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Contents

Patrons and clients: their role in sixteenth century parliamentary politicking and legislation

MICHAEL GRAVES

Patrons and clients might be described as the civilianised descendants of feudal lords and vassals. The bonds of land-grant and military obligation had disappeared. Instead the Tudor patron was a great (or at least a greater) man who threw his protective mantle over lesser mortals, who loomed large in his county, and whose patronage, prestige and Court contacts might secure patronage and advance the fortunes of those who looked to him as their protector. In return he expected them—his clients—to exhibit deference and loyalty, support him in his quarrels and to enhance his 'presence'—in other words to follow, escort and accompany him, physically and visibly. Mutual moral obligation, social responsibility and deference, and material advantage were all important elements in such relationships.

The patron client mechanism[1] was the focal point and nexus of the faction. Perhaps faction is an inappropriate term, because it suggests a grouping with a prime political motivation. Certainly it is not the equivalent of a party, because parties are separated by different policies and principles, but it does describe a political organism, even if its only political dynamics were office, power and profit. Doubtless this is the consequence of reading back history from post-Restoration politics. However, this retrospective approach is misleading and unhistorical, especially for the sixteenth century. First and foremost a Tudor faction was a social connexion: an affiliation of men brought together by kinship (of blood or marriage); friendship; social, economic and occupational links; common county identity or social status and perhaps (not necessarily) religion. The unifying force was the common bond of loyalty to the patron. They were members of the patron's extended 'cousinhood', his relatives, servants, estate officials, tenants, allies, friends and neighbours. The faction, defined in this way, was characteristic of the hierarchical and deferential nature of Tudor society, in which it was not debasing or humiliating to seek

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A revised version of a paper presented at the third national early modern studies conference held in Auckland, 25-26 August 1984.

'good lordship' and become a member of a great man's clientele. It was advantageous, indeed for the ambitious it was necessary to do so, and the client's own prestige was enhanced by that connexion. The very fact that the Tudor faction was a social phenomenon, however, made it a rather fluid, amorphous grouping. It is impossible to draw up the personnel list of a faction, because clients came and went, had more than one patron, or were themselves patrons as well. Factions overlapped, coalesced, fragmented, whilst some men stood in intimate relationship to a patron yet were not of his clientele.

However, the patron client mechanism and faction acquired a political aspect too, especially because of the poverty of the Tudor state. The state could not afford a standing army, a police force or a nationwide, salaried bureaucracy. Local government depended on unpaid, over-burdened justices of the peace. According to W. T. MacCaffrey only 1,200 salaried offices in central and local administration were 'worth a gentleman's having' at a time when 2,500 Elizabethan gentry were competing for them. Lawrence Stone queried these calculations and concluded that, at a guess, 'it would be that the ratio of aspirants to suitable jobs under Elizabeth was about 2 to 1 for the aristocracy, 5 to 1 for the 500 leading county families, and anything up to 30 to 1 for the parochial gentry'. Moreover, only twenty royal offices opened up prospects of a fortune. Even in these cases profit derived not from the official salary but from the extent to which they could be exploited for financial gain. The Elizabethan Lord Admiral, for example, received only £200 in fees and annuities, but in 1601 was reckoned to be worth more than £3,000.[2] Most officers in central government were grossly underpaid or only nominally paid. In compensation the Crown allowed them to charge a recognised scale of fees to the public for services rendered.

More important, however, was the way in which it supplemented meagre incomes with patronage. Royal patronage took many forms: titles, offices, pensions, leases of crown lands, monopolies and economic benefits and so on. Of course there was never enough to go round. That simple fact bred competition, with patrons as the vital intermediaries and the faction as the natural mechanism through which to lobby for a share. This can be illustrated through the rich collection of Sir Robert Cecil's papers. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, died in 1598. His patron's mantle passed to his second son, Robert, and, in 1599, so did his office of Master of the Court of Wards. It was an office rich in patronage potential. Clients queued up to ingratiate themselves with Robert. The Dean of Gloucester wrote, 'Had I been as well known to you as I was to your father for many years, then I should not lie in the

dirt and dust of indignity and disgrace... Wherefore I would beseech you to be another patron to me instead of your father... Meantime I send a couple of Worcestershire cheeses...'[3] Sir Samuel Bagenall apologised for forgetting his patron, promised to make amends, and sent him two dogs—adding, in a charming postscript, 'This great white dog is the most furiousest beast that ever I saw.'[4] The borough corporation of Colchester sent him £10 in gold, expressed joy 'in their happy election of Cecil for their patron' and craved 'the perpetuity of his protection'.[5] Gifts showered in: 'an ambling gelding', a 'summer' nag and other horses, 'pyony water, good against all affections of the... heart', a barrel of conserves, a 'syve' of cherries and a basket of 'apricocks and plums', hawks, partridges, pheasants, stags, bucks, and so on.[6]

These were gifts unaccompanied by suits for patronage. They were just marks of respect for their patron and reminders that Cecil's clients lived in hope. Reminders were important. Sir John Harington sent Cecil 'a homely present, and though the metal therein be neither gold nor silver, yet... it will be worth gold and silver to your house. In my idle discourse on this subject... I valued this device for my own poor house to be worth £100 and... [for yours] worth a thousand. But, seriously, you shall find... the use of it commodious and necessary, and above all, in time of infection most wholesome.' What was his gift? Harington had designed a flush-lavatory.[7] Lord Burghley once advised his son, Robert, that clients should send gifts which would be constant reminders to their patron. Surely this gift would serve![8]

Some gifts were accompanied by petitions. Others were material thanks for services rendered. There was nothing inherently corrupt in such dealings. Cecil's patronage secretary, Michael Hickes, could write openly to a suitor that his services 'I know are as welcome and acceptable to you as twenty fair angels laid in the hands of us poor bribers here in Court'.[9] Gifts should not be extravagant. So Cecil informed Lord Cromwell that he would 'be pleased to accept one of the two horses' offered to him, but he added that 'it would be unreasonable to accept them both unless he saw some imminent opportunity to requite him'.[10] Nevertheless services required gratuities, a universally accepted fact. Indeed in 1595 a case in the Court of Requests concerned Richard Putto, who took action against one, William Smith. The latter had acted as an intermediary in delicate negotiations, which had secured Putto the escheatorship of Kent. Putto had passed Smith £20, for Michael Hickes, Burghley's patronage secretary, with £5 for himself. However, Smith paid Hickes only £15 and kept another £5. The result was a lawsuit and the significant point is that a court of law was prepared to act in order to enforce the payment of a gratuity.[11]

Thus far faction had a profit motive—a slice of patronage—but by implication it also had a power motive: the acquisition of office, one of the most important forms of patronage. This was not confined to suits for a vacant office when its occupant fell terminally ill or died. It could extend to attempts to remove the present incumbent when he was in good health. Normally factions were social connexions, operating especially at the county level. However, power struggles transformed them into political machines and transported them into the Court, where alone great officials could be toppled: Thomas Cromwell scheming against both the Boleyn family and the conservatives in the 1530s;[12] the Duke of Norfolk and Bishop Gardiner of Winchester, ultra-reactionaries, undermining the neo-Lutheran Cromwell in 1539-40;[13] Gardiner against the anti-clerical Lord Paget in Mary's reign;[14] the Earl of Leicester joining a Court conspiracy against William Cecil in 1569,[15] and the bitter, divisive conflict between Essex and the Cecilians in the 1590s.[16] Apart from the last of these, they are not examples of mere cut-throat competition between rival, ambitious Court politicians. Differences of policy, political principle and religion were involved. In these instances we have fleeting glimpses of factions with some of the characteristics of parties.

At this point it is necessary to carry the discussion one step further. As governing class factions, in county and Court, had a political aspect, and as parliament was the forum of that class, is it not possible that faction politics rippled out from county and Court into parliament—as they undoubtedly did under the early Stuarts? First, let us consider parliaments. They did not constitute some kind of autonomous corporate being which operated without reference to the society in which they existed. They were simply occasions when monarch and governing class met in conclave. They were also a microcosm of the political nation which monopolised its membership: nobles, bishops, gentry, lawyers and urban élites. With this in mind, let us rephrase the question: did faction fights within the governing class disturb Tudor parliaments? The answer must be a qualified 'Yes'. The qualification is necessary. Most parliaments were not marked or marred by faction fights or by serious conflict between the Crown and the governing class, in which the latter marshalled its forces through the patron client mechanism. On the other hand the answer must be 'Yes', because the work of politically and biographically orientated historians (such as A. F. Pollard and J. E. Neale) together with revisionist history (which concentrates on parliamentary business rather than politics) have revealed many examples of the patron client mechanism, the nexus of the faction, as an active (and sometimes a disruptive) parliamentary force.

The importance of patrons was first expressed when writs were issued for a new parliament and elections to the Commons were held. Clients sought to be returned for a variety of reasons and applied to their patrons for assistance. In many boroughs, especially the smaller ones, patrons (who in some cases had secured their parliamentary enfranchisement) were able to introduce 'carpet-bagging' clients who were acceptable because they were willing to serve without wages.[17] The results of this activity are manifest in the recently-published volumes of the History of Parliament Trust. Great patrons, most of them noble, nominated or influenced the election of almost 30 per cent of the Commons in Elizabeth's reign.[18] Such clients were not the whipped members of a disciplined, organised political party. We must not assume that they danced to the political tune of their patron, or that they were expected to. On the other hand many of them were voluntary watchdogs of his interests, just as he was willing to promote theirs. It was no more than a parliamentary expression of patron client relationships.

A classic case concerns the Scottish marches (borderlands). For centuries this quasi-feudal, military and turbulent area had been dominated by the Cliffords and Nevilles in the west, the Dacres in the centre, and the Percys in the east. Their economic power, social influence and military manpower were greater than those of the Crown, which gave them a relatively free hand because they defended the frontier against the Scots. However, they were an unknown factor, turbulent, often at war with each other, and liable to pursue their own interests to the detriment of the Crown. The centralising state of Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell moved to alter this state of affairs. One device was to elevate 'new men' to counterbalance the old great families. Most prominent and successful was Thomas Wharton, created a baron in 1544.[19] His family had been clients and estate stewards of the Cliffords and Percys for centuries and now he was a rival. Constant feuding continued from the forties through the sixties. When the Earl of Cumberland and Wharton came south to parliament in 1554 the Council imposed upon them a public reconciliation. They clasped hands and swore everlasting love and devotion, whilst councillors watched and wept copiously. A similar ceremony was imposed on Wharton and the equally hostile Lord Dacre in 1552 'considering how perilous a thing [their quarrels] were, as well for this troublesome season as in this time of Parliament and assembly of the nobles of the realm'. The practice was repeated in 1554. However, all official attempts at reconciliation were to no avail—the affrays and tumults continued unabated.[20]

Wharton did not let the matter rest there. In 1549 his client,

Richard Musgrave, introduced into the Commons a bill to deprive the Earl of Cumberland of his hereditary shrievalty in the County of Westmorland. Cumberland's men were quick to respond. Thomas Jolye, the Earl's nominated burgess for Appleby, purchased a copy of the bill from the commons' clerk. Sir William Babthorpe and Sir Nicholas Fairfax 'with so many of your lordship's friends' spoke against the bill. '[I] thinketh it will be no further spoken of', but, just in case, he had recruited seven other members to voice their opposition to it and he trusted to have 'almost the whole House of that part'. However, Jolye assured Cumberland that Lord Dacre had promised to resist the bill if it did reach the Lords. The bill failed.[21] In Mary's reign Wharton complained to the Council of 'sundry heinous and grevious disorders' committed by Cumberland against him and his tenants and in February 1558 a bill was introduced into the Lords to punish the 'lewd misdemeanours' of the Earl's servants and tenants towards him. That attempt too was scotched.[22]

