regiment stationed there, and the Police Magistrate, Major Durie. 'We have to stay here a few days to investigate their claim to the seat of Government which I do not think will take long to dispose of but we must go through the form.'

Sir Francis, however, 'being in a very restless humour & dissatisfied with our stay in Wanganui... said he would go up the river in the steamer'.<sup>29</sup> It will be recalled that the *Rangatira* was at their disposal and although a perusal of the passenger lists makes it clear that the ordinary traveller could take advantage of her presence in Wellington, Wanganui or Picton to hitch a crossing, the Chairman's wishes would naturally have had priority.

On two counts this was the day of the young secretary from the Defence Office, Fred Eaton. Instructed by Sir Francis to discuss the practicability of the up-river excursion with Captain Mundle and find out 'when the tide would suit', Eaton sensibly thought it politic 'to ask a few of the principal people to go with us...'. However, without further consultation, Eaton 'in our name' invited over a hundred and ordered 'a magnificent luncheon'. As most of the invi-



tations had been written by Colonel Logan and Sir Robert Douglas,<sup>30</sup> the band of the 57th came along too 'so that we were not so compromised as we might have been'. Despite rain the trip up to Parikino (not named) and back went off very well. The Reverend Richard Taylor, one of the 'principal people' invited, was a little more critical having been told to be at the wharf at 8 a.m. and the eventual time of departure, perhaps because of tide, being over two hours later. It is clear, too, that Taylor's knowledge of the river was of some value in Mundle's handling of the vessel.

The extemporised ball that evening, which neither Taylor nor Docker attended, had its moments. Coincidentally, a lady friend of Docker's son was in Wanganui with her sister. As Docker described the incident:

Miss Reed introduced herself to me on board and then ended by asking me to be her partner in the first quadrille and would not hear of my declining. However although the ball was only next door I did not go down to the ballroom so a pair of white gloves were sent up to me which equally failed in moving me.

He missed the climax:

Mr Eaton made a sad faux pas... He had taken too much champagne, as had some of the officers, and dancing with a young lady he fell and pulled her down either under or upon him and as, most unaccountably, she wore no drawers, there was a most fearful exposé.

At this point, as an interlude, there was a little work. Sir Francis, in a later press interview, was at pains to point out that in Wanganui 'Several deputations waited on the Commrs. prepared with information setting forth the claims of the district... and the river was inspected.'<sup>31</sup> From Eaton's minutes, evidence was heard on 22 August from ten persons including Major Durie and John White (the magistrates), the Reverend Richard Taylor and his son the Reverend Basil Taylor. The secretary duly recorded that the bar was 'continually shifting' but 'might be removed at great cost'. Coal of 'a fair quality' had been found up river but timber 'is at present obtained from Nelson and Picton at cheaper rates than the district timber could be supplied'. The claim that 'Whanganui is the centre of all available land in the North Island' ignored the implications of the Confiscation Act and was perhaps as tendentious as the belief that 'Several fine specimens of gold... [had been] taken from the bed of the river'. The efforts of the next 20 years were to collect but little more.

It is clear from Taylor's evidence that Eaton did not count the Maori deputation who attended. Docker thought it 'a good opportunity to photograph' but the room was too dark. The Maoris



naturally 'thought this rather an extraordinary way of receiving them' and Taylor's suggestion that it would be better to have a special photographic session in Maori costume at Putiki was arranged. They were all grouped near Taylor's house, 'when, lo, some slide had been left behind', the interval till it had been collected being occupied by the chiefs 'drawing an outline of New Zealand on the ground... pointing out the different provinces and showing how central was the position of Wanganui'.<sup>32</sup> Not unexpectedly all spent the day with Taylor who, as so often, had to feed the multitude.

Within a day or so, when Featherston arrived from his Manawatu function, the long anticipated up-river journey by canoe to Moutoa and Ranana went ahead. Sir Francis, meanwhile, had seen enough of Wanganui and took the *Rangatira* over to Picton to savour what Marlborough had to offer. There was clearly a tiff over this breakaway step, for months later, back in Australia, Murphy, in acknowledging some photographs which Docker had sent him 'had the grace to apologise for the Wanganui business'.<sup>33</sup> It was left to the most willing photographer Docker and botanist Gunn to make the most of the excursion.

The journey was, of course, only three months after the battle of Moutoa Island, when a large Hauhau party under Matene Rangitaira had been narrowly defeated by Wanganui 'friendlies'. Many of the contestants on both sides were closely related. Docker's account of the expedition extended over two letters only one of which has survived but the main details appear to be in the one available. Photographically, it was his most successful excursion to date:

The scenery was most exquisite and I got about 18 plates wet and dry, some of them good and others bad, chiefly from the collodion which has a most extraordinary propensity to split and crack all over, even before developing. I had some provoking mishaps too, one especially; I had taken a capital plate of the War Dance & had got safely transferred to a large pan of water when being obliged to go to set the camera for another scene, although I had urged the interpreters to let no men into the dark room, on coming back I found a Maori emptying a pot of sweet potatoes into the pan right on the face of the negative which was of course completely spoiled.

He had got a good one of the presentation of the address of the General Assembly to the heroes of the battle of Moutoa 'which is to go to the Illustrated London News. I have got myself in it.' Regrettably a search has not found it in the paper. There were some interesting first-hand stories of the battle itself:

About 300 Maories accompanied us to the Island of Moutoa and there acted the battle with all the previous incantations of the fanatics knocking each other down



and striking with their spears and muskets and leaving the pretended dead lying about as they charged over the Island. It was a most extraordinary scene. I then went to the rebel part & got a view of the Island. In the Council house or runanga was a depression in which they had placed Capt Lloyds head out of the skull of which they all drank and which they pretended spoke to them. We had with us the policeman [probably Te Moro] who killed the false prophet Mateni [Matene Rangitaurira] and we stood on the stone on which he was tomahawked. We had also with us the man whose leg was afterwards amputated [Tamehana Te Aewa], at every pa we came to, he was seated with his wife at his knee and all the women came and stood in a half circle before him making "tangi", the most melancholy sound you can imagine and the tears streaming in torrents; the sound at a distance resembled an Aeolian harp. They then commenced rubbing noses or rather glueing them for they would keep them in contact for half an hour. I am sure no leg was ever so mourned over before... We have seen more pure Maori life and customs than we could possibly have done in any other manner and at the pah above Moutoa we saw the two large ovens which the fanatics had prepared to bake their adversaries who they fully expected to mesmerise by their incantations and in which they are themselves buried... A girl was standing on the verandah (of the house I used) during the battle when a chance ball came from the Island and struck her in the forehead killing her instantly....

The press added a detail. At the Catholic Mission they were hospitably entertained by Father Lampila who provided home-made claret which they pronounced 'to be of a very superior kind'. Lampila's lay brother, Father Euloge, had been an accidental victim of the battle.<sup>34</sup> There was promise of another excursion to the interior, with magnificent scenery, 'so the camera goes too'; however these plans fell through and the two men returned to Wellington by the *Rangitira* on 6 September. Sir Francis's crossing to Picton had been marred by a south-easterly gale which had obliged the vessel to seek shelter in Pelorus Sound before making port.

In Wellington there was time only for one more excursion before crossing to the South Island. On Thursday 10 September the Commissioners 'ascended the Rimutaka' to snatch a glimpse of Wairarapa. Whether anyone told them of H.S. Wardell's ironic plans for a new capital beside the lake is unknown.<sup>35</sup>

Once over the strait, with word of a vessel leaving Nelson for Sydney on 3 October, Docker had time for only one last hasty note home with passing reference to yet 'another escapade of our Secretary...'. In the event they signed their report on 3 October and sailed the same day. The *Nelson Examiner*, however, fully covered the operation and pending the discovery of further primary source material the party's movements may be summarised.

They reached Picton from Wellington on the 13th<sup>36</sup> and next day went 'towards the Grove' with the Superintendent, A.P. Seymour, and Messrs Baillie and Godfrey. Readers were reminded that many years ago the Valley of the Grove had been pointed out 'by parties well qualified to judge, and by men holding high official positions,



as the best site in New Zealand for the seat of the General Government'. If this was the strongest statement worthy of report the case must have been weak indeed; nevertheless there were visits to Blenheim and the formal hearing of the usual submissions.

The *Rangatira* brought the party round to Nelson on the 22nd<sup>37</sup> where Dr David Monro, a prominent Nelson citizen, did his best, although a representative of Picton in the House of which he was Speaker. He missed a cruise round the bay on Saturday with the Superintendent, J.P. Robinson, and J.C. Richmond, briefly Provincial Secretary. The vessel went first to the Croisilles, before crossing over to Collingwood where she anchored for the night. Docker managed to take some photos when the party landed next morning, before a return to Nelson by Separation Point and Kaiteriteri.<sup>38</sup> In slight variation of its formulae the press noted that the subjects on which the commissioners laid most stress were the present harbourage and the possibility of extending it, the quantity of land still available for settlement '... the present area of the city... drainage, sewerage, the visitations of earthquake... and the general capabilities of the place, including the manufacture of bricks'.<sup>39</sup> The *Examiner*, to emphasise the town's relative stability, gave a most detailed history of Wellington's convulsions, which, if somewhat overplayed, were perhaps the most comprehensive summary so far printed.

On Monday it was the turn of the Chamber of Commerce and the customary hospitality. Monro had problems arranging a return dinner—'great difficulty in getting poultry and everything very awkward in consequence'.<sup>40</sup> The event preceding this occasion was an excursion towards the province's mineral hope by the Dun Mountain railway. At the lower levels Docker got some shots but at the saddle mist rolled out and the weather 'turned out badly'. Docker's disappointment was probably mitigated by the gift of views taken by a local photographer, for Monro noted on 1 October that 'Mr Docker has had all the photographs'.

Towards the end of the stay, J.C. Richmond and his wife Mary attended 'a grand dinner and evening party for the Commissioners'—one can almost feel Docker's groans. Mr Gunn, however, was 'a very pleasant intelligent man' whom Richmond, according to his wife, 'likes the best. He is a scientific man',<sup>41</sup> an echo of Taylor's opinion in Wanganui, namely that 'Mr Gunn is a great botanist and a very intelligent man'.<sup>42</sup> What, if anything, was said between Richmond and Gunn about William Colenso, the former's parliamentary colleague and bete-noir but at least a scientific colleague and correspondent of Gunn's, is not recorded.

The three men professed themselves 'delighted with the beauty and pleasantness of Nelson' but gave no clue as to their decision;



nor, understandably, had they done so before leaving for Sydney two days later on the S.S. *Otago*. The report to Grey, dated 3 October, set out the principles of their enquiry, as already given, which they had followed 'in the examination of every site submitted to their examination'. Then followed their itinerary and the judgement:

Having thus made themselves acquainted, as far as was practicable, with the character and capabilities of both shores of Cook's Strait, the Commissioners have arrived at the unanimous conclusion that Wellington, in Port Nicholson, is the site upon the shores of Cook's Straits which presents the greatest advantages for the administration of the Government of the Colony.

The *Examiner*, in noting the Commission's departure and the sealed envelope as its only visible legacy, speculated that on arrival in Sydney members 'may not consider themselves bound' to secrecy.<sup>43</sup> The Wakapuaka-Sydney cable link was still twelve years in the future but a steamer could bring back such news from Sydney in less time than it would be received from Auckland. The expectation was in vain as the commissioners naturally respected the confidentiality of their decision.

So until the S.S. *Wellington* crossed the Manukau bar in the dawn of 14 October, eleven days later, speculation was rife. Many Nelsonians were taking optimistic bets on their chances but the Wellington correspondent of the *Southern Cross* had a contrary impression—'It was understood at Nelson that Wellington had been chosen.' Confirmation the following day was taken on the chin, the *New Zealand Herald* being quite philosophical: 'Few people will be surprised nor can we recognise in it any serious injury to the real capital of the Colony.' It was impossible, in any case, that it be moved 'so long as the native rebellion remains unsuppressed'.<sup>44</sup>

In the short term, at least, both decision and commitment were irreversible. The move was very much part of the policy of the man about to be Premier who gave cogent reasons for proceeding.<sup>45</sup> Not unexpectedly a petition signed early in 1865 by 7,920 devout Aucklanders 'earnestly praying that the Northern Portion of these Islands may be temporarily erected into a separate Colony' was submitted for transmission to the Secretary of State. But first ministers, and then a reluctant Grey, were in Wellington soon after.<sup>46</sup> The last milestone, the great 'Separation' debate in September, concluded with a victory for unity by 31 votes to 17.



