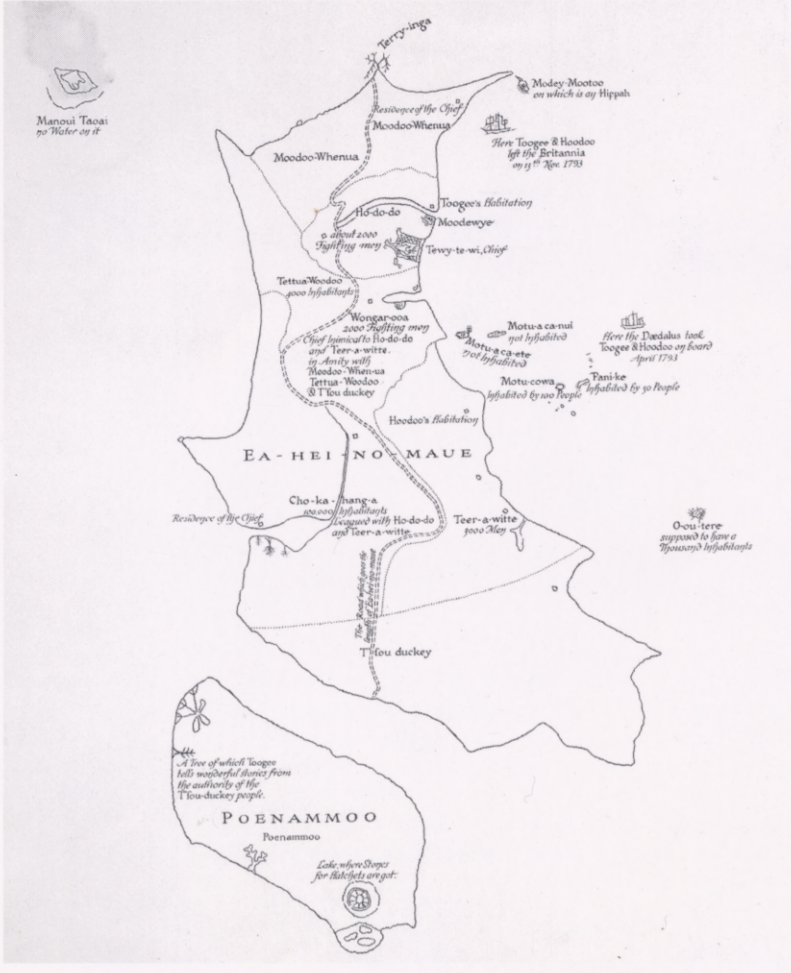
THE TURNBULL LIBRARY RECORD

CELEBRATING THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY



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The *Turnbull Library Record* is a scholarly journal in the humanities published yearly by The Friends of the Turnbull Library. The *Record* publishes a wide range of material, with special emphasis on the societies of New Zealand, Australia, and the islands of the Pacific in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These are areas in which the Alexander Turnbull Library's own collections and research interests are particularly strong.

Contributions are welcome. Prospective contributors should write for details of forthcoming issues and submission requirements to: The Managing Editor, *Turnbull Library Record*, The Friends of the Turnbull Library, P O Box 12-186, Wellington, New Zealand.

The Society known as The Friends of the Turnbull Library was established in 1939 to support the work of the Alexander Turnbull Library. Further information about the Society, including membership details, may be found on the inside back cover. The *Record* is distributed to all members of the Society.

The Friends of the Turnbull Library wish to acknowledge the generous support of the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust in the production of the *Record*.

The Alexander Turnbull Library is a division of the National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa.

Cover: This map was drawn by Tuki Tahua, who in 1793 was kidnapped by a British officer from the Cavalli Islands, between the Bay of Islands and Whangaroa, and taken to Norfolk Is. Tuki Tahua drew the map to show where he came from so that he could be returned home, and it therefore concentrates on the Ngāpuhi tribal area. The map forms part of the *Treasures in Trust* exhibition marking the 75th anniversary of the Alexander Turnbull Library (see p. 7), and also represents an early attempt (in this case by British officers, based on Tuki's comments) to render spoken Māori in written form. See the article beginning on p. 23 for more on this subject. Picture reference no.: C 21567. Reproduced by permission of the Historical Branch, Dept of Internal Affairs.

Title page: Alexander Turnbull's first bookplate, designed for him by English illustrator Walter Crane in 1891, from the collection of the Alexander Turnbull Library. Used by permission. Picture reference no.: 81117 ½.

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THE TURNBULL LIBRARY RECORD

Volume 28 ❖ *1995*

WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND

THE FRIENDS OF THE TURNBULL LIBRARY

About this Journal

The first issue of the *Turnbull Library Record* is dated January 1940. Its publication was financed by The Friends of the Turnbull Library, founded the previous year. Members of the inaugural Friends Committee included the Professor of English at Victoria University College, I. A. Gordon, and Broadcasting's Supervisor of Talks, Alan Mulgan. Much of the impetus for the production of the *Record* came from the Librarian of the Alexander Turnbull Library, C. R. H. Taylor, who, together with Assistant Librarian A. G. Bagnall, appears to have been primarily responsible for the production of the first issue. To quote from its Introduction:

> This publication has been brought into being through the interest and practical help of a number of friends of the library in New Zealand and overseas. It will aim to do for the library what neither a catalogue nor a guide book generally does. Thus it will be the vehicle for, on the one hand, more precise particulars of books, manuscripts and other records, and on the other, the publication of short texts of importance to the research worker in several fields.

This 'mission statement' remains substantially true of the *Record* today. The journal publishes research based on the collections of the Library, and also work in the fields in which the Library has research interests. This latest issue of the *Record* continues to pursue the goals laid down in 1940.

About this Issue

This issue of the *Turnbull Library Record*, celebrating the Alexander Turnbull Library's 75th anniversary, bears witness to the many kinds of enquiry into New Zealand's cultural history which the collections of the Library make possible. It includes Dr Michael Bassett's 1995 Founder Lecture to the Friends, edited slightly for publication. Phil Parkinson's article on the Library's Printed Māori Collection, the history of printing in Māori, and the orthography of printed Māori is of especial significance in He Taonga Te Reo/Māori Language Year. Other articles cover the Wentworth–Jones land purchase deeds of 1840 and the moko of the Māori chiefs who signed; Alfred Hill's cantata *Hinemoa*; and the surprising amount of information to be gleaned from the Crew List of an 1830s whaling voyage to the South Pacific. Details of accessions to the Library, notes on the Library's role in research, and a list of donors to the Library are also included.

Contents

Notes on Contributors

Michael Bassett has taught in the History Department at the University of Auckland, and in 1992–93 was J. B. Smallman Professor at the University of Western Ontario, where he teaches on a regular basis. He is the author of a number of books on New Zealand politics and history, most recently biographies of two New Zealand prime ministers, *Sir Joseph Ward: A Political Biography* (Auckland, 1993) and *Coates of Kaipara* (Auckland, 1995). Dr Bassett was an MP for 15 years, and served as Minister of Health, Internal Affairs, Local Government, and Arts and Culture in the Fourth Labour Government between 1984 and 1990. He is currently working on a history of the Department of Internal Affairs.

Harry Evison has specialised in the colonial history of the Southern Māori and was familiar with the Mitchell Library's 'Wentworth Indenture' when its prodigal twin was acquired in London for the Alexander Turnbull Library in 1993. He is at present writing a biography of Walter Mantell.

Phil Parkinson joined the Alexander Turnbull Library in 1975 and now holds the position of Senior Librarian, Enhanced Subject Access Projects. He has been working on the Early Māori Imprint Project, to upgrade the control over and access to the Library's Printed Māori Collection, since 1993.

Rhys Richards has written a dozen books and over fifty articles, mainly on Pacific maritime history before 1840. Two of his books were published in July: *Foveaux Whaling Yarns of Yankee Jack* (Dunedin, 1995) and *Murihiku Re-viewed* (Wellington, 1995). The third in this trilogy, *Wellington's First Pakehas*, is to be published later this year.

Sarah Shieff is a lecturer in the English Department at the University of Waikato. Her main research interest is the relationship between music, poetry, and national identity. Recent publications include articles on cultural nationalism in New Zealand poetry, and on the percussion ensemble From Scratch.

Sheila Williams was on the staff of the Alexander Turnbull Library from 1961 until 1979. She is currently a lecturer in the Department of Library and Information Studies, Victoria University of Wellington.

MICHAEL BASSETT

Treasures in Trust

A Scattered Responsibility

One of the highlights of the Friends' programme each year is the Founder Lecture. Dr Michael Bassett, historian, former Minister of Arts and Culture and Minister of Internal Affairs, and a regular user of the Library, was invited to give this year's Founder Lecture, and the following article is adapted from the text of his address.

Alexander Horsburgh Turnbull died on 28 June 1918 in Bowen Street Hospital. Next door was the home which he had built into a grand personal research library. He was only 50 years old. Turnbull is painted by the late Eric McCormick as a recluse with a fondness for whisky and the cocaine to be found in a certain brand of throat lozenges; years later his housekeeper recorded that he could sometimes go for days without talking, so absorbed was he in his books.

In the years immediately before Turnbull's death, his library had expanded exponentially because of erratic bursts of purchasing. Fortunately, Turnbull had drawn up a will. The library was left to 'His Majesty the King', probably because Turnbull lacked the money to leave an endowment large enough to enable the library to stand on its own feet. He simply took a punt on the Crown agreeing to provide the funds. The then Under-Secretary for Internal Affairs, James Hislop, described this as 'the most notable public bequest of recent years' at the time of Turnbull's death.[1] It was

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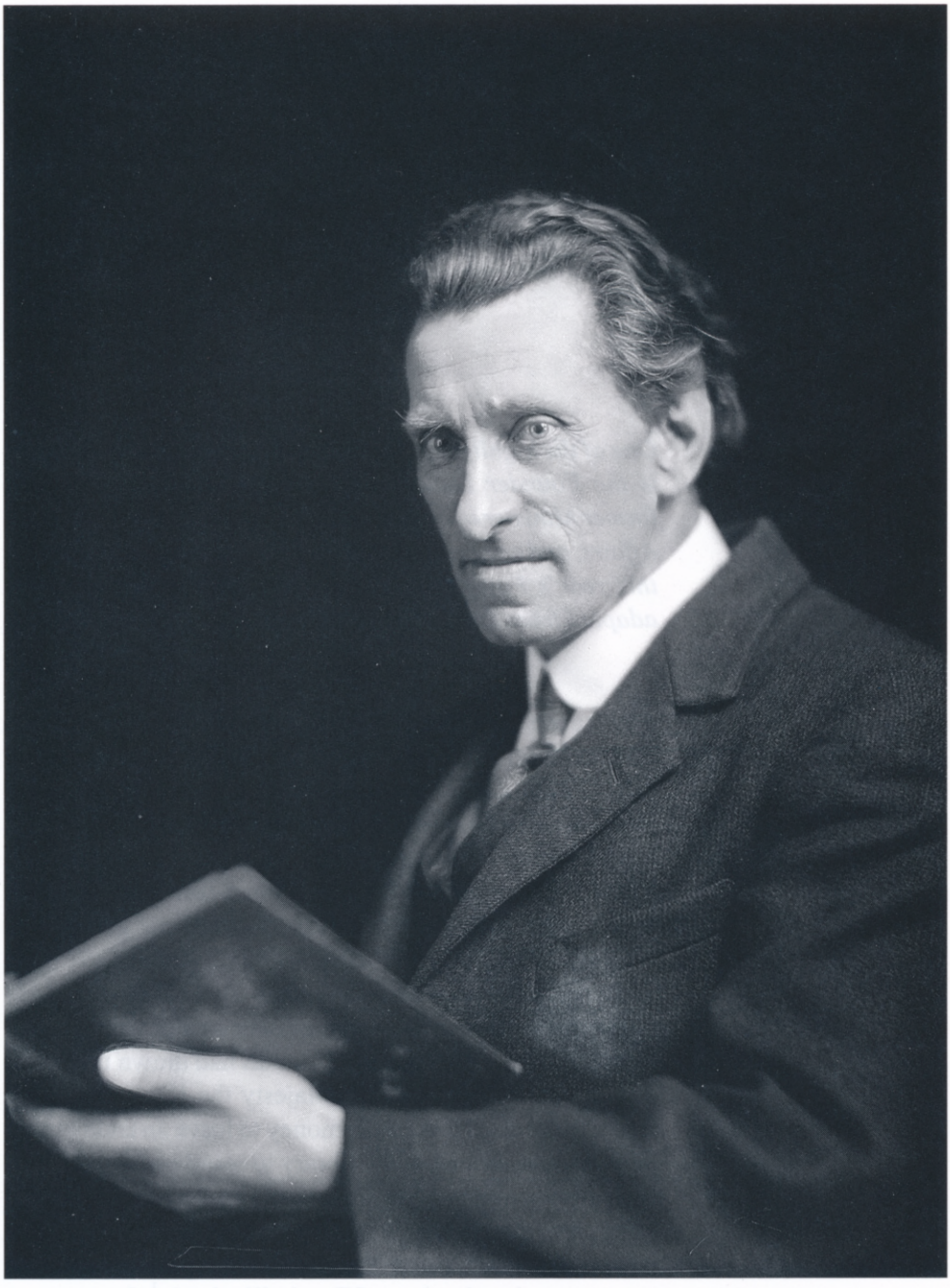

FIGURE 1. Johannes Andersen.

All photographs in this article are from the collection of the Alexander Turnbull Library, and are used by permission. Picture reference no.: 18551.

estimated in 1919 to be worth about £80,000, and was intended by Turnbull to be the nucleus of a New Zealand National Research Collection.[2] At that time, only the General Assembly Library could be said to be its equal, although the Hocken Library possessed some of the characteristics of a major research library.

The Crown responded as Turnbull had hoped. A few months after Turnbull's death, James Hislop purchased the Bowen St home for the nation for £9133; the estate was eventually exempted death duties. The building was fireproofed, and cataloguing began under the supervision of Johannes Andersen, described by Alice Woodhouse as a tall man with a mane of hair and a craggy face. Andersen was a self-educated man with a penchant for chiropractors.[3] He became the first Alexander Turnbull Librarian, a role that he performed under the watchful eye of the Parliamentary Librarian, Charles Wilson, whom Andersen hoped to succeed.

Depending on the Government during a recession meant that the Library had little money for new purchases. It had to make do with £500 per annum from the Consolidated Fund. It was decided early in the piece to limit the Library's new purchasing to books and manuscripts relating to Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific. Interestingly, literature from these places was not initially included. Bequests and donations supplemented the annual grant, however, and helped the Library to grow steadily. For a while, the number of volumes increased rapidly. Until a separate archives unit was established in 1926, the building was also required to store a considerable number of musty departmental files. This influx overwhelmed the small staff, which consisted of three women plus Andersen. Cataloguing occupied the next 15 years.

The Library opened its doors on 28 June 1920. It was soon attracting visitors and students. There were more than 700 visitors per year by 1928. Andersen seems, rather unwisely, to have turned himself into a public relations agent. 'Two or three hours, or a whole morning or afternoon, may often be given to one visitor or group of visitors', he complained in his annual report at the end of 1930. In 1929, there were 61 new readers' permits issued; several hundred regulars used the Library.[4] In 1935, a visiting Oxford scholar, Trevor Williams, wrote to the Under-Secretary for Internal Affairs after spending time in the Library. While mourning the fact that there were 'insufficient facilities for the student who wants quiet' — a criticism that could be made today, especially when a batch of young, untrained researchers is in the Library — Williams emphatically declared his belief that the Turnbull could become the best library in New Zealand. 'It only needs the raw edges planed off', he told Joseph Heenan.[5]

By the early 1930s, Andersen had become a rather grumpy man. He nursed a deep resentment for Dr Guy Scholefield, who succeeded Wilson as Parliamentary Librarian in 1926. Scholefield's role entitled him to a £200 per annum salary top-up for looking after the archives. He also enjoyed what the Speaker of the House, Sir Charles Statham, called a £50 per annum 'sinecure' paid for supervision of Andersen.

No-one was happier than Andersen when the National Economy Committee decided in February 1931 to claw back Scholefield's bonuses. Scholefield's relationship with the Library ceased at that point.[6]

In 1933, Andersen turned 60; a deputy, C. R. H. Taylor, was appointed. Four years later, Taylor took over from Andersen as Chief Librarian, holding the post until 1963. In 1934, the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust was established, and within a few years the Labour Government had commissioned the writing of a number of centennial surveys, which increased the Library's number of researchers. The Annual Report of the Department of Internal Affairs in 1938 spoke of a 'decided increase' in the number of Library users, the figure reaching 3000 per annum.[7] In 1939, The Friends of the Turnbull Library held their first meeting. Alice Woodhouse, who was one of the category of 'permanent temporary' women employed in the Public Service in those days, recalled a new mood of optimism sweeping the Library.