Boroughs, as well as great men, had their interests to push. Here we witness a reverse process. Exeter, for example, needed to build a 'cutt' (a canal) to the sea in order to bypass the River Exe, rendered unnavigable by silting and the encroachment of Exminster Marsh. It looked to its powerful patrons, the first and second Earls of Bedford, to promote its scheme in parliament, greasing the palm with occasional gifts such as a tun of Gascon wine. However, there were shoals and rapids in their relationship, as in 1563 when Exeter rebuffed Bedford's request to nominate one of its members and he retaliated with a thinly-veiled threat to withdraw his favour.[23] Above all there was London. It was the most powerful urban economic interest and active, organised lobby in Tudor parliaments. This can be illustrated by its tenacious campaign to conserve existing timber supplies and replenish forests. There were two reasons for this. The City provided cheap subsidised bread and fuel for its poor, an expression both of the paternalism of the City governors and their concern to prevent social discontent, which might lead on to public disturbance. Secondly, London's rapid growth demanded timber for the building industry. However, the depredations of the Wealden iron industry, south of London, were rapidly depleting resources in order to produce charcoal for smelting. From the 1540s through to the 1580s the City fought a running parliamentary battle to preserve timber and, increasingly, against the iron interest. It looked to powerful patrons at Court, especially in the Council, and it argued in parliament that it was defending the public interest. However, it also had formidable opponents. The Sidney family had invested in the iron industry. In 1572 its

spokesman was Sir Henry Sidney, Viceroy of Ireland, President of Wales and brother-in-law of the Queen's favourite, the Earl of Leicester. Court interests and local economic conflicts come together in this particular dispute.[24]

Court interests and politics provide some of the most dramatic examples of the patron client mechanism at work in parliament. This can be demonstrated by the careers of several courtier-patrons and parliament men. The political career of the first of these, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, extended into three reigns. In the 1530s Gardiner, in alliance with the Duke of Norfolk, led the religious conservatives against the neo-Lutheran Thomas Cromwell. In 1539 Cromwell appeared to be at the peak of his power. For years he had kept Gardiner and Norfolk away from Court, either in exile or on royal service abroad. Now he persuaded Henry VIII to summon a parliament to confirm the dissolution of the larger monasteries. Indeed he promised his royal master 'the most tractable parliament' that he had ever had. Unfortunately for Cromwell, parliament brought his enemies back to Court. Utilising the king's powerful conservative instincts, they out-manoeuvred the minister, securing the passage of the notorious catholic Six Articles Act with the help of episcopal allies in the Lords. A year later Cromwell fell.[25]

In the next reign, however, Gardiner himself was the victim of the protestant reformation of Edward VI's Council. The Bishop was imprisoned during every session of the reign. He wrote from prison denying the existence of 'Winchester's faction, as some term it; whereas, I take God to record, I never joined myself with any man'. Yet shortly afterwards he contradicted this when he warned, 'If it should be of any man, through policy, to keep me from the parliament, it were good to be remembered whether mine absence from the upper house, with the absence of those I have used to name in the nether house, will not engender more cause of objection, *if opportunity serve hereafter*, than my presence with such as I should appoint there.' This was a warning, a threat. It is worth noting two crucial phrases: 'those I have used to name in the nether house' and 'such as I should appoint there'. In normal circumstances Gardiner nominated six members to his episcopal boroughs of Taunton, Downton and Hindon, and influenced elections in Hampshire, Winchester and other Hampshire boroughs. There is no clearer statement of a patron's parliamentary clientage and his willingness to use it to political ends.[26]

With Mary I's accession the wheel of fortune turned and Gardiner became Lord Chancellor. He wanted reunion with Rome, Mary's marriage to an Englishman, and Elizabeth's exclusion from the succession. His great rival on the Council was William, Lord Paget,

one of the mildly conservative, anti-clerical politicians who were prominent in Mary's reign. Whilst Paget had acquiesced in the Edwardian reformation, he was of an essentially secular cast of mind, which expressed itself in his anti-clerical hostility to Gardiner. His preference was for Henrician catholicism, which would accommodate the Queen's religious doctrines and, at the same time, exclude papal authority. Furthermore, unlike Gardiner, he was an early supporter of her marriage to the Spanish-catholic-Habsburg, Prince Philip, and, at the same time, a protector of her protestant half-sister, Elizabeth. In these matters he may have been ignorant of the Queen's real intentions. Whatever Paget's motives were—and they probably included a calculated self-interest and an eye to the future—he and Gardiner disagreed on every urgent issue of the day.[27] The result was a bitter conciliar conflict which was transferred onto the floor of both houses in the first three Marian parliaments. Gardiner secured the election of 20-30 clients and allies to each of them. In the first he organised an unsuccessful bicameral campaign to persuade Mary into an English marriage. Pliable politician that he was, he then embraced wholeheartedly the Spanish match. In the second parliament he mounted an independent, pro-papal catholic and anti-protestant anti-Elizabethan legislative programme which Paget, his allies and clients wrecked and, in the process, sank some of Mary's own measures. Finally, in the third parliament, Gardiner possibly used clients in the Commons to enlarge the authority of the Queen's husband, Philip of Spain. Gardiner—'Wily Winchester'—was the prototype of the managerial politician and patron who exploited parliament to political ends.[28]

Although Gardiner's clientele served him faithfully in parliament, there were clear limits to the parliamentary obligations and loyalties of clients. One of Gardiner's more formidable opponents was the Earl of Pembroke, many of whose men were nominated by him through the decayed cloth towns of the Cotswolds and Wiltshire. Pembroke was of protestant inclination, as were many of his clients. In 1555 the Commons debated a bill to penalise protestant exiles. During the debate an ardent papist and the chief government spokesman, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir George Howard, a reformer, almost came to blows on the floor of the house. When the discussion continued afterwards at Pembroke's house, the Earl sided with Hastings. Sir John Perrott, 'his most favourite and familiar gentleman' disagreed with him. Pembroke, in a fury, dismissed him, whereupon 'Many other gentlemen in the Earl's service took their leave of him'.[29]

In contrast, it looks as if clients had responded to the call of their great noble patrons in the parliament of 1554-5. The Commons (and possibly Gardiner's clients in particular) had transformed a

simple bill, giving Mary's husband Philip the protection of the treason laws, into a measure making him protector of the realm if she predeceased him and left minor heirs. A number of peers were alarmed by this attempt to enlarge the authority of the king-consort. When the bill passed the Commons 106 members either walked out or were simply absent—and later the Court of King's Bench took legal action against more than sixty of them. At least thirty-six were clients of Pembroke, Bedford, other nobles, and Sir Thomas Cheyne, Pembroke's friend and Bedford's relative, all of whom (with the possible exception of Cheyne) quietly departed parliament too. It is probable that these men seceded in silent protest and took their clients with them.[30]

Another example of the courtier-cum-parliamentary politician, Thomas, Lord Seymour, is one of unalloyed ambition, devoid of principle of any kind. He was the worthiest candidate for the title of 'aristocratic lunatic of the century', excelling even Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex in his blind impetuosity and political naiveté. He was inordinately jealous of his brother Edward, who proclaimed himself Lord Protector and guardian of King Edward VI a few days after Henry VIII's death. Thomas 'misliked that he was not placed in the Parliament House, as one of the King his uncles'. So he turned to parliament to remedy his grievances and challenge his brother's authority. When he was arrested in January 1549 he was charged with 'having in both the same houses laboured, stirred, and moved a number of persons to take part and join with him in such things as he would set forth and enterprise, whereby he thought to breed such a tumult, uproar and sedition'. He was accused of intending to appear in the Commons with his 'fautours and adherents [i.e. clients] before prepared' and there to cause a 'broil' and tumult. Nor did he ignore the upper house where 'he had the names of all the Lords,and totted them whom he thought he might have to his purpose to labour them'. Seymour even threatened that, if his designs were thwarted, 'I will make the blackest Parliament that ever was in England'.[31] His indiscretions, tactlessness and the crudeness of his actions brought about his fall, but at least he had the perception to turn to parliament as an appropriate instrument with which to effect a revolution at Court.

The final example belongs to the Elizabethan political twilight, the 1590s. The heirs of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and the Earl of Leicester were Robert Cecil and Robert, Earl of Essex. Theirs too was a power struggle pure and simple. They competed for everything including borough stewardships or recorderships, which gave them extensive influence in parliamentary elections. The steward might be the nominal, decorative head officer of a

town, just as a chancellor is of a modern university. Nevertheless it equipped the holder with a degree of parliamentary patronage. Neale has demonstrated how 'hot' these men were in pursuit of stewardships. Paradoxically, however, there were no parliamentary repercussions. There is no substantial evidence to show that Cecil or Essex marshalled clients in order to thwart or inflict defeat on each other in the late Elizabethan parliaments[32]—perhaps it was no more than an expression of the ceaseless competition for prestige in which such men engaged.

This enigma is best set aside for lack of convincing explanation. The important point to remember is that long before then, indeed by 1558, noble and episcopal patrons were well versed in the arts of parliamentary politicking—even opposition—to unpopular royal policies and hated ministers. However, Elizabeth's accession brought a new set of circumstances into play. Gone were the contentious revolutionary designs of Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell, the unpopular regents of Edward VI, and the objectionable policies of Mary. Collaboration between the Crown and the governing class was the essence of Elizabeth's reign, despite the stresses and strains to which it was subjected. Sir John Neale's thesis of rising conflict and organised puritan opposition has to be set aside, as a consequence of revisionist history. It is now clear that the supposed parliamentary campaigns against Elizabeth were, in fact, male chauvinistic actions, orchestrated by the Privy Council through their clients and allies in both houses, to coerce an obstinate, conservative and vacillating woman into action. According to Neale a puritan opposition party (the 'choir') in 1563 and 1566/7 endeavoured to force Elizabeth to marry and beget or to name a successor—anything better than the dreaded alternative, the legitimate heir Mary Stuart. Yet why was it that the loudest voices in the succession debate in the Commons were those of Thomas Norton, Robert Bell and Robert Monson? Norton was the client of Elizabeth's secretary, William Cecil, Bell had connections with Lord Keeper Bacon (Cecil's brother-in-law) and Monson was a relative of the second Earl of Bedford, Cecil's closest ally in the Lords. When the Commons appointed a committee to draft a succession petition, it was Norton who played the 'front-man' and read the draft petition to the house. Lord Keeper Bacon ensured the Lords' cooperation. Furthermore when the Commons voted a subsidy to the Queen, it was Cecil who drafted the preamble, which included her promise to marry or name a successor. The Cecil connexion, not a puritan opposition, was the author and organiser of the succession campaign.[33]

The same is true of Neale's so-called puritan agitation to cleanse the 'halfly-reformed' Anglican Church through parliament in

1571. It was a genuine concern not only of 'puritans' but of the protestant governing class as a whole—including Cecil. He could depend on a sympathetic response from both houses in his attempt to pressurise Elizabeth into reform. Fifteen bishops had earlier petitioned her on the subject. When they received no more than a tongue lashing the Cecil connexion swung into action. Norton and William Strickland introduced the reform bills and they, together with Bell, Dalton, Monson and Yelverton, all of whom were lawyers and clients of Cecil or Bacon, ardently pursued the cause in debate and committee. That all of their efforts foundered on the rock of an obstinate imperious queen was partly the consequence of the tactless radicalism of Strickland, the only participant who was not associated with the secretary. This failure does not alter the fact that parliaments were used by Cecil to coerce Elizabeth and that his connexion, his clientele, was his instrument of action.[34]

Parliament met again a year later. It was an emergency session; summoned to advise the Queen. The Ridolfi Plot, a conspiracy to marry the Duke of Norfolk to Mary Stuart and to depose or kill Elizabeth, had been uncovered. Norfolk was alive but under sentence of death. Mary was a refugee and prisoner in England. The Council wanted drastic action against them both. But already a change had occurred which altered the course of Elizabethan parliamentary history. In 1571 William Cecil, Elizabeth's most trusted adviser, had been appointed Lord Treasurer, and he had been elevated to the House of Lords as Baron Burghley. No longer was he personally present to supervise proceedings in the large, unwieldy, inefficient House of Commons. This had an important consequence: he had to employ some of his politically conscious and ambitious clients as his parliamentary 'men-of-business'—as his eyes, ears, and managers.