## REFERENCES

- 1 I am greatly indebted to Mrs Constance Leask of Murwillumbah, N.S.W., for arousing my interest in the letters of her great-grandfather, and to her son Mr A.G. Leask, with Mr & Mrs Peter Docker of Sydney, for most generously making copies available to me. Copies are also held in the McLeay Museum, Sydney, with plates of Australian scenes. More recently Mr Docker has kindly given me a copy of Margaret Piddington's *Joseph Docker*, a booklet privately printed for the family's sesquicentennial reunion in Sydney in 1984.
- 2 Alexander Turnbull Library (qMS 1864, N.Z. Seat of Government Commission), accessioned in 1933 and comprising some eleven documents, the first four of which supplement the official record in National Archives (I.A. 64/2174). The following five are minutes of meetings with copies of some of the evidence submitted. An amended draft report and Docker's expenses-claim voucher complete the file. Alexander Turnbull acquired the papers in 1907 from the family of R.C. Gunn, the Commissioner from Launceston. A lengthy article on the papers in the *New Zealand Times* (4 September 1907, p.5) referred discreetly to their acquisition by 'a well-known private collector of New Zealand literature'.
- 3 *The Journal of Henry Sewell, 1853-7*, edited by W. David McIntyre, 2 vols (Christchurch, 1980), I, 104; II, 245.
- 4 Alfred Saunders, *History of New Zealand*, 2 vols (Christchurch, 1896-99), II, 23.
- 5 AJHR (N.Z. Parliament. Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives) 1862, D.—11, 'Return of the Public Records, &c., lost in the Wreck of the Steamer "White Swan"'.  
6 Saunders, I, 325.
- 7 Charles Rooking Carter, *Life and Recollections of a New Zealand Colonist*, 3 vols (London, 1866-75), II, 202. Carter's book, although printed in 1866 and 1875, was not released until 1909. See *New Zealand National Bibliography to the Year 1960*, I, 179 (Bagnall 1002). Carter's report of the debate and analysis was, however, published in the *Wellington Independent*, in part, 24 November etc.
- 8 Carter, II, pp. 203-207.
- 9 Extract from Journals, House of Representatives, on I.A. 63/3337 (National Archives).
- 10 Carter, II, 207.
- 11 On I.A. 63/3337.
- 12 Auckland Provincial Council, *Votes & Proceedings*, 1863/64, 67-70.
- 13 AJHR, 1864, D.—2, 'Papers Relative to the Removal of the Seat of Government to Cook's Straits'.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p.9. The delay by Gore Browne advising the nomination may have been due to his own doubts about the propriety of the state's involvement. The curious story allegedly told by a Commissioner to an Auckland journalist about an unidentified Governor being 'most unwilling to interfere' could have emanated from Gunn. (*New Zealand Herald*, 15 October 1864).  
The *Australian Dictionary of Biography* entry (V.2) for Sir Edward Thomson states that in '1866' he was asked by Young to act as a Commissioner for the New Zealand Government 'in reorganising its civil service' but declined. This is probably a confusion with the 1864 invitation. Thomson, in a letter to Gunn (11 June 1864), states that he declined the mission as his health would not permit such a commitment during the winter (Mitchell Library, Gunn Papers MS A247).
- 15 The difficulties of using the wet plate process with the bulky equipment necessary are explained in Hardwicke Knight, *Photography in New Zealand* (Dunedin, 1971), p. 21 and elsewhere. Docker, who also used dry plate, does



- not seem to have met any other collodion photographer in either Wellington or Wanganui although W.J. Harding was supposedly in business in Wanganui by this time. It is possible that some prints attributed to Harding may have been from Docker's plates.
- 16 General detail on the commissioners from the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Gunn to Hooker, 12 March 1847, on Australian Joint Copying Project microfilm of Kew Archive (ATL Micro MS Coll. 10, reel 20). To date, no letter from Gunn describing the visit has been found, and efforts to locate a diary have failed.
  - 17 C.D. 64/2178 (National Archives).
  - 18 AJHR, 1864, D.—2, Enclosure no. 24; ATL qMS 1864.
  - 19 *Daily Southern Cross*, 29 July 1864.
  - 20 *New Zealand Herald*, 4 August 1864.
  - 21 Joseph Docker to Ernest Docker, 12 August 1864.
  - 22 *New Zealand Spectator*, 10 August 1864.
  - 23 William Gisborne, *New Zealand Rulers and Statesmen* (London, 1886), p.85.
  - 24 Docker to Docker, 12 August.
  - 25 Evidence, 10 August 1864, witness no. 5 (ATL qMS 1864).
  - 26 Two examples of the pamphlet campaign have been seen: the first a 23-page publication, *The Separation Movement... by One of themselves...* (Wellington, 1864) (Bagnall 4354), and a broadside, *Wanganui Separation*, reprinted from the *Daily Southern Cross*, 26 August 1864.
  - 27 Docker to Docker, 21 August.
  - 28 Ibid. The author of this paper discusses this significant sighting in *Tongariro and the Ways to it* (in ms).
  - 29 Te Arataumihi, probably inland from Santoft, has not been pinpointed.
  - 30 Sir Robert Douglas, 3rd Baronet, was then an officer in the 57th Regt. He later settled in Northland and was for one term the member for Marsden (1876-9).
  - 31 *New Zealand Advertiser*, 30 August 1864.
  - 32 Richard Taylor, *Journal 1833-73*, 22 August 1864 (Typescript, ATL qMS).
  - 33 Gunn to Docker, 6 February 1865 (Mitchell Library, Gunn MS A251). I am much indebted to Ms Jane Wild and Mr P.M. Clarke for checking Gunn material in the Mitchell Library.
  - 34 *New Zealand Advertiser*, 30 August 1864.
  - 35 A.G. Bagnall, *Wairarapa* (Masterton, 1976), p.518.
  - 36 *Nelson Examiner*, 20 September 1864, from *Marlborough Express*, 16 September. Docker to Docker, 13 September. Curiosity, only partially satisfied, impels us to follow Mr Eaton a little further. He was probably the unsung courier of the final document for he reported back in Auckland the day the despatch arrived with, despite Docker's reservations, a satisfactory letter of commendation. (National Archives, I.A. 64/3309). Some years later he went to Australia, entered the Church, fell ill and died at the age of 42. A coincidental but pleasing result of research on the letters was to satisfy an Australian descendant of the Reverend J.F. Eaton about hitherto unknown aspects of his great-grandfather's career in New Zealand.
  - 37 *Nelson Examiner*, 24 September 1864.
  - 38 Ibid, 27 September.
  - 39 Ibid.
  - 40 David Monro, *Diary*, 28 September 1864. By courtesy of the Nelson Provincial Museum.
  - 41 Letter to Jane Maria Atkinson, 30 September 1864; Richmond/Atkinson Papers (ATL MS Coll.) and *The Richmond-Atkinson Papers*, edited by G.H. Scholefield, 2 vols (Wellington, 1961), II, 123.
  - 42 Taylor, *Journal*, 22 August.



43 *Nelson Examiner*, 4 October 1864.

44 *New Zealand Herald*, 15 October 1864.

45 AJHR, 1865, A.—1, 'Memoranda Relative to the Seat of Government, Native Affairs, &c'. Jeanine Graham, *Frederick Weld* (Auckland, 1983), pp. 89-90.

46 AJHR, 1865, A.—5, 'Despatches from the Governor of New Zealand...' schedule item no. 16. AJHR, 1865, B.—9, 'Return showing the Cost of Removal...' shows that the total cost of removing the seat of government from Auckland to Wellington was £54,665 5s 9d of which £4,085 5s 7d was the cost of the Commission. Compensation totalling £9,497 8s 8d was paid to 72 officers who were obliged to move south, headed by Sir George Grey, who received £1,125.

## Artists of the Hobson Album, 1: Edward Ashworth, 1814-1896

JANET PAUL

Preparations for the 1940 centenary of British annexation brought into organised focus a sense of the value of New Zealand history and its records. The Under Secretary of Internal Affairs, Joseph Heenan, was a man of exceptional wisdom, enthusiasm and drive. Under his direction a Centennial Branch and an advisory committee were set up and Eric McCormick was appointed editor of centennial publications. Work on an historical atlas was begun. Regional and subject histories were planned and through W.J. Jordan, High Commissioner in London, the return to New Zealand of the visual and verbal documents of our history was actively sought.

The Rendel family, only descendants of William and Eliza Hobson, responded with the donation of letters and a large album which proved to be the single most important visual record of the northern and central landscape of the North Island and the customs of its Maori people during the first three years of British occupation. This album had been presented to Mrs Hobson by her friends in June 1843 when she and her five children left Auckland, nine months after the death of her husband, the first governor. We do not know for certain whether she took the album with her or left it to be completed and brought to her in Plymouth, in 1845, a date inscribed on one of the last drawings. Nor, on looking at the album, was it possible to attribute the work to known artists or writers. Only five drawings had either initials or signatures. These problems of attribution, with background history and catalogue notes, will be presented with the facsimile of Mrs Hobson's Album, edited by Elsie Locke and Janet Paul, which is to be published this year by the Government Printer and the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust.

It is now possible to name the contributors and to suppose that the impulse to collate such an album may have come from the young architect Edward Ashworth who, from late November 1842, acted as tutor to Mrs Hobson's two elder children. The sepia frontispiece to the Album is the work of Edward Ashworth, as are two watercolour paintings of Government House and two Auckland landscapes done from its vicinity. The other identified contributors to Mrs Hobson's Album are B. Connell, Wiremu





Auckland. New Zealand. 1843 ink 12.3 x 18.3cm. (In his Sketchbook, 1843-1844) Shows Saint Paul's Church, before the spire was added, above Commercial Bay. Drawings & Prints Coll. E42/9

Hoete Ririkakara, Dr John Johnson, William Mason, Felton Mathew, Edward Shortland, Te Whero Whero (Potatau I) and Joseph Jenner Merrett. Available published sources provide biographical information, from John Stacpoole's biography of the first architect William Mason to the vivid pictures presented by Una Platts in *The Lively Capital* (1971). This series of articles is intended to background the lesser-known contributors. One, Joseph Jenner Merrett, is an artist and anthropologist of sufficient historical importance to warrant a separate monograph.

\* \* \*

Edward Ashworth (1814-1896), the son of a barrister, was born at Colleton near Chumleigh, Devon. He trained as an architect and surveyor in Exeter and in London.<sup>1</sup> He may have been drawn to visit New Zealand since a sister and brother-in-law, Joseph Newman, owned land first at Kohimarama and later on what was called the Tamaki Road (now Remuera Road), Auckland.<sup>2</sup>

In London Ashworth had visited 'New Zealand House' and described the visit in his journal. There he had been

speedily answered in a most encouraging strain by those who had never seen the boarded dwelling, the rude tree bridge, the bulrush hut, or the split pale fence of a colonial property. The reply was "They *must* have persons to see after and erect

public buildings, churches, bridges, canals jetties wharfs docks & dwelling houses: they *must* have them: they cannot do *without* them Sir!"<sup>3</sup>

The young man had also been misled by 'rascally gents in London' who had persuaded him 'to lay out his cash in goods perfectly unsaleable in so over-stocked a market'.<sup>4</sup>

Ashworth left London, 19 May 1842, on the barque *Tuscan* (181 tons; F. Ormond master) bound for New Zealand via Port Phillip, where they arrived on 28 September.<sup>5</sup> There he made an accurate



Club House Melbourne [1842] watercolour 9.7 x 15.4cm. (In his 'Journal of a Voyage from London... 1842, 1844') MS Coll.

and vivid watercolour of the Clubhouse, Melbourne, and grazing sheep. Ashworth kept a lively, informative journal on shipboard and, unlike most emigrants, continued to note his impressions and activities once he had arrived.

Meantime we opened the harbour of Auckland, & were sadly disappointed at the brown & barren aspect of the country, which threw out the white boarded dwellings with a strong relief, which perhaps gave them a doubly desolate and isolated appearance; on the high land, east of the town was the long government house, in a conspicuous situation, a church of brick in process of erection, & a solid barrack for the soldiery near it. No trees, but 2 or 3 ragged ones near the water's edge; no roads, no hedges, apparently no cultivation at all...<sup>6</sup>

The passengers were immediately 'dumbfounded by the news of Captain Hobson's death two months previously',<sup>7</sup> but the young Ashworth made use of his second letter of introduction, to the Harbour Master. Captain Rough entertained him and helped him find lodgings (1 room, 8s. a week). Ashworth quickly put up his



professional plate as architect and surveyor: 'I felt obliged to people for not ridiculing my pretensions.' But no work resulted. Instead Ashworth again sought Captain Rough's help to find tutoring; and was introduced to Mr Cooper whose five sons he taught twice weekly for six months. A persistent sickness caused Ashworth to call on Dr Davis, whose eldest daughter, 'a blooming little girl of 13, was put under my tuition, and a very amiable and obedient scholar she was for a few months, till the badness of the time prevented her proceeding'.<sup>8</sup>

In the meantime Captain and Mrs Rough had taken to Government House Ashworth's letters of introduction. The young man was invited to call. He went expecting to find 'an elderly, prim, pompous and ceremonious lady'. To his surprised delight he was introduced to Eliza Hobson and found her 'comparatively young, beautiful, most aimiable [sic], and unaffected', sitting in a drawing room smelling of flowers and furnished with unusual elegance—not only a gilt chandelier but 'paintings, a handsome piano and some cases of highly ornamental books'. Mrs Hobson arranged that Ashworth 'should attend 3 times a week to teach her eldest daughter and son'.

Ashworth spent his first few months learning the arts of house-keeping and cooking and coping with the 'oviparous propensities of blowflies'. He suffered the prevailing poverty and comments:

The higher classes also felt the prevailing poverty, surgeons bills ran up, attornies found it was useless to sue, Land surveyors were without employment, cargoes of provision were forced off at auction sales.

The only class that seemed to do well were the *sans culotte* mowries; they had no rent to pay, their coarse food cost them nothing, but they *would* have their 6<sup>d</sup> for a bundle of firewood & 1/- for a kit of potatoes. Their potatoe plantations were nearer than the 'Tamaki farms' & their long canoes well adapted to carry firewood & to hang out many fish hooks, supplied the town plentifully... backloads of potatoes wood maize &c to the doors of the towns people.<sup>9</sup>

While he made his expenses teaching he purchased a 'spot of ground not 110 ft sq' and spent 'the best part of 12 months in framing and boarding and shingling my domicile'. Lacking work he was tempted by the high interest (12½ to 15 per cent) to lend money; but without adequate securities 'I lost more principal than I gained interest'.