The Library's growth continued. By 1946, it contained more than 100,000 books and had a staff of 14, which had grown to 30 by 1966. Some reconstruction of the building took place in the mid-1950s, but it was inadequate. By 1959, space in the Reading Room, according to the Annual Report, was 'strained to the limit'. While the total number of users had risen only to 3525, the Chief Librarian noted, not altogether approvingly, that the introduction of stand-alone courses in New Zealand literature and history at Victoria University had greatly increased visits from senior university students. So crowded was the Library that more than half its collection was now stored in Ford's Building in Courtenay Place. Shuffling backwards and forwards to Bowen St with books for eager readers was time-consuming.[8] This predicament forced the Library to vacate Turnbull's old home for the Free Lance building in The Terrace in 1973. It, however, was threatened with destruction by 1985, before the long-promised joint building with the National Library was ready to open its doors. By 1987, a library that had 55,000 items in 1918 had grown to 800,000 items with a staff of 53. There were now more than 14,000 readers per annum.[9]

After 75 years, we can reflect on Turnbull's 'fascinating folly', as McCormick once called it. Since Turnbull's death, his legacy has appreciated like a well-managed investment. While there will always be debate about whether all Trevor Williams's 'raw edges' have been planed off, the Library has survived, grown, and without question become the principal national repository for New Zealand's cultural heritage. It may not be the first port of call for those with an interest in the humanities, but a visit must be made if the project is serious. Physical locations have changed; librarians — some very distinguished — have come and gone. Political responsibility shifted from Internal Affairs to Education in 1965, and the Library now enjoys stand-alone status. Linkages between the Turnbull and the National Library are now more intimate. Some did not like this, and fought the growing courtship. When the

FIGURE 2. Alice Woodhouse and C. R. H. Taylor.
Picture reference no.: C 21783.

partners began cohabiting in 1987, some close relatives publicly criticised the move. A few feared that the Turnbull's essentially research purpose might be diluted, but it is a testament to the National Library and The Friends of the Turnbull Library, as well as to the Turnbull's staff, that to date this has not occurred.

For myself, I must say that I find the Alexander Turnbull Library the most congenial of all the research libraries that I have worked in, here or overseas, and that's a fair number. Whether Alexander Turnbull himself, fond as he was of shifting his chair around his stacks, sampling this and that, would find today's Library to his liking must remain open to conjecture. But then he was a very conservative man, and might well have found disturbing many aspects of modern New Zealand.

In one important sense, the concept that Turnbull left us has been upheld, despite the suggestion from Treasury that those collections relating to early English literature be sold off. Turnbull bought eclectically. 'Anything whatever relating to this Colony, on its history, flora, fauna, geology and inhabitants, will be fish for my net, from as early a date as possible until now', he wrote enthusiastically in 1893.[10] Everything about the settlers who travelled the longest-ever immigrant route to what Rollo Arnold calls 'The Farthest Promised Land' was gathered up from agents around the world.[11] Turnbull went further; his was the broadest concept of what it was to be a New Zealander. Milton featured in profusion, as did Piers Plowman and the works of Molière. He bought maps, catalogues of manuscripts and of exhibitions

of paintings, books about botany and genealogy, portraits as well as cartoons. Perhaps, as Eric McCormick surmises in the address he gave 25 years ago on the 50th anniversary of the Library's opening, this was because such works 'fitted into Turnbull's conception of a gentleman's library'?[12] Yet, if a research library for future generations was in Turnbull's mind, did it not make sense to purchase books about all aspects of the culture known to New Zealanders? Aren't we all influenced by the learning and culture brought here by our ancestors, no matter whether they came from the Pacific, from Europe, or from Asia? When some of our contemporaries talk of 'biculturalism' rather than 'multiculturalism', and then go on to lay particular stress on things Māori, it is worth remembering the fact that, like it or not, the impact of European culture on New Zealand has been, and always will be, profound. Moreover, the influence of Asia is growing. In his enthusiasm to collect material about Māori and Pacific Islanders, Turnbull remained proud of the rich inheritance from his European side. He was the original multiculturalist New Zealander, a term that is under-used, but accurately describes the world in which we live.

The passage of three-quarters of a century since Alexander Turnbull left us his rich collection enables us also to reflect on the ways in which New Zealand's national identity and its culture have developed, thanks often to information to be found in the Library. In his book *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Keith Sinclair portrays our early forebears progressing erratically towards a sense of what it was to be a New Zealander.[13] A high peak in the 1890s was followed by a revival of colonial dependence in the years after World War One. It was the countdown to New Zealand's Centenary that brought renewed enthusiasm to what was variously described as 'a march to nationhood' or a 'coming of age'. Between 1936 and 1940, the Under-Secretary for Internal Affairs, Joseph Heenan, worked on his ministers and on local government leaders to produce celebrations, exhibitions, performances, and publications worthy of a young independent nation. A Country Library Service emerged in 1936. In 1940, there were literary and art competitions; a centennial orchestra was set up; a world-class performance of *Faust* with Isobel Baillie and Heddle Nash was staged; and there were local music and drama festivals.[14]

Heenan sustained the cultural momentum into the postwar years. He took up the request from a PEN delegation to the Minister of Internal Affairs in November 1944 for a literary fund. Within 18 months, he'd convinced Peter Fraser to put £2000 on the Internal Affairs vote for the purpose.[15] He then went a step further. Having first consulted his friend and confidant, J. C. Beaglehole, from whom he received enthusiastic support, Heenan put up to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Internal Affairs a proposal to cream off profits from the national lotteries for cultural purposes. On 3 May 1946, a few months before the general election, Heenan told his ministers:

> I have watched the growth of the accumulated surplus [in the Art Union account] with great concern over the past two years and at various times have mentioned it to both of you. The question now arises as to how it may best be utilized. In my considered opinion it would be a shocking waste to hand it out in large sums either for general relief which is adequately cared for at present, or by increased sums in our two half-yearly distributions .... I am firmly convinced that the time has arrived when you, as trustees, should consider some other means of disposing of the surplus. I have thought ever since the Government spent such large sums on cultural matters at the time of the Centennial that these surplus Art Union profits could be used to continue the work then so notably begun, and think that £70,000 of the £80,000 now in hand could be utilised in the creation of three funds ....[16]

FIGURE 3. Joseph Heenan
Picture reference no.: F 20963 ¼.

He went on to suggest a Cultural and General Arts Fund, a Special Fund to enable young New Zealanders to study abroad, and a fund to supplement the Department of Internal Affairs' work in physical welfare and recreation. In retrospect, this is a letter of vast significance for the cultural life of this country, so much so that much of the

rest of the story is modern history; while the State began voting funds from the Consolidated Fund for the arts in the same year, lottery funding for a wide range of cultural activities also developed and has been a part of our lives ever since. Heenan's equally enthusiastic support for having the New Zealand Broadcasting Service take the National Orchestra under its wing rounded out a vital phase in our development. The Literary Fund, which helped with the writing and publication of many books, the Federation of Chamber Music Societies, the Community Arts Service, the New Zealand Players, and an opera company evolved over the next few years. In 1948, the Alexander Turnbull Library received from lottery profits a substantial grant of £3950 to buy books and to help with publications on art history. Another such grant was made to the Library, this one of £5150 for historical research.[17] All the activity that resulted from such beneficence subsided somewhat in the 1950s, picked up at the end of the decade, then subsided once more, with theatre, opera, and ballet receding for a time after an overly-optimistic beginning.

If the cultural highlight of the 1960s belonged more to the stage, that of recent times probably belongs to the book. It is worth noting, perhaps, that the Literary Fund, which Heenan saw as the jewel in the cultural crown, remained in existence until 1988, when a certain Minister of Internal Affairs, I still think wisely, persuaded the fund to join the Arts Council.

The results of the Fund's half-century of encouragement to writing are there for all to see. J. C. Beaglehole was created an Order of Merit. Janet Frame hovers on the brink of a Nobel Prize, Keri Hulme won the Booker Prize, Allen Curnow the Queen's Gold Medal for Poetry. Maurice Gee, who first received assistance in 1960, seems to have gathered up most of the domestic prizes for his *Plumb* trilogy and other novels about New Zealand life, and his children's books, while C. K. Stead has shone in the categories of fiction, criticism, and poetry. Margaret Mahy enjoys an even higher reputation overseas for her children's work than she does at home. Māori writers such as Hulme, Patricia Grace, Witi Ihimaera, and Alan Duff have added new dimensions to our literature, greatly expanding the Māori component of our multicultural existence.

Central to the emergence of New Zealand's cultural identity has been the role of the State. It was not always so. When Alexander Turnbull was collecting vigorously, all that governments did was to help occasionally with bricks and mortar; 'Coronation Halls' sprang up around the country during the celebrations of 1902 and 1911. Large subsidies towards the National Art Gallery, the Dominion Museum, regional museums, and the National Library were not forthcoming until the 1920s, when communities everywhere decided to commemorate those who had died in the War. Public support for libraries grew. Assistance to the Library from the Department of Internal Affairs, and several substantial acts of private philanthropy from home and abroad, signified the development of a wider public interest in culture, and in libraries in particular. Nevertheless, it was not until the late 1930s that the Government, by

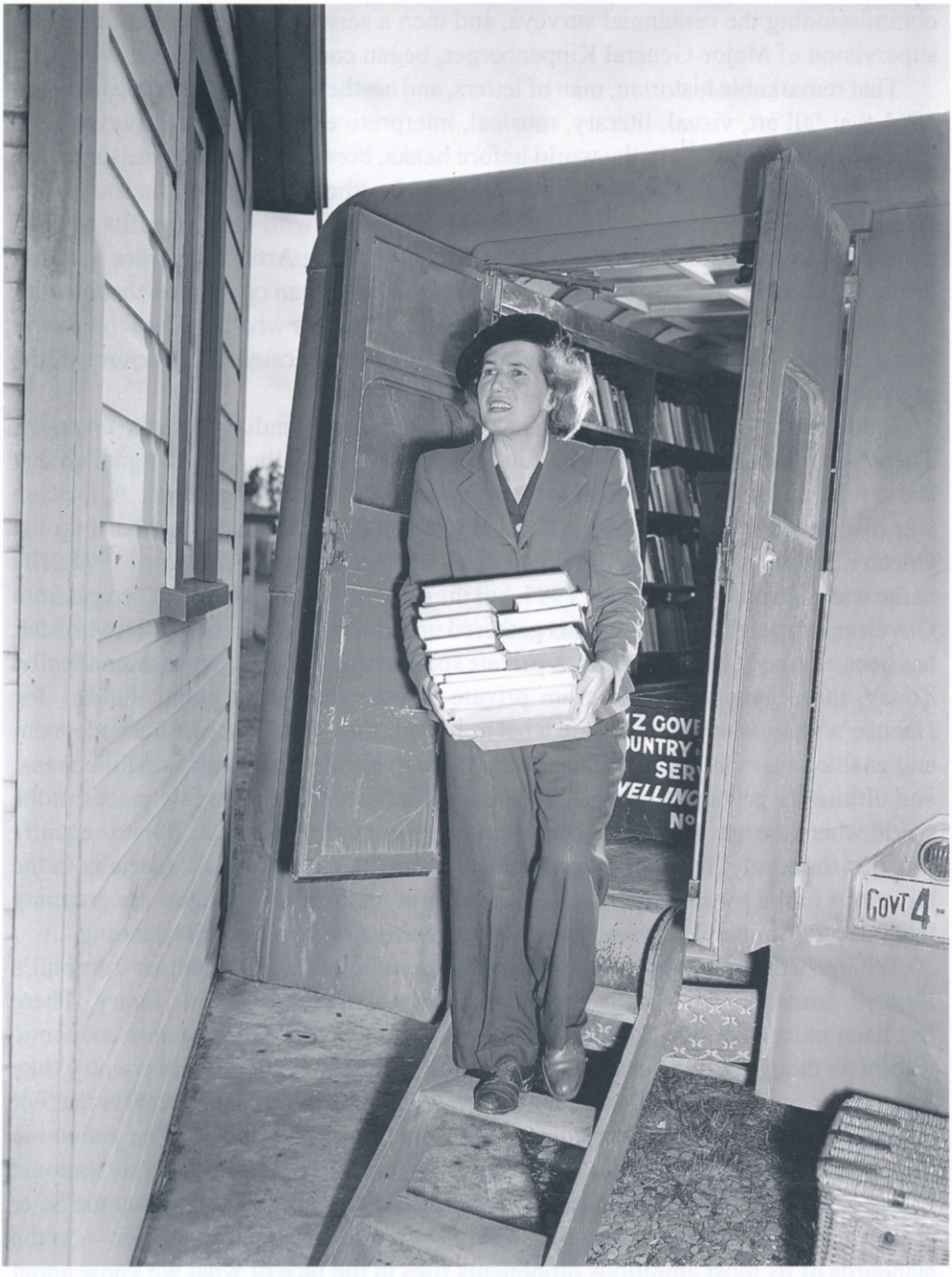

FIGURE 4. A National Publicity Studios photograph showing the Country Library Service in action: 'The Country Library Service van driven and attended by Miss E. Franklin calls periodically at Ngahinapouri'.

Picture reference no.: F 33976 ½.

commissioning the centennial surveys, and then a series of war histories under the supervision of Major-General Kippenberger, began contributing in a big way.

That remarkable historian, man of letters, and aesthete, J. C. Beaglehole, wrote in 1961 that 'all art, visual, literary, musical, interpretive as well as creative, needs a patron or a financier'.[18] In the world before banks, breweries, and businessmen saw merit in sponsorship of the arts, little happened without help from the State. Joe Heenan's idea of topping up the State's role after 1946 with lottery profits seemed distasteful to some people. When I was Minister of the Arts, there were constant grumbles about it. For my own part, I hold to the American contention that a dollar is a dollar. I doubt whether any of the thousands of artists who have benefited over half a century from lottery profits feels one whit worse because of the source of the money.

From time to time, the State itself has increased direct funding from the taxpayer. There was a substantial increase in funding in 1963, when the Queen signalled that she would prefer the emphasis of her Royal Tour to be on things cultural. A decision was also made that year to draw the many advisory committees together into the Queen Elizabeth the Second Arts Council, which began its work on 1 April 1964. The name was eventually dropped in 1994, but the concept of a body at arms' length from Government, yet distributing funds gathered up from public sources by the Minister, has been retained. In the meantime, private sponsorship has also grown dramatically. Today, more goes to culture from private sources than from public funds. Joe Heenan's State-assisted efforts did what he hoped; they sustained cultural endeavour and enabled many branches of arts and culture to secure considerable public mana, and ultimately private patronage, because of that fact. There are few places in the world where the arts manage to survive solely from private sources, but it is equally true that those relying solely on the State are usually in dire straits, especially in the latter part of the twentieth century, when all around the globe budgets are groaning from decades of carelessly-monitored, poorly-targeted government spending.

Where do the cultural developments of modern times place Alexander Turnbull's legacy? Some members of the Friends worry about the future of the Library. There has been more than one Founder Lecture in recent years railing against economic reform as though it were some easily-avoidable illness visited on the country, like hydatids or bovine tuberculosis. What such cries of bewilderment reveal is that not enough time has been spent reading and thinking in this Library. The economic prospects of this country are a great deal more promising than when the National Library and the Turnbull decided to share digs. Moreover, the notion that the State alone can maintain and advance this library — or any other for that matter — to the standards of its most ambitious proponents flies in the face of what we know about the Library's history. The Library exists because of an act of substantial private philanthropy. It grew with help from donations from Beauchamp, Kinsey, Shirtcliffe, and others. It has been sustained by hundreds, probably thousands, of donations in

cash and in kind. It will continue to do better than others if those who promote its excellence refuse to accept that the days of private philanthropy are over. This Library has great public esteem, and constant efforts to tap that esteem should be a part of its everyday existence.

This is not to advocate any reduction in the State's role in the cultural field — far from it. It is, however, a plea to be realistic. While educational, cultural, and environmental changes have taken place since 1918, most of them for the better, the world in which the Library operates and competes for resources is now infinitely more complex than when the doors first opened. The history of government activity in all areas of our economy, social services, and the arts has been one of haphazard development. New initiatives are clipped on to old; elderly systems are face-lifted, and sometimes permanently contorted in the process; things that may be publicly unpalatable, but are deemed necessary for the wider good, have often been hidden from view. Such has sometimes been the case with the State's developing interest in arts and culture. Being at the more popular end of the cultural spectrum, libraries have usually been funded directly, albeit inadequately. The Symphony Orchestra was part-hidden within Broadcasting for decades, while a raft of other activities received money from lotteries or the Minister of Internal Affairs' discretionary fund. Some government departments simply began their own artistic service delivery. Efforts to establish a comprehensive, overall policy touching on all parts of our heritage have so far come to nothing. Even the current studies involving National Archives and the National Library are, it appears, being conducted, like so many studies before them, outside any national cultural policy. This lack continues to worry me. Until a national cultural policy is evolved, all component parts of the cultural scene, this Library included, will to an extent be flying blind.

