

The  
Turnbull Library  
RECORD



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# The Turnbull Library RECORD



Wellington New Zealand  
The Friends of the Turnbull Library

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## ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

### *Research Endowment Fund*

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

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

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

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

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

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January to June 1982



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# Extrait du Journal

d'un Voyage fait sur le Vaisseau le  
*S. Jean Baptiste*, commandé par  
*M. de Surville*, Ch.<sup>e</sup> de l'Ordre Royal  
 et Militaire de *S. Louis*, Cap.<sup>te</sup> de l.  
 Vaisseaux de la Compagnie des Indes.



169. mar.

*Lam et Lauriston*, Chevaliers, et de  
*Surville*, étant nouvellement réunis à *Bongale* en  
 1763 formèrent la Régie de cette Intendance; Les  
 deux premiers par leur crédit, pouvoient se livrer  
 aux plus grandes entreprises; on ne pouvoit même  
 en confier l'exécution qu'à des hommes dont les talens  
 pour la Marine étoient généralement reconnus.  
 Le Commerce d'Inde en Inde, tel qu'il  
 étoit connu en 1763, offroit de grands avantages  
 pour certaines Branches, mais qui pourroit

*Nouv. acq. franç.  
 9436*

The first page of a manuscript of Pierre Monneron's account of the voyage of the *St Jean Baptiste* in 1769-73 under de Surville. (BN (MSS) NAF9436; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)



# French explorers in New Zealand, 1769-1840: a list of manuscript material; Part I

ISABEL OLLIVIER

A French Government bursary enabled me, between October 1980 and November 1981, to carry out research in France on the manuscripts of the French explorers who visited New Zealand prior to 1840. In the course of that year, I located a considerable number of manuscripts, which have subsequently been copied and deposited in the Alexander Turnbull Library. This list is a record of my findings and an attempt to show what material in this field is now available in New Zealand.

Notes made during the year in France are contained in a set of nine books, the first six of which are blue, the last three, red. Each entry in the books is given an item number so that it can be quickly located. The books are to be kept with the manuscripts in the Turnbull Library; each reference in this list, therefore, has my personal reference number added in brackets: for example, (Blue Book I:7).

*Organisation of the material:* this list contains references to manuscript material drawn from nine French voyages which called at New Zealand between 1769 and 1840. The material is organised chronologically, grouped by expedition under the name of the commander. Where there were two ships in a single expedition, the commander's ship is listed first. For each expedition, the following information is given:

NAME of Commander

Name of ship/s

Dates of stay in New Zealand from first sighting to day of departure.

Ports or places where the ship anchored.

For each ship, material is listed under the name of the author of the manuscript, arranged in order of rank, followed by miscellaneous or anonymous material. Charts and drawings are given last.

For each manuscript, the following information is given, where known:

NAME of author with dates of birth and death.

Rank at the time of the visit to New Zealand, in French (and English).



Title of manuscript in language of original.

Location of the original: institution and call number.

My research reference number: e.g. (Blue Book I:7) (see above).

ATL: indicates that a copy of the manuscript is held in the Alexander Turnbull Library.

Brief description of the manuscript.

Reference to existing manuscript copies.

*Abbreviations:* the following abbreviations have been used:

AN	Archives Nationales, Paris
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
— C&P	Département des Cartes et Plans
— MSS	Département des Manuscrits
— — NAF	Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises
SHM	Service Historique de la Marine, Paris
MHN	Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris
MH	Musée de l'Homme, Paris
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

\* \* \*

SURVILLE, Jean François Marie de

*St Jean Baptiste*

12-31 December 1769

Lauriston Bay (now known as Doubtless Bay)

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SURVILLE, JEAN FRANÇOIS MARIE DE (1717-1770)

Capitaine de Vaisseau de la Compagnie des Indes (Captain with the French India Company)

'Suite de Journal du Vau Le S Jean Baptiste 7bre 1769 de Chandernagore a La Cote du Perou'.

AN Marine 4JJ.143.24 (Blue Book I:7) ATL

The captain's personal journal.

'Journal du navire le St Jean Baptiste parti du golfe de Bengale pour aller a Lima. (Nota) ce journal est en langue Espagnole'.

AN Marine B<sup>4</sup> 316.30 (Blue Book III:46) ATL

Spanish translation of the captain's journal.

LABÉ, GUILLAUME (b.1741)

Premier Lieutenant (First Lieutenant and Second in Command)

'Journal de navigation pour servir au Sieur Guillaume Labé embarqué de Premier Lieutenant . . . sur le vaisseau le St Jean Baptiste, Capitaine en chef Monsieur de Surville . . . '.



The original of this journal (AN Marine 4JJ.143.22) is now missing but a microfilm is held in the Turnbull Library. (Blue Book I:7) ATL  
Labé's personal journal with navigational information.



Sketches showing a fortified village, a food platform and framework for drying nets, and a house, by an unidentified artist on de Surville's voyage on the St Jean Baptiste in 1769-73. (AN Marine 6JJ.39 pièce 100; Archives Nationale, Paris)

MONNERON, PIERRE ANTOINE  
Ecrivain (Clerk)

'Extrait du journal d'un Voyage fait Sur le Vau Le St Jean baptiste commandé par M de Surville Cher de l'ordre Roial et Militaire de St Louis, Capne des Vaux de la Compagnie des Indes'.

AN Marine 4JJ.143.23 (Blue Book I:7) ATL

A summary of the voyage. A manuscript copy of this version is to be found in BN(MSS)NAF 9436.

'1769. de Surville. Journal Du Voyage Fait Sur le Vaisseau Le St jean Baptiste. Commandé Par Mr de Surville, Capne des Vaux De la Compagnie Des Indes, Chr de l'ordre Royale Et Militaire de St Louis'. AN Marine B<sup>4</sup> 316.28-9 (Blue Book III:45) ATL

A summary of the voyage, a version of manuscript AN Marine 4JJ.143.23. A manuscript copy of this version is to be found in BN(MSS)NAF 9437.

POTTIER DE L'HORME, JEAN  
Second Lieutenant

'Journal de Pottier de L'horme Lieutenant du Vau Le St Jean Baptiste pour le Voyage des Decouvertes; dans le Sud commencé en 1769 et fini en 1773'.

AN Marine 4JJ.143.25 (Blue Book I:7) ATL



Personal journal of this officer with navigational information, marginal sketches, drawings and charts. A manuscript copy of this journal is held in the Service Historique de la Marine MS 265.

MONNERON, PIERRE

'Rôle d'équipage du Vaisseau particulier Le Saint Jean Baptiste du Port d'Environ Six cent Tonneaux Armé de Trente Six Canons Et de Cent soixante douze hommes d'Equipage tant Blancs que Noirs allant de ce Port de Chandernagor Riviere de Bengale a Manille Et la Chine'.

Bibliothèque du Port de Lorient 2P45.1, 10(1) (Blue Book VI:138) ATL

Muster roll. There are four muster rolls for this voyage:

Département du Port Louis—Rôle d'armement 1767

Département de Nantes—Rôle d'armement 1767

Département de Bengale—Rôle d'armement 1769

Département de Lorient—Rôle de desarmement 1773

All four are held in the Bibliothèque du Port de Lorient; the roll drawn up in Bengal is listed here.

#### *Charts and Drawings*

I have located 21 charts or drawings concerning New Zealand which come from the voyage of de Surville, but many of these are copies. There are in fact only five different subjects:

- 1 A chart of the northern part of New Zealand skirted by de Surville 12-16 December 1769.
- 2 A chart of Lauriston (Doubtless) Bay where the St Jean Baptiste was anchored.
- 3 A full length portrait of Ranginui, the chief captured by de Surville in Lauriston Bay.
- 4 A sketch of a number of artefacts.
- 5 Three sketches: (a) of a fortified village on a mountain; (b) of a food platform and framework for drying nets; (c) of a house.

Few of the charts or drawings are signed although several of them are contained within the journal of Pottier de l'Horme, which suggests he may have been the artist.

To show the relationship between the various versions, I have arranged the references in a table below. I am unable to identify the 'original' of any of the items and would like to emphasise that manuscripts with the same call number do not necessarily form a set, the exception being those appearing in the same journal: AN Marine 4JJ.143.25 and BN(MSS)NAF 9436.

Titles in French:

- 1 Carte de la partie de la Nouvelle Zélande découverte par le vaisseau le St Jean Baptiste En Décembre 1769 et levée par le Sr Pottier de l'Horme.
- 2 Plan particulier de la Baye Loriston à la Côte de la Nouvelle Zélande.



- 3 Chef de Sauvages de la Nouvelle Zelande tiré au Naturel.
- 4 Armes, Idoles et Instruments des Sauvages de la nouvelle Zelande.
- 5 Vue d'une montagne ou les Insulaires de la Nouvelle Zelande sont retranchés avec leurs maisons; echauffaudages qui sont au pied de leurs montagnes pour conserver leurs poissons; piquets pour mettre leur filet au sec; maison de sauvages.

1	2	3	4	5
AN Marine 4JJ.143.25	AN Marine 4JJ.143.25	AN Marine 4JJ.143.25	AN Marine 4JJ.143.25	
AN Marine 6JJ.39.98	AN Marine 6JJ.39.99			AN Marine 6JJ.39.100
		AN Marine 3JJ.378	AN Marine 3JJ.378	
BN C&P Pf189/3/1	BN C&P Pf189/4/1D			
BN(MSS) NAF 9436	BN(MSS) NAF 9436	BN(MSS) NAF 9436	BN(MSS) NAF 9436	
SHM 365	SHM 365	SHM 365 (missing)	SHM 365 (missing)	
		AGI Mapas y Planos: Estampas 208	AGI Mapas y Planos: Ingenios y Muestras 235	

Table 1: Location of charts and drawings from the voyage of de Surville.

\* \* \*

MARION DU FRESNE, Marc Macé

Mascarin and Marquis de Castries

23 March-13 July 1772

Port Marion (now known as the Bay of Islands)

### 1. MASCARIN

MARION DU FRESNE, MARC MACÉ (1724-1772)

Capitaine de brûlot (Fireship captain)

'Correspondance diverse'.

AN Marine B<sup>4</sup> 317.1-58 (Blue Book III:47) ATL

Correspondence which includes some major pieces, listed separately.

'Correspondance'.

BN(MSS)NAF 9439 ff61-80



CROZET, JULIEN MARIE (1728-1780)

Capitaine en Second (Second in Command)

'Extrait de la campagne de la flutte du Roy Le Mascarin, a commencer de Son départ du Cap de Bonne Esperance jusqu'a Son arrivée Aux Manilles'.

AN Marine 4Jj.128.38 (Blue Book I:3) ATL

A summary of the voyage. Four manuscript copies extant (see Table 2).

Folder marked '1773'.

AN Marine B<sup>4</sup> 285 (Red Book I:162) ATL

'Journal du Voyage du Vaisseau le Mascarin. 1772. Depuis le 17e de 9bre jusqu'au 6 De Xbre 1772 à continuer jusqu'a Lisle de France'.

AN Marine B<sup>4</sup> 317.60 (Blue Book III:48) ATL

Navigational journal of the *Mascarin* from Guam to Mauritius.

The journal which should precede this one would presumably contain the New Zealand portion of the voyage. AN Marine B<sup>4</sup> 317.59 is missing.

ROUX, JEAN

Lieutenant de Vaisseau (Lieutenant. (Ensign at the time of the visit to New Zealand))

'Journal du Voyage fait sur le Vaisseau du Roi le Mascarin . . . par le Sieur Jean Roux, Lieutenant sur le susdit Vaisseau le Mascarin'.

AN Marine 4Jj.142.18 (Blue Book I:5) ATL

An historical account of the voyage, without detailed navigational information. Written retrospectively. Four copies extant (see Table 2).

CHEVILLARD DE MONTESSON, PAUL (1748-1787)

Enseigne et Ecrivain (Ensign and Clerk)

'Extrait du Journal de la Campagne de M Marion du Fresne . . . Capitaine de Brulot et Chr. de St Louis, Commandant La flute du Roy le Mascarin . . . Expédiés de L'isle de France pour Otahiti et la Nouvelle Zelande'.

State Library of Tasmania. ATL

A summary of the voyage. No copy located in France.

ROLE D'EQUIPAGE du Mascarin.

AN Marine B<sup>4</sup> 317.56 ATL

Muster roll of the *Mascarin*.

## 2. MARQUIS DE CASTRIES

DUCLESMEUR, AMBROISE BERNARD LE JAR (1751-1792)

Garde de la Marine (Commander of the *Marquis de Castries*)

'Journal de navigation A commencer du Cap de Bonne Esperance pour servir à la flutte le Marquis de Castries Commandée par Mr Duclesmeur Garde de la Marine . . .'

AN Marine B<sup>4</sup> 317.61 and 62. (Blue Book III:49) ATL

A two-part navigational journal which leads up to the stay in the Bay of Islands and continues at the moment of departure. Intended to be read in conjunction with his historical journal.



'Relation d'un voyage dans les mers australes et pacifique commencé en 1771 sous le Commandement de M Marion du fresne Capitaine de Brulot, et achevé en 1773 Sous celui de M Duclesmeur garde de la marine'.

AN Marine 4JJ.142.19 (Blue Book I:6) ATL

An historical journal dealing in detail with the New Zealand stay. Seven copies of this journal have been located (see Table 2).

ROLE D'EQUIPAGE du Marquis de Castries.

AN Marine B<sup>4</sup> 317.57 ATL

Muster roll of the *Marquis de Castries*.

MARION DU FRESNE	CROZET	DUCLESMEUR	ROUX	CHEVILLARD DE MONTESSON	OTHER
AN Marine B <sup>4</sup> 317.1-58	AN Marine 4JJ.128.38 3JJ.391.9 B <sup>4</sup> 317.32 B <sup>4</sup> 317.34	AN Marine 4JJ.142.19 3JJ.378.29 C <sup>7</sup> 197 3JJ.391.8 3JJ.333.17	AN Marine 4JJ.142.18 3JJ.378.8 C <sup>7</sup> 197	State Library of Tasmania: Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts	AN Marine B <sup>4</sup> 317.56 Roll of the <i>Mascarin</i>
	AN Marine B <sup>4</sup> 285	SHM MS265 BN(MSS) NAF 9437	BN(MSS) NAF 9437		AN Marine B <sup>4</sup> 317.57 Roll of the <i>Marquis de Castries</i>
	AN Marine B <sup>4</sup> 317.60	AN Marine B <sup>4</sup> 317.61/2			

Table 2: Location of the manuscripts. All references contained within the same box are to copies of the same manuscript.

### Charts and Drawings

So far, 11 charts and drawings from the New Zealand part of this voyage have been located. They cover four subjects:

- 1 A chart of the northern part of New Zealand (2 versions)
- 2 A chart of the Bay of Islands (Port Marion) (5 versions)
- 3 A plan of a New Zealand village (2 versions)
- 4 A sketch of a New Zealand canoe (2 versions)

The two drawings of 'New Zealand canoes' have been included with this voyage because they are catalogued with Marion du Fresne material in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but there is nothing to link them conclusively with this voyage. All but one chart are held in Portfolio 189 in the Département des Cartes et Plans of the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris. The exception is a chart of the Bay of Islands, held in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

Titles in French:

- 1 Partie du Nord de la Nouvelle Zélande, dressée par moi Et sur mes propres routes—Duclesmeur (BN(C&P)Pf189/3/3D & Pf189/3/2)



- 2 Plan du Port Marion Par Mr Du Clesmeur (Pf189/5/2 & Pf189/5/1<sup>1,2,3</sup>)
- 3 Plan d'un Village Zelandois (Pf189/5/3) and Plan d'une forteresse zellandoise (Pf189/5/4D)
- 4 Pirogue des peuples de la Nouvelle Zélande (Pf189/5/5 and 5<sup>1</sup>)

\* \* \*

ENTRECASTEAUX, Antoine Raymond Joseph Bruni d'

*Recherche and Esperance*

11-12 March 1793

Off the Northern Coast of New Zealand; Three Kings Islands

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A considerable body of material, both historical and scientific, remains from the voyage of D'Entrecasteaux. However, the two ships had only the briefest contact with New Zealand: the *Recherche* hove-to off the Northern coast to wait for the *Esperance* and to trade with natives who approached in canoes. In the following list, therefore, I have included only those journals giving an account of that meeting and some containing navigational details concerning the Three Kings Islands.

ENTRECASTEAUX, ANTOINE RAYMOND JOSEPH BRUNI D' (1739-1793)  
Contre-amiral. Commandant (Rear Admiral. Commander)

'Notes a ajouter au journal'.

AN Marine 5JJ.6 (Blue Book I:10) ATL

D'Entrecasteaux's own journal; very difficult to read, full of crossings-out. The text of this part of the journal corresponds closely to Rossel's printed account of the voyage.

HESMIVY D'AURIBEAU, ALEXANDRE d' (1760-1794)

Capitaine de Vaisseau (Captain)

'Entrevuë avec les naturels de la Nlle. Zelande'.

AN Marine 5JJ.6 (Blue Book I:9) ATL

An account of the meeting with the natives. Although this document is anonymous, it corresponds exactly to one signed by d'Hesmivy d'Auribeau (AN Marine 5JJ.13<sup>6</sup>).

'Suite Du Journal Du Voyage au Tour Du Monde fait à Bord De la frégate La Recherche Commandée Par M D'Entrecasteaux . . . '.

