

# The Turnbull Library RECORD



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*Claudia Hargreaves*

The  
Turnbull Library  
RECORD



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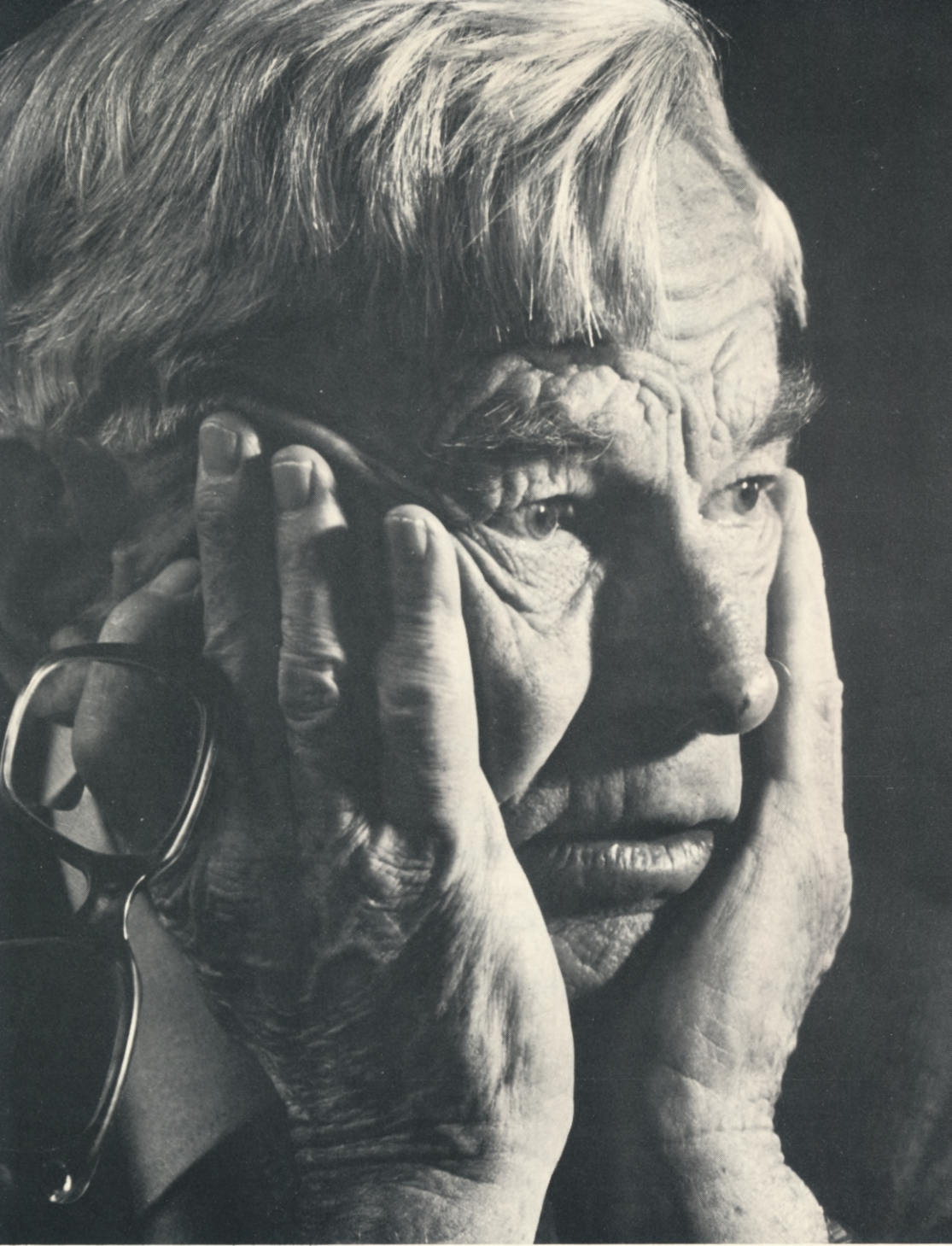
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*Photograph by Kenneth Quinn, May 1985*



## A. G. Bagnall, 1912–1986

### I

I first knew Graham Bagnall in 1946 when I was a member of the first class of the New Zealand Library School and he was the newly appointed Librarian of the National Library Centre, occupying a room in the same building as the School. One day I bought an Early Printed Book, a rather shabby one, at auction, and bore it proudly back to Sydney Street. Graham asked incredulously what I wanted it for. First lesson: collecting books might be something of an indulgence, but it should have a purpose. Furthermore, it should not be based on ignorance.

Then, from the beginning of 1948 until the end of 1961, I worked for Graham, first as head of the reference section and then as head of the order section of the National Library Service, which had come into being when the Library School and the National Library Centre were added to the Country Library Service. During that period I came to know him very well, though my inclinations led me into different bibliographical paths, and the same sort of closeness, warm but from rather different viewpoints, continued until his death. I suppose, therefore, that I am qualified to write an appreciation of him, although there are whole areas of his amazingly busy life that I do not know much about – certainly not enough to pass the scrutiny of the standards that he would have applied to anyone who presumed to air his knowledge.

I have always thought that Graham's two great achievements were first (of course), the retrospective national bibliography, and second, the development of the National Library Centre as the core of what was to become the National Library. The Alexander Turnbull was of course his home, which he returned to in 1966. He would have been a distinguished long-term Turnbull Librarian, but I wonder whether his energy could have been contained there over a long period. Certainly, his creativeness would have found outlets, but in the National Library Service it was applied at precisely the right time to initiate and consolidate fundamentally important changes.

There was, first of all, the question of what the National Library Centre should be. The situation in New Zealand was unique in that what might be called extension services did not grow as appendages to a national or state library. The obvious library to branch out in

this way was the General Assembly Library, but it was not interested, despite a persuasive report written by young Alister McIntosh during his last days as a librarian. Instead, the Country Library Service was set up separately, under G.T. Alley, whose imagination and appreciation of New Zealand's library needs led him over the next few years to accept other tasks which should have been undertaken by older and more established libraries. The National Union Catalogue found a home in the Country Library Service, and the central organisation of an inter-library lending system, and the Book Resources Committee of the New Zealand Library Association, which was assisted by the support that Alley, as Honorary Secretary to the Association and as leader of the Government's most lively library service, was able to give it.

The National Library Centre was created to take charge of all these things that had added themselves to the Country Library Service, but it was not at all clear, at first, where it fitted into the structure. This is not a matter for surprise: very often, it is only long after a development has occurred that one can understand what has happened. What is needed is someone to be in charge who instinctively makes the right decisions at the right times, and acts on them decisively. Alley was such a one, basing his actions on a very clear idea of what was needed to support New Zealand culture. Bagnall, with his bibliographical and historical inclinations, was another. They were not duplicates of each other; they did not always see eye to eye; but they appreciated each other's strengths and they worked well together.

During his time in the National Library Centre, Graham started, or took over and developed, a whole range of important bibliographical services. As Secretary of the Book Resources Committee, and as Librarian of the National Library Centre, he established, with the support of librarians from the major libraries, the solid bibliographical foundation on which the superstructure of national library co-operation was based. He was also responsible for a rationalisation of Government library procedures which irked some librarians later, but was needed at the time, and for the design and production of New Zealand printed catalogue cards. And he became increasingly involved in the administration of the National Library Service.

More elusive was the influence that Graham had on the direction in which the National Library Service itself developed. I have referred to the fact that there was, at the beginning, the question of what the National Library Centre should be. Was it to be simply a bibliographical annex? Or was it (and this was a question that was not formed at that time) to become the core of a future National Library? Early in my time as head of the reference section, I found



that I had to settle the line of my responsibility. The point at issue was a minor one – whether the secretary of the National Library Service had the right to dress down a member of my staff who arrived late at work – but it seemed to me that there was an important point of principle. My contention was that, if I was to be responsible to the Librarian of the National Library Centre, such interference was not acceptable. This view prevailed, and was perhaps an essential, if not terribly important, step in the right direction.

As the functions of the Country Library Service were increasingly decentralised, the concept of a national centre, with a distinctive type of collection and distinctive aims of service, became gradually clearer. It was important, during this period, that the person in charge of the centre was one who by instinct was a denizen of a traditional national library, for that ensured that, when the National Library was established in 1966, there was a good general central organisation that could stand as high as the special collections, the Turnbull Library and the General Assembly Library. This was important, not only so that the general was not swamped by the particular, but also because there were those at the centre who understood and agreed with the values of the specialists.

Towering above all of Graham's other achievements was the retrospective national bibliography. In his 'Reflections on Some Unfinished Business',<sup>1</sup> published in 1977, Graham wrote, after detailing all the other things he had had to do over the years,

You may well ask, if there were so many would it not have been better to have left the bibliography to someone else? I am not the one to answer this now but I will say only that the task throughout those 20 years was not merely a faithful interest to which I longed to return when elsewhere involved but also an anchor of absorbing preoccupation, even an assurance of sanity. When I first discussed the project with Geoff Alley his perceptive query was: 'Do you want to do this yourself, or do you merely want to see it done?' My debt is still to the bibliography which obligation has to be discharged in the time left as best I can.

This passage says a lot about Graham. His bibliographical and historical expertise reached the pitch where it was a source of pleasure to himself in the way that a top athlete is elated by a first-class performance. I remember once referring a manuscript to him for comment and marvelling at the skill and speed with which he hit on weak points and checked them against an astonishingly varied range of publications, all in his own collection. This was his life, as they say.

The same passage also says a lot about Geoff Alley. Each of these men, so different in many ways, was the best kind of guide for a young librarian in the difficult art of administration. Each was able

to make clear what he wanted, but each was equally able to leave important decisions to a subordinate whom he trusted. Graham always said that he appeared to be good at delegating only because he was not interested in what his heads of sections were involved with, but that is not my impression of him. He certainly showed what could only be described as vehement interest whenever anything seemed to him to have gone seriously wrong. But he left plenty of room for individuality, as Geoff Alley did, too. This was a side of them that was probably most apparent to those few who benefited from it, but it was extremely valuable and, I hope, has been passed on down the line.

Graham was a very clearly defined individual, impossible to describe properly in a short note. He had an aversion to universities which was rather endearing and nineteen-thirtyish in its own way, and which was based on a very salutary contempt for what he saw as sloppy research. He was a master of the blunt statement: my predecessor at Otago had adopted the style and title of Librarian and Keeper of the Hocken Collection, and when I was going to take his place Graham said, 'If you are going to call yourself Keeper of the Hocken Collection you had better learn something about New Zealand books' (I dropped the title, but this is quite a different story). He was also a master of the statement that reveals an ankle but conceals the rest of the leg (a specifically Public Service accomplishment, I think); and many of these were delivered in buses and in other places where you couldn't hear them properly anyway. He was a most considerate friend. And he was a person who had no pretence whatsoever. I see him clearly in a passage from his Presidential Address to the New Zealand Library Association,<sup>2</sup> in which he talked about the empty argument about whether librarianship was a science or an art:

Upon the essential core of general and special education must be superimposed some professional training which draws constantly upon a wide and developing range of technical skills. What gives success which can be instantly recognized when seen is an individual amalgam of personality, training and judgement which in its highest application is essentially an art.

He would not have been consciously describing himself, but we can recognise him as a great artist.

W. J. McELDOWNNEY

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## II

Old men forget, and I am forced to check documents and records in order to revive uncertain memories of the past. But Graham Bagnall, only five years younger, seemed never to forget. The last time I saw him, a month or two before the end, that encyclopaedic mind was as vigorous as ever, and as always mine was left floundering behind as he spoke of persons, places and events, both recent and historical, linking past and present. Inevitably, he was not one to suffer fools gladly, and it was with trepidation that when I was asked, in 1959, to take over the chairmanship of the Historic Places Trust, I sought his advice and John Beaglehole's. Subsequently I came to depend on those two for guidance. In personality they could hardly have been more different: Graham, always so quick—even impatient—in pouncing on errors and misjudgements; J.C.B., so reflective. All the wise decisions of the Trust stemmed from one or both of them, and between them they forestalled the Trust's endorsement of inappropriate or uncertain projects. More to the point, they guided it in the search for authenticity.

When in 1969 Graham invited me to accept appointment to the Special Committee for the Alexander Turnbull Library, of which Alister McIntosh was shortly afterwards to become chairman, and until Graham's retirement in 1973, I saw him at work in a different but related field and once again there was the contrast between his quick and incisive judgements and Alister's reflective thinking aloud. As in the counselling of the Historic Places Trust, their minds and styles were exactly and most usefully complementary.

In the *Turnbull Library Record* of October 1972 there is an essay headed 'Part of an Address . . . ' given by Graham to a summer school on local history. No one tackling such a project should fail to read it, but *mutatis mutandis* it is both a guide and a warning to those embarking on any historical study: a warning as to the diversity of sources which any history, small or large, must take into account, and the disappointments as well as the excitements that lie ahead when seeking to track them down. And if, in such efforts, the disappointments often seem more frequent than the illuminating discoveries, fickle chance occasionally bestows her blessings. In this essay Graham records how after long searching and delays he finally acquired from Sweden the diary of a visit to New Zealand by a botanist, Sven Berggren. Thanks to this, and Graham's memory that Berggren had made reference to the Maori prophet Papahurihia, I was led to surprising information about this obscure figure.

Collecting information is only the groundwork for historical writing. The skill which Graham displayed so abundantly lies in

presenting the facts and bringing the past not merely alive but into perspective. This is what he invariably achieved, and this was also relevant to our projects in the Historic Places Trust. And not only did he study the documents on which his local histories were based, but he himself knew the places as they are today. Indeed, his interest in their past developed out of awareness of the present.

Apart from a common interest in New Zealand history, he and I shared the pleasure of creating gardens. But while mine grew, so to speak, out of its own impetus and environment, Graham's, on a steep hillside at Mahina Bay, has become something of a miniature of another territory that fascinated him: the North Island central plateau. With its rock terraces and podocarps grown from seed, the garden at Mahina Bay is a miniature of the Ruapehu scene.

Once again, while we both delighted in those volcanic mountains, and while I was satisfied to explore their diversity, Graham had to delve into the human history associated with them. As always, that skill in research and that knowledge of documented sources, gave rise to a work which, if finished, would have stood beside the New Zealand National Bibliography as his memorial. The first part at least, recording the early climbs, is I believe ready to be published. Now it must be.

ORMOND WILSON

*An extended tribute by Nigel Williams was published in the Record at the time of Graham Bagnall's retirement from the Turnbull (v.6 no. 2, October 1973, p.36-40), and valedictories will appear in New Zealand Libraries and the New Zealand Journal of History.*



# Julius Vogel and the press

PATRICK DAY

Julius Vogel, a 26-year-old journalist resident in Victoria when Gabriel Read made his gold strike in May 1861, must have realised the opportunities awaiting in Otago and rushed to the scene. He arrived there in the spring of 1861 and immediately found employment on the staff of the *Colonist*, James Macandrew's newspaper.<sup>1</sup> His stay there, however, was to be measured in weeks, for he was to find with W. H. Cutten of the *Witness*<sup>2</sup> not just employment but a partnership. On 15 November 1861 they began New Zealand's first daily, the *Otago Daily Times*<sup>3</sup>—the first newspaper to indicate the circulation possible in the 1860s, and also the first to use the industrial age printing technology.

When the paper was started the printing press used for the *Witness* was replaced by a hand-worked cylinder printing machine brought over from Melbourne.<sup>4</sup> At this point the circulation of the *Otago Daily Times* was 2750,<sup>5</sup> an enormous increase on previous rates; the *Witness* in late 1855, for example, being recorded as having 210 subscriptions.<sup>6</sup> A steam-driven two-cylinder machine was imported from Britain and was in service in August 1862;<sup>7</sup> at the time of introduction of this technology the paper's circulation topped 7000.<sup>8</sup> While the *Otago Daily Times* remained during this period the paper with the highest circulation, this type of growth did become a general feature of the press.

Vogel's entry into New Zealand journalism and the commencement of the *Otago Daily Times* represents the turning point in a process of commercialisation for the New Zealand press. A desire for commercial profit had long been present among the country's newspaper proprietors, but was not realised until the advent of the *Otago Daily Times*, which was immediately a profitable newspaper. It began with a price of 3d which doubled in August 1862 at the same time as the new steam-drive printing machinery enabled the size of the paper to be doubled.<sup>9</sup> The return they received enabled Cutten and Vogel to meet the management demands of a daily paper, which were quite different from those of a more leisurely weekly. The staff engaged in the manual work of newspaper production had to be increased and their wages had to be high, double that of their Melbourne confrères, so as to keep them away from the

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An expanded text of a paper read to members of the Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington, 9 October 1985.

gold diggings.<sup>10</sup> A salaried reporting and editorial staff had to be found; no longer were the efforts of an editor/proprietor sufficient. Vogel was himself both editor of the *Witness* and the *Otago Daily Times* and also functioned as the entrepreneur of the new commercial enterprise.

Vogel, in his opening editorial of 15 November 1861, pointed to a new journalistic path for his paper:

From this day we aspire to be the historical mirror of all that occurs in Otago—of all that in anyway affects its history. . .

The Times is designed to supply the want now generally felt of a daily journal, containing an account of all passing news of interest, and full commercial intelligence. We do not desire to reflect on or come into collision with the two weekly papers already existing. Our sphere and theirs will be widely different.

The existing weeklies, however, were greatly affected by the advent of the daily press, the *Witness*, also jointly owned by Vogel and Cutten, rapidly became the minor and less influential of the allied publications. It remained as the partnership's weekly publication and gradually became a digest containing both original material as well as reprints from issues of the *Otago Daily Times* of the previous week. It became oriented not towards Dunedin city readers but towards country subscribers who were unable to receive newspapers daily. This combination of daily and weekly was to be the normal organisational structure for the major newspapers until twentieth century transport increased the reach of the dailies, making the weeklies obsolete.

Vogel held that the *Otago Daily Times* was to be 'the historical mirror of all that occurs in Otago'. This notion was not specified any more clearly but can be read as a desire not only to report the events of the province but to do so in a neutral manner. Such an interpretation is reinforced by the stated desire not to 'come into collision with the two weekly papers already existing', both of which were recognised as partisan advocates within the community. Even if such was Vogel's intention it does not describe his subsequent actions. Vogel's intention to report 'all that in any way affects (Otago's) history' did not exclude his making that history. He brought to Otago journalism a sense that the province's growth and destiny both could and should be monitored daily; the more leisurely pace of the weeklies was no longer sufficient. However, he did not implement any change to the established press policy of partisan advocacy: the political policy of both the *Otago Daily Times* and the *Witness* was naturally identical and, importantly, partisan advocacy was present in both publications. Vogel used his papers to found and support a personal political career. While this practice was standard in New Zealand among the older papers, Vogel was



responsible for extending it to the commercial daily press.<sup>11</sup>

Vogel's New Zealand political career began in 1863, when he was elected to the Otago Provincial Council in June and in September (if only fortuitously)<sup>12</sup> to the General Assembly. The outcome was that the *Otago Daily Times* became, and was seen to be, as much a partisan press as any of its predecessors. In this regard the opening comments of its rival, the *Daily Telegraph*,<sup>13</sup> even allowing for inaugural hyperbole, are instructive. The *Daily Telegraph* (3 January 1863) called the *Otago Daily Times*:

... the thick-and-thin advocate of the land monopolist and speculator, whose schemes are death to the working classes. . . . The welfare of the Province is not safe in his [ODT editor's] keeping. It is absolutely imperative to the progress of society that there should be a second daily paper, whose aim and object shall be not only to encourage and circulate truth, but to dispel error—not only to counsel wisely, but to keep in check and destroy the evil tendency of the *Daily Times*.

Vogel, however, was to discover that the economic demands of a daily newspaper were such as to limit his ability to use the *Otago Daily Times* for his own political purposes. To understand this it is necessary to outline first the changes in the early ownership structure of the *Otago Daily Times* and *Witness* newspapers. Cutten was the first to go. He took, as an opportune time to leave, the award of a £500 damages verdict against the paper in an 1864 libel case brought by the New Zealand Banking Corporation. The paper then came under the control of J. Vogel and Company, Vogel taking B. L. Farjeon,<sup>14</sup> the paper's business manager, into the partnership. As with nearly all the New Zealand papers, the early records of the *Otago Daily Times* have been destroyed, but it is apparent that the need for investment capital to finance his expanding business forced Vogel to include others as controllers of the enterprise:

The firm of Vogel & Co., however, found themselves scarcely strong enough financially to carry on an ever-extending business, and early in 1866 they transferred the property to Mr John Bathgate (afterwards Judge Bathgate), Mr F.C. Simmons (Rector of the Otago Boys' High School), and Mr James Rattray (merchant), as agents for a company which was about to be formed.<sup>15</sup>

The company, formed under the provisions of the 1860 Companies Act, was a limited liability company entitled the *Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspaper Co. Ltd*, in which Vogel remained as a director and editor. This expansion of the *Otago Daily Times* was financed by the issue of £6000 worth of debentures at 10% interest.<sup>16</sup> Presumably Bathgate, Simmons and Rattray were major debenture holders or agents for such holders.

In 1868 matters came to a crisis. The rapid Otago growth of the early 1860s, which had provided the *Otago Daily Times* prosperity,



was at an end. The goldrush had moved to the West Coast and 1867–68 were years of commercial depression in Dunedin, a depression keenly felt by the paper's management. In March 1868 the company had three directors—Vogel, Rattray and Mr W. D. Murison.<sup>17</sup> Vogel's co-directors, faced with the need at least to gain sufficient return from the newspaper to pay the interest on the debentures, argued that Vogel's editorship was exacerbating the paper's financial difficulties and, in April, moved to fire him.<sup>18</sup> It can be questioned whether financial reasoning was solely responsible for the co-directors' antagonism to Vogel, as one can reasonably suspect there were additional reasons. The perceived problem with Vogel's editorship was his continued championing of the political separation of the North and Middle (now South) Islands, and the weight of the *Otago Daily Times* was thrown behind this.