There have been occasional efforts from the centre to bring about an element of cohesion in our arts and cultural policy. The *Arts 2000* conference of November 1986 attempted cross-sectoral discussion between literature, crafts, and the visual and musical arts, with a view to facilitating a more comprehensive approach to cultural matters and the development of policies that were more responsive to artists and the audiences they shared. From the conference came suggestions for the establishment of a Ministry of Arts and Culture.[19] As the first and so far only Minister of Arts and Culture, I set in motion wide-ranging discussions that were held during 1988 with government departments, statutory bodies, national associations, and community organisations. These resulted in a discussion paper on the establishment of a ministry that was released in April 1989.

What was interesting about that document was the detail it provided about the sheer complexity of governmental involvement with arts and culture that had developed in New Zealand over the previous 40 years. At least ten Government departments were involved in some kind of funding for arts and cultural activity, the

most substantial, of course, being Internal Affairs. The discussion paper identified several weaknesses in the current situation: lack of coordination in arts and cultural activities, poor policy-advice flows, and a lack of coordinated advice to Government.[20] The paper drew attention to the Australian, Swedish, and Canadian models, in which one agency combined responsibility for arts, sport, and in a couple of cases the country's national library as well. In Canada, surveillance over Broadcasting was also included in the Ministry. Several countries also accommodated heritage and conservation matters under this one umbrella agency.

The responses in 1989 to the New Zealand discussion paper were interesting; perhaps 'distressing' would be a more accurate word. A few voices were heard in support of an umbrella Ministry, but only a handful took a broad view; most dealt, according to the analysts, with the 'specific needs of their own organisation'. The Hillary Commission wanted to stay outside the proposed Ministry, and Broadcasting adopted a 'feet off my grass' approach; the National Library and the New Zealand Library Association wanted the National Library outside the proposed Ministry, an opinion advanced also by the New Zealand Book Council. The Music Federation and the Auckland Philharmonia wanted a Ministry with a funding role only. There was an awful lot of what might be called a New Zealand disease: 'you-give-me-the-money-but-keep-at-arms'-length'.[21] The exercise told us little more than that all change, however well-intentioned and however necessary, will always be opposed by existing bureaucracies who are uncertain about their role in any new dispensation, and are therefore reluctant to exercise their imaginations for the wider good.

Enthusiasm for the initial proposal waned. A Ministry of Cultural Affairs with a rather vague brief was established in 1991. The Symphony Orchestra, the Film Commission, and the Film Archive were brought under its aegis, and the Ministry was given an important role in the construction of the Museum of New Zealand. A structure with potential — but still rather empty in my view — now exists within which a comprehensive approach to arts and culture could be built. In 1991, however, the new Minister resiled from any comprehensive approach to arts and culture. What complicated matters, and almost certainly influenced him, was that, for the first time in New Zealand history, the Minister of Arts and the Minister of Internal Affairs — who by statute is Chairman of the New Zealand Lottery Board — were two different people. This separation has caused even more diffuse artistic links to develop; most importantly, there has been less access by those with an interest in culture to the honeypot that has drawn so many bees around it since Joe Heenan's time.

Some effort at reform persisted, however. A new review was announced in 1991 and a discussion paper released. This one focused only on the Queen Elizabeth the Second Arts Council. A new Act — the Arts Council of New Zealand Act — was finally passed in June 1994. It fined down the former structure. The Literary Fund was formally brought into the Arts Council (or Creative New Zealand, as someone curiously seems to have dubbed it recently). It has taken over responsibility for the

Authors Fund as well.[22] Nevertheless, to someone like myself who was hoping for a more comprehensive approach to New Zealand culture and to the setting of priorities, it seems that everything has changed but only some things have changed. The same confused and confusing overall policy advice to Government on arts and culture continues.

I may seem to have moved away from a discussion of the Alexander Turnbull Library. Yet, when Turnbull left his library to the Crown to look after, little did he realise how many others would soon be seeking government favours. His library now competes with many other deserving bodies. The complex system by which today's largesse and policy advice is scattered among institutions and individuals was simply unimaginable in 1918. A user of today's Library like myself enters the doors of a library that is funded by the Minister of Education. I can be working alongside recipients of money from the New Zealand History Trust, which was funded by the New Zealand Lottery Grants Board but which is administered by a branch of the Department of Internal Affairs. A user might well look at a cartoon collection funded initially from the Minister of Internal Affairs' discretionary fund and then move down the road to National Archives, where the staff are all on Internal Affairs' payroll. And here one strikes problems. Many of the rules, the computer ordering system, and other matters making for easy research differ between the two institutions. The only policy they seem to have in common is that there is a woeful lack of security at both of them! Links between them may be close, yet policy formulation for each is jealously guarded by the keepers of the two institutions, and there is no administering body with an overall eye to the roles which each plays in the cultural development of the country. Similar comments to those I've made about our libraries could probably be made about any other sector within today's arts and cultural scene.

I remain convinced that, if there was a structure with a wide brief that was strong enough to assemble the rival arts and cultural *condottieri*, then a policy could be evolved that would enhance our cultural development. Such a policy could more effectively utilise the large public investment that has grown up since Turnbull's day. The sort of organisation which I have in mind once existed in embryo during Turnbull's last years. In 1913, a Board of Science and Art was established. Representatives of the Dominion Museum, the Art Gallery, and the then National Library met regularly with the Minister. Priorities were hammered out and policy arrived at, most of it in those days relating to buildings. An expanded structure with direct ministerial involvement could work today with a high-powered advisory group. The Government's support for arts and culture is, in one sense, like its role in the provision of health and welfare. The Government is there for the public, for the consumers first, and not primarily to satisfy the providers. Certainly our librarians are important, just like our doctors, nurses, and — dare I say it — social workers; but policy must first be determined with the customer's best interests at 17.

FIGURE 5. Alexander Horsburgh Turnbull, c. 1900.
Picture reference no.: F 4742 ½.

heart before provider convenience is taken into account. The public interest must remain paramount when State assistance to institutions or to individual artists is contemplated, be they writers, painters, potters, or musicians.

While a comprehensive Ministry of Arts and Culture may lie dormant at present, I feel certain that it will awaken in due course. Next year, being the sixtieth anniversary of Joe Heenan's first moves towards the centenary and the fiftieth of his successful efforts to get permanent arts money from the Government and Lottery Board, might be a good year to begin. Among his many characteristics, Alexander Turnbull was a tidy man with an eye to systems. Perhaps, in the next few years, these attributes will be brought to bear on the environment in which, to date, his library has survived so well.

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HARRY EVISON

The Wentworth–Jones Deeds of 15 February 1840

1. The Background

In 1830, in New South Wales, the arbitrary powers of the colonial governor were under attack by political reformers who demanded an elected property-franchise legislature with a measure of responsible government. Prominent in this agitation were Sydney commercial interests led by William Charles Wentworth, a rich barrister, speculator, and publicist later dubbed 'Australia's greatest native son'.[1] Governor Ralph Darling (1825–31) became a particular object of Wentworth's criticism.

At Akaroa in November 1830, Captain John Stewart of the English brig *Elizabeth* assisted Te Rauparaha in massacring some 200 Ngāi Tahu. When Stewart arrived in Sydney in 1831, Darling had him put on trial for murder. Wentworth's law partner defended Stewart, who then disappeared—with the connivance of Wentworth, according to Darling.[2] Darling's subsequent replacement by the more liberal Governor Bourke was applauded by Wentworth, the sworn enemy of autocracy.

In 1838, Sir George Gipps became Governor of New South Wales. When rumours reached Sydney that Britain planned to annex New Zealand, Wentworth and other Sydney speculators hastened to obtain so-called 'deeds' for large areas of New Zealand, signed by Māori chiefs, with a

Turnbull Library Record 28 (1995), 43—60

view to cornering the market in land for European settlement. Active in this 'land sharking' was John Jones, a self-made Sydney trader, shipowner, and whaling station owner. Jones had a close alliance with southern Ngāi Tahu chiefs led by Tūhawaiki. Jones needed their approval for his whaling stations, and they needed muskets and ammunition for their war with Te Rauparaha, and Sydney merchandise and sailing boats for their coastal trading activities. The southern Māori population was being severely depleted by ship-borne epidemics of measles, influenza, and tuberculosis,[3] and Tūhawaiki and his chiefs were increasingly dependent on their Sydney connections for the necessities of trade and war. They welcomed the sudden demand for land sale 'deeds' as a source of funds, but Gipps considered it his duty to protect the Māori people from Sydney land sharks.

In December 1839, Captain William Hobson arrived at Sydney aboard HMS *Druid*, with a commission as British Consul for New Zealand and Lieutenant Governor under Gipps. Hobson had been instructed to negotiate a treaty with the Māori chiefs to pave the way for British sovereignty. On 19 January 1840, Gipps issued proclamations in line with Hobson's instructions. They reiterated the basic principle of British sovereignty regarding property in land: that title can derive only from the Crown.[4] New Zealand land claims were to be subject to a Land Claims Commission, and further purchases from Māori were disqualified. Wentworth and his supporters denounced Gipps's proclamations as an infringement of British liberties.

Another kind of political contest now emerged in the South Island of New Zealand. In September 1839, Tūhawaiki and his chiefs sailed from Otago to attack Te Rauparaha at Cook Strait.[5] Te Rauparaha, however, unknown to them, was meeting agents of the New Zealand Company who had arrived aboard the *Tory* with a large consignment of firearms and other attractions. On 25 October, while Tūhawaiki's expedition was mustering at Banks Peninsula, Te Rauparaha signed 'deeds' selling the South Island to the Company as far south as the 43rd parallel, including a third of Ngāi Tahu's tribal territory.[6]

Tūhawaiki's party, evidently getting wind of this, abandoned their expedition and hurried home. On 6 January 1840, over Tūhawaiki's moko, they sold some land to Captain Cattlin of Jones's ship the *Success*.[7] On 10 January, at Ruapuke, they embarked aboard the *Success* with Jones for Australia. Tūhawaiki wanted to see Governor Gipps 'to have the rights of Ngāi Tahu established and to get the protection of the Queen of England'.[8] Ngāi Tahu needed all possible support for their claim to be the true proprietors of the South Island.

Reaching Sydney on 27 January, Tūhawaiki and Jones no doubt learned of Gipps's proclamations and Hobson's departure for New Zealand. Gipps was soon in touch with the chiefs on his own account. To further Hobson's objectives, he wanted them, together with some North Island chiefs, to sign a treaty acknowledging

the Queen's sovereignty and her sole right to purchase Māori land, in return for the rights of British subjects and the provision of education and Christian instruction funded from the resale of land.[9]

On 14 February, Tūhawaiki and six other chiefs visited Gipps to consider his treaty, accompanied by Jones. Gipps paid the chiefs ten guineas each on the understanding (so he thought) that they would return and sign the following day. He gave Tūhawaiki a British flag.[10] But on the appointed day, instead of the promised visit from the chiefs, Gipps received a note from Jones:

> Sir, I have been advised not to be instrumental in getting the New Zealand chiefs (my friends now here) to sign away their rights to the Sovereignty of the Crown, respectively owned by them, until my purchases are confirmed as far as they can be by the Crown. I write to inform you I shall act on the advice.[11]

Jones had not been idle. To protect his New Zealand interests against Gipps's proclamations, he had secured a powerful ally. He had joined Wentworth in arranging for a vast 'purchase' of southern New Zealand from Tūhawaiki and his colleagues. While Gipps was preparing his treaty, Wentworth and Jones had been preparing their deeds of purchase.

On 15 February, Tūhawaiki and his colleagues failed to visit Gipps, whose treaty remained unsigned. They went instead with Jones to his solicitor's office. There they signed duplicate deeds purporting to convey to Wentworth and Jones all of the South Island and adjacent islands that they had not already sold, except Ruapuke. Tūhawaiki received £100 in cash and the promise of a life annuity of £50, and the other chiefs each received £20 in cash and a promised annuity of £10.

2. The Deeds

The Wentworth–Jones deeds name eight Māori vendors in whalers' vernacular — 'John Towack' (Tūhawaiki) as 'King and chief of Tavai Poenammoo and Stewart Island'; 'Jackey White' (Karetai), 'Kaikoraira' (Kaikōareare), 'Tuckawa' (Tūkawa), 'Tyroa' (Taiaroa), and 'Bogener' (Te Whaikai Pōkene) as 'chiefs of Otago'; and 'Tohowack' and 'Patuckie or Toby' (John Tōpī Pātuki) as 'chiefs of Ruapuke'. They are represented by moko (facial tattoos) except for Pātuki, who was not tattooed and has a simple portrait.[12]

The deeds are elaborately engrossed in legal form. In about a thousand words they state that the chiefs 'aliened enfeoffed released ratified and confirmed' the 'liberties franchises profits emoluments advantages hereditaments premises rights members and appurtenances' of the specified lands together with all 'reversions remainders

rents issues and profits' and undertook to give Wentworth and Jones 'full possession and seizin of all and singular the aforesaid Islands' and of their 'estate right title interest use trust possession inheritance claim or demesne' through the chiefs' 'true and lawful attorneys', named as 'Edward Catlin [*sic*] and John Hoyle of Sydney, mariners.' Edwin Palmer and William Sterling are named as attorneys for Wentworth and Jones.[13]

Whether or not the Māori 'vendors' could have understood such language, the idea that Tūhawaiki and his companions had literally sold Wentworth and Jones most of the South Island has had currency ever since.[14] Tūhawaiki is said to have asserted his right to make such a sale.[15] The deeds however were invalid, because they had Tūhawaiki and company selling what they did not own. In the first place, the north of the South Island (later Nelson) was not Ngāi Tahu territory. Secondly, Māori custom did not permit the disposal of tribal lands by any chief, however powerful.[16] Chiefs might surrender their own interests, but not those of others. Besides the eight chiefs named as vendors, there were at least sixty other Ngāi Tahu chiefs and heads of whanau with hereditary or residential rights to the land named in the deeds.[17] The exclusion of Tūhawaiki's stronghold of Ruapuke Island from the transaction suggests that he, at least, contemplated abandoning the mainland to the Europeans — yet the Otago chiefs could hardly have intended this. The signature of a solicitor representing the Māori 'vendors' might have confirmed that their intention was to sell their own interests, but there is no such signature. Both documents are witnessed by Jones's solicitor Frederic Wright Unwin, and his clerk witnessed one as well; but Unwin was scarcely a disinterested party. In Sydney, the Wentworth–Jones 'purchase' was seen as a challenge to Governor Gipps. It raised a storm that was still of interest in 1939, but the documents themselves passed into limbo.[18]

On 18 February 1940, Wentworth's 'indenture' was unearthed in a Sydney strongroom, and his grandson presented it to the Mitchell Library.[19] Another half century on, in 1993, Sotheby's of London announced that they had 'The Wentworth Indenture', consigned from Australia, for sale.[20] A hurried enquiry by the present writer confirmed that the Mitchell Library's 'Wentworth Indenture' was still in Sydney. There were two 'Indentures'. Sotheby's is presumed to have belonged to Jones, and it was fortunately purchased for the Turnbull Library.[21]

Although engrossed as 'Indentures', the two documents lack the matching indentations that gave true indentures their name, nor is there evidence that a matching copy was issued to the Māori signatories. It is therefore appropriate to refer to them as 'deeds' rather than indentures, and to name them after their initiators, Wentworth and Jones. It is convenient to refer to each document by the name of its library of deposit, the Mitchell and the Turnbull.

Both documents comprise two sheets of vellum in excellent condition. They are attractive artifacts whose glistening freshness makes their close study a pleasure. The

Mitchell sheets measure 670mm by 540mm and 665mm by 555mm, and the Turnbull sheets are larger. In each case, the statement of 'Indenture' occupies the first sheet and the top of the second sheet. The second sheet carries the moko, while the receipts for the initial payments and a certificate of 'delivery of possession' dated 2 April 1840 are on its reverse side. On both deeds, Tūhawaiki has penned a broad flourish across his name.

The calligraphy of the two documents is different, suggesting that they were prepared by different clerks simultaneously — perhaps under pressure, judging from the deletions, insertions, and spelling errors. Clearly one was not copied from the other, for they are set out differently.

3. The Moko

On each document, the Māori signatures consist of the moko — varying from 60mm to 100mm in width — and a seal of red wax alongside each name. The moko are drawn in pencil across a vertical axis of double lines about 3mm apart and are set out in two columns. Tūhawaiki heads the left column, followed by Karetai, Kaikōareare, and Tūkawa, while Taiaroa, Pōkene, Tohowack, and Pātuki occupy the right column. On the Turnbull document, the chiefs' names and seals appear in a single column to the right of all the drawings. On the Mitchell, however, the name and seal of each chief appears alongside his moko — a fortunate circumstance without which the moko on either deed could not be identified with certainty.