AN Marine 5JJ.13<sup>4</sup> (Blue Book I:19) ATL

A navigational journal, to be read in conjunction with the historical journal (AN Marine 5JJ.6).

WILLAUMEZ, JEAN BAPTISTE

Enseigne de Vaisseau. Chef de Pilotage (Ensign. Navigator)

'Journal continué de la Campagne de la recherche et de l'Esperance autour du monde sous les Ordres de Monsieur D'Entrecasteaux . . .



Tenu par le Sr. Willaumez ainé officier à bord pendant les années 1791, 92, 93, 94, 95'.

AN Marine 5JJ.5<sup>2</sup> ATL

Journal with an account of the meeting as well as navigational notes.

LONGUERÛE, —

Enseigne de Vaisseau (Ensign)

'Journal de L'expédition De la Recherche de Mr De la peyrouse commandé par Mr D'entrecasteaux contre amiral de france, montant la Recherche . . .'

AN Marine 5JJ.10 (Blue Book I:16) ATL

Journal with a very brief account of the meeting.

GICQUEL, PIERRE GUILLAUME

Aide-pilote (Assistant pilot)

'Remarques faites Pendant le voyage de la fregate la Recherche Commandée par le Contre amiral Entrecasteaux par P Gicquel pilote sur la Ditte fregate et actuellement Enseigne de vaisseau'.

AN Marine 5JJ.14 (Blue Book I:23) ATL

Historical and navigational account.

RAOUL, JOSEPH FRANÇOIS

Premier pilot (First pilot)

'A Monsieur. Monsieur Raoul pr. pelotte Demeurant a Tréguier'.

AN Marine 5JJ.14<sup>1</sup> (Blue Book I:24) ATL

Historical and navigational account.

AVIGNON, PIERRE AUGUSTIN

Canonier de la Marine. 3<sup>e</sup> classe (Gunner)

'Par un Canonier de la Marine—Cahier remit à Monsieur D'Hesmiv D'Auribeau'.

AN Marine 3JJ.397 (Blue Book V:112 and 106) ATL

Three copies of this journal exist, the first two in Paris, the third under the name of 'Piron' in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.

It is an historical account with little navigational material.

BEARINGS AND NOTES on Three Kings.

'Relevements, Distances et Azimuths relatifs à la partie Nord de la Nouvelle Zélande. Les 11 et 12 Mars 1793'.

AN Marine 5JJ.1.1456/7 (Blue Book I:8) ATL

Views of the land accompany these observations and notes.

LOG-BOOK of the *Recherche*.

'19eme Cazernet de Campagne. Mars 1793 1<sup>e</sup> Semenne'.

AN Marine 5JJ.6<sup>2</sup> (Blue Book I:15) ATL

The log-book of the *Recherche*, with full notes of movements.



ROLL of the *Recherche*.

'Rôle d'équipage de la Recherche. La Campagne commence le 21 Septembre 1791. Depart de la rade de Brest'.

Archives du Port de Brest—AN Marine CC<sup>6</sup>34 (Blue Book VI:134) ATL  
Muster roll of the *Recherche*. Gives information about promotions but very little personal detail.

#### *Charts and Drawings*

Because of the very short time spent in New Zealand, there is very little pictorial material from this visit. The familiar engraving of two natives which appears in Labillardière's published account seems to be the only drawing, but there are some charts and coastal profiles. Charles-François BEAUTEMPS-BEAUPRÉ was responsible for the following:

- 1 'Carte de la Partie Nord de la Nouvelle Zelande Reconnue le 11 Mars 1793'. The North part of New Zealand. AN Marine 6JJ.3.35 ATL
- 2 'Carte des Iles Reconnues Par M d'Entrecasteaux du 15 au 17 Mars 1793'. The Kermadec Islands. Three versions: AN Marine 6JJ.3., items 37, 38 and 39 (Blue Book III:61 and 62).

\* \* \*

DUPERREY, Louis Isidore

*Coquille*

3-17 April 1824

Bay of Islands

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DUPERREY, LOUIS ISIDORE (1786-1865)

Lieutenant de Vaisseau. Commandant (Lieutenant. Commander of the *Coquille*)

'Etat major de la corvette de S M la *Coquille*'.

Archives du Port de Toulon 1 A<sup>3</sup>110 1 4 (Red Book III:275) ATL

The Captain's notes on his officers: Jacquinot, Bérard, Lottin, De Blois.

DUMONT D'URVILLE, JULES SÉBASTIEN CÉSAR (1790-1842)

Lieutenant de Vaisseau (Lieutenant)

'Journal d'un voyage autour du monde entrepris sur la Corvette de S M la *Coquille* Sous les ordres de Mr Duperrey Lieutenant de Vaisseau par J Dumont D'Urville'.

Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle Ms 1602 (Blue Book III:72) ATL

Meteorological and nautical information only.

'Dumont D'Urville. Poème sur les nouveaux Zélandais ou histoire Australiennne'.

AN Marine GG<sup>2</sup>.30 (Blue Book VI:122) ATL

A long romance, in verse, written during his return to France in 1825 (200p.).



'Notes relatives au roman des Nouveaux Zélandais' 31 août 1825.  
AN Marine GG<sup>2</sup>.30 (Blue Book VI:123) ATL  
Footnotes for the poem giving historical, ethnographic, geographical, philosophical etc. notes on the inhabitants of New Zealand (200p.).

'Papers 1825-31'.

Mitchell Library, Sydney.(C7 reel 154) July 1973. ATL  
Including letter concerning his voyage on the *Coquille*.

'Voyages of the *Coquille* and the *Astrolabe*'.

Mitchell Library, Sydney, A 1827, ATL

French manuscript almost entirely in the hand of Dumont d'Urville.  
Divided into seven sections:

- 'I Tableau général des îles de l'Océanie'.  
A table of Pacific islands with information about geography, population and history of discovery.
- 'II Observations phytologiques'.  
Botanical information gathered during the first twelve ports put into by the *Coquille*. Stops at Sydney Cove.
- 'III Observations entomologiques'.  
Entomological information gathered during the first twelve ports put into by the *Coquille*.
- 'IV Notes géographiques, historiques et ethnographiques . . .'.  
Notes which refer to a literary work, probably Dumont d'Urville's own poem on the New Zealanders (see AN Marine GG<sup>2</sup>.30, above).  
These notes are similar or perhaps even identical to the notes held in the French archives (AN Marine GG<sup>2</sup>.30).
- 'V Espèces et races humaines'.  
Notes of a physical and geographical nature about mankind.
- 'VI Lettres'.  
Letters kept by Dumont d'Urville during the voyage of the *Astrolabe*. Not in his hand.
- 'VII Portrait'.  
Pencil sketch of Dumont d'Urville.

JACQUINOT, CHARLES HECTOR (1796-1879)

Enseigne de Vaisseau (Ensign)

'Cahier 3:p101 (Port Jackson)—p160 3 Octobre 1824, arrivée à l'île de France'.

AN Marine 5JJ.82 (Blue Book II:29) ATL

Historical journal.

LOTTIN, VICTOR CHARLES (1795-1858)

Enseigne de Vaisseau (Ensign)

'Journal tenu par l'Enseigne de V.sseau Lottin Sur la Corvette de S M la *Coquille* 1822, 23, 24 et 25'.

AN Marine 5JJ.82 (Blue Book II:31) ATL

Historical journal.



DEBLOIS DE LA CALANDE, THÉODORE JULIEN (b.1799)

Enseigne de Vaisseau (Ensign)

'Journal de la Coquille. M de Blois. Traversée de Port-Jackson à la baye des îles'.

AN Marine 5JJ.82 (Blue Book II:28) ATL

Historical journal.

GABERT, ANDRÉ PAUL (1797-1855)

Commis entretenu de 2e classe et commis aux revues et approvisionnements (Clerk)

'Précis de la campagne de la Corvette de S M la Coquille Commandé par Mr Duperrey Lieutenant de Vau'.

Bibliothèque de la Rochelle Ms 639 (Blue Book VI:151) ATL

A very brief account of the voyage.

LESSON, RENÉ PRIMEVÈRE (1794-1849)

Pharmacien entretenu de 2e classe (Pharmacist)

'Voyage de la Coquille: Chapitre 21e. Traversée du port Jackson à la Nouvelle-Zelande du 20 mars 1824 au 3 avril. Séjour à la Baie des îles du 3 avril au 17 Courant: Observations générales sur le pays sur les habitants, leurs mœurs, leurs usages etc'.

Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle Ms 1793 (Blue Book IV:82) ATL

A detailed account, later the basis for his published work.

'Voyage Autour du Monde de la Corvette la Coquille . . . Suite et complément de la relation imprimée du même auteur'.

Bibliothèque Municipale de Rochefort-sur-Mer Ms 8168 Res 1-C (Blue Book VI:140) ATL

A continuation of MHN manuscript 1793 and therefore the text is not relevant to New Zealand, but there are charts and botanical sketches which are.

'Journal médical ou Rapport à messieurs les Membres du Conseil de Santé du port de Toulon (1822 à 1825)'.

Bibliothèque de l'Hôpital Maritime de Toulon MS 3467 (C117) (Red Book III:268) ATL

Medical report. Lesson has used material from this journal to supplement his published account.

'Voyage autour du monde . . . Collection R-P Lesson'.

Muséum Nationale d'Histoire Naturelle MS 354 (Blue Book IV:81) ATL

Lists of animals conserved in alcohol. Ornithology. Testaceans. Crustacea.

PORET DE BLOSSEVILLE, JULES ALPHONSE RENÉ (1802-1836)

Enseigne de Vaisseau (Ensign)

'Journal nautique; Evenemens. Remarques; Notes Voyage de la Corvette



la Coquille. Notes. Brouillons; Commerce du grand Océan. etc'.  
AN Marine 5JJ.82 (Blue Book II:32) ATL  
Notes of all sorts.

BÉRARD, AUGUSTE (1796-1852)

Enseigne de Vaisseau (Ensign)

'Voyage de la Coquille autour du monde. Notes recueillies par Mr Bérard, enseigne de vaisseau'.

AN Marine 5JJ.82 (Blue Book II:30) ATL

Not a private journal but a series of excerpts from various sources.

DEBLOIS DE LA CALANDE, THÉODORE, and PORET DE BLOSSEVILLE,  
JULES ALPHONSE RENÉ

'Voyage de la Corvette de S M la Coquille. Vues de côtes et relevements. Observations des Marées. No 8. Nouvelle Zélande. Plan de la baie des Iles. Plan du Port de Manawa. Plan de la rivière de Kédékédé. Observations des Marées à Manawa. 1824'.

AN Marine 5JJ.81 (Blue Book II:26) ATL

A sketchbook for the charting of the Bay of Islands, containing pencil sketches of settlements and coastlines as well as observations and calculations, soundings etc.

LOG-BOOK of the *Coquille*

'Casernet de bord de l'Etat Major Du 18 Mars au 25 avril 1824. No 12'.

AN Marine 5JJ.80<sup>B</sup> (Blue Book I:25) ATL

Log book with navigational notes only.

ROLL of the *Coquille*.

'La Corvette du Roi la Coquille commandée par Mr Duperrey, Lieutenant de Vau. Rôle pour 1824'.

Archives du port de Toulon 1<sup>C</sup> 1122 (Red Book III:271) ATL

### *Charts and Drawings*

The three ensigns, Bérard, de Blois and de Blossesville spent much of their stay in New Zealand charting the Bay of Islands. The first six charts listed below are the result of their work:

- 1 'Partie des côtes de la Nlle Zélande'.
- 2 'Nouvelle Zélande. Cote au nord de la Baie des Iles'.
- 3 'Carte de la Baie des Iles'.
- 4 'Plan de la Baie des Iles'.
- 5 'Plan du mouillage de la Coquille dans le Port (de Manawa)'.
- 6 'Plan du mouillage de la Coquille (Port de Manawa) dans la Baie des Iles'.



- 7 'Chart of the harbour at Tokeanga on the western Coast of New Zealand (Rivière Gambier) le nom est celui de la rivière. Ce plan a été levé par le Cap herd et Communiqué par Mr Kendall'.

AN Marine 5JJ.83 (Blue Book II:33) ATL

LEJEUNE, JULES LOUIS

Dessinateur (Artist)

'Recueil de 138 dessins, de formats et de techniques différents, montés sur onglets et reliés en un volume in-folio. Vers 1822'.

Service Historique de la Marine 356.

- f.107 'L'établissement des missionnaires anglais à Kidikidi'.
- f.108 'Cascade de Fanafaous à 3 milles de l'établissement des missionnaires anglais à Kidikidi'.
- f.109 'Naturels de la Nlle. Zélande. Trois figures, dont un soldat vêtu à l'européene'.
- f.110 'Nlle Zélandaise de 16 à 18 ans'.
- f.111 'Nlle Zélandaise de 20 à 22 ans'.
- f.112 'Habitants de la Nlle. Zélande avec une vue de leur place fortifiée ou Hippah. 10 avril 1824. Au premier plan, une pirogue avec de nombreux indigènes'.
- f.113 'Jeune fille de la Nlle Zélande. Sur l'avant-bras droit on lit: La COQUILLE 1824'.
- f.114 'Etinou. Jeune fille de la Nlle Zélande. Annoté en bas à droite: Nanette'.
- f.115 'Taïfanga. Sauvage de la Nlle. Zélande. C P cuivre clair. Tatouage très creux. Chef. Il porte un uniforme européen et il est vu de profil à gauche'.
- f.116 'Sauvage de la Nlle Zelande. Chef. Vu en buste de profil à gauche'.
- f.117 'Toï. Roi des Sauvages de la Nlle. Zélande. Il a été à Londres. Vu en buste, de profil à gauche'.
- f.118 'Objets de la Nouvelle Zélande. Flûte, hache, hameçon, dent de poisson'.

'Le manuscrit du Journal de M Lejeune, dessinateur de l'expédition de Duperrey'.

SHM 355

The manuscript journal of Lejeune, which unfortunately stops before the *Coquille* reached New Zealand.

LESSON, RENÉ PRIMEVÈRE

In 'Voyage Autour du Monde . . . Suite et complément de la relation imprimée du même auteur'.



- 1 'Carte de la baie des Iles de la Nouvelle Zélande'
- 2 'Oiseaux de la Nouvelle-Zélande' (List of birds)
- 3 'Carte de la partie nord de la Nouvelle-Zélande'
- 4 Sketch (Carved vessel)
- 5 Watercolour (plant)
- 6 Plant
- 7 Plant

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*To be concluded in the October issue*





Frontispiece to L'Estrange's *The Observer in Dialogue* (London, 1684 and 1687).



## Roger L'Estrange and *No Blinde Guides*, 1660

JOHN HETET

On 25 May 1660 Charles II returned to England. In the months prior to his return, a period of relative press freedom, a pamphlet war erupted which was marked by the publications of two figures who played vital roles in determining both the liberty and regulation of the press in seventeenth century England. John Milton, 'Puritan revolutionary', a major proponent of Commonwealth ideals and Roger L'Estrange, a royalist pamphleteer and advocate for the Restoration became two central figures in a war of words. Their publications, often anonymous, in the early months of 1660 argued for and against the restoration of the exiled monarch.

L'Estrange's anonymous pamphlets prior to the Restoration were strongly partisan as he attacked republican writers and reassured his readers of the promised stability and unity the monarch would bring to a disparate country. His personal attacks on Milton and a range of dissenters under the label 'seditious literature', which may be traced through the pamphlets he wrote, are part of English press history; they highlight the contentious issues of the day, depict L'Estrange's clearly defined ideas on seditious literature, provide an image of the booktrade and trade relationships and illuminate the manner in which polemical prose was exploited by the contesting philosophies. This pamphlet literature was being written in a period of transition where the movement from a Commonwealth republic to that of a monarchy was expressed in the anxieties of a defeated Puritanism, with lost political hopes, and the burgeoning confidence of a resurrected royalist cause.

Public opinion has always been an extremely malleable force open to the promises of security in times of economic stress and sensitive to the fluctuations of power on the political field. The early months of 1660 were no exception to this general principle as the competing parties vied for public support through the channels of the media. By discussing the issues of the day: monarchy, episcopacy, a free parliament and General Monck's activities, the

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A revised and expanded text of a paper read to members of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand, Christchurch, 24 January 1981.



various parties hoped to influence public attitudes and thereby gain popular support.

The image of the king and the promised stability of a monarchy became the focus of discussion in the press. During the interregnum the clandestine royalist press kept the role of kingship alive for the public by publications such as *Eikon Basilike* 'the Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings'. With most copies containing a highly emblematic frontispiece of Charles I in prayer, the publication won favour in both literate and illiterate circles. The popularity of *Eikon Basilike*, much to the annoyance of the Council of State, was clearly evident in the 1650s with thirty-five editions being printed in London within a year.<sup>1</sup> Despite Milton's efforts to attack the publication in *Eikonoklastes*, interest in kingship was prevalent and by 1660 a conflation of political events, economic hardship and pamphlet literature had prepared the public for the Restoration. The printed word and rumours which circulated in the coffee houses and the streets of London endorsed the royalist appeal to the magic of kingship.