In 1868 the high point of the separation movement was passed. The telegraph, by this time, had placed the two islands in constant communication, thus removing some of the logic of isolation from the separation argument. Also, as Herron has indicated, attitudes within provinces became more centralised as their financial status worsened.<sup>19</sup> It is consequently not unreasonable during a time of depression in Otago to expect a growing opposition to Vogel's separation proposals. Both Murison and Bathgate (in 1868 the company secretary) were political representatives, and it is possible that differences with his co-directors at least added to Vogel's problems. Vogel attempted to counter his co-directors by offering to lease the property of the company. At a July meeting this move was soundly defeated by the shareholders and Vogel was ousted from the paper he had founded. Vogel then started, on 16 November 1868, another morning daily, the *New Zealand Sun*,<sup>20</sup> in opposition to the *Otago Daily Times*. This paper, however, folded within a few months<sup>21</sup> and Vogel's day-to-day connections with Otago journalism ceased.

His need for additional capital for business expansion had led Vogel to include those who brought such capital, or at least their representatives, as directors of the *Otago Daily Times*. While the extra capital did allow the expansion of the business, the addition of further directors made vulnerable Vogel's domination of the *Otago Daily Times* both as a businessman and as editor, and eventually cost him his newspaper.

At this point, in 1869, Vogel's attention moved to Auckland and in particular to the *Southern Cross*.<sup>22</sup> Here he was to experience a further difficulty in regard to the combined pursuit of both commercial and political success. The *Southern Cross*, in spite of the fact that it had the advantage of precedence over the *New Zealand Herald*,<sup>23</sup> was financially the less flourishing of the Auckland dailies, its disadvantage being the absence of a guiding leadership. It was



owned by the absentee William Brown and had had various editors during the 1860s, the longest serving one of which, Robert Creighton, spent much of his time in the field as a war correspondent and thus was out of day-to-day contact with his charge. Newspaper management and editorship could no longer be the part-time or absentee occupation of previous decades. The decline of the *Southern Cross* was indicative of this change which Vogel was to ignore to his cost. In 1869 he formed a company which took over the paper for £12000, acquiring a controlling interest with a personal investment of £4600. However, almost immediately on completion of these arrangements, Stafford's ministry fell, Fox became Premier and Vogel was summoned to Wellington as Colonial Treasurer. The paper was thus again under the control of an absentee owner and continued as a losing concern, and Vogel eventually sold his interest.<sup>24</sup>

Vogel was already an important figure in press history. He had begun New Zealand's first daily and had demonstrated, albeit in a rather negative way, some of the difficulties associated with continuing the established New Zealand combination of journalistic and political activity within the new environment of the daily press. He is at least equally significant for the way he used the telegraph for a combination of political and journalistic purposes.

The first telegraph line in New Zealand was between Lyttelton and Christchurch and was completed in June 1862. In a prodigious burst of activity, lines from Bluff to Picton, Dunedin to Queenstown, Christchurch to the West Coast, Picton to Nelson and a Cook Strait cable to Wellington were completed before the end of 1866. North Island telegraph development did not proceed at the same pace. Not until 1872 was Auckland connected with Wellington and the South Island. The telegraph was to be of enormous significance to New Zealand as it facilitated the unification of the country in a manner previously impossible.<sup>25</sup> It was also to allow newspapers a previously unavailable access to news.

The telegraph lines from Bluff to Dunedin and Dunedin to Christchurch were completed within days of each other in May 1865. On the completion of these lines both Vogel and J. E. FitzGerald of the *Press*<sup>26</sup> made independent arrangements to obtain telegraphed summaries of overseas news. Vogel had news summaries prepared in Melbourne, forwarded on the mail ships and telegraphed from Bluff—the usual first port of call. But in late 1866 Vogel, FitzGerald and Crosbie Ward of the *Lyttelton Times*,<sup>27</sup> prevailed upon the Postmaster-General to have the Government take over this task.<sup>28</sup> The Postmaster-General had an official of the Telegraph Department prepare the news summaries in Melbourne, ship them to Bluff, from where, for payment of an annual subscription, they



were then telegraphed to the various New Zealand newspapers. This was a somewhat cosy arrangement. Vogel, FitzGerald and Ward, all newspaper proprietors, were also all members of the House of Representatives. The Postmaster-General was John Hall, who was regarded by Canterbury journalists as the doyen of their craft,<sup>29</sup> and Crosbie Ward had himself served as Postmaster-General from 1861 to 1863. The fact that the Government provided a telegraphed news summary was not publicised and came to light only in 1868 when, after the ousting of Vogel from the *Otago Daily Times*, that paper complained of the arrangements. George Barton, Vogel's successor as editor, wrote of the arrangements as follows:

The General Government virtually compels the leading newspapers of the colony to accept such telegrams as it may please to send them. . . . In doing so it inflicts a wrong upon the public as well as upon the journalists. It undertakes a duty which it is not competent to perform, which it is not asked to perform and which it has no moral right to perform.<sup>30</sup>

In 1869 Stafford, the Premier, himself took over Hall's portfolios of Postmaster-General and Electric Telegraph Commissioner and began to dismantle the Government-operated system. But before he had completed this, his Ministry fell; Vogel became, as well as Colonial Treasurer, Postmaster-General and Electric Telegraph Commissioner, and the system continued.

Vogel's newspaper, the *Southern Cross*, received little benefit from the summaries. Being an Auckland newspaper it did not, at the time, have access to the telegraph network. Vogel, however, was considered to gain political advantage and the news summaries were frequently criticised by his opponent journals after the first complaints appeared in the *Otago Daily Times*. By 1870 dissatisfaction with the government service had become general among newspapers. Many complaints were in regard to the quality of journalism evident in the telegraphic reporting. Even Vogel's supporters complained:

We had hoped that the repeated complaints made by almost all of the papers in the colony would have led to some improvement in the compilation of the telegrams of English news which the Government practically compels the newspapers to take and pay for. We have, however, been disappointed, for the telegrams received on Sunday last, and published in our last issue are even worse than usual.<sup>31</sup>

No official explanation for the ending of the government service was published. Vogel had no desire to end the Government's role in news collection and dissemination. The management of most newspapers, however, were to refuse to continue their purchase of the news summaries. Vogel was left with no choice but to close down the operation, and it ceased at the end of July 1870. While he





THE HON. JULIUS VOGEL C.M.G., PREMIER OF NEW ZEALAND.

*Engraving of Vogel from the Australian Sketcher, 16 May 1874 (p.24) Photo neg 83251 1/2*

received the political support of many newspapers their allegiance did not extend to allowing him to continue a news service they had found wanting, and it was their rejection of the service that led to its demise. It was to be replaced by two press agencies.

The *Otago Daily Times* had in 1866 under Vogel's stewardship



established its own news service which in 1870 the management re-established and expanded. The paper's own version of events after 31 July 1870 is as follows:

We made arrangement for supplying the foreign mail and interprovincial telegrams to the *Daily Times*, and to the principal newspapers in the other provinces. Agents were appointed in Melbourne and San Francisco to compile telegraphic summaries of the mail news; and agents were also appointed in every town and port of importance in New Zealand. The leading newspapers in the other provinces cordially approved of this system, and agreed to take their telegrams from our agents. The agreement was, in every instance but one, accompanied with a condition that we should not supply telegrams to any rival newspaper in the same town. These arrangements were purely a matter of business. Political considerations had nothing whatever to do with them. Ministerial as well as Opposition newspapers agreed to join. The *Lyttelton Times*, the *Press*, the *Evening Post*, the *Hawkes Bay Herald*, the *Nelson Colonist and Examiner*, the *Wanganui Chronicle*, the *Wairarapa Mercury*, the *Grey River Argus*, the *Marlborough Express*, the *Westport Times*, the *Timaru Herald* and the *Oamaru Times* are supplied with our telegrams.<sup>32</sup>

Whether the *Press* does correctly appear in this listing is open to doubt. The statement that, 'The agreement was, in every instance but one, accompanied with a condition that we should not supply telegrams to any rival newspaper in the same town' runs at odds with the fact that two Nelson papers as well as the *Lyttelton Times* and the *Press*, two Christchurch papers, are in the listing. If the *Press* was in the *Otago Daily Times* group it was only for a short period, for it soon became part of a competing agency.

The telegraph credit line of the *Otago Daily Times* service appeared in newspapers in the weeks after the closing of the Government news service. Concurrently with the start of the *Otago Daily Times* service the telegraph credit line 'Greville's Telegram Company, Reuters Agents' began appearing in newspapers that were not receiving the *Otago Daily Times* summaries—principally the *Dunedin Star*,<sup>33</sup> the *Press*, and the *Wellington Independent*.<sup>34</sup>

Greville's Telegram Company began as part of Reuter's developing international news carrier service. Greville obtained the agency for Reuters and also obtained his international news via that source. Greville was an Australian journalist and his was primarily an Australian press agency serving newspapers in that country,<sup>35</sup> of which the New Zealand agency was a branch. He appointed C. O. Montrose as the manager of the New Zealand central office which was in Wellington.

The two press associations ran as opposing agencies for two years. The *Otago Daily Times* remained a strong opponent to the Fox-Vogel Ministry and the revival of its press agency was, at least partly, an attempt to escape from what it saw as Vogel's political control of the compilation and dissemination of news summaries. However both associations were primarily business rather than



political organisations: newspapers with opposing political outlooks were present in both agencies. The two Nelson papers in the *Otago Daily Times* group were in political opposition to one another. The *Evening Post*<sup>36</sup> was an opposition paper while the *Hawke's Bay Herald*<sup>37</sup> supported the Government. Most notably the *Lyttelton Times* was a staunch supporter of Vogel while the *Otago Daily Times* was his most fervent opponent. The *Wellington Independent* was with the Greville group, and, while it was a Vogel supporter and thus at odds with the *Otago Daily Times*, both it and the *Otago Daily Times* held that their presence in opposing press agencies was on account, not of political differences, but of an inability to agree on a price for the supply of telegrams.<sup>38</sup>

Despite the primarily business orientation of the two press agencies, the Government, in particular Vogel, was often to be accused of improper interference with agency telegrams. The most serious incident was one which escalated eventually to become known as the Telegraph Libel Case,<sup>39</sup> which took place during the Franco-Prussian War and had to do with the news of the victory of Prussia, the surrender of Napoleon III at Sedan and the declaration of France as a republic. The *S.S. Gothenberg* was about to leave for Bluff when the news began arriving at Melbourne. The ship waited until a telegraphic summary for the *Otago Daily Times* group was prepared and thus sailed with it but not that of the rival agency. And yet this news was carried in the *Wellington Independent* before it appeared in either the *Otago Daily Times* or the *Evening Post*, the Wellington member of the *Otago Daily Times* agency.

The *Otago Daily Times* on 1 October 1870 accused the Government of holding back its telegrams until opposition news summaries appeared:

By Electric Telegraph. Wellington September 30. The English mail telegrams this morning were kept back until a message containing a summary of the news had been sent to the Government. The contents of this message were communicated by the Government to the Independent which thus issued an Extra before a single line of the Press telegrams was received. The Evening Post denounces this conduct as grossly unfair and dishonest.

In the editorial on the same day, the argument continued:

A greater degree of excitement has never been witnessed in Dunedin on any similar occasion than that which seized all classes of the community yesterday, when the nature of the English mail news was made known. A crowd of two or three hundred literally besieged our door. . . We regret the delay which took place in the publication but the delay was not owing to any neglect on our part. . . We assert that the Telegraph Office, acting of course under instructions from the General Government unnecessarily delayed our telegrams in order to serve a political purpose. The object of this delay is sufficiently explained in the Wellington telegram which appears in another column.



Two days later, after comparison of its own news columns with those of its rivals, the *Otago Daily Times* made a more serious charge:

The telegrams in this morning's issue of the Independent differ materially from their Extra, and are simply a reproduction of ours, a few unimportant items which were in our message—but, which we did not print as being unimportant or anticipated—being given word for word. It is perfectly evident that the Government's first telegram was compiled from ours. . . . The bitterest opponent of the present Government would hesitate to believe that a transaction of this nature, which cannot appear in any other light than that of an infamous breach of trust, could take place under its administration. We believe that we have legal evidence, however, to prove the astounding fact that the Government not only suppressed the news for several hours throughout the colony, but that it appropriated to its own use the telegrams to which it had no more right than it has to the pocket handkerchiefs or the watches of private individuals.

In earlier years there had developed an understanding and acceptance that a government had a duty and a right to learn of overseas news as soon as possible. Prior to 31 July 1870 this had been accomplished by giving government agents responsibility for the collation and despatch of press telegrams. After the formation of the two press associations and the cessation of the government service, the Government's need to acquire information remained. In practice it meant government officials regularly perused the press associations' telegrams. The charges by the *Otago Daily Times* and other newspapers, were against both the practice and its abuse. One charge was that members of the Government, through press telegrams, had apprised themselves of the nature of the diplomatic emergency, demonstrating that, at least in the first months of the new press associations, there was *not* a general acceptance of the Government's right to be informed of overseas events. This was a charge the Fox-Vogel Ministry would have had little difficulty rebutting. However a further charge was that members of the Government had then interfered with the delivery of the press telegrams so as to give their supporting newspapers first publication of the eagerly awaited news.

The Government had little option but to defend itself and chose to do so by trying G. B. Barton, the editor of the *Otago Daily Times*, on a charge of criminal libel. This did little to placate public opinion, as his solicitor was able to portray the fact that proceedings were taken against the editor rather than against the proprietors of the newspaper, as indicative of Vogel's personal animosity against the man who had succeeded him. The lack of any proceedings being taken against the *Evening Post*, which had been at least equally outspoken, added to such an impression. Furthermore, the charge itself came to naught, being abandoned after it reached the Supreme



Court where it had foundered on the questionable constitutionality of a free pardon offered to a sub-editor of the *Otago Daily Times* so as to force him to attest to G. B. Barton's authorship of the articles in question.

The abandoning of proceedings was generally regarded as a victory for the *Otago Daily Times* and a vindication of its stand. It also pointed to an increasing separation of press and Government interests. The earlier identity of interests between press and Government began to crumble once some of the major papers began to lose access to the Government through editors and proprietors who held high Government office. The *Otago Daily Times* was not the first to find itself in this position, but it was the first to find itself the object of Government antagonism and vigorously and successfully to defend itself by defining the Government action as improper.

Beginning in July 1872 there were major changes to the New Zealand press agencies which led by November 1872 to their amalgamation into the Holt and McCarthy agency. The only public acknowledgement of the amalgamation appears to be a passing reference by Vogel in his 1873 report. After discussing the problems faced by the Telegraph Department from two competing press agencies, he writes: '... the special pressure before mentioned has ceased because one of the Press Associations has ceased to exist'.<sup>40</sup>

Holt is referred to as 'Captain Holt' and had a maritime career. During this period and especially prior to the 1876 laying of the Australia-New Zealand cable, his type of expertise was necessary for a successful press agency. Florence Romauld McCarthy (1834-1914), the better known of the two, had worked as a compositor in New York and arrived in Otago in 1861 as part of the great influx of gold-seekers. He later obtained work in Otago as a printer. The final 35 years of his life, from 1880-1914, were spent as editor of the *Grey River Argus*.<sup>41</sup> During the lifetime of the Holt and McCarthy agency, McCarthy's journalistic connections were with the *Wellington Independent*. When the agency began the *Independent* was still owned by Thomas McKenzie, but McCarthy is named as one of the quartet who controlled the paper.<sup>42</sup> The Holt and McCarthy agency was run from Wellington with the locus of control and co-ordination being the *Wellington Independent*.

The major impetus behind the formation of the Holt and McCarthy agency, however, was Julius Vogel, a politician always supported by the *Wellington Independent*. Vogel, in 1872 when the agency began, was Colonial Treasurer, Telegraph Commissioner and Postmaster-General as well as proprietor of the *Southern Cross*. As had happened previously, his involvement in the formation of the Holt and McCarthy agency, was to provoke large scale discussion on the propriety of the close connections between his press and



political interests.<sup>43</sup> He was not only to replace the two press associations with a single organisation but was to have that organisation under his personal control for the next four years, until he resigned as Premier and left for London.

In April 1872 a mail steamer service between San Francisco, New Zealand and Melbourne was finalised with annual subsidies from the Victorian Government of £32,500, and the New Zealand Government of £27,500. From July 1872 Australia was also in telegraph communication with England.<sup>44</sup> It was the build-up to these events that led to the changes in the New Zealand press agencies. Vogel had been in Melbourne in early 1872 negotiating with the Victorian Government in regard to the mail steamer service, and while there he concluded an agreement with Hugh George, manager of the Melbourne *Argus* and the Australian Associated Press, for the sole Reuter agency for New Zealand.<sup>45</sup> The agreement was open as to whether Vogel acted as a Government Minister or a newspaper proprietor:

For the sum of five hundred pounds (£500) per annum this office is prepared to sell to your Government, to yourself, or to any agent appointed by you, for the use of the newspapers published in New Zealand, the exclusive right of treating with those newspapers for the publication of Reuters messages in New Zealand.<sup>46</sup>

The agreement was a final rather than an initial proposal and included completed practical arrangements:

I have today written to our London agent, instructing him to see Reuter, and to request that the price of New Zealand securities, New Zealand bank stock, New Zealand hemp, as well as any item of special New Zealand interest be included in the direct telegraphic reports from London.<sup>47</sup>

Montrose, the New Zealand manager of Greville's Telegram Company, which had up till then been the Reuters agency, saw the agreement as calculated to end his agency:

The object of the Associated Press is to drive the [Greville Telegram] Company out of the field. . . . With the same object it would, of course, be glad to contract with Mr Vogel on such terms as would drive the New Zealand branch of Greville's Telegraph Company out of the field.<sup>48</sup>

And so it was to prove, with the Greville telegraph credit line last appearing in New Zealand newspapers in November 1872. Montrose further argued there was a connection between the mail steamer negotiations with the Victorian Government and the press agency agreement with the Australian Associated Press: ' . . . in entering into this contract Mr Vogel has been making a bid for the support of the Melbourne *Argus* and Sydney *Morning Herald* in his negotiations with the Australian Governments'.<sup>49</sup>



The *Argus*, which had initially opposed subsidising the mail steamer service, did change its position and came to support a Victorian subsidy for the enterprise. Subsequent debate, however, centred not on this point but on Vogel's improper use of his official position. In signing the agreement with Hugh George, he had acted on his own initiative without a mandate from his political colleagues. Montrose's statement that '... [Vogel] acted on his own personal responsibility without in any way consulting his colleagues who were ignorant of what he had done until I myself actually informed them'<sup>50</sup> was not challenged.

As eventually stated by Vogel's ally, the *Wellington Independent*, Vogel's aim was to re-establish a Government news service:

Mr Vogel's idea was that it would be a good thing for the colony if the Government were to purchase these telegrams, with the view of supplying them to the papers in New Zealand free of cost except wire charges, the Government trusting to more extended use of the wires to recoup it for the outlay; but in the arrangements with Mr George he did not in the slightest degree commit the Government and ultimately the sale was made to Mr Vogel himself, or any association to which he might transfer it.<sup>51</sup>

The inference is that Vogel did not receive sufficient support from his Ministerial colleagues to re-establish government control of news telegrams. As a result Vogel began a private agency managed by Holt and McCarthy but under his own control.

The events were viewed more harshly by Vogel's opponents. On 29 April 1872 the *Evening Post* reported:

Mr Vogel's agreement with the Australian Associated Press, in regard to the English telegrams, was of the double blooded character we predicted. He made it in his capacity as a member of the Government, and used his influence as such to induce Mr George to come to terms with him, but, knowing he had no authority to enter into such a contract officially, he added a proviso, that in the event of the Government refusing to ratify it, he would in his other capacity, as proprietor of the Southern Cross, carry it out himself.

The opposition was heated, with continued reference to such matters as 'the unscrupulous use Mr Vogel has made of his official position as Treasurer of New Zealand to further his own individual interests in the matter of Press telegraphy'.<sup>52</sup>

The Holt and McCarthy agency was to have a commanding position in the collection of news, and Vogel's exclusive purchase of the Reuters agency gave him domination in New Zealand of overseas news despatches. Initially, however, the agency was not conceived as monopolistic. The original intention was to restrict membership to morning newspapers and, in spite of the political nature of the debate concerning the foundation of the agency, its membership was considered only on commercial grounds. The rationale for this



arrangement was presented by the *Lyttelton Times* on 8 June 1872:

There is an exceedingly good reason why evening papers should be excluded (from Mr Vogel's proposed new Press Telegraphic Association). If they were admitted the morning papers would simply be contributing a considerable sum annually to assist in the extremely delightful process of cutting their own throats. Thus, when the Anglo-Australian telegraph is completed, which it will be presently, the most important telegraphic messages will come from Australia by the weekly, or thereabouts, steamers. In a majority of instances these arrive either at Hokitika or the Bluff at such an hour as would allow the summaries to be transmitted in time for publication in the evening papers. It follows, therefore, that ordinary prudence compels the proprietors of morning papers to exclude evening journals from the Association.