The Mitchell document has rectangular frames ruled up for the moko, about 120mm wide in the left column and 113mm in the right. The rectangles are 78mm (3 inches) high, except for the second one in each column, which is 92mm high. Karetai and Pōkene thus have bigger spaces than the others. Pōkene's is used to good advantage with a magnificent moko about 100mm across. Tūhawaiki evidently found his space too small and used the top 5mm or 6mm of Karetai's space.

On the Turnbull document, there are no ruled frames for the drawings, some of which consequently crowd upon one another. Tūhawaiki's drawing crowds down on Karetai's, Pōkene's on Tohowack's, and Tohowack's on Pātuki's. Taiaroa, Kaikōareare, and Tūkawa, on the other hand, have drawings of modest size which leave unused space.

It is not stated how or by whom these moko were drawn, but it is well documented that Māori could draw such moko. According to Cruise, the Church Missionary Society completed a purchase as follows at the Bay of Islands in 1815:

> When the missionaries had signed it [the deed of sale], Shungie [Hongi] and some of his principal chiefs drew the amoco [moko], or pattern according to which their faces were tattooed, upon the paper.[22]

According to Nicholas, who was present, Hongi drew the moko of the principal vendor and another Māori drew half of his own moko on the deed by way of witnessing it. Nicholas reproduces another moko drawn by the Māori chief 'Themoranga', using a pen 'which he now handled for the first time in his life'. Robley shows the very complicated moko of Te Pēhi Kupe, 'drawn by him without the aid of a mirror' in Liverpool in 1826. According to Robley, Te Pēhi drew this moko repeatedly with perfect precision. These accounts confirm that Māori could draw their own moko, and one another's.[23]

It has long been disputed whether or not Māori moko conveyed specific information about the wearer. William Yate, a Church of England missionary at the Bay of Islands from 1828 to 1834, says:

> The tattoo is not a special mark of chieftainship, as has been stated by almost all writers on New Zealand; for many chiefs, of the first rank, are without a single line; others, even to old age, are only partially covered; and many a slave has had the greatest pains taken, to give this ornamental operation the greatest effect upon his plebeian face. Nor do the peculiar marks on the faces of different people denote their rank, or the tribe to which they belong: it all depends upon the taste of the artist, or upon the direction of the person operated upon.[24]

Robley quotes D'Urville's contrary opinion that moko were completely analogous to European heraldry except that 'whereas the coat-of-arms attests the merits of ancestors, the Maori moko illustrates the merits of the person decorated with it.'[25] But Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hīroa) dismisses this as a European idea. He says that moko designs acquired currency from the skill and popularity of the tattooists who performed them, and might be borrowed from tribe to tribe.[26] Among more recent writers, Eric Schwimmer supports the view that the 'tattooed man had his entire history and identity indelibly imprinted on his face', and D. R. Simmons asserts that moko specified the wearer's tribe, lineage, status, and occupation in detail, and that the mother's lineage was shown on one side of the face and the father's on the other.[27]

According to Simmons, the forehead designs denoted the person's rank, and the upper facial area denoted the parents' status. Of Tūhawaiki's moko on the Cattlin deed of 6 January 1840, Simmons says that the forehead designs are 'ridiculous' and that the lack of an upper spiral on the 'mother's side' (the right-hand side of the drawing) would mean that Tūhawaiki's mother was illegitimate. Simmons suggests that the moko is a forgery, or a joke on the part of Tūhawaiki.[28] Both the Turnbull and the Mitchell Tūhawaiki moko have the same facial spirals as the Cattlin deed, however, and forehead designs that are very similar. These elements of the Tūhawaiki moko can therefore be regarded as authentic. Furthermore, Tūhawaiki's

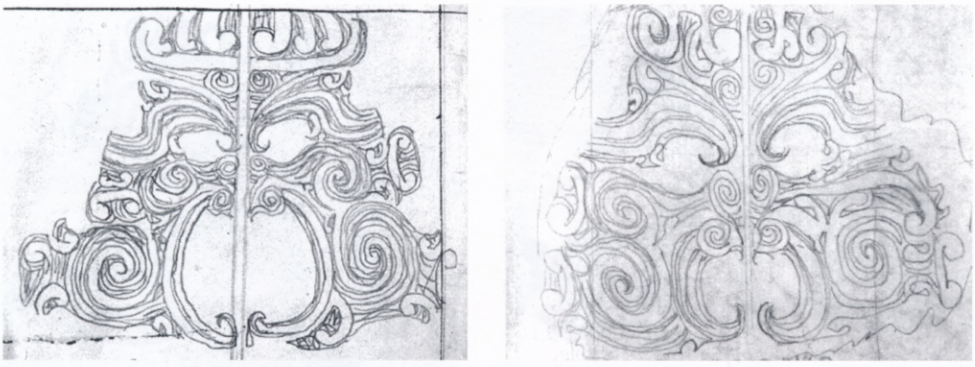

FIGURE 1. Tūhawaiki's moko from the Mitchell (left) and Turnbull (right) deeds.

All images from the Mitchell deed are reproduced by permission of the State Library of New South Wales and are from the original, The Wentworth Indenture, in the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales (Ref: Aw51). All images from the Turnbull deed are reproduced by permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library and are from the original, The Wentworth–Jones Deed, in the Alexander Turnbull Library, MSO 4947.

mother Kura was the sister of Te Whakataupuka, and by no means illegitimate. Likewise, Taiaroa's Wentworth–Jones moko has no upper spiral on either cheek, yet his mother Whareraurahe, at least, was of notable lineage. These moko indicate that Simmons's system, whatever its currency, was not practised among Ngāi Tahu.[29]

As to whether the Wentworth–Jones moko may have had 'meanings', we may consult Edward Shortland, who visited Otago in 1843 as Protector of Aborigines and interpreter to the Land Claims Commission after a year among North Island tribes. He met Tūhawaiki, Pōkene, and Taiaroa, and consulted Tūhawaiki and Tiramōrehu on Māori history and culture. Professor Atholl Anderson suggests that Shortland was 'the first anthropologist of the Māori', and describes his South Island journals and *The Southern Districts of New Zealand* as 'the seminal work of South Island Maori history and ethnography'.[30] Concerning moko, Shortland states:

> The tattoo or 'moko', as it is termed in native language, is neither intended to constitute a distinctive mark between different tribes, nor to denote rank, as has been variously stated. It is, in fact, only a mark of manhood, and a fashionable mode of adornment, by which the young men seek to gain the good graces of the young women. It only so far denotes rank, that the poor man may not have the means of paying the artist, whose skill is necessary.[31]

Moko drawings are generally thought to present an observer's view of the face, not a mirror image. Thus, the right side of the drawing is thought to represent the left side

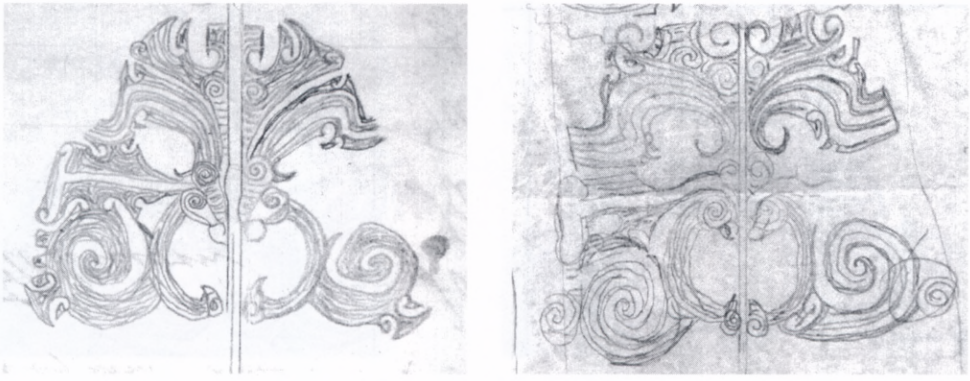

FIGURE 2. Karetai's moko from the Mitchell (left) and Turnbull (right) deeds.

of the face.[32] This seems to be confirmed by an extant full-face photograph of Taiaroa, dating presumably from about 1860, in which the faint traces of moko appear to match its orientation on the Wentworth–Jones deeds.[33]

In the space available to them on the Wentworth–Jones deeds, the chiefs had to compress their moko into about a tenth of the area of the face they were representing, or less. The result could only be an approximation. Detail successfully depicted in one drawing might be compromised, or omitted, in another. Even so, there are remarkably few erasures or amendments.

Tūhawaiki, despite his pretensions, was not 'king' of the South Island, but he was of distinguished lineage and had won military prestige in the wars against Te Rauparaha. In 1833, he had led the 'Tauā-iti', the remarkable Ngāi Tahu naval expedition which, starting from Ruapuke, had fought and nearly captured Te Rauparaha at Cook Strait. In 1835, he inherited the mantle of his uncle Te Whakataupuka, the most powerful Ngāi Tahu chief of his generation, when the latter died of measles. In 1837, Tūhawaiki's war party ambushed and killed the daring Ngāti Tama raider Te Pūoho at Tuturau in Southland.

On the Mitchell document, Tūhawaiki's elegant moko is 80mm high by 85mm wide, and on the Turnbull it is easily the largest. The two drawings are fluent and remarkably consistent. In 1843, Land Claims Commissioner Godfrey admired Tūhawaiki's skill with the pencil,[34] and it seems perfectly credible that he drew his own moko for Wentworth and Jones. But it is curious that at the outer cheeks they differ from his moko on the Cattlin deed and the Ruapuke declaration.[35] The Cattlin has three koru figures on the right cheek which are absent from Tūhawaiki's Turnbull, Mitchell, and Ruapuke moko. The Wentworth, Jones, and Cattlin moko depict double spirals on the nose and forehead, but the Ruapuke drawing, which is entirely in ink, has only single spirals.

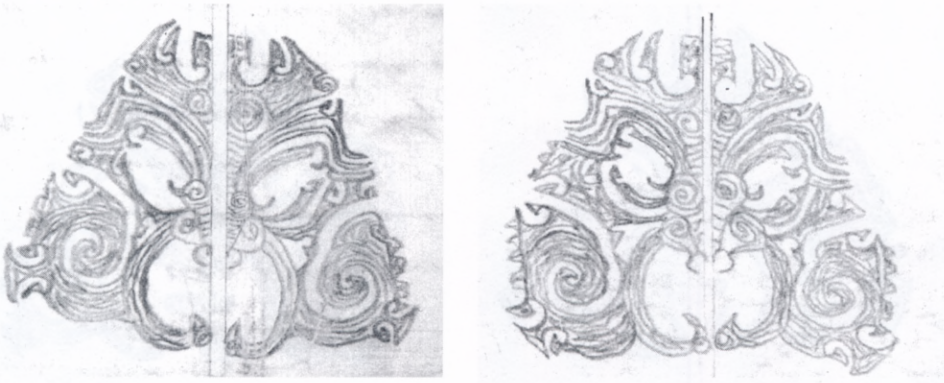

FIGURE 3. Kaikōareare's moko from the Mitchell (left) and Turnbull (right) deeds.

Karetai was a contemporary of Tūhawaiki, Taiaroa, and Kaikōareare, and was by birth the senior chief at Otago. Both Boultbee and Stack comment on his affability. He lost an eye fighting in the Tauā-iti in 1833, and fought in the Tauā-nui under Te Whakataupuka the following year. Afterwards, he and his wife spent some time with Samuel Marsden in Sydney, returning in 1835 with the epidemic that killed Te Whakataupuka. Karetai commanded a squadron of boats in Tūhawaiki's 1839 expedition.[36]

Karetai's moko was so dark that his entire face looked bluish-black.[37] On these deeds, it seems to have been drawn by different persons. The Mitchell drawing seems bold and confident, suggesting the denseness of Karetai's moko more graphically, while the Turnbull seems more painstaking. The Turnbull depicts double spirals, while the Mitchell has only singles and the spiral on the left forehead runs the wrong way. The Turnbull has a small outer spiral on each jaw, lacking on the Mitchell, and a pencil ring has been put around one of these as if someone had queried it. On the Fowler deed of 1839, Karetai's moko is drawn in ink and looks crude and shaky, suggesting that he was awkward with the pen, but its essential features resemble the Turnbull more than the Mitchell.[38] It appears that the Fowler and Turnbull moko were drawn by Karetai himself, the latter with some assistance perhaps from Tūhawaiki, while his Mitchell moko was drawn by someone more competent than he with the pencil but less accurate with the moko. The truncation of the Turnbull forehead would have resulted from Tūhawaiki's encroachment on Karetai's drawing space. The loss of the left eye is reflected in its shrunken aspect in the moko and the vacant area adjacent to it.

Kaikōareare, nicknamed 'Bigfellow' by the whalers, was a prominent Ngāi Tahu fighting chief, tall and powerfully built, and 'bloodthirsty' according to John

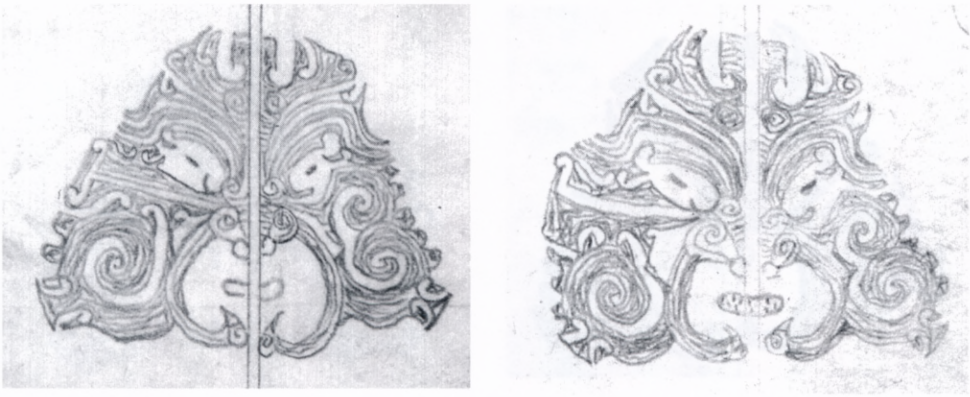

FIGURE 4. Tūkawa's moko from the Mitchell (left) and Turnbull (right) deeds.

Boultbee.[39] He was active in the wars against Te Rauparaha, and commanded a squadron of boats in Tūhawaiki's 1839 expedition.

Kaikōareare's two moko drawings are strongly individual in style, and are so alike as to bespeak the same artist. Such detail compressed into 65mm indicates remarkable competence with the pencil as well as confidence with the subject. The Turnbull moko has more detail at the right cheekbone, possibly suggesting that the Mitchell was done first. Such differences indicate that the drawings were not copied one from the other as would probably be the case if a European artist had drawn them, but they are still consistent with the drawings having been done by the chief himself.

Tūkawa, or 'Tukua', is recorded as having been a senior chief and associate of Kaikōareare at Otago in 1840.[40] His moko drawings on both deeds so closely resemble Kaikōareare's in their distinctive pear shape and compactness as to suggest that his and Kaikōareare's were drawn by the same person. The moko itself is so like Kaikōareare's as to suggest that they had same tattooist. The Mitchell Tūkawa has been retouched at the right eye and left side of the nose to agree with the Turnbull, yet the broad band across the right cheek ending in a koru figure seems less successful on the Turnbull than on the Mitchell. The artist was evidently not infallible on the details of Tūkawa's moko.

These points suggest that the artist was Kaikōareare, and that he was corrected by Tūkawa. This would be consistent with Tūkawa himself having added the slanting eyes, and the 'teeth' in the Turnbull, as his own contribution, perhaps humorous in intent.

Taiaroa, although not of the highest birth, became prominent in tribal affairs through his independent behaviour. To Europeans he was an enigma, with a strong liking for

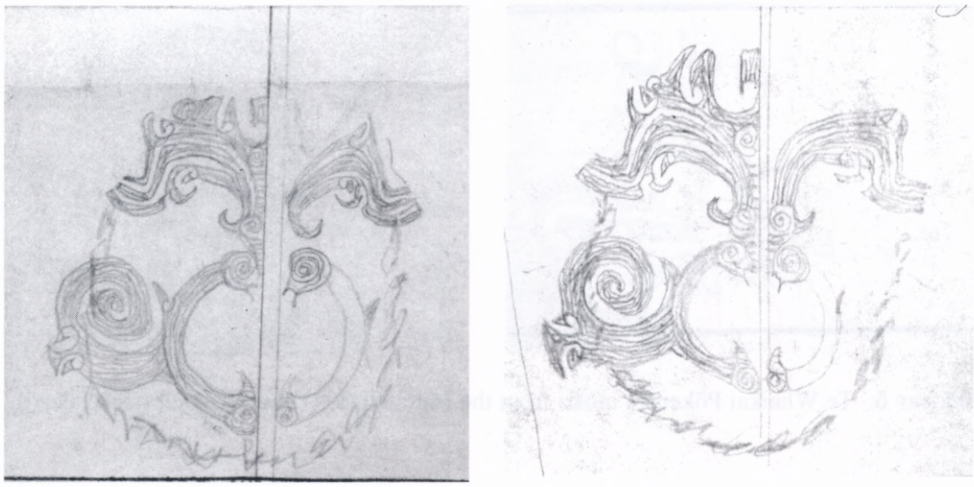

FIGURE 5. Taiaroa's moko from the Mitchell (left) and Turnbull (right) deeds. Note the depiction of the beard.

things European yet an uncompromisingly 'Māori' attitude, so that Boultbee described him as 'Not much liked — not trusty'.[41]

Taiaroa's moko is incomplete. The right side of the face has completed designs on the forehead, eye-line, nose, mouth-line, and chin, and one large facial spiral with an outer koru element. On the other side, only the forehead rays, eye-line, and nose are completed. The Mitchell drawing shows signs of an eraser on the left forehead, and lacks the left upper nose spiral of the Turnbull. Otherwise, the two drawings are similar in execution, as if drawn by Taiaroa himself.