This was a period where the press was free not by statute, but by the inability of the Stationers' Company and the Council of State to censor and enforce existing legislation which would regulate the activities of the press. Although General Monck and the Council of State had taken control of the newsbooks, the *Parliamentary Intelligencer* and *Mercurius Politicus*, pamphlets were in circulation which threatened the stability of the state. Monck's brother-in-law Thomas Clarges had advised Monck to make use of the press in furthering his purposes and had recommended both Muddiman and Dury to be responsible for the printing of official news.<sup>2</sup> On 2 April 1660 Marchamont Nedham, the opportunist editor, was discharged from writing the official newsbook and the executive Council of State ordered:

That the Master and Wardens of the Stationers Company, London, be, and are hereby required to take care that no bookes of Intelligence be printed and published on Mundayes or Thursdayes weekly, other than such as are put forth by Mr. Henry Muddiman, and Mr. Giles Dury, who have an allowance in that behalf from the Council of State.<sup>3</sup>

Monck now had control of domestic and foreign news and the readers of the newsbooks were kept informed of his activities; this enhanced the general's growing esteem. From being the official organ of news which expressed anti-monarchy sentiments, the newsbooks prepared their readers for the King's return.

Booksellers and printers had enjoyed considerable freedom through most of 1659; however those openly allied to the Republican cause were threatened with arrest. As a warning to the



radical booksellers, one of John Milton's publishers was asked to appear before the Council of State:

The Council of State being informed, that Livewell Chapman (Stationer of London) having caused several seditious and treasonable books to be printed and published, did withdraw and obscure himselfe, ordered a Proclamation to be issued forth, requiring the said Livewell Chapman to appear at the Council of State.<sup>4</sup>

Chapman was prepared to take risks in publishing and circulating radical thought. His motives were not commercial but political: an expression of his abhorrence of kingship.

While Monck was asserting an influence over the press he was playing a prominent role in the politics of the day by insisting that the members of Parliament excluded in 1648 be reinstated. He called for the elections to a new Parliament which was to sit on 25 April 1660. These events gave the royalist pamphleteers cause for elation and they could rightfully predict the demise of the 'Good Old Cause' and quietly prepare for the return of Charles Stuart. The printed items for the first four months of 1660 express the changes in the fortunes of the respective parties and vividly illustrate the laurels heaped upon General Monck, the renewed interest in monarchy and in a few tracts the bitter feeling against kingship.<sup>5</sup>

Although writers were willing to argue the particular virtues of their avowed causes they were generally reluctant to identify themselves on the titlepages of the published pamphlets. As the tide of support moved from the 'idealistic' community of the Commonwealth to the hierarchical edifice of monarchy there were fewer stationers willing to take the risks involved with radical publications; they were silenced not only by the gestures made by the Council of State but also by nervous publishers weighing their commercial interests ahead of their political beliefs. Exceptions to this trend did occur and John Milton and Livewell Chapman stand out for their solitary and resonant protests against power being vested in a king and Church.

Milton was one of the most respected and forceful writers for the 'Good Old Cause' constantly appealing to the rational faculty of man and the need for those who assumed power to preserve liberty and virtue. His cogent and apposite arguments were a compelling aspect of his works prior to the Restoration. On 3 March 1660, with the help of Livewell Chapman, he had printed *The Readie & Easie Way to Establish A Free Commonwealth, And the Excellence there of, Compared with the Inconveniencies and Dangers of Readmitting Kingship in this Nation*. The pamphlet was addressed to a majority of the nation who shared 'the vain and groundless apprehension that



nothing but kingship can restore trade'.<sup>6</sup> Milton was clearly alarmed that the people were willing to compromise the ideals encapsulated in the 'Good Old Cause' for the elitist policies of monarchy.

*The Readie & Easie Way* is a political document responding to the Rump readmitting those members of the Long Parliament, mostly Presbyterian, who had been opposed to regicide and had been consequently excluded in December 1648. With the writs for electing a 'new' Parliament gaining approval on 16 March and the sitting of this Parliament timed for 25 April 1660, Milton decided to revise the pamphlet and an enlarged second edition was brought out in time for the members of the 'new' parliament to read. There was now an obvious danger in attacking the motives and political manoeuvres of those in power. Livewell Chapman was hiding to avoid arrest and Ralph Davenport was to be imprisoned for printing libellous and seditious books against the state. However, this did not silence Milton's political and moral objections to the pragmatic desires of those who would support the return of the King.

Despite the dangers, Milton's second edition of *The Readie & Easie Way* appeared between 9 and 24 April 1660, bravely carrying his name on the title page but without a bookseller's or printer's name. But these strong warnings of the nation becoming a servile state where spiritual and civil freedoms would be truncated only brought forth a battery of derisive counter-statements from the royalist scribes. They were not slow in recognising the changed prose style and the elitist content of his argument. Milton's attempt at appealing to a larger audience, possibly Levellers, was now condemned as 'printed for the Chandlers and Tobaccomen' who would never read them. His earlier proposals were castigated as 'the attempts of your stiff formal eloquence, which you arm accordingly with anything that lies in your way', and his desired government was 'inevitably arbitrary and tyrannical'.<sup>7</sup>

Amongst the royalist polemicists the anonymous writings of Roger L'Estrange stand out, not only for their attacks against Milton but also for their statements against a type of pamphlet which he thought endangered the well-being of the state and which he branded 'libellous and seditious'. L'Estrange was a discreet polemicist in the early months of 1660. Although he was a champion for episcopacy and monarchy he concealed his identity in all of the 32 publications we attribute to him before the Restoration. Fortunately, Kitchin, Wing, Parker and more recently Coleridge have enabled us to determine the pamphlets which L'Estrange wrote during this period.<sup>8</sup> The identification of these tracts has been based upon prose style and L'Estrange's references to some of these



works in later pamphlets. The publication in June 1660 of *L'Estrange His Apology*, in which he brought together earlier works, thereby identifying them as his own, has enabled scholars to make definite attributions.

Central to these works is L'Estrange's preoccupation with the political debates of the day. His arguments were to buttress royalist beliefs and to win support amongst the merchants and gentry. He was always fully aware of the dangers of certain political ideas gaining a general circulation and it became a declared duty for him to discredit those who posed a threat to his cherished but antiquated belief in monarchy and episcopacy. His early plea for limited monarchy was to flower into a more confident espousal of royalist principles. L'Estrange had adopted the role of an unofficial propagandist making an analysis of the factors which determined the support of the present government and why they were faulty, while providing answers to alarmist pamphlets. It was the panic-mongers who bore the brunt of his invective, being labelled 'trayterous' and 'seditious'.

The question of law and order both in the church and state was once again before the public during the months before and after the Restoration. The royalists argued that only monarchy could assure tradespeople and men of property a continuity of government and thus stability. The commonwealthmen, discovering a general undercutting of their support, had appealed to the army to overthrow their elected leaders. It was around the army that the battle for support would rage and ultimately determine the successful Restoration.

In March 1660 *A Plea for Limited Monarchy* was published in which L'Estrange analysed the motives behind the influential groups who opposed the return of Charles. He believed, correctly, that those who wanted a Commonwealth had vested interests, although they were amenable to the idea of a restored monarchy. L'Estrange believed that they felt anxious about their possible loss of crown lands acquired during the interregnum and their general belief that only a Commonwealth could sort out the entangled interests, including religious, of the nation. A change of government and the flexible allegiances of the army might well leave a king insecure and threaten another war. However, L'Estrange answered such fears and argued 'that our former Government, eminently, included all the perfections of a Free State, and was the Kernel, as it were, of a Common-wealth, in the Shell of Monarchy'.<sup>9</sup> It was clear that the fate of the nation was in the hands of General Monck, and L'Estrange in recognition of this had prefaced the pamphlet with a 'humble addresse to his Excellency General Monck'. These overtures to Monck did not please the



general, who was becoming the focus of much speculation in the pamphlets of the various factions. In an attempt to quell the rise in anonymous unlicensed works Secretary Scott was asked to look after the press and a notice was sent to the Lord Mayor and Common Council of London reminding them of the Act passed 20 September 1649 censoring the distribution of scandalous books and papers. The Lord Mayor was to suppress all news-hawkers, mercury women, and ballad singers. Likewise the Stationers' Company was asked to make diligent searches of all presses involved in unlicensed work and to report back on their surveillance. However, the list of pamphlets and books which were printed during this period is a testament to the ineffective governance of the press. There was an accepted belief that the press was free. Prior to his concealment, Livewell Chapman had been encouraged in his activities by John Desborough: 'We fix on you as the faithfullest man, to convey our thoughts to our brethren about London. The Press is free enough for it, there is no restraint on that as yet.'<sup>10</sup> Thus, the work of L'Estrange and Milton continued unabated.

A characteristic feature of this period of debate in the press was the speed with which the royalists would answer the publications of their opponents. Milton proved a highly provocative pamphleteer whom the royalists regarded with a mixture of scorn and begrudging respect. He had made his mark by countering Salmasius, held to be Europe's greatest scholar, in the *Defence of the People of England*. The *Readie & Easie Way* appeared and provoked a number of replies from the royalist camp. The opportunity to belittle Milton in a changing political context was an incentive for attacks such as *The Censure of the Rota upon Mr. Milton's Readie and Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*, *The Dignity of Kingship Asserted*, and L'Estrange's *Be Merry and Wise, or, A Seasonable Word*. This was L'Estrange's first published answer to the arguments Milton promoted. The changing political fortunes were openly exploited to discredit his rival:

I could only wish his Excellency [Monck] had been a little civiller to Mr. Milton; for, just as he had finished his model of a commonwealth directing in these very terms, the choyce; men not addicted to a single person, or House of Lords, and the work is done. Income the secluded members and spoyle his project . . .<sup>11</sup>

Because of the speed with which those pamphlets were written and their general anonymous nature, mistaken attributions were made. These attributions, whether right or wrong, were often used by the royalists to condemn major figures such as Milton, Marchamont Nedham and Livewell Chapman for works in which they had not participated. It was better to give the 'seditious' work



an author of public repute than allow it anonymity. The polemicists forged a web of seditious odium around the Republican authors and their works both real and imaginary. In April 1660 L'Estrange wrote *Treason Arraigned* in answer to the virulent pamphlet *Plain English* and *The Readie & Easie Way*. *Plain English* abused the Royalist party for encouraging the people back to their 'old bondage'. L'Estrange either conveniently or mistakenly attributed the work to Milton:

It is a piece, drawn by no Fool, and it deserves a serious answer.—By the Design;—the subject,—Malice, and stile; I should suspect it for a Blot of the same pen that wrote *ICONOCLASTES*. It runs foule; tends to Tumult—and, not content, Barely to Applaud the Murder of the king, the execrable Author of it vomits upon his Ashes; with a Pedantique, and Envenom'd scorn, pursuing still his sacred Memory.<sup>12</sup>

He believed that the pamphlet had been written 'to Tumultuate the Army, and the People' and he exposes, in a proleptic manner, the way in which he would 'suppresse it, were no more copies of it extant: but 'tis too late for that. The Countries are already Furnish'd; and the Town yet full of them . . . so that it rests now, only to lay open the vile Interests of this bloody Faction, and Antidote the people against the danger'.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, these were to be the two major roles L'Estrange was actively to play in the following twenty years: suppressing works which threatened the State, Crown and Church as Surveyor and Licenser of the press and offering an 'antidote' through his numerous writings when either out of office or when licensing was no longer effective.

*Treason Arraigned* contains a host of ideas, attitudes and examples which L'Estrange would use with varying skill and success during his lengthy career. He used the history of the civil war and the intervening interregnum to support his belief that only the Restoration would bring back order, economic prosperity and stability. His distrust of the press would be long standing: 'But 'tis to Shew the World, how much our Pamphlet Merchand is steer'd by interest, and passion, and how little by Reason, and Truth.'<sup>14</sup> He would openly confront his rivals in the press condemning their attempts to alarm the public and their appeals to the 'phanatiques in England'. Milton was singled out for special treatment not only by the printer's use of italics in full capitals: '*MILTON*' but also by L'Estrange's continued attack on the author's writings over a long period of time.

*Eikonoklastes* was continually selected by L'Estrange as the epitome of seditious pamphlets. Milton had been commissioned by the Council of State to write the pamphlet following the unprecedented success of the secretly published *Eikon Basilike*.



Milton's attack upon Charles I seemed to L'Estrange a heinous and sacriligious act. In 1681 he used it as an example in *Dissenters Sayings* to illustrate the type of seditious statements printed after the Civil War. Likewise, on 19 March 1683 the *Observer* reminded its readers of 'those Execrable Libels of Eiconoclastes'.

'Sedition' and 'seditious' are liberally used throughout L'Estrange's work and they require some definition before we proceed. The *Oxford English Dictionary* provides two definitions of 'seditious' which would, perhaps, find L'Estrange's approval: '1. Of a person or body of persons: Given to or guilty of sedition; in early use, "Factious with tumult, turbulent"; now chiefly engaged in promoting disaffection or inciting to revolt against constituted authority. 2. Of, pertaining to, or of the nature of sedition; tending to incite to or provoke sedition'. From L'Estrange's work 'constituted authority' meant the King and the Church of England. To challenge or even question these institutions with their established traditions and privileges, either in the press or the pulpit, was to promote disaffection and 'to delude the people'. Milton's attack on *Eikon Basilike* and L'Estrange's attack on Milton emphasise the essentially different political, religious and cultural interests of these men.

L'Estrange's sensitivity to the 'seditious' statements of Milton continued through his unswerving perusal of numerous pamphlets as he ferreted out the offending statements and cautioned the supposedly unsuspecting reading public. Pamphlets such as *Plain English* not only challenged the growing support for Charles Stuart by reminding the readers of the spiritual and political liberties to be lost by restoring him, but also appealed to both the man who held ultimate power at the time, General Monck, and the army with its varied interests. Open appeal to the army through the press was condemned as a seditious and mutinous act. *An Alarum to the Armies of England, Scotland and Ireland* and *An Eye-salve for the English Armie* urged the army to take the law into their own hands. These ranting publications set a dangerous precedent and the Council of State issued a proclamation ordering the arrest of such persons as 'do attempt the debauching and alienating the affections of some in the Army'.<sup>15</sup> L'Estrange, likewise, had his answer prepared for publication after reading these tracts, once again pointing out their seditious content. *Physician Cure Thyself, or, An Answer to a Seditious Pamphlet, Entitled Eye Salve for the English Army* was written to allay the soldiers' fears of persecution under a new king. Charles had promised to respect religious liberty and only those who opposed 'constituted' authority would be in any danger.

While desperate attempts were made through the press for the army to prevent the restoration, the pulpit was being used by a



former chaplain to Charles I to encourage support amongst his congregation for the exiled monarch. The pulpit, like the press, was an avenue which could be used to gain and mould public support. A sermon could be given which would comment upon the politics of the day through the clever use of biblical analogies. The Church of England had been a powerful ally to previous monarchs, and had buttressed the myth of the divine right of kings. The civil war had destroyed the very fabric of that myth but it was now, in the early months of 1660, winning favour amongst some of the clergy and the people. However, if one was to offer a sermon with some political content one had to be prepared for the consequences. Matthew Griffith had reminded his congregation, on Sunday 25 March 1660, that to usurp the divine relationship of God and King was to court destruction. The sermon delivered by Griffith would bring into conflict, once again, John Milton and Roger L'Estrange.

Griffith had chosen Proverbs XXIV: 21 as the text for his sermon on the 25 March: 'My son, fear God and the King, and meddle not with them that be seditious or desirous of change.' Solomon's statement was the pretext for Griffith's extended commentary on the nation's problems lightly veiled by a tissue of biblical and mythological references. His intent was obvious when the 'seditious' were stated to be the party responsible for:

first kindling the coals and their blowing up the quarrel betwixt king and Parliament: till to gratifie their own factions, and satisfie themselves and their own friends, they had brought us to this generall want, & woes, through want of Religion . . .<sup>16</sup>

Griffith's confidence exceeded his tact and on 31 March he registered the sermon for publication in Stationers' Hall. However, the clearly political sermon carried a dedicatory epistle to General Monck and appended *The Samaritan Revived* in which he offered remedies and 'speedy healing of our present dangerous Distractions'. The opening Epistle must have been an unwanted embarrassment to General Monck:

My Lord, as it must needs grieve you to see these three distressed kingdoms lye like a Body without a Head . . . You may by this one Act [the restoration of Charles] ennoble and eternize your selfe more in the hearts and chronicles of these three kingdoms . . . It is greater to make a King; then to be one.<sup>17</sup>

The premature and tactless pronouncement seen alongside the contents of his pamphlet made Griffith an unwitting danger and in order to placate the anger of powerful Republicans he was arrested and placed in Newgate 'for writing and publishing a seditious and libellous book'.<sup>18</sup> Four days later Serjant Northfolk was issued with



a warrant to apprehend Thomas Johnson, Griffith's printer, at the Golden Key in St. Paul's Churchyard.<sup>19</sup>

Milton relished the confinement of the royalist divine and noted it with some satisfaction in his *Brief Notes upon a Late Sermon Titl'd, The Fear of God and the King, Preachd and Since Published, by Matthew Griffith*. Nevertheless, the Council of State had been able to act against Griffith and Johnson because they had graced the title page with their names. The challenge of anonymous pamphlets discussing political issues continued unabated from the clandestine presses. In *Brief Notes* Milton mounted one of his final prose attacks against the growing wave of royalist support and, in particular, against Matthew Griffith. He argued that Griffith had charged General Monck 'most audaciously and falsly with the renouncing of his own public promises and declarations both to the Parlament and the Army'.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, the inept dedication was cause for censure:

He begins in his Epistle to the General; and moves cunningly for a licence to be admitted Physitian both to the Church and State; then sets out his practice . . . commencing his address with an impudent calummie and affront to his Excellence, that he would be pleased to carry on what he had so happily begun in the name and cause not of God onely.<sup>21</sup>

The king was not the anointed agent of God and Milton recalled God's unwillingness to grant the Hebrews a king. Kingship, Milton insisted, had been abolished by the law of the land. His aversion to the nation reverting to monarchy had been stated on six occasions between October 1659 and April 1660; and his argument was reiterated in *Brief Notes*: 'Free Commonwealths have bin ever counted fittest and properest for civil, vertuous and industrious Nations, abounding with prudent men worthie to govern: monarchie fittest to curb degenerate, corrupt, idle proud luxurious people.'<sup>22</sup> But Monck and the Council of State were secretly negotiating with Charles Stuart for his return and it seemed inevitable that Milton's fondest hopes would lie in ruins. There is a telling hint of his own loss of hope when he conceded that if the people must condemn themselves to thralldom,

despairing of our own vertue, industrie and the number of our able men, we may then, conscious of our own unworthiness to be governd better, sadly betake us to our befitting thralldom: yet chusing out of our own number one who hath best aided the people.<sup>23</sup>

Milton concluded the tract by discrediting Griffith's loose biblical citations and classical analogies.