Before we examine this parliament, it is worth looking briefly at the Burghley connexion. Of course it would be impossible to produce a roll call and explore it to its limits. His longevity, political success, unparalleled record in high office and growing wealth meant that the ramifications of his clientele were seemingly endless. Certainly his relations with other men took many forms. Therefore we propose only to identify certain categories of clientage and illustrate them with examples of those men who served his turn in parliament. Some were related by marriage or blood—above all Lord Keeper Bacon, presiding officer of the House of Lords. Burghley and Bacon had married daughters of a country gentleman, Sir Anthony Cooke. Bacon's clients included Thomas Digges and the lawyer Robert Bell who in 1572 was Speaker, presiding officer of the Commons. Amongst Burghley's

'parliamentary' relatives was his cousin Thomas Dannett, whose other patron was the Lord Treasurer's old friend Archbishop Parker. His business associates in mining ventures included Sir Rowland Heyward, a prominent London merchant. Thomas Wilbraham was Attorney of the Court of Wards, of which Burghley was Master. Lawyer-clients included James Dalton.[35] Furthermore, because London was the only loan market in the kingdom, the Lord Treasurer was drawn into an intimate connexion with it. In the process he recruited his most important parliamentary clients.

The most notable of these was Thomas Norton, the Lord Mayor's secretary, whose obsessive hatred of popery and devotion to the Queen were his distinguishing characteristics. Norton's patrons included Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Francis Walsingham, but above all 'my good Lord Treasurer [who] is the only man in whom I have and do lay the course of my relief'. Another equally reliable client was William Fleetwood, Recorder (legal counsel) of the City. He was, to say the least, eccentric—indeed dubbed by some 'the mad Recorder'—and certainly one of the most engaging Elizabethans. He was scholarly and loquacious, larding his Commons speeches with classical allusion and legal precedent. The clerk might describe an address as 'long, tedious ... nothing touching the matter in question' but that was not the general opinion of the house. His lengthy speeches—often an hour or two—were admired by most. The house indulged itself in his irrelevant ramblings: on a bill to impose a lower age limit of 24 years on ministers of the Church, he commenced one morning: 'You would think that I had studied this [a] year I am so ready and perfect in it, but I promise you I never heard this bill before, but I could keep you here until two o'clock.' He then wandered off into a discourse on poisoning—which, perhaps, was taking anti-clericalism too far—ending with the confident reflection, 'I think you would be content to hear me these two hours.'[36]

Fleetwood, like Norton, was utterly devoted to Elizabeth and Burghley and rabid in his anti-catholicism. He energetically hunted down and unearthed Jesuit missionaries and 'naughty printed popish books', whilst ensuring that Burghley did not remain ignorant of his endeavours: 'I have not leisure to eat my meat, I am so called upon. I am at the best part of an hundred nights a year abroad in searches. I never rest.' In 1576 occurred his *pièce de résistance*. English catholics were attending mass in the Portuguese Embassy. At the head of a body of armed men, but without the moderating advice of a Sancho Panza, he broke down the doors of the Embassy. He scuffled with the porter, swept past him with drawn sword and 'seized the Host, the chalice and the

ambassador's wife'. This was not received at all well in official circles, because the Queen had just signed a commercial treaty with Portugal. He spent a week in the Fleet Prison, from whence he wrote to his patron, Lord Burghley, with an air of resignation, that there 'a man may quietly be acquainted with God'. Such was the stuff of which some of Burghley's parliamentary clients were made.[37]

They were crucial to the success of his parliamentary management, both in the short and long term. In the short term there was the parliament of 1572, designed by the Council to persuade the Queen to liquidate Norfolk and Mary Stuart. At this point it is pertinent to recollect the names of some of Burghley's allies and clients: Bacon, Digges, Bell, Dannett, Heyward, Dalton, Norton, Fleetwood and Wilbraham. Bacon's opening address hinted at the solution which was required. Bell was chosen as speaker of the Commons. Norton delivered twelve speeches against Norfolk and Mary. And he was supported by Digges, Dannett and Wilbraham. The Commons called for members to 'exhibit ... in writing' reasons why the Duke should die. A week later, Norton handed in his marshalled arguments to Speaker Bell, whilst Dannett and Digges had also drafted carefully argued cases. Perhaps the relentless pressure worked. Two days later Norfolk was executed.

There remained Mary Stuart. In a joint conference with the Lords on the most desirable course of action, the Commons' delegates included Dalton, Heyward, Fleetwood, Norton and Wilbraham. The Commons and Lords opted for Mary's present attainder for treason (with its attendant penalties) and her removal from the succession. However, Elizabeth informed them that she preferred simply to nullify Mary's claim to the crown, with attainder as the penalty if she offended again. Speaker Bell, acting on the Council's prompting, recommended another joint conference with the Lords. That conference resolved that the bishops, civil lawyers and members of both houses should draft biblical, legal and political arguments in favour of Mary's death. Most of these have survived—amongst Thomas Norton's papers! Moreover they were 'produced' within 48 hours—an almost impossible logistical exercise, given their length and complexity. It suggests conciliar foresight and pre-planning, with Burghley overseeing all. At the end Elizabeth frustrated all their efforts. Burghley lamented, 'All that we have laboured for ... was by her Majesty ... deferred.' Nevertheless this episode demonstrates Burghley's dependence on his parliamentary clients.[38]

In the longer term that dependence did not alter. Norton, and others too, were fertile in time-saving devices which would expedite official business in the Commons. Moreover Burghley,

now in the Lords, needed information on the Commons' proceedings. It is surely no coincidence that, at the same time as his elevation, his clients Norton, Fleetwood, and Fulk Onslow were appointed to the offices of Lord Mayor's Secretary, City Recorder, and Clerk of the Commons respectively, and that, in 1572, Bell was 'elected' speaker of the lower house. It is from 1571 onwards that parliamentary diaries, reports and advices have survived. Speaker Bell reported to him on the progress of bills. Onslow described proceedings in 1572, 1581 and 1586-7. Fleetwood and others sent accounts to Burghley in 1581 and 1584. These men were not only clients of a peerless patron. They were also the parliamentary aides of the chief minister of state.[39]

The operation of the patron client mechanism and of faction in the parliamentary context draws attention to several significant points about Tudor parliaments. Continental assemblies, such as the French estates-general and provincial estates, the various Spanish cortes, the Sicilian parlimento and the Swedish riksdag, reflected the 'estate structure' of those societies. They were structurally organised in estates or social orders: those who prayed (the clergy), those who fought (the nobility), and those who toiled (the third estate). That concept crumbled in fourteenth century English parliaments. The lower clergy withdrew to their own assembly, convocation. The rural gentry and urban élites formed their own chamber, the Commons. This left the bishops, abbots and peers in possession of the parliament house—the future 'House of Lords'. By the sixteenth century, the English parliaments did not constitute a tiered institution of three competing estates, each sitting separately, but a bicameral assembly.

Homogeneity, not separateness, was the essence of English parliaments. They were the microcosm of the governing class, which consisted of those social groups entitled to a legitimate, active political role. Bishops (and until 1540 some abbots and priors), peers and gentry, merchants and lawyers—the membership of parliaments—were part of a lattice-work of various and varied relationships within that class. The patron client mechanism and faction were expressions of the essential social homogeneity which crossed the artificial barrier of the bicameral organisation of parliament. It is true that, within that context, there were divisive forces and disagreements: between localities, economic lobbies and the factions of courtier-politicians and other great men. The City of London in particular promoted its interests in parliaments. So too did smaller urban communities, such as Exeter, York and Yarmouth. They sponsored bills, opposed others and sought out influential ministers, councillors and courtiers to advance their causes. Families, individuals and

economic lobbies searched for powerful patrons with the same object in view. Sometimes this activity could cause parliamentary friction, although the social bonds within parliament usually absorbed such stresses and indeed served to facilitate the effective despatch of business.

Nevertheless this brief study of patron client relationships does suggest further lines of enquiry. Revisionists have charged the school of 'political' parliamentary historians with a concentration on the politics of parliament, whilst neglecting its business—and rightly so. Yet, paradoxically, the revisionists' own emphasis on business has drawn increasing attention to the political mechanisms of patrons, clients and factions. They have discovered that bills are not always what they seem to be—that behind the ordered legislative process lies a subtle interplay of local, sectional, economic and Court politics. Several points of political significance are emerging. First, that the invisible socio-political influence of patronage enhanced the authority of the House of Lords (where most of the great patrons sat) in its dealings with the Commons (to which many of their clients had been elected). Secondly, that we need to know much more about competition and conflict within/between boroughs and economic interests, both during parliamentary sessions and in the interim. Finally, it is now clear that, as in the seventeenth century (though probably less so), Court politics had their parliamentary repercussions. As revisionists master the institutional niceties of parliaments and their business, they need to return to politics again. I do not mean 'high' constitutional conflict (which for the most part did not exist in the sixteenth century), but the parliamentary lobbying and politicking of individuals, families, communities and, in particular, of Court factions.

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2 *Calendar of Patent Rolls,* Mary I, 1553-4, pp. 148-50; Stone, p. 467; Neale, 'Elizabethan Political Scene', p. 146; MacCaffrey, pp. 99, 108. The office of Lord Admiral was one of the most lucrative appointments. The letters patent of appointment entitled the holder to receive all 'fees, profits, wages, emoluments, wreck of the sea, ... rewards, advantages [and commodities] ... pertaining to the office', as well as 'the goods of traitors, pirates, homicides and felons', treasure-trove, 'lost goods found in the sea or thrown up out of it, ... all fines and forfeitures, etc., adjudged in any court of admiralty of England' and even 'royal fishes' such as sturgeons, whales, porpoises and dolphins. More important for the ambitious patron, he was also empowered to appoint and remove lieutenants, vice-admirals and a wide range of other naval officials.

3 26 October 1602. *H[istorical] M[anuscripts] C[ommission Reports], Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury* (Hatfield MS), Part XII, 456.

4 1 November 1602. Ibid., 460.

5 3 May 1602. Ibid., 139.

6 1 January, 4, 22 & 28 May, 10 June, 8 July, 7, 16 & 26 August, 30 September, 23 October, 12 November. Ibid., pp. 1, 139-140, 164, 167, 190, 217, 286, 302-3, 321, 407, 409, 452, 469.

7 22 June 1602. Ibid., p. 199.

8 The 'idle discourse' to which Harington referred was his book on the subject, *A New Discourse of a Stale Subject, called the Metamorphosis of Ajax* (London, 1596)—a play on 'jakes' (a lavatory).

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Alexander McMinn (seated, left) and his sons F. Alex (seated, right), Leslie, Gordon, Archibald and Garnet (standing, from left), with their dog Lassie, ca. 1900. Palmerston North Public Library, ref. P: 47

'Journalist of Repute': Alexander McMinn and the early years of the *Manawatu Standard*

NICOLA M. FREAN

In 1880 a second newspaper was set up in the young township of Palmerston North; it was this paper which was to survive and prosper. The lengthy struggle between the two enterprises is beyond the scope of this article—I examine here only the first surviving issues of the *Manawatu Standard*—but this examination does cast light on the early printing and book trade, that is, newspapers and printing, stationers, booksellers and a public library, which began in Palmerston North in the mid 1870s, and by 1890 had more or less taken lasting form.