How to exist on an ultra economical plan was now the question; for my finances being somewhere between 3 & £400 & no prospect of increase, what could I do? I determined to build a little house of my own, & live rent free, for the veriest holes containing 2 board<sup>d</sup> rooms were letting at from 10s. to 15s. per week. I went to work to purchase a spot of ground in the town. Town lands were sold by Government at an upset price of 100£ pr ac. but in reselling there must of course be profit so for about 2 perches of land of wh the upset price was 12s. 6d. per p. I paid



£13 per perch—This was the only suitable spot I could see & the surveyor who was agent for it pointed out the advantages of its being a corner allotment tho I could see no corner nor indication of streets. High Street the east boundary was only I found to be 16½ ft wide, & my valuable angle was most wofully wide (I afterwards found) of a right angle. I ought to say wofully narrow, wofully acute. The law expense for this location about 15ft by 37 was to be 2 guineas, but I ultimately paid above 3½. I next set to work to purchase timber, the noted New Zealand pine that makes such prime spars, this is sold by the lineal 100 feet, boards being equalized to a foot in width—14 shillings per hundred was asked at some sawpits on the beach, but by the advice of my acquaintances I waited the arrival of a raft, when any quantity could be had for 10s. or even 8s. per hund<sup>d</sup><sup>10</sup>



S<sup>t</sup> Georges Bay Auckland [1844?] ink and watercolour 14.2 x 28.4cm. (In his Sketchbook, 1843-1844) Drawings & Prints Coll. E42/45

Ashworth's watercolours of Auckland most probably were done when he was tutor to Mrs Hobson's children—that is, during the first half of 1843. Some of his spare time must have been spent working on the presentation album. Ashworth's name is one of those on the farewell address presented to Mrs Hobson.<sup>11</sup>

He notes the effect of colonising hardships on the women (his sister, perhaps, or a friend's wife is the model): 'She had landed in the colony 2 yrs before a delicate pretty young woman; she was so still, but sad coincidences of poor fare, of hardships & hope deferred... were visible on her pale but once rosy cheek...' <sup>12</sup> His brief and clearheaded account is a critical record of the early layout and administration of Auckland: 'An unwieldy government establishment swallowed up the slender funds for supporting the dignity and authority of Victoria in these islands... capitalists seemed aware of the puff and humbug that had been promulgated about New Zealand and kept their cash safe in England.' He added to the cultural life of Auckland on 29 July 1843 by giving a lecture on Grecian architecture at the Mechanics Institute.<sup>13</sup>

On 4 December 1843, Ashworth set off on a journey up the Waikato to collect a debt from 'the rascal H', a fellow passenger with Ashworth on the *Tuscan*, a part Indian who used to talk of his studies in Edinburgh.



Roguery is my theme, and I will describe my own sufferings from it, during a short residence in the colony of New Zealand. In the voyage from England, being one of 6 intermediate passengers, I was rather drawn into the company of one of them in prejudice of the rest from his being the only man of education of the lot, excepting only a scotch farmer of Dumfries & the Scotch are always wise & well instructed & given to useful knowledge, though they are at times inaccessible & reserved as they ought to be, to hold true the national emblem of the angry touch me not thistle flourished around with a legible *Nemo me impune lacessit*

H., for so I shall call him, was of Indian extraction as his dark yellow complexion, black eyes & hair betrayed, tho his large features, short neck & stature did not seem to belong to asia. His father he told me had been the military governor of a fortress in Hindostan. He was a good natured easy fellow, slept half the day & smoked nearly the other half amusing himself in discoursing of the gaieties of London at night to the mates as they turned in & turned out for their watches.<sup>14</sup>

'H' is identified as a William Hamilton, described in Maori Affairs records and Diocesan Office, Hamilton, Records of Baptism of Church Missionary Society at Otawhao, as a 'Trader of Puketaha'. He had opened an apothecary's shop in Auckland and practised medicine before decamping with some of Ashworth's money to Wanake near Te Awamutu.<sup>15</sup>

Ashworth and his party set off in a canoe from Onehunga Beach, crossed Manukau Harbour at a place he called Cowry, going from Waiuku to Awaroa stream then on to the Waikato river and Pepepe.



Church Missionary Station Mr Ashwell — Pepepe (paypaypay) on the Waikato River New Zealand [1843] watercolour 16.7 x 24cm. Inset: Architecture, New Zealandic [1843] (Sepia ink and wash 7 x 13.5cm.) Drawings & Prints Coll. A208/2-3



He gives us one vivid and unusual detail. He was asked 'Are you not hungry?'. When he had agreed he was, he was 'surprised & pleased' to see the Maoris 'collect about a bushel of sand on the bank of the river & spreading it over the bottom of the canoe light a fire & set on the pot while we were progressing'.<sup>16</sup> After journeying up the Waipa river to Whakawhaka they finally arrived at the settlement Ashworth describes as 'Whanakay'. His interview with Hamilton yielded no more than a promissory note made out to Hamilton's brother in England and Ashworth returned up the sea coast from Raglan to the Manukau making drawings of his resting places.

From the Hamlin's Mission Station at Orua he travelled by canoe. His companions 'hoisted 2 or 3 blankets as sails having a small mast with green flax shrouds and a sprit to spread the blanket...' The whole journey took twenty-four days: the final difficult days he describes graphically.

Evening closed in & no sort of settlement or shelter was visible: the waves of the flood tide were rapidly advancing to the steep bank which marked, "Hitherto shall thou come & no further & here shall thy proud waves be staid," so as it was dark, I crawled up the steep & got into a thicket of bushes, supped upon some cold potatoes, got into my blanket in the closest cover & had some disturbed sleep. The noise of the sea influenced my dreams which pictured a number of natives beckoning me on to a village, then I woke & though I knew myself safe from all intrusion of pigs reptiles or human beings, I could not divest myself of a feeling of horror inspired perhaps by the thundering of the sea close by me, I rose about 6 next morning, Sunday, & resumed my barefoot march, my bundle galled my shoulders to which it was corded & my legs were aching. After walking above an hour I saw that the coast tended inland forming to all appearance a narrow bay, & that my route onwards must here be circuitous, though hitherto it had been nearly straight. Moreover the waves of the flood tide were rapidly advancing & threatening to drive me for refuge to the bare loose sand cliffs that backed the beach, where I must wait for the ebb several hours.<sup>17</sup>

Once back in Auckland Ashworth finished the paling fence and advertised his 'Household furniture & the house itself on its allotment of land with garden fenced in', his drawing table, instruments, carpenter's and joiner's tools, views, maps and drawings.<sup>18</sup> The land had cost him £40 and the house £50 without labour. He received for the lot £74 0s. 11d.<sup>19</sup>

Ashworth left Auckland on the schooner *Thomas Lord*, 29 January 1844, which called at Whangarei harbour and the Bay of Islands where Ashworth made his last New Zealand drawings.

As the brown forbidding shores grew more & more indistinct I endeavoured to get a last fond look at the Farms where 2 or 3 real friends were daily endeavouring to reclaim the apparently worthless soil from the weeds & wildness that overspread it, I pictured one in particular resting from his hard hopeless unremunerating toil of 6 days & recalled the particulars of my last visit when I with a friend found him





View of the South arm of Waingaroa Bay New Zealand, with the Wesleyan Mission house & chapel. Looking N.W. Decr 1843 ink 15.2 x 21.6cm. Shows Waingaro, on Raglan Harbour. Drawings & Prints Coll. A208/6



Shipbuilders Yard on an inlet of Whangari harbour New Zealand showing remains of a Pah on Motoo Kioray (Rat I<sup>ld</sup>) the stream is called Kywha [1844] sepia wash 9.7 x 15.4cm. (In his 'Journal of a Voyage from London... 1842, 1844') Shows Motukiore Island in Whangarei Harbour. MS Coll.



alone working in his maize field: around & adjoining it were small patches of wheat turnips & potatoes defended from the inroads of stray pigs by trenches & banks thrown up by the indefatigable industry of 1 man. He dropped his hoe on perceiving friends & led the way to his flimsy weatherboard house despite 2 sash doors in its front designed a double debt to pay as door & window combined & a few English flowers creeping up the posts of a small shingled verandah: the domicile looked very hovel like as to its back premises wh were raupo huts. Some fowls, 2 or 3 pigs & a solitary cow, a valuable piece of live stock in the incipient colony formed a sort of farmyard. The host kindly asked us to take a draught of milk but when I looked at the distrained well drained udder of the poor beast I lost all thirsty ideas...<sup>20</sup>



Whangarei H<sup>†</sup> N.Z. Manganese rocks [1844] ink 12.3 x 18.3cm. (In his Sketchbook, 1843-1844) Shows Whangarei Harbour. Drawings & Prints Coll. E42/33

He arrived at Port Jackson, 15 February 1844.<sup>21</sup> The Mitchell Library holds detailed drawings of Sydney buildings which suggest that he may have spent some months there before going on to work in Hongkong for the remainder of 1844 and 1845. Back in England Ashworth wrote on Chinese architecture and gave many papers on church architecture to the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society. He rebuilt and restored churches and built new ones at Withecombe, Exmouth, Topsham and Exeter where he had started practice in 1846 and lived until his death.

He died at the age of 81, leaving a widow, two sons and two daughters.<sup>22</sup>





Victoria, Hong Kong from the Eastward [1844] *sepia ink and wash* 25.7 x 37.8cm. *Drawings & Prints Coll. B42/14*

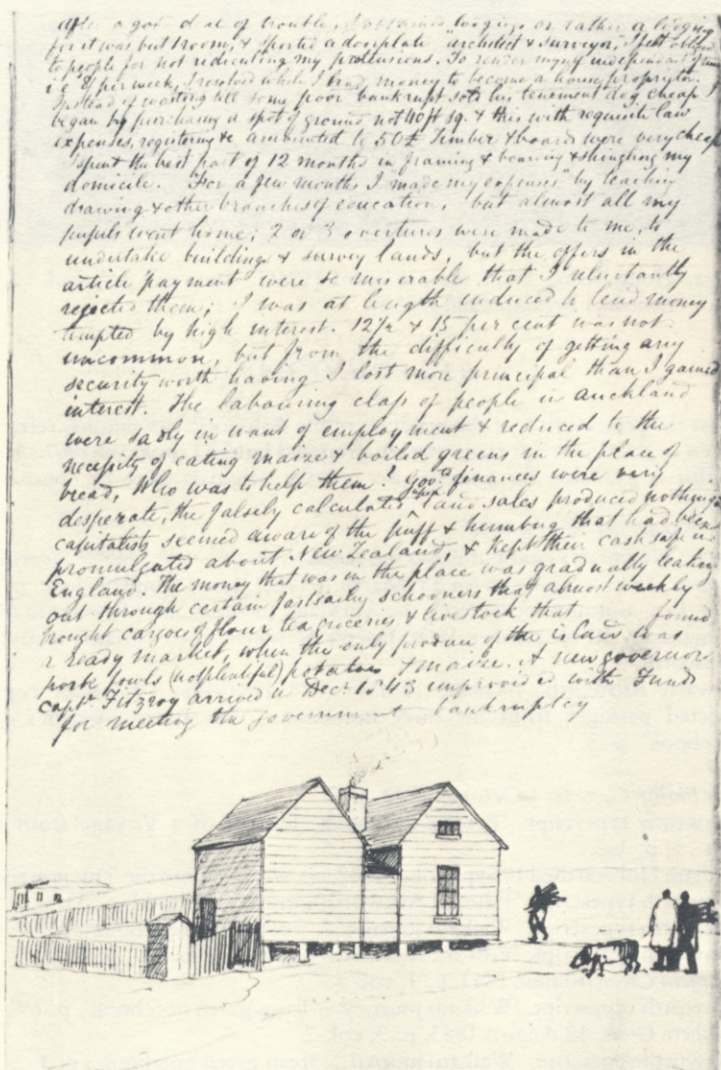
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To assist the preservation of the originals of the Ashworth notebooks, references are given to the typescript transcription prepared by the Library in 1967. A copy microfilm is available for general use and the originals may be consulted if necessary.

- 1 *The Builder*, 21 March 1896.
- 2 Joseph Newman's land purchases are recorded in the *New Zealand Government Gazette*, 1842, as follows: lot 53 (March, p. 122), lots 19 and 13 (June, p. 201, 202). In a communication from the Auckland Institute and Museum to Mrs I. Winchester, 18 November 1969, Joseph Newman's wife's name is given as Ashworth.
- 3 Edward Ashworth, *Journals, 1841-45* (MS 1841-45). Typescript copy of selected passages from his three notebooks: 'Edward Ashworth's green notebook', p. 5.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 1 October 1842, p. 2.
- 6 Ashworth typescript, 'Brown notebook, Journal of a Voyage from London...', p. 1-2.
- 7 William Hobson died 10 September 1842, six weeks before the *Tuscan* arrived.
- 8 Ashworth typescript, 'Edward Ashworth's green notebook', p. 33.
- 9 Ashworth typescript, 'Waikato journey... from green notebook', p. 57.
- 10 Ashworth typescript, 'Edward Ashworth's green notebook', p. 30.
- 11 *Southern Cross*, 10 June 1843, p. 1, col. 3.
- 12 Ashworth typescript, 'Waikato journey... from green notebook', p. 69.
- 13 *Southern Cross*, 12 August 1843, p. 3, col. 2.
- 14 Ashworth typescript, 'Waikato journal... from green notebook', p. 1.



- 15 Communication from Edinburgh University to Mrs I. Winchester. William Hamilton from Chunar in the East Indies matriculated at Edinburgh University 1835-1838/9 but did not formally graduate.
- 16 Ashworth typescript, 'Waikato journey... from green notebook', p. 27.
- 17 *Ibid*, p. 46.
- 18 *Ibid*, p. 62.
- 19 *Southern Cross*, 13 January 1844, p. 1, col. 4.
- 20 Ashworth typescript, 'Waikato journey... from green notebook', p. 68.
- 21 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 February 1844, p. 2.
- 22 Obituary, *The Builder*, 21 March 1896.



My town house in Auckland New Zealand [1843] sepia ink 6.2 x 11cm. (In his 'Journal of a Voyage from London... 1842, 1844') MS Coll.