Facial tattooing was normally done in a protracted series of sittings. Perhaps Taiaroa's moko remained incomplete because his tattooist died, or because he himself lost interest. The beard, shown clearly on both drawings, was not normal for a tattooed Māori, and denotes a preference for European sailors' fashions.[42]

Te Whaikai Pōkene was a high-born chief one or two generations older than the others in this group.[43] Boultbee in 1827 described him as one of the eight leading southern chiefs, commanding his own village — 'an old cannibal and not much liked'.[44] Pōkene's is an eighteenth-century moko, and is splendidly displayed on the deeds.

The Mitchell and Turnbull Pōkene moko differ startlingly as to content, especially on the forehead and outer cheeks. The Mitchell seems boldly and confidently drawn, but has only single spirals on the forehead and nose, whereas the Turnbull has doubles. The Turnbull Pōkene is so like the Turnbull Tūhawaiki, both in style and

FIGURE 6. Te Whaikai Pōkene's moko from the Mitchell (left) and Turnbull (right) deeds.

content, that they could be taken for the same moko except that the Pōkene has two spirals on the left cheek while Tūhawaiki has one.

It appears likely that Tūhawaiki drew Pōkene's moko on the Turnbull document and allowed some of his own moko into it. The distinctive features of the Mitchell Pōkene are therefore more likely to be genuine. Its firmness resembles that of the Mitchell Karetai and Tohowack. If Pōkene had been able to draw as well as this, he would hardly have had Tūhawaiki draw for him on the Turnbull. It seems more likely that the old chief did not care to draw and allowed others to do it for him. The similarity of style of the Mitchell Karetai, Pōkene, and Tohowack suggests that one person drew all three.

'Tohowack' has not been identified. It might stand for 'Tūhawaiki', since there were others of that name, except that the deeds give Tūhawaiki as 'Towack', suggesting that the name 'Tohowack' sounded differently. As a 'chief of Ruapuke', he must have been a close associate of Tūhawaiki.

Tohowack's moko has a facial spiral on only one side, but otherwise it is complete. Which side had the spiral is impossible to tell because the Turnbull and the Mitchell have it on opposite sides — the only instance of such a reversal in this set of moko.

Also puzzling is that the Mitchell Tohowack lacks the forehead spirals of the Turnbull, has four forehead rays to the Turnbull's three, has a quite different koru design outside the facial spiral, and has a facial outline while the Turnbull has none. It seems doubtful that the two drawings were done by the same person. Perhaps 'Tohowack' himself drew one with the spiral on the wrong side so someone else drew the other. Perhaps 'Tohowack' added the distinctive eye pupils and lip outlines to both drawings.

FIGURE 7. The moko of 'Tohowack' from the Mitchell (left) and Turnbull (right) deeds.

John Tōpī Pātuki ('Toby Partridge' to the whalers) was of distinguished birth but had no moko. He is said to have shot Te Pūoho at Tuturau in 1837, and he took part in Tūhawaiki's 1839 expedition. In 1840, he was probably aged about 20, an age by which tattooing would traditionally have begun. Clearly it was no longer customary among Ngāi Tahu. On the Turnbull receipt, Pātuki appears to have attempted an autograph signature, and perhaps he did the retouching of his Turnbull portrait with the same pen.

Summary

The difficult double spirals seem to be Tūhawaiki's hallmark on these deeds. Their incidence suggests that he contributed to the Turnbull Karetai as well as completing both of his own moko and the Turnbull Pōkene. It seems likely that Kaikōareare drew both his own moko and Tūkawa's, and that Taiaroa did his own. Who completed the other four moko seems unclear.

4. The Sequel

On 12 March 1840, Tūhawaiki left Sydney for Ruapuke aboard Jones's ship *Magnet* under Captain Bruce, taking with him the Governor's flag, dress uniforms for himself and bodyguard, cattle for Ruapuke, and Jones's clerk Henry Hesketh as his secretary. A Māori contemporary described the operation:

> They loaded on to the ship food, guns, powder, clothes, everything in preparation for an army. Tūhawaiki himself was proclaimed general, and when they arrived back at Ruapuke they began to train to become

soldiers. Tūhawaiki wore his General's uniform complete with sword around his waist. He cut a striking figure. Because of these activities, he began to look upon himself as the Māori King of Niu Tīreni [New Zealand].[45]

On 28 March Tūhawaiki issued his Ruapuke Declaration, inscribed over his moko by Hesketh, proclaiming Ruapuke as the property of himself, Kaikōareare, Pātuki, Haereroa, and four other chiefs whose names are unclear.[46]

On 2 April 1840, at an unspecified place, the Wentworth–Jones deeds were signed by Palmer and Sterling as attorneys for the purchasers, acknowledging 'delivery of possession' by Cattlin and Hoyle as attorneys for the Māori chiefs. James Bruce, James Anderson, and Thomas Emery signed as witnesses. All these 'attorneys' and witnesses were employees or associates of Jones. Since Cattlin had sailed for New Zealand from Sydney on 21 February on the *Success*,[47] and his signature and Bruce's are genuine, it appears that the 'delivery' was signed in New Zealand. This being so, it is curious that no Māori signed the 'delivery', even as a witness.

In Sydney, also on 2 April, Wentworth presided over the formation of a 'New Zealand Association' to contest Gipps's proclamations of 19 January. This prompted Gipps to urge Hobson to proclaim British sovereignty over the South Island without delay, which Hobson did on 21 May. Between 30 May and 13 June, Hobson's deputy, Major Bunbury, got Tūhawaiki and five other Ngāi Tahu chiefs to sign the Treaty of Waitangi.[48]

On 28 May, Gipps introduced his New Zealand Land Claims Bill in the New South Wales Legislative Council to give effect to his proclamations. Wentworth and others, including James Busby, subsequently appeared before the Council to object to the Bill. Gipps accused Wentworth of wishing to emulate Baron de Thierry in setting up colonies in defiance of the Crown.[49] The Bill was duly passed, and its provisions were adopted by the New Zealand Legislative Council in 1841.[50] Wentworth pursued the matter no further. He went on to enjoy a successful career, much honoured and admired, and died in England in 1872.

Jones lost no time in cashing in on his land deals. On 6 March 1840, for £500, he sold a half interest in his share of the Wentworth–Jones transaction to his solicitor F. W. Unwin, who must have thought that the enterprise had a chance of success.[51] On the same day, Jones sold about 400 square miles (100,000 ha) on the shores of Foveaux Strait, derived from his previous Māori purchases, to two other Sydney parties for a total of £1500.[52] In June 1839, he had sold an adjacent 50,000 acres (20,000 ha) to another Sydney partnership for £1250, and on 23 April 1840 he sold another block there for £20.[53] All these purchasers later lost their investments when the Land Claims Commission at Wellington rejected their claims.[54] Jones himself received the Commission's maximum award of four square miles at Waikouaiti in 1848, but he petitioned the Crown for more and was finally awarded 10,000 acres in 1867 under the John Jones Land Claims Settlement Act.[55] He died two years later,

a pillar of Otago society and commerce, and his Dunedin mansion is now a gentlemen's club.

After 1840, Tūhawaiki continued his career as a leading Māori businessman. In 1843, he attended the Land Claims Commission at Ōtākou, supporting some smaller claims but scotching the more extensive ones. Tūhawaiki was always at ease with European gentlemen, and expressed his wish to live as one of them.[56] He fraternised with Bunbury, Shortland, Bishop Selwyn, Colonel Wakefield, and David Munro, who all described him in glowing terms. He led the sale of the Otago Block to the New Zealand Company in 1844 and was drowned at sea soon afterwards.

Karetai lived on as acknowledged ariki at Ōtākou until his death in 1860, quietly maintaining his Māoritanga and his amity with Europeans. His unsigned name was obtained by Bunbury on the Treaty of Waitangi at Ōtākou. He signed the Ōtākou Deed in 1844, and urged the Māori people to honour the sale. He was involved in Kemp's Purchase and led the Otago chiefs in signing the Murihiku Deed in 1853.[57]

Kaikōareare returned with Tūhawaiki to Ruapuke in March 1840 and appears on Tūhawaiki's Ruapuke Declaration as 'Kicora', the same spelling of his name as appears on Gipps's unsigned treaty of the previous month. This strongly suggests that he was the 'Kaikoura' written by the semi-literate William Stewart on the Treaty of Waitangi at Ruapuke in June 1840.[58]

Kaikōareare signed the Otago Deed in 1844, and after the Otago settlement was founded in 1848 he became a popular ferryman on the harbour — 'a good fellow, friend alike of Maori and European'. He was bitterly criticised by the missionary Charles Creed for flouting Christianity — 'a curse to the whole district, a scoffer at religion and a daring Sabbath breaker'.[59] He drowned on the harbour in 1852. Tūkawa had evidently died by 1844, since he did not participate in the Otago Purchase.

After Tūhawaiki's death, Taiaroa asserted a more prominent role, strongly promoting the sale of Ngāi Tahu lands. In 1845, he received money from the French for Banks Peninsula. In 1848, he undermined Māori opposition to Kemp's Purchase by colluding with Kemp. He offered both Murihiku (Southland) and the South Island West Coast to the Government, claiming sole rights to them, and signed the Murihiku Deed at Dunedin in 1853. He frequently visited Wellington, where Donald McLean began referring to him as 'the chief of the aboriginal tribes in the Middle Island' — a rank which had no Māori validity. It was evidently in this capacity that Taiaroa spoke at the Kohimarama Conference in 1860 soon after his conversion to Christianity. He died in 1863.[60]

Te Whaikai Pōkene lived until 1861, by which time he must have been a very old man. He signed the Otago Deed in 1844 and was present at Kemp's Purchase in 1848, but did not sign the deed or any of the subsequent receipts. He participated in the Murihiku purchase.

John Tōpī Pātuki outlived all the other participants. In 1844 he signed the Otago Deed and became senior Murihiku chief on Tūhawaiki's death. Mantell befriended him and got his signature to Kemp's Purchase, and he afterwards assisted Mantell with the Murihiku purchase.[61] In 1864, he arranged the sale of Stewart Island to the Crown. He lived until 1900, a respected figure, but altogether eclipsed by Taiaroa's son Hori Kerei Taiaroa.

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Note: The editor wishes to thank Te Aue Davis for her help in establishing the appropriate use of macrons in Māori words in this article. In this article, as throughout the *Record*, macrons have not been used in book titles or quotations when the title or quotation as originally printed did not use them, or in 'Europeanised' versions of Māori words, such as 'Otago'.

SARAH SHIEFF

Alfred Hill's *Hinemoa* and Musical Marginality

Although enormously popular at the time of its composition, Alfred Hill's 1896 cantata *Hinemoa* has all but disappeared from the symphonic concert repertoire. Its first New Zealand performance in over forty years took place in 1990 as part of a sesquicentennial programme entitled 'A Celebration of New Zealand Commemorative Music'. This article does not, however, attempt to resurrect an unjustly forgotten work. In it, I aim to contextualise one small fragment of pākehā music history, bearing in mind Terry Sturm's remarks about yet-to-be-written histories of cultural practices in New Zealand: 'In most genres a substantial amount of primary research needs to be done, in order to recover what had been lost or marginalized in earlier accounts of the country's past, which have always been highly selective, and strongly biased towards the promotion of canonical authors and texts'. Re-examination of marginalized music — as much as of plays or paintings — enlivens and enriches a sense of the past while complicating a sense of the present. After briefly outlining Hill's career, I will go on to examine the circumstances surrounding *Hinemoa's* composition and first performances, and then look at *Hinemoa* in its more recent context.[1]

I

Working in New Zealand until early this century and thereafter mostly in Australia, composer Alfred Hill was the

Turnbull Library Record 28 (1995), 61—78

most prominent and prolific colonial composer of his generation. He has been called 'the grand old man of Australian music' and is, as yet, the only New Zealand-affiliated composer to have become the subject of a book-length biography.[2] Apart from *Hinemoa* and the song 'Waiata Poi', for which he is perhaps best remembered, Hill also wrote thirteen symphonies, seven concerti, nine operas, string quartets, suites, sonatas, songs, and a considerable amount of film music.

Alfred Hill was born in Melbourne in 1870. In 1872, the Hill family moved to New Zealand, and in 1887 the seventeen-year-old Alfred left Wellington for Leipzig, where he studied violin and composition. For colonial musicians, the pull exerted by traditional centres of high culture was enormously strong, and throughout his life Hill's primary musical allegiance was towards these centres. Despite what was to be a life-long musical debt to Europe, however, Hill returned to New Zealand late in 1891 and set up as a teacher of violin, theory, and composition.[3]

By the time of his return, a vigorous choral, orchestral, brass band, and domestic musical life had taken root in New Zealand, enriched by visiting opera companies, singers, and instrumentalists. William Saurin Lyster's Melbourne-based opera company toured successfully in 1864, and the Simonsen Grand Opera Company made tours from the 1860s until the end of the century. Australian impresario J. C. Williamson's long association with New Zealand began in 1882, with a Dunedin production of Gilbert and Sullivan's *Patience.* The Pollard Opera Company made a successful tour of the pantomime *Aladdin* in 1893, followed by *Djin Djin* in 1896.[4] Adrienne Simpson has established that between the years 1871 and 1889 there was always at least one foreign opera company on tour in New Zealand.[5] *Hinemoa* was to capitalise on the popularity of the musical extravaganza which, by 1896, was well established as a genre: a large public had by then acquired a taste for musical dramas which took as their subjects romanticised Māori themes.[6]

On his return to Wellington, Hill took over the position of conductor of the Wellington Orchestral Society. Following the successful premiere of *Hinemoa*, Hill resigned from the Society and joined American violinist Ovide Musin's Company. He travelled with Musin as far as Sydney, where the Company disbanded. Soon after, Hill settled in Sydney, where he devoted his professional life to the promotion of local musical performances, professionalism, and education; he was a founder of the Sydney Conservatorium of Music and became one of its first professors. From 1915, when he was appointed Professor of Composition, Hill's ties with New Zealand weakened. Apart from visits in 1930 and 1938 to write film music for Alexander Marky and Rudall Hayward respectively — the directors had chosen Hill because he was regarded as an expert on Māori music[7] — Hill only returned to New Zealand occasionally to visit family and to take part in concerts. In 1937, he was awarded a Coronation Medal for his services to music. Hill was awarded an OBE in 1953 and made CMG in 1960. He died in Sydney on October 30 1960.

FIGURE 1. Arthur Adams (librettist, left) and Alfred Hill (composer, right) at around the time *Hinemoa* was written.