*Brief Notes* came to the attention of Roger L'Estrange not long after its printing and he did not hesitate in replying to the pamphlet. *No Blinde Guides* admonished Milton's pamphlet as seditious and



L'Estrange avoided the appeal and claims of Griffith stating that he was:

not bold enough to be his Champion, in all particulars; not yet so Rude, as to take an Office most properly to him Belonging, out of his Hand; Let him acquit himself, in what concerns the Divine; and I'll adventure upon the most material parts of the Rest . . .<sup>24</sup>

The 'most material parts of the Rest' was to be L'Estrange's discussion of kingship. Having read extensively in the corpus of Milton's prose work L'Estrange would not only attack *Brief Notes* and *The Readie & Easie Way* but also remind the reader that Milton was the author of such infamous propaganda pieces as *Eikonoklastes* and *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda*. With considerable verve and a wicked sense of wit L'Estrange opened his address to Milton: 'Mr Milton, Although in your Life and Doctrine, you have resolved one great Question; by evidencing that Devils may indue Humane shapes; and proving your self, even to your wife, an Incubus: you have yet started Another. . . .'<sup>25</sup> By carefully selecting passages from Milton's pamphlets and offering an analysis against a background of political facts L'Estrange could articulate the dangers inherent in his opponent's work. To enliven his polemical prose L'Estrange couched his arguments in a colloquial language and a barbed humour:

KINGSHIP is your old Bondage; RUMPSHIP, OURS: (Forgive the Term) you were then, Past the one: we are now (God be thanked) past the Other: and should be as loth to Return, as You. Yet you are Tampering to delude the People, and to withdraw them from a Peaceable, and Rational expectancy of good, into a mutinous, and hopeless attempt of mischief. By your own Rule now, who are the Deceivers: we, that will not Return to our old Bondage; or you, that would perswade us to't.<sup>26</sup>

The title *No Blinde Guides* held a twofold meaning for the reader. Firstly, Milton's attempt 'to delude the People' from a 'rational expectancy of good': the believed failure of Milton to see the encroaching political defeat; and secondly the highly personal attack on the writer's loss of vision. Both readings are exploited throughout L'Estrange's work and while attacking Milton's millenary sympathies he states: 'Doe you then, really expect to see Christ, Reigning upon Earth, even with those very eyes you Lost (as 'tis reported) with staring too long, and too sawcily upon the Portraiture of his Viceregent, to breake the Image.'<sup>27</sup> Returning to the titlepage, the epigram: 'If the Blinde lead the Blinde both shall fall in the ditch' appears as a warning to the English people, even though there is an implicit criticism of its populace.

Indeed, in the writings of both L'Estrange and Milton, certain assumptions emerge on their relationship as writers to the society



which they wish to mould and influence. Milton had been an active participant in the revolutionary movement which attempted to win friends amongst the various alienated factions to support the 'Good Old Cause'. His publications in the early months of 1660 adopted a simpler prose style than that of his previous works. He realised that he would need the support of the Levellers if the restoration was to be thwarted and this may account for his change in style. However, his audience was not prepared to accept his world vision and we sense his perception of a contrasting readership, fit but few, in his epic *Paradise Lost*. L'Estrange likewise attempted to cater for a varied audience. Throughout his career it is evident that the people represented a 'multitude' whose reading had to be carefully censored so that they would not meddle with government. *No Blinde Guides* followed a principle that pervades all of L'Estrange's writing:

The Common people are Poyson'd, and will run Stark Mad, if they be not Lur'd: Offer them Reason, without Fooling, and it will never Down with them: And give them Fooling, without Argument, they're never the Better for't. Let 'em Alone, and All's Lost. So that the Mixture is become as Necessary, as the office; And it has been My part, only to Season the one with the Other.<sup>28</sup>

We are aware that L'Estrange is humouring an undefined group of readers and boasting to a more learned elite. His polemical prose is endowed with various rhetorical devices but never laboured or fettered by his question and answer address. The language is brisk and forthright and lapses into moments of common speech in the hope of capturing the popular ear:

Is it possible to read your Proposals of the benefits of a Free-State, without Reflecting upon your Tutours—All this will I give thee if thou wilt fall down, and worship me? Come, come sir, lay the Devil aside; do not proceed with so much malice and against knowledge:—Act like a man;—that a good Christian may not be afraid to pray for you.<sup>29</sup>

The final paragraph of the pamphlet is pitched at the learned of his audience:

Once more; You say, That the Kings principall Oath was to maintein those Laws which the People SHOULD chuse. (Consuetudines quas Vulgus Elegerit) Reconcile Consuetudines (referring necessarily to what is Past) to Elegerit, in the Future Tense, and I have done.<sup>30</sup>

Nevertheless, critical opinion towards *No Blinde Guides* has been largely negative. Following the Restoration, Milton embarked on his poetic ventures which were to assure him of future esteem: 'a life beyond life'. This respect, which is well deserved, has however clouded many of the assessments of *No Blinde Guides*. Sidney Lee



condemned it as 'a very scurrilous and personal attack'<sup>31</sup> and L'Estrange's only biographer George Kitchin called it 'a tract his biographer must feel some shame in mentioning. The little restraint observed in his first attack on the poet has entirely disappeared, and the most venomous spirit discovered'.<sup>32</sup> Even William Riley Parker has tentatively stated that 'when one reads some of his other pamphlets, this one seems restrained and impersonal by comparison'.<sup>33</sup> But we must remember that these were polemical tracts vying for much needed support from the uncommitted factions. One did not only discredit an opponent's opinions but also his personal credibility. Indeed, these pamphlets were written in a time of relative press freedom and published with great speed. These unlicensed tracts of controversy were for an audience which desired a pamphlet which was topical, often irreverent, and accessible. This was a field in which there was no prescribed decorum and the quality of the writing was highly variable.

It is possible to see *No Blinde Guides* as a paradigm; an early example of the path L'Estrange's work would take in 1660–61 and later in 1680–81. It is also the juncture which brought two major polemicists together: John Milton the intellectual embodiment of the English revolutionary bourgeoisie and Roger L'Estrange the royalist spokesman for privilege and tradition. The pattern which we perceive in *No Blinde Guides* is one of methodical damning of Milton's work by selective quotation. Any residual coherence in Milton's arguments is destroyed by L'Estrange's eliciting component elements and putting them into a new context. The integrity of the text was now destroyed and this was amplified by besmirching the author personally. Two audiences were catered for: those looking for humour and the odd laugh and those who might, perhaps, enjoy the textual debate on matters both classical and biblical. L'Estrange no doubt would have suppressed Milton's works had he had the power he was later to be given. But, failing this censorial post, he turned to his other role and offered an 'antidote' to the people. When Charles returned to England and gradually brought in people to offices which were to fit the needs of the time, L'Estrange would eventually become Surveyor of the Press: the knowledge which he had acquired during this period would be used with varying effect upon those printers, booksellers and authors who chose to traduce constituted authority.

With Charles back in power in June 1660 the Cavaliers lobbied for appointments in his court. Amongst those who drew attention to the dangers and services they had undertaken for the monarch during the interregnum was Roger L'Estrange. He gathered together unsold copies of *No Blinde Guides* and *Physician Cure thy Self*, and reprinted *A Seasonable Word*, *Treason Arraigned* and *Double*



*your Guards* with an accompanying account of the period in which they were written:<sup>34</sup>

the whole Nation was as vigilant as possible to disappoint the Grand Conspiracy of the Phanaticks. About this time they made several Attempts in order to a general rising; but by care and conduct of the Council, the General, and the Militia, all came to nothing; the heart of the Design was almost broken; and yet they would not leave their Pamphleting. Particularly Milton put forth a bawling piece against Dr. Griffith and somebody else another scurrilous Libel, entituled EYE-SALVE

. . .<sup>35</sup>

This testament to the past was also strangely prophetic as L'Estrange was to find out when he discovered that, though he could gain a marked degree of control in the press, there were always those who 'would not leave their Pamphleting' and circulate their unorthodox opinions.

Despite the timely release of *L'Estrange His Apology* the author would languish in the corridors of power before gaining that much desired preferment. Like many of his companions L'Estrange was extremely disillusioned as Charles appointed men from once dubious parties to office. He now used his knowledge of the press and the literature printed after the Civil War to warn Charles of the former activities of these newly appointed men. It was also during this period that L'Estrange turned his polemical skills on the outspoken Presbyterian prelates. He was aware of the tenuous control of power Charles now held and that this nervousness on the part of Crown and government could be exploited. By becoming an outspoken critic of the liberties which the Presbyterians had taken and by exposing the range of seditious publications available to the reading public, L'Estrange became both an embarrassing nuisance and a useful surveyor.

The functions of the pulpit and the press were always closely allied according to L'Estrange. Unlimited freedom of the press and the pulpit was to invite dissension and uproar:

Nothing more certain than the Freedom of the presse and the Pulpit is sufficient to embroyl the best ordered Government in the world . . . Add but to this distemper, Licentious Pamphlets, and seditious sermons, the world shall never keep the people quiet. Wherefore since on all hands it is agreed that Printing, and Preaching in opposition to a publick establishment, are of so dangerous consequence.<sup>36</sup>

It is in L'Estrange's reply to John Corbet's *The Interest of England in the Matter of Religion* that he castigated Presbyterians as a group of conspirators working against the King and the Church of England while being responsible for: 'Swarms of pestilent papers. . . Some of the sharpest of them, I delivered to several members . . . with the stationers name for whom they were printed, (Smith at the Bible in Cornhill, Croftons Agent)'.<sup>37</sup> The familiar scrutiny of L'Estrange is



evidenced in the pamphlet as he cites authors, publications and sermons which the Presbyterian faction had promulgated. During his attack on Richard Baxter's *A Petition for Peace* he had the audacity to deny: 'printing . . . a general list of all those persons now in imployment, which formerly bare Arms or Office against the King.'<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, a list did appear in the following year with the names of Stationers whom L'Estrange identified as working against the King both during his exile and following his restoration. Francis Tyton, for example, became the focus of considerable attention in L'Estrange's pamphlets and was identified as a printer responsible for a range of seditious publications.<sup>39</sup> However, L'Estrange wasn't satisfied with unveiling the author or printer of anonymous publications; he set about unravelling the network of connections behind the printed item. While examining Baxter's proposals he stated:

this same schismatical piece of Holynesse, was delivered to the Presse by one Mr. Baxter, or by his Order. Ibbitson in Smithfield was the Printer . . . he that printed the Adjutators Proposals . . . and The petition to the army against the maior . . . in October 1647.<sup>40</sup>

Throughout his publications for 1661 L'Estrange supported his arguments with the aid of Renaissance authorities: Machiavelli, Montaigne and Francis Bacon all figured. From Bacon's essay on sedition he would pronounce: 'Sir Francis Bacon . . . tells us, That the multiplying of Nobility, and other degrees of Quality, in an over-degree of proportion to the Common people, doth speedily bring a state to Necessity . . .'<sup>41</sup> This was the foundation of L'Estrange's inflexible idea that to grant concessions to the 'common people' would bring about changes in the traditional powers of Church and Crown which would only encourage sedition in the state. He believed that stability of the state was maintained by the prohibition of conventicles and the regulation of the press. For L'Estrange the Civil War provided a case study and Bacon's essay a base upon which to build his arguments against allowing greater freedoms to the press and pulpit. As he stated in *A Memento*:

Libells were not only the Forerunners, but, in a high Degree, the causes of our late Troubles: and what were the frequent, open, and licentious Discourses of Clokemen in Pulpits, but the ill boding Play of Porcpisces before a Tempest?

We may remember also the false Newes of Plotts against the Religion, and Liberties of the Nation.<sup>42</sup>

The press in 1661 provided him with ample material to attack the factions: 'The Presse as Busie, and as Bold; Sermons as factious; Pamphlets as seditious; the Government defam'd, and the



Defamers of it (if Presbyterians) scayse better then their Accusers . . .'<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, it wasn't until L'Estrange began taking an active part in hunting out seditious presses in 1662 and gaining the official position of Surveyor of the Press following the publication of *Considerations and Proposals to the Regulation of the Press* in 1663 that he made his mark on the press of the day.

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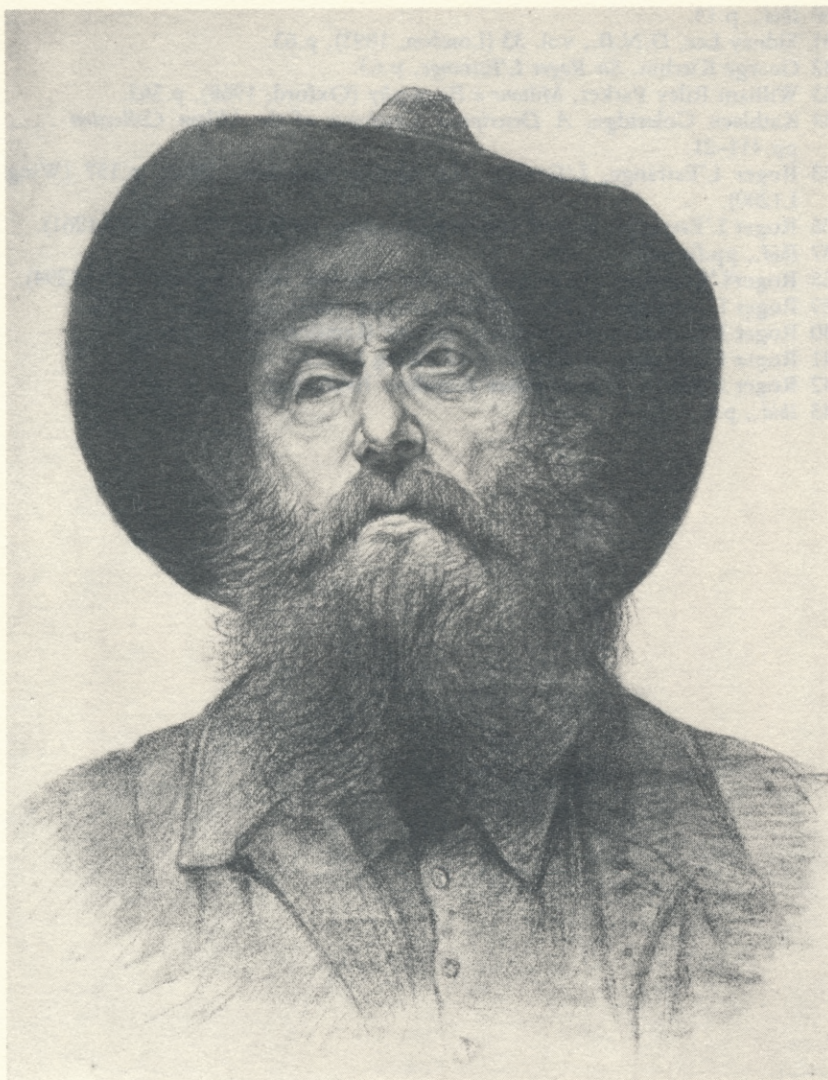
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#### *Notes on Contributors*

ISABEL OLLIVIER, MA, DIP TCHG, is now at the University of Paris VII working on the image of New Zealand in works published in French before 1840. The present list is the product of a year's research in France (1980/81) on the manuscripts of French explorers in New Zealand, some of which she has subsequently prepared for publication by the Turnbull Library (see page 63).

JOHN HETET, BA (HONS), MA, BSC, is currently reading for a doctorate in historical bibliography at Darwin College, Cambridge. (See also notes in the October 1982 issue, pages 113 and 132.)





Frank Nairn: self-portrait, [186-?].

BARBIE OULFHER, MA, PH.D., is now at the University of Paris VII working on the image of New Zealand in works published in French before 1840. The present list is the product of a year's research in France (1980) on the names of French explorers in New Zealand, some of which she has subsequently prepared for publication by the French Library (see page 67).

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## Original portraits of writers, musicians and artists in the Turnbull collections

MOIRA LONG

When Alexander Turnbull began to acquire the manuscripts that were to become the basis of the Library's present collection, much of the material reflected the activities of the early settlers of New Zealand: the letters and journals of missionaries, explorers, surveyors, the pioneer farmers, this country's first politicians. As New Zealand has developed and matured, her citizens have directed their talents in a variety of new directions, scientific, literary, musical and artistic. Nowadays, therefore, the papers of New Zealanders past and present who have made their mark in all these areas, are collected and preserved in the Library's manuscript collection. The Library has regularly acquired portraits of prominent New Zealanders, particularly of those whose papers or publications are well represented in the collections, but in the mid-1970s a particular emphasis was placed on the purchase of portraits by living artists of prominent New Zealand writers, musicians and artists. This is a new direction for the art collection, which primarily fulfils a historical function, serving as a valuable research tool in the areas of Pacific exploration and the settlement of 19th century New Zealand, documenting the topography, the customs and activities, the artifacts, the cultural and social life of the people until the widespread advent of photography in the 1870s and 1880s, when, with a few exceptions, the role of the art collection is taken over by the camera's lens.