## Nathaniel Bacon and Francisco Spira: the presbyterian and the apostate

BRIAN OPIE

Simply noting the fact that, in the space of about 300 years, the life of the Italian apostate Francesco Spira was of sufficient interest in the English-speaking world to be offered to the reading public at least 50 times, is by itself a spur to speculation and inquiry. Copies of various editions of the story contain annotations by nineteenth century collectors summarising what is known about the work (awareness of the number of editions seems to grow through the century) and these often reflect puzzlement about the reasons for its existence and popularity, particularly that of the version compiled by Nathaniel Bacon and first published in 1638.<sup>1</sup> One annotator, Alexander Jessupp, in a copy of the 1657 edition held at the Bienecke Library of Yale University, went about to clear up confusion about the identity of Nathaniel Bacon and then asked the question to which I intend to address myself in this paper and which he left unanswered: 'What possible *motive* could the author have had in "compiling" it?'

Although Bacon claims to provide an answer in his preface, it simply raises more questions, as being the prime source of evidence from which a possible motive may be reconstructed. First, though, it will be useful to summarise the pertinent details of Bacon's own biography. He came from a family with a long history of active engagement in law and government, with vigorous protestant connections showing a puritan tendency. His father, Edmund Bacon, was a son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper under Queen Elizabeth and half-brother to Sir Francis Bacon. Nathaniel was born in 1593, admitted to Gray's Inn in 1611, and called to the bar in 1617. He was active in the affairs of the Eastern Association, became one of the members for Cambridge University of the Long Parliament in 1645, and thereafter sat in all Parliaments to his death in 1660. He became Recorder for Ipswich in 1643 and, after the establishment of the Commonwealth, first an Admiralty judge and then Master of Requests to Cromwell. Throughout his life he was also much involved in religious matters, both in Gray's Inn and

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through the attempts to reconstruct the Church of England according to presbyterian principles.

Other evidence helps sketch out a cultural context which at least makes Bacon's interest in Spira's story comprehensible, even if his decision to publish a version of it suggests a special personal significance. Existing manuscripts of Bacon's version indicate a date of composition before 1628 and circulation amongst an educated, theologically literate group which may be further particularised by the sharing of puritan and parliamentary sympathies. That Spira's story was current amongst puritan clergy who were contemporaries or near contemporaries of Bacon is shown by references to it in works by Perkins, Preston, Sibbes, William Gouge and Robert Bolton, which seem to assume by their typical brevity that readers or hearers already possessed a knowledge of at least its main outlines.

The subject of the biography, a lawyer named Francesco Spira of Citadella, near Padua, became a celebrity amongst Protestants in the mid sixteenth century. After becoming prominent in his profession and wealthy (by his own confession) by unscrupulous means, he became interested in protestant teaching, read avidly and was convinced of its truthfulness; he made his convictions public and was soon required to present himself in Venice for examination. Although he prepared himself to resist the pressures which he knew would be applied to him by the ecclesiastical authorities, he did submit and signed a recantation, which he was required to repeat publicly.

After the first recantation he heard a voice which said, 'Spira, what dost thou here?... take heed that thou heapest not sin upon sin, lest thou repent when it will be too late.' At his second recantation the voice was adamant: 'Thou wicked wretch, thou hast denied me... hence Apostate, bear with thee the sentence of thy eternal damnation.'<sup>2</sup> Convinced that he was indeed an apostate from the truth and had no hope of salvation, he refused to take any action to maintain his life, affirming that he had been rejected by God and was, even before death, one of the damned. His circumstances rapidly became a matter of public knowledge, and his residence in Padua, where he had been taken in case the combined resources of medicine and theology could in any way achieve his recovery or alter his conviction of his damnation, became a place of resort. He engaged in passionate debate with the theologians, turned his face to the wall when a priest tried using the ritual of exorcism, and died absolutely convinced of his damnation.

From the beginning Francesco Spira's apostasy was a matter of international interest. The eye-witness accounts of his despair, published in 1549 almost immediately after his death, were written by



two Italians, Pier Paolo Vergerio, a bishop and papal diplomat, and Mateo Gribaldi, a lawyer, both of whom subsequently converted to protestantism; Sigismund Gelons, a Pole; and Henry Scrimgeour, a Scot who made his residence in Geneva. These accounts were collected together and published in Basel in 1550, in what became the definitive source of knowledge about Spira's apostasy, in a volume edited by another Italian convert to protestantism, Celio Curio. Gribaldi's account bore an uncompromising preface by Calvin underlining the ways in which Spira's death demonstrated the truth of protestant teaching about the core doctrines of predestination, election and reprobation; it was this version alone which was translated into English by Edward Aglionby and it was therefore the version in which Spira's story was available to English readers during the Elizabethan period. From what Bacon says about his sources in the preface to his version, it would appear that he derived his *Relation* from the 1550 collection of documents. He acknowledges the existence of Aglionby's translation and notes that he has 'heard' it is a translation of only one version but says he has not been able to obtain a copy.

I have already suggested that a group similar in disposition and education to these earlier reformers, concerned to advance a reformation in religion which also has political implications, can be identified as potential readers for Bacon's version. Some other information about Bacon's view of his likely, or preferred, readership can be obtained from the preface. Firstly, Bacon addresses himself to the question of authenticity, and places particular stress upon the number of accounts and the fact that they were written by men of 'several Nations, and some of the *Romish* Religion, being all of them Spectators of this Tragedy'. The view of this life history as a tragedy is followed up a little later when he imagines a questioner requiring to know 'what moved me to compile this Treatise'. He replies not in a directly personal way but through an injunction, 'that it should teach them fear and reverence'. He both identifies a typical response to the story ('among all those that come to see him, few or none return unshaken') and implies through it that a worthy reader/spectator will have this response as a measure of his worth, since it is not merely a matter of fellow-feeling but a matter of spiritual discernment, both into oneself and into the fundamental doctrines of protestant religion. The work is, after all, as much a treatise in the sense of a doctrinal text as it is an historical narrative, since the critical issues are mental not physical and the means of approach to them are through the language of biblical text and doctrinal exposition and debate. Hence the stress in the preface on the authority of the eye-witness accounts, which derives not only from actual presence at the events



but from the religious and intellectual qualities of those who wrote their reports, who are affirmed by Bacon to be 'holy and learned'. Bacon's own contribution has nothing to do with the substantive issues of the story, but this does not prevent him from claiming some part in the final achievement of the work. The value he has added to the original documents is that of narrative consistency, 'so as those [discourses] which under several writers were before counted several, are now by my endeavours reduced into one intire Historie, connexed by due succession of time and occasion, as punctually as could be aimed at'. This statement is both a clear affirmation of a principle of composition and a declaration of that aspect of the work which he is offering to his reader as both his distinctive contribution and achievement. He does not say why he has endeavoured to create 'one intire Historie', but instead takes it for granted that there is a part, at least, of his readership who will both share this assumption about the proper way of writing a life-history, and who will be capable of expressing an informed judgement on his success.<sup>3</sup>

In other words, the preface identifies the intended reader of the work as one who is capable of making judgements of a literary and a theological kind, the latter in relation to issues of a most critical and profoundly disturbing nature. A brief and yet vivid indication of what being an apostate means as Spira experiences it can be gained from the following quotations from the work itself and then from Robert Bolton's *Instructions for the Right Conforting Afflicted Consciences* (1631).

I perceive said *Spira*, that I call on him to my eternal damnation; for I tell you again, it is a new and unheard of example, that you find in me. If *Judas* (said they) had but outlived his days, which by nature he might have done, he might have repented, and Christ would have received him to mercy; and yet he sinned most grievously against his Master, which did so esteem of him, as to honour him with the dignity of an Apostle, and did maintain and feed him. He answered, Christ did also feed and honour me, neither yet is my fault one jot less then that of his, because it is no more honour to be personally present with Christ in the flesh, than to be in his presence now by illumination of his holy Spirit; and besides, I deny that ever *Judas* could have repented how long soever he had lived; for grace was quite taken from him, as it is now from me.

O *Spira*, said they, you know you are in a spiritual desertion; and must therefore not believe what Satan suggests, he was ever a Lier from the beginning, and a meer Impostor, and will cast a thousand lying fancies into your mind, to beguile you withal; you must rather believe those whom you judge to be in a good estate, and more able to discern of you than yourself: believe us, and we tell you that God will be merciful unto you.

O here is the knot (said *Spira*) I would I could believe, but I cannot.

Then he began to reckon up what fearful dreams and visions he was continually troubled withal: that he saw the Devils come flocking into the Chamber, and about



his Bed, terrifying him with strange noises; that these were not fancies, but that he saw them as really, as the standers by: and that besides these outward terrors, he felt continually a racking torture of his mind, and a continual butchery of his Conscience, being the very proper pangs of the damned wights in Hell.<sup>4</sup>

Bolton's description of the condition of those experiencing the anger or judgement of God elaborates vividly what Bacon calls the 'racking torture of mind':

Alas! When a poor polluted wretch, upon some special illumination by the word, or extraordinary stroke from the rod, doth once begin to behold Gods frowning face against him, in the pure glass of his most holy law; and to feele divine justice by an invisible hand, taking secret vengeance upon his conscience; his heave heart immediately *melts* away in his breast, and *becomes as water*. He faints and failes, both in the strength of his body, and stoutnesse of his mind. His bones, the Pillars and master-timber of his earthly tabernacle, are presently *broken* in pieces, and turn'd into *rottenesse*: His spirit the eye and excellency of his soule, which should enlighten and make lightsome the whole man, is quite put out, and utterly overwhelmed with excesse of horroure and flashes of despaire. O this is it, which would not onely crush the courage of the stoutest sonne of *Adam*, that ever breathed upon earth; but even breake the back of the most glorious Angell, that did ever shine in heaven, should he lift up but one rebellious thought against his Creator!...

This extreamest of miseries, a *wounded spirit* is tempered with such strong ingredients of extraordinary fears that it makes a man a terrour to *himselfe*, and to *all his friends*... Besides the insupportable burthen of too many true and causefull terrors, it fills his darke and dreadfull fancy with a world of fained horrors, gastly apparitions, and imaginary hells, which not-with-standing, have reall stings, and impresse true tortues upon his trembling and wofull heart. It is empoysoned with such restlesse anguish, and desperate paine, that though life be most sweet, and hell most horrible, yet it makes a man wilfully to abandon the one, and willingly to embrace the other, that he may be rid of it's rage. Hence it was, that *Judas* preferred an halter and hell, before his present horror. That *Spira* said often (what heart quakes not to hear it?) that he envied *Cain*, *Saul*, and *Judas*: wishing rather any of their rooms, in the dungeon of the damned, than to have his poore heart so rent in pieces with such raging terrors and fiery desperations upon his bed of death... None can take the true estimate of this immeasurable spiritual misery, but hee that can comprehend the length and breadth of that infinite unresistable wrath which once implacably kindled in the bosome of God, burnes to the very bottom of hell, and there creates the extremity and endlessnesse of all those unexpressible torments, and fiery plagues, which afflict the devils and damned soules in that horrible pit.<sup>5</sup>

It is important to regard this description not as the simple assertion of theological commonplaces but as drawing upon direct experience of others' desperation which occurred together with the conviction that they were no longer among the elect and that God had entirely withheld his grace from them. When Bacon comments on the value of 'Extraordinary Examples of Divine Justice', saying that *Spira*'s experience must warn us 'to take heed of backsliding... and not to dally with consciencé, an Hell on Earth, if justly incensed; more to be feared than the Spanish Inquisition', and hopes



that his reader will 'take good, and no hurt, by the reading of this terrible Example',<sup>6</sup> we should not think him to be exaggerating the value of what he is offering his reader. Whether or not Bacon himself actually experienced such a crisis of conscience, built into his understanding of Spira's circumstances and torments is an acceptance of their reality as Bolton evokes it. The fascinating implication is, of course, that Bacon, when he made the translation and, later, when it was published, seriously envisaged the possibility that he and others like him would be called to account for their convictions, and might succumb to the pressure to conform, against conscience, thus falling into the desperate condition of apostasy as exemplified by Spira.

I want now to give some indication of what Bacon's other publications tell us about his attitudes and commitments. In broad terms, they reflect the confluence of historical, legal and religious interests applied to questions about the constitution of the state, its proper government, and the place of the individual within it. By concentrating on the individual case, in *A Relation*, Bacon shows the state in operation but at a distance through one of its representatives (in this instance, Giovanni della Casa, author of *Galatea* and the sonnets which were such an influential model for Milton, and described as 'one that wanted neither malice... nor craftiness to effect his malicious purposes').<sup>7</sup> This state is shown exercising all its power to make him act against his conscience and deny the truth. For Bacon, of course, in a protestant context, to see the Church of Rome acting in this manner is simply to have one's expectations fully confirmed, although the example has most unsettling implications when all the local parallels are drawn.

It is, however, in his other publications that Bacon develops his view of the state and strongly asserts the pertinence of understanding the past as a prime means of interpreting the present. A work which is both professional and innovative in these respects is his *Annals of Ipswich*, published in 1654 and subtitled *The lawes, Customes and Government of the Same. Collected out of the record bookes and writings of that Towne*. It is professional in that it is a product of his position as Recorder, to which he was elected in 1642, and innovative in the sense that the city now had what it had never before possessed, a collation and interpretation of the records and documents which defined its history and legal integrity.