Alexander McMinn founded the *Standard* in 1880. Its full title, *The Manawatu Standard, Rangitikei Advertiser, and West Coast Gazette*, gave notice of his energy and ambition. Unfortunately, the first three years' issues of the paper have not survived to their centenary; the General Assembly Library holds the earliest run (1883 to June 1886), and the Palmerston North Public Library is indexing issues from 1903 on. So the narrative of the first years of production has to be drawn from external sources.

Pakeha settlement at Palmerston North began in 1871, and for a decade at least the town was very much a poorer inland relation of the thriving port of Foxton, at the mouth of the Manawatu River. But Palmerston North soon began to prosper, a tramway was built to link it with the coast, in 1875 the Manawatu Gorge was bridged, and communications with the Wairarapa improved. At this stage, John Law Kirkbride and Joseph Poulter Leary (who only five months before had set up the *Rangitikei Advocate* in Marton) established the first newspaper, the *Manawatu Times*, and at the same time set up a newspaper for the Scandinavian community at Palmerston North, called *Skandia*. The editor of the *Manawatu Times* was C.J. Pownall, the editor of the Marton paper, one Alexander McMinn, and the short-lived *Skandia* was edited by Hjalmar Graff, a bookseller in Palmerston.[1] Perhaps prophetically the port of Foxton, soon to be eclipsed by its inland rival, did not acquire a newspaper until 1878, when the Russell brothers founded the *Manawatu Herald*.[2] The Kirkbride-Leary partnership seems to have

ended within a few years; Kirkbride is recorded as sole proprietor of the Marton paper, while Leary kept control of the *Manawatu Times*, changing editors several times before selling the paper in 1878 to John Boulger Dungan, but retaining the job-printing side of the business in his own hands.

John Dungan had been a compositor at the *Times*, and in charge of its 'literary columns' for the previous six months. Contemporary accounts indicate that he was extremely popular in the township; after his death the Court was adjourned for two hours and the whole of the business premises of Palmerston North closed down so that people could attend his funeral.[3] According to Leary, he was 'fond of the genial glass (in the plural)'[4] and sometimes incapable of getting the paper out, but this may have been the reaction of a staunch Methodist proprietor. Despite this, once he owned the paper Dungan used it to promote his plans for a public library for Palmerston North—a reading room had been established in June 1876 but had languished for want of subscribers. A new reading room had been set up in 1877, and two years later the great leap to a lending library was made. Dungan

> not only joined the committee and canvassed for support but also promoted the library's cause in his editorial columns... [and] the paper... launched an appeal to its readers to donate books to the library. The services and runner boys were offered to collect the volumes from each household and *The Times* regularly published their titles and the names of donors under the heading 'Roll of Honour'.[5]

As a result Palmerston North had a lending library with control vested in the Borough Council by June 1879. At the same time, the *Times* was carrying advertising for 'J.P. Leary, Stationer', and was supporting Leary's stand for the Council.[6] It was Dungan himself, however, who was elected to Council the following year.

It was into this rather cosy scene that Alexander McMinn intruded in 1880. An Irish journalist sent out by one of the London papers to report on the Anglo-Maori Land Wars, he had arrived in Auckland in 1863. After the fighting was over he had turned his hand to teaching, for a short time at Wanganui Grammar School, then in 1866 at Turakina. On being sacked by the school committee for insubordination, he promptly set up a rival school and took away almost all the pupils.[7] But at some time in the 1870s he turned back to journalism and joined the *Wanganui Herald*, then owned and edited by John Ballance. In the course of his work McMinn made quarterly trips to Wellington, passing through the Manawatu, and in 1875 he moved to Marton as editor of Kirkbride and Leary's *Rangitikei Advocate*. During his term he took the paper from biweekly to triweekly issue.[8]

He also came into editorial conflict with John Dungan over the

burning issue of 1877-78, the route for the proposed Manawatu Railway Line. The *Rangitikei Advocate* was 'absolutely committed to the Foxton route,... Dungan was going hot for Palmerston North'. McMinn had attended all the pro-Foxton meetings and on one occasion had by his mere presence broken up a secretly-organised pro-Palmerston North meeting at Woodville.[9] One of Dungan's editorials on the issue speaks for itself:

> There are some men who would prefer to reign in hell than serve in heaven, while others who find it morally impossible to speak a word of truth,... and glory in their preeminence in falsehood. Such a man is the editor of the *Rangitikei Advocate*.[10]

In 1880, contemplating establishing his own newspaper, McMinn first planned to set up in Feilding, accepting the inevitable competition with the two-year-old *Feilding Guardian*. But he was persuaded by Sylvester Coleman, a Palmerston North land and commission agent, to found his paper in Palmerston North instead.[11] Coleman's motivation for this is not clear. He had moved to Palmerston North from Marton, where he had no doubt known McMinn, and for two years had been on the Council which Dungan had just joined. Evidently McMinn took his advice and on 29 November 1880 presented him with the first copy of the *Manawatu Standard, Rangitikei Advertiser, and West Coast Gazette*. The *Standard* was probably therefore a political as well as an economic rival to the *Times* (understandably, Leary did not advertise in the *Standard*), it was also a daily competitor to the biweekly *Times*, and had the self-confessed objective of initiating a chain of newspapers in the central North Island—an unusual, and one of the earliest such undertakings in New Zealand. Competition among newspapers was the norm, but that in Palmerston North, with a population of just under 1400, was to be particularly fierce. Nor was it likely to be mitigated by the fact that where Dungan was from Dublin originally, and Catholic, McMinn was from Belfast, and Protestant.

From the beginning the *Standard* seems to have hit the *Times* hard. After a few months Dungan had moved his premises to the commercial centre where McMinn's were, and was advertising for a double demy printing machine to equal the *Standard*'s size.[12] He was also indulging in venomous editorial exchanges with his 'reptile contemporary',[13] accusing McMinn of, among other charges, pirating the *Times*'s news telegrams. (This was not true, though it was apparently a known practice in New Zealand. The *Manawatu Standard* had become a member of the United Press Association on 27 November 1880, for a fee of twenty-five pounds.)[14] This slanging match culminated in a suit for criminal

libel against Dungan, provoked finally by an editorial beginning:

> There are certain specimens of humanity—they can scarcely be called men—whose instincts are so base and grovelling that they delight in wallowing in low notoriety, and periodically court the dragging of their names through the mire. Of this class the 'Journalist of Repute' [McMinn's usual epithet in the *Times*] stands in the foremost rank. With a private history as familiar to the residents of the West Coast as household words, he, HE of all others, has the audacity to enter the private circle, and defame the fair name of respectable ladies... [how he] could court another expose is beyond all comprehension, unless it is that he got tired of vegetating in the mud, and wished once again to be dragged through his native element.[15]

McMinn brought two charges of criminal libel against Dungan, which were referred to the Supreme Court in Wanganui, and the day after followed up with two informations for sureties of the peace against Dungan. The latter he was persuaded to drop, but a reference in the journal *Typo* indicates that he won his libel cases, though his suit for £300 damages was reduced to £25. Dungan, not to be outdone, brought two charges of libel himself against McMinn the following month; after a hearing in the Palmerston North District Court, however, he was forced to withdraw them, and subsequently restricted his editorial comments to the most virulent sarcasm.[16]

The *Times/Standard* battle thereafter took more orthodox business channels. In June 1881, the *Times* upped its circulation to three times a week; in December it began advertising 'The Times Book Depot and Stationer's Hall', which offered in addition to books and stationery a virtual newspaper library for people to browse in.[17] But unfortunately Dungan died before these changes had shown results, in May of the following year.[18] The newspaper was bought by J.R. Russell, one of the brothers who had started the Foxton *Manawatu Herald*. By January 1883 it, too, had become a daily paper.[19]

McMinn, meanwhile, having got the *Standard* on its feet, pressed ahead with his plans for a regional chain of newspapers by establishing the *Woodville Examiner, Waipawa Advertiser and East Coast Gazette,* and once this was under way he attempted to start another paper at Opunake. However the difficulties of obtaining finance, the problems of poor communications and the lack of suitable staff eventually defeated these plans—the Opunake scheme fell through, and in 1885 he was forced to sell the *Woodville Examiner*. In part this was due to the strain on his health—twice a week he used to carry columns of type set in the *Standard*'s office, and

> after seeing the *Standard* issue published and having provided for the following day's issue, he set out on horseback late at night for Woodville via the Manawatu

Gorge. Midnight would find him leading his horse and literally feeling his way round the winding precipitous Gorge road, the bushclad cliffs above him, the turbulent river many feet below.... Having arrived in Woodville in the early hours of the morning he immediately set to work to get the paper to press, and the next night would see him on the return hazardous trip to Palmerston North.[20]

Though Alex McMinn was a strong man—six and a half feet tall and weighing eighteen stone—this strain eventually proved too much.

The *Standard* itself prospered, despite the depression of the 1880s. In fact 1883 was probably its peak year. McMinn began issuing town and country editions, the newspaper was appointed the official District Gazette,[21] and it entered the job-printing business:

Having completed arrangements with a view to carrying on a large Jobbing Business, the *Standard* is prepared to undertake all kinds of Jobbing Printing, which will be executed with neatness and despatch and *at Wellington prices*.

Visiting cards, Posters, Billheads, Business cards, and all other classes of Jobbing Printing executed at the *Standard* office, Wellington prices.[22]

A month later the *Standard* also began advertising the wares of John Watt, a Wellington bookseller:

JOHN WATT
Bookseller and Stationer Willis-Street
WELLINGTON
Look out for new advertisement of STOCK to arrive
Shortly...[23]

This is slightly ambiguous—was the newspaper the agent for these books, or were people to be enticed to Wellington? Either way, it was a canny tactic on McMinn's part, for the next month Hjalmar Graff, who had edited *Skandia* for J.P. Leary, finally began advertising his bookshop in the *Standard*. In January 1884 Macro's Tobacconist also took out advertising for the stationery they sold.[24] Meanwhile McMinn took on three more apprentices, began to issue Sunday supplements, and produced a Sheet Almanac, for sale in 1885.[25]

Editorially, McMinn tended to support Liberal policies, but he did not involve himself in local politics as Dungan had.[26] (When the library burnt down in 1885 there were no newspaper appeals to restock.) The somewhat aloof stance may have been due to the status of District Gazette; when the *Times*, for instance, criticised the administration of the Manawatu County Council in 1883 it found itself boycotted from its supply of news by the Council.[27] Certainly when Fred Pirani, a member of the *Standard*'s staff, stood for the House of Representatives in 1890 the electoral roll was printed by

the *Manawatu Herald* rather than by the *Standard*.[28] (Pirani was unsuccessful, though Ballance did take his Liberal party to power.) But after the elections, for reasons which remain unclear, McMinn decided to sell up his business and leave Palmerston North. He became sub-editor of the *Wairarapa Daily Times* in Masterton, and Fred Pirani took over as proprietor and editor of the *Manawatu Standard*.

The issues of the *Standard* themselves for the first surviving years reveal certain continuing anxieties concerning the business, notably insecurity of capital and difficulties in retaining staff, which made necessary a heavy emphasis on advertising, and meant McMinn never delegated the burdens of running the paper.