This rationale was somewhat exaggerated. While arriving mail boats naturally chose to enter harbour if possible during daylight hours, their arrivals were determined by the tides and did, of course, occur during all daylight hours. Morning arrivals were to the advantage of the evening papers but from early afternoon any arrivals were too late for the evening papers to be able to print the news that day. It is possible that the restriction to morning papers was an application in New Zealand of an Australian Associated Press requirement. In Australia the services of that association were at first available only to the morning papers. Entry there to evening newspapers was offered only after New South Wales morning papers failed to get a legal monopoly for their cable service.<sup>53</sup> However, the New Zealand restriction to morning papers was short-lived. The rationale for the restriction became irrelevant from 1876 when the Australia-New Zealand sea cable was completed; but well before this, by the end of 1872, the Greville credit line had disappeared from the New Zealand press and Holt and McCarthy, the only press agency operating, counted amongst its members both morning and evening papers.

Not only was the Holt and McCarthy agency to become the only one in New Zealand handling overseas news: it was also to gain a monopoly control over internal news dissemination. The agency's rules of association do not survive and consequently it is not known if they followed the common pattern of not allowing subscriber newspapers to also receive competitive services. However, the *Otago Daily Times* service ceased, but not necessarily because it had been forced out of existence by the Holt and McCarthy agency. Expense was an everpresent impetus towards amalgamation—the logic of sending costly, and usually similar, long press telegrams to separate press associations had often been questioned.

The Holt and McCarthy agency did away with the duplication that had previously existed, by establishing 'a service of interprovincial news . . . available for all New Zealand papers that cared to



subscribe to it'.<sup>54</sup> For the first time the communication difficulties for newspapers within New Zealand were met by establishing a system of cooperative mutual exchange of news among all newspapers.

The Holt and McCarthy agency was soon to be accused of political bias. Vogel was the dominant New Zealand politician of the day and the Holt and McCarthy agency was at times accused of being more interested in supporting him and the Waterhouse Ministry than in its ostensible role of news supporting. On 13 November 1872 the *Nelson Examiner*<sup>55</sup> observed:

It is important to notice that the telegrams of the New Zealand Press Association<sup>56</sup> omit to mention the destruction by the natives of the Wanganui Bridge. We have noticed other omissions. The defeats of the Ministry during the last few days of session were passed over in silence. . . . The frequency and character of these omissions show that the telegrams are supervised with paternal care in high quarters, nothing coming out through their instrumentality which could impair the trust and filial piety of a loving party.

Similar accusations were made throughout the six years when Holt and McCarthy was the sole New Zealand press agency. Vogel was, furthermore, to exacerbate the concern felt by his opponents by the successful moves he made to control the *Wellington Independent*.

Vogel had purchased the *Southern Cross* in Auckland immediately prior to his move to Wellington, when he took national political office. The paper proved to be too distant from his seat of operations, and although the *Southern Cross* was not sold until 1876, Vogel had earlier disposed of his interest in it, and found a Wellington base for his journalism. McKenzie's *Independent* was the obvious paper for him to look toward. It was a prestigious paper, being the only morning daily and the oldest paper in the city, as well as the administrative centre of the Holt and McCarthy agency. Moreover, it was his political supporter. Vogel formed in 1873 the New Zealand Times Company which that year took over the *New Zealand Mail*<sup>57</sup> (the *Independent*'s weekly stablemate), and at the end of January 1874 also purchased the *Independent*. The *Independent* was renamed the *New Zealand Times*.

McKenzie, who, with the *Independent*, the *Mail* and his printing business, was head of a large and successful concern, was under no financial need to join with Vogel. Nor, although he had been running the *Independent* since 1845, was he an old man. To quote Scholefield: 'McKenzie was only 46 years of age, vigorous in mind and body and under no necessity to think of retirement, but he succumbed to the blandishments of Vogel and merely retained a sizeable interest in the new company'.<sup>58</sup> McKenzie may have succumbed to Vogel's eloquence, but, equally, he may have shared



something of Vogel's vision for New Zealand and joined with him in that cause. His public reason for the change was published in a letter to the *Independent* on 30 January 1874:

I have disposed of the sole proprietorship . . . but shall retain a considerable interest in the concern . . . A general desire was expressed that a colonial paper should be established, one that would embrace the interests of the colony as a whole; and Wellington, from its central position, was considered the most fitting place for its publication. With this view a company was formed, including a majority of leading citizens of Wellington. Being equally anxious to advance the interests of the Colony, there was no difference of opinion in this respect between the projectors and myself.

Vogel aimed to make the *New Zealand Times*<sup>59</sup> a national, rather than merely a Wellington newspaper. This is clear from both his manifesto for the paper and McKenzie's letter. His highly impracticable dream was one shared by McKenzie who had started the *New Zealand Mail* with a similar intention:

We shall be well content, at starting, to make the *Mail* the best patronised journal in the province; but we hope to secure for it eventually a colonial circulation; and to obtain this object we shall spare neither trouble nor expense. The publication of several editions of the paper, each specially adapted for the districts in which it will circulate, will rather facilitate than retard this object; it will combine the advantages of a metropolitan with those of a local newspaper; and there is no place in the colony which offers such facilities for these purposes as Wellington.<sup>60</sup>

It may have been that both Vogel and McKenzie wished to try to start a national paper and both considered that only together could they attempt such a task. This, from the available material, is a possible explanation and seems the only likely one for McKenzie voluntarily relinquishing control.

Vogel's motives, on the other hand, were considered to be political as well as commercial. He 'aimed at consolidating his political position through the medium of a national newspaper'.<sup>61</sup> However the *New Zealand Times* did not become a national newspaper. In the 1870s a variety of difficulties prevented any serious pursuit of the matter. With the 1872 arrival of the telegraph in Auckland, the four main centres were finally linked and it would theoretically have been possible to attempt separate regional printings of four, or more, daily editions of a *New Zealand Times*. However, the large scale financial gamble involved in any attempt to start, in effect, four large daily newspapers, each in its own competitive market, all with records of failure for late-comers, was apparently too much, even for Vogel. The *New Zealand Times* remained a Wellington newspaper.

With his dominance of the *New Zealand Times* and the Holt and McCarthy agency, Vogel was now in a position to exercise considerable control over the collection and dissemination of news in New





Wooing the voters, cap in hand—Vogel on the Otago hustings Photo neg 111625½

Zealand. But his political duties (he was Premier at the time he purchased the *Wellington Independent*) precluded him from assuming day-to-day control. More importantly, his long absences from New Zealand during this period kept him from exercising effective command of the paper. Vogel left New Zealand in September 1874 on political duties. Because of health problems his return was delayed until February 1876, and then he was back in New Zealand for a period of mere months. Resigning the Premiership in September 1876 after appointing himself Agent-General in London, he moved to London taking up residence there early in 1877. His example was soon followed, and direct political control of newspapers was to be a feature of at least the capital city until well into the twentieth century.

Political control of newspapers had been a New Zealand practice



long before Vogel arrived in 1861. Vogel, however, signalled a significant extension to the practice. The newspapers of the 1870s were no longer small circulation weekly publications whose political partiality was expected and acknowledged. They were mass circulation dailies that publicly professed a political neutrality. Vogel, after the initial failure of his ousting from the *Otago Daily Times*, was successful in merging partisan political control with the commercial orientation of the daily press. Furthermore, with the development of a national press agency, and in the context of the contemporary political change from provincial to national rule, he brought political control of the press from a local to a national perspective.

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- 2 *Otago Witness*, Dunedin, 8 February 1851-28 June 1932.
- 3 *Otago Daily Times*, Dunedin, 15 November 1861-.
- 4 *Otago Daily Times*, reprint of Diamond Jubilee Issue (Dunedin, 1924), p. 17.
- 5 *Ibid*, p. 13.
- 6 *Otago Witness*, 22 December 1855.
- 7 Guy H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1958), p. 173.
- 8 *Otago Daily Times*, Diamond Jubilee Issue, p. 16.
- 9 *Ibid*, pp. 16-17.
- 10 *Ibid*, p. 16. On one occasion, however, all but one of the composing staff had 'fled to the fields'.
- 11 Many who began daily newspapers after Vogel—such as Henry Blundell of the *Evening Post*, Robert Lucas of the *Nelson Evening Mail* and William Wilson of the *New Zealand Herald*—were to advance and practise a journalistic philosophy whereby newspaper proprietors should not stand for political office.
- 12 R. M. Burdon, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius Vogel* (Christchurch, 1948), p. 23.
- 13 *Daily Telegraph*, Dunedin, 3 January 1863-9 April 1864.
- 14 Farjeon was not to remain long in journalism. Receiving kindly criticism of his first novel from no less a person than Charles Dickens, he severed his business connections and moved, in 1867, to England to pursue a literary career.
- 15 *Otago Daily Times*, Diamond Jubilee Issue, p. 18.
- 16 This is surmised from Vogel's 1868 offer to lease the company for £1000 per year. The offer included the following sentences. 'By accepting this offer the company will be in a position to pay off a considerable portion of the debentures, thus leaving the £1000 rent, less interest on the remaining debentures, to be divided among the shareholders. Suppose that £3500 of the debentures are paid off, the remaining £2500 having many years to run, would only entail a charge of £250 a year, leaving £750 for division among the shareholders'. *Ibid*, p. 19.
- 17 William Dick Murison (1837-1877) became the third editor of the paper in 1871. He edited the paper until George Fenwick gained control of the company in 1877. Murison, a runholder, was a member of the Otago Provincial Council (1863-1865) and MHR for Waikouaiti (1866-1868).



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- 31 *Wellington Independent*, 31 March 1870.
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- 35 In Australia the agency was known as Greville and Bird. It was based in Sydney and was probably the first press agency there. R. B. Walker, *The Newspaper Press in New South Wales 1803-1820* (Sydney, 1976), p.202.
- 36 *Evening Post*, Wellington, 8 February 1865-.
- 37 *Hawke's Bay Herald*, Napier, 24 September 1857-16 January 1937.
- 38 *Otago Daily Times*, 3 October 1870. *Wellington Independent*, 16 August 1870.
- 39 The Telegraph Libel Case: Report of Proceedings in the Resident Magistrates Court, Dunedin, on the hearing of the charges of libel brought by the General Government of New Zealand against Mr George Burnett Barton, in the case of Regina v Barton. Printed at the Daily Times Office, (Dunedin, 1871). Hocken Library.
- 40 AJHR, 1873, F.-7, 9th Report of the New Zealand Telegraph Department.
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- 42 Scholefield, p.29.
- 43 The Managing Committee of the Holt and McCarthy agency was Vogel, of the Southern Cross, Reeves, of the Lyttelton Times, and Harrison of the Wellington Independent, (Evening Post, 19 and 20 June 1872). Vogel and Reeves were proprietors. Harrison, an employee of the Independent, had been a foundation staff member of Vogel's *Otago Daily Times*.
- 44 The Java to Darwin cable was opened on 20 November 1871. The Overland Telegraph from Darwin to Adelaide (with a gap of 200 miles covered by horse express) was opened on 24 June 1872. Communication was frequently disrupted, often for long periods. (Walker, p.203).
- 45 The managements of the Sydney Morning Herald and the Melbourne Argus in June 1872 formed the Australian Associated Press and for £4000 per annum gained from Reuters an agreement that Reuters would in Australia supply its news only to the A.A.P. (Walker, p.205).

- 46 George to Vogel, *Wellington Independent*, 18 June 1872.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Letter from Montrose to editor of *Wellington Independent* printed per favour of editor of *Evening Post*, 10 April 1872.
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## The production of the *Nelson Examiner* in the context of the early New Zealand press

LISHI KWASITSU

Printing was introduced into New Zealand in 1830 by the Anglican Church Missionary Society. On the recommendation of the Reverend William Yate, the Mission established a small Albion hand press at Kerikeri in the Bay of Islands for administrative and evangelistic purposes.<sup>1</sup> When colonisation began in earnest a few years later, printing facilities were set up as part of the apparatus of colonial settlement as well as commercial ventures.

The establishment in Wellington on 18 April 1840 of the *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, first published in London on 21 August 1839 as the *New Zealand Gazette and Britannia Spectator*, was under the impetus of the New Zealand Company, and Samuel Revans, its printer, merely an 'ostensible owner'.<sup>2</sup> In Auckland, the *New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette* was founded on 7 August 1841 as a limited liability company<sup>3</sup> with half the company's shareholders being officials in Governor Williams Hobson's administration as well as business entrepreneurs in Auckland. But that was not a common pattern. Nelson's first newspaper, the *Nelson Advertiser and Echo of New Zealand*, first appeared in London on 16 August 1841.<sup>4</sup> This was followed by the *Whitby Times and General Advertiser*, which was issued on 13 June 1841 as a handwritten newsletter aboard the *Whitby* by Musgrave, Browne and Arnold. Less than a month later on the same vessel, James Smith, E. Wastney and T. Doughty produced a rival newsletter on 8 July 1841 called *Hand in Hand and Port Nelson Herald*.<sup>5</sup> In Nelson itself, the establishment of the *Nelson Examiner* by Charles Elliott with 'a loan chargeable with interest'<sup>6</sup> from the New Zealand Company may be seen as a normal commercial undertaking. Elliott decided to come to New Zealand with Frederick Cooper, a literary friend of Mr Aglionby, with whom he had jointly loaded his printing equipment and personal effects into the *Mary Ann* by 24 September 1841. But Cooper suddenly dropped out of this initial partnership and disembarked with his family at the Downs on 2 October 1841<sup>7</sup> which was why Elliott travelled to New Zealand under the umbrella of the New Zealand Company with financial guarantees and other forms of support. Elliott thus like Revans became an 'ostensible proprietor'<sup>8</sup> of the printing press in Nelson.



That the New Zealand Company owned the types and the press was a general belief among the early settlers. In a letter to the editor published on 3 April 1847, C. A. Dillon accused Elliott of biased reporting in favour of the New Zealand Company because his hands were tied by financial obligations to the Company.

With the single exception of one or two articles, denouncing the New Regulations, has anything condemnatory of their conduct towards the settlers appeared in your paper? . . . As to the *interest* you may have in keeping up the delusion in favour of the New Zealand Company, public report says, and I believe with perfect truth, that the types with which the *Nelson Examiner* is printed, were given, or lent to you by the New Zealand Company. It is generally understood that your leading articles are written by persons in the Company's employment, or by those who have been or hope to be again in it. Who were for a long time your greatest subscribers? Who the principal advertisers in your paper? Was it not the New Zealand Company? . . .

In conclusion, let me assure you, that as long as your journal continues, what is now universally believed to be, the organ of the New Zealand Company, it will never command the respect or confidence to which it, in other ways, is fully entitled; for I must do you the justice to say, that in all other matters, public opinion gives you full credit for having always conducted it in an upright and gentlemanlike manner.<sup>9</sup>

In his response to Dillon's charges, Elliott was at pains, as he had been on previous occasions, to explain that his connection with the New Zealand Company was an ordinary business transaction.

There is, perhaps, no position more unpleasant than that of an individual who is conscious of being the subject of idle and unfounded rumours, which, without appearing obtrusive, he cannot refute, however deeply they may affect his character and interest. Such has been in some measure our own case, and we are therefore greatly indebted to the Hon. C.A. Dillon for his letter, which appears in this day's paper, as it enables us, without incurring the imputation referred to, to clear up the misconception which exists respecting the present editorship of this journal, and the supposed connexion between the proprietor and the New Zealand Company. It was for the purpose of getting from Mr Dillon a distinct statement of the rumours afloat respecting ourselves, which evidently had led that gentleman to make some of the remarks regarding us in his letter to the Company's Agent, that we waived our reply to them at the time they appeared.

Before noticing any of the public questions touched on by Mr Dillon, we shall direct our attention to those which more immediately affect ourselves. Taking 'public report' for his authority, Mr Dillon tells us that the types with which the *Nelson Examiner* is printed, were given or lent to us by the New Zealand Company. We assure Mr Dillon that in this instance 'public report' is grossly at fault. The types and printing materials used by us were never the property of the New Zealand Company, but were our own long before we even knew the existence of that body. It is quite true, and so far from making a secret of it, the fact was broadly stated in our very first number, that we were under a pecuniary obligation to the Company, incurred indeed through the deception of a person [Frederick Cooper] who originally embarked with us in our enterprise, and whose liabilities fell upon our shoulders. Our transaction with the Company was a perfect matter of business—a loan, chargeable with interest, of which only a small part now remains unpaid. It is not pleasant to have to trumpet forth our private affairs in this manner,



but there is nothing in them of which we need to be ashamed, and we would far rather openly declare the facts, than stories should be whispered about which are so totally devoid of truth. This transaction between the Company and ourselves has never directly or indirectly influenced the tone of our paper. The gentlemen known as the avowed editors for the greater part of the time it has existed, were far too independent and highminded to prostitute their pens in any service, and, supported as they were by the settlement, we did not hesitate to leave the paper wholly in their hands. The Company never sought by any means to control the expressions of our opinions, and whatever support it has received in the columns of the *Nelson Examiner*, has flowed from the free and unfettered judgment of the writers.

Another matter in which public report is wrong, is that regarding the present editorship of this paper. Mr Dillon says, 'It is generally understood that your leading articles are written by persons in the Company's employment, or by those who have been, or hope to be again in it.' We here once and for all declare that the proprietor is, unfortunately, reduced to the necessity of becoming his own editor, as the paper barely defrays the expense of printing, and cannot afford to remunerate the services of a writer of ability. Since the end of last September, when Mr C. Elliott returned from Auckland, the leading articles of the *Nelson Examiner* have, with the exception of three, which were on subjects totally unconnected with the questions between the Company and their landpurchasers, been written solely by him, who alone is answerable for their demerits; nor has there appeared during that time a single notice of an editorial character written by any other person.<sup>10</sup>

Elliott was by his public admission indebted to the New Zealand Company. The *Nelson Examiner* was therefore established in commercial circumstances that had political undertones.

Printing was introduced to Otago in 1848 for a different reason. W. B. Graham, 'The proprietor of the *Otago News* came to that settlement entirely as a matter of private speculation'.<sup>11</sup> But the introduction of printing into Canterbury, founded as an offshoot of the New Zealand Company, followed the pattern in the Nelson settlement;<sup>12</sup> a printing press formed part of the impedimenta of the pioneering settlers. In New Plymouth, local pressure from the early settlers led to the acquisition of a second-hand Albion press from Auckland by Garland William Woon and William Collins.<sup>13</sup>

The establishment of printing either as part of the colonial settlement equipment or as a commercial enterprise or as a felt local need was far from peculiar to the colonial experience in New Zealand. There are striking resemblances between these settlements and the West Indian islands under British rule as well as the Australian colonies. In Jamaica, Robert Baldwin started printing in 1718 at the invitation of the House of Assembly and the Governor, while in Barbados David Harry set up office as a printer in 1731 as a normal commercial venture. But in Belize, local pressure from some of the magistrates led to the establishment of a printing press in 1825.<sup>14</sup>

The Australian colonies with which New Zealand remained close in most aspects of printing and bookselling throughout the nineteenth century present similar parallels, if somewhat different sentiments.<sup>15</sup> The First Fleet which arrived in Port Jackson in New



South Wales in 1788 had on board 'a printing press, with all needful appliances for a printing office'.<sup>16</sup> The wooden screw press sent there by Captain Arthur Phillip lay unused until about 1796, when George Hughes utilised it to become Australia's first printer. His better-trained successor, George Howe, was a West Indian born in St Kitts. While working as a compositor on *The Times*, London, he ran into trouble for shoplifting in Alcester, Warwickshire. First sentenced to death for the offence, his sentence was commuted to seven years transportation to New South Wales, where he arrived in November 1800, just at the right time to become the government printer. Two years later, he issued the *New South Wales General Standing Orders*, the first book to be printed in Australia. He also founded, on 5 March 1803, the first newspaper in the continent: the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*. Government support for the press continued when Governor David Collins's small hand press was employed to print government proclamations in Port Phillip, Victoria, on 16 October 1803, but Victoria's first newspaper, the *Melbourne Advertiser*, was not printed until 1838. Governor Collins carried his press with him when he was transferred to Hobart Town, Tasmania, in 1804, where as in Port Phillip the press was used to print government orders. In 1810, the first newspaper in Tasmania was launched as an official enterprise. The foundation of printing in Queensland is similar to the pattern described above. James Swan, who was first employed as a compositor on the *Sydney Colonist* by Dr John Dunmore Lang, a Presbyterian evangelist, had also worked on the *Sydney Empire* before being persuaded to take a small press to Brisbane, on which he printed the *Moreton Bay Courier* on 20 June 1846.<sup>17</sup> But the printing press in New Zealand was quite different in sentiment from the press in the Australian colonies. While pioneering settlers came to New Zealand of their own free will, and had no animosity towards Britain, a very large proportion of the early Australian settlers were convicts and Irishmen with no friendly attitude to Britain. The tone of the press, therefore, was not unlike that in colonial Ghana.