It was another work of this kind which both made Bacon's reputation as a political and legal historian and perpetuated it into the late eighteenth century. In 1647 he published *An Historical Discourse of the Uniformity of the Government of England. The First Part. From the First Times Until the Reign of Edward the Third*. Just as with the first edition of Spira, this work was anonymous. It was not until 1651



that both the author and the purpose of this book were clearly stated on the title page, by the publication of the second part, entitled *The Continuation of an Historical Discourse of the Government of England, Until the End of the Reign of Queene Elizabeth. With a Preface Being a Vindication of the Ancient Way of Parliaments in England. By Nath. Bacon of Grays Inn, Esq.* However, anyone who chose to go further than the title page of 1647 would have found a piece entitled 'To Consideration' in which Bacon (even if he did not identify himself) made clear the purposes of the work. He says the book had its beginnings in a 'private debate concerning the right of an English King to Arbitrary rule over English Subjects as Successor to the Norman Conqueror' and that it is being offered as 'an Idea for them to consider, who doe mind the restitution of this shattered frame of policy'. The reader he evidently has in mind is one who is well read, in a position to influence the direction of society, and willing to assess present circumstances in the light of relevant knowledge (which may be new) about the past. Bacon is careful not to give his analysis an absolute authoritativeness but instead describes it as a 'small modell' or 'Map' which will assist the reader to a 'right apprehension of the true nature' of the English nation. In particular he stresses its status as 'discourse' and its function to affect the way judgements are made and hence actions determined upon. By going to antiquity and presenting a view of the origins of government in England through a narrative woven out of the existing records, he endeavours to protect his discourse from error. The opposing method which, he claimed, was used by the apologists for the monarchy, is vigorously defined in these terms: 'Ambition hath done much by discourse and action to bring forth Monarchy out of the wombe of notion, but yet like that of the Philosophers stone the issue is but wind, and the end misery to the undertakers.' Against any theory or proposal for a system of government which gives disproportionate power to one of its parts he would affirm that 'the utmost perfection of this nether worlds best government consists in the upholding of a due proportion of several interests compounded into one temperature'. On this basis, and an appeal to '[Him] that knoweth the secrets of all mens hearts', Bacon affirms that his 'aime in this Discourse is neither at Scepter or Crozier, nor after popular dotage, but that Justice and Truth may moderate in all'.<sup>8</sup>

How far Bacon was successful in his aim can, in one respect at least, be gauged by the subsequent fortunes of his book which appeared to at least one annotator to be written on 'violent Republican principles'. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* entry for Bacon it is said that the 1665 edition was suppressed and the printer of the 1676 edition prosecuted. A censored version apparently was printed in 1682 but not published until 1689. It was not



until the edition of 1739 that the 1647 text was restored and the omissions identified by bracketing in the text, this edition being reprinted in 1760.

The seriousness of Bacon's claim that he sought 'Justice and Truth' is borne out in his other publications and in a pamphlet skirmish in late 1646 with which he is associated, which together offer impressive evidence of his firmness of purpose and clear comprehension of the realities of political life. In 1646 he and another member of the House of Commons were identified as the authors of *An Ordinance... For the Preventing of the Growing and Spreading of Heresies*. The ordinance identified three groups of heresies according to their seriousness and the kinds of punishment to be inflicted upon anyone found guilty of espousing them. Very broadly speaking, the document identified, as the truth which the authors sought to defend, Christian doctrine as defined by protestant interpretation of the Nicene Creed and the presbyterian system of church government; and it specified as the means of defence the application of the criminal law. Publication of the *Ordinance* was quickly followed by four replies, three anonymous and one by Richard Overton, and these in turn were followed by *A Vindication of a Printed Paper* in which the anonymous author replied to these criticisms. The form of the *Vindication* was dictated by one of the anonymous pamphlets—in fact by John Goodwin—entitled *Some Modest and Humble Queries* (London, 1646) and printed by Matthew Simmonds for Henry Overton. Just as the critics stressed an interpretation of the *Ordinance* which saw it as the Presbyterian clergy using two Members of Parliament as a front to advance their interest, so the author of *A Vindication* saw the undermining of the magistrate's authority in both civil and ecclesiastical affairs as the chief aim and consequence of the critics' arguments.

What is fascinating about this exchange is the way it defines a critical point in the experience of men like Bacon who, in the process of negotiating the difficult transition to full parliamentary government and a fully reformed church, discovered that their whole achievement was under threat not only from episcopal and catholic interests but from more radical protestant interests as well. Possessing political power they sought to use it in defence of religious doctrine even if this meant applying the same pressures to those with whom they differed as, for example, the Catholic Church had applied to Spira. This analogy is, of course, fully apparent to the critics of the *Ordinance* (Overton describes it as 'a Most Romish Inquisition ordinance')<sup>9</sup> and is directly countered in the *Vindication*. Among the range of points made and issues identified, two affirmations in the *Vindication* have particular pertinence to our understanding, if not of Bacon directly, at least of that group



to which he so clearly belongs. Firstly, challenged with the view that Luther would have been found guilty if judged by the terms of the *Ordinance*, the writer of the *Vindication* asserted a limited doctrine of the evolution of truth: 'in the beginning of the Reformation... there had not been such meanes of conviction, nor such a clearing or settling of truth as there is among us specially in the fundamentall Doctrines, the contrary to which are threatened with death.' Secondly, replying to the objection that the *Ordinance* would make even the entertaining of certain opinions punishable, the writer of the *Vindication* says: 'No man is *punishable* for his *meere mistake* in matters of great consequence, as that he will not forbear to publish his mistake, for the infection of others, and the mischief of their soules, and to the ruine, or at least miserable disturbance of the Church of God.'<sup>10</sup>

By having a principal role in defining the terms of the *Ordinance* Bacon shows himself accepting both the responsibility, and the problems, which attend the possession of political power. If to think correctly is a crucial element in the stability and security of the state, then the state evidently has a fundamental interest in what its members think in so far as they seek to persuade others to their point of view. As Bacon puts it, the state is charged with the protection of its members 'in matters of greatest consequence'. In this he shows himself consistent in a context of ideological conflict which is perceived to have as its ultimate terms, salvation or damnation for the individual, reformation or destruction for the nation.

The other work which I wish to notice was published posthumously in 1664. It is entitled *The History of Athanasius, with the Rise, Growth and Downfall of the Arian Heresie*, a subject which, in the first instance, seems to have little direct connection with his other work. However, I think it right to describe the work as Bacon's most personal, the one in which he expresses in its full maturity his understanding of the relation between ideas and political action, and of the life of the individual whose first commitment is to the truth which his conscience confirms. It can be dated to the 1650s by its reference to the Quakers, but it is at large an essay on the abuse of political power, the violent consequences of doctrinal disagreements within the Christian Church, and the perpetual insecurity of those who would persist in asserting the truth when the government of both church and state is corrupt.

Bacon is quite explicit in this work about the kind of reader to whom he is writing, and the principles upon which the history is composed. Firstly, chronological and geographical breadth is necessary, because '*Athanasius* his endowments cannot well be discovered but by his actions and sufferings; nor they considered without the concurrence of like actions of his contemporaries...



which necessarily draws me many times into a by-path concerning Arianisme, to find out *Athanasius*, where the neglect of Writers have left him out of mind.' Secondly, although the truth of the matters related depends upon 'the credit of the several Authors quoted thereunto', Bacon claims full responsibility for the 'order' or sequencing of those matters, since none of the original authors achieved 'such a method as will give any satisfaction to an intelligent Reader'.<sup>11</sup> Throughout the work judgements are made upon the events, usually in the form of comparisons with Bacon's own times, and these taken together not only create a fine understanding of his character but also further define what he means by an 'intelligent Reader'. Such a person should be well educated; he particularly notes that one of the Emperor Julian's most pernicious actions against Christians was his 'strictly inhibiting all manner of instruction of the Children of Christians in any Humane Literature', and he develops this observation in a revealing association of ideas: 'Its very true that humane Learning adds no strength to the Gospel, yet as to natural men of parts it addeth light, and renders them more capable of conviction of the weaknesse of the principles of nature, and prepares them for better grounds; which also slide more gently into their understanding, when they see the correspondency between the principles of Religion and Philosophy explained. And therefore it is a matter of wonderment to see men that would be eminent for Religion in these dayes to be enemies to a Learned Ministry.' Such a reader is also to be distinguished from 'the people' who are highly susceptible to persuasion to heretical opinions because they 'understand little beyond common sense; lesse beyond common reason; and least of all in the deep Misteries of Religion'. Such people have 'unstable souls' in contrast to the self-discipline, intellectual and moral, which Bacon implies is characteristic of his 'intelligent Reader'. Ultimately of course, it is Athanasius himself who provides the positive model and who offers, I believe, a clear reflection of Bacon's understanding of his own behaviour and principles: 'in a Bishop', Bacon observes at one point in a sharp-edged comment, 'as *Athanasius* was, may be an excellent temperature of a speculative tranquillity on the one part, and of practical morality in political affairs on the other'. The other explicit statement occurs in the preface and offers as well a perception of the environment in which such a man lives: 'the Glory of Gods grace [carried] *Athanasius* his Faith and Spirit, and person, through a raging Sea of temptation and persecutions, to a quiet Haven, notwithstanding his enemies stormed upon him even to his grave'.<sup>12</sup>

In these statements we have, in summary form, a clear notion of Bacon's ideal citizen: a man utterly convinced that he bears the truth



within him, knowledgeable in the ways of the world but not corrupted by them, knowing the necessity of acting in the world according to the truth as he understands it even though such action will bring him into conflict with the powerful, whether holders of high office or controllers of public opinion. Athanasius, in other words, is a man of the kind and quality affirmed by Milton in the person of the angel Abdiel:

So spake the Seraph *Abdiel* faithful found,  
Among the faithless, faithful onely hee;  
Among innumerable false, unmov'd,  
Unshak'n, uneduc't, untterrifi'd  
His Loyaltie he kept, his Love, his Zeale;  
Nor number, nor example with him wrought  
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind  
Though single. From amidst them forth he passed,  
Long way through hostil scorn, which he susteind  
Superior, nor of violence feard aught.<sup>13</sup>

Further consideration of this work is called for, because comment to which Bacon is drawn by the events he is recounting reflects directly upon both *A Relation* and the *Ordinance*. Firstly, there is one conviction which is absolutely central to his understanding of life in the world and of the way human societies work: 'For as God hath determined that every member of the Church shall live in continual war within himself; so also shall the Church have Heresies and Schismes, that they which are approved, may be made manifest.' For Bacon there is no middle position between truth and heresy, the single society and that society fragmented into competing sects. On the one hand there is 'Unity and Purity of the Doctrine of Religion'; on the other, 'Sects, Schismes, Heresies, and the Spirits of Professors never satisfied, but still lingring, as now a-dayes after new opportunities of liberty from being under Church Government, which they call, *Liberty of Conscience*'. The major difference in this respect between the times of Athanasius and of Bacon is that the schismatics then gathered their adherents 'not out of other Christian Congregations, as now-a-dayes, but out of the heathens... And yet were these not independent, as now the gathered Churches are; but in cases of difference had recourse to... Councils'.<sup>14</sup>

Bacon's explanation for the development of sects and heresies, besides the inherent disposition of fallen humanity, is 'lack of government', a reason which involves both civil and ecclesiastical authorities. One aspect of the great interest which Athanasius' times clearly had for him was the bringing together of the government of Church and State under one head, the Emperor Constantine, and the way in which that power came to be used to



fragment the Church rather than to unify it. We are given a clear, succinct statement of Bacon's constitutional thinking (and preferences) when he considers Constantine's acceptance of a Council's verdict that Arius was not guilty of heresy, Athanasius' refusal to agree and Constantine's threat to depose Athanasius. In a tone of direct engagement with the situation he writes, 'Said like an Emperor, and not a Christian Magistrate that must govern by Law, nor like a Parliament whose Vote must make a Law... And therefore in all these there can be no president of the Christian Magistrates interest above the Ecclesiastical, nor of the Ecclesiastical interest independent upon the Christian Magistrate, in regard the general Councils were not purely Ecclesiastical, but mixt of both interests, and so continued until the Mystery of Iniquity was fully settled in the Roman Chair, and the Civil Power turned out of Doors.' One other seat of power not mentioned here is the Court, of which Bacon is consistently judgmental in tone. He explains much of the Arians' success as deriving from their being the dominant party at court, and he shows both why they should be powerful and what consequences follow. Although the Arians had little popular support, he argues, they 'bear it out as the Faith Imperial, and as the Faith of Great Men... and to be observed of all that expect preferment'. In another place he speaks harshly of churchmen who become involved in the life of the Court: 'These Church-men whose conscience will allow them to forsake their pastoral charge, to live at the Court, that conscience will also allow them to turn Apostates to any error that shall come into fashion there.' He does not say that Constantine was simply the creature of the Arian party but he does show how his actions towards Athanasius and, in the end, towards orthodox Christianity, were powerfully influenced by those close to him who were of the Arian persuasion. His assessment of Constantine's character and achievement shows both a strong prejudice and an attempt to strike a balance: 'in the general stream of his government he shewed himself wise, courageous, and after his manner zealous in advancement of Gods Worship, though in his later times more for the Ceremony, and scarce short of Superstition, the ordinary fault of Christian Princes.'<sup>15</sup>

There are two aspects of the distortions in Church and State brought about by Arians at court which are particularly pertinent to our understanding of Bacon's interest in Spira, and his attitude to religious controversy. In general terms the significance of Athanasius' story for Bacon lies in his defence of orthodox Christianity against heresy on the one hand and state power on the other. Constantine comes to power at a time in the history of the Church when 'professors affecting the repute of extraordinary insight in



misteries of Divinity, begin to fancy sublime doctrines, and to be telers of news, and New Lights'.