The press used for the first months of issue was an old Albion handpress from the *Wanganui Herald*, capable of producing 250 sheets an hour, and since McMinn could only afford a small lease, it was located in the upper storey of a wooden building in the Square, to the trepidation of the confectioner, Mrs Eng, underneath.[29] By 1883 McMinn had acquired a larger Wharfedale stop-cylinder press, which ran on steam power and could print 1300 sheets an hour, and he had taken over the whole building,[30] though after a few months the front half of the lower storey was to let again. The *Standard* had also earned sufficient to buy some land, for grazing in its paddocks was offered in the advertising columns.[31]

McMinn must have been frequenting secondhand sales of printing equipment, too, for according to the knowledgeable R. Coupland Harding, his small pica type had originally belonged to William Colenso.[32] The paper on which it was printed was double royal in size, and varied considerably in quality—an indication that McMinn was saving money, at least in the short term, by buying it in small lots. On one occasion he was caught out, and had to 'beg wrapping paper from a friendly grocer and paste pieces together to obtain sheets of the necessary size.[33]

Finding long-term staff was another perennial problem—a letter in March 1881 soliciting staff speaks of having 'had 3 or 4 amateurs, but I am tired of them and am determined to have a good man or none at all'.[34] The *Standard* began with Henry Lyes and Edward Roe (son of Charles Roe, the Wellington printer, and scarcely an 'amateur'), and at various times thereafter employed N.H. Nash, who later worked on the *Times*, Frank Knowles from Kaikoura, and Fred Pirani; in addition there were usually two or three apprentices at a time. McMinn's son Archibald became a compositor, while another son 'Tiny' worked on a Carterton paper in the 1900s. There were also tenuous partnerships; Henry Lyes was registered as printer, publisher and co-proprietor of the *Standard* when it was first issued, though McMinn took over all three roles

by 1881. In 1882 one John McKelvie was registered as the proprietor, with McMinn as printer and publisher—again, a short-term involvement.[35] These episodes deserve more investigation, but in this context, they signal both McMinn's inclination for sole control, and periodic financial crises.

The internal evidence of these early issues suggests that the distribution of the paper was quite a problem. McMinn employed a 'collector', and warned that a coloured wrapper on one's paper meant that it would be discontinued unless the bill was paid. He seems to have used men on horseback to carry the country edition, which came out in the early afternoon, and local boys to distribute the 4 p.m. second edition, and there was usually a notice in the paper asking subscribers to report any 'irregularity in distribution'. Presumably these tactics were successful, for by December 1884 he claimed he could guarantee a circulation of 1500 copies.

The chief compensation for these business difficulties came from McMinn's attention to the advertising side of affairs. The price of the paper had to equate with the *Times*'s 3*d* biweekly, i.e. 1*d* per copy, 5 shillings quarterly, or 6 shillings and sixpence if booked. In every issue the editor extolled the power of advertising and the extent of his circulation, for example:

IF YOU WANT

A SITUATION — TO BUY ANYTHING
A SERVANT — TO LET FURNISHED
TO SELL ANYTHING — OR UNFURNISHED

OR

To increase your business
ADVERTISE IN THE
MANAWATU STANDARD

The largest circulation in the district,
and consequently the best medium for advertising.
Advertising is to business what steam power is to
machinery—the grand propelling power.[36]

Variations on this theme were sprinkled throughout every issue. Illustrations for advertisements were always plentiful (eighteen different designs in one four-page issue in March 1883, for example) and in October 1884 several larger frames for advertisements were received. The cost of advertising was *not* extolled in each issue and is difficult to determine, presumably individual agreements were reached rather than a standing rate being applied. Special terms enticed employers and servants to advertise in the 'Wanted' column: 16 words for one shilling.[37] McMinn also took care to appeal to his rural subscribers,

> Special pains are taken in the compilation of information for country residents, which will be found to be accurate and reliable in every respect.
>
> NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC
>
> The Manawatu Standard having by far the largest circulation of any journal published in the Manawatu, has been selected by Messrs Stevens and Gorton as the only paper issued in Palmerston in which all their district stock sales, special notices, &c., &c., will for the future appear.[38]

As for news content, the *Standard* usually ran to about six of its thirty-two columns, derived principally from the large news networks:

> WANTED KNOWN.— The Manawatu Standard is a subscriber to the United Press Association and Reuters Telegraphic Agency, and contains the very latest English and Foreign Intelligence to the hour of going to press.[39]

On occasion this could have disadvantages: 'Owing to an atmospherical disturbance the wire was working badly today, thus causing delay in the receipt of press telegrams.'[40] But in addition to these established channels McMinn himself wrote up local news—once routing his printers out of a billiard room to put out a late story—and printed the Borough Council minutes. He also employed a 'Special Correspondent' at Foxton, who relayed in particular the shipping news. And from February 1884 a separate 'Commercial' column began to give information about the London and Sydney markets.

The printing trade was an early and prolific immigrant in New Zealand—presses like the Albion were portable and comparatively cheap. But the bread-and-butter of the trade was the newspaper element, and local newspapers were largely one-man concerns whose success depended entirely on the energy and ability of the proprietor. Alexander McMinn's experience with the *Manawatu Standard* was decidedly a success story—he might be a 'Journalist of Repute', but he also had the acumen to run his paper as a business venture, and the ability if necessary to perform any or all of the roles involved.

The author would like to thank Ian Matheson, the Palmerston North City Council archivist, and Ross Harvey, for their advice and assistance.

1 G.H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1958), pp. 55, 57. G.C. Petersen, *Palmerston North: A Centennial History* (Wellington, 1973), p. 150, notes, concerning *Skandia*, 'It was overlooked however, that the Danish alphabet contains letters foreign to the English... Consequently the first issue of *Skandia* did not appear until 18 November... The tradespeople generously supported its advertising columns, the local doctor offered his services on moderate terms, a local Swede advertised for a wife (beauty not essential if a competent housewife)....'
2 *Printing, Bookselling & Their Allied Trades in New Zealand Circa 1900: Extracts From the Cyclopedia of New Zealand* (Wellington, 1980), p. 23.
3 *The Tablet,* 19 May 1882, p. 17.
4 *Manawatu Times*, 23 October 1909, p. 2.
5 I. Malcolm, *Palmerston North City Library: 1879-1979* (Palmerston North, 1979), pp. 4-7. Dungan was on the Library Committee of the Borough Council.
6 *Manawatu Times*, 4 June 1881, pp. 3-4.
7 C. R. Howlett, *Turakina: the Centenary of a Country School* (Wanganui, 1959), pp. 24-27.
8 Scholefield, pp. 51, 56-57, and Petersen, p. 151.
9 *Manawatu Times,* 31 May 1916.
10 Ibid., 16 July 1879, p. 2.
11 T.L. Buick, *Old Manawatu* (Palmerston North, 1903) p. 355.
12 *Manawatu Times,* 23 November 1881, p. 2.
13 Buick, p. 355: 'Looking over old files we see such striking titles... as "A Registered Slanderer", "The Trail of the Viper", "Disreputable Journalism", and in one wild effusion we find the following crushing denunciation... "There are spots to be found on the sun, there are scabby sheep in all flocks, and we regret to say that the ranks of colonial journalism has at least one representative who is a disgrace to the order, and a worthy follower of his prototype, Ananias" ' (taken from the *Manawatu Times*, 5 July 1879, p. 2).
14 J. Sanders *Dateline-NZPA* (Auckland, 1979), p.12.
15 Quoted, *Evening Post*, 21 May 1881, p.2.
16 Criminal Record Book of the Palmerston North District Court, vol. 1, 17 and 18 May 1881 and 28 June 1881. I. Matheson, *The Birth of Palmerston North* (Palmerston North, *Manawatu Evening Standard,* 13 March 1971) p.40. *Selections from* Typo (Wellington, 1982) p.46. Efforts to locate Wanganui Supreme Court records for 1881 have proved unsuccessful.
17 *Manawatu Times*, 31 December 1881, p.2.
18 His widow Mary is, however, recorded as a 'bookseller', with property in Palmerston North valued at £700. *Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand, October 1882* (Wellington, 1884).
19 Petersen, p. 160.
20 Reminiscences of McMinn's son Gordon, quoted in Petersen, p.151.
21 *Manawatu Standard*, 23 June 1883, p.3.
22 Ibid, and 5 July 1883, p.2.
23 Ibid, p.4.
24 Ibid, 3 January 1884, p.3.
25 Ibid, 3 December 1884, p.3: 'Wanted known: The Manawatu Standard is the only paper on the West Coast which gives to its subscribers every Saturday a fourteen column supplement gratis.'

26 His former employer, John Ballance, by then Liberal M.P. for Wanganui, is reported as having written the leader for the first issue. Buick, p.354.
27 *Manawatu Times,* 7 June 1883, p.3.
28 *Selections from* Typo, p.110.
29 Petersen, p.150.
30 Palmerston North Public Library photograph archive, Bc3, 'Standard Steam Printing Works', c.1885; *Manawatu Standard* colophon 1883.
31 e.g. *Manawatu Standard*, 27 March 1883, p.3.
32 R. Coupland Harding, 'Relics of the First New Zealand Press', *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, 32 (1900), 400-404 (p.404).
33 Petersen, p.151.
34 Unpublished letter from McMinn to William Henry Smith, editor of the *Marlborough Times*, 18 March 1881 (Palmerston North City Council Archives).
35 *Selections from* Typo, p.125.
36 *Manawatu Standard,* 8 October 1883, p.4.
37 Ibid, 3 December 1884, p.1.
38 Ibid, and 4 February 1884, p.1.
39 Ibid, 13 February 1883, p.2.
40 Ibid, 15 January 1884, p.2.

Peter Rabbit at the Turnbull Library

SHARON DELL

In 1930 the Turnbull Library was offered a collection of four letters from Beatrix Potter by William Ferguson of Wellington. His letter to Johannes Andersen, the Librarian, explains both the provenance and nature of the collection and associated items:

> In going through the treasures of my late wife I found a bundle containing the Correspondence which the late Miss Beatrix Potter had with, and about, my infant daughter, Louisa Sefton Ferguson, who died twenty years ago. As Miss Beatrix Potter was well known as an author & illustrator of Children's Books It occurred to me that possibly you might like to have the autographed books and the letters for the Turnbull Library.
>
> I therefore enclose for your Consideration
> Ginger & Pickles autographed Jany 8th 1910
> Letter from Miss Potter of the same date
> The Roly Poly Pudding New Year 1909
> A Framed Illustrated Letter from Miss Potter 26th Feby 1908
> A Framed Post Card Photo of Benjamin Bunny 21 Novr 1907
> Letter Oct 12th 1910 from Miss Potter to my wife on hearing of the death of her little Correspondent
> Peter Rabbit's Painting Book Sent to Mrs Ferguson Oct 1911...[1]

The collection, which was accepted, is an example of the type of correspondence Beatrix Potter had with children all over the world. Her published work had its origin in small illustrated stories which she sent in letter form to the children of friends and relatives. The letter to Louisa Ferguson of 26 February 1908 demonstrates fully the way she infused into her sketches and stories an acute observation of natural life in a way which, though imaginative, always remained true to the character of the animals depicted.

These letters belong to the period between the purchase in 1905 of Hill Top Farm, at Sawrey in the Lake District, and her marriage some eight years later at the age of forty-seven to the country lawyer who assisted her in the purchase of it and other farm properties in the area. During this time she was at her most prolific and wrote some of her best work, most of it filled with local scenes and characters. Her method is well described in the letter of 8 January 1910, in which she also mentions her one involvement in politics. Convinced of the necessity of tariff reform after her unsuccessful attempts to have a 'Peter Rabbit' doll made in

England, and the arrival in the stores of pirated rabbit and squirrel dolls made in Germany, she printed an argument in favour of protection, and drew hand-coloured posters illustrating her point of view.[2] After marriage, Miss Potter the authoress was heard of less as she gained increasing satisfaction from the life she enjoyed for another thirty years as Mrs Heelis, farmer.