\* \* \*

In designing the *Nelson Examiner*, Elliott was aiming at the characteristic nineteenth-century newspaper, a newspaper that the pioneering settlers would easily recognise as one of the trappings of modern civilisation. The head line banner of the *Nelson Examiner* has a seven word compound title: THE NELSON EXAMINER, | AND | NEW ZEALAND CHRONICLE. The first line set in black letter appears to be in the five line pica type cast by Vincent Figgins and has an 'h' with a slightly broken or worn out serif in



issues from 2, no. 92 (9 December 1842) to 13, no. 722 (28 March 1855), and an improvised 'x' in numbers one and two of 12 and 19 March 1842. The third line is a titling roman which appears to be a two line great primer. The title is followed by volume number, place, date and issue number, the volume number and issue number in roman and arabic numerals respectively, and like the imprint, in brevier type. Number one of the *Nelson Examiner* is dated at Nelson Haven, but subsequent issues are simply dated at Nelson. The editorial is customarily placed on page two (but occasionally appears elsewhere) with its title line followed by place and date laid between double bold and fine rules across a 14.5 em column (varies). Elliott adopted as motto for the *Nelson Examiner* the assertion that newspapers are essential to protect individual rights and freedom as well as to maintain and develop modern civilisation—a pompous assertion not infrequently encountered in colonial newspapers' prospectuses. The motto quoted in the original French and English, with the English translation only from 6 July 1844, follows the double bold and fine rules:

Les journaux deviennent plus nécessaires à mesure que les hommes sont plus égaux, et l'individualisme plus à craindre. Ce serait diminuer leur importance que de croire qu'ils ne servent qu'à garantir la liberté: ils maintiennent la civilisation.

DE TOCQUEVILLE.

De la Démocratie en Amérique, tome 4, p. 220.

The *Nelson Examiner* was initially printed on a small demy paper in folio format, usually of 430 mm x 560 mm (varies) making four pages of text and advertisements. Each page was first divided into four columns of 14.5 ems separated by fine rule. The number of pages was doubled to eight from 2 July 1853, but curtailed occasionally as and when shortage of labour or paper required.<sup>18</sup> Early volumes (which ran from early March to the end of February) were paginated continuously throughout and the numbering of the issues started freshly with each new volume. From 1857 onwards new volumes commenced in January and ended with the calendar year in December. On 31 March 1855 the subtitle was dropped and the name of the paper became THE NELSON EXAMINER. For this a banner head was used; one of those brass newspaper heads of the kind manufactured by C. Gibbs (late C. & A. Paas) of London and sold for £3<sup>19</sup> mainly to newspaper printers in the colonies. Having apparently installed new equipment, Elliott changed the layout of the *Nelson Examiner* and increased its size from four to six columns of 15.5 ems and paper size usually of 537 mm x 866 mm (varies) and introduced captions for advertisements. On 29 January 1859 Elliott started to insert a shortened date at the top right hand corner of the front page above the title banner. Elliott, however, reverted to the

## (No. 1.

**A**t a Meeting of Emigrants on board the *Wary Anne*, bound to New Zealand, held on Monday, January 28, 1843, for the purpose of exchanging and deciding upon the expediency of establishing in the wilderness of Nelson a BENEFIT CLUB, or Family Association.

WILLIAM CURLING YOUNG, Esq., in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were proposed and carried—

1. Moved by Mr. G. HAYDOCK: Resolved by Mr. P. B.

## [No. 697.]

**NELSON RACE MEETING, 1855.**  
 Forewards: **W. O. Cautley, Esq.**  
**F. A. Vail, Esq.**  
**G. W. Schuder, Esq.**

**TUESDAY, MARCH 6.**

**THE MAIDEN PLATE** of 200 yds., added to a Sweepstakes of 5 yds., each; several horses to save his stake; for well known that have never won an advertised race, was won by 20 yds. of public money was given (nearly exhausted). **T. C. P. wright**, one mile and a half.

**THE VICTUALLER'S PLATE** of 20 yds., added to a Sweepstakes of 10 yds., each; several horses to save his stake. **T. C. P. wright**. Three miles.

## (No. 713)

TRAFFALGAR STORE.  
JOHN SYMONS begs to inform the  
inhabitants of Nelson and its vicinity, that he has  
OPENED a General Store, in Trafalgar street, opposite  
Messrs. Hall & Co.'s, where he hopes, by strict attention and  
moderate prices, to merit a share of their patronage.  
Just received, ex Monsoon,

## (No. 1)

**THRAFFICKING NOTES.**—Mr. A. TAYLOR, for one of the London houses to induce the sale of Schlegel from other parts, that they are taking the most extensive and extensive measures at the expense of the London house, which is the only one to be sold. The value of the stock is £100,000.

<sup>1</sup> PUBLISHED DAILY.

**Christian Notices.**  
**TO SIR DAVID MONRO.**  
 Sir—We the undersigned, Clergy of the Church of Scotland, desiring the assistance of the impatience of a sick child, are prepared in the coming Epiphany, with a collection for your benevolent assistance, and for the relief of other suffering children, and others, we will use our best endeavours to secure your donation.  
 W. Buchanan, sen. &c. &c.

INSURANCE  
INDIVIDUALLY EXEMPT  
AMOUNT INSURED, £50

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four column small demy between 22 April 1871 and 11 May 1872 while maintaining the new title banner. Word space between 'Nelson' and 'Examiner' in the title banner, which was twenty-four millimetres when Elliott returned to the demy folio on 22 April 1871, was closed up slightly to about ten millimetres in subsequent issues, apparently for appearance: evidence which suggests that Elliott had cut part of the banner if it was in brass. He returned again to a six column format on 15 May 1872. On 2 July 1873, Elliott introduced a one penny daily newspaper: the *Nelson Daily Examiner* in a six column format which he maintained until the paper died on 15 January 1874. Close examination and comparison of the title banner of several issues of the one penny daily reveal that Elliott opened up the banner to interpolate the word 'Daily' which was cut in the same size but slightly cruder style.

Aside from the *Illustrated Examiner Summary for England* (July 1869–November 1869) which is a sixteen-page, four-column, closely printed illustrated magazine, the design of the other two offshoots of the *Nelson Examiner*, the *Wakamarina Intelligencer* (28 May 1864–18 June 1864?) and the *Nelson Weekly Examiner*, later the *Nelson Weekly Examiner and Gold-fields Advertiser* (5 July 1873–22 November 1873?), is similar to that of the parent paper.

The *Nelson Examiner* was printed under three different types of management: sole proprietorship, dual partnership, and as a joint stock limited liability company. The paper was launched as a sole enterprise on 12 March 1842, and remained so until 13 May 1854<sup>20</sup> when James Elliott became a joint proprietor, a partnership which was dissolved on 31 December 1861 by mutual consent as a result of James Elliott's protracted illness.<sup>21</sup>

#### DISSOLUTION OF PARTNERSHIP

NOTICE is hereby given, that the PARTNERSHIP subsisting between CHARLES ELLIOTT and JAMES ELLIOTT, of the City of Nelson, New Zealand, as Printers and Stationers, was DISSOLVED, by mutual consent, on and from the 1st day of January last: And NOTICE is hereby further given, that all DEBTS owing to the said Partnership, up to the 31st day of December now last inclusive, are requested to be paid to Mr ROBERT POWELL, at the *Nelson Examiner* Office, who is duly authorised to receive the same, and to whom, also, the particulars of all Debts due by the said Firm, up to the last-mentioned date, are requested to be forwarded. And NOTICE, also, is hereby given, that the said Business, since the 1st day of January last, has been carried on solely on account of, and will for the future be carried on by, the said CHARLES ELLIOTT, who will also pay all Debts owing by the said late Partnership up to the said 31st day of December last.

As witness our hands, this Seventeenth day of March, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-two.

CHARLES ELLIOTT,  
JAMES ELLIOTT.

Signed in the presence of  
DONALD SINCLAIR, Solicitor, Nelson.  
JNO. W. WIGZELL, his Clerk.<sup>22</sup>

Charles Elliott assumed sole ownership from 1 January 1862<sup>23</sup> until 13 April 1872<sup>24</sup> when the *Nelson Examiner* was bought by a joint stock company and continued as a limited liability company until the demise of the paper in 1874.

#### PUBLIC NOTICE

THE PROPRIETORSHIP of the 'EXAMINER' NEWSPAPER has passed to a JOINT STOCK COMPANY, with limited liability, who will continue to issue the paper in its former shape of a broadside sheet . . .

By order of the Directors,  
CHAS. ALLEN,  
Accountant.<sup>25</sup>

Elliott was not entirely responsible for the printing and publication of the *Nelson Examiner* throughout its life span. As already noted, the paper was printed by Elliott and his brother James for about seven years and seven months. Between 11 September 1873 and 27 December 1873, the paper was printed by a Charles Janion.

No records survive to show the type of press on which the *Nelson Examiner* was printed. Elliott probably first used an Albion hand press and later a Wharfedale press. Having had a snug business<sup>26</sup> in London with his own press and type, Elliott knew what range of types the English newspaper-cum-jobbing printer required. He had Scotch romans and companion italics for the text faces, black letter, sanserifs or grotesques and shaded types in display sizes: very much the sort of fonts printers had in the West Indies under British rule.<sup>27</sup> Elliott also had a number of printer's flowers and typefounders' stock-blocks of wood engravings of a sub-Bewickian character, some of which might have been sold to him by Vincent Figgins, for whom Elliott had inserted the following advertisement on 7 September 1844:

#### IMPORTANT TO PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS

V. & J. Figgins, TYPEFOUNDERS, London, continue to export types, presses, cases, chases, brass-rule, furniture, inks (black and coloured), and every article used in the printing business, of the best manufacture, and AT A REDUCTION IN PRICES FROM TWENTY-FIVE TO THIRTY-FIVE PER CENT., while the assortment of the founts is effected with the greatest regard to economy, rendering their house most advantageous to parties commencing business.

V. & J. Figgins impress upon their friends the necessity of giving positive instructions to their agents, to procure all printing materials from the foundry, Nos. 17 and 18 West street, West Smithfield, London.<sup>28</sup>

Through examination of the types used in the *Nelson Examiner* and comparison with standard sources on type design,<sup>29</sup> I have been able to identify some of the fonts used by Elliott. The initials of most of the advertisements are in double pica no. 2 cast by Vincent



Figgins. The text is usually set in brevier which is similar to, but not the same as, that cast by Vincent Figgins in 1841, and in the nonpareil cast by the Vincent Figgins typefoundry. Elliott also used wooden condensed type with slab serifs for the title banner of some of his supplements and for the mast-head of two of his subsidiary newspapers. He also used fonts that are similar to (but not the same as) the sanserif open type cast by Blake and Stephens ca. 1832, and also by Vincent Figgins in 1833 for some of his jobbing printing; as for instance on the title page of J. L. Bailey's *The Nelson Directory and Companion to the Almanack for 1859*.<sup>30</sup> Comparison with later Figgins specimens (not available to me in Wellington) would probably have permitted more positive identification of some of the other typefaces used by Elliott.

Elliott's printing establishment was on a small scale, with (probably) a single press at the commencement of his business. He worked from type set by hand, put to galley, proofed and printed on damp paper following the traditional letterpress techniques.

First issued as a weekly apparently from makeshift premises on government property,<sup>31</sup> Elliott published his paper weekly for a little over a decade before transforming it into a bi-weekly on 5 July 1854<sup>32</sup> and later into a daily on 4 January 1871.<sup>33</sup> The *Nelson Examiner* was for more than a decade and a half before the establishment of the *Nelson Colonist* on 23 October 1857 the only newspaper in Nelson, and became shortly before its death in 1874 the oldest newspaper in the country. During its existence, spanning more than a generation, Elliott issued several monthly summaries for Europe, as well as several monthly summaries for England and innumerable supplements. Elliott's supplements varied in regularity of issue, content and page size from about 145 mm x 285 mm to the size of the parent paper. The first supplement issued by Elliott is unique in many respects. It is a comprehensive historical overview of the Wairau Affray and has a plan of the scene of the conflict between the Maoris and the Europeans at the Wairau plains. The site plan, which was set with types at angles and curves, had water-colour added to it, probably by hand, in three colours of blue, brown and green, which show through the page of the Alexander Turnbull Library copy I have examined.

The *Nelson Examiner* also had three offshoots: the *Wakamarina Intelligencer*, the *Illustrated Examiner Summary for England* and the *Nelson Weekly Examiner*, later the *Nelson Weekly Examiner and Goldfields Advertiser*. Initially designed for publication as the *Nelson Examiner and Wakamarina Intelligencer*, it appears this newspaper did not materialise as intended, but was published simply as the *Wakamarina Intelligencer*.

THE NATIVE WAR.

ANOTHER FIGHT AT WAITARA.

Nelson Examiner Office,  
July 5.

At the last moment, we have news from Taranaki, by the Taranaki Mail, of a very

Gold, at Mahurangi, was, however, assisted that the path remained intact. He doubted whether any movement had taken place; evidently a dog, not the real, white, and blue, was in a swamp, fighting several natives with him, not so full but that a native carried one of the officers of the Naval Brigade across on his back. I have good reason to believe that no one except Colonel Gold was satisfied to assume that all was quiet. Every

whole fierce and energetic mind is bent on aiding our cause. His absence, however, left the rear party without a guide, and possibly was in part the reason of the loss by this rearward division. Lieutenant Brooke was killed in a swamp, fighting several natives with him, sword, till a cut on the wrist disabled him and he fell by the blows of their tomahawks. The rearward party left thirteen men on the ground; only one wounded man remained; the whole retreat having to be hardly fought

dispatched from town; and plans of proceeding covered by men with and without assistance.

Weather of the most inclement kind that this country knows added to the hardships of those preparing for the rough business. The reinforcements sailed out through a sea of mud, under south-west squalls and showers. The reinforcements consisted of two stockades; one upon the entrenchments of the old path of the same name, the other new,

MONTHLY SUMMARY FOR EUROPE.

The Nelson Examiner.

[Aug. 4/90]

Vol. XIX.]

NELSON, NEW ZEALAND, MONDAY, AUGUST 6, 1860.

[No. 66.]

Shipping Intelligence.	General Intelligence.	Local Intelligence.	Shipping Intelligence.	General Intelligence.	Local Intelligence.
<p><b>Arrivals.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Deaths.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Deaths.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Arrivals.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Deaths.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Deaths.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>

SUPPLEMENTARY SUMMARY FOR EUROPE.

[Sept. 12/60]

The Nelson Examiner.

Vol. XX.]

NELSON, NEW ZEALAND, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1860.

[No. 115.]

Shipping Intelligence.	General Intelligence.	Local Intelligence.	Shipping Intelligence.	General Intelligence.	Local Intelligence.
<p><b>Arrivals.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Deaths.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Deaths.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Arrivals.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Deaths.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Deaths.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>

Nelson Examiner Supplement.

NELSON, NEW ZEALAND, SATURDAY, AUGUST 21, 1860.

Shipping Intelligence.	General Intelligence.	Local Intelligence.	Shipping Intelligence.	General Intelligence.	Local Intelligence.
<p><b>Arrivals.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Deaths.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Deaths.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Arrivals.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Deaths.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Deaths.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>

THE Illustrated Examiner.  
SUMMARY FOR ENGLAND.

NO. 1.

NELSON, NEW ZEALAND, JULY, 1860.

VOL. 1.

<p><b>SLAVE TRAFFIC IN THE SOUTH SEAS.</b></p> <p>The following particulars respecting the seizure by H.M.S. "Hector" of the schooner "Hector" while engaged in conveying slaves</p>	<p>In the worst form, exists in certain groups, Tanna being apparently the worst quarter. The Government, we learn, have resolved to prevent the export of the slave schooner "Hector," and also to put the vessel under</p>	<p>place of an intention to proceed was sufficient to re-arm, and called Charles Frederick Standish, Chief Commissioner of Police, who, being sworn, stated that the vessel upon which white slaves had been arrested was found</p>	<p>without character; and whether they can ever be turned to any profitable account is a question that must be decided by the Government. It is a characteristic of such</p>
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MONTHLY SUMMARY FOR ENGLAND.

THE Nelson Examiner.

Vol. XXN.]

NELSON, NEW ZEALAND, SATURDAY, JULY 8, 1871.

[No. 20.]

Shipping.	General Intelligence.	Local Intelligence.	Shipping.	General Intelligence.	Local Intelligence.
<p><b>THE PAULINE-STEAMER.</b></p> <p>LADY BARKLY.</p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>MENKES, CUTTIS BROTHERS</b> are instructed to OFFER FOR SALE, by Private Contract, the following PROPERTIES:</p> <p><b>TOWN OF NELSON.</b></p> <p>To be let on lease:</p> <p>A small family-house in Broad-street, together with about 12 acres.</p> <p>A good family-house, with Outbuildings, and an acre of well-cultivated ground, and other with or without 3 acres of paddock.</p>	<p><b>Deaths.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Arrivals.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Deaths.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>	<p><b>Deaths.</b></p> <p>At 10 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 11 AM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p> <p>At 12 PM, the schooner "The Nelson" from the North, with cargo of flour, &amp;c.</p>

Bannerheads of supplements to the Nelson Examiner and summaries for England and Europe, 1860-1871 (see p.131)



## THE WAKAMARINA INTELLIGENCER

In order to meet the requirements of the rapidly-increasing population located upon the new gold-field at the Wakamarina, the Proprietor of the *Nelson Examiner* begs to intimate that he has determined on issuing a weekly paper, to be entitled '*The Nelson Examiner and Wakamarina Intelligencer*', which will contain all the news of the current week, up to the latest moment previous to its publication, together with every available item of mining intelligence, both from the Wakamarina, and the other gold-fields of the province.

*The Nelson Examiner and Wakamarina Intelligencer*, will consist of six pages, and will be published every Saturday evening, at Canvas Town. The names of intending subscribers, together with advertisements, may be left at Mr Allen's store, Canvas Town.<sup>34</sup>

No copies of the *Wakamarina Intelligencer* later than 18 June 1864 have been found, and one may speculate that the paper did not continue beyond the end of that year.

As its name suggests, the *Illustrated Examiner Summary for England* is an illustrated magazine aimed at an English audience, especially those interested in the socio-economic progress of the colony. The wood engravings for the illustrations were obtained from Melbourne; consequently the *Illustrated Examiner* was brought to a close when the logistics of obtaining the wood engravings from Melbourne became unreliable.

### TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS

In consequence of the irregularity in the steamers, we have again been disappointed in obtaining our illustrations from Melbourne for the *Examiner Illustrated Summary* in time for the mail, and we shall therefore discontinue the publication, and in future issue as we have done to-day, a Summary of the ordinary character. Persons who have paid for the *Illustrated Summary* in advance, shall have their subscriptions accounted for.

With the copies of the present Summary transmitted by post, will be given a LITHOGRAPHIC PLAN, SHOWING THE THREE REPUTED SITES OF MOUNT OWEN, and which will be found very serviceable to illustrate the late Inquiry into the Wangapeka Land Sales. Copies will be furnished gratuitously to our Nelson Subscribers with our next Number, as it was impossible to get a sufficient number printed in time for the whole impression of the present issue.<sup>35</sup>

The *Illustrated Examiner* was superseded by the *Nelson Weekly Examiner* which was transformed by the addition of a subtitle on 2 August 1873 to the *Nelson Weekly Examiner and Gold-fields Advertiser* to symbolize Elliott's continued attempt to cater for the recreational and information needs of the gold mining communities which developed on the west coast of Nelson during the 1860s. This apparently last offshoot of the *Nelson Examiner* was also short-lived, having died a few weeks<sup>36</sup> before the parent paper ceased publication.

The best known of Elliott's production difficulties, by no means

his worst, is his oft-quoted 'earnest appeal'<sup>37</sup> for treacle. No sooner had Elliott set up business than his ink rollers needed recasting:

We beg to inform our readers that there is great probability of the press at which this paper is worked being rendered utterly useless by the want of rollers. These rollers are the instruments used for the purpose of inking the forms, and an essential ingredient in the construction of them is treacle, and treacle we have been unable to obtain for money. If any of our readers have any of this important article, and will spare us some of it for love and money united, we shall be infinitely obliged to them. We are not *very* particular as to the price, but treacle we must have, or not only the *Examiner*, but bills, cheques, and the laws of the Benefit Society must remain forever unbedeviled.<sup>38</sup>

When rollers replaced ink balls as instruments for 'beating the forme' in the 1820s, the essential ingredients for their composition were fine glue and molasses or treacle whose proportion might vary; a typical recipe was 2 lb of glue, 6 lb of molasses and 1/2 lb of Paris white.<sup>39</sup> No good printing could be done without ink rollers. As the *Nelson Examiner* was printed as planned on the Saturday (25 June 1842) following this public appeal, it may be assumed (as Mackay speculates) that Elliott procured some molasses. This nevertheless suggests that Elliott was unable to improvise ink balls, as the Reverend William Colenso, the missionary printer, did a few years before him in 1835. The ingenious Colenso could still print with his relatively poor equipment without rollers.<sup>40</sup>

Nineteenth-century printing house working conditions were difficult and unattractive. Pioneering colonial printers encountered several hardships, among which were scarcity of labour and materials.

Despite the general effectiveness of the apprenticeship system as a means of renewing the ranks of labor, there are many indications that journeymen printers were exceedingly scarce throughout the colonial period. They, and their masters too, for that matter, were constantly on the move. A feature of the lives of the eminent printers of that day was their frequent removal in early manhood from one colony to another.<sup>41</sup>

Wroth's observation on the labour problems of the colonial printer in eighteenth-century America is applicable to mobility in the printing job market in New Zealand. Samuel Revans, printer of New Zealand's first newspaper, had worked as a newspaper man (shortly after his apprenticeship in London) in Canada where he participated in the Canadian independence movement of Papineau. On leaving Canada, he seems to have had a brief spell of work in the United States of America en route to London, from where he came to New Zealand. Other Wellington printers such as James Muir had a variety of experiences before joining Revans. After his apprenticeship in Edinburgh with Ballantyne, Sir Walter Scott's printers,



Muir worked as a whaler in America<sup>42</sup> before seeking new pastures in New Zealand. William Nation, founder of the *Nelson Colonist*, had gone first to New South Wales. After a short period on the *Sydney Press* he established his own paper, the *Australian Banner*, in Sydney, from where he brought his plant and staff to set up office in Nelson.<sup>43</sup> Most journeymen printers never stayed long on one job, moving often to seek their fortune in various settlements. James Champ, one of the printers who arrived in Nelson in 1842 as a cabin passenger<sup>44</sup> on the same vessel as Elliott, disappeared from view soon thereafter, and it seems Duncan MacKintosh, another printer, disappeared from the printing history of Nelson in 1857.<sup>45</sup> Such labour problems led to delays in presswork, and it seems the *Nelson Examiner* did not always appear on the dates given on the paper.