The Church's method of discipline, excommunication, is ineffective, leading to 'a tide of Schisme', and it is against this fragmentation of the Church that Constantine initially applies the power of the State. However, the increasing dominance of the Arian party leads to the official toleration of their churches (as Bacon describes it, 'a schism licensed and tolerated by the authority of the Christian Magistrate') and, in consequence, 'a usurpation of the Christian Magistrate over the Churches, in determining matters ecclesiastical, contrary to the determination of a general Council... these are two sores to the Church unto this day'. Toleration leads inexorably to civil disorder, subsequent events showing that 'it is never conducing to the peace of any Nation to grant tolleration of contrary Principles in Religion, more than it is for the peace of any single persons conscience to be of a doubtful mind'. All that is left in this situation is for the Arians, after securing their position at court, to begin active persecution of the orthodox: 'their displeasure is become perfect hatred, nothing will satisfie but destruction of the Orthodox, and their not being'.<sup>16</sup>

It is in this time of persecution, involving Athanasius' exile from Alexandria into the desert and the loss of life and property by many others, that the issue of apostasy comes clearly into focus. Bacon regards apostasy as the result of weakness, an inability to stand up for the truth in the face of social pressures backed up by force either implicit, in the case of those who adapt themselves to the values of the current holders of power, or explicit, in the case of civil or military harassment. He notes how the persecution, 'instead of driving the Orthodox together, drove them asunder... [those] stoutly withstanding the Arians, too severely... censured... [those] who through weaknesse had obscured their Profession', and shows that the submission of those in positions of eminence 'made many to stagger... and may serve to mind, especially old Professors... often to use that prayer of the Psalmist, *And now when I am old and gray headed, O Lord forsake me not*: more especially in this instant of apostacy wherein we now live.' In a time of apostasy, of 'revolting and lapsing from the truth', an experience worse than exile or death in his estimation, Bacon sees only one appropriate course of action open to one who would still affirm the truth, that is, 'under an outward oppression, yet hold life and soul together, with a free Conscience, until better times come... No form of profession, no separation from Christian Congregations and Assemblies, no nor from society in worldly affairs with mankind, will be a remedy against schism and errours.'<sup>17</sup> The cause lies deep in human nature, and can only be confronted directly in political and social terms; the



means of sustenance, a 'free Conscience' derived from the assurance that one possesses the truth, equally lies deep in every individual; and the most destructive action which can be undertaken is to corrupt that conscience, to become an apostate from the truth.

As Bacon tells it, Athanasius' story does not have a happy ending. In terms full of resonance for the 1640s and 1650s he shows first how, in Alexandria after Athanasius' death, 'persecution breaks in like a torrent, no man can stand before it', and then how, as a direct result of schism arose 'two grand sects, devouring all the rest... the Papal power' and Islam. His concluding sentences are in the tragic mood, and full of foreboding: 'And thus the once famous Eastern Churches have made a sad and lamentable account of their progress from Unity to Separation, from thence to Schisme, so to Enmity, thence to Persecution, and lastly to Heathenisme. And the Christian Magistrate in a restless Tolleration, from an Imperial Power to a miserable servitude.'<sup>18</sup>

In *The History of Athanasius*, unlike the other published work which he either authored or with which he is evidently associated, Nathaniel Bacon brought together the individual and his society and attempted to offer an account of their interaction through time in order to reveal certain fundamental principles concerning the nature of government and of political power. In particular, he is concerned to reveal what it means to live according to conscience in a fallen world and so, in Athanasius, provides us with the positive model to counter the negative given in Spira. In each case the world beyond the individual is the same, a place of danger and uncertainty; the difference lies in the inner strength or weakness of particular men which is revealed in extreme situations.

I have no evidence, as mentioned earlier, to suggest that Bacon himself ever faced personal threats of the kind experienced by Spira or Athanasius, but the works taken together reveal clearly the imaginable possibilities for such a man as Bacon, the choices which could be thrust upon him and the extreme alternatives attendant upon his response, that is, vindication of the truth in which he believed, or ultimate rejection as an apostate. In his understanding there was no third position, no plurality of forms in which truth could be manifested; plurality was, by definition, evidence of the presence of error and, ultimately, the product of the devil's involvement in human affairs. Apostasy, then, describes a highly specific and terrible experience. On the one hand there is the recognition (which also informs Books XI and XII of *Paradise Lost*) of implacable conflict between opposing world powers, the Divine and the Demonic, manifested through the whole history of attempts to suppress or destroy the truth. In Bacon's awareness not only the Papacy and Islam, but latterly radical Protestants as well,



were instruments of demonic power, acting aggressively to subvert the nation's political and religious institutions. On the other there is the individual conscience, under threat not only by obvious antagonists in the community but by inward subversion from the devil and from one's own weaknesses. The more socially and intellectually prominent is the individual, the more likely it is that that individual will become a focus of attention. Apostasy occurs whenever such an individual acts against conscience to satisfy worldly interests of whatever kind,<sup>19</sup> but the torment of horror and despair at the spectacle of one's own damnation occurs only when one is consciously aware both of the truth as previously affirmed and the denial of that truth to which one's present circumstances testify. What we are then offered, in the association between Bacon and Spira, is an insight into some private and personal dimensions of experience of the puritan leadership in the period leading up to the civil war, an insight into the anxieties and fears about personal inadequacy which complemented such vigorous possession and assertion of the truth about society and human nature, an indication of the psychic cost of such a complete reliance on individual conscience as the ultimate source of integrity and vindication of action.

I have two reflections on my interpretation of Bacon's work which I would like to add, both related to my view that *A Relation* was intended by Bacon for an elite audience. Firstly, by the time of its publication in 1638 people like Bacon were aware that pressure was being applied against 'the truth' not only from the Papacy and its local analogues but from radical Protestantism as well. It becomes one of the ironies of history, if I can correctly generalise from the reading I have done so far, that although the later editions of Bacon's *A Relation* always underlined the Catholic threat, and referred generally to the 'apostatizing spirit spread far and wide', direct personal responses to Spira's story begin in the 1650s to show up particularly amongst those labelled as sectaries by Bacon. One aspect of the work's value seems certainly to lie in its warning of the dangers of apostasy, in this case from one sect to another or back to the established Church; but the other major interest, the experience of total loss of faith and conviction in one's salvation, seems to assume heightened significance for those who have experienced a conversion or partial conversion and then suffer that loss of conviction and diminished sense of personal worth which is called a 'spiritual desertion'. Bunyan's reading of Bacon's life of Spira in these terms is only the most well-known instance of what I believe to be a widespread phenomenon.<sup>20</sup>

The other reflection relates to Milton. Although I have not found a direct reference to Spira in Milton's writing, there is an inescapable parallel between the experience of apostasy as it is



exemplified in Spira's story and evoked by Bolton, and Satan's experience as this is powerfully presented by Milton in *Paradise Lost*, particularly in the soliloquies in which Satan reveals the personal, subjective dimension of his existence. I shall quote briefly from these very well known speeches, just to identify key points:

... horror and doubt distract  
His troubl'd thoughts, and from the bottom stirr  
The Hell within him, for within him Hell  
He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell  
One step no more then from himself can fly  
By change of place: Now conscience wakes despair  
That slumberd, wakes the bitter memorie  
Of what he was, what is, and what must be  
Worse;...

Ay me, they little know  
How dearly I abide that boast so vaine,  
Under what torments inwardly I groane:  
...

I in none of these  
Find place or refuge; and the more I see  
Pleasures about me, so much more I feel  
Torment within me, as from the hateful siege  
Of contraries; all good to mee becomes  
Bane, and in Heav'n much worse would be my state.<sup>21</sup>

In *Christian Doctrine* Milton treated apostasy almost in passing, in Book II, Chapter 6, which is headed 'On Zeal', although he gave very detailed treatment earlier in the work to two central aspects of apostasy, that of reprobation and the experience or condition of 'hardening of heart'. The importance of his specific inclusion of the topic at this point in the work lies in how he defines it; apostasy is, together with 'Concealment of religion' (as exemplified by Nicodemus) and the 'Profession of one's faith at the wrong time', classified as the *opposite* to a 'firm and, when necessary, open profession of the true religion', which he understands to include a willingness to accept martyrdom.<sup>22</sup> Milton is, in other words, emphasising the social and political dimensions of religious experience and the potential for conflict between the individual and state power over matters of belief. He is, furthermore, indicating that in such a conflict one's conviction of the truth must take precedence over all other considerations. In doing this Milton is undoubtedly, as I think it proper to claim for Bacon, assuming a certain quality of character, what Christopher Hill has described as 'an arrogant individualism, a self-confidence tempered by a strong internalized moral sense, the product almost certainly of his Puritan



upbringing'.<sup>23</sup> This description occurs in a chapter of *Milton and the English Revolution* entitled 'The Dialectic of Discipline and Liberty', a chapter which bears very closely in its conclusions on Bacon as well. What I should like to suggest, in the light of a similarity of concern between the two men across a wide range of issues, is that my conclusion that Spira defines for Bacon a real potential of experience for him is true for Milton as well in relation to Satan. The dialectical play between conceptual opposites such as discipline and liberty, or God and Satan, becomes fully actual for an individual when a choice with actual and immediate consequences presents itself, when thought and history intersect in the life of an individual. By showing Satan as the Apostate, not only from 'outside', in his just rejection from the community of the saved, but in terms of the horror and torment of his subjective experience, Milton identifies with precision the worst, the most intolerable and yet possible dimension of experience for a man in his situation should he violate the truth and act against the dictates of conscience. As it is said in the epistle to the Hebrews x. 29-31, one of the texts which he quoted in *Christian Doctrine* in the section on zeal:

How much worse punishment do you think will be deserved by the man who has spurned the Son of God, and profaned the blood of the Covenant by which he was sanctified and outraged the Spirit of Grace? For we know him who said, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay.' And again, 'The Lord will judge his people.' It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.

#### REFERENCES

- 1 Nathaniel Bacon, *A Relation of the Fearfull Estate of Francis Spira, in the Year 1548* (London, 1638).
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17, 20-21.
- 3 *Ibid.*, sigs. A3v-A5r.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 48-51.
- 5 pp. 80-84.
- 6 *A Relation*, sigs. 7r-8v.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 8 sig. A4r-v. The historical and intellectual context for this work is discussed by Christopher Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution: Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1962), ch. 3, 'The Norman Yoke'.



- 9 *An Arrow Against all Tyrants and Tyranny, Shot from the Prison of New-gate unto the Prerogative Bowels of the Arbitrary House of Lords and all Other Usurpers and Tyrants Whatsoever* (London, 1646), p.12.
- 10 pp. 12, 14.
- 11 sigs. A2r-v.
- 12 pp. 182, 11, 131-132, sig. 2v.
- 13 *Paradise Lost*, V.896-905.
- 14 *The History of Athanasius*, pp. 6, 5, 27, 4.
- 15 *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 57, 167, 73, 69.
- 16 *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 38, 102, 118.
- 17 *Ibid.*, pp. 175, 148, 122, 131.
- 18 *Ibid.*, pp. 221-227.
- 19 Thomas Case, in *The Root of Apostasy, and Fountain of Fortitude* (London, 1644), writes: 'Fear and Tremble, I will not limit God, but this I dare say, it is a thousand to one, but when God and the Kingdom should have most need of thee, thou wilt then turn Apostate. My reason is, because, If Religion and a Covenant upon it, cannot prevail with thee, to forsake thy lust; It is a mighty odds, if thy lust do not prevail with thee, to forsake thy Religion, and the Covenant' (p. 10).
- 20 John Bunyan, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, ed. Roger Sharrock (London, 1966), pp. 51-52.
- 21 *Paradise Lost*, IV. 18-26; IV. 86-88; IX. 118-123.
- 22 *Complete Prose Works of John Milton* (New Haven and London, 1973), vol. 6, p. 701.
- 23 Christopher Hill, *Milton and the English Revolution* (London, 1977), ch. 20.



## Research Notes

Patricia Sargison's bibliography of published sources for the study of women in New Zealand 1830-1914 was published by the Endowment Trust under the title *Victoria's Furthest Daughters* in October 1984 with the aid of a grant from the New Zealand Founders' Society. Copies are available from the Library at \$10 (Friends \$8). The bibliography was originally compiled for Professor Sandra Myres, the 1983 Fulbright research scholar at the Turnbull, to assist in her studies of pioneer women in New Zealand and the American West.

A selection of the papers presented at the Turnbull-Royal Society of New Zealand conference on the history of science in New Zealand held in February 1983 has been published as *In Search of New Zealand's Scientific Heritage* (Royal Society of New Zealand Bulletin 21). Copies are available from the Library at \$15 (Friends \$12). Publication was assisted by a grant from the Scientific Distribution Committee of the Lottery Board.

A new catalogue of the Library's publications, with black and white illustrations of the prints, photographic posters and cards, was issued in October and is available free on request from the Library.

Dr J.K. Hale of the University of Otago has published two articles which had their origins in research conducted on the Library's Milton collection in 1980. 'The Significance of the Early Translations of *Paradise Lost*' appeared in volume 63, number 1 of the *Philological Quarterly* (1984), and 'Notes on Richard Bentley's Edition of *Paradise Lost* (1732)' in volume 18, number 2 of the *Milton Quarterly* (1984). Dr Hale contributed 'Thomas Bentley to Dr Pearce: New Light on Richard Bentley's Edition of *Paradise Lost*' to the May 1981 issue of the *Turnbull Library Record*.

The first volume of *The Collected Letters of Katherine Mansfield* (Oxford University Press) was launched at the Library on 13 November 1984 by the Hon. Russell Marshall, M.P., Minister of Education. The five volumes are edited by Vincent O'Sullivan and Margaret Scott, and have drawn heavily on the Turnbull's Mansfield collection. Some financial assistance for the project was provided by the Research Endowment Fund.

The Endowment Trust Board has agreed to make \$4,500 available for the publication of a bibliography of the Solomon Islands compiled by Sally Edridge. The publication will be a joint venture with the Institute of Pacific Studies at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji. Miss Edridge, who is presently First Assistant at the National Library's Christchurch regional centre, was a library adviser in the Solomon Islands between 1974 and 1977 under the Volunteer Service Abroad scheme.