A painting, however, can sometimes say more than a photograph of the same subject. The artist's personal interpretation may afford viewers an extra dimension, particularly with portraits, where we hope to obtain not only a likeness, but also an insight into the character and personality of the sitter. And, to the extent that the artist is revealing his own attitudes and sympathies, we have the bonus of another portrait—that of the artist himself.

The Library has recently made considerable efforts to collect artists' papers, which will furnish research material for students of New Zealand art history. While it is the function of the art galleries to collect significant works of contemporary New Zealand artists, we can certainly enhance our manuscript collections with carefully chosen examples of portraits by these artists.



In some cases we see the artist through his own eyes, while other portraits have been deliberately purchased or commissioned because they depict men and women who have made a mark in theatre, films, music, literature or art in New Zealand. We hope that the portrait, in conjunction with photographs and written records, will allow a fuller interpretation of the subject.

There follows a comprehensive list of the portraits in this collection, arranged by subject, with the artist's name and the date of execution in brackets. All measurements are in centimetres, height before breadth.

- George French Angas (artist unknown, 1844) oil 75 × 61.5  
Rita Angus (self-portrait, ca 1940) 2 wash in sketchbook  
each 26.5 × 18.5  
— (artist unknown, 1965) pencil 55 × 38  
Cranleigh Harper Barton (Rudi Gopas, 1955) conté crayon 58 × 43  
James K. Baxter (Noeline Verey, née Flute, 1946 or 1947) oil on  
pinex 71 × 56  
— (Elisabeth Noordhof, 1967) ink 19.5 × 27  
— (artist unknown, 1972) watercolour 29 × 24  
J. C. Beaglehole (Joan Fanning, 1954) oil 60 × 50  
— (Eve Page, 1977) oil 71 × 48.5  
Leo Bensemann (Olivia Spencer-Bower, ca 1948) oil on hardboard  
61 × 40  
Charles Brasch (Lina Bryans, 1965) pastel 57.5 × 42  
— (Joanna Paul, 1972) ink 49 × 33  
Samuel Butler (self-portrait, ca 1880) oil on cardboard 30 × 25  
Sam Cairncross (self-portrait, ca 1940) oil 31.5 × 24  
Peter Cape (Iris Winchester, 1948) oil 51 × 31  
Edwin Carr (Una Platts, 1959) conté crayon 38 × 30.5  
Hubert Church (Granville Danstee, 1889) oil 61.5 × 46  
James Cook (Eve Page, 1923) pencil 30.5 × 21.5  
Percy Cousins (artist unknown, 1945) pencil 24 × 15  
Helen Crabb (Veira Beattie, ca 1956) oil 60 × 45  
Allen Curnow (Anthony Stones, 1982) patinated bronze head 31  
Ruth Dallas (Joanna Paul, 1979) acrylic on paper 27 × 34  
Dorothy Davies (Ziska Schwimmer, 1957) plaster head 35.5  
John Drawbridge (Juliet Peter, ca 1949) ink & wash  
45 × 34  
Archie Fisher (Olivia Spencer-Bower, ca 1946) oil on hardboard  
64 × 41.5





George French Angas, by an unknown artist, 1844.



Ngaio Marsh, by Olivia Spencer-Bower, 1953.



Sir Michael Fowler (Margaret Lawlor Bartlett, 1981) ink 23 × 15.5  
 Margaret Frankel (Olivia Spencer-Bower, 1961) oil on hardboard  
 48.5 × 38.5  
 Denis Glover (Janet Paul, 1969) pencil 31.5 × 24  
 — (Anna Caselberg, 1976) oil on hardboard 65 × 41  
 — (Anthony Stones, 1978) patinated bronze head 27.5  
 Rudi Gopas (Olivia Spencer-Bower, ca 1948) oil on hardboard 51 × 42  
 Frank Gross (Olivia Spencer-Bower, ca 1948) oil on hardboard  
 54 × 38  
 Helen Hitchings (Juliet Peter, ca 1945) ink 28 × 39  
 — (Douglas Macdiarmid, 1950) oil 87 × 59.5  
 Frances Hodgkins (Hannah Ritchie, 1925) pencil 25.5 × 19  
 Ralph Hotere (Cilla McQueen, 1981) pencil 30.5 × 23  
 Sam Hunt (Margaret Lawlor Bartlett, 1978) pencil & ink 23 × 15.5  
 Pat Lawlor (Margaret Lawlor Bartlett, 1978) felt pen 43 × 35.5  
 Alex Lindsay (R. J. Waghorn, 1955) ink 29 × 17  
 Doris Lusk (Olivia Spencer-Bower, ca 1948) oil on hardboard 61 × 40  
 Douglas Macdiarmid (self-portrait, 1944) oil on hardboard 38 × 31.5  
 — (Theo Schoon, ca 1945) crayon & wash 55 × 37.5  
 — (Juliet Peter, ca 1949) monotone wash 49 × 29; ink 33 × 49  
 Raymond McIntyre (L. H. Booth, 1906) ink 33 × 28  
 Stewart Maclellan (Juliet Peter, 1947) watercolour 47 × 32  
 Jane Mander (Ethel Jones, 1942) oil 45 × 40  
 Ngaio Marsh (Olivia Spencer-Bower, 1953) oil on hardboard 70 × 60  
 O. E. Middleton (Joanna Paul, 1979) 2 pencil each 21 × 15;  
 watercolour 24 × 21; acrylic on chipboard 61 × 61  
 Frank Nairn (self-portrait, ca 1860) pastel 58 × 45  
 James Nairn (Mabel Hill, ca 1890) pencil & chalk 45.5 × 30.5  
 Andrea Oliver (Una Platts, 1960) pastel 35 × 37  
 Vincent O'Sullivan (Margaret Lawlor Bartlett, 1978) felt pen  
 43 × 35.5  
 Eve Page (Janet Paul, 1980) oil 54.5 × 36.5  
 Alison Pickmere (Una Platts, 1960) pencil 25.5 × 20  
 Eric Ramsden (Leonard Mitchell, 1958) oil 24 × 20  
 Sir Alfred Reed (Denyse Watson, 1968) oil 64 × 49  
 Alan Reeve (self-portrait, ca 1940) ink & wash 41 × 26  
 — (Christopher Perkins, 1944) pastel 37.5 × 29  
 Linley Richardson (self-portrait, ca 1905) charcoal 58 × 38  
 D. K. Richmond (self-portrait, 1929) watercolour 27.5 × 35.5





Frances Hodgkins, by *Hannah Ritchie*, 1925.



Hone Tuwhare, by *Fergus Collinson*, [ca 1975].



- Frank Sargeson (Anthony Stones, 1970) 22 pencil, charcoal & water-colour each ca 45 × 40
- (Anthony Stones, 1980) patinated bronze head 26
- Keith Sinclair (Margaret Lawlor Bartlett, 1976) ink 23 × 15.5
- Olivia Spencer-Bower (self-portrait, ca 1948) oil on hardboard 64 × 41.5
- Kate Sperrey (self-portrait, 1887) charcoal 42.5 × 29
- Bill Sutton (Olivia Spencer-Bower, ca 1948) oil on hardboard 61 × 36
- Hone Tuwhare (Fergus Collinson, ca 1975) pencil 45.5 × 30
- (Janet Paul, 1980) pencil & watercolour 60.5 × 43
- Melba van der Velden (self-portrait, 1935) watercolour 16 × 12
- Nugent Welch (Sidney Higgs, ca 1912) watercolour 25 × 35.5
- Harold Temple White (artist unknown, 1945) ink 34 × 21.5
- Lois White (self-portrait, 1935) oil on hardboard 50.5 × 40.5
- Robin White (self-portrait, 1968) pencil 43 × 31
- Ormond Wilson (Janet Paul, 1980) pencil 60.5 × 43
- Group portraits of members of Barc's group and of Helen Hitchings' group (Juliet Peter, 1940's & 1950's) 14 chiefly watercolour each ca 40 × 50





## 'From the Black Rocks on Friday': more than a bibliographical footnote

R. M. ROSS & A. G. BAGNALL

*Shortly before her death Ruth Ross asked A. G. Bagnall to write up background material she had accumulated on the authorship of 'From the Black Rocks on Friday'. Dr Bagnall has written the introduction and section II; section I is from Ruth Ross's draft. Ed.*

The late A. H. Reed, in 1950, republished under the auspices of the Dunedin Public Library Association two stories which had appeared in Charles Dickens's periodical *All the Year Round* in May 1862 and April 1864. In his introduction to the first sketch, 'From the Black Rocks on Friday', Mr Reed discussed the two obvious problems which the work presents, the identity of the author, and of the island which is the setting for its principal event.

The story describes how an English clergyman, as the narrator refers to himself, leaves the Bay of Islands in a small boat on a lone fishing expedition. By the evening of the following day wind and current have brought him to one of a group of islands of whose existence he knew from local Maoris. He is obliged to remain and after some months of Crusoe-like existence is eventually rescued by a Maori chief whom he knows.

Despite enquiries to a number of libraries with Dickens collections such as the Huntington, Mr Reed was unable to resolve the problem of authorship. Somewhat boldly he did enlarge on a theory of his own that the island to which the clerical fisherman had drifted was Raoul or Sunday Island in the Kermadecs. Such a hypothesis, if correct, would imply a journey that would have taxed the best navigational skills of an early Polynesian and required considerable luck; it also ignored the time constraints of the story itself which should have been apparent.

Reed's reprint was included in the retrospective *National Bibliography* as F838, but beyond my display of scepticism concerning its author (in choosing to enter it under its title) I had nothing to add. Regrettably my probable over-reaction to Reed's treatment led me to ignore customary bibliographic curiosity and hence fail to consult the one person who could have given an immediate lead by the time the volume concerned was going to press. In fact it was ten years later, on 5 December 1979, that,



during a brief visit, Mrs Ross identified the author as the Rev. Robert Carter. At the time a serious preoccupation prompted no more than a hasty pencil note in a 'home' set of the *Bibliography*.

In late April 1982 Mrs Ross wrote at length on the matter, regretting that she had not gone over the facts with me at some earlier time. Over the years she had accumulated 'ample material to write a very satisfactory little article but I'm afraid I'll never write it . . .' She asked that I write up the story as I thought best and later sent with background material the two drafts that failing strength prevented her from taking any further.

The source material as Mrs Ross discovered it is in two categories; firstly, data relating specifically to Carter's authorship and experiences which prompted the story; secondly, references to his background, character and life in New Zealand and elsewhere. The most fitting way to present it seemed to be to publish the first typed draft with an appropriate introduction and the minimal alteration necessary to keep the flavour of her successive discoveries and to give the background information as an integral but sequential narrative. Reed, for example, begins his story by describing how he bought a bundle of seventeen issues of *All the Year Round* at a Bethune's auction in mid-1949 for the sum of seventeen shillings—hence the point of Mrs Ross's note 11 on her own belated discovery of Reed's effort in 1975 when she bought the little book from a Smith's Bookshop catalogue for five dollars.

To give coherence to the two sections of the narrative and to provide a summary frame of reference it should be mentioned that Carter arrived in Auckland on the *Duke of Portland* in July 1855 with Selwyn who was returning from a visit to England. Carter, in December, was appointed to the joint parishes of Otahuhu and Panmure acting as resident clergyman until the end of June 1858. He then went to the Bay of Islands where he appears to have remained for some two years under the circumstances dealt with in Mrs Ross's draft before leaving for the United States in July 1861. He enjoyed ill health and suffered from an addiction to alcohol but his living with Maoris at Rawhiti and the boating expedition to the Poor Knights Islands and back would point both to a measure of competence and to reserves of strength.

## I

When the authorship of a work, published anonymously, has been the subject of such intense and, indeed, romantic speculation as A. H. Reed applied to 'From the Black Rocks, on Friday',<sup>1</sup> one could perhaps seem to have been a little sneaky in not making known sooner the identity of the writer. But what I know about the



authorship, and about the author, of this story first published in *All the Year Round* in 1862 comprises scraps of information picked up accidentally over the years, the sort of miscellaneous titbits which anyone who digs around in manuscript collections, old newspapers and the like inevitably acquires but which, because of their irrelevance to whatever one was searching for at the time, one tends to forget about until the chance discovery of a related bit of information stirs the memory.

The identity of the author of 'From the Black Rocks, on Friday' is not in itself a matter of great literary moment—though I think it is worth putting the record straight that the story was not written by Charles Dickens—but the manner in which the various bits of the jigsaw have come to light is perhaps worth the telling as an answering piece to A. H. Reed's speculations of over thirty years ago.

I first went through the Clendon Papers<sup>2</sup> in the Auckland Public Library in 1944 but I doubt whether I actually read the William Clarke to J. R. Clendon letters therein<sup>3</sup> until the early to mid-1960s. It is certainly to this latter period that my memory of reference to the Rev. R. Carter relates. I knew of Clarke, the writer of the letters, as a surveyor in the Bay of Islands and Hokianga in the late 1850s.<sup>4</sup> He left New Zealand in 1860 and from Glasgow wrote gossip letters about New Zealand affairs to his old friend J. R. Clendon who, when Clarke knew him, had been magistrate at Russell but was later moved first to Kerikeri and then to Rawene.

Clarke's first mention of Carter was in his letter of 19 January 1862: 'I have written twice to M<sup>r</sup> Carters address but have got no answer—one of the letters was returned as the "*party was not known*" the other was kept. What a fellow he must be!'

But on 24 July 1862 Clarke wrote:

I must tell you a strange story now. Some short time ago I called for a friend in Glasgow. He asked me to pronounce a Maori word which he had seen in one of Dicken's publication(s) called "All the year round" I looked at it and immediately saw the names "Mongonui" and "Rewarewa" & "Wangamumu" &c. It struck me that the stile was like that of our old friend Carter but I couldn't make out from it who wrote it so I addressed a letter to Charles Dickens to ask him if the paper in question was written by the Rev.<sup>d</sup> R.D. Carter. He at once told me it was and gave me Carter's address I wrote to him at once & heard from him in reply. Well on my return from London last week I went to pay him a visit at Heydour Vicarage, near Sledford, Lincolnshire. He was glad to see me, and I was I must say very glad to see his old face again. We had a very cosy chat of things now gone by and we learned each other's views as to future movements—Would you believe it—he is actually going back to New Zealand and to the Bay of Islands.

He only arrived in this Country in January last, having spent nearly a year in America. His adventures there are to be published. His story of his adventures at the Bay of Islands was very popular in this country. I will try to get a copy of it & send it to you. But it was very much coloured to make it "take". For one thing he



said he was at one time forced to live on nothing but "Kiwi", and this too on a very small Island I don't know how many miles out to sea.—He is looking much healthier than he did at the Bay of Islands.

At this time, I remember thinking it would probably be worthwhile to track down this story with a Bay of Islands background, assuming that a file of *All the Year Round* would be available somewhere in New Zealand. Then in 1967, looking for background material on Russell when researching the history of Pompallier House, I ran into Mr Carter again. Amongst a number of letters to Bishop Selwyn on Anglican affairs in Russell there was one on 'rather a painful topic' from R. C. Barstow who succeeded Clendon as magistrate at Russell. The Bishop was doubtless aware, Barstow wrote, that

the Rev<sup>d</sup> R. C. Carter formerly of Otahuhu has been residing among the Natives at the Rawiti for some eight or nine months: yesterday a party from that place informed that his acts for some time back had not been those of a person having the right use of his senses: that he was in the habit of going out alone in his boat to fish, and staying away for days at a time in bad weather, that on two occasions the boat had drifted on shore with M<sup>r</sup> Carter in a state of exhaustion from want of food, when had the wind blown off shore, he must have perished, and I am aware that he has subsisted principally if not entirely upon the charity of the natives.

Barstow was convinced his lordship would agree that 'whilst it would be sufficiently lamentable to see any person of respectable parentage and education similarly situated', it was 'doubly painful' in the case of an ordained minister of the Church of England, 'for the degradation of one must necessarily react to the disparagement of all'. He knew little of Carter personally, having met him only twice, 'but from having heard him speak in familiar terms of people of respectability and high standing in different parts of Yorkshire', supposed his friends 'were in good circumstances'. He attributed Mr Carter's conduct 'in great measure to despair and remorse', and had prevailed upon Mr James S. Clendon<sup>5</sup> 'to receive him as a guest at Manawaora, an establishment I know to be conducted upon the most strict Temperance principles'.<sup>6</sup>

The same collection contained a letter from Carter himself to the Bishop, written a year later and couched in the most humble tones. He had been acquainted with the Bishop's decision 'with regard to my application'.

I should not have troubled your Lordship from any desire of my own. the people here asked me to officiate and I reluctantly consented (subject to your Lordship's approval) as the only means to quiet the unhappy dissensions of this place. Your Lordship thinks it better not. God's will be done for I feel you are but an instrument in His Hands and I take it from Him as a sign that my discipline is not yet perfected, my chastening not yet over.