We have a great reluctance to trouble our readers with excuses for our shortcomings, trusting rather that their own indulgent kindness will overlook our defects. On the present occasion however, we feel that it is necessary to offer some explanation for the omission of editorial matter, and for our late publication. The assistant on whom we chiefly relied in the printing office, has now been absent from work three weeks on account of ill health, and the whole of the labour has therefore fallen on ourselves. Now however hard one person may strive to do the work of two, it is not easy to succeed, and so we have found on this occasion. As we have taken steps to provide ourselves with the assistance we require, we hope not to be long hampered as we are at present.<sup>46</sup>

Unreliable journeyman printers occasioned advertisements such as this:

WANTED, a steady COMPOSITOR.  
Apply at the office of the *Nelson Examiner*.<sup>47</sup>

There were problems with materials as well as with men. There was shortage of virtually all printing materials—ink, paper, type—as most materials had to be imported from Britain, over 22,500 km away by sea. But Elliott does not seem to have suffered much from shortage of type. I have seen only a few instances of mixture of founts, as, for example, the mixture of the letter 'J' italic cap with roman in volume 12, no. 593 (16 July 1853). Some of the 'J' roman caps seem to me to be slightly smaller than the rest of the caps used in the text. In fact Elliott had sufficient supply of types and ink to loan some to Nation, who was unable to commence business for lack of them.

When the Proprietor of the *Colonist* first arrived in Nelson, he was unable to commence work for want of printer's ink, and we supplied him with a cask from our own stock. On another occasion, not having the necessary type for a large Govern-

ment advertisement of a Land Sale, we were again applied to; and not only gave him the use of our forms gratuitously, but altered them to suit his columns.<sup>48</sup>

But Elliott suffered severe page shortages, and was forced on many occasions to print the *Nelson Examiner* on tea paper.

We have for several weeks past been under the painful necessity of printing the *Examiner* on a wretched species of tea paper, owing to a disappointment in getting our customary shipment from England; and from the scarcity of the article, not only in this colony, but in the neighbouring one of New South Wales, we have been unable to supply our wants from other sources. Miserable as the paper has been we have had to make use of, even this is now so nearly exhausted, that we are driven to the necessity of publishing only a single sheet until the arrival of the *Spray* from Sydney, which may be expected in about ten days. In order as far as possible to compensate our subscribers, we have printed an extra number of copies of the *Government Gazette*, the matter from which we are in the habit of transferring to our columns, and shall enclose a copy to each.<sup>49</sup>

Unreliable supply of printing paper made it difficult for Elliott to make accurate business projections:

We stated a few weeks ago that it was our intention to commence the additional issue of our paper on Wednesday, the 23rd instant [March 1853], but we are sorry to say that our present very limited supply of paper will not suffer us to do so. The long-delayed arrival of a ship from England, to which we have been looking for a supply, and a disappointment in another quarter, have put us to great shifts to obtain paper for our regular issue, and it would be useless therefore to commence an additional publication until we are supplied with paper sufficient to enable us to carry it on. We hope that this delay will be but for a short time, as we are very anxious to redeem the promise we have made.<sup>50</sup>

Many other colonial printers in New Zealand suffered from paper scarcity. The *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator* was reported by T. M. Hocken<sup>51</sup> to have been printed on red blotting paper although no such copies appear to survive in Wellington.

All forms of communication in the pioneering settlements were poor and rudimentary. Roads were narrow, often impassable in bad weather, and bridges were few or non-existent. An act of God such as the natural swelling of the Waiiti and the Wairoa Rivers could create all sorts of crippling business problems for the printer.

We have to offer a very humble apology to our subscribers for robbing them today of one-half of their customary sheet. The reason of our short-coming is, that having gone into the country on Sunday last, we were caught by a flood, and were unable to get back before Thursday. The Waiiti and the Wairoa rivers, though 'unknown to song', are well understood here to be at times an effectual barrier to those who are on the wrong side of them, particularly when the ferry-boat gets swept away, as was the case in the present instance. Our situation was therefore as helpless as the starling's, for like him we sung, 'I can't get out'. As the small returns of our paper, by compelling us to keep down the expenses of our establishment to



the very low scale of one assistant, throws on ourselves so much of the drudgery, we could not by any possibility make up our leeway, and we had no alternative but a long-delayed publication, or the present expedient, and the latter we thought would be most acceptable to our readers . . . If any of our friends should ever be caught in a like way, we hope they may fare as well as we did at Waimea Farm, and some day we trust the Governor will put a stop to these adverse chances, by giving us good bridges.<sup>52</sup>

Despite the above production difficulties, Elliott's presswork is generally good. 'The Elliott printing was excellent, and in lay-out, quality and variety of type and accuracy of type-setting, the *Examiner* was superior to most of the early newspapers.'<sup>53</sup> But Elliott's production was not perfect. The issues on flimsy paper are barely readable, as Elliott was well aware, and for which he apologised. Some of the other execrably printed issues include part of the front and back pages of volume 12, no. 623 (11 February 1854), and parts of the inner forme of volume 2, no. 60 (29 April 1843). There are several instances of erratic numbering of issues, careless pagination and innumerable issues printed without printers imprint.<sup>54</sup>

Printing a newspaper using the most traditional techniques, with uncertain labour and stationery supply and rudimentary infrastructural facilities, is likely to have considerable effect on its management of news, and in a subsequent paper Elliott's treatment of news reporting will be discussed.

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- 2 Guy H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1958), p.25.
- 3 G. M. Meiklejohn, *Early Conflicts of Press and Government: a Story of the First New Zealand Herald and the Foundation of Auckland* (Auckland, 1953), p.20.
- 4 'First Newspaper was Printed in England', *Nelson Evening Mail: Centennial Supplement, 1866-1966* (5 March 1966), p.14. According to Scholefield (p.156), the *Nelson Advertiser* was first published on 6 September, 1841.
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- 6 *Nelson Examiner* (NE), 3 April 1847, p.18, col.1.
- 7 *Lists of Passengers to Nelson, 1841-50* (Bett Collection), 2 vols (ca 1950, typescript copy in A.T.L.), 1:12.
- 8 Scholefield, p.156.
- 9 NE, 3 April 1847, p.19, col.3.
- 10 NE, 3 April 1847, p.18, cols.1-2.
- 11 *Wellington Independent*, 22 December 1849.
- 12 Patrick Day, *The Political Role of the Early New Zealand Press*: paper presented to the Conference of the Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, November 1981 (Working Paper no. 14), p.17.

- 13 Scholefield, p.129.
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- 15 Wallace Kirsop, Books for Colonial Readers—the Nineteenth-Century Australian Experience: Sandars Lectures, delivered on 11, 13, 18 and 20 February, 1981, typescript, p.13.
- 16 James Bonwick, *Early Struggles of the Australian Press* (London, 1890), p.3.
- 17 Based largely upon *The Australian Encyclopedia*, 10 vols (Sydney, 1958), VI:312-338, VII:282-6; *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 9 vols (Melbourne, 1966), I, 557-9, 562-3.
- 18 *NE*, 6 August 1853, p.3, col. 1.
- 19 W. G. Brittan & Co., proprietors of the *Canterbury Standard*, paid £3 for the brass masthead for their paper, a masthead which is one letter longer than 'The Nelson Examiner'.
- 20 Collaboration between the Elliott brothers might have started earlier but the printer's imprint was changed to reflect joint proprietorship on 13 May 1854.
- 21 *NE*, 29 December 1864, p.2, col.4.
- 22 *NE*, 19 March 1862, p.2, col.1.
- 23 Though Elliott assumed sole ownership on 1 January 1862 the printer's imprint was not changed to reflect this until 19 March 1862.
- 24 The printer's imprint was changed to reflect joint-stock ownership on 13 April 1872, but the purchase was published on 15 May 1872, though the notice was dated 14 May 1872.
- 25 *NE*, 15 May 1872, p.2, col. 6.
- 26 Ruth M. Allan, *Nelson: A History of Early Settlement . . .* (Wellington, 1965), p.161.
- 27 Cave, 'Printing in Nineteenth-Century Belize', p.23.
- 28 *NE*, 7 September 1844, p.105, col.2.
- 29 Talbot Baines Reed, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries . . .*, a new edition revised and enlarged (London, 1952); *Vincent Figgins Type Specimens 1801 and 1815: Reproduced in Facsimile*, edited by Berthold Wolpe (London, 1967); Nicolette Gray, *Nineteenth Century Ornamented Typefaces . . .* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976).
- 30 Nelson: C. and J. Elliott, 1859.
- 31 *NE*, 30 April 1842, p.30, col.2.
- 32 The first Wednesday *Nelson Examiner* was issued on 5 July 1854.
- 33 The first daily *Nelson Examiner* was issued on 4 January 1871.
- 34 The *Wakamarina Intelligencer* (28 May 1864); the paper has no printer's imprint and it is not known whether it was issued as advertised in Canvas Town or in Nelson.
- 35 *NE*, 24 December 1869, p.6, col. 6.
- 36 *NE*, 21 November 1873, p.3, col.1: 'The Early Edition of the WEEKLY EXAMINER, of Saturday (to-morrow) [22 November 1873] was published yesterday evening, with a Summary of News for England and Australia.' I have been unable to trace any issue of this paper beyond 27 September 1873.
- 37 Richard Alexander MacKay, *A History of Printing in New Zealand 1830-1940* (Wellington, 1940), p.14; Keith Sinclair, 'The Material of History: Early New Zealand Newspapers', *New Zealand Department of Education Primary School Bulletin*, 6, no.10 (1952), p.211.
- 38 *NE*, 18 June 1842, p.59, col.2.
- 39 T. C. Hansard, *Typographia; an Historical Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Art of Printing . . .* (London, 1825), p.624.
- 40 Cave and Coleridge, op. cit.



- 41 Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer* (Charlottesville, 1964), p.158.
- 42 K. A. Coleridge, 'Printing in Wellington: The Pioneer Period', *New Zealand Libraries*, 44 (December 1983), 61-65 (p.62).
- 43 *NE*, 12 August 1857, p.3, col.1.
- 44 *Lists of Passengers to Nelson* (Bett Collection), I:13.
- 45 Even Elliott himself had considered leaving Nelson but gave up the idea partly on the persuasion of the working classes of Nelson who gave him a beautiful pony. See *NE*, 1 July 1848, p.69, col.4.
- 46 *NE*, 23 February 1850, p.204, col.1.
- 47 *NE*, 11 November 1848, p.146, col.1.
- 48 *NE*, 21 March 1860, p.2, col. 2.
- 49 *NE*, 13 May 1854, p.2, col.1.
- 50 *NE*, 19 March 1853, p.14, col.4.
- 51 T. M. Hocken, 'The Beginnings of Literature in New Zealand: Part II, the English Section—Newspapers', *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, 34 (1901); 99-114 (p.104).
- 52 *NE*, 29 May 1847, p.50, col.1.
- 53 Patricia Mary Burns, 'Foundation of the New Zealand Press, 1839-1850', 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Victoria University College, Wellington, 1957), II, 102.
- 54 See for instance 28 December 1850, 13 December 1851; 9 December 1848, 5 May 1849; 4 March 1848, 20 May 1848, etc.

SUPPLEMENT TO

# The Nelson Examiner,

AND

## NEW ZEALAND CHRONICLE.

Vol. II.]

NELSON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1843.

[No. 94.]



*The Nelson Examiner's first supplement, 23 December 1843, was a comprehensive review of events at Wairau. The map in the Turnbull Library copy is handcoloured (see p.131)*

### Notes on Contributors

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ORMOND WILSON was a member of the Trustees of the National Library Committee for the Alexander Turnbull Library from 1966 to 1985.



# William Hodges's drawings of plants

IAN M. ST GEORGE

In the Drawings and Prints collection of the Alexander Turnbull Library is an octavo album labelled in brown ink on the cover, 'Hodges's Drawings of New Zealand Plants'.<sup>1</sup> A further inscription reads, 'Drawn by Mr. Hodges the painter who was with Capt. Cook'. The album contains 25 sketches, drawn in yellow and two tones of grey wash with occasional touches of another colour. One is at once struck by the resemblance to Chinese brush drawings of plants. They are quickly and skilfully done. A few pencil lines show through in places, but the artist creates his light and shade, curve and plane, of leaf, flower and stem with a minimum of well judged brush strokes. White flowers (see *Thelymitra longifolia*, plate 3) and leaves are outlined, or stand out from a wash background. Sometimes fine dark lines add texture. But they are poor in botanical detail, not the work of a scientist. There are handwritten annotations for eight plants, but for the first four descriptions there are no sketches so that the fifth description corresponds with the first sketch.

William Hodges (1744-1797) was the professional artist of Cook's second voyage (1772-1775) on the *Resolution*, commissioned to paint landscapes and figures. His paintings often do contain recognisable plants, but no true botanical studies have been ascribed to him. The naturalists on the *Resolution* were Johann Forster, and his son George, who was to draw the natural history subjects.

Was Hodges the artist? The style suggests that he was. Bernard Smith writes, 'I had no doubt at all after I had examined the Hodges sketchbook, both from the style of the drawings and the accompanying inscriptions, that it was his work'.<sup>2</sup> And, '... strongly reminiscent of Hodges's style,' agrees Rüdiger Joppien.<sup>3</sup>

Joppien has attempted to trace the provenance of the booklet. The names of T. F. Forster and D. D. D. Gough are inscribed in it, as is the note, 'Mr. Walton who Mr. Tunstal employed in painting, has sent him this book'. Thomas Furley Forster (1761-1825) was not related to the naturalists on the *Resolution*, but was associated with Sir Joseph Banks and his circle. Forster drew up a list of plants for one Richard Gough. Marmaduke Tunstal (1743-90) was a famous natural historian and collector of Cook specimens. Henry Walton (1746-1813) was a still life painter who exhibited at the Royal Academy with Hodges in the late seventies; a Mr Walton

bought two of Hodges's later Indian landscapes at a Warren Hastings sale in April 1797, a month after Hodges's death:<sup>4</sup> had he earlier bought the plant sketches too? Joppien asks,

Would Hodges have parted with his drawings? After 1778 Hodges painted no more South Sea subjects and there is strong evidence that he disposed of a number of figure sketches from the South Seas, either before his going out to India in 1778, or after his return in 1782, in any case before 1785. If he disposed of figure drawings, why not of plants as well?<sup>5</sup>

Joppien surmises that the sketches changed hands from Hodges to Walton to Tunstal to T. F. Forster to Gough.

Identification of the plants poses some problems, for botanically the sketches are naive. The identity of a few of the plants can be discerned reasonably easily; others can be guessed at, but many have simply not been identifiable with any degree of confidence. Some clearly are not New Zealand plants, despite the label.

I first saw the booklet while researching early illustrations of New Zealand orchids. Of six orchids depicted, only two are New Zealand natives (album pages 5 and 6, *Microtis unifolia* and *Thelymitra longifolia*). The sketches of these two bear a striking resemblance to the George Forster drawings of them in the British Museum (Natural History), illustrated in plates 1,2 and 3,4. Apart from the botanical accuracy, the similarities are such that one must have been copied from the other; otherwise there should be some difference in the angle of view or the attitude of the specimen, but there is not.

Could it be, then, that the other sketches might be identified by comparing them with the other George Forster drawings? The answer is yes. All but two can be said with reasonable certainty to match Forster drawings in the British Museum collection. A full list of the sketches, with annotations and identification, is given in the Appendix.

Was this a bound sketchbook? Probably not. Several of the sketches are not centred on the page and appear to have been slightly trimmed at the upper or right edge. In two instances the brush strokes continue onto the facing page beneath the stitching, evidence of later binding. There is no sign that the missing first four sketches have been torn out, so that perhaps they were unavailable at the time of binding. There is no sign either, of earlier stitching, to suggest that a field sketchbook has been rebound—indeed, if this has been done then the order of the sketches has been altered: although the first ten follow the timing of the ship's passage from Dusky to Queen Charlotte Sound to Niue to Tahiti, after this the sequence of localities for the sketches in the bound volume bears no



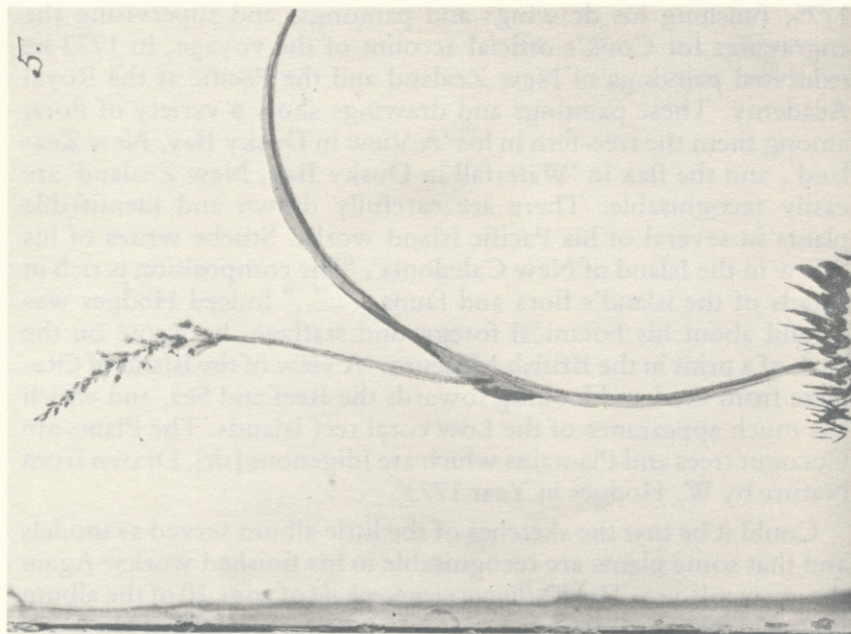


Figure 1: *Microtis unifolia* Sketch 5 in the Hodges album.

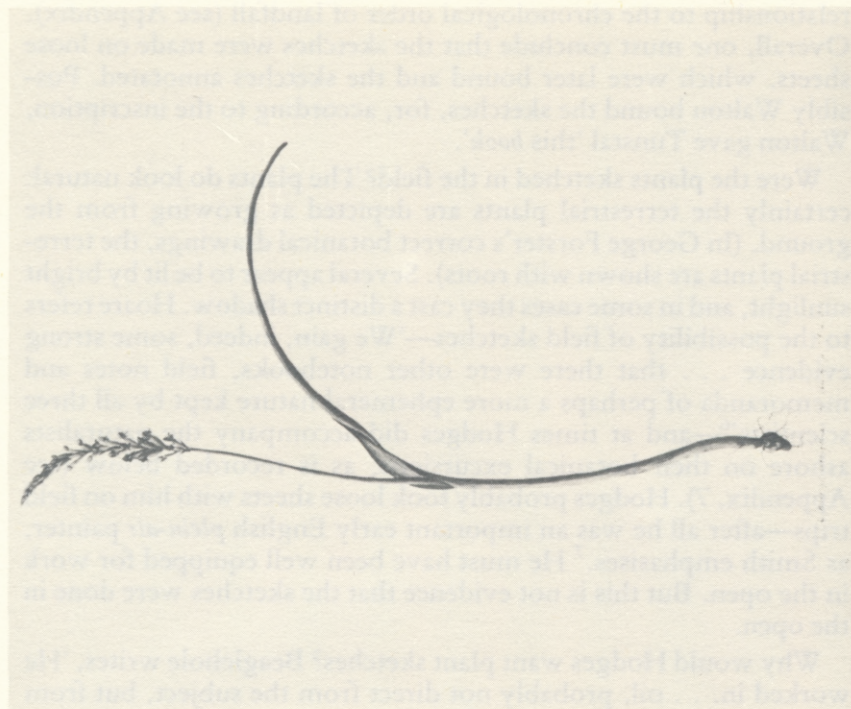


Figure 2: *Microtis unifolia* A completed watercolour drawing by George Forster.

relationship to the chronological order of landfall (see Appendix). Overall, one must conclude that the sketches were made on loose sheets, which were later bound and the sketches annotated. Possibly Walton bound the sketches, for, according to the inscription, Walton gave Tunstall 'this book'.

Were the plants sketched in the field? The plants do look natural: certainly the terrestrial plants are depicted as growing from the ground. (In George Forster's correct botanical drawings, the terrestrial plants are shown with roots). Several appear to be lit by bright sunlight, and in some cases they cast a distinct shadow. Hoare refers to the possibility of field sketches—'We gain, indeed, some strong evidence . . . that there were other notebooks, field notes and memoranda of perhaps a more ephemeral nature kept by all three scientists'<sup>6</sup>—and at times Hodges did accompany the naturalists ashore on their botanical excursions, as is recorded below (see Appendix, 7). Hodges probably took loose sheets with him on field trips—after all he was an important early English *plein-air* painter, as Smith emphasises.<sup>7</sup> He must have been well equipped for work in the open. But this is not evidence that the sketches were done in the open.