Grants have been approved from the Research Endowment Fund to Isabel Ollivier to complete editorial work on the text of the fifth and final volume of *Early Eyewitness Accounts of Maori Life*; to Professor Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett to travel from Auckland to deliver a lecture on the preservation of Jewish historical records in New Zealand; to Anna Davin for a series of seminars on women's history and the history workshop movement in Britain; and to Victoria University for some of the costs of a weekend conference on the preservation of theatre records.

Dr David R. Jones has been selected for the 1985 Fulbright research award at the Library. Dr Jones has been a member of the Higher Education Research Group at Yale, Visiting Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Higher Education at the University of Melbourne, and is a member of the editorial board of the *History of Higher Education Annual*. His doctoral thesis (Yale 1982) was on the origins of the civic universities in Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool. Dr Jones will be studying the development of higher education in New Zealand.

During a brief visit to New Zealand in October 1984 by a group of senior library staff from the University of Hawaii the Turnbull organised a one-day professional colloquium. Six papers were presented to an invited audience of librarians, academic staff from Victoria University, and others with an interest in Pacific research collections. The papers were 'Bibliographic Resources for New Zealand Studies' (J.E. Traue); 'The Turnbull Pictorial Collections' (Marian Minson); 'The National Register of Archives and Manuscripts' (Philip Rainer); 'Acquisition Problems in University of Hawaii Pacific Collections' (Renée Heyum); 'A Response to Ethnic Awareness: the Hawaiian Renaissance in Education' (Agnes Quigg); and 'The Librarian as Oral Historian: Researching and Accessing Ethnic Materials' (Michaelyn Chou).

The Chief Librarian has been elected as the corresponding member for New Zealand on the Standing Committee of the Section on Rare and Precious Books and Documents of the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA).



# Notes on Accessions to the Drawings & Prints Collection

A SELECTIVE LIST OF ACQUISITIONS,  
JUNE 1983 TO DECEMBER 1984

Acquisitions of paintings, drawings, prints and sculpture are listed selectively in the *Turnbull Library Record* to alert scholars to newly acquired material judged to be of research value. The following list updates the 'Notes on Art Accessions' in the *Record* for May 1984. Only original works and significant engravings and prints are included: photomechanical reproductions recently published are excluded.

ARTIST UNKNOWN. *Flotte de Taïti* [Paris? 18--]  
Engraving 15 x 20.1cm. PURCHASE.

——— *The Matata pah, New Zealand, the refuge of the murderers of the Rev. Mr Volkner* [New York] Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper*, 1866.  
Engraving 20 x 25.1cm. PURCHASE.

——— [The North Shore ferry leaving the Auckland terminal. 188-?]  
Watercolour 22.1 x 38cm. PURCHASE.

——— *Old mission house at Paihia* [18--]  
Pencil & watercolour 12.4 x 18.2cm. PURCHASE.

——— [Portrait of Anehana. 19--]  
Watercolour on rangiora leaf 21.2 x 14.5cm. DONATION: Mrs E.M. Shaw, Christchurch.

——— [The Southern Alps. After 1867?]  
Watercolour 11.3 x 18.2cm. After plate on p. 38 of G.F. von Hochstetter's *New Zealand, its physical geography...* (Stuttgart, 1867), from original by Charles Heaphy. PURCHASE.

——— [Taupo Lake. After 1867?]  
Watercolour 11.3 x 21.1cm. After plate on p.364 of G.F. von Hochstetter's *New Zealand, its physical geography...* (Stuttgart, 1867), from original by Hochstetter. PURCHASE.

——— [Te Awaiti Station. 186-?]  
3 pencil, each 11 x 18cm. DONATION: Mrs A. Newman, Hastings.

——— *Union Steamship Co. of New Zealand Limited. New buildings at Wellington...* [Wellington? 1909]  
2 photolithographs, each 30 x 33cm. DONATION: Mrs J. Cormack, Levin.

——— *View of the harbor of Auckland Island* [Boston] Gleeson's *Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* [between 1851 & 1854]  
Engraving 14 x 25.2cm. PURCHASE.

ADAM, JEAN VICTOR, 1801-1867. *Tonga-Tabou. Vadodai vient demander la fin des hostilités. De Sainson pinx...* [Paris] J. Tastu [1833]  
Lithograph (hand-coloured) 24.3 x 34.4cm. PURCHASE.



[BENSEMANN, LEO VERNON] b. 1912. [*Denis Glover. 195-?*]

Ink 21.6 x 15.7cm. PURCHASE.

——— [*Self-portrait*] 1981.

Pencil 64 x 50cm. PURCHASE.

BEYER, CHARLES, b. 1792. *Pirogue de guerre de la Nouvelle-Zélande...* [*Paris? 18--?*]

Engraving 15.1 x 20.2cm. PURCHASE.



*Leo Vernon Bensemann* [Denis Glover. 1950s?] *Drawings & Prints Coll. B17/2*

BOWRY, WILLIAM HENRY. [*The mill, Renall Street, Masterton. 188-?*]

Watercolour 18.2 x 25.8cm. PURCHASE.

BURTON, SALLY, b. 1949. *Rita Angus in Betty Curnow's shirt. 1983.*

Oil on hardboard 57.5 x 60.6cm. PURCHASE.

CALMAN, GORDON JAMIESON. *Tiki-talk: epistles of the Corinthians. Souvenir – Left Wing 23rd Rfnts* [1917]

25 ink, each ca 15 x 20cm. Originals for illustrations published in *Tiki-talk*, magazine of troop-ship S.S. *Corinthic*. LONG-TERM LOAN.

CLERE, FREDERICK DE JERSEY, 1856-1952. *Victoria College...* 1904.

Watercolour 29 x 54.2cm. Unsuccessful design in competition for building for Victoria College, Wellington. PURCHASE.



- [CRAWFORD, JAMES COUTTS] 1817-1889. [*Sketchbooks of South Island, Wellington, Wairarapa and Manawatu scenes*] 1863-64.  
Pencil & ink drawings in 4 sketchbooks, various sizes. PURCHASE.
- [FAIRBURN, ARTHUR REX DUGARD] 1904-1957. [*Designs for fabric printing, 1947-1950*]  
34 lino block prints 9.7 x 25.4cm. to 56.5 x 28.6cm. PURCHASE.
- [GILFILLAN, JOHN ALEXANDER] 1793-1863. [*Matarawa; the farm of Mr Gilfillan. Between 1845 & 1847*]  
Watercolour 31.7 x 48cm. PURCHASE.
- GRAINGER, ELIZABETH J., b. 1951. *Dobbs Franks. Earth and Sky, Tauranga, 1969.*  
8 ink drawings in sketchbook, 27.6 x 37.8cm. DONATION: Mr Dobbs Franks, Melbourne.
- HARBILD, T. *The "John Williams": purchased and equipped by the Juvenile Friends of the London Missionary Society... London, John Snow [1866?]*  
Chromolithograph 30.1 x 45.2cm. PURCHASE.
- [HEAPHY, CHARLES] 1820-1881. [*Anna Bishop. 1844?*]  
Watercolour 24.9 x 17.9cm. (oval).  
——— [*The home of Mr & Mrs William Bishop, Maitai Valley. 1844?*]  
Watercolour 24.4 x 32.1cm. DONATION: Miss H. Nicholls, Waipukurau.
- HILL, MABEL, 1872-1956. *His Worship the Mayor of Auckland, 1901, Dr J. Logan Campbell.*  
Watercolour 37.6 x 27.6cm. PURCHASE.
- HOLM, ANNIE ALEXANDER, 1874-1969. *St Mark's, Wgtn. 1897.*  
Watercolour 35 x 22cm. DONATION: Mr J. Sutton-Pratt, Wellington.
- J.O.W. [*Scenes from a South Island journey*] 1886.  
7 watercolours, each 12.5 x 17.5cm. Views of Waimauku, Lyttelton, Christchurch, Castle Hill, Cass, Waimakariri River and Dunedin. PURCHASE.
- J.T. SMITH & CO. ... *View of the town and port of Lyttelton...* T.W. Riby delt. *Christchurch, J.T. Smith & Co. [1883?]*  
Lithograph 37.8 x 60cm. PURCHASE.
- KELLS, HAZEL EDITH. "Kuia". *Dame Whina Cooper. 1982.*  
Pastel 58.5 x 44cm. DONATION: Dr K.R. Standage, Whangarei.
- KINDER, JOHN, 1819-1903. *Keri-Keri, Bay of Islands. 1858.*  
Monotone watercolour over pencil 9.5 x 29.1cm.  
——— [*Keri-Keri Falls. 1858*]  
Pencil & blue wash 9.5 x 12cm.  
——— *Old flax mill and village of Newmarket from the Carlton Road. 1858.*  
Sepia ink 25.6 x 36.4cm.  
——— *The old Mission House (The Revd T. Chapman's) at the Ngae, Rotorua. N.Zd. Jany 1858.*  
Monotone ink & wash over pencil 17.6 x 25.6cm.  
——— *S. Mark's, Remuera & Mt. Eden. 1859.*  
Monotone ink & watercolour 25.7 x 36.2cm.  
——— *Whangaroa. Decr. 30 [1858]*  
Pencil 9.5 x 17.1cm. PURCHASE.



KNOWLES, DAVID. [Jon Trimmer] 1984.  
Oil on hardboard 58 x 58.3cm. PURCHASE.

LEGGATT, T.T. [The Rutherford flax mill at Pungarehu] 1890.  
Pencil & watercolour 22.1 x 31.7cm. DONATION: Mr Q.E. Rutherford, Papakura.



John Kinder Old flax mill and village of Newmarket from the Carlton Road.  
1858 Drawings & Prints Coll. A113/32

LOHSE. [New Zealand illustrations to *Malerische Reise um die Welt*] Lohse sc.  
[Leipzig, Baumgartner, 1835]  
2 engravings, each 18.2 x 21.7cm. PURCHASE.

MacCORMAC, PHYLLYS, b. 1905. [Portraits, chiefly of the artist Barc. 1946?]  
5 pencil, various sizes. DONATION: Miss P. MacCormac, Auckland.

[McFARLANE, FRANCIS LEDINGTON] 1888-1948. [Scenes from war service in the  
Middle East and India] 1916-1918.  
53 pencil, ink & watercolour, and 5 sketchbooks, various sizes. DONATION: Mrs  
S. McFarlane-Highet, Lower Hutt.

McFARLANE, SHONA, b. 1930. *Allan Highet, M.P.* 1973.  
Acrylic on hardboard 75.8 x 60.8cm. DONATION: Mrs S. McFarlane-Highet,  
Lower Hutt.

MARSHALL, MARJORIE. *Benhar Potteries* [193-?]  
Oil 26.4 x 31cm. PURCHASE.

MITCHELL, ALISON, b. 1949. [Self-portrait] August 1976.  
Pencil on board 39.5 x 29.4cm. PURCHASE.

NAIRN, JAMES McLACHLAN, 1859-1904. *Horokiwi.* 1898.  
Watercolour 28 x 38cm.

——— [River scene] 1898.  
Watercolour 27.7 x 37.6cm. DONATION: Miss F.A. Hughes, Taupo.



OLIVER, RICHARD ALDWORTH, 1811-1889. [*Te Rauparaha wearing a cocked hat and tunic. 1848?*]

Sepia watercolour over pencil 26.8 x 27.7cm. PURCHASE.

PARK, ROBERT, 1812-1870. *Rough sketch of the Tyne on the 6th July 1845.*

Watercolour over pencil 51.2 x 21.2cm. DONATION: Mrs M.E. Moore, Kekerengu, Marlborough.

PERCY, WILLIAM STRATFORD, b. 1872 or 1873. *Wellington, New Zealand [ca 1900]*  
Etching 21.2 x 21.2cm. PURCHASE.

[PHILLIPS, JOCK] b. 1947. [*In the light of the past. 1980-1983*]

946 35mm colour transparencies. Slides taken by Dr Phillips and Chris Maclean in preparation of book on stained glass windows in New Zealand houses. PURCHASE.

RAFFET, AUGUSTE, 1804-1860. *Baie Houa-Houa. Naturels exécutant une danse à bord de l'Astrolabe. (Nouvelle-Zélande). De Sainson pinx... [Paris] J. Tastu [1833]*  
Lithograph (hand-coloured) 28.3 x 36.2cm. PURCHASE.

RICHMOND, JAMES CROWE, 1822-1898. [*Bedstead Gully, Collingwood. 1873*]  
Watercolour 36 x 53.5cm. PURCHASE.

——— *French's house as it appeared when H. & I took possession. May 1851.*

Pencil 26.7 x 39.9cm. DONATION: Vice-Admiral Sir Maxwell Richardson, Whangarei.

[SMITHER, MICHAEL DUNCAN] b. 1939. [*Valerie Rigg and Anthony Watson playing the violin and viola. 1970*]

Pencil 26 x 20.6cm. DONATION: Mr I. Bootham, Wellington.

[STONES, ANTHONY] b. 1933. [*Dan Davin. 1983*]

Patinated bronze sculpture on steel base 29.5 x 23.5 x 25.5cm. PURCHASE.

[TERRY, EDWARD LIONEL] 1867-1952. [*A pair of white herons. 19--*]

Watercolour on black silk 10.5 x 6.5cm. DONATION: Dr R.F. Aitken, Wellington.

WEEKS, JOHN, 1885-1965. [*A bridge in Rome. ca 1928*]

Watercolour 14.7 x 16.2cm. DONATION: Miss J. Sunderland, Wellington.

WILLIAMS, EDWARD ARTHUR, 1824-1898. *Auckland. Jan. [1866?]*

Pencil & watercolour on tinted paper 13 x 37.4cm.