Although Beatrix Potter's reply to Louisa's initial letter was no doubt influenced by the standing and personal connections of her parents the news of her death in August 1910 aged eight elicited an immediate and unmistakably warm response. In October the following year a copy of *Peter Rabbit's Painting Book* was sent, inscribed 'For Mrs Ferguson from B.P. with kind remembrance'.

The letters (MS Papers 461) are transcribed below, with the one illustrated letter reproduced on page 99.

* * *

Nov 21st 1907

With best wishes for the New Year to little Louisa Ferguson from Beatrix Potter.

This is a portrait of the real old original Mr Benjamin Bunny!

Many thanks to Mrs Ferguson for her kind appreciative letter.

* * *

On Frederick Warne letterhead:

Feb. 26 1908

Dear little Louisa,

It is a dear little bag and a dear little photograph! When I saw the bag I said "This is for Peter Rabbit to carry his pocket handkerchief in!" But when I looked at it carefully I said—it is a great deal too nice for Peter, and he would bite holes in it, as it seems to be made of flax or grass.

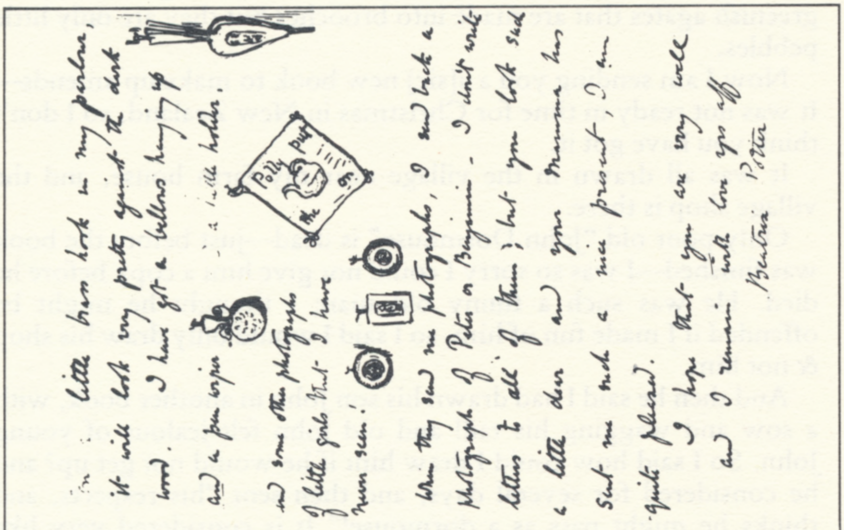
So I shall keep it for myself, & hang it up on a little brass hook in my parlour, it will look very pretty against the dark wood. I have got a bellows hanging up and a pen wiper and a kettle holder, and some other photographs of little girls that I have never seen!

When they send me photographs, I send back a photograph of Peter or Benjamin—I don't write letters to all of them; but you look such a little dear and your Mamma has sent me such a nice present, I am quite pleased.

I hope that you are very well and I remain with love yrs aff

Beatrix Potter.

* * *



c/o

Telegraphic Address: "Warne, London."
Telephone No 2808, Gerrard.

Frederick Warne & Co

Chandos House,
Bedford Street, Strand.
London. Feb 26 1908

Dear little Louisa,

It is a dear little bag and a dear little photograph! When I saw the bag I said "This is for Peter Rabbit to carry his pocket handkerchief in!"

But when I looked at it carefully I said—it is a great deal too nice for Peter, and he would bite holes in it, as it seems to be made of flax or grass.

So I shall keep it for myself & hang it up on a little brass hook in my parlour, it will look very pretty against the dark wood. I have got a bellows hanging up and a pen wiper & a little holder, and some other photographs of little girls that I have never seen!

When they send me photographs, I send back a photograph of Peter or Benjamin—I don't write letters to all of them; but you look such a little dear and your Mamma has sent me such a nice present, I am quite pleased.

I hope that you are very well and I remain with love yrs aff

Beatrix Potter

Jan 8. 1910

Sawrey
Ambleside

Dear Louisa Ferguson

You will think I am *very naughty*—I have never written to thank you for that lovely pen holder. It came just when I was starting on a journey. I think it is beautiful, and such a length—we have greenish agates that are made into brooches but they are only little pebbles.

Now I am sending you a a[sic] new book to make up amends—It was not ready in time for Christmas in New Zealand, so I don't think you have got it.

It was all drawn in the village near my farm house, and the village shop is there.

Only poor old "John Dormouse" is dead—just before the book was finished—I was so sorry I could not give him a copy before he died. He was such a funny old man; I thought he might be offended if I made fun of him, so I said I would only draw his shop & not him.

And then he said I had drawn his son John in another book, with a sow and wagging his tail! and old John felt jealous of young John. So I said how could I draw him if he would not get up? and he considered for several days, and then sent "his respects, and thinks he might pass as a dormouse!" It is considered very like him. Also it is very like our "Timothy Baker" but he is not quite so well liked, so everybody is laughing. I think I shall put *myself* in the next book, it will be about pigs; I shall put in me walking about with my old "Goosey" sow, she is such a pet.

I am so busy over the Election my fingers are quite stiff with drawing "posters".

Yr aff friend
Beatrix Potter.

* * *

Hill Top Farm
Sawrey
Ambleside

Oct 12 . 10

Dear Mrs Ferguson,

I scarcely know how to write to you in your terrible trouble. One can only hope that you are given strength and patience. Dear child—she has been taken away from a world of troubles—troubles which it is useless to question or try to understand. I heard you are not very strong, it makes the loss greater. I made acquaintance with Mrs Hadfield from Wellington and I asked her about Louisa—

indeed that was the beginning of it—for without that inquiry I don't suppose we should have done more than exchange two letters; but she wrote so pleasantly about you that I thought I would like to see her and send a message to New Zealand. It does seem so strange that when we were talking about Louisa, it was all over. I was very much shocked when I heard from Mrs Hadfield last night. She had evidently had the paper by the same mail, my copy came this morning forwarded from the publishers' office. I had the child's nice little letter and the photographs last August, I had been intending to answer when I got back to London, & could send her a doll & a new book. And now it is too late. I think I have little friends all over the world, I am glad if my books have given her pleasure. Her little grass bag is hanging up in the house-place here, my house-keeper (the farmer's wife) was so sorry when I told her—we have a handful of children in this house—but not one to spare; and to think that you have lost your one little ewe lamb is dreadful. I hope she did not suffer much. With sincere sympathy for you and your husband believe me yours sincerely

Beatrix Potter.

REFERENCES

1 Letter, 16 November 1930, William Ferguson to Johannes Andersen. ATL Correspondence files.

2 Margaret Lane, *The Tale of Beatrix Potter: A Biography*, revised edition (London, 1968).

3 William Ferguson was Engineer, Secretary and Treasurer of the Wellington Harbour Board, and later Managing Director of the Wellington Gas Company, and Chairman of the National Efficiency Board. Mary Louisa, his wife, was the daughter of William Sefton Moorhouse, who had been Superintendent of Canterbury and Mayor of Wellington.

Research Notes

Research workers are asked to note that the move of the Turnbull Library collections and staff from 44 The Terrace into interim accommodation before the new National Library building on Molesworth Street is ready for occupation at the end of 1986 will cause considerable disruption to services for an extended period beginning late in 1985, and to plan their research accordingly. The owners have asked the National Library to vacate the building by 31 March 1986, as soon as the lease expires. Present indications are that the contractors will finish construction on the new building about December 1986 and that it will become available to accept materials about February or March 1987.

As soon as more definite information is available on interim accommodation a statement will be issued by the Library on the date of closure at 44 The Terrace for the first shift, the nature of the services which might be able to be provided from the interim accommodation, and the likely date of closure for the second shift and the reopening in the Molesworth Street building.

An Editorial Advisory Committee for the *Turnbull Library Record* has been established by the publishers, the Turnbull Library Endowment Trust Board. Professor W. H. Oliver, Professor J. C. Davis, and Dr Kerry Howe have been appointed members of the Committee on the nomination of the Friends of the Turnbull Library, and Mrs F. A. Porter by the Endowment Trust Board, who are to make two further appointments.

The Lilburn Trust, established last year, has made its first distribution from income: to the Music Department at Victoria University for prizes in composition, and to the Archive of New Zealand Music at the Turnbull to support its oral history programme. The Trust is administered by the Board of the Turnbull Library Endowment Trust with the assistance of an advisory committee, and its objectives are to foster and promote New Zealand music, for the general advancement of music and the preservation of musical archives, and in support of the interests of the Alexander Turnbull Library.

The Research Endowment Fund has made grants to Dr Jonathan White of the University of Essex for a visit to New Zealand from Australia, to Joan Fitzgerald, a lecturer in the English Department at Rome University, and to the New Zealand Early Modern Studies Association for its Tudor conference in Wellington in April.

Ormond Wilson's *From Hongi Hika to Hone Heke* was launched by Dr Michael King at a function in the Library in June. Mr L. A. Cameron, the Chairman of the Trustees of the National Library, in announcing Mr

Wilson's resignation from the Trustees Committee for the Alexander Turnbull Library, thanked him for his long service on the Committee and his contributions to the work of the Library. Mr Wilson was appointed to the Committee in 1966.

Research for a biography of F. P. Walsh, the prominent trade union official whose papers are held in the Turnbull, is being undertaken by Mr Peter Franks, a trade union journalist, and Mr D. J. Morgan, President of the New Zealand Seamen's Union. The project has the official support of the Union.

A revised version of the Chief Librarian's paper delivered at the British Library's Colloquium on Australian and New Zealand Studies in February 1984 is being published by the Victoria University Press for the Stout Research Centre under the title *New Zealand Studies: a Guide to Bibliographic Resources*. Copies are available from the Library at $3.95 (with a discount to Friends) and from all good bookshops.

The New Zealand Musicological Society held its fourth annual conference in the Library over the weekend 18-19 May. Jill Palmer, the Turnbull Music Librarian, delivered a paper 'Coussemaker's Anonymous XII: A New Edition, Translation and Commentary' in the session on theories and theorists.

Diana Meads and Kay Sanderson of the Manuscripts Section are compiling the first part of an annotated list of the manuscript materials in the Library of significance for women's studies to be published by the Library late in 1985. The first part will cover the period up to the turn of the century, and describe about 500 collections. It is hoped that a second part, also of about 500 entries, will be compiled and published in the near future.

The next issue of the *Turnbull Library Record*, for May 1986, will feature women's studies in New Zealand. Contributions will include descriptions of the Turnbull's collections of manuscript materials in women's studies and general articles from research workers. Contributions for this special issue have been solicited by a letter to individuals and organisations with an interest in women's studies.

Notes on Manuscript Accessions

A SELECTIVE LIST OF ACQUISITIONS, OCTOBER 1984 TO MARCH 1985

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 May 1985. 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).

ANDERSON, PHILIP CUTHBERT, 1848?-1932. *Diaries, 1871-1886.* 1 microfilm reel. PURCHASE.
Daily record of Anderson's life as an Anglican clergyman in New Zealand (particularly Taradale and Akaroa) and Australia, 1871-1886. Originals in Mitchell Library, New South Wales.

BELL, ROY, b.1871. *Diary at Norfolk Island, 1912-1913.* 1 microfilm reel. PURCHASE.
Bell was on Norfolk Island collecting bird specimens for Gregory M. Mathews. Diary entries are primarily descriptions of the weather, and of the birds he observed. Original held by Australian Museum, Sydney.

BROOKLYN SCHOOL, WELLINGTON. *Records, ca. 1896-1983.* 60cm. DONATION.
Log books, pupil registers, school committee minutes and correspondence, centenary committee registrations.

BROWN, MAY, 1884-1972. *Early Days on the Northern Wairoa River, 196-?* 21 leaves. DONATION: Mrs Jenny McDermott, Dargaville.
Recollections of early life at Te Kopuru on the Northern Wairoa River, and at the Avoca district near Dargaville, around the turn of the century. Typescript.