Why would Hodges want plant sketches? Beaglehole writes, 'He worked in. . . oil, probably not direct from the subject, but from his water colour sketches. . . .'<sup>8</sup> Perhaps he planned to use the plant drawings to add authentic vegetation to his definitive works. He was employed by the Admiralty after the *Resolution's* return in 1775, finishing his drawings and paintings, and supervising the engravings for Cook's official account of the voyage. In 1777 he exhibited paintings of New Zealand and the Pacific at the Royal Academy. These paintings and drawings show a variety of flora; among them the tree-fern in his 'A View in Dusky Bay, New Zealand', and the flax in 'Waterfall in Dusky Bay, New Zealand' are easily recognisable. There are carefully drawn and identifiable plants in several of his Pacific island works. Stuebe writes of his 'View in the Island of New Caledonia', 'The composition is rich in details of the island's flora and fauna. . . .'<sup>9</sup> Indeed Hodges was careful about his botanical foreground staffage: he wrote on the back of a print in the British Museum, 'A view of the Island of Otaheite from the Land looking towards the Reef and Sea, and which has much appearance of the Low coral reef Islands. The Plants are Coconut trees and Plantains which are Idigenous [*sic*]. Drawn from Nature by W. Hodges in Year 1773'.

Could it be that the sketches of the little album served as models and that some plants are recognisable in his finished works? Again the answer is yes. The *Kyllingia monocephala* of page 10 of the album is clearly the same plant that appears in the foreground of Hodges's





Figure 3: *Thelymitra longifolia* Sketch 6 in the Hodges album.



Figure 4: *Thelymitra longifolia* A completed watercolour drawing by George Forster.



'Afia-too-ca, a burying place in the Isle of Amsterdam', engraved by W. Byrne for Cook's published journal of the voyage.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, although it appears certain that Hodges made a drawing of the scene at the time (4 October 1773), no drawing has survived;<sup>11</sup> so we cannot say whether the *Kyllingia* was a feature of the original, or was added later, in London, at the time of the engraving. In the same engraving is a fair copy of the *Liparis clypeolum* of page 21 of the album. There are some similarities between the *Tacca leontopetaloides* of page 22, and the same plant in the foreground of the engraving, 'View in the Island of New Caledonia';<sup>12</sup> again, the original drawing is not known.

This, of course, may be explained if Hodges at times simply used Forster's botanical drawings as models for the plants in his engraved landscapes. The works executed in London after the voyage contain much more botanical detail than those done on the voyage: but neither the other published engravings, nor the large finished paintings at the Royal Naval Museum at Greenwich, contain plant studies that can be matched to the Hodges sketches or the Forster originals with any confidence.

Other questions cannot yet be answered. Did he work from the Forster originals or from these sketches? Were there originally more Hodges sketches? Why are the New Zealand flax, rata, mistletoe and gentian missing?

Did George Forster copy Hodges's botanical sketches? Hodges probably helped the young George Forster with his artistic technique, and their relationship has been explored by Peter Whitehead.<sup>13</sup> In the George Forster collection at the British Museum (Natural History) there is one bird study by Hodges, done at Dusky Sound. It is of *Larus scopulinus*, the red-billed gull, described on 13 April 1773.

... this drawing by Hodges suggests that the latter, ten years older than George Forster and an experienced draughtsman, took an interest in the boy's work and could well have offered him advice, the drawing perhaps being by way of illustration. In fact, the drawing could well be mistaken for one of George's later drawings of sea birds, so that perhaps he was influenced to adopt this large and rather vigorous technique.<sup>14</sup>

There is a George Forster painting of a falcon from the Cape of Good Hope that certainly has a Hodges background; in fact Joppien suggests on stylistic evidence that the backgrounds of several of George Forster's paintings of Cape mammals and birds may have been painted by Hodges.<sup>15</sup> And there is one botanical sketch in the Forster collection (No. 89) that looks very like a Hodges.

It is tempting to think that we might have here a further insight into the relationship between Hodges and the young George Forster: did Hodges do a quick brushed sketch of the plant in the field,



so that George could make his later careful drawings (from wilted or even dried specimens) appear more lifelike? Hodges did help other crew members with drawing, as John Elliott records in his memoirs (of the period at Tahiti in April 1774): 'Myself, Mr Roberts, and Mr Smith (Cooks Nephew) were when off Watch, Employ'd in Captn Cooks Cabbins either Copying Drawings for him, or Drawing for ourselves, under the Eye of Mr Hodges'.<sup>16</sup> But the sketches are botanically naive compared with George Forster's finished drawings. The pencilled outlines are shaky and suggest that the sketches are the copies, rather than the other way round.

Did Hodges copy George Forster's drawings? There is a precedent: Joppien suggests that Hodges used a George Forster drawing of a falcon as the model for the bird in the foreground of his 'Christmas Sound. Tierra del Fuego'; Stuebe points out that there are differences between the two depictions, and indeed, George Forster wrote that Hodges's falcon, 'from its supernatural size, seems to resemble the rukh, celebrated in the Arabian Tales, more than any bird of less fanciful dimensions'.<sup>17</sup> (Hodges's friend William Wales leapt to the latter's defence, mistakenly attributed these remarks to the elder Forster, and wrote his famous sarcastic reply.)

Perhaps Hodges copied the young naturalist's botanical work on the voyage home. It is tempting to guess so, for in the main only two colours are used, and we know that his paint stocks were exhausted well before the end of the voyage. As Cook wrote to the Admiralty Secretary, '... there are several other Views. Portraits and some valuable designs in Oyl Colours, which for want of proper Colours, time and conveniences, cannot be finished till after our arrival in England'.<sup>18</sup> Smith writes that Hodges 'was reduced to drawing in crayon, pencil or wash—and a good deal of indian ink work'.<sup>19</sup> But his topographical sketches early in the voyage were done (presumably by choice) with a simple three-tone wash process, so we can draw no conclusions from the colours.

The orientation of the sketches matches that of George Forster's drawings, rather than that of his engravings (the mirror image of his drawings, of course) in all cases where both are available for comparison: the one exception is number 19a, where identification is questionable anyway. Where a watercolour drawing is available for comparison, the shading of the sketch is so similar, that one is tempted to guess that all the album sketches are copies of Forster watercolours (see for example plates 8, 9, 10). In fact, only nine watercolours corresponding to the Hodges sketches (album pages 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 24, 25, 27) are present in the Banksian collection in the British Museum.

George sold his drawings to Banks in August 1776, and Hodges was working for the Admiralty until 1778. If some of the watercolours he copied are not now in the British Museum, these must be drawings that Forster did not sell to Banks, a deduction that suggests that the copies were made before 1776—that is, on the voyage home or within a year of landfall. One wonders if these watercolours have been lost.

Who wrote the annotations? They pose some problems. They are fresh, clear descriptions of the plants and their localities, written in a careful hand, and in rather unscientific language (see Appendix, 5, 6, 7, 8). They do not appear to derive from the Forsters' Latin botanical descriptions.<sup>20,21</sup> Furthermore, neither the wording nor the handwriting is just what one would expect an artist to put in his own commonplace book (one would expect at least some notes on colour); the annotations read as if they were written (under the heading 'New Plants') for other eyes; the handwriting is careful and neat, even a little shaky. A handwriting expert has looked at the inscriptions, and compared the hand with that in a letter from Hodges.<sup>22</sup> The writing is not Hodges's.<sup>23</sup> In fact the placing suggests that the annotations were written after the album was bound. It would be interesting to examine Walton's handwriting.

My conclusion is that the artist was William Hodges, who copied the plants from George Forster's botanical watercolour drawings. My guess is that he copied them either on the homeward voyage, or in London just after the voyage. He sketched the copies on loose sheets of paper, intending to use them as working drawings for the foreground vegetation in the works he was to finish in London. He did use some of them; but later, sick of the South Seas and ready to begin his new career in India, he gave (or sold) them to his colleague, Walton. Walton bound them, and someone annotated them. We can now identify the plants in most of the drawings with confidence.

## APPENDIX

These notes are numbered according to the page numbers of the album. The following abbreviations are used

*WH*: Hodges's album.

*BM*: the inscription on the matching George Forster plant drawing or engraving in the British Museum (Natural History), and the catalogue number of Forster's drawing or engraving, and comment.



*JF*: the relevant entry in Johann Reinhold Forster's diary<sup>24</sup> corresponding to the date on the George Forster drawing, where a date is recorded on the latter.

*GF*: the relevant entry in George Forster's diary<sup>25</sup> for the date on his drawing.

*Cook*: the relevant entry in Cook's journal<sup>26</sup> for the date on the drawing.

*Prodr*: the name and number of the plant in the *Florulae Insularum Australium Prodomus*.<sup>27</sup>

*Identity*: the most recently accepted name for the plant.

*Notes*<sup>28,29</sup>

1 *WH* (no sketch): 'New Zealanders hemp. This plant grows to the height of six feet, on the sides of naked hills, in meadows, and on the rocky shores of the Sea, where its long green leaves often hang into the Water'.

*Prodr*: No. 153 *Phormium tenax*.

*Identity*: *Phormium tenax* J. R. & G. Forst.

*Note*: the common New Zealand flax. It appears in the right foreground of Hodges's 'Waterfall in Dusky Bay, New Zealand' (1775), at Admiralty House.

2 *WH* (no sketch): 'Red Parasitic Flower of New Zeland. A Shrub which grows without any root out of the branches of the tallest trees, often so full of twigs as to appear in tufts, which are much adorned by the beautiful colour of the flowers'.

*Prodr*: No. 156 *Loranthus tetrapetalus*.

*Identity*: *Peraxilla tetrapetala* (L. f.) Tiegh.

*Note*: a New Zealand mistletoe.

3 *WH* (no sketch): 'Climbing Myrtle. This is a beautiful Shrubby plant which has long winding branches and twines round very high trees, often altogether covering them. Its upper branches are divided into a great number, very tufted & full of leaves, and its flowers of an elegant crimson grow in very large branches. In New Zeland'.

*Prodr*: No. 214 *Melaleuca florida*, No. 12 *M. perforata*, or No. 213 *M. diffusa*.

*Identity*: *Metrosideros fulgens* Sol. ex Gaertn., *M. perforata* (J. R. & G. Forst.) A. Rich., or *M. albiflora* Sol ex Gaertn.

*Note*: one of the New Zealand climbing ratas.

4 *WH* (no sketch): 'Rock Gentian. A small juicy plant with white flowers; inhabits rocks wholly surrounded by the Sea, and where scarce anything but a few mosses will grow with it; was found in Dusky Bay N.Z.'

*Prodr*: No. 133 *Gentiana montana*, or No. 132 *G. saxosa*.

*Identity*: *Gentiana montana* Forst. f. or *G. saxosa* Forst. f.

*Note*: one of the New Zealand gentians.

5 *WH* (figure 1): 'single leaved orch: a new plant peculiar to the dry hills of New Zeland especially the top of Long Island in Q. Charlotte Sound'.

*BM* (figure 2): 'Ophrys unifolia Nov. 13 Charlotte's Sound N Zeeland'. Finished watercolour drawing No. 2/232.

*JF*: 'The next day we went over to Long-Island & mounted the hill, where we found several fine plants. . . . We returned to dinner, having found a new Orch & an other new plant nearly related to the Class of Orches, but of a very singular structure & making absolutely a new genus.'

*GF*: '. . . we made an excursion to Long Island, where we found a number of

plants and some birds which were new to us.'

*Cook*: 'Mr Forster and his party in the country botanising.'

*Prodr*: No. 311 *Ophrys unifolia*.

*Identity*: *Microtis unifolia* (Forst. f.) Reichenbach f.

*Note*: the common New Zealand onion orchid (terrestrial).

6 *WH* (figure 3): 'An elegant genus of the orchideae, growing along with the other. Its height of (sic) that of the preceding sort never exceeds eighteen inches'.

*BM* (figure 4): 'Serapius regularis Nov 13'. Finished watercolour drawing No 2/233.

*JF*: see 5 above. The 'new genus' is *Thelymitra*.

*GF*: see 5 above.

*Cook*: see 5 above.

*Prodr*: No. 312 *Serapius regularis*.

*Identity*: *Thelymitra longifolia* J. R. & G. Forst.

*Note*: the common New Zealand sun orchid (terrestrial).

7 *WH*: '*Portlandia*. A shrub with large yellowish green leaves of a thick texture like leather, and long tubulous white flowers: It grows on the bare rocks of a Savage Island of the South Sea without any Soil at all. It has all its leave towards the tops of the branches, which are but few.'

*BM*: '*Portlandia tetrandra* Savage Island. June 22 1774'. Finished watercolour drawing No. 1/48. Uncoloured engraving No. 29.

*JF*: 'We landed & waded a good deal through the water & then climbed up the steep Coral rocks, where we found one plant & immediately after went into the boat'. They met natives, and Cook's gun misfired. Forster's gun too, but he writes, '... then Mr Hodges, Mr Sparman & my Son fired, & probably wounded some of the Men who had thrown 2 Spears at Capt Cook. . . .' So Hodges was with the botanists on this venture ashore.

*GF*: 'The captain, accompanied by Dr. Sparrman, Mr. Hodges, my father, and myself, went ashore.'

*Cook*: 'Mr F. and his party began to Collect Plants etc; the Coast was so run over with woods, Shrubery, Plants, Stones etc that we could not see forty yards around us.'

*Prodr*: No. 86 *Portlandia tetrandra*. 'In insula ferox'.

*Identity*: *Bikkia tetrandra* (Forst.f.) A. Rich.

*Note*: Cook's Savage Island is Niue. They are superb plants with large showy flowers.

8 *WH*: '*Loranthus*. This plant is parasitic, and of the same Genus with that No. 2 and grows out of the Stems & Branches of trees in like manner: but its branches are long, and twining, not so much divided into smaller ones. Its leaves are a bright green, and its flowers orange with some Crimson leaves.—It is a native of the Tropical Southsea isles.'

*BM*: '*Loranthus stelis* Taheitee'. Finished watercolour drawing No. 1/109.

*Prodr*: No. 157 *Loranthus stelis*.

*Identity*: *Loranthus forsterianus* Schultz.

*Note*: a Tahitian mistletoe.

9 *WH*: no description

*Note*: there is no Forster drawing like this sketch.



**10** *WH*: no description

*BM*: 'Kyllingia triceps Taheitee'. Finished watercolour drawing No. 1/15.

*Prodr*: No. 57 *Kyllingia monocephala*.

*Identity*: *Kyllingia monocephala* Rottb.

*Note*: A North American species of *Kyllingia* is the false bog-rush.

**11** *WH*: no description

*BM*: 'Carex uncinata Nov. 20th Q. Ch. Sound New Zeland'. Pencil drawing No. 2/256. Uncoloured engraving No. 104.

*JF*: 'In the afternoon the same day I went with the Captain to *Motuaro* on the *Hippa* & got some Grasses, which were described, & drawn the next day. It rained in the morning'.

*GF*: ' . . . much rain, which confined us on board; nor did we receive any visits from the natives during that time'.

*Prodr*: No. 338 *Carex uncinata*.

*Identity*: *Ucinia uncinata* (L. f.) Kukenthal.

*Note*: a hook-grass. The year is 1773. It is curious that on 20 November Johann recalled that he went to the pa with Cook and found some new grasses, while George recalled that the weather was so bad they could neither go out nor receive visitors.

**13** *WH*: no description

*BM*: 'Oldenlandia tenuifolia Tana 12th August 1774'. Finished watercolour drawing No. 1/28.

*JF*: J. R. Forster writes of ascending the volcano of Tana in the New Hebrides on this date, passing several steaming vents in the mountainside, where 'We found several species of figs, which loved so much the warm Spot, that they thrive well within a yard of the Sulphureous stream. The solfataras are allways places free of bushes & Trees, though Grass, was seen on the clear Spots with the *Dolichos ensiformis*, *Ischaemium aristatum*, *Paspalum disrectum*, the *Hedysarum heterocarpon*, together with a small new *Oldenlandia*.'

*GF*: 'one new plant'.

*Cook*: ' . . . Mr. F. carried his botanical excursions. . .

*Prodr*: No. 57 *Oldenlandia tenuifolia*.

*Identity*: *Hedyotis tenuifolia* Smith.

*Note*: Interesting under-shrubs. *H. arborea* is a dogwood.

**14** *WH*: no description

*BM*: 'Chrysocoma purpurea Tana 12th August 1774'. Pencil drawing No. 2/208. Uncoloured engraving No. 82.

*Prodr*: No. 286 *Chrysocoma purpurea*.

*Identity*: *Chrysocoma purpurea* Forst.f.

*Note*: the *Chrysocoma* are sometimes called goldlocks. One of the *Compositae*.

**15** *WH*: no description

*BM*: 'Craspedia uniflora Charlotte Sound Nov. 16th'. Pencil drawing No. 2/228.

*JF*: That morning, J. R. Forster wrote that, with the Captain, they climbed a hill at East Bay, where a cairn of stones had been erected on the First Voyage. The weather was hazy, and they did not sight the *Adventure*, and for the first time began to become alarmed. 'We discovered only two plants on this fatiguing Expedition.'

*Cook*: 'Accompanied by some of the officers and gentlemen. . . . Mr. Forster profited by this excursion in collecting some new plants'.

*Prodr*: No. 306 *Craspedia uniflora*.

*Identity*: *Craspedia uniflora* Forst.f.

*Note*: a small hairy New Zealand herb. The year is 1773.

17 *WH*: no description

*BM*: 'Epidendrum resupinatum Raietea June 2nd 1774'. Pencil drawing No. 2/244.

*JF*: ' . . . 2 or 3 new plants a discovery that came quite unexpected; especially having every-where tried in vain to get new ones; but these we found along a little rivulet, in shady bushes, among rocks & precipices.'

*Prodr*: No. 322 *Epidendrum resupinatum*.

*Identity*: *Microstylis retusa* J. J. Smith.

*Note*: *Microstylis* is the adders-mouth orchid.

19 *WH*: no description

*BM*: 'Piper latifolium Tahaiti May 8th 1774'. Pencil drawing No. 1/13.

*JF*: Forster writes that, at Opara, they climbed a hill, and, 'we arrived at the very top, where the woods begin, pretty early; & begun to search these woods for plants, of which we found a few new ones. . . .'

*Prodr*: No. 22 *Piper latifolium*.

*Identity*: *Piper latifolium* Forst. f.

*Note*: The ava pepper.

19a *WH*: no description

*BM*: Perhaps 'Fagara Euodia Amsterdam I. or Tongatabboo'. If this is a simplified version of Forster's pencil drawing No. 1/26 and uncoloured engraving No. 17, it is the only instance in which Hodges makes such a simplification, and the only instance where the orientation of the Hodges sketch matches that of the engraving, i.e. is reversed compared with the drawing.

*JF*: Forster wrote on 7 October 1773 of an enclosure between the houses and the plantations of the natives of Tongatapu, 'In these Areas are Trees planted on purpose, remarkable for their odiferous & beautiful Flowers as for instance, the *Gardenia florida*, the *Sartanhus sessilis*, the *Guetarda speciosa*, the *Cinchona corymbifera*, the *Gynopogon stellatum*, the *Euodia longifolia*, & many more. . . .'

*Prodr*: No. 54 *Fagara euodia*.

*Identity*: *Euodia hortensis* J.R. & G. Forst.

*Note*: one of the Rutaceae. *Euodia* (or *Evodia*) are ornamental trees and shrubs.

20 *WH*: no description

*BM*: 'Epidendrum umbellatum Raieteas June 2nd 1774'. Pencil drawing No. 2/243. Uncoloured engraving No. 100.

*JF*: ' . . . 2 or 3 new plants a discovery which came quite unexpected'.

*Prodr*: No. 321 *Epidendrum umbellatum*.

*Identity*: *Cirrhopetalum thouarsii* Lindl.

*Note*: the medusa-head orchid. An unusual species with straplike sepals growing from one side of the flowers, while the petals are very small, yellow, spotted finely with red.

21 *WH*: no description

*BM*: 'Epidendrum clypeolum Tahaiti May 8th 1774'. Pencil drawing No. 2/245. Uncoloured engraving No. 101.

*JF*: ' . . . & begun to search these woods for plants, of which we found a few new ones'.

*Prodr*: No. 323 *Epidendrum clypeolum*.

*Identity*: *Liparis clypeolum* Lindl.

*Note*: an epiphytic orchid. A European *Liparis* is the tway-blade.

22 *WH*: no description

*BM*: 'Tacca pinnatifida Otaheite'. Pencil drawing No. 1/151.



*Prodr*: No. 209 *Tacca pinnatifida*.

*Identity*: *Tacca leontopetaloides* (L.) Ktze.

*Note*: *Tacca* is the Malay word for the species. A terrestrial plant with a fleshy root—the South sea arrowroot, or Tahitian salep. George Forster gives instructions for making a flour, a bread and a gelatinous cake from the roots; he notes the use of the roots as a plaster for war wounds in the Moluccas.<sup>30</sup>

**23** *WH*: no description

*BM*: 'Epidendrum myosurus Taheite'. Pencil drawing No. 2/239. Uncoloured engraving No. 98.

*Prodr*: No. 317 *Epidendrum myosurus*.

*Identity*: *Oberonia myosurus* Lindl.

*Note*: *Oberonia* are the mouse-tail orchids. This is a small, fleshy-leaved epiphyte.

**24** *WH*: no description

*BM*: 'Arthericum cirrhatum Charlottes Sound'. Finished watercolour drawing No. 1/95.

*Prodr*: No. 148 *Arthericum cirrhatum*.

*Identity*: *Arthropodium cirratum* (Forst. f.) R. Br.