——— [*North Head and Rangitoto Island. 1864?*]

Pencil & watercolour on tinted paper 13 x 36.8cm. PURCHASE.



## Notes on Manuscript Accessions

### A SELECTIVE LIST OF ACQUISITIONS, APRIL TO SEPTEMBER 1984

Acquisitions of manuscripts are listed selectively in the *Turnbull Library Record* to alert scholars to newly acquired material judged to be of research value. For items marked 'Access subject to sorting' or 'Restricted' the Library would welcome notification that access will be sought, preferably with an indication of a likely date. This will help the staff in establishing priorities for sorting collections. The following list updates the Notes in the *Record* for October 1984. Material produced by the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau and the Australian Joint Copying Project is not listed except for items copied under the latter's Miscellaneous series. New accessions for the Archive of New Zealand Music are listed in *Crescendo*, the bulletin of the International Association of Music Libraries (New Zealand Branch).

*Account of the Battle of Vailele, Samoa, 1899.* 10 leaves. PURCHASE.

Account of movement of British and U.S. troops against Samoan 'rebels' from Apia to Vailele on 1 April 1899, together with a plan of the engagement.

*Airgraphs of New Zealand and Australian forces serving overseas, 1942.* 11 microfilm reels (negative, 16mm.) PURCHASE.

14,811 one-page airgraphs, Nov. 1942 for delivery in New Zealand and Australia, Christmas 1942. Chiefly from 2 N.Z.E.F. troops serving in the Middle East. Remainder mainly from New Zealand and Australian airmen stationed in the United Kingdom.

BOSCAWEN, HUGH TOWNSHEND, 1882-1917. *Papers, 1914-1919, 1937, 1978.* 3cm. DONATION: Mr E.B. Paterson, Waiheke Island.

Boscawen, a captain in the Wellington Infantry Regiment, saw action at Gallipoli and on the Western Front. He was killed in action in 1917. Papers contain miscellaneous items relating to his war service. Included are 139 photographs mainly of Egypt and Gallipoli, many of which are annotated.

BULLER, JAMES, 1812-1884. *Letter, 15 May 1845.* 4p. PURCHASE.

Letter to Gilbert Mair following news of his 'very painful and trying circumstances at Whangarei' where homes had been plundered by local Maoris. Buller gives an account of damage in other areas and news of colleagues.

CODY, JOSEPH FREDERICK, 1895-1967. *Papers relating to biography of Sir Maui Pomare, 1907-1954.* 4 folders. PURCHASE.

Papers relating to Cody's *Man of Two Worlds* (Wellington, 1953). Collection includes letters from Lady Miria Pomare, Sir Peter Buck, F.M.B. Fisher, Rewiti Kohere, William Downie Stewart, and Princess Te Puea Herangi.

COLENZO, WILLIAM, 1811-1899. *Inward letters about printing, ca. 1841.* 4 items. PURCHASE.

Four letters addressed to Colenso from: James Busby, n.d., concerning printing and distribution of circulars; J. Stuart Freeman, 30 November, requesting his account; Edward Godfrey, 27 May 1841, also requesting an account; and R. Davis, 11 February 1841, concerning the printing of notices relating to land claims.



COLENZO, WILLIAM, 1811-1899. *Notebook, 1836*. 1v. PURCHASE.

Diary entries in pencil, for February 1836, describing his missionary visits to Maori groups. Also pencil sketch map of eighteen places from 'Wangarei' to 'Pahi', and lists of Maori words with English equivalents.

CROYDON PREPARATORY SCHOOL, DAY'S BAY. *Invoices, ca. 1918-1919*. 7 leaves. DONATION: Wellesley College.

Accounts relating to C.J. Bennett and Croydon Preparatory School (now Wellesley College). Includes accounts for school fees, uniform, boots repaired, and medical attention on 'Master Bennett II'. Photocopies.

CUTHILL, ROBERT. *Journal, 1896*. 40 leaves. DONATION: Mr B. Davis, Wellington. Typed transcript of shipboard journal describing voyage from London to New Zealand aboard the *Rimutaka*, May-July 1896. Daily entries describe progress of the ship and shipboard life. Also contains miscellaneous notes including list of furniture sold prior to departure. Photocopy.

ENVIRONMENT AND PEACE INFORMATION CENTRE. WELLINGTON GROUP. *Records, 1978-1983*. 30cm. DONATION: Mr C.W.P. Carter, Lower Hutt. The records of Epicentre (incorporated 1980), including minutes, 1978-1982; members' addresses and financial papers, 1980-1983. The Wellington Group ceased its activities in 1982.

FIELD, HANNAH, b.1844. *Scrapbook, 1888-1899*. 1v. DONATION: Kapiti Public Library.

Scrapbook containing mainly newspaper clippings about Henry Augustus Field, M.P. for Otaki, 1896-1899.

FODEN, NORMAN ARTHUR. *Genesis of New Zealand's Legal History, 1936*. 1v. DONATION. Mr L.F. Mackay, Levin.

Treatise on the legal history of New Zealand to 1842. Presented in a modified form as a thesis for the degree of LL.D., Victoria University College, 1937. Bound typescript.

GORDON, COLIN MACFARLANE, b.1895. *Life of a Hospital Orderly in Cairo and England, 1915-1916, 1984*. 31 leaves. DONATION.

Reminiscences describe author's war-time experiences as a hospital orderly in Egypt, France and England, 1915-1919. Photocopy of typescript.

HAMLEY, ROBIN, 1888-1917. *Diary, 1917*. 4 items. DONATION: Prof. R.H. Clarke, Auckland.

Hamley sailed with the Auckland Infantry Battalion and reached France in March 1917. He was killed in action in October. Shorthand diary accompanied by typed transcript, biographical note and photograph of Hamley.

HASTWELL SCHOOL, EKETAHUNA. *Log books, 1888-1964*. 5v. DONATION: Estate of Mr E.B. Seymour, Mauriceville.

Details daily school events, attendance and lessons, and the occasions when school inspectors visited.

IMPULSE DANCE THEATRE. *Records, 1977-1980*. 4m. DONATION: Mr F. Wiley, 'Danspace', Wellington.

Records of the group, now defunct, include correspondence, tour files, financial papers, newsletters and posters.

*Access subject to sorting.*

J.H. BETHUNE AND COMPANY LIMITED. *Records, 1877-1975*. 17m. DONATION.

The records of this Wellington firm of real estate agents and auctioneers include



book auction records, 1948-ca. 1975; property valuations, 1913-1965; property sales contracts, 1905-1975, and financial records, 1877-ca. 1960.

*Access subject to sorting.*

JORDAN, FREDERICK COLES, ca. 1899-1983. *Papers, 1972-1983*. 25cm. DONATION: Mr C.O. Jordan, Auckland.

Files and submissions acquired in his capacity as the President of the New Zealand Howard League for Penal Reform, and a small bundle of papers relating to the Social Credit League.

KAY, ROBIN LANGFORD, b.1919. *Letters relating to Portrait of a Century, 1982-1983*. 16 items. DONATION.

Correspondence between Robin Kay and the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts concerning his recently published history of the institution, *Portrait of a Century* (Wellington, 1983). Also some financial statements and progress reports.

KENT-JOHNSON, CHARLES WALTER, d.1973. *Diaries and letters, 1940-1941*. 30 items. DONATION: Mrs I.C.L. Kent-Johnston, Taupo.

Private Kent-Johnston sailed for Egypt in January 1940 and served with the 4th Field Ambulance and the New Zealand Convalescent Depot at Moascar.

NEW ZEALAND HOSPITAL CHAPLAINS' ASSOCIATION. *Records, 1964-1980*. 70cm. DONATION.

Contain Executive Committee minutes, files relating to the biennial Conferences and the 1966 Constitution and amendments.

*Restricted.*

NEW ZEALAND LIBRARY ASSOCIATION. *Records, 1930-1979*. 5m. DONATION.

Include correspondence files, 1938-1978; subject files, 1937-1979; Section and Committee files, ca. 1944-1978; accounts, 1930-1977, and minute books, 1943-1950.

*Access subject to sorting.*

NEW ZEALAND RAILWAY TRADESMEN'S ASSOCIATION. *Records, 1924-1974*. 6m. PERMANENT LOAN.

Files concerning wage negotiations and rates, executive meetings, correspondence with branches, interviews with government departments and wage tribunal claims. A listing is available.

*Restricted.*

NEW ZEALAND WAR CONTINGENT ASSOCIATION. *New Zealand War Contingent Hospital. Visitors book, 1915-1918*. 1v. DONATION: Mrs H. Dalston, England.

Hospital situated at Mt Felix, Walton-on-Thames. Book contains names and addresses of visitors on opening day, 31 July 1915. Also signatures of George V, Queen Mary, and Edward, Prince of Wales, and important visitors, 1915-1918.

PATTERSON, ISAAC. *Papers, 1920-1923*. 17 items. DONATION: Mr J.K. Patterson, Lower Hutt.

Letters with enclosures of verse by Hugh Smith (Bard of Inangahua). Also correspondence relating to the Burns Memorial, Hokitika, and related printed matter.

PETERSEN, BODIL. *The Lutheran Church in Palmerston North, 1882-1982, 1983*. 123 leaves. DONATION.

This unpublished work examines successive pastorates, and the work of the church auxiliaries. Photocopy of typescript.



- ROBINSON, JAMES, 1834-1901. *Log of the Jessie Henderson, 1875-1876*. 48 leaves. DONATION: National Archives.  
Captain's log detailing the vessel's coastal voyages carrying wheat and timber, as well as a voyage from the Bay of Islands to Fiji carrying coal, and from Fiji to the Solomon Islands with passengers. Photocopy.
- RUSSELL, ARTHUR, b.1908. *Zigzag Adventurer: Portrait of a Victorian, 1979*. 202 leaves. DONATION: Mrs Helen B. Sandall, Waikanae.  
A biography of Macnamara Russell, 1836-1899, based on papers inherited by his grandson, Arthur Russell. Macnamara spent most of his life in Australia, but lived in Dunedin and Auckland from 1863-1868. Typescript.
- SHORTLAND, WILLOUGHBY, 1804-1869. *Letter to Te Tirarau, the Chief of Kaipara, 1840?* 2 items. PURCHASE.  
Transcript (ms) of a letter in Maori (2p.), proposing a meeting at Okiato between Shortland and Te Tirarau, to discuss the Treaty of Waitangi; together with a typescript translation.
- SHUKER, ROY G. *Research papers relating to the history of the W.E.A., ca. 1915-1983*. 20cm. DONATION.  
Material collected for a history of the Workers' Educational Association Inc., consisting of conference papers, minutes, W.E.A. publicity and pamphlets, and both published and unpublished papers on branch history.  
*Access subject to sorting.*
- STEPHENSON, ROBERT J., b. 1867. *New Zealand Pioneers: Father and Son, 1930*. 153 leaves. PURCHASE.  
Stephenson grew up in Palmerston North and moved with his family to a Westland farm in 1882. Reminiscences cover period 1867-ca. 1886. Photocopies of holograph and typed transcript.
- STEVENS, MARK HAROLD S., b.1953. *Records relating to the Springbok Rugby Tour of New Zealand in 1981, 1981-1984*. 20cm. DONATION.  
Newspaper clippings, newsletters, and ephemera relating to the 1981 Springbok Rugby Tour, and in particular to the anti-tour movement in Wellington. Also includes transcripts of interviews with protesters and other material related to the preparation of the C.O.S.T. booklet *56 Days* (Wellington, 1982).
- TONGARIRO TRAMPING CLUB. *Records, 1936-1981*. 5cm. DONATION.  
Official Log, 1936-1937, newspaper cuttings, Club history, and an account of the 1945 eruption of Ruapehu.
- WELLINGTON REPERTORY THEATRE INC. *Minutes and programmes, 1932-1981*. 3v. DONATION.  
These records, additional to our existing collection, consist of A.G.M. minutes, 1932-1981; Executive Committee minutes, 1964-1971; and programmes book, 1953-1976.
- WILD, HARRIET NEWPORT, 1898-1984. *Papers, 1912, ca.1924*. 12 items. DONATION: Estate of Mrs H.N. Wild, Lower Hutt.  
Papers include a cooking exercise book for 1912, with dated lessons, including recipes and notes on nutrition and an essay on Feilding Agricultural High School where the writer was a founding teacher.
- WYETT, GEORGE. *Cashbook, 1874-1882*. 1v. PURCHASE.  
Cashbook for personal items including George Wyett's book list, travel and club expenses, local toll gate and payments for shoeing horses.



### Notes on Contributors

A. G. BAGNALL, OBE, MA(HONS), HON LIT D(WELLINGTON), FNZLA, historian and bibliographer, was formerly Chief Librarian (1966-1973) and editor of the *Turnbull Library Record* (1967-1976).

JANET PAUL, BA(HONS), a practising painter, was formerly Art Librarian at the Turnbull Library. Her most recent publications include work on Rita Angus and other New Zealand women artists. She is currently preparing notes on contributors to, and a catalogue of, a facsimile edition of the Hobson Album.

BRIAN OPIE, MA, PHD, is a member of the English Department, Victoria University of Wellington.



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The Society known as the Friends of the Turnbull Library was established in 1939 to promote interest in the Library, to assist in the extension of its collections, and to be a means of interchange of information on all matters of concern to those interested in books generally as well as in the manuscripts, sketches, maps and photographs with other materials which throw light on our history.

The Society carries out its objectives by means of periodic meetings and the production of publications, including the *Friends' Newsletter*.

The annual subscription of \$15.00 entitles members to receive the *Turnbull Library Record* free. Members of the Society are also able to purchase Library publications, including those of the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust, at a discount.

Correspondence and enquiries regarding membership should be addressed to the Secretary, the Friends of the Turnbull Library, P.O. Box 12-186, Wellington North.

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