He had intended 'offering myself once more for the Islands as I have learnt by bitter experience how to labour with mine own hands for my livelihood and I then hoped by my future conduct in some slight measure to try to blot out the past'. He now felt, however, that such an offer would be 'useless and not accepted'.<sup>7</sup>

Mr Carter's acceptance of the Bishop's edict was followed three weeks later by a petition to Selwyn from various inhabitants of Kororareka respectfully requesting 'that the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Robert Carter be permitted to perform divine service in the Church of this parish during the absence of any other Minister'.<sup>8</sup> If any answer was received from Selwyn it was presumably in the negative, and in July 1861 Carter sailed for America in the whale ship *Canton Packet*.<sup>9</sup>

When sorting out papers in the Clendon House at Rawene during Christmas 1972 I was delighted to find another letter from William Clarke to J. R. Clendon, written in January 1866, relating what was probably the final chapter in the life of the Rev. Robert Carter:

I had a long letter the other day from our old quondam friend Carter. It appears that after spending two years in England in the capacity of Curate—he went to New York when he took ill and when he wrote to me he was on his death bed—poor fellow—in an Hospital. He does not say what his ailment was but I think it must have been connected with the brain—to judge from the extraordinary style of the letter he sent me.<sup>10</sup>

In all this time I had never carried out my intention of locating a file of *All the Year Round* in the hope of identifying Carter's story therein, and had no idea what the title was. But in February 1975, when reading through the latest catalogue from Smith's Bookshop, the entry no. 210 hit me in the eye:

Dickens (C.)—Ed.

From the Black Rocks, on Friday and A gold Digger's Notes. Foreword by Professor W. P. Morrell, Introduction by A. H. Reed. 63pp 8vo boards. A very good copy in d/w. Reed 1959. \$3.00<sup>11</sup>

From the mention of the Black Rocks, it seemed obvious that this must be Carter's story. And so it proved, as I found when the book arrived. I must confess that when I read the story my reaction was: the poor old fellow! I was not thinking of the Rev. Robert Carter but of Sir Alfred Reed. This sentiment seemed even more apposite not long afterwards when, searching the files of early 1860s Auckland newspapers—I have forgotten what I was looking for—I came upon 'From the Black Rocks, on Friday', reprinted from *All the Year Round* in the *Daily Southern Cross* of 20 September 1862. A week later, the Russell paragraph 'From our own correspondent' read:



Since my last letter our neighbourhood has been, as usual, quiet and there is not much of interest to communicate. The people here have been both amused and astonished by the article reprinted from *All the Year Round* in your issue of 20th instant. The tale has grown wonderfully.

The real facts of the case are something like this:—The person who is most likely to be the writer of the article, describes himself truly as a clergyman of the Church of England, and did live among the Maoris for a time; but his greatest adventure was his being blown off the land to the "Poor Knights", where he remained two or three days, and returned with a favourable wind; but I don't think he found any kiwi's eggs.<sup>12</sup>

## II

And so, as Mrs Ross has said, the last piece of the jigsaw was found and now in place. Before looking at one or two points on which further comment may be available the gap in the record between Carter's arrival and his move north can be pencilled in. The Otahuhu Church Committee Minute Book which Mrs Ross found in the Auckland Diocesan Office when working on the Church's property records provides an outline.

Carter was appointed Resident Clergyman to Otahuhu and Panmure in December 1855, his terms of appointment being a guarantee by the Church Trustees to pay £100 towards his salary during the first year and to provide a house; the 'remainder' of his stipend was to be made up by Panmure. A review in June 1857, eighteen months later, reported the 'almost total cessation of subscriptions' by the inhabitants for the purpose. Carter vacated the chair at this annual meeting of his congregation to allow discussion of the proposal that his appointment be renewed at the end of the year which prompted 'a very unpleasant and storm[y] discussion . . .' Charges against him were made, in part retracted and then rejected as 'too frivolous to be entertained' and a resolution in favour of reappointment was sent on. Nevertheless, in December, lack of funds compelled a reassessment and the meeting in February 1858, the last which Carter attended, noted that the sum of £30.3.0 was owing to him.<sup>13</sup> He was followed by the Rev. G. H. Johnstone whose incumbency, for quite different reasons, does not seem to have been any more satisfactory.

On this point a related discovery by Mrs Ross, when searching for information about the building of the Melanesian College at Kohimarama, was a little clutch of thirteen letters from Patteson to Selwyn during the summer of 1858-9. In one dated 10 February 1859 Patteson informed the Bishop:

I fancy that Mr Johnson [*sic*] does not give satisfaction at Otahuhu, from a long talk I had with John Gordon. This began about Mr Carter, & I pressed him to speak quite plainly to you on your return, and not to let the Otahuhu people put you into



such an unfair position as before, telling you one day that they were perfectly satisfied & a few months afterwards bringing charges against their own nominee.<sup>14</sup>

The next discovery by Mrs Ross, when working through the Panmure property records, was that Carter had come out on the same vessel as did Selwyn, a point to which we return shortly. The only Carter information she actually looked for was the Church Register in the Auckland diocesan office and that 'delightful entry in Lush's journal to which I picked up the reference in the AP [Auckland Public Library] New Zealand index'. This incident in a lengthy entry for 17 January 1856 describes how Lush when visiting Ashwell was obliged to eat two substantial mid-day dinners, the second, to which he could do scant justice, meticulously cooked by Carter (who had no servant)—'Mr Carter seemed disappointed that his stewed fowl, fried pork & cherry tart were not done more justice to'.<sup>15</sup> Mrs Ross thought it 'very revealing' that Carter was such an accomplished cook.

The Panmure papers contained a letter written in June 1858 to the Bishop of Newcastle, William Tyrrell, by G. A. Kissling as Bishop's Commissary in Selwyn's absence. Carter had apparently applied for a position in this Australian diocese and Kissling was clearly embarrassed in drafting his comments:

The Rev. R. Carter came out to New Zealand in 1855 in the same ship in which our Bishop returned. He remained for a short time at St John's College and was subsequently placed in charge of two small settlements of Pensioners, which gave him no more employment than what was thought suitable to his health and strength; but recently symptoms of pulmonary disease have in a great measure unfitted him even for his moderate duties and his clerical brethren have been obliged to assist him; he has therefore resigned his charge and is preparing to leave this Diocese.<sup>16</sup>

Then followed the Bay of Islands interlude as already related. There were two further points which Mrs Ross would have liked to resolve, one of these being any possible early association between Carter, Selwyn and Tyrrell—an 'old-boy network'. Apart from the coincidental passage of Selwyn and Carter to Auckland in 1855 on the *Duke of Portland* why did Carter approach Tyrrell? It was quickly established that the two bishops had been contemporaries at St John's College but Carter at the moment has eluded us as he does not appear in *Crockford* or any available Cambridge university lists. Whatever the degree of prior acquaintance with Selwyn it seems unlikely that the stresses of a long voyage would not have shown up one or another of Carter's weaknesses, accepting that as a lover of the seas he could have responded positively. The writer shares Mrs Ross's feeling that there must have been some connection. With



luck a clue may surface in the still considerable amount of Selwyn correspondence unavailable to students.

A further question which she was anxious to follow up was one of navigation—whether the Poor Knights would ever be visible from an open boat outside the Bay of Islands, a distance of some thirty miles. She noted that Carter had transposed the Black Rocks from the eastern end of Moturoa Island to the seaward side of Cape Brett and hence was ‘quite happy to play silly beggars with geography to make a good story’. It is relevant that the summit point, Puketuaho, of Tawhiti Rahi, the northern of the two main islands is 645 feet (197m.) above sea level. Under favourable conditions the upper 140 feet should therefore be visible although Mrs Ross recalled that from Oakura Beach (Punaruku), a few miles closer, visibility depended on whether it had been raining or was about to do so. However, in view of wind and current the most remarkable aspect of Carter’s little voyage was that he returned, presumably unaided.

As suggested, it is possible that further detail on other aspects of Mrs Ross’s fascinating discovery may surface in overseas as well as local material. Again, Dickensians and the several Dickens libraries supposedly checked by A. H. Reed may now be able to unearth more from the knowledge of Carter’s authorship and correspondence with Dickens. Enquiries are being made from the Huntington Library.

#### REFERENCES

- 1 *From the Black Rocks, on Friday, and A Gold Digger's Notes*, edited (or written?) by Charles Dickens. Foreword by Professor W. P. Morrell; introduction by A. H. Reed. Dunedin, 1950.
- 2 NZMS 478, AP. In 1936 these papers were borrowed from Mr T. Clendon Millar of Rawene by Professor J. Rutherford on behalf of the Auckland Centennial Historical Committee. After the latter body had gone into recess the Clendon papers had been sent by the Town Clerk to the Auckland Public Library for safe keeping and were later formally deposited in the Library by Mr Millar. See also note 10 below.
- 3 Five letters in Packet 4, dating from June 1861 to July 1872.
- 4 His survey plans of old land claims in this region are in the Lands and Survey Department, Auckland.
- 5 J. R. Clendon’s son.
- 6 R. C. Barstow to Bp Selwyn, 13 Sep. 1859, MS 60/31 AR.
- 7 R. Carter to Bp Selwyn, 16 Oct. 1860, *ibid*.
- 8 Dated 5 Nov. 1860, with 24 signatures appended, *ibid*. Neither Barstow nor J. R. Clendon, who was still living at Russell at that time, were among the signatories.
- 9 R. C. Barstow to Bp Selwyn, 24 Jul. 1861, *ibid*.
- 10 William Clarke to J. R. Clendon, 24 Jan. 1866, Clendon House papers 5/7 AP. When the New Zealand Historic Places Trust purchased the Clendon House



and its contents from Mrs Marjorie Millar a large collection of family papers was found in the House, the other half, as it were, of those lent to Professor Rutherford in 1936. The Clendon House papers have been deposited by the Trust in the Auckland Public Library.

- 11 The date '1959' is a mistyping for 1950. And the price may also have been a mistake, for I note that the book itself has the price '5.00' in it. I am amused now, on looking back through earlier Smith's lists, to note that I missed seeing a copy advertised in 1971 for only \$1.25.
- 12 *Daily Southern Cross*, 27 Sep. 1862, p.3.
- 13 Minutes of meetings, Holy Trinity Church, Otahuhu, Church Committee, 1856-60, Auckland Diocesan Records, ACo.
- 14 J. C. Patteson to Bp Selwyn, 10 Feb. 1859, in St John's College Library, Auckland.
- 15 V. Lush, Journal, 17 Jan. 1856, AR.
- 16 G. A. Kissling to Bp Tyrrell, 18 June 1858, MS 60/57 AR.



## Ruth Miriam Ross, 1920–1982

The death on 31 August last of Mrs Ruth Ross at her home in Weymouth, Manurewa, after a long struggle against cancer ended all too soon the contribution to New Zealand history of one of its most brilliantly individual devotees. As Ruth Miriam Guscott, the daughter of Wanganui parents of farming background, she first attended a private school, Clifton House, at the top of the Avenue close to the family home, in part still standing as the office of the Waitotara County Council. At Wanganui Girls College she was head prefect and proxime accessit to the dux, before going to Victoria University College in 1939. Although she did not complete a degree during her three years' attendance she majored in history, interest doubtless aroused by the calibre of her teachers, despite the lack of New Zealand content in the course. Her ability, power of concentration and lively open personality certainly impressed Professor F. L. W. Wood, a staunch friend, and Dr J. C. Beaglehole on whose recommendation she took up a position in the Centennial Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs.

As part of the centennial celebrations J. W. Heenan, Under-Secretary for Internal Affairs, had seen the possibility of commemorating the event by a series of substantial historical publications. Beaglehole, the influential adviser throughout this formative period, has said that the translation of the Branch into a 'sort of editorial-historical-typographical-literary-public relations office' was a Heenan inspiration. This wider responsibility certainly helped it to survive the war years as the Historical Branch although to a regrettable demise at the end of the decade. The appointment of E. H. McCormick under the bland title of Secretary to the National Historical Committee set the standard and tone for much of the programme with its precariously mobile team of youthful university trained 'historians' which included J. W. Davidson, R. I. M. Burnett, Ruth Fletcher, Mary Boyd, Nancy Taylor, R. R. Cunninghame, O. S. Meads, F. Lingard and others.

The dilemma of the programme's most ambitious project, the historical atlas, was that to enable the basic facts to be established before mapping, fundamental research had still to be undertaken. Hence the recruitment of so many keen gladiators behind whom were soon looming draughtsmen—at least one—poised to sketch the outlines and inscribe legends for events still locked in unexamined source material.

When Ruth Guscott joined in January 1942, coincidentally on the



same day as Janet Wilkinson, better known in later life as Janet Paul, the difficulties of completing so lengthy a programme had been compounded by the disappearance of most males 'for the duration'. Ruth was at first working on the pre-1840 settlement maps with Ruth Fletcher, an experienced survivor but herself about to depart to Broadcasting. For the eager young recruit, the task was a progressive unfolding of exciting panoramas, largely in manuscript. The chains had already been unlocked from the official records in the Police cellars, but six weeks after her first day the discovery, to her, of the Old Land Claims files in the Lands and Survey Department safe was the subject of an enthusiastic memo to Heenan whose close interest in the Branch was heightened by the fresh exhilaration of one with an approach as original as his own. The tightly packed folders copied from them, with associated notes, were to be the core of her scholarly armoury for the next forty years.

It was but one of a range of sources which she was to master within the next two years. But what took her beyond the reach of a keen intelligence and an emotionally charged curiosity? How did she do it? Who taught her—or for that matter any of the others? Casual references in the past by the present writer to a Beaglehole kindergarten sparked a forthright response. Yes, he was an occasional respected presence but transmitted little except encouragement. Techniques, sources and something of the basis of judgement were learned by each lively intelligence from older colleagues; in Ruth's case, she later claimed, from Ruth Fletcher and Frank Lingard. Others confirm this continuous pooling of knowledge which I (as a putative historian in the wings on an associated project) can endorse in acknowledging my own debt at this period to Bob Burnett.

Despite the difficulties of wartime travel, even within New Zealand, Ruth's apprenticeship included two visits to new territory. The first to Gisborne in 1943 led to significant meetings with local historians, the inevitable conflicts of detail and an abortive assault on Maori Land Court records, all summarised in a thirteen page memo. A year later in February 1944 it was to Auckland and places north. The prime purpose was to search Justice Department Court records at Russell for which Heenan prepared the ground with his colleague B. L. Dallard. These files were the only disappointment of the trip but at least it was possible to examine some Land Court records in Auckland to the extent of picking up points overlooked by Percy Smith.

However, the Bay of Islands and places west were the focal centres for the events in the twenty-four-month-old paper chase. March the first was but one significant day when under the



guidance of Mr Schmidt, father-in-law of a young engineer J. R. Lee, also shortly to be met with, she walked round Okiato. Then followed Hokianga and Rawene in rain. First impressions under a grey sky were tinged by an almost subliminal brightness—she thought it gloomy, over-powering, dingy, a backwater—‘but I was fascinated as I have been fascinated by no other place in New Zealand and I want to go back’—but just for a few weeks, equipped for all weathers—‘to live there would be hell’. Another ten years were to pass before the fulfilment of domicile.

Meanwhile she had married a brilliant young solicitor, Rex W. Burnard, who within a year was to die from Hodgkin’s disease. She was bruised, halted by this tragedy; the Branch itself turned sour. In the last year of the war, between VE and VJ days, plans for a comprehensive national war history programme with a body to service it came to fruition. When she transferred to it, ‘old boys’ such as E. H. McCormick now Chief War Archivist and J. D. Pascoe as Illustrations Editor were already there. At the year’s end she and Ian Ross, a returned serviceman and journalist, married.

During the following year, 1946, her last in Wellington, when she and Ian were living at Mahina Bay, her book *New Zealand’s First Capital* appeared. It was a spin-off from her historical atlas research, in form really an extended paper which Heenan and Beaglehole, fittingly, saw published. It shines with the confident frankness of discovery, races through the unravelling of a complex series of interlocking chains of fact relating to the purchase by Hobson of a Clendon building as a would-be Government House. As an outstanding example of historical reconstruction it demonstrated for the first time the possibilities of our own records and the importance of their preservation, to the extent of footnotes highly critical of their handling by her academic betters. Its curious dismissal by Eric Ramsden, the journalistic doyen of Maori affairs in Wellington, may have cut more deeply than she admitted. There were plans for a Maning biography or at least a volume of Maning letters, but for a long time no sequel. In any case Ian had completed the Auckland Teachers College rehab course and Auckland became their home with, for Ruth, a husband and children as the first priority.

Friends ensured that her skills would not rust or be overlooked and there followed a lengthy induction with School Publications which led, firstly, to the bulletin, ‘European Trade and Settlement in New Zealand before 1840’, followed two years later by *The Journal of George Simmonds*, a careful reconstruction in the form of a boy’s diary set in the Bay of Islands during the years 1838 to 1840; and from the same sources, *Early Traders*, a series of set pieces on Captain Kent, a Maning land purchase, and Messrs Brown and



Campbell at Coromandel and Brown's Island.

Of wider implication was her bulletin on the Treaty of Waitangi, her first groping enquiry which was only to reach its maturity some twenty years later. The presentation of the text, hammered out through a series of lively exchanges with James K. Baxter, briefly filling an unusually orthodox role on the Branch's staff, was from the Maori point of view as far as she was then able to reconstruct it. It is now difficult, when reading this account centred on a secondary meeting at Mangungu on 12 February 1840 of which there are several European versions, to appreciate the massive background knowledge distilled into the forty-eight pages, largely of dialogue. In its preparation, too, in the frustrated questioning of possible Maori informants, she groped with the difficulties arising from the many meanings implicit in some of the Treaty's wording to both Maori and Pakeha.