*Note*: New Zealand rengarenga.

**25** *WH*: no description

*BM*: "Aster holosericeus". An unfinished watercolour drawing in which Forster has filled in the background with black so that the uncoloured leaves stand out: No. 2/217. See plates 11, 12.

*Prodr*: No. 296 *Aster holosericeus*.

*Identity*: *Celmisia holosericea* (Forst. f.) Hook. f.

*Note*: one of the many New Zealand *Celmisias*.

**26** *WH*: no description

*BM*: 'Sisyrinchium Ixoides Charlottes Sound'. Pencil drawing No. 2/247.

*Prodr*: No. 325 *Sisyrinchium ixioides*.

*Identity*: *Libertia ixioides* (Forst. f.) Spreng.

*Note*: one of the two New Zealand irises.

**27** *WH*: no description

*BM*: 'Trichilia spectabilis Charlotte's Sound'. Unfinished watercolour drawing No. 1/132.

*Prodr*: No. 188 *Trichilia spectabilis*.

*Identity*: *Dysoxylum spectabile* (Forst. f.) Hook. f.

*Note*: The large New Zealand forest tree, kohekohe.

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The George Forster drawings (Plates 2, 4) are located in the Botany Library, Department of Library Services, British Museum (Natural History) and are reproduced by courtesy of the British Museum (Natural History). I am grateful to Mrs Judith Diment, Botany Librarian at the British Museum (Natural History) for matching them with the Hodges sketches. I am grateful to Mr Dan Hatch for Latin translations and helpful comments; to Ms Moira Long and Ms Marian Minson, of the Alexander Turnbull Library for their help and enthusiasm.

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- 22 Hodges to Hayley, 27 April 1793. Holograph letter, Alexander Turnbull Library.
- 23 John West, personal communication.
- 24 see 6 above.
- 25 see 21 above.
- 26 see 10 above.
- 27 The full list of George Forster plant drawings in the British Museum (Natural History) has been compiled by Phyllis Edwards and appears in Hoare, p.770.
- 28 H. L. G. van Wijk, *A Dictionary of Plant Names* (1909) (Amsterdam, 1971).
- 29 Paxton, *Paxton's Botanical Dictionary* (London, 1868).
- 30 Johann George Adam Forster, *De plantis esculentis insularum oceani australis. . .* (Gottingen, 1786), p.60-61.



# Douglas Lilburn and Percy Grainger

D. R. HARVEY

The Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust, with the assistance of the New Zealand Composers' Foundation, has recently given new impetus to the study of New Zealand music history by publishing two addresses by Douglas Lilburn.<sup>1</sup> These illustrate the composer's development and his concern with establishing an authentic New Zealand musical language. A letter from Douglas Lilburn to Percy Grainger now in the Grainger Museum, Melbourne,<sup>2</sup> can profitably be read in conjunction with the two addresses, and is printed below. It adds further insight into the development of New Zealand's foremost living composer, and also offers a glimpse of musical life in New Zealand in the 1930s. The letter was written by Lilburn in 1936 after he had won the first prize in the Percy Grainger competition for New Zealand compositions. In it he thanks Grainger for sponsoring such a competition, describes his own musical studies and activities, comments briefly on his prize-winning tone poem *Forest*, and shows that winning the Grainger competition was of great significance because it gave him the chance of hearing *Forest*, the first of his orchestral works, in performance.

\* \* \*

17 Peakes Rd  
St. Johns Hill  
Wanganui  
Jan 1st [1937]

Dear Mr. Grainger,

This is rather a difficult letter for me to be writing so I must ask your tolerance. By way of introducing myself I should like you to read the enclosed cutting<sup>3</sup> which gives a few biographical details in lyrical journalese. It will be more valuable though in giving you the full report of the judge on my work. I presume the Director of Broadcasting has sent you a full report of results some time ago. At that time I was preparing for a full quota of university exams so hope you will forgive my delay in writing.

First I must thank you for your generous initiative in sponsoring such a competition. I find it hard to tell you, without being effusive, just what value it has been to me. It must be a rare thing for anyone

of my age to have such material encouragement & opportunity given them, especially in this country when all stimulus & incentive, even that of competition, is so lacking.

I have taken a B.A. degree at Canterbury College & have just completed Mus. Bac. this year, & would normally have had rather poor prospects. But the opportunity your action gave me, apart from its immediate value, has such far-reaching results. I think now that my people can be persuaded to send me to England to study further, & you can realise what that means to me. We suffer from a definite musical starvation in this country & the prospect of hearing a good orchestra in the flesh is almost unbelievable. I shall probably go round quite dazed during the first few weeks of concerts.

Composers here seem to have practically no originality—possibly because they haven't the constant battery of modern works to shake them out of a routine academic training. We never get shocked enough musically to disturb our complacent dullness of imagination.

I feel myself that any authentic growth of music here should have an affinity with Scandinavian music simply because of the natural surroundings we have in common. I am strongly attracted to modal style & contrapuntal writing, & have tried in my work to capture some of the elemental magic that pervades our remote mountains & forests.

Sibelius, I have the very highest regard for, & prefer his elemental atmosphere & powerful construction next to the great humanity of Beethoven & Bach. He will probably influence me a great deal in matters of construction as well as content. I feel he has given the symphonic form a new vitality.

My own work is constructed from a single short theme which I have endeavoured to give growth & increasing significance to. It is quite the biggest thing I have done yet & is my first work for orchestra. There are 60 pages of score lasting 20 minutes. I have no intention of plunging into an ultra-modern idiom before I can study its technique & implications, but on the other hand I don't think the work is at all reminiscent of the very circumspect Dr. Kitson whose text-books (& Dr. Bradshaw whom I think you met in Christchurch) have been ever with me for the last three years. Dr. Bradshaw, of course, has kept me down to some solid fugue-writing, for which I shall be eternally grateful. But he strongly disapproves any suspicion of an unresolved discord, so I am seldom in good odour. He holds up Elgar & Sibelius as models of the conservative virtues versus Schönberg etc. but I can disconcert him occasionally by pointing out passages where Sibelius is writing in three keys simultaneously! However he is a good restraining influence & has given me I think a sound orthodox training. It is practically



limited though to five-part choral writing, & there is no means of getting a knowledge of instrumental technique.

Since "Forest" is my first work for orchestra I expect it to sound rather crude & patchy in places, though the judge seems more confident of the orchestration than I had been. Here again I'm inordinately grateful to you for securing me a public performance & broadcast. It will be by the Wellington Symphony Orch. which Dr. Sargent conducted recently, & should give me considerable publicity. Whether people like it or not is immaterial compared to the practical value to a student of hearing rehearsals & performance. I've had no practical experience whatever of orchestration up to this point. The best one can do here is to follow records with a score, & to have the two simultaneously is rare.

You may have heard that Professor Shelley who held the Chair of Education at Canterbury College is now in charge of the Broadcasting Service. He's a remarkable man & intends to raise the standard considerably, & develop any local talent. They endeavour now to secure great overseas artists, so we may before long achieve a broader, more dynamic outlook, & develop something of value in the way of a national art. It's worth striving for with all one's powers!

Your own visit here is quite fresh in the memory still, particularly for me a delightful Grieg programme & fine rendering of the Chopin B min. Sonata, at Christchurch. Many of your works appeal to me for their sincerity & rather personal charm in this age of sensation & cerebral effusions. The local societies have done a number of them since your visit, with real success.

There's not much discrimination amongst modern works here as yet. An inordinate amount of enthusiasm has been wasted over Lambert's Rio Grande & the inevitable Gershwin Rhapsody.

To conclude, I thank you again for your public-spirited & generous action. To me I feel the full benefit will be far greater than is even now apparent. I hope in the future to do far more to justify your initiative, & I hope too, to have the pleasure & honour of meeting you personally some day. My kindest regards to Mrs. Grainger & yourself. Yours sincerely, D. G. Lilburn.

\* \* \*

The link between Percy Grainger and New Zealand may appear at first glance to be a little remote. Grainger's biographers<sup>4</sup> note only his concert tours of New Zealand as accompanist and solo pianist, his long-distance walks between concerts here, and his collecting of Maori and Rarotongan music from one Alfred J. Knocks of Otaki. Grainger was a complex character both musically and in his personal life. Of particular importance here is his interest in folk music.



He collected folk music throughout the world and used it as a basis for much of his music. His philanthropic activities were widespread, and much of his large income, derived from performing and royalties on his compositions, was given away, for example to establish collections of music and to stimulate musical activities in other ways. It is therefore not surprising that Grainger would encourage and contribute to a composition competition in New Zealand while on tour here.

The competition was announced in the *N.Z. Radio Record* of 17 April 1936. Grainger had donated the first prize of £25, matched by second and third prizes of £10 and £5 respectively donated by the New Zealand Broadcasting Board (to become shortly after the National Broadcasting Service). The conditions laid down by Grainger show well some of his concerns, for example to encourage Antipodean artistic endeavour (Grainger considered himself as an Australian composer although he was long domiciled in the United States), in the use of experimental combinations of instruments and musical forms, and in the use of the more unorthodox wind instruments. Among the conditions of entry were:

1. The composer must be a born (not naturalised) New Zealander . . .
3. The composition to be in any known or new musical style, and in any known or new musical form . . .
4. The composition shall present typical New Zealand cultural and emotional characteristics. These may make themselves felt in a mood inspired by New Zealand nature in a patriotic background, in the use of Maori or other local traditional material in the development of "local colour", in the musical expression of the "national soul", in the celebration of a New Zealand city, in the celebration of a New Zealand rural mood, in the musical reflection of a New Zealand political point of view, or merely in the presentation of New Zealand moral and aesthetic ideals as applied to musical craftsmanship.

The competition would be judged by 'an eminent musician not resident in New Zealand', and the Broadcasting Board reserved the right to broadcast performances of the winning works for a period of nine months after the results were published.

The winner was notified in a letter from the National Broadcasting Service dated 25 September 1936,<sup>5</sup> and the results were published in the *N.Z. Radio Record* of 9 October 1936.<sup>6</sup> This letter notes the winning work's clear merit over the other prize-winning entries in content and craftsmanship, and asks Lilburn to make some minor modifications to the score to make it ready for performance. The *N.Z. Radio Record* article includes a portion of the adjudicator's report. He describes it as 'a lovable work', comments on a specific passage as 'quite a marvel of both counterpoint and orchestration', and concludes with: 'A thoughtfully unified work whose contrasts are well ordered and whose climaxes are invariably broad and mighty and well worth while.'<sup>7</sup>



Lilburn had sought Grainger's address from the Director of the National Broadcasting Service<sup>8</sup> so that he might express his thanks personally, and the letter transcribed above is this expression. In the interim he had been busy amending the score of *Forest* for performance and when returning this to the National Broadcasting Service he asked that it be performed only by the 'Wellington orchestra & M. de Mauny', as he had 'not a great deal' of faith in the others.<sup>9</sup> He then sought de Mauny's opinion on the effect of various changes he had made to the score and in reply was informed by the National Broadcasting Service that as it was so late in the season the orchestral parts could not be copied in time, and it would not be performed until the following year. A preliminary rehearsal had taken place by March 1937,<sup>10</sup> and the work was performed in May in the Wellington Town Hall by the Wellington Symphony Orchestra under Leon de Mauny. It was well reviewed.<sup>11</sup> The critic was forthright in his appreciation: the work 'made an unmistakable impression. . . . [The composer] has given the world something quite fresh and new in his interpretation of the moods of his forest. . . . Mr. Lilburn has something individual in his musical make-up.' A detailed description of the piece was provided, and the conclusion was that 'Mr. Lilburn employs the full orchestra, and his instincts are sure. He should go far in the world of composition.'

The direct result of winning the Percy Grainger competition for Douglas Lilburn was his decision to pursue a career in music. There were also other results. That a career in music could earn money helped to convince Lilburn's father, a farmer, that his son had chosen a viable career, and the £25 prize money was of considerable assistance in travelling to London to study. In the composer's own words

The turning point I suppose was that Percy Grainger prize . . . You know the sweet taste of fame, never had it so good since. It gave me £25 . . . enough to impress my family that there might be a bit of money in it you know. Not only that but my father had a letter from the President of the Farmers' Union congratulating him on his son's musical success . . . My father agreed to send me to London on the strength of this Percy Grainger prize. He agreed to give me an allowance . . . and he gave me a two-berth cabin to go in.<sup>12</sup>

#### REFERENCES

- 1 *A Search for Tradition* (1984) and *A Search for a Language* (1985).
- 2 I wish to thank Professor Lilburn for graciously allowing the publication of this letter, which is reproduced by kind permission of the Grainger Museum Board, University of Melbourne.
- 3 A report on the results of the competition, in *N.Z. Radio Record*, 9 October 1936, 12-13.

- 4 For example, John Bird's *Percy Grainger* (London, 1976) and *The Percy Grainger Companion*, edited by Lewis Foreman (London, 1981). Some indication of the breadth of Grainger's interests can be gained from *A Musical Genius from Australia; Selected Writings by and about Percy Grainger*, compiled by Teresa Balough (Nedlands, 1982).
- 5 National Archives of New Zealand, BC 1, 1/4/2.
- 6 'A Bush Holiday Inspired Young Prize-Winner', *N.Z. Radio Record*, 9 October 1936, 12-13.
- 7 The judge's identity was not revealed to Lilburn, who had asked that his thanks be passed on (in a letter to the National Broadcasting Service, 29 September 1936, National Archives BC 1, 1/4/2). I have not located the judge's report or any correspondence with that person at National Archives.
- 8 Letter dated 29 September 1936 (National Archives BC 1, 1/4/2).
- 9 Letter from Lilburn to the Director, National Broadcasting Service, 5 October 1936 (National Archives BC 1, 1/4/2).
- 10 Letter from the Director, National Broadcasting Service to Lilburn dated 12 March 1937 (National Archives BC 1, 1/4/2).
- 11 The unsigned review appeared in the *Dominion*, 26 May 1937, p.12, col.8.
- 12 In *Douglas Lilburn: a Festschrift for Douglas Lilburn on His Retirement*, edited by Valerie Harris and Philip Norman, second edition (Wellington, 1980), p.19.



## Research Notes

The first volume of the surviving letters between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck edited by Professor Keith Sorenson of the University of Auckland was published on 1 September 1986. A substantial part of the work was based on the Buck-Ngata letters in the Turnbull (MS Papers 196), a collection of some 170 letters from the period 1925-1950 comprising close to 300,000 words. Negotiations with Professor Sorenson began in 1970 and in 1971 the Turnbull Library Endowment Trust agreed to provide a subsidy towards the cost of publication to the Auckland University Press. The book was officially launched at a church service in Ruatoria on 31 August.

A third volume of Early Eyewitness Accounts, the transcriptions and translations of the accounts of the early French expeditions to New Zealand, is due for publication late in 1986. This volume will include both the d'Entrecasteaux expedition in March 1793 and the Duperrey expedition of March 1824. The first volume in the series, the de Surville expedition of 1769 issued in 1982 and long out of print, is to be reissued late in 1986 with the assistance of a special grant from the sponsors of the series, Indosuez New Zealand Limited.

John Boulton's *Journal of a Rambler*, the original of which was donated to the Turnbull in the mid 1970s, was published by Oxford University Press in May 1986. The full text, with an introduction, chronology and notes, was prepared by Mrs June Starke, a former subject specialist in the Library's Manuscripts Section. The formal launching of the book was held in New Zealand House in London on 17 June in the presence of members of the Boulton family. Publication was assisted by a grant from the Endowment Trust.

The Library was associated with the recent publication of Frederick Page's *A Musician's Journal 1905-1983*, edited and arranged by J. M. Thomson and Janet Paul. The original manuscript is part of the Frederick Page papers which were acquired by the Library early in 1986.

Two related subject areas which have been developed in considerable depth by the Library in recent years, war history and pacifism, have been attracting increasing interest from scholars in the past few years. During the past six months two studies on conscientious objection, Ernest Crane's *I Can Do No Other: a Biography of Ormond Burton* (based on the Burton papers) and David Grant's *Out in the Cold* (which draws on the Efford and other related papers in the collections, and was first presented as a Masters thesis at the University of Auckland) have been published. Nicholas Boyack's thesis for a Masters degree at Victoria University 'A Social History of New Zealand Soldiers in World War I Based on their Diaries and Letters' which draws heavily on the War History Archive, is under consideration by a publisher, and John McLeod's *Myth and Reality: the New Zealand Soldier in World War II* which also draws on materials in the Archive, was published in June.

Professor Steven Koblik of Pomona College, California, will be in New Zealand from August to December 1986 under the auspices of the Library. He proposes to do a comparative study of aspects of New Zealand and Swedish history with emphasis on the development of the welfare state, the move away from an agricultural economy, and the development of an independent foreign policy. Financial support for his research project has been made available by the Swedish Embassy and the Pharazyn Trust. During his stay Professor Koblik will be attached to the Stout Centre at Victoria University, and will present lectures and seminars at the University of Auckland, Massey University, the University of Canterbury, Otago University, and Victoria University.

To mark the opening of the National Library building next year a National Library scholarship has been established. The scholarship, tenable for one year, will have a value of \$30,000. It will be awarded annually for research projects based on the special collections of the National Library. Applications will be called early in 1987.

## Notes on Manuscript Accessions

A SELECTIVE LIST OF ACQUISITIONS,  
APRIL 1985 TO MARCH 1986

Acquisitions of manuscripts are listed selectively in the *Turnbull Library Record* to alert scholars to newly acquired material judged to be of research value. For items marked 'Access subject to sorting' or 'Restricted' the Library would welcome notification that access will be sought, preferably with an indication of a likely date. This will help the staff in establishing priorities for sorting collections. The following list updates the Notes in the *Record* for October 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).

BARLOW, PETER WILLIAM, 1847-1890. *Journal*, 1883. 46 leaves. DONATION: Mr G. W. Barlow, Auckland.

Journal of voyage from London to Auckland aboard the *East Lothian*, March-July 1883. Daily entries describe progress of the ship and shipboard life. Photocopy.

BOURKE, GERARD. *Correspondence with Captain Ito, 1946-1984*. 2v. DONATION: Mr B. A. Bourke, Lower Hutt.

Post-war correspondence between Father Bourke, a prisoner of war of the Japanese in Thailand, 1942-1945, and Captain Nabuharu Ito, one of his captors. Photocopies.



BOWEN, SIR CHARLES CHRISTOPHER, 1830-1917. *Papers*, ca. 1850-1917. 20cm. DONATION: St Mary's School, York, England.

Papers relate to Bowen's appointments to the Executive Council and as Minister of Justice and Commissioner of Stamp Duties, 1876; personal letters, 1866-1903; verse, 1850-1911; some financial papers and newspaper clippings.

BOYD, WILLIAM ROBERT. *Papers*, 1900-1901, 1918. 7 items. DONATION: Mr C. R. Boyd, Hamilton.

Boyd served with the 1st New Zealand Mounted Rifles in the South African War and with the Wellington Mounted Rifles in World War I. Diaries and miscellaneous items relating to war service.

BUCKLAND, KATE LILLIAN BLANCHE, b.1877 or 8. *Memoirs*, 1934, 1949-1952. 17 items. DONATION: Ms Alison Webber, Wellington.

Reminiscences of author's early married life as wife of a mining engineer living in isolated areas of Central Otago and Fiordland during the early 1900s.

BURDON, RANDAL MATHEWS, 1896-1965. *Papers*, ca. 1908-1965. 1.3m. DONATION: Mrs J. Hobbs, Wellington.

Papers include correspondence with J. H. E. Schroder, D'Arcy Cresswell, Frank Sargeson, C. R. Straubel and Charles Brasch. There are subject files on A. W. Bickerton, Sir Truby King, F. E. Maning and others; also typescripts of *Scholar Errant: a Biography of Professor A. W. Bickerton* (Christchurch, 1956), *The Life and Times of Sir Julius Vogel* (Christchurch, 1948) and 'Amateur Status', his unpublished memoirs.

*Access subject to sorting.*

CALENDER FAMILY. *Papers relating to passengers on the Bolton*, 1839-1851. 6 items. DONATION: Mr S. A. Oliver, England.

Transcripts of letters thought to have been written by Eliza Hargreaves and Sarah Falwasser, passengers on the *Bolton*, to members of the Calender family describing the voyage out, and life in Port Nicholson during the early part of 1840. There are also newspaper cuttings and ephemeral items about the Rev. J. F. Churton and his family.

CATHOLIC ARCHDIOCESE OF NOUMEA, NEW CALEDONIA. *Archives*, ca. 1843-1972. 182 microfilm reels. PURCHASE.

The first Catholic missionaries arrived in New Caledonia in 1843, as envoys of Bishop Bataillon at Wallis Island. In 1847 their large district became a vicariate apostolic under the Marist order, and an archdiocese in 1966 with the total administrative reorganisation of the Catholic Church in the Pacific. The archives are held at Archeveche, Noumea.

CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF PORT VILA, VANUATU. *Archives*, ca. 1887-1939. 53 microfilm reels. PURCHASE.

From first missionary contact in 1847, Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides) was part of the Vicariate Apostolic of New Caledonia, although a permanent Marist mission was not established until 1887. In 1904 it became a separate vicariate apostolic, and finally a diocese in 1966. The archives are held at the Bishop's House, Port Vila, and have been filmed up to the period of the death of Bishop Douceré in 1939.

CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF WALLIS AND FUTUNA. *Archives*, ca. 1838-1973. 26 microfilm reels. PURCHASE.