BURTON, ORMOND EDWARD, 1893-1974. *Hadfield of Otaki, 1971.* 34 leaves. DONATION: Mrs June Starke, Lower Hutt.
Lecture on Octavius Hadfield (1814-1904). Typescript with holograph corrections.

CARMAN, ARTHUR HERBERT, 1902-1982. *Papers, 1853-1963.* 1m. DONATION: Mrs E. Carman, Wellington.
Carman was a Wellington bookseller, writer and pacifist. He was jailed briefly in 1941 for his opposition to World War II. Papers include inward correspondence, and notes written by Carman while in Mt Crawford prison, 1941; newspapers of pacifist organisations, 1939-1945; articles and newspaper cuttings relating to pacifism and conscientious objectors, 1939-1949; and notes and newspaper cuttings on politics and general elections, 1853-1963.
Restricted.

CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF SAMOA AND TOKELAU. *Archives, ca. 1845-1962.* 49 microfilm reels. PURCHASE.
Archives held by the Catholic Diocese of Samoa and Tokelau, which inherited records of the Vicariates Apostolic of Central Oceania, of the Navigators' Islands, and of Samoa and Tokelau.

CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF TONGA. *Archives, ca. 1842-1951.* 25 microfilm reels. PURCHASE.
Archives held by the Catholic Diocese of Tonga, which inherited records of the Vicariates Apostolic of Tonga and Niue, of the islands of Tonga, and of Central Oceania which at various times included Tonga, Wallis Island, Fortuna Island, Samoa, Fiji, New Caledonia, and the New Hebrides.

CHRISTIE, HENRY M., d.1945? *Papers, 1913-1943.* 12 folders. DONATION: Mr G. Shaw, Wellington.
Typescript articles by Christie about Maori ethnology, and letters from Elsdon Best and Roger Duff.

COALITION FOR OPEN GOVERNMENT. *Records, 1978-1984.* 2.3m. DONATION.
Established in response to the National Development Bill, the records include major series on the proposed Bill and the Official Information legislation as well as COG strategy and correspondence.

COLCHESTER, CHARLES ABBOT, BARON, 1798-1867. *A Log of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Sloop Rose, 1824-1826.* 1v. DONATION: Mr C. Rickett, Lower Hutt.
Log of the voyage of the *Rose* under the command of Abbot, from Portsmouth to southern Greece, via Gibraltar and Malta, taking coastline soundings as it proceeded.

COMBS, FRANK LIVINGSTON, b.1882. *Reminiscences, 1950s?* 9 folders. DONATION: Mr G. Shaw, Wellington.
Anecdotal short stories recounting experiences as a student and young teacher at the turn of the century. Typescripts.

COMMON CONCERN. *Records, 1972-1981.* 1.6m. DONATION.
Independent, non-profit organisation formed in 1972 to monitor the proceedings of Parliament. Includes files on membership, finances, correspondence, and newsletters.

CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF NEW ZEALAND. *Minutes, 1932-1982.* 6v. DONATION.
Minute books of meetings of the Standing Committee and Assembly.

DIXON, GEORGE, 1820-1898. *Outward letters, 1888.* 47 leaves. DONATION: Ms M. Dixon, Nelson.
Letters written by Dixon, an English Member of Parliament, to his daughter Maggie in England, while he was visiting New Zealand. Includes letters written on board the *Doric*. Photocopies of typed transcripts.

DRYLAND, GORDON BOYCE, b.1926. *Papers, 1983-1984.* 60cm. PURCHASE.
Additional literary and personal papers, including correspondence, plays, television scripts, poems, and some prose.
Restricted.

FITZGERALD FAMILY. *Letters, 1915-1918.* 12 items. DONATION: Mr S.J. Burnett, Wellington.
John Fitzgerald served with the Wellington Mounted Rifles and was killed in action in France in December 1916. Includes letters to his family from France,

official communications with his mother Norma following John's death, and a letter from his brother Gerald.

FRANCE. ACADÉMIE DES SCIENCES. *Passage de Vénus: M. Bouquet de la Grye, Station de Campbell, 1873-1875.* 1 microfilm reel. PURCHASE.
Files relating to the expedition led by de la Grye to observe the transit of Venus on Campbell Island in 1874. Includes budget for the expedition, list of personnel, reports from de la Grye to the Académie, and scientific reports produced by the expedition. Copied from the originals held by the Académie des Sciences, Paris.

GULLY, JOHN SIDNEY, b.1924. *John Gully: Artist and Man, ca.1984.* 12cm. DONATION.
A biography and appreciation of Gully's paintings by his great-great-grandson. Manuscript and typescript drafts for book published as *New Zealand's Romantic Landscape: Paintings by John Gully* (Wellington, 1984).

HANSEN, RAYMOND ERNEST. *Papers, ca. 1928-1983.* 2.7m. DONATION.
Correspondence, poems, subject files and photographs relating to the Hansen family's involvement in the peace movement; their activities as conscientious objectors during the Second World War, and their Beeville Community.
Access subject to sorting.

HEWITSON, RICHARD. *Journal, 1879-1880.* 47 leaves. DONATION: Mrs F.M. MacIvor, Auckland.
Journal of Hewitson's voyage to New Zealand from England aboard the *Alastor*. His life in Auckland where he worked as a labourer is also described. Photocopy.

HOGG, BAIN. *Copies of Hogg Family Documents Relating to Land, ca. 1900-1914.* 1v. DONATION: Mr D. V. Hogg, Wellington.
Volume containing holograph copies of extracts from Maori Land Court Minute Books as well as copies of agreements and deeds relating to family land on the Hauraki Plains.

HUTT COUNTY COUNCIL. *Further records, ca. 1960-1979.* 28m. DONATION.
Includes major series of administration files on Council elections, finance, statistics, reserves, licensing, rating, housing and works.

MOODY, MARY DAVIS. *A New Zealand Bride on the Arctic Circle, 1960s?* 3cm. DONATION.
Author's experiences in Alaska and the Yukon, 1922-1938, including marriage to an Anglican minister and subsequent missionary work with Canadian and American Indians. Includes account of return visit in 1961. Photocopy.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE DEATH PENALTY. *Records, ca. 1950-1961.* 20cm. DONATION: Mr J. P. Delahunty, Wellington.
Subject files include: submissions on the Crimes Bill, 1959; statistics and cases, ca. 1957; printed propaganda on capital punishment issue, ca. 1950s; also some newsletters, handbills and correspondence, 1953-1957.

PENTLAND, BEVERLEY, 1939?-1984. *Papers, 1972-1984.* 1.5m. DONATION.
Correspondence and subject files, scrapbooks, newspaper clippings and ephemera, relating to the twelve year campaign of the 'Fireworks Lady'.

PERRIN, CHARLES THOMAS. *Diary, 1874.* 25 leaves. DONATION: Mrs S.C. Adams, Wanganui.
Diary covering part of voyage from London to Wellington aboard the *Berar*, 15 October-20 December 1874. Photocopy.

PERRY, CHARLES STUART, 1908-1982. *Papers, ca. 1935-1982.* 2.7m. DONATION: Mr S. A. M. Perry, Wellington.
Collection contains material from Perry's long association with the Indecent Publications Tribunal; research material for *The New Zealand Whisky Book* (Auckland, 1980); and further material towards a history of Somes Island, and a work on New Zealand hoaxes.
Restricted.

RHODES, WILLIAM BARNARD, 1807-1878. *Log of the* Eleanor, *1839-1841.* 1v. DONATION: Mr E. D. M. Ryle-Hodges, Durham, England.
Log of the whaling barque *Eleanor*, for voyages from Sydney to New Zealand and return, and then to London. Rhodes was in command of the vessel on the Tasman crossings, and Robert Johnson during the journey to London.

ROYAL FOREST AND BIRD PROTECTION SOCIETY OF NEW ZEALAND. *Records, ca. 1928-1982.* 22m. DONATION.
Additional records covering administration and conservation work of the Society, together with material from its 1983 Jubilee.
Access subject to sorting.

SKINNER, SIR THOMAS EDWARD, b.1909. *Scrapbooks, 1946-1980, 1983.* 4v. and 2 folders. DONATION.
Scrapbooks of newspaper cuttings relating to a long career in the trade union movement. Also included are typed transcripts of two 1979 interviews, together with loose cuttings removed from the scrapbooks.

SOMERSET FAMILY. *Papers, ca. 1911-1984.* 2m. DONATION: Mrs G. L. Somerset, Wellington.
Family papers and research notes of the late Hugh Crawford Dixon Somerset, and Gwendolen Lucy Somerset (née Alley), reflecting their life-long careers in child and adult education. Includes Rewi Alley correspondence, 1938-1980; files relating to H. C. D. Somerset's *Littledene* (Wellington, 1938); and the New Zealand Playcentre Federation.
Access subject to sorting.

SWEETMAN, HARDY BRITTON LEE, b.1899. *Inward correspondence, 1921-1928.* 2cm. DONATION: Mrs Jean Sweetman, Raglan.
Chiefly letters to Hardy Sweetman from Catherine Coady and Iris Wilkinson (Robin Hyde) prompted by the death of his brother Harry. Iris Wilkinson's relationship with Harry Sweetman and her reaction to his death is portrayed in her novel *The Godwits Fly* (London, 1938) where he appears as Timothy Cardew.

UNITED STATES. NAVAL HISTORY DIVISION. *South Pacific Area and Force Command Histories, 1942-1945.* 4 microfilm reels. DONATION: Mr R. J. Gates, Wellington.
The histories describe the establishment and operation of United States naval facilities in Fiji, New Caledonia, Samoa, and Tonga, and the impact on the local communities. Originals held by Naval Historical Division Operational Archives, Washington, D.C.

VALUES PARTY. *National Office records, 1973-1983.* 5m. DONATION.
Files concerning the central administration of the Party, including those on international contacts, publications and manifestos, elections, the media, policy working groups, contacts with community groups, political education and strategies. Also contains major series on regional branches.
Restricted.

WELLINGTON FREE KINDERGARTEN ASSOCIATION. *Records, 1905-1980.* 2m. DONATION.
Includes Council meeting minutes, 1905-1978; executive meeting minutes, 1947-1976; annual general meetings, 1935-1980; and admissions to Brooklyn, Newtown, and Wellington South Kindergartens, ca. 1909-1938.

WELLINGTON SAVAGE CLUB. *Records, 1905-1984.* 2m. DONATION.
This social service club was founded in 1905, and formed part of a nation-wide network of clubs holding concerts and informal evenings for members. The collection includes minutes, 1905-1968; scrapbooks containing programmes and other printed ephemera, 1906-1925; and general correspondence and subject files, 1916-1984.

WELLINGTON SETTLEMENT TRADING COMPANY. *Records, 1971-1982.* 2m. DONATION.
Relating to the Settlement Gallery, the records include correspondence with artists, 1974-1978; sales and exhibition accounts, 1973-1982; exhibition files, 1974-1981; and scrapbooks, 1972-1982.

WELLINGTON TECHNICAL COLLEGE. *Records, 1885-1963.* 5m. DONATION: Wellington Polytechnic.
Includes Board of Managers minutes, 1902-1962; letterbooks, 1900-1919; cashbooks, 1899-1957; fee receipt books, 1897-1928; minutes of the various trades committees.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF NEW ZEALAND. *Further records, ca. 1943-1979.* 2.7m. DONATION.
Additions to our existing collection (MS Papers 1536), these records include minutes of the Association's major committees and boards; subject files on the worldwide Y.W.C.A. movement, 1970-1974; financial records, 1952-1976; membership lists and convention registrations, 1948-1977.