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II

Hill began work on *Hinemoa* in late 1895, with Arthur H. Adams as librettist (see Figure 1). Despite an initial lack of interest in Māori subjects, Hill professed a long-standing desire to work on the Hinemoa legend. He later recalled that Adams had conceived the idea of 'writing Hinemoa as a legend'.[8]

> Arthur wrote the legend, and I decided to set it to music. The citizens of Wellington rather laughed at the idea that we could get anything from the dirty lazy Maori. At that time of course they lived so near to the Maoris, and there were so many of them about, that they didn't think much of them, especially artistically. 'You wait and see' I said.[9]

Hill's status as an authority on Māori music is still largely unchallenged, and may be ripe for re-examination: while his interest in Māori music was no doubt sincere, it was also expedient and opportunistic. His introduction to Māori music had come via Wellington journalist E. D. Hoben. Hill remembered that Hoben had 'lived among the Maoris all his life and he sang me a song, and I said "By Jove! Here's something novel. If I can't make a success any other way I might make it by this idea of developing Maori music" '.[10] This 'song' formed the basis of Tutanekai's flute motif, which opens *Hinemoa.* The melody was later found to be (ostensibly) Rarotongan in origin:

> The Maori air which runs through this work, was obtained many years ago from a white man, Mr E. D. Hoban [sic]. Years later a half-caste Maori, Wi Duncan, asserted that it was a Raratongan [sic] melody. Others claimed that the Rev. Williams of Hawkes Bay wrote the words and a Maori friend the tune. Finally, Hari Hongi, a Government Interpreter and author of the well-known Maori Grammar etc. verified Wi Duncan's assertion that the air came from Raratonga. It appears that a Chief who came from Raratonga in 1868 to visit the Maori Chief Tawhio, first brought the air to New Zealand. The Maoris quickly appropriated it and turned it into a Hymn.[11]

Despite this long and complex chain of transmission, the tonality, range, and metric structure of the tune point to its European origins. Hill's contemporaries nevertheless remarked on the 'weird, romantic' nature of the music, and made special mention of the opening flute motif's origin: 'The *leitmotif* of "Hinemoa" is a genuine Maori melody, a lament which is sung by one of the Native tribes of the Poverty Bay district'.[12]

Hinemoa was first performed on 18 November 1896, to mark the opening of the Wellington Industrial Exhibition. The entire concert was performed by Mr Maughan

Barnett's Musical Society, with various conductors and soloists. Apart from the patriotic inclusion of 'God Save the Queen' at the conclusion of the evening, the programme consisted of entirely locally-composed works, with *Hinemoa* as the programme's centrepiece (see Figure 2, overleaf). Maughan Barnett's short *Concert Overture*, conducted by the composer, opened the concert. *Hinemoa* followed, under the baton of Alfred Hill. Madame Eveleen Carlton (Soprano) took the role of Hinemoa, and 'Mr. Harry Smith [Baritone], of Dunedin, [was] specially engaged to sing the part of Tutanekai'. Alfred's older brother John sang the tenor role of Tiki, and the role of Tohunga (bass) was taken by Mr Harold Widdop.[13]

The second half of the programme contained a setting of Psalm 8 ('O Lord, our Governor'), composed and conducted by Mr Robert Parker. This was followed by Thomas Tallis Trimnell's setting of Psalm 24 ('The Earth is the Lord's, and the Fullness Thereof'). The composer conducted. The programme concluded with the National Anthem, all three verses of which were printed in the programme. This was to be sung by the evening's 'combined choruses and the audience'.[14]

Two more Wellington performances of *Hinemoa* followed, to great acclaim: *Hinemoa* featured in Maughan Barnett's 'Exhibition Music Festival' held in December, in the Industrial Exhibition Hall.[15] By the time of the third performance on 18 December, the popularity of the work was such that 'every seat in the hall was reserved twenty-four hours before the performance, and last night crowds stood vainly importuning entrance at the doors, while several hundreds got upon the grandstand on the roof and heard the work under absolutely novel conditions'.[16]

> We gave *Hinemoa* at the opening of the [Wellington Industrial] Exhibition. I remember the Governor was sitting in the body of the hall and he was so impressed after *Hinemoa* and the people kicked up such a row about it and they were so enthusiastic that he called Arthur and I in front of him, in front of that vast audience, and complimented us. The result was that the work was given again a few days later and so much interest was aroused in it that as near as most people got to it was the roof of the concert hall. The roof of the concert hall had seats on for a bicycle ground outside where bicycle sports were held. There was a lean-to roof and it had a thousand seats on it. That's as near as most people got to the second performance of *Hinemoa*. They heard it through the roof.[17]

Hill had joined Ovide Musin's Company earlier in 1896, and the Company later performed *Hinemoa* in Hastings — where Hill himself took the role of Tutanekai — and in Napier, Wanganui, and Auckland. The Company took the same production to Sydney, where it was first performed in July 1897.[18] At a private read-through at Palings, prior to the first Sydney performance, 'the composer (who has the voice usually associated with composers) not only doubled the important baritone part of

PROGRAMME.

PART I.

By Mr. Maughan Barnett's Musical Society.

8 p.m. **CONCERT OVERTURE** (E minor) for Orchestra ... Composed and conducted by MAUGHAN BARNETT

8.10 p.m.

"HINEMOA."

A Maori Legend for Soli, Chorus and Orchestra.

Written by ARTHUR H. ADAMS, B.A.; Composed and Conducted by ALFRED F. HILL, R.C.M.L.

CHARACTERS:

HINEMOA	(A Maori Maiden)	MADAME EVELEEN CARLTON *(Soprano)*
TUTANEKAI	(Maori Youths)	MR. HARRY SMITH *(Baritone)*
TIKI		MR. JOHN W. HILL *(Tenor)*
TOHUNGA	(A Maori Prophet)	MR. HAROLD WIDDOP *(Bass)*

CHORUS OF MAORI MEN AND MAIDENS, FAIRIES, ETC.

BY

Mr. Maughan Barnett's Musical Society.

(Mr. Harry Smith, of Dunedin, has been specially engaged to sing the important part of Tutanekai.)

The whole Conducted by the Composer.

HINEMOA.

1. INTRODUCTION ... ... ORCHESTRA
2. PROLOGUE SOLO ... (Tohunga) ... MR. HAROLD WIDDOP "A Story Older than the Ages are"
3. CHORUS ... ... MAORI MAIDENS "Comes a Merry Chorus of Maori Maidens"
4. SONG ... ... (Hinemoa) ... MADAME EVELEEN CARLTON "When the Tired Winds are Sleeping"
5. CHORUS ... ... MAORI WARRIORS "Ra-ha!"
6. DUET ... (Hinemoa and Tiki) ... MADAME EVELEEN CARLTON AND MR. JOHN W. HILL "Are you the Maiden Hinemoa?"
7. LAKE MUSIC ... (Moonlight) ... ORCHESTRA
8. BALLAD ... ... (Tutanekai) ... MR. HARRY SMITH "Wake, my tender thrilling Flute"
9. BALLAD ... (Hinemoa) ... MADAME EVELEEN CARLTON "There is only the Laughter of Rippling Waves"
10. SCENA ... (Hinemoa) ... MADAME EVELEEN CARLTON "The Voice of My Dear Love!"
11. CHORUS WITH SOLO ... ... FAIRIES AND HINEMOA (MADAME EVELEEN CARLTON) "Dearest of Daughters"
12. CHORUS ... ... FAIRIES "Pinion's Etherial."
13. SOLI ... (Tutanekai and Hinemoa) ... MR. HARRY SMITH AND MADAME EVELEEN CARLTON "Who is the Slave"
14. DUET (Hinemoa and Tutanekai) MADAME EVELEEN CARLTON AND MR. HARRY SMITH "Over the Wave"
15. CHORUS ... ... MAORI MEN AND MAIDENS "Leaving Her Tribe for the Love of a Foe"

THE LEGEND.

THE argument of the cantata is as follows:—Hinemoa, a maiden of great beauty, was secretly loved by Tutanekai, the younger son of a great chief whose tribe was at war with that of Hinemoa. Tutanekai lived on the island of Mokoia, in Rotorua lake, and Hinemoa dwelt on the shores of the lake. Her lover sent his friend, Tiki, to tell her of his love, and Hinemoa, who had long loved Tutanekai secretly, agreed to escape in a canoe across the lake to him.

Tiki and Tutanekai were accustomed in the evenings to play upon the horn and flute, and their music was wafted across the lake to where Hinemoa lay; and the signal and guide for her in her escape was to be the flute of her lover. But when one night Hinemoa stole away from her tribe, she found that the canoes by which she meant to escape had been drawn up on the beach by her suspicious friends, and her feeble force could not launch one of them. Then, as she cast herself down in despair, the sound of the flute of her lover came to her across the water, and encouraged by fairy voices Hinemoa plunged into the lake and swam across to her lover's village, ever having for her guidance the flute-song of Tutanekai.

Greatly exhausted, Hinemoa flung herself into a warm pool by the side of the lake; and there Tutanekai, coming to kill the enemy whom he thought was lurking in the pool, found his brave bride, Hinemoa.

FIGURE 2. The programme for the opening concert of the Wellington Industrial Exhibition, 1896 (p. 2).

Picture reference no.: 83696 ½.

Tutanekai and the bass role of the Tohunga, but also sang the soprano, alto, tenor and bass of the choruses, the trombone, flute and various other orchestral voices that were missing, and acted as conductor, and interpreter of the plot'. Hill later recalled that *Hinemoa* had been performed 'in every city in New Zealand and in many towns in Australia'.[19]

A photograph of a stage set, assembled for the Auckland performances of *Hinemoa* (1–4 March 1897), has been pasted in the front of the conductor's score of the cantata (see Figure 3). Colourful tokens stood in for the single group most obviously absent from the production. The Auckland City Hall was festooned with nikau palms, garlands, and fronds of punga. Māori items included the prow and paddle of a canoe and carved posts. A small pātaka appeared behind the harp and the conductor's podium was obscured by toe-toe fronds. The whole was ranged in front of a painted backdrop depicting Lake Rotorua. Members of the chorus, dressed in white, 'wore a white feather in their hair after the Maori fashion':[20]

> Since 'Hinemoa' was produced at the City Hall, and the female chorus singers took to sticking feathers in their hair, half the roosters in Auckland fowl-yards are going about in a dismantled condition, looking as if they had been struck by a cyclone.[21]

The flags at either side of the setting are possibly part of the flag of the United Tribes. Adopted in 1834 and flown to prevent from seizure unidentified ships trading from New Zealand,[22] the flag consisted of a red St. George's Cross on a white ground, and, in the first quarter, a red St. George's Cross on a blue ground pierced with four white stars. This flag remained New Zealand's national ensign until superseded by the Union Jack in 1840.[23] The choice of this, rather than the Union Jack, suggests the background of intertribal (rather than inter-racial) conflict against which the legend is set.

Also stuck in the front of the score, from which Hill conducted, were two sonnets by J. Liddell Kelly of Woolston, published in *The New Zealand Mail* of 23 September 1896. 'Tutanekai' and 'His Wooing and Wedding' appeared two months before the premiere of *Hinemoa* (18 November 1896) and attest to the current popularity of the Hinemoa story.[24] There are also obvious parallels, suggested by Kelly's titles, between the popularity of Longfellow's poem 'Hiawatha', set as a three-part cantata by Hill's near-contemporary Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, and the local fascination with the Hinemoa legend. (The first part of Coleridge-Taylor's cantata, 'Hiawatha's Wedding Feast', was composed in 1898, two years after Hill's *Hinemoa*.)

III

Hill's daughter Isolde's version of the familiar Te Arawa legend prefaces the vocal score of *Hinemoa*. This is the version Adams used as the basis for his libretto.

Against a backdrop of war, the characters play out 'A story older than the ages ... Yet ever new recurrent like the dawn'.[25]

Hill scored his nine-scene cantata for Soprano ('Hinemoa, A Maori Maiden'), Tenor, Baritone (Tiki and Tutanekai respectively, 'Maori Youths'), and Bass ('Tohunga, A Maori Wizard'), four-part chorus (taking the part of various 'Maori Maidens, Fairies and Ra-Ha Warriors') and orchestra.[26]

The Tohunga's brief moralising Prologue follows the thirty-two bar orchestral Introduction, in which Tutanekai's flute motif is heard for the first time (see Figure 2). The score notes that the flute solo — 'a traditional Maori air' — is to be played offstage. Scene 1 ('A Maori Pa (Village)') consists of the female chorus ('Comes a Merry Chorus of Maori Maidens', *Allegro*), singing Hinemoa's praises. Hinemoa's ballad 'When the Tired Winds are Sleeping' takes place at 'The Lake-Side, Evening' (Scene 2). Here Hinemoa declares her love for the absent and presumed unaware Tutanekai.

The male warriors' chorus 'Ra-ha!' (*Allegro*) gives the first hint of intertribal conflict. Next, in recitative, Tutanekai's friend Tiki tells Hinemoa of Tutanekai's love for her, and that she should go to him across the lake, under cover of darkness. A barcarolle-style orchestral interlude follows, in which 'Tiki's horn and Tutanekai's flute are heard across the water' (Scene 4, *Tranquillo*). Scene 5, in which Tutanekai calls on his flute to convey his love to Hinemoa, takes place on Mokoia Island at evening. Hinemoa's song of secret farewell to her tribe (Scene 6, *Tranquillo*) takes place during the same lakeside evening.

A dramatic hiatus follows ('Scena — Hinemoa', *Molto allegro*). After hearing Tutanekai's flute across the lake, Hinemoa finds she cannot go to him, as all the canoes are drawn up on the shore. Fairies come to Hinemoa's aid (*Andante*), offering to guide her over the water. Hinemoa 'plunges into the lake'. The fairies cast a protecting charm over Hinemoa as she swims (Scene 7, *Allegro*). Tutanekai discovers a figure hiding in the rushes, and thinking Hinemoa is an enemy slave, threatens her with death (*Allegro*). Hinemoa speaks, and realising his mistake, Tutanekai proclaims her bravery. In their final duet (*Allegro con fuoco*), the lovers are reconciled, and vow never again to be parted. The Finale (Scene 9: 'The Native Pa (Village), Morning') begins with a forty-bar orchestral introduction (*Maestoso*). The chorus praises Hinemoa's courage, and the power of love to bring peace: 'Maiden's love has vanquished war'.

The orchestration calls for double woodwind, cornets, tympani, triangle, strings, and harp. (For the 'Ra-ha!' chorus, Hill added piccolo, cymbals, two tenor trombones, and one bass trombone.) The harp part, written especially for the English-trained harpist Constance Hatherly, shows Hill capitalising on the high public profile of one of his performers. Hatherly was prominent both as a musician, and as the 'champion lady plunge-diver of the colony', having 'carried off gold medals both for

high and long distance diving (competitions open to both sexes)'. Hatherly also travelled to Sydney with Ovide Musin's Company. On their arrival, she was described as 'a kind of Chrichton in petticoats, being a chess player of weight and a swimmer of amazing mettle, [who] has already, though young, won distinction as a harper'.[27]

For librettist Adams, characterisation by and large took second place to the demands of the narrative. He did, however, make Hinemoa exotic and voluptuous. Her 'bosom bare' throbbed 'with longing for her love' and gave her a slightly risqué quality.[28] The warrior Tutanekai displayed both savagery and tenderness: ready to kill the lurking stranger who later turns out to be Hinemoa herself, he also sings to his flute, asking it to speak for him, his own voice failing for love:

> Wake, my tender thrilling flute,
> For my voice is all too weak:
> O'er the waves my love salute.
> Speak the words I dare not speak!

The secondary figures of Tiki and the Tohunga are not individually characterised. Their main function is to advance the narrative. The male and female choruses have set pieces which add atmosphere. The first women's chorus sings Hinemoa's praises. Their next contribution is as a 'fairy chorus'. The first male chorus — number five on the programme — was probably intended to show the 'warlike nature' of the Māori, and the background of war against which the story is set.

> Ra-ha! Ra-ha! Ra-ha! Ra-ha!
> On the breast of the tempest is borne through the land
> The Spirit of war with the ravening hand,
> With his wide waving pinions the faction is fanned,
> And peace is no more!

Known as the 'Ra-ha' chorus, this was *Hinemoa's* most frequently encored item. (The name 'Ra-ha' itself appears to be an abbreviation of the name of the Ngāti Toa warrior-chief Te Rauparaha: Thomas Bracken uses the same abbreviation in 'The March of Te Rauparaha'.)[29]

> The famous 'Ra-ha' chorus for male voices [is] perhaps the most effective *morceau* in the composition. One can imagine a band of dusky warriors, with their grotesque contortions and deep-mouthed growls of fury, executing a real war dance, with the fine crescendo ending in a 'fff ugh' as a climax.[30]

> The 'Ra-ha' chorus for Māori warriors … is a marvel of musical cleverness. One can see as it were the warriors in ranks, leaping, gesticulating, grimacing, clanging their rude weapons of war, the while they make the earth shake with the rhythm of their feet-beats.[31]

Hill and Adams depicted Māori as their audience might have liked to imagine them: savage, warlike, colourful, and passionate. They fictionalised and romanticised their subjects in much the same way as Goldie treated his Māori sitters. Along with the Māori music that Hill 'invented', Goldie's Māori were essentially his own creation, 'characterised by picturesque, nostalgic, decorative and anecdotal effects that were at several removes from contemporary social and psychological reality'. Apart from the pākehā-ised narrative and the names of the characters, a few carefully-glossed Māori words and phrases are the only identifiably indigenous elements in *Hinemoa*. Ironically enough, Māori were perhaps the most marginalised group of all the participants in this 'weird, romantic' pākehā production.[32]

IV

Any contemporary understanding of *Hinemoa* must bear in mind the warmth of its initial reception. Praise came from all quarters. Poet and politician Edward Tregear wrote to Hill that he

> could not have believed that any European music could have so well interpreted the genius of the Maori feeling. The Ra-ha chorus had all the fire and martial rousing that I have felt stir the blood and light the eye in the native war-dance, while the instrumental effects and live songs were very fine and pathetic — 'simpatica'.[33]

Politician Robert Stout 'most heartily [congratulated]' Hill on the production, and James R. Purdy hoped that '*Hinemoa* will be heard of again and again and that its original performance will be of great interest'.[34] The press was similarly ecstatic, as the *Evening Post* and the *Wairarapa Daily Times* respectively attest:

> The main theme of the work — the 'magic flute' melody — fascinated the listeners with its weird charm. The cleverly descriptive lake music was also much admired, but the great descriptive power shown in the 'Ra-ha' chorus … simply carried the audience away, and caused the talented composer to receive a perfect ovation.[35]

> There must have been fully two thousand people in the concert hall to hear the musical entertainment, the feature of which was the production of Messrs Adams and Hill's cantata 'Hinemoa.' This proved one of the

FIGURE 3. The stage of Auckland City Hall, decorated for performances of *Hinemoa*, 1–4 March 1897.
Picture reference no.: C 10656.