Once established in Northland a more rewarding exercise was, one afternoon, to spread out the pages of the facsimile on the floor surrounded by local Maoris to identify those of the signatories who might be known to them. This study and the bulletin itself prompted a consequential proposal that she should write the introduction to a new edition of the facsimile volume which unleashed new energy—more questions, with disturbing implications beyond the range of current orthodoxy. To Beaglehole's soothing counsel that no historical revision was necessary, there was a snort, a toss of the head, and eventually a few low-key paragraphs of recapitulation of the background to the Treaty by Turnbull's Librarian, C. R. H. Taylor.

However, long before this perennial question was revived, the family had moved to Northland for Ian's service in three schools, for eight years in all. It was first Motukiore, Horeke, from May 1955 for five years, thence south to Rangitane Maori school, Pouto, at the north head of the Kaipara Peninsula, for three and a half years, and finally Punaruku District High School, Oakura, before the return to Auckland from 1964. Just before this a foothold was acquired in Weymouth on an inlet of the Manukau which led to the purchase of a neighbouring section and the building of a home in a much loved setting.

It was at Motukiore that her years of research blossomed, where she came to know Ngapuhi and members of associated tribes as individuals and, in turn, was accepted on the marae. How different, too, the realities of residence from the impressions of eleven years before. 'It is quite incredible how lucky we have been. . . Life here is governed by the tides. . . The people here are wonderful.' But even her meticulous geographical description required further interpretation, certainly in the attenuated form given much later in



'The Autochthonous New Zealand Soil'. Her elaboration of the setting had other overtones. Beaglehole in mid-1954 had sent her a copy of his address *The New Zealand Scholar*, which provoked a splendidly rhetorical outburst of indignation and protest largely against the over-intellectualised posturing in the current literary deep analysis of what was a New Zealander. The writer still recalls his impressions on first reading this eruption of autobiography, family folklore and declamation signing off on the twelfth page 'Yours in affection, respect, gratitude and dissent'. The Margaret Condliffe lecture with its muted treasons has been thrice printed. The arpeggios of truth in the counter-blast call for posterity to be given at least one opportunity to follow them.

Back in Auckland there were still historical problems; she had reluctantly consented in 1959 to serve on the Northland Regional Committee of the Historic Places Trust—'Be it on your own heads—whatever happens you will have brought it on yourselves'—and from 1962 to 1970 was a co-opted member of the Trust Council. Nevertheless this kind of committee work without the stimulus of an immediate practical task was not her forte and she was at her best as a member of the Buildings Classification Committee whose task was as far as possible to assess and grade the known candidates for recording or preservation throughout the country. From 1972 until 1980, when the first phase of the task was completed, she made an invaluable contribution.

She had qualified for this assignment as a knowledgeably aggressive participant in the debate on the restoration of Waimate North Mission House. This led on to her personal triumph in the refurnishing of Pompallier House when the building was taken over by the Trust from the Department of Internal Affairs in 1965. Physical restoration had been completed in the 1940s when incorrect assumptions were made about its purpose in the first years of the Catholic Mission. Now, after a thorough re-examination of the evidence and the banishing of some legend, the building was refitted to represent, as far as possible, its original purpose as the printing house for the Mission. Only those who shared or suffered with her the months of intensive research, explication, exhortation or criticism when the plea of other commitments seemed to mark sheer dilatoriness, can appreciate the concentrated dedication which she brought to a problem close to her. The guide-book to the house which she prepared shows a little of the wide range of sources used to check every point or to locate possible items for display.

It was this task which led to a renewed acquaintance with the Church itself and a checking of the Marist archives as far as they were then available. She had been in touch with Father Peter McKeefry from her first Auckland visit; later, when Coadjutor



Archbishop of Wellington, he encouraged her to approach Bishop Liston in Auckland for access to specific documents. Surprisingly to some, in April 1969 all went well. She was shown a volume of assorted records labelled 'Pompallier administration'—'Treasure trove indeed. . . The old Arch seems pleased that I'm having fun with it. . . We get on rather well'. As part of her Pompallier House research she had earlier met Father E. D. Simmons, then editor of *Zealandia* for which he had written a number of historical articles, when a mutual respect was rapidly engendered from vigorous discussion. With Bishop Delargey's appointment there followed approval for a joint programme for the cleaning, sorting and listing of the diocesan records. Ruth, although not a trained archivist, as always was a rapid learner and her system, with Simmons's linguistic and Church background, enabled the task to be completed largely between 1972 and 1974—so far as she was concerned a voluntary labour in the interests of historical research generally as well as of the Church.

Concurrently she completed the first draft of her research report for the Trust on the Melanesian Mission Museum at Kohimarama, to be published in a much extended several times rewritten form almost concurrently with this obituary. It was to be her only book-length production, twenty-seven years after Okiato. The perceptive award at the end of 1975 by the University of Auckland of the Arts Faculty Senior Research Fellowship for the years 1976–78 was warmly received by all who knew anything of her work and standards. Regrettably the kneading up of the Melanesian text into an acceptable form took more time than expected to the detriment of her projected socio-religious history of mid-nineteenth-century Auckland; all that we shall have are the memories of the latest titbits she found from time to time in the Colonial Secretary's papers—discoveries in the fashion of Robert Carter—served up with morning tea during the occasional Wellington visit.

She was inevitably involved in the North Island volume of the Trust's *Historic Buildings of New Zealand*, the Northland Maori churches being a particular challenge. The three weeks preliminary journey with Ian through the region saw a tempo of field work reminiscent of that over thirty years earlier; the finished section particularly, with that on the two Waitangi marae, was her last statement on a recurrent theme.

It was characteristic of her monumental thoroughness that just as Pompallier led on to the arrangement of the Catholic archives so the *Melanesians* led to a closer association with Anglican Church records at St John's College and more particularly in the Diocesan Office where she held a part-time position on an assignment for the



Auckland Church Property Trustees until the onset of her illness. In 1978 at St John's she gave one in the series of commemorative Selwyn lectures, and a further series of lectures on church history at the College during the following year.

She suffered fools less gladly than most and dealt harshly with those she thought to be dishonest in the use of material or in for a quick kill. At the same time her personal judgements were not immutable. There were of course many constant friends and deep loyalties; few there are who have not at some stage been castigated but even fewer condemned for ever. In a sentence, her professional life—and if this much abused category could in its strictest meaning be applied to anyone it was to Ruth M. Ross—was a conscious demonstration that the really important themes can only be mastered by living with them for a long period—in complete rejection of current book production conventions, the publish-or-perish syndrome or the two-years-a-topic aspirations of the young turks. The loss to her family and friends is New Zealand's in that she was not given a last quinquennium to carry her vision and spirit through some of the rooms she had discovered in our past.

A. G. BAGNALL

#### SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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1952 'The Material of History: European Trade and Settlement in New Zealand before 1840'. Wellington, School Publications Branch, Dept of Education, 1952. p.113-143, illus. inside front cover. (*Post-primary School Bulletin*, v.6, no.7).

1954 *The Journal of George Simmonds*. Wellington, School Publications Branch, Dept of Education, 1954. 40p., illus. (Primary School bulletin).

Review of *Early Conflicts of Press and Government*, by G. M. Meiklejohn, *Landfall*, v.8, no.2 (June 1954) 136-138.

1955 *Early Traders*. Wellington, School Publications Branch, Dept of Education, 1955. 40p., plates on 41.

1957 Review of *A History of New Zealand Life*, by W. P. Morrell and D. O. W. Hall, *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand*, 8 (1957) 109-110.



- 1958 *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. Illus. by E. Mervyn Taylor. Wellington, Govt Printer, 1958. 48p., illus. First issued as a Primary School bulletin, 1958.
- 1962 'On the Writing of History', *Northland Magazine* 18 (April 1962) 5-11. Conflicting sources for the date and place of De Thierry's birth.  
'Mangungu Cemetery', *Northland Magazine* 20 p.21-26; 22 (April 1963) 27-37.
- 1963 Biographies of De Thierry, T. McDonnell and F. E. Maning in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, ed. A. H. McLintock. Wellington, Govt Printer, 1963. v.2, p.394-395, 357-358 and 400-402.  
'Waitangi-1840', *Northland Magazine* 21 (Jan. 1963) 7-14, 68.
- 1964 'Was it Jane?', *Northland Magazine* 26 (April 1964) 23-24. Note about her father's unsuccessful courtship of a Miss Mander.
- 1966 'The Church of St John the Baptist, Waimate North', *Northland Magazine* 33 (Jan. 1966) 27-29.  
*Ko e Turiti i Waitangi*. Wellington, Islands Education Division of Dept of Education for Dept of External Affairs, 1966. 56p. Translation into Rarotongan of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*.
- 1969 'The Autochthonous New Zealand Soil', in *The Feel of Truth*, ed. by P. Munz. Wellington, Reed for the Victoria University of Wellington, 1969, p.49-59.
- 1970 *A Guide to Pompallier House*. Wellington, Govt Printer, 1970. 42p., plates incl. ports. on 21.
- 1972 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi', *New Zealand Journal of History* 6 (Oct. 1972) 129-157.
- 1978 *Clendon House, Rawene*. Wellington, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 1978. 13p. (their Publication no.9).  
Review of *Sovereign Chief*, by J. D. Raeside, *Archifacts* 4 & 5ns (March 1978) 110-111.
- 1979 'Old Kororareka: New Russell', 'Waitangi Treaty Houses', 'The Maori Church in Northland', and (with Patricia Adams) 'Hokianga Homes . . .' in *Historic Buildings of New Zealand: North Island*, ed. Frances Porter. Auckland, Cassell, 1979. p.30-37, 46-53, 54-67 and 22-29.  
Review of *Archives in New Zealand*, by Wilfred I. Smith, *New Zealand Journal of History* 13 (Oct. 1979) 205-207.
- 1983 *Melanesians at Mission Bay* (at press).



## Research Notes

### *Conferences and Seminars*

Dr Michael Hunter, a lecturer in history at Birkbeck College, University of London, and a 1982 visiting fellow at the Humanities Research Centre, Canberra, visited New Zealand in late August with the assistance of a travel grant from the Research Endowment Fund. He presented a paper on the problem of atheism in early modern England at the Turnbull Early Modern History Seminar at Victoria University on Saturday 18 August, and delivered lectures at Massey University, the University of Canterbury, and Victoria University. Dr Hunter, who is a member of the editorial committee of the *Book Collector*, addressed the Friends of the Turnbull Library on the origins of modern book collecting on 22 August. Dr Hunter's publications include *John Aubrey and the Realm of Learning* (1975), *Science and Society in Restoration England* (1981) and *The Royal Society and its Fellows, 1660-1700* (in press).

A private visit to New Zealand by Professor J. G. A. Pocock of Johns Hopkins University provided the opportunity for a short conference of the New Zealand Early Modern Studies Association at the Turnbull over the weekend of 19-20 March 1983. Under the general title of 'Politics and Ideology 1750-1850' papers were presented by Professor Pocock on 'The transformations of Toryism 1688-1830', Dr Knud Haakonssen (History of Ideas Unit, Australian National University) on 'James MacKintosh and the question of a Whig philosophy', and Dr John Morrow (Victoria University) on 'The ideological content of Coleridge's thought'. Dr Haakonssen's visit was funded by the Turnbull Research Endowment Fund.

The second annual conference of the New Zealand Musicological Society, organised by Dr Warren Drake of the University of Auckland, was held at the Turnbull Library during the weekend of 14-15 August 1982. The introductory paper, 'The Uses of Musicology' by Heath Lees, traced the relatively short history of the discipline and stressed the need for more interaction with other scholarly fields. Renaissance topics then followed, with Warren Drake's 'Josquin's *Ave Maria* . . . *Ave Cujus Conceptio* and its Background: a Reappraisal of a Well-known Motet', and John Steel's 'Plagiarism and Parody—Felis, Dowland, Messaus'. The Baroque period was represented by Peter Walls's 'Masque and Semi-opera: Aberrations in the History of Opera?' and Frances Warrington on performance practices in a Frescobaldi toccata, demonstrated on a harpsichord carefully carried up the Library's steps for the occasion. Sunday's session commenced with analysis topics: Rosemary Quinn's Schenkerian analysis of Beethoven's *An die ferne Geliebte*, and Elizabeth Kerr's discussion on the unity in Webern's *Symphonie* Op. 21, movement 2. John M. Thomson, who is at present writing a history of music in New Zealand, presented the concluding paper of the conference,



'Nineteenth-century Touring Opera Companies in Australia and New Zealand', a fascinating account of the early entrepreneurs and their influence.

The first national conference on the history of science in New Zealand, jointly sponsored by the Library and the Royal Society of New Zealand, was held in the Legislative Council Chamber, Parliament Buildings, from 12 to 14 February 1983. The conference, which attracted over 150 registrations, was opened by Sir Charles Fleming, chairman of the organising committee, and closed by Dr the Hon. I. J. Shearer, Minister of Science and Technology. Twenty-five papers were circulated in advance to participants and presented, with questions and discussion, by their authors. A selection of the papers will be published as the proceedings of the conference. The conference attracted people from overseas, including Dr Peter Whitehead from the Natural History Museum, London, whose travel funds were provided by the British Council. Costs of the conference were underwritten by the Alexander Turnbull Library Research Endowment Fund and grants were received from a number of business firms with an involvement in science and technology.

#### *Grants from Research Fund*

Recent grants from the Alexander Turnbull Library Research Endowment Fund to support 'scholarly research and publication based on the collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library' included a second grant to Dr J. E. Cookson, University of Canterbury, for research on the peace movement in New Zealand; to Professor Lawrence Jones, University of Otago, for work on the papers of New Zealand writers; and to Dr Michael Hunter (see above). Grants in aid of publication have been made to the Auckland University Press for their edition of George Pritchard's *The Aggressions of the French at Tahiti*, edited by Dr Paul de Deckker, and for Helen Shaw's edition of the letters between D'Arcy Cresswell and Lady Ottoline Morrell.

A grant was also made towards the accommodation costs in New Zealand of Professor Sandra Myres, the 1982 Fulbright research scholar at the Turnbull.

#### *Publications*

*The Resolution Journal of Johann Reinhold Forster, 1772-1775*, edited by Dr Michael E. Hoare in four volumes, was published by the Hakluyt Society early in 1983. The publication was formally launched at a ceremony held at the Library on 14 February. The speakers were the Hon. Alan Highet, MP, speaking on behalf of the New Zealand Government, His Excellency Dr H. A. Steger, the German Ambassador, and Sir Harold Smedley, KCMG, a member of the Council of the Society. Dr Hoare is the Turnbull Manuscripts Librarian.

The first volume of 'Early Eyewitness Accounts of Maori Life', *Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand of the French Ship St Jean Baptiste in December 1769 under the Command of J. F. M. de Surville*, with



transcriptions and translations by Isabel Ollivier and Cheryl Hingley, and an appendix of charts and drawings compiled by Jeremy Spencer, was published by the Endowment Trust in association with the National Library of New Zealand early in 1983. Copies are on sale from the Library, to Friends only, at a special price of \$16. New Zealand sales are from the Government Bookshop at \$18.95; overseas sales from the Library.

All sales of *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Milton Collection in the Alexander Turnbull Library* . . . compiled by K. A. Coleridge (Oxford University Press for the Alexander Turnbull Library, 1980) will be handled by the Turnbull Office from 1983. A few copies are still available to Friends at the special price of \$65.

*Towards Maturity: Turnbull Winter Lectures 1982* (Victoria University Press for the Friends of the Turnbull Library, 1982) is now available to Friends from the Library at a special price of \$8. Commercial sales from booksellers are at \$9.95.

*A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to Science in the Alexander Turnbull Library* (30p.) issued for the history of science conference is now on sale at the Library for \$3 (50c postage).

## Notes on Manuscript Accessions

### A SELECTIVE LIST OF ACQUISITIONS, JANUARY TO JUNE 1982

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 1982. 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).

ABERDEEN, COLIN, d.1975. *The Early History of Round Hill's Chinese Settlement, 1937*. 11p. DONATION: Mr S. Krause, Auckland.

History of Chinese goldmining and settlement at Round Hill, Wallace County, Southland as told in 1937 by J. Glade and Dr Y. Wong to Colin Aberdeen; edited by Bhikshu Ham Wol, 1982.

ALINGTON, MARGARET, b.1920. *Bolton Street Cemetery transcripts, notes and papers, 1966-1982*. 1.1m. DONATION.

Headstone transcripts, notes and papers relating to Wellington cemeteries: Bolton Street, Sydney Street, and Mount Street Cemeteries, and the Jewish Cemetery; compiled by M. Alington and others.

BANKS, SIR JOSEPH, 1743-1820. *Papers, 1768-1820*. 1 microfilm reel. PURCHASE. Inward letters including the period in which Banks was naturalist on Cook's first



voyage and President of the Royal Society, 1778–1820. Banks bequeathed his correspondence to the British Museum.

BACHELOR, MARY DOROTHY, b.1930. *Additional papers, 1971–1981*. 1m. DONATION.

Parliamentary and constituency papers of Member for Avon, subject files and correspondence, some New Zealand Labour Party papers.