Notes on Contributors

NICOLA M. FREAN, MA (HONS), DIP LIBR, is an archivist at National Archives, Wellington. This article grew out of work for a Diploma in Librarianship course in 1984.

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M. A. R. GRAVES, MA (HONS), PHD, is an associate professor of History at the University of Auckland and author of several books on Tudor England, including *The House of Lords in the Parliaments of Edward VI and Mary I.* His latest volume, *The Tudor Parliaments*, will be published in November 1985. Currently he is preparing for the press a collection of documents with commentary on the Elizabethan parliaments.

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Alexander Turnbull Library

Report by the Director for the year 1984/85

The Alexander Turnbull Library is a national research library, dedicated to the collection and preservation of the records of human knowledge and endeavour and to the enrichment of those records through the fostering of research and publication. The Library is responsible for the long-term preservation of the national collection of library materials relating to New Zealand. Other special fields include the Pacific, early printed books, John Milton and his times, and the arts of the book.

ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

The benefits of access to the New Zealand Bibliographic Network became evident during the year with a marked increase in the number of recently published books catalogued for the collections. Planning the accommodation for the Turnbull collections and services in the new building, and detailed analyses for the shift into the building, made it necessary to reallocate staff time to the detriment of the Library's normal activities.

In order to assess more accurately the needs of the various groups of library users, staff have been conducting reader surveys. It is planned to employ an independent expert to conduct a major survey of all users. During the visit of a group of senior librarians from the University of Hawaii a successful professional colloquium was held, at which papers on aspects of New Zealand, Pacific and Hawaiian research libraries were read and discussed before an invited audience of librarians and academics.

Five exhibitions were mounted to display to the public some of the Library's resources: 'The Voyage to New Zealand', 'The Book Beautiful', some early and unusual newspapers, a selection of Hogarth etchings, and a group of Kenneth Quinn's photographic portraits of eminent New Zealanders.

The Library has attracted during the year an increased amount of financial support from the community for its endowments and for the activities carried out on behalf of the Library by the Friends of the Turnbull Library. A bequest of $32,000 from the estate of Jean Lenore Paterson was received by the Endowment Trust, and sponsorships (through the Trust) were received from Kodak New Zealand Ltd, Independent Newspapers Ltd, the New Zealand Founders' Society, and Messrs Francis Allison Symes & Co. and Hill Samuel NZ Ltd. The Archive of New Zealand Music received further grants from the New Zealand Composers' Foundation. The Friends raised over $20,000 towards a special centennial fund to assist with expensive purchases for the collections. The Endowment Trust's

accumulated funds at the end of the year were $290,205. Income was $109,879, and expenses $38,849, leaving $71,030 available for application in terms of the deed of trust. The Trust spent $26,049 on purchases for the collections and $54,233 in publishing on behalf of the Library. The Research Endowment Trust spent $12,905 on grants to research workers, conferences and seminars.

THE PROMOTION OF RESEARCH AND PUBLICATION

For a research library the most effective and appropriate means of making its resources available to the widest possible audience is by encouraging research and publication based on its collections.

The Research Endowment Fund made grants to eight scholars (five from overseas) during the year, and grants towards the costs of the Early Modern Studies Association's Tudor conference and a national conference on the preservation of theatre records. The Library again acted as the host for the annual conference of the New Zealand Musicologists' Society. The Research Endowment Fund was supported by grants from the Todd Foundation, the Ilott Trust, the Trustees of the National Library, and the income from three sets of prints.

The Endowment Trust made grants towards the publication costs of a bibliography of the Solomon Islands and a catalogue of mediaeval and renaissance manuscripts in New Zealand. The financial responsibility for the *Turnbull Library Record* was taken over by the Endowment Trust from the Friends of the Turnbull Library during the year.

Publications issued from the Library, with the assistance of the Endowment Trust and sponsors, were *Victoria's Furthest Daughters*, a bibliography of published sources for the study of women in New Zealand 1830-1914, compiled by a member of the reference staff, Mrs Patricia Sargison; *In Search of New Zealand's Scientific Heritage*, the proceedings of the history of science conference sponsored by the Library and the Royal Society of New Zealand in 1983; *A Search for Tradition* by Douglas Lilburn; a new edition of the Library's catalogue of publications under the title *Windows Upon Our Heritage*; a keepsake for the exhibition of early and unusual newspapers; an illustrated calendar; and two sets of reproductions, one of paintings by Aubrey and Barraud and the other of six photographs by W.J. Harding. The Friends of the Library issued three new greetings cards featuring paintings in the collections, and continued publication of its *Newsletter* to inform members of the activities of the Library and the Friends. A sixth instalment of the *National Register of Archives and Manuscripts* was issued during the year. The first volume of the collected letters of Katherine Mansfield, which draws heavily on the letters held in the Library, was published by Oxford University Press late in 1984.

BUILDING THE RESEARCH COLLECTIONS

Donations during the year rose from 409 to 424. The Library continues to receive under the compulsory deposit provisions of the Copyright Act 1962 a comprehensive range of materials published in New Zealand for

the national collection of last resort. A significant collection of New Zealand books was donated by Douglas Lilburn, and a unique set of the *New Zealand Bulletin* from 1913 to 1915 by the descendants of A. A. George, the publisher-printer. The oral history collection more than doubled in size with the deposits from the New Zealand Oral History Archive and the New Zealand Nursing Education and Research Foundation and now numbers over 1,200 tapes and cassettes. Donations to the Archive of New Zealand Music included the papers of Dorothy Buchanan and Christopher Powell. Douglas Lilburn's papers, formerly on long-term loan, were gifted to the Archive. Collections of personal papers received included those of Allen Curnow, Gwen Somerset, C. S. Perry, Raymond Hansen and Beverley Pentland. Additional materials were received for the Brasch and Gordon Dryland papers, and negotiations completed for the literary papers of Dan Davin. The collection of political papers received major additions from Marilyn Waring, the Hon. Hugh Templeton, Sir Richard Harrison, and the Hon. George Gair, M.P. Institutional archives donated included those of the Values Party, the Society of Friends, J. H. Bethune & Co., and the Wellington Central Baptist Church. Negotiations were concluded for the purchase of the archives of the literary periodical *Islands*.

The first consignment of the photographic negatives of Ans Westra, some 15,000, were deposited during the year. Two other major donations were the A. C. Elworthy collection and some 5,000 railways and tramways negatives from Mr Alan Smith. The very high prices being paid for New Zealand historical paintings and drawings resulted in a decrease in the number of items purchased. Significant purchases included four watercolours by John Kinder, four sketchbooks of James Coutts Crawford, a Gilfillan watercolour and a Heaphy of Mt Egmont. Donations of paintings increased during the year and included two Heaphy watercolours from Miss Helen Nicholls.

CONSERVING THE RESEARCH COLLECTIONS

The Turnbull Library's special role as the keeper of the National Library's documentary heritage collections of printed materials, paintings drawings and prints, photographs, manuscripts and archives, maps, music and recorded sound is not fully appreciated. The accommodation for the collections is below standard and the resources being made available for long-term preservation are inadequate. A major programme to give short-term protection to unique printed materials, fragile manuscripts and sketchbooks by placing them inside temporary boxes of acid-free cardboard was inaugurated during the year. The National Library's Conservation Unit conducted a series of conservation workshops for all curatorial staff and assisted with a collection survey to assess the physical condition of all materials in the Library as a preparation for the move to the new building in 1987. Good progress was made during the year in the programme to provide photographic copies of important New Zealand paintings and drawings to reduce handling of the originals.

J. E. TRAUE

BARTON, P. L. *A Directory of U.K. Map Collections,* compiled by Barbara A. Bird (review), *New Zealand Mapkeepers Circle Newsletter*, 16 (May 1984), 28-29.

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MINSON, M. 'Over the Moketap: Explorations Old and New', *Turnbull Library Record,* 17 (October 1984), 98-105.

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PALMER, J. M. *Directory of New Zealand Music Organisations,* compiled by Dorothy Freed (review), *New Zealand Libraries*, 44 (September 1984), 132-33.

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———'New Light on Katherine Mansfield', *Pink Triangle*, 47 (May/June 1984), 6.

———'Wideawake at the Wakefield', *Pink Triangle*, 47 (May/June 1984), 7.

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———(comp.) 'Good in Bed and Good on the Beach' (short reviews of 23 lesbian and gay books), *Pink Triangle*, 51 (Summer 1984/5), 17-19.

———*Lord Alfred Douglas: a Biography*, by H. Montgomery Hyde (review), *Pink Triangle*, 52 (March/April 1985), 17.

———'A Note on Nomenclatorial Nomenclature', *Auckland Botanical Society Newsletter*, 40(1) (January 1985), 18-19.

———*The Age of Consent: a Brief on the Age of Consent in Relation to the Legal Control of Sexuality in the New Zealand Statute Law* (Wellington, Gay Task Force, 1984), 87p.

———& Keith Crump, 'Viral Hepatitis and NZ Gay Men', *Pink Triangle*, 49 (September/October 1984), 15-16.

———& V. Rogers Price, 'Pioneer Naturalist Revived: John Abbot Emerges from Cocoon of Neglect', *Australian Antique Collector*, 28 (July/December 1984), 54-58.

RAINER, P. (ed.) *National Register of Archives and Manuscripts in New Zealand*, v.2, pt. 2 (Wellington, 1985).

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RALSTON, B.J. The Hawera Census of 1881; a reconstruction: paper presented at the A.R.A.N.Z. conference, New Plymouth, 16-19 August 1984.

SALMOND, R. 'The Doves Press: Some Letters of Cobden-Sanderson to St John Hornby, 1906-17', *Turnbull Library Record*, 17 (May 1984), 5-11; *Matrix*, 4 (Winter 1984), 61-66.

SANDERSON, K.M. 'Arrangement and Description of Private Archives', *Archifacts*, 1985/1 (March 1985).

SARGISON, P.A. 'The *New Zealand Listener* as a Source for the Study of New Zealand Music: an Index being compiled at the Alexander Turnbull Library', *Crescendo*, 8 (1984), 4-8.

———*Victoria's Furthest Daughters: a Bibliography of Published Sources for the Study of Women in New Zealand, 1830-1914* (Wellington, 1984), 107p.

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SORENSEN, J. A. New Zealand entries for *Historical Periodicals Directory*, 5 (Santa Barbara, ABC-Clio, 1985).

SULLIVAN, J. 'William James Harding, 1826-1899' (biographical note), in *Portraits by W.J. Harding*, chosen by Brian Brake and John Sullivan (Wellington, 1984. Imagers of a New Land, Series 3).

TRAUE, J. E. Bibliographic resources for New Zealand studies: paper delivered to the Turnbull-University of Hawaii Colloquium, 10 September 1984.

———Selection for preservation; the message and the medium: paper delivered at the Library Association of Australia-New Zealand Library Association Conference, Brisbane, 30 August 1984.

In addition members of the staff lectured to students of the Department of Librarianship, Victoria University; the School of Library Studies, Wellington Teachers' College; the School of Journalism at Wellington Polytechnic; the Department of History, Victoria University; and spoke on the Access Radio programmes organised by the Friends of the Turnbull Library.

ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY
Research Endowment Fund

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.

Applications should be sent to: The Secretary, Alexander Turnbull Library Research Endowment Fund, Box 12349, Wellington North.

The Research Endowment Fund's programmes are supported by grants from the Sir John Ilott Charitable Trust, the Todd Foundation, the Sutherland Self-Help Trust, the Minister of Internal Affairs from Lottery funds, and from the profits on the Cooper Prints 1980 (published in association with the New Zealand Wool Board), the Heaphy Prints 1981 (in association with the Fletcher Holdings Charitable Trust), and the Hoyte Prints 1982 (in association with the ANZ Banking Group (New Zealand) Ltd).

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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.