> greatest musical treats ever heard in Wellington. Everyone was delighted with it and the very clever melodies and choruses were received with most enthusiastic applause. The composition is both original and clever, and sufficient to entitle Mr. Hill to the title of the Mascagni of New Zealand.[36]

News of Hill's triumph carried as far as London. *The London Musical Courier* noted that at the conclusion of this first performance, 'Mr. Hill received an ovation, and was presented with several floral tributes, one taking the form of a shield of white flowers with "Hinemoa" in blue flowers traversing it'.[37]

Despite its popularity and its scale, few noted *Hinemoa*'s importance as an early locally-composed symphonic work. One of the few commentators to mention *Hinemoa*'s status found the work's programmatic elements more noteworthy than its signal position in an embryonic pākehā tradition:

> We reached a marked stage in our musical history with the production of a national cantata — *Hinemoa* — by two young New Zealanders, … who have succeeded in producing an effort instinct with Maori poetry, and breathing of war and love, of lakeside whispers, of thundering waters, of the shale of the waves, and the throb of the seas by night.[38]

Notwithstanding *Hinemoa*'s initial success, there were no calls for sequels. Although fully-staged productions on New Zealand themes were not uncommon, hopes and plans to turn the cantata into an opera came to nothing. 'M. Musin, ... will, in conjunction with Mr Hill, produce [*Hinemoa]* in Melbourne and Sydney. If it "catches on" there, it will probably be turned into an opera and performed in America, London and Paris'.[39] Adams's hopes to turn the cantata into an opera were never realised, and Rudall Hayward's planned film of the cantata never eventuated.[40]

The popularity of *Hinemoa* did however lead to a further production on a Māori theme. The opera *Tapu* followed, again written in conjunction with Arthur Adams. Produced in New Zealand by the Pollard Opera Company, the first performance of *Tapu* took place on 16 February 1903.

> With such sure-fire items as a haka and a poi dance, with a large number of attractive solos and ensembles, and with the opportunities it offered for scenic display — a Maori Pa in Act I, the Pink Terraces in Act II — it is not surprising that in 1903 *Tapu* exerted a wide appeal and scored such a clamorous success.[41]

V

In the final sections of this article, I will look at *Hinemoa* in some subsequent contexts. Even though the work has disappeared from the modern concert repertoire, it has received performances at widely-spaced intervals. Historically marginal or aesthetically remote works may be resurrected for any number of reasons: while *Hinemoa*'s initial success may have been in part due to the colourful treatment of its 'exotic' subject, more recent performances have generally been organised to celebrate the composer himself.

The New Zealand Music Council brought Hill to New Zealand in 1952 to take part in the Auckland Music Festival, and his visit was commemorated with a performance of *Hinemoa*. Reviewing that concert, Owen Jensen wrote:

> Written when he must have been in his early twenties — he is past eighty now — it is, of course, of the fashion of those days. Placed in its period, however, *Hinemoa* has an astonishing freshness, with passages of orchestral colour of real beauty. It is characteristic of Alfred Hill that he should account for some banality in the final passages of *Hinemoa* by suggesting that he owed it to his audience not to make their listening too difficult at that stage of the concert.... *Hinemoa* may be too pallid to excite today, but, historically, it is a significant work.[42]

Saturday 16 December 1959 saw a performance of *Hinemoa* given in Sydney by the Sydney Symphony Orchestra, as part of an 89th birthday tribute to Hill.[43]

Hinemoa was performed most recently as part a concert entitled 'A Celebration of New Zealand Commemorative Music', given by the Wellington Regional Orchestra and the Orpheus Choir, conducted by Patrick Thomas, in St. Paul's Cathedral, Wellington, on 26 October 1990. While not initially commemorative, *Hinemoa* has been performed sufficiently often on occasions celebrating Hill's significance as a musical pioneer for it to acquire a certain 'commemorative' status of its own; it also has significance as one of the largest-scale orchestral works until then composed in New Zealand.[44]

'A Celebration of New Zealand Commemorative Music' was a 'New Zealand 1990' sesquicentennial project, funded in part by the 1990 Commission.[45] The New Zealand Composers' Foundation had put a proposal to the Sesquicentennial Committee to

> ... do for New Zealand Music in 1990 that which the New Zealand Government had done for New Zealand Literature in 1940. Regrettably, the Government in 1990 did not ... provide the basis on which such a scheme could be implemented .... However, salvaged from the wreckage was a proposal to present a concert in Wellington of certain historical New Zealand work.[46]

All the works on the programme told stories of one kind or another, and all had texts. The first item on the programme was Terence Vaughan's setting of Ruth France's poem 'The Stream and the Discovery'. This 'royal ode' was the outcome of national competitions, for both the poem and its musical setting, organised by the New Zealand Broadcasting Service to commemorate Queen Elizabeth II's first visit to New Zealand after her accession to the throne. This was followed by Allen Curnow's and Douglas Lilburn's more frequently performed *Landfall in Unknown Seas*. Poet Curnow narrated his own poem, written to commemorate the tercentennial of Abel Tasman's 1642 landfall in New Zealand. *Hinemoa* concluded the programme. Soloists were Soprano Anne Cheng (Hinemoa), Tenor Peter Baillie (Tiki), Baritone Roger Wilson (Tutanekai), and Bass Bruce Carson (Tohunga).[47] As with the first performance, and perhaps unsurprisingly, none of the 1990 soloists were Māori; notwithstanding its nominally Māori subject, *Hinemoa* has always belonged to pākehā culture.

The programming of a work such as *Hinemoa* possibly posed certain problems. The very elements which made it initially so popular are perhaps those which might cause modern audiences greatest difficulty: the juxtaposition of a traditional narrative and an inflated high-Victorian idiom, plus the romanticised depiction of Māori and the decontextualised 'use' of the Hinemoa story, may have combined to make an uncomfortable experience for a modern audience. John M. Thomson's preliminary presentation and written notes provided context for a work that otherwise

might have appeared a mere Victorian curio. Both oral and written presentations included relevant historical and musical anecdotes. An interview with Hill, recorded by Thomson in the late 1950s, provided further personal and historical context.[48]

John Button reviewed the concert for the *Dominion*, and a review by John M. Thomson appeared in *Music in New Zealand*.[49] Both pointed out the historical significance of the occasion, and given this, the relevance of the choice of programme. Both writers emphasised the content of the programme rather than the performance itself. Button described *Hinemoa* as 'the least distinguished music on the programme; a curious mish-mash of Sullivan, Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer, set to some of the most banal words imaginable'. Thomson noted that *Hinemoa* 'encapsulated the weaknesses rather than the strengths of the composer's style, one which, instead of developing, remained virtually unchanged for the rest of his life'.

It is important to note that such remarks tell at best an incomplete story. Neither writer emphasised the extent to which *Hinemoa's* audience has changed in the near-hundred years since its first performance. Gauging from contemporary commentary, *Hinemoa's* first audience was large and popular — perhaps the closest analogy is with the audiences which recently assembled to hear Kiri Te Kanawa sing in the Auckland Domain. The audience for modern 'indoor' symphony concerts, however, tends to be smaller, and may come expecting to consume 'high' culture. The initial response to the work suggests that *Hinemoa* may have been experienced in relation to 'popular' genres such as melodrama, or the light operas of Gilbert and Sullivan. A modern audience accustomed to 'higher' symphonic genres may indeed find the work derivative or banal. Yet these judgements provide answers to unprofitable questions. The initial 'popular' context and audience for *Hinemoa* has gone; perhaps it is inappropriate to judge the work according to conventions belonging to another genre.

VI

The significance of *Hinemoa* as an important work in a relatively 'thin' pākehā music history can be gauged by the effort expended to save the score for posterity. In 1987, Allans Music had sent Hill's autograph manuscript to the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra 'on perusal'.[50] Mended with sellotape and beginning to disintegrate, the composer's score had been sent as a working conductor's score.[51] Composer Ashley Heenan approached Allans to make the original full score available to the National Archive as part of the 1990 Special Events. 'As a 1990 commemorative project the New Zealand Composers' Federation had proposed to record an anthology of recorded New Zealand music covering one hundred and fifty years. One part of the project was to record Alf's *Hinemoa*'.[52] In exchange, the Composers' Foundation of New Zealand offered to arrange for a newly-copied full score.[53] On 28 February 1989, Allans Music offered the manuscript to the National Archive on permanent loan.[54] 'The Composer's Foundation paid for its restoration — removal of sellotape etc.'[55]

The Alexander Turnbull Library now holds the work, deposited to mark New Zealand's sesquicentennial celebration. 'In recognition of New Zealand's sesquicentenary, Allans Music (Australia) Pty, Ltd. has generously deposited [in the Alexander Turnbull Library] the original full orchestral score of Alfred Hill's cantata *Hinemoa*. This score, from which Hill conducted, is a unique working document and a companion document to the piano score which the composer donated to the Library in 1952'. The score was displayed to the public in an sesquicentennial exhibition mounted by the National Library of New Zealand, entitled *Musical Images — A New Zealand Historical Journey 1840–1990*.[56]

VII

As a musical 'pioneer', Hill was both marginal and central. Marginal in his relationship to Western music as a whole, he was nevertheless central in terms of the transplantation of that tradition to New Zealand and Australia. Like Hill himself, *Hinemoa* is also both marginal and central: marginal to the modern symphonic repertoire, it also occupies a central position in the history of pākehā New Zealand's musical culture. Especially pertinent on occasions of national historical retrospect such as the sesquicentennial celebration, careful modern performances of such works marginal to the canon can give a fresh sense of the remoteness of the past; such performances may also remind audiences of the past's constituting pressure on the present, and the present's on-going re-invention of the past.

Another way of looking at *Hinemoa,* which may at first glance appear second-hand or of limited interest, is to see it as a musical hybrid: it is a retelling of an indigenous narrative in a transplanted European musical idiom, and has its own patchwork material history of marginalisation and resuscitation. This hybridisation characterised colonial society at large as much as it did the formation of Hill's musical vocabulary: both were defined by their borrowings, exclusions, and inclusions. Such borrowings are always chronologically and geographically specific, and, as much as defining creole identities, also define for *Hinemoa* its at once central and marginal position in the history of pākehā music in New Zealand.

References

1. The Alexander Turnbull Library holds both the original piano score of *Hinemoa* and the composer's full orchestral score. Alexander Turnbull Library, Alfred Hill Collection, fMS 4304. Sturm quotation: Terry Sturm, 'Introduction', in *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, edited by Terry Sturm (Auckland, 1990), p. ix. 'Re-examination': see Adrian Kiernander's introduction to George Leitch's melodrama *The Land of the Moa* (Wellington, 1990), also Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840–1914* (Auckland, 1992). Peter Gibbons suggests that 'those who want less bookish subjects could explore the theatre and symbolism of railway accidents, race meetings, street stalls, royal tours,

and school picnics'. Peter Gibbons, 'Transporting Culture: The View from the Kermadecs', *Turnbull Library Record* 26 (1993), 9–20.

2. 'Grand old man': John M. Thomson, 'Charting a Tradition: On the Writing of *A Distant Music: The Life and Times of Alfred Hill*', *Comment* 7 (1979), 32–34. 'Book-length biography': John M. Thomson, *A Distant Music: The Life and Times of Alfred Hill* (Auckland, 1980), hereafter *ADM*. Martin Lodge is currently preparing the biography of Dunedin composer Anthony Watson.
3. For more on Hill's life, particularly his studies in Leipzig, see John M. Thomson, 'The Ebb and Flow of Cultures: Some German and Austrian Influences on New Zealand Music', *Turnbull Library Record* 27 (1994), 75–90.
4. John M. Thomson, *Oxford History of New Zealand Music* (Auckland, 1991), pp. vii, 72–87.
5. Adrienne Simpson, ' "Caterers to the Public Entertainment" ', *Turnbull Library Record* 27 (1994), 7–21 (p. 15).
6. See H. McNaughton, 'Drama', in *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, pp. 271–332, also Kiernander's introduction to *The Land of the Moa*.
7. Ben Biddle, male lead in Alfred Marky's silent film *Hei-Tiki* (c. 1930), remembered quite clearly Hill's involvement. Hill was to provide some music to accompany preparations for war. 'Alfred Hill made some mess over here because he is a great Maori song composer Alfred Hill was supposed to be, but he doesn't speak a word of Maori. You see this day we were down the beach at Omouri, Marky wanted the old Maori, the real old Maori — and we had several of them there — to do the haka "Ka Mate Ka Mate". Well "Ka Mate Ka Mate" there's no beat in the old Maori song — nothing, just war and vicious and all this sort of thing. But Alfred Hill wants a beat.' By the time Hill had finished arranging the haka, the chant had become a tune, and the rhythmic complexities of the haka rhythm had been ironed out into a regular 3/4 metre. (*Hei-Tiki: Adventures in Maoriland*, written and directed by Geoff Steven, produced by John Maynard. A Phase Three Film Production, 1982.)
8. Alfred Hill, 'Hill Talks about "Hinemoa" and "Waiata Poi." '. Audiotape, rec. 1952. Radio New Zealand Sound Archive, D925.
9. Hill, D925.
10. 'Portrait of Alfred Hill', sound recording from Radio New Zealand Sound Archive, T1935–7.
11. Alfred Hill, Composer's Note to *Hinemoa: An Epic of New Zealand*, vocal score (Melbourne, 1935), p. 7.
12. 'Weird, romantic': *Evening Star*, 2 March 1897. Alfred Hill Papers: Newscuttings 1854–1960. Mitchell Library, Sydney, MSS 528/10–13 (hereafter ML MSS). 'Genuine Maori melody': *New Zealand Times*, 19 November 1896. ML MSS.
13. *Evening Post*, 13 November 1896. ML MSS.
14. 'Wellington Industrial Exhibition 1896–97'. Alexander Turnbull Library, Ephemera Collection, B Music.
15. Thomson, *ADM*, p. 63.
16. *Evening Post*, 19 December 1896. ML MSS.
17. Hill, D925.
18. *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 21 January 1897. ML MSS; Thomson, *ADM*, p. 68.
19. 'The composer ... doubled': *Sydney Mail*, 27 March 1897. ML MSS. 'In every city': Alfred Hill, 'Portrait of Alfred Hill' [1950s], Radio New Zealand Sound Archive, T1934.
20. *New Zealand Herald*, 2 March 1897. ML MSS.
21. *New Zealand Observer*, 6 March 1897. ML MSS. The same writer asked 'Why the Maori warriors in "Hinemoa" didn't tattoo their faces, seeing that the maidens of the chorus stuck feathers in their hair to shew they were quite up in the latest Maori fashions'.
22. John M. Thomson's unpublished typescript 'Hinemoa'. John M. Thomson, letter to the author, 11 July 1992.