*Restricted.*

BLAMIRE, EDGAR PERCY, 1878–1967. *The Story of the Movement for Methodist Church Extension, 1907–1909, 1958*. 6l. DONATION: Rev. D. C. Clark, Wellington. Prominent Methodist minister describes his pioneer work on new Wellington Suburban circuit.

BRANDON, WARD, MCANDREW AND CO. *Additional records, ca.1840–1972*. 15m. DONATION.

Letterbooks, Costs and Statements books continuing previous accession; deeds and papers of A. de Bathe Brandon, J. C. Crawford, J. Plimmer and other Wellington citizens.

*Subject to sorting and restriction.*

BRASCH, CHARLES ORWELL, 1909–1973. *Letters to Ian Milner, 1954–1963*. 30 items. DONATION.

Discusses reviews and articles written for *Landfall*, the literary scene and personalities in Australasia, Great Britain and Europe.

BRETHREN CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT. *Records, 1899–1981*. 2.1m. DONATION.

Papers on mission work in Africa and the Belgian Congo, periodicals, pamphlets and ephemera related to Brethren in New Zealand.

*Restricted.*

BROWN, ROBERT, 1773–1854. *Papers, 1800–1854*. 1 microfilm reel. PURCHASE. Letters concerning botanical and ornithological matters predominantly in Australia where Brown had been naturalist on the *Investigator*. Originals in the British Library.

CABOT, CHARLES HENRY, 1890–1978. *Papers, 1912–1975*. 30cm. DONATION. Correspondence, 1928–1975, itineraries for circuses and shows, 1912–1975, covering career as theatrical agent touring with circuses and as stage door keeper at Wellington Opera House; autograph books.

CHARLES HILL AND SONS: *Business records, 1896–1917*. 30cm. PURCHASE. Inward letters, 1897–1913, orders, 1896–1917, of Wellington Hat and Cap Manufacturers.

CRANE, ERNEST ARTHUR. *Interviews, 21 May 1982*. 3 cassette tapes. DONATION. With R. Howell, J. Murdoch, John A. Lee and others regarding Rev. O. E. Burton.

DOMETT, ALFRED, 1811–1887. *Flotsam and Jetsam, 1877*. 1v. PURCHASE.

With minor emendation and letter by Domett, note on Charles Kingsley and letter from Sir Alistair McIntosh; formerly owned by W. T. Harden, John Drinkwater and L. J. Griffin.

EDMOND, LAURIS DOROTHY, b.1924. *Papers, 1926–1980*. 10cm. DONATION.

Papers collected for *The Letters of A. R. D. Fairburn* (1981) including correspondence of Glover, Fairburn and others.

*Restricted.*



- EISE, IDA, 1894–1978. *Additional letters, 1961, 1965*. 81. DONATION: Miss D. E. Morton, Auckland.  
Letters and postcards to Dorothy Morton describing her work, her travels in Europe and Great Britain. Photocopies.
- FAIRBURN, WILLIAM THOMAS, 1797–1859. *Letter, 31 December 1845*. 4p. DONATION.  
Written to his brother-in-law, Joseph Newman, mentions shipment of kauri gum by *Louisa Campbell* and includes order for threshing machine, farm and domestic goods.
- FLECK, HENRY BAXTER, 1905–1971. *Garden diary, 1952–1970; library catalogue, n.d.* 2v. DONATION.  
Garden diary lists names of plants noting date of planting and treatments given. Library catalogue is an indexed notebook with entries under author or title.
- GRAYLAND, EUGENE CHARLES, d.1976. *Papers, 1935, 1937, 1943*. 6v. PURCHASE.  
Style manuals and handbooks, some typescript, prepared for newspaper staff of the *Star* (Hastings), and the *Times of New Zealand* and the *New Zealand Herald*, and a proposal for the establishment of a weekly newspaper, 1943.
- GREAT BRITAIN. HOUSE OF LORDS RECORD OFFICE. *Records, 1790–1912*. 2 microfilm reels. PURCHASE.  
Matters relating to Australasia from Main Papers, Orders in Council and House of Lords Committee Books and reports of the House of Commons on Public Petitions.
- GREEN, JOHN LAWRENCE. *Journal of a Voyage to New Zealand, 1889–1890*. 142p. PURCHASE.  
Rev. J. L. Green travelled by S.S. *Rimutaka* to Port Chalmers via Cape Town; travel by land and sea to Auckland and back including thermal regions, Napier and Wairarapa; log of return to England by *Coptic*.
- HANKIN, J. *Journal of the Brigantine Borealis, 3rd Voyage from Levuka, Fiji, to the New Hebrides, Solomon Islands etc. for Polynesian Immigrants, 1 September–12 October 1880*. 37p. PURCHASE.  
Special logbook kept by Government agent appointed by Queensland Government to oversee recruitment of Polynesian labourers; includes seizure of vessels by Solomon Islanders, massacre of crew and retaliatory action.
- HARRISON, JOHN RICHARD, b.1921. *Additional papers, 1979*. 1.3m. DONATION.  
Correspondence relating to Hawkes Bay electorate, caucus papers and subject files.  
*Restricted*.
- HIGGS, DAVID GEORGE. *History of Milking Machines in New Zealand, 1851–1977, 1977*. 15cm. DONATION.  
Draft history including development of milk delivery systems and companies up to 1977 with related correspondence.
- HILTON, ARTHUR, 1909–1982. *Papers, ca.1946–1982*. 1.75m. DONATION: Mrs E. Hilton, Wellington.  
Papers include correspondence, minutes, speeches, press cuttings, ephemera and photographs relating mainly to the Wellington Chamber Music Society, the Music Federation of New Zealand, the QE II Arts Council and the New Zealand Football Association. *Access subject to sorting*.



HOLLAND, ERIC SIDNEY FOSTYN, b.1921. *Additional papers, 1976–1981*. 3m. DONATION.  
Parliamentary papers relating to activities as M.P. for Fendalton, Christchurch.  
*Restricted*.

HOLYOAKE, SIR KEITH JACKA, b.1904. *Additional Parliamentary papers, ca.1974–1977*. 14.3cm. DONATION.  
Parliamentary and Prime Ministerial papers including general, constituent, and subject correspondence files.  
*Restricted*.

HOWITT, WILLIAM KING, 1869–1956. *Patea in the Early Days as I knew it, 21 September 1931*. 131. DONATION: Mrs K. R. Rowe, Wellington.  
Letter enclosing notes on Patea in the 1880s and 1890s.

HUNTER-BROWN FAMILY. *Scrapbook, 1845, ca.1899–1918*. 1v. PURCHASE.  
Correspondence, press cuttings and reports collected by the Hunter-Brown family of Nelson including references to Bishop Selwyn's and Bishop Abraham's families.

INGLIS, ALEXANDER ST CLAIR. *Bubbles from the Boiling Springs of Taupo, 7 March–1 April 1860*. 60l. DONATION: Mr W. H. Inglis, Hawkes Bay.  
Diary of a journey from Napier to Taupo, Rotomahana and back; sketches. Photocopies.

KIMPTON, THOMAS, 1813–1889. *Letter, 11 April 1841*. 10p. PURCHASE.  
First impressions of Wellington written by an agricultural labourer describing building his first house and the prospects for farm workers and mechanics: "a happy place for a poor man if industrious and sober".

MCCORMICK, ERIC HALL, b.1906. *Talk on Omai, 1977*. 1 tape. DONATION: Mr Peter Crowe, Auckland.  
Talk given at Auckland, 16 November 1977.

METHODIST SCANDINAVIAN MISSION. *Baptismal register, 1874–1892*. 1v. DONATION: Methodist Connexional Office, Christchurch.  
Register of baptisms including Palmerston North, Napier, Dannevirke, Masterton, Wellington, Halcombe, Foxton, Norsewood, Makeretu and Ormondville. Photocopy.

MORRIS, MARIA, *Recollections, ca.1860–1868*. 42p. DONATION: Mr S. H. Baker, Wellington.  
Recollections of the Poverty Bay Massacre and period as a prisoner of Te Kooti. Photocopy.

NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIAN LAND COMPANY. *Records of Hakataramea Station, 1868–1951*. 30cm. DONATION: Mr J. H. Ford, Alexandra.  
Deeds, correspondence and leases of the station including monthly time sheets, 1895–1943, and stock, wool and shearing returns, 1896–1926.

NEW ZEALAND INTERCHURCH COUNCIL ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS. *Minutes, 1950–1978*. 3v. DONATION: Lt. Col. V. E. Blincoe, Upper Hutt.  
Minutes of Dominion Council covering moral, social and ecclesiastical affairs.

NEW ZEALAND PUBLIC SERVICE ASSOCIATION. *Records, 1906–1978*. 54m. DONATION.  
Records relating to Public Service Association including legislation, union activities, administrative and social matters.  
*Restricted*.



NEWCASTLE, HENRY PELHAM FIENNES PELHAM CLINTON, DUKE OF, 1811–1864. *Letter, 13 October 1863*. 4p. PURCHASE.

Letter to Mayor of Bristol from Secretary of State for the Colonies, concerning responsibility for Maori chieftains brought to England by William Jenkins for a lecture tour.

O'CONNOR, CHARLES YELVERTON, 1843–1902. *Papers, 1880–1901*. 1 microfilm reel. PURCHASE.

Notes as Under-Secretary for Public Works with details of railways, bridges, roads and marine engineering undertaken, 1884–1886; papers relating to career as engineer, 1880–1901.

ORR, ALLAN, b.1853. *Scrapbook, 1880–1904*. 1v. DONATION: Mrs L. Cameron, Wellington.

Correspondence including letters from R. J. Seddon, papers and clippings of President and Secretary of trade unions in Wellington from 1890; some personal papers.

OSTLER, SIR HENRY HUBERT, 1876–1944. *The Years Behind, 1939*. 370l. DONATION: Mrs J. Williams, Australia.

Autobiography describes legal career (appointed King's Counsel 1924, and involved with many legal bodies) and interests including hunting in Southern Africa about which he wrote for overseas journals.

PENNANT, THOMAS, 1726–1798. *Papers, ca.1760–1802*. 1 microfilm reel. PURCHASE.

Letters to Pennant and his son, and zoological, botanical and ornithological notes made by Pennant. Originals at the National Library of Wales.

PRICE MILBURN & CO. *Records, 1967–1978*. 25cm. DONATION: Mr H. Price, Wellington.

Correspondence with Methuens concerning publication of readers including a Welsh edition and marketing reports on the readers.

PSYCHIC RESEARCH SOCIETY OF WELLINGTON. *Records, 1939–1954*. 2v. DONATION. Minute books and notes covering the life-span of the Society originally known as the Wellington Psychic Research Group.

PUNGAREHU SCHOOL. *Pungarehu Parihaka, ca.1891–1938*. 1v. DONATION: Mr K. Wharehoka, Wainuiomata.

History of Pungarehu School and the area, created as a school project ca.1939. Includes photographs, photocopies.

REID FAMILY. *Papers, 1858–1950*. 4v. DONATION: Hutchison Hall & Co., Wellington.

Business and family papers relating to W. & G. Turnbull Ltd, later Reid & Reid, General Merchants, 1900, including order books and correspondence, 1877–1878, 1882–1885, Walter Reid's letterbook, 1912–1932, and newspaper cuttings on the death of his wife, Mrs Macarthy Reid.

RETURNED SERVICES ASSOCIATION. WOMEN'S SECTION. NORTHLAND (WELLINGTON) BRANCH. *Minute books, 1942–1977*. 3v. DONATION: Mr G. D. Mouat, Wellington.

Minute books cover life span of the branch and record activities including concerts and Poppy Day collections in addition to financial records.



RIDLEY, JOHN WALLACE, b.1919. *Additional papers, 1978–1981*. 2.1m. DONATION. Parliamentary and constituency papers and correspondence relating mainly to committees on which he served as a private member.  
*Restricted.*

RINGER, JAMES BRUCE, b.1952. *Katherine Mansfield in Italian Translation and Criticism, 1981*. 3l. DONATION.  
“An outline bibliography” produced as a result of research done on Italian attitudes to Katherine Mansfield. Typescript.

ROTH, HERBERT, b.1917. *Research notes, 1883–1978*. 4cm. DONATION.  
Notes and correspondence for articles published on New Zealand flags (published 1958–1959), early motoring in New Zealand and municipal coats of arms.

ST JOSEPH'S FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY. *Records of the Maori Mission, 1882–1972*. 2 microfilm reels. PURCHASE.  
Correspondence between bishops and fathers at Matata, Hokianga, Rotorua, Lake Taupo, Whangarei, 1882–1905, typescript histories and a list of members from St Joseph's College, Mill Hill, London.

SARGESON, FRANK, 1903–1982. *Papers, 1927–1982*. 2.7m. PURCHASE.  
Frank Sargeson's papers including drafts of novels, playscripts, correspondence with copies of outward letters, photographs and press cuttings.  
*Restricted.*

SARGESON, FRANK, 1903–1982. *Papers, 1935–1980*. 30cm. DONATION.  
Individual letters and collections of letters from Frank Sargeson to friends, encouraging new writers, and negotiating with publishers. Some photocopies.  
*Restricted.*

SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS ASSOCIATION. *Papers, 1970–1972, 1974*. 2cm. PURCHASE.  
Correspondence, leaflets and press cuttings concerning associations throughout New Zealand and the formation of a national association in 1971.

SCHNACKENBERG, CORT HENRY, 1812–1880. *Papers, 1846–1880*. 20v. PURCHASE.  
Letters from Wesleyan missionaries, D. McLean, Sir George Grey and members of his wife's family giving an account of mission progress and local Maori politics. Originals in St John's College, Auckland. Typescript photocopies.

SQUIRES, JOHN WESTBROOKE. *The Waitangi Times: a Weekly Record of Facts and Fancies, January–March 1883*. 147l. DONATION: Mr & Mrs B. Squires, Auckland.  
Shipboard newspaper compiled on board the *Waitangi* from London to Port Chalmers providing humorous and journalistic items in ten issues. Photocopy of transcript.

STILLER, JOHN, b.1945. *Documentation of Historic Pipe Organs in New Zealand, 1981–1982*. 35v. DONATION.  
Documentation includes information on organ builders. Typescripts with photographs.

TEMPLETON, HUGH CAMPBELL, b.1929. *Additional papers, 1969, 1976–1980*. 13m. DONATION.  
Parliamentary papers including election campaign of 1969 and committee and subject files.  
*Restricted.*

THOMPSON, SYDNEY LOUGH, 1877–1973. *Press cuttings, 1896–1978*. 63l. DONATION: Miss A. Thompson, Tregunc, France.



S. L. Thompson studied art in Christchurch, 1895–1899, before going to Paris in 1901. He spent the next 30 years in France. The press cuttings are predominantly from New Zealand publications dealing with his career as an artist.

THOMSON, JOHN BELL, b.1897. *Words of Passage: a Journalist Looks Back*, ca. 1977. 65l. DONATION.

Covers childhood in Central Otago, war service in France, and career as journalist in Christchurch from 1924 and Dunedin, 1927–1963, with a period as editor of the *Gisborne Herald*, 1943–1949. Photocopy of typescript.

VALUES PARTY. *Treasurers' records, 1974–1981*. 2.3m. DONATION.

Financial records, files and 1976 Conference papers.

*Restricted.*

*Voyage To New Zealand, 1864*. 52l. DONATION: Mr S. Locker-Lampson, Wellington.

Anonymous shipboard diary on board the *Amoor* from London to Lyttelton, April 4 1864–July 1 1864. Photocopy.

WALLACE PHARMACY. *Records, 1925–1978*. 3m. DONATION: Mr G. Wallace, Australia.

Records, mostly prescriptions, of the pharmacy and its predecessor, Grand Pharmacy, of Willis Street, Wellington.

WARING, MARILYN JOY, b.1952. *Additional papers, 1980–1981*. 2.6m. DONATION.

Correspondence files and papers of M.P. for Waipa.

*Restricted.*

WEEKLY BUDGET, LONDON. *Letters, 1910*. 4l. DONATION: Mrs Baker, Wanganui.

Letters to the *Weekly Budget* relating to Dr Crippen's trial for murder; one from Arthur Newton, his solicitor, and one claiming an encounter with Crippen's murdered wife.

WELLINGTON REPERTORY COMPANY. *Playscripts, 1951–1955*. 60cm. DONATION.

Playscripts with instructions on direction and prompt copies.

WILD, FRANK, d.1939. *Letter, 26 February 1903*. 4l. DONATION: Mr A. Kirk, Wanganui.

Letter written from Winter Harbour, McMurdo Sound describes British Antarctic Expedition including the land treks of Scott and others and the arrival of the relief vessel.

WILSON, GEORGE. *Journal and remark book, 1873–1875*. 1v. PURCHASE.

Service on H.M.S. *Rosario* on patrol from Sydney to Fiji, Solomon Islands, Gilbert and Ellice Islands returning labourers, investigating settler complaints, wreck of *Lavinia* and encounter with Bully Hayes.

YEATES, GEORGE HENRY. *Papers, 1888–1899*. 49l. DONATION: Mr D. W. Sinclair, Linden.

Diary of voyage to Wellington on *Ruapehu* in 1888 with comments on the city; description of boat trip in Canada *A Trip to Dawson in 1899*; and a letter, 20 February 1898 from Karioi, Waimarino County describing life in New Zealand to his brother commenting particularly on the local interest in music. Photocopies.

ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON. *Records, 1821–1903*. 1 microfilm reel. PURCHASE.

Inward letters concerning zoological matters in Australia and New Zealand including a report recommending Little Barrier Island as a bird sanctuary.



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