After a tentative and bloody commencement of Catholic missionary activity in 1837, the Islands became part of the Vicariate Apostolic of Central Oceania in 1842. In 1935 they were formed into the Vicariate Apostolic of Wallis and Futuna. The archives are held at Lano, Wallis Island.

CHRISTIE, AGNES C. *Shipboard diary, 1879*. 1 folder. DONATION: Ms V. J. Lynch, Wellington.

Diary written on board the immigrant vessel *Hermione* during its voyage to Dunedin and containing comments on life and conditions on board. Photocopy.

CURNOW, THOMAS ALLEN MONRO, b.1911. *The Island and the Kingdom: a Play in Verse, ca. 1948*. 1v. DONATION: Prof. D. Lilburn, Wellington.

Verse tragedy set on Mangaia, in the Cook Islands, 1824. Examines the conflict between the islanders and the first missionaries. Published as *The Axe* (Christchurch, 1949).

DAVIN, DANIEL MARCUS, b.1913. *Literary papers, ca. 1936-1984*. 1.7m. PURCHASE. Drafts of Davin's extensive works, together with correspondence with other authors, agents and publishers.  
*Restricted.*

DAVIN, WINIFRED K. *Memories of Wartime Experiences, 1984-1985*. 23 leaves. DONATION.

Reminiscences of the Davins' experiences during the Second World War while they were living in the United Kingdom.

DIVORCE LAW REFORM ASSOCIATION. *Records, 1963-1977*. 60cm. DONATION: Mr P.G. Feasey, Auckland.

Records consist mainly of correspondence from diverse groups and individuals, including the New Zealand Labour Party, Families Need Fathers Society, Committee for Fair Divorce and Alimony Laws, National Marriage Guidance Council, Justice Department and the Ombudsman.

*Restricted.*

FRANCE. ARCHIVES NATIONALES. *Marine series archives, 1839-1846*. 1 microfilm reel. PURCHASE.

Selected documents concerning French voyages to New Zealand, and settlement at Akaroa.

FRANCE. MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES ÉTRANGÈRES. *Archives, ca. 1772-1851, 1870*. 3 microfilm reels. PURCHASE.

Selected documents relating to French activities at Akaroa, including correspondence with British governments of the period and a file on Bishop Pompallier, 1870.

FRASER, KINNEAR GEORGE, 1916-1986. *Records relating to the Edwin Fox, ca. 1973-1984*. 2 folders. DONATION.

The barque *Edwin Fox* was built at Calcutta during the 1830s. The records detail endeavours to salvage the vessel, which lies a hulk near Picton.

GIBSON, JOHN. *Journal, 1824-1827, 1841*. 39 leaves. DONATION: Mr Philip T. Creed, Christchurch.

Gibson served in the Royal Artillery, 1823-1830, and emigrated to New Zealand in 1841. Includes entries made aboard the *Fifeshire*, and miscellaneous notes.

GIRLS FRIENDLY SOCIETY. *Records, 1885-1978*. 1m. DONATION.

Records comprise Council minutes, 1938-1972; Hostel Committee minutes, 1928-1971; Vivian Street Hostel reports, 1939-1961; St Peter's Branch records, 1910-1934; three volumes of *Friendly Work*, 1885-1892; and newspaper clippings, 1937-1966.

HALL, WILLIAM, 1778-1844. *Diary, 1816-1838*. 1 microfilm reel. PURCHASE.

Hall was a carpenter employed by the Church Missionary Society. His diary describes life and mission affairs in the Bay of Islands, 1816-1825. Also contains brief entries made in New South Wales, 1826-1838, and inserted biographical notes.



IRVINE, WILLIAM TORRANCE. *Diary Written Aboard Ship Invercargill, 1874*. 21 leaves. DONATION: Mr J. C. Brophy, Marton.

Shipboard diary describing voyage from Glasgow to New Zealand, July-August 1874. Accompanied by a genealogical chart of the Irvine family. Photocopy.

KATER, WILLIAM HENRY, b.1816. *Journal of a Voyage to New Zealand on Board the Barque Sir Chas Forbes Emigrant Ship, 1842*. 1v. DONATION: Mrs M. M. Kelly, Tauranga.

Diary kept by the Surgeon Superintendent on New Zealand Company vessel *Sir Charles Forbes*, containing useful comment on the emigrants, his medical duties and sightings of birds and fish.

KING, MICHAEL, b.1945. *Papers, ca. 1965-1985*. 3.3m. PURCHASE.

Papers include extensive correspondence with other writers and publishers, ca. 1971-1985; also correspondence, research notes, clippings and other papers relating to King's works *Te Puea* (Auckland, 1977), *The Collector* (Auckland, 1981), *New Zealanders at War* (Auckland, 1981) and some material on P.E.N., ca. 1974-1980.

Access subject to sorting.

MACNAB, MARGARET DUIRS. *Account of Experiences Following the Napier Earthquake, 1985*. 1 folder. DONATION.

Nursing in Wanganui at the time of the 1931 Hawke's Bay Earthquake, Miss MacNab travelled to Napier to assist with medical services to the injured.

MCRAE, DONALD, d.1915. *Diary and letters, 1915-1916*. 3 items. DONATION: Mr C. MacGillivray, Winton.

McRae fought at Gallipoli with the Auckland Infantry Battalion and died from wounds received in battle. Included is a letter from Kathleen Mair, who nursed McRae on Malta. Some photocopies.

MARIST FATHERS, ROME. *Archives, ca. 1836-1898*. 21 microfilm reels. PURCHASE. The archives cover the period from the departure of the first Marist missionaries for the Pacific, to the establishment of Oceania as a separate province of the Society of Mary. They comprise correspondence, reports and addresses to the general administration of the Marist Order. Housed at the Archives of the Marist Fathers (Archivio Padri Maristi).

MAYO, EARNEST RALPH, b.1893. *Papers, 1915-1916, 1955*. 6 items. DONATION: Mr W. J. B. Mayo, Napier.

Mayo served with the Wellington Infantry Battalion and was wounded at Gallipoli. Papers include diary, April-October 1915; autograph book, 1915, with additional entries for Gallipoli reunion, 1955; and miscellaneous items relating to his war service.

MAYO, MAURICE H. *Letter, 26 November 1917*. 5 leaves. DONATION: Mr B. E. Mayo, Cambridge.

Letter to his mother, written from St Mary's Hospital, London. Mayo was a junior engineer on the *Aparima*. He describes its sinking in the English Channel during World War I, following a torpedo attack by a German submarine.

MORRISON, NEVA CLARKE, b.1920. *Memoirs, 1944-1946*. 382 leaves. DONATION. Morrison served as a shorthand typist with H.Q. 2nd New Zealand Expeditionary Force in Italy, 1944-1946. Photocopies.

Restricted.

NEW ZEALAND PLAYCENTRE FEDERATION. *Records, ca. 1953-1977*. 4.6m. DONATION.

Minute books, 1946-1977; correspondence with branches and other organisations concerned with childcare, and submissions to government. There are also 60 scrapbooks of newspaper clippings relating to its activities, ca. 1957-1975.

*Subject to sorting and restriction.*

RHIND, ARTHUR EDWARD MATUA. *Diary of Sgt A. E. M. Rhind, N.Z. Div. Headquarters 12th August 1914-26th January 1917*. 69 leaves. DONATION: Mrs D. Jackson, Auckland.

The diary contains an account of daily life in Egypt and France, and gives Rhind's behind the frontline impressions of the Gallipoli campaign and the Battle of the Somme. Photocopy.

ROGERS, LAWRENCE MOTER, 1898-1984. *Research papers relating to the Williams Family, ca. 1952-1974*. 3m. DONATION: Mr R. L. Rogers, Wellington.

Papers, notes, subject files, drafts and microfilm concerning Reverend Rogers's work on the Williams family, particularly for his edition of *The Early Journals of Henry Williams* (Christchurch, 1961), and *Te Wiremu: a biography of Henry Williams* (Christchurch, 1973).

ST MARTIN'S EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SCHOOL, MARTON. *Records, ca. 1905-1925*. 50cm. DONATION: Miss D. Strauch, Marton.

Daily attendance registers, 1905-1921; minutes of the School Committee, 1915-1925; work programmes, 1917-1920; and examination register, 1917-1925.

SARGESON, FRANK, 1903-1982. *Letters to Harold Winston Rhodes, 1968-1980*. 1 folder. DONATION: Prof. H. W. Rhodes, Governors Bay, Banks Peninsula.

Letters on a wide variety of subjects with much on literary criticism and new works published. Rhodes is a former Professor of English at the University of Canterbury, and a Sargeson biographer.

——— *Letters to Kevin Ireland, 1957-1979*. 1 folder. PURCHASE.

Letters containing comment about Ireland's work, publishing and general matters.

SÉON, JOHN ANTHONY JOSEPH, 1800-1878., *Father Séon's Travelling Notebook, Banks Peninsula and Christchurch, 1858-1859*. 14 leaves. DONATION: Mrs M. Donnelly, Christchurch.

Notebook containing a record of baptisms, confirmations and marriages performed by Father Séon. Transcribed and indexed by Mavis Donnelly-Creuer. Photocopy.

SOLWAY, ROBERT. *Literary papers, ca. 1936-1967*. 30cm. DONATION: Mr L. McEl-downey, Wellington.

Solway was a poet and teacher. Papers include a diary, 1938; poems, ca. 1937-1941; a newsclipping book, ca. 1940s; also correspondence on literary matters with various people including John A. Lee.

SPILLER, TOM, 1909-1984. *Letters from Spain, 1936-1938*. 60 leaves. DONATION: Mr John Mitchell, Auckland.

Letters written mainly from Spain to Athol Mace in Napier. Spiller fought as a member of the British Battalion of the International Brigade during the Spanish Civil War. Some newspaper clippings and circulars. Photocopies.

TONKS, HYLTON GARY, b.1940. *More on Tonks, 1985*. 1v. DONATION.

Research articles, genealogical charts, newspaper cuttings and photographs relating to the Tonks family, who settled in Wellington in 1842. Some photocopies.



TUCK, GEORGE ALBERT, 1883?-1981. *Papers, 1914-1920, 1970, 1980*. 10cm. DONATION: Anonymous donor per N.Z. Army, Auckland.

Tuck saw action at Gallipoli in 1915 and on the Western Front, 1916-1918. Papers include correspondence, paybooks, and miscellaneous items relating to his war service.

WALKER, W.J. *Journal of the Proceedings on Board H.M.S. Dido, 1855-1856*. 1v. PURCHASE.

Walker was first mate on the *Dido* during its voyage in the Pacific, January 1855-September 1856. The captain was William H.A. Morshead.

WESTERN OCEANIA MISSION, AKAROA. *Register of Baptisms, Confirmations, Marriages and Burials, 1840-1844, with an Appendix for the Year 1846*. 43 leaves. DONATION: Mrs M. Donnelly, Christchurch.

Entries for Akaroa, 1840-1844, and for Port Levy, 1846. Translated and indexed by Mavis Donnelly-Crequer. Photocopy.

WOMEN'S ELECTORAL LOBBY. *Records, ca. 1973-1985*. 2.5m. DONATION. Records include correspondence particularly relating to membership, and files on committees, finance, and on representations to national and local government.

*Access subject to sorting.*

## List of Donors 1985/86

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## Alexander Turnbull Library

*Report by the Director for the Year 1985/86*

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. It functions as the library of national record with responsibility for the accumulation and 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 the seventeenth century, and the arts of the book.

### ACHIEVEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES

This is the first year of formal strategic planning in the National Library. Within the overall Strategic Management Plan the Turnbull has a supplementary five-year plan, the 'Strategic Approaches of the Alexander Turnbull Library' and an annual statement of goals and specific targets to be achieved.

During the year the statement of goals had to be modified because of the urgent need to move into further interim accommodation. The new priority task, the transfer, according to a timetable and agreed standards, of the

collections and staff at 44 The Terrace into four separate locations, was achieved.

The second priority, planning and reorganisation for occupancy of the new building in late 1986, has also been met during the year. Despite the major disruption caused by the move (the planning, packing and shifting took over six months) a high proportion of the other targets set by the staff were met. Key positions for improving pictorial reference services and access to oral history recordings were established; inventory control of the collections was improved substantially; backlogs were better identified and some brought under control; a survey of users was completed; staff training programmes were developed; a new organisational structure prepared; a national survey made of the indexing of New Zealand newspapers; and the budget for acquisitions increased substantially.

One major goal, the extension of services to the public, was set back by the closures associated with the move. Use by the public of the Library's services dropped for the first time in over 30 years, and growth of the collections slowed.

Financial support from the community for the Library's activities continued at a high level. Sponsorship for publications was received from The Listener, FAS Macquarie Limited and Francis Allison Symes & Co., the Post Office, Indosuez New Zealand Limited, and the New Zealand Composers' Foundation. The Friends of the Library's centennial fund, created to assist with expensive purchases for the collections, grew to over \$50,000 during the year. The first grant from the Lilburn Trust was made available for the Archive of New Zealand Music. The Endowment Trust's assets at the end of the year were \$324,880. Income was \$104,628 and expenses \$63,615, leaving \$41,013 available for application in terms of the deed of trust. The Trust spent \$1,869 on purchases for the collections and \$94,356 on publications. The Research Endowment Fund spent \$6,688 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 through research and publication based on its collections.

Grants were made to four scholars (one from overseas) from the Research Endowment Fund. The Fund was supported by grants from the Todd Foundation, the Ilott Trust, the Trustees of the National Library, the Scientific Research Distribution Committee, and the income from three sets of prints. The Endowment Trust made publication grants for *Oral Culture, Literacy & Print in Early New Zealand: the Treaty of Waitangi*, by D. F. McKenzie; *A Bibliography of Writings About New Zealand Music to the End of 1983*, by Ross Harvey; and *New Zealand Studies, a Guide to Bibliographic Resources* by J. E. Traue (all from Victoria University Press). Publications issued from the Library with the assistance of the Endowment Trust or sponsors were the second volume of *Early Eyewitness Accounts of Maori Life* (Marion du Fresne's visit of 1772); Douglas Lilburn's *A Search for a Language*; *A Solomon Islands Bibliography to 1980* compiled by Sally



Edridge; a revised edition of the Library's catalogue of publications; a poster 'Pictures to Post' by Garry Tricker; a 1789 map of the world showing Captain Cook's voyages; an illustrated calendar; and two sets of reproductions, one of three paintings by Charles Blomfield of the Pink and White Terraces and one of six photographs by the Northwood brothers of the far north of New Zealand.

The Friends of the Library issued two greetings cards; the Turnbull 1985 Winter Lectures *The Media*; and a limited edition print of a Barraud painting of Mount Cook in association with the General Accident Insurance Group. The Friends' *Newsletter* and the *Turnbull Library Record* continued publication during the year.

The Library met another of its targets 'to inaugurate a series of subject guides to research materials in the Turnbull's collections'. Two staff members began work on a listing of manuscript and archival sources for women's studies and the first part, covering the nineteenth century, will be published late in 1986.

#### BUILDING THE RESEARCH COLLECTIONS

Donations during the year fell from 424 to 346. 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. During the year commercially produced videotapes relating to New Zealand were purchased for the research collections. Joan Stevens donated a selection of books relating to Bewick, Dickens and Thackeray; Rewi Alley has presented more of his publications to fill gaps in the Library's holdings of his works; and purchases were made of runs of important cinema magazines, the *Strand Mirror* and the *Majestic Strand Mirror*, 1919-1926. The Library acquired the papers of Gerald Griffin, R. M. Burdon, Patricia Burns, John Gordon and the Grace family, and first instalments of the papers of Dan Davin and Michael King. Organisational records acquired include those of Ilott Advertising Ltd, the Girls' Friendly Society, the New Zealand Dietetic Association, the New Zealand Playcentre Federation and the Women's Electoral Lobby. Some 300 cassette tapes were deposited by the New Zealand Oral History Archive.

The Music Archive's acquisitions included the papers of Frederick Page and James Williamson, the music scores of Noel Saunders, the archives of the N.Z. Association of Organists, and additional records of the Music Federation of New Zealand. Collections of photographs and related materials were acquired from Paul Thompson on the New Zealand bach, from the estate of Ronald Searle, a Wellington photographer, and from the Wellington Early Settlers and Historical Association. In addition copies were made from several collections in private hands. Significant purchases for the drawings and prints collection included a portrait of Sir Joseph Banks purchased in London, two items by Cuthbert Clarke, and works by Elizabeth Homeyer, W. H. Holmes, and F. Connell.

Donations were received from Mr Ray Gilbert, Professor G. H. Green, Nancy Keesing (33 works by H. A. Keesing) and Mrs Ellen McCormack.

#### CONSERVING THE RESEARCH COLLECTIONS

The survey of the condition of the collections undertaken as part of the preparation for the move to interim accommodation revealed the consequences of years of underspending on conservation. Substantial remedial work was required, particularly on the collection of framed paintings and drawings. A wide-ranging review of conservation in the National Library being undertaken as part of the Strategic Management Plan is a major step forward in quantifying the needs, assessing priorities, and providing the facts to justify the considerable resources necessary to ensure that our documentary heritage is preserved for posterity.

MARGERY WALTON

After 27 years working in the Turnbull, Miss Margery Walton, the Deputy Director, resigned during the year to take up a new position in Reference and Interloan Services division to develop its New Zealand reference services for the new building.

J. E. TRAUER

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#### *Publications, Lectures, etc. by the Staff 1985/86*

BARTON, P.L. 'No Maps!', *New Zealand Mapkeepers' Circle Newsletter*, 19 (November 1985), 7.

———'Obituary: Lawrence Patrick Lee 1913-1985', *New Zealand Mapkeepers' Circle Newsletter*, 18 (May 1985), 24.

———'Of Maps and Men!', *Archifacts* 1985/3 (September 1985), 5-8.

LONG, M. *John Kinder*, by Michael Dunn (review, *Listener*, no. 2387 (16 November 1985), 57.

MEADS, D. Conservators and archivists: contribution to panel discussion on conservation and related professions, New Zealand Professional Conservators' Group annual conference, 21 February 1986.

———Literary manuscripts in the Turnbull Library: address to the Friends of the Turnbull Library, 11 March 1986.

MINSON, M.F. 'The Drawings and Prints Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library', *AGMANZ Journal*, 16, no.2 (1985), 24-5.

PALMER, J.M. 'Dorothy Freed: Pioneer of Music Librarianship in New Zealand', *Crescendo*, 10 (April 1985), 4-5.

———The Alexander Turnbull Library's Archive of New Zealand Music: address given to the Onslow Senior Citizens, Wellington, 14 August 1985, and to the Friends of the Turnbull Library, 14 August 1985.

———Cousemaker's Anonymous XII; a new edition, translation and commentary: paper delivered at the Musicological Society of New Zealand conference, Wellington, 18 May 1985.



PARKINSON, P.G. 'The Typification of Generic Names and Criticism of the Text of Art. 10 of the Sydney Code with Three Proposals to Amend', *Taxon*, 34 (1985), 322-332.

———'Problems with the Nomenclature of Nothotaxa in the Sydney Code with Six Proposals to Amend', *Taxon*, 34 (1985), 334-337.

———*God's Own Country and the Legal Status of Gay People*: a paper for Sex and the State; their laws our lives (2nd International Lesbian & Gay History Conference, Toronto, July 1985). (Wellington, 1985) 11p. (Revised for publication in 1986).

———*Aids and New Zealand—a Report on the Current Situation: Prepared for Members of Parliament* (Auckland, 1985) 54p.

———*What Has the Gay Community Done to Stop Aids?* A summary of information and advice about AIDS, published in the NZ gay community paper *Pink Triangle*. (Wellington, 1986) 12p.

———*Gay and Bisexual Men: The Problems of Defining a 'High Risk' Group*. A discussion paper for the AIDS Advisory Committee. (Wellington, 1986) 5p.

———*A Submission on the Homosexual Law Reform Bill (Ms Fran Wilde) from the Lesbian & Gay Rights Resource Centre*, prepared by Phil Parkinson, Administrator. (Wellington, 1985) 101, 8, 9, [4]p.

———'The AIDS Package: But Will it Work?', *Pink Triangle*, 53 (May/June 1985), 20.

———'Queer Doings in the Chamber', *Pink Triangle*, 55 (September/October 1985), 3.

———'The Wanganui Affair of 1920', *Pink Triangle*, 56 (November/December 1985), 10-11.

———'Janet Has Had Her Say', *Pink Triangle*, 56 (November/December 1985), 19.

RALSTON, B.J. 'The Hawera Census of 1881: a Reconstruction', *Archifacts* 1985/2 (June 1985), 18-20.

RETTOR, D.C. Lectures on management of small archival collections, Continuing Education training course, Auckland, 3-5 September 1985.

———Legal and business archives in the Alexander Turnbull Library: address to A.R.A.N.Z. conference, Auckland, 6 September 1985.

SANDERSON, K.M. Lectures on management of small archival collections, Continuing Education training course, Auckland, 3-5 September 1985.

TRAUE, J.E. *New Zealand Studies: A Guide to Bibliographic Resources* (Wellington, 1985), 27p. (Also published in *Australia and New Zealand Studies: Papers Presented to a Colloquium at the British Library 7-9 February 1984*, (London, 1985), p.137-153.

———Charles Blomfield's Pink and White Terraces; address to the Friends of the Rotorua Art Gallery, 15 March 1986.

———Excellence in a small compass: address to Wellington Zonta Club, 28 May 1985.

———The Alexander Turnbull Library; future trends: paper delivered at A.R.A.N.Z. conference, Auckland, 6 September 1985.

## ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

### *Research Endowment Fund*

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

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

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

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 Illott 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.

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