23. *Flags of Early New Zealand* (n.p., 1959). The New Zealand blue ensign, consisting of four stars on a blue ground, with the Union Jack in the first quarter, was not officially adopted as the New Zealand flag until 1902. Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity* (Wellington, 1986), p. 39.
24. Leonard Bell has also noted the popularity of the Hinemoa legend. See Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, pp. 211–12. Peter Harcourt documents a later 'musical play' based on the Hinemoa legend. Written by Percy Flynn, the work was first performed in August 1915 by the Maori Opera Company, led by Rev. Frederick Bennett. See Peter Harcourt, '*Hinemoa* The Play, The Film, The Musical', *Music in New Zealand* (Autumn 1994), 46–49, 61.
25. The full score is prefaced with the note that 'There are many versions of the story of Hinemoa, the maiden of Rotorua, and the version chosen as the argument for the present musical setting is merely that which was most suitable for the purposes of a cantata'; *Hinemoa*, Tohunga's introduction.
26. These nine scenes are shown only in the vocal score: the programme for the Wellington Industrial Exhibition Opening Concert divides the work into fifteen 'numbers' (see Figure 2).
27. 'Carried off gold medals': *Sydney Mail*, 20 March 1897. ML MSS. 'Chrichton in petticoats': *Bulletin*, 3 April 1897. ML MSS.
28. Painters too used the story of Hinemoa as a pretext for eroticised images of Māori women. See Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, pp. 210–18.
29. 'Crushed beneath the hero's might; / Cries their chief — "Oh, Raha, save / My people" False Waikato, run, / Dim not Ngatitoa's sun!'. Thomas Bracken, *Musings in Maoriland* (Dunedin, 1890), p. 53.
30. 'The Stage', *Sporting Review*, 4 March 1897. ML MSS.
31. *Evening Post*, 19 November 1896. ML MSS.
32. 'At several removes': Leonard Bell, *The Maori in European Art* (Wellington, 1980), p. 72. A few nouns are the only Māori-language component in the libretto. Pronunciation guides and the occasional gloss appear at the foot of the page on which they occur, e.g. 'Haere ra — "Hi-rey rah" a Maori farewell'; 'Mere — pronounced "Merry". A battledore shaped club; a stone weapon for hand-to-hand fighting'.
33. Edward Tregear, letter to Alfred Hill, 20 November 1896. Mitchell Library, Alfred Hill Papers, 528 Box 8 Item 1 (hereafter Hill Papers, ML).
34. Robert Stout, letter to Alfred Hill, 19 November 1896. Hill Papers, ML; James R. Purdy, letter to Alfred Hill, 19 November 1896. Hill Papers, ML.
35. *Evening Post*, 21 November 1896. ML MSS.
36. *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 19 November 1896. ML MSS.
37. *London Musical Courier*, 4 February 1897. ML MSS.
38. *Hastings Standard*, 18 January 1897. ML MSS.
39. 'No calls for sequels': John M. Thomson, personal interview, 17 March 1992. 'America, London and Paris': *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 19 November 1896. ML MSS.
40. 'Adams's hopes': *Evening Post*, 19 November 1896. ML MSS. 'Hayward's planned film': 'I am writing to see if you would be interested in the idea of making a sound-film version of your Maori Opera "Hinemoa" for overseas release .... It would be necessary to change the story somewhat for picture purposes but the music and lyrics could be adapted with great advantage'. Rudall Hayward, letter to Alfred Hill, 14 September 1932. Mitchell Library, Alfred Hill Papers, 528/3.
41. Jeremy Commons, 'Alfred Hill's *Tapu*', *Opera in New Zealand News* (Nov.–Dec. 1990), 5–7.
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46. Ashley Heenan, letter to author, 9 September 1992. Heenan may be referring to the series of New Zealand Centennial Surveys, published at monthly intervals throughout 1940, the year of the centennial of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The series '[presented] a comprehensive picture of the nation's development'. F. L. W. Wood, *Centennial Survey XI: New Zealand and the World* (Wellington, 1940).
47. 'A Celebration of New Zealand Commemorative Music' [programme], St Paul's Cathedral, Wellington, 26 October 1990. Alexander Turnbull Library, Ephemera Collection, B Music, WRO 1990.
48. *Hinemoa* was the only work on the programme introduced in such detail. Ashley Heenan provided a written programme note for *Landfall in Unknown Seas*. Terence Vaughan provided his own programme note to *The Stream and the Discovery*.
49. '1990 Spur for Imaginative Concert',*Dominion*, 29 October 1990; *Music in New Zealand* (Summer 1990/91), 75.
50. Ashley Heenan, letter to J. Sturman, Managing Director, APRA, Sydney, 30 September 1988. Ashley Heenan.
51. Ashley Heenan, letter to Peter Nisbet, 8 November 1987. Ashley Heenan.
52. Ashley Heenan, letter to author, 9 September 1992.
53. Ashley Heenan, letter to J. Sturman, 30 September 1988. Ashley Heenan.
54. B. Chapman, Managing Director, Allans Music (Australia) Pty, letter to Ashley Heenan, 28 February 1989. The score was given with the proviso that when displayed it was to be accompanied by the acknowledgement 'Displayed by Courtesy of the Publishers Allans Music (Australia) Pty'. Ashley Heenan.
55. John M. Thomson, letter to author, 11 July 1992.
56. 'Notable Acquisitions', *Turnbull Library Record*, 23 (1990), 170. In 1952, Heenan had persuaded Hill to deposit the original manuscript piano score of *Hinemoa* in the Alexander Turnbull Library. Ashley Heenan, letter to author, 9 September 1992; John M. Thomson, *Musical Images: A New Zealand Journey 1840–1990* (Wellington, 1990).

RHYS RICHARDS

The Crew List of the Whaleship *Mary Ann*

A Link to the Oldest Pākehā Family in New Zealand

Introduction

On recent estimates, at least 5000 logbooks and journals which were kept on American whaling voyages, most of them to the South Seas, still survive today. With about 14,000 American whaling voyages known so far, this is equivalent to about one logbook or journal for every three voyages.[1] Most of these American records, especially those with voyages to the Pacific, have been indexed and are readily available to New Zealand researchers on several miles of microfilm made by the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau project, with copies deposited at the Alexander Turnbull Library.

By comparison, very few records survive of the extensive British whaling in the South Seas last century, for which a comparable estimate of British logbooks and journals is under 40.[2] In his invaluable guide *Ships Employed in the South Seas Trade 1775–1861*, A. G. E. Jones has extracted thousands of references, mainly from the London newsletter *Lloyds List*. This confirms that the British whaling trade was very substantial and that the history of British whaling in the South Pacific remains largely unknown. Clearly, though, the whalers played an important role across the Pacific, in places as far afield as New Zealand, Hawaii, Samoa, Chile, Kamchatka, and Alaska, particularly in

Turnbull Library Record 28 (1995), 79—90

introducing the local inhabitants, or 'natives', if not to 'Western civilisation', at least to Western trade. Consequently, every find of a new source of information about British whaling is of considerable value to Pacific research.

One possible source that does not seem to have been given close attention yet is the Crew Lists that British captains were required by law to keep throughout their voyages. This article reviews one such Crew List which is held by the Alexander Turnbull Library.[3] Though quite slight, it is nevertheless highly informative about one British whaling voyage and about an early New Zealand pioneer.

The Crew List

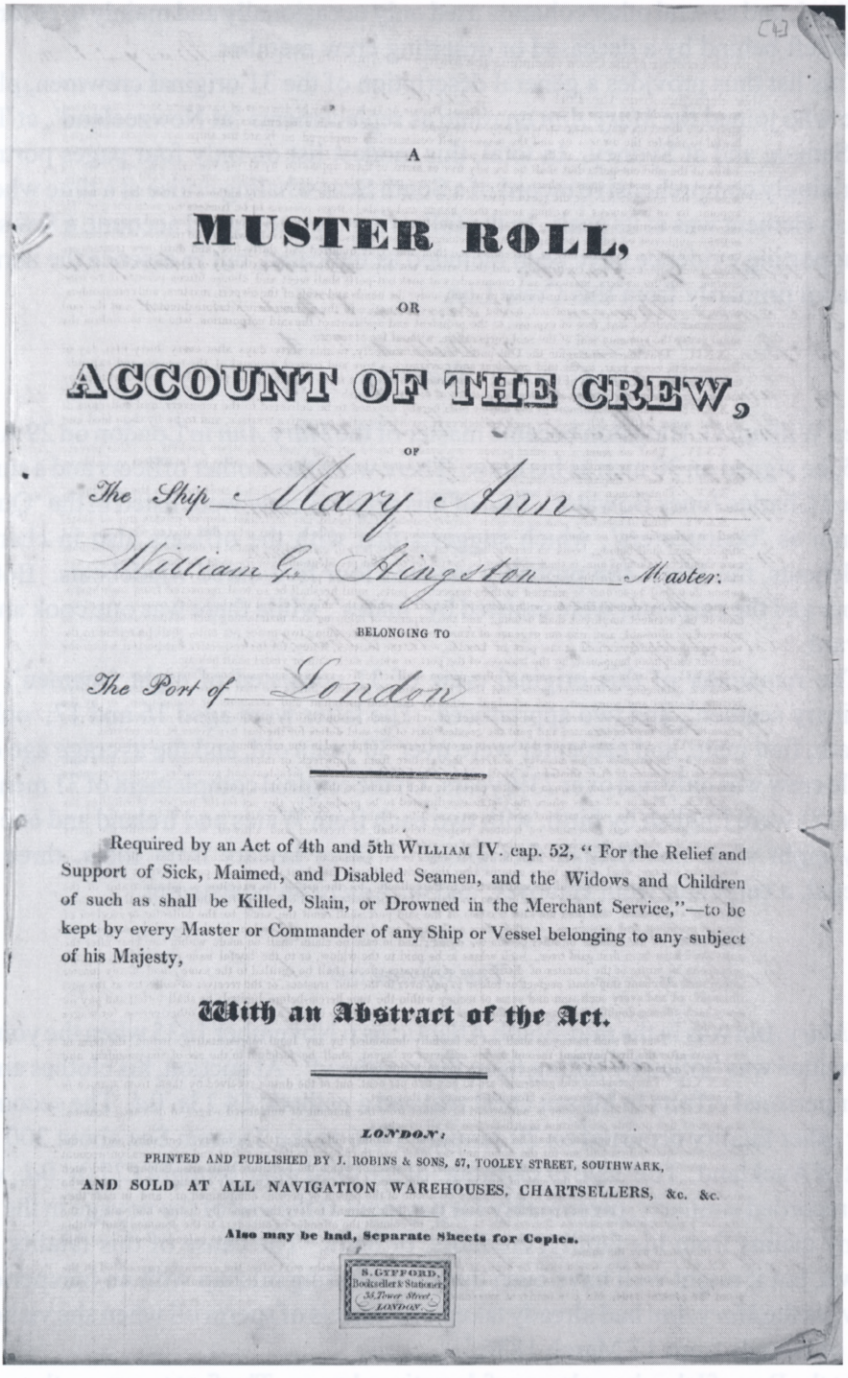
This Crew List is a printed ledger in which, after the addition in ink of a few specifics, the title page reads as follows:

> A Muster Roll, or Account of the Crew, of
> The Ship *Mary Ann*
> William G. Hingston, Master.
> Belonging to The Port of London.
> Required by an Act of 4th and 5th William IV. cap. 52,
> "For the Relief and Support of Sick, Maimed, and Disabled Seamen, and the Widows and Children of such as shall be Killed, Slain, or Drowned in the Merchant Service,"—to be kept by every Master or Commander of any Ship or Vessel belonging to any subject of his Majesty, With an Abstract of the Act.
> London: Printed and Published by J. Robins and Sons,
> 57, Tooley Street, Southwark, and Sold at all Navigation Warehouses, Chartsellers, &c. &c.

Thereafter, four double pages bear identical headings with identical inked-in specifics as follows:

> *A list of account of the crew*,
> (including Masters and apprentices) of the ship *Mary Ann* of the port of London whereof William G Hingston is Master at the period of her departure from the Port of London in the United Kingdom, and on her return to the Port of London in the United Kingdom; and also of those who have joined the ship at any time during the voyage.

Across each double page, entries have been made in ink under the following printed headings: 'Christian and Surnames of Men; Age; Place of Birth; Quality [i.e. rank or occupation]; Place and Time of Entry; Place and Time of Discharge or Leaving



A

MUSTER ROLL,

OR

ACCOUNT OF THE CREW,

OF

The Ship Mary Ann

William G. Kingston Master.

BELONGING TO

The Port of London

Required by an Act of 4th and 5th WILLIAM IV. cap. 52, "For the Relief and Support of Sick, Maimed, and Disabled Seamen, and the Widows and Children of such as shall be Killed, Slain, or Drowned in the Merchant Service,"—to be kept by every Master or Commander of any Ship or Vessel belonging to any subject of his Majesty,

With an Abstract of the Act.

LONDON:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J. ROBINS & SONS, 37, TOOLEY STREET, SOUTHWARK,

AND SOLD AT ALL NAVIGATION WAREHOUSES, CHARTSELLERS, &c. &c.

Also may be had, Separate Sheets for Copies.

S. GYFFORD, Bookseller & Stationer, 38, Tower Street, LONDON.

FIGURE 1. Title page from the Crew List of the *Mary Ann*.
Reproduced by permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library.

the Ship', and several other columns used only occasionally and mainly to record any assets left behind by a deceased or deserting crew member.

This list thus provides a general description of the 31 original crewmen, plus 56 more who joined the *Mary Ann* en route as replacements 'at Newzeeland', at Tonga and Samoa, and at Sydney. In total, this modest list on only four pages portrays a surprisingly comprehensive record of a South Seas whaling cruise at a time when the British element was at its peak. In the following chronological account, a few scraps of supporting evidence have been included as indicated, but in essence the narrative is drawn primarily from this Crew List.

The crew

When William G. Hingston became master of the *Mary Ann* in London on 29 August 1835, he signed on 30 men as his crew. There were three other officers and a surgeon named Charles Jones Bowater. Two of this original crew were listed in the 'Quality' column as 'boatsteerers', which suggests that with the officers also in charge of whaleboats, the *Mary Ann* probably manned four five-oared whaleboats. Both the cooper and the carpenter were assisted by 'mates', while there was one cook and one steward.

The remainder of this original crew of 31 consisted of eight 'seamen', eight 'ordinary seamen', and two apprentices. The latter were aged 16 and 17; only the captain, first mate, and carpenter were over 30 years old, and the average age of the whole crew was only just over 23½ years. Of the original complement of 31 men, over half (18) were English by birth, with two each from Wales and Ireland and one Scot. Only eight were non-British foreigners — three lascars from India, three from Senegal, a carpenter from Hanover, and an American boatsteerer.

The voyage out

The *Mary Ann* was in the mid-South Atlantic on 6 November 1835 when the youngest apprentice was 'killed by falling from the masthead'. At auction, his clothes and any other personal effects in his sea chest realised a pathetic £4 13*s*. 0*d*. The second and only other fatality occurred on 20 January 1836 in the Tasman Sea about 300 miles west of Auckland. The 'sale of clothing' of the third mate brought £27 0*s*. 0*d*., which was recorded similarly, presumably for payment at the end of the voyage in the event of any claims from his family, creditors, or heirs. The cause of this fatality is not shown, but it might well have been during a whaling mishap with an inexperienced crew, as the *Mary Ann* had already taken 100 barrels of sperm oil when she visited the Bay of Islands from 17 March 1836.[4]

At the Bay of Islands, a plague of desertions began. The first to escape the squalor and tedium of a whaling fo'castle was the steward, the holder of what was often

considered the most menial and despised position on a whaleship; Henry Hadden of Surrey 'deserted at Newzeeland 18 March 1836'. He was followed in April by the oldest crewman, the German carpenter; by John Jury, an apprentice aged 17 from London; by the carpenter's mate, Thomas Russell from Sunderland; and by three seamen, two of whom were English boys aged 17 and 18, while the third, from Senegal, was Francis Williams, aged 22. Here as elsewhere throughout the Crew List, 'None' was entered in the column for 'What Clothes or other effects have been left on board [by] Deceased or Discharged Person' — though probably few deserters took away any more personal possessions than their clothes!

Their places, and more, were taken by ten men who 'joined at New zeeland 12 April 1836'. One was a boatsteerer from Yarmouth, aged 29, but in age the other nine, all 'seamen', averaged just under 27 years. The origins of these young men 'on the beach' at the Bay of Islands in early 1836 were notably diverse: Only three were English, with one Scot and one Irishman, plus one each from Norway, France, Bravo, and St Nicholas (the latter two both in the Cape Verde Islands), while last on the list was 'Wm Morgan' who, since he was born in New Zealand in 1814, was either a Māori or of mixed blood. Of these ten men signed on in the Bay of Islands, four were discharged there thirteen months later, three deserted en route, and only three remained with the ship till its return to London.

From New Zealand, the *Mary Ann* evidently cruised north, through the major sperm whaling grounds around the Kermadec Islands, and on past Tonga to the Samoas, where one of the men signed on at New Zealand was 'discharged [at the] Navigators 12 August 1836'. He was probably sick, or otherwise unable to do his duty. A week later, another man deserted there. Further evidence of this visit occurs in the logbook kept on the American whaler *L C Richmond* of Bristol, Rhode Island, which 'spoke *Mary Ann* of London, out 11 months, with 500 barrels of oil, lying under the [lea of the] island of Survey [Savaii]'.[5]

From the Samoas, the *Mary Ann* evidently turned south to Tonga, where on 21 September, 'at Vavao', another black seaman from Senegal, curiously named 'Aopedell Joe', deserted, as did a seaman who had signed on at New Zealand. Two replacements taken on at Vava'u were from London and Gibraltar. Again, another source mentions this visit briefly: On that day, Rev. Daniel Wheeler wrote 'This morning the *Mary Ann* of London, south-sea-man, Hingston master, sailed for the whaling grounds. Sundry [Christian] tracts were furnished for the crew, also a French testament for a native of France [Anthony Jacob].' A few days later, however, Wheeler purchased one of these tracts from a Tongan. Wheeler said charitably that it had been stolen, but he also implied obliquely that it may have been sold by a crewman for goods or favours![6]

The *Mary Ann* then made an extended cruise either in the central Pacific or perhaps, as was common then, north until 'off the coast of Japan'. After eight months, the Crew List recorded the *Mary Ann* at the Bay of Islands in May 1837. Five of the

men who had signed on there 13 months earlier were discharged 'at New zeeland' on 16 May 1837, and in June so too were two of the original crew.

Entries in the London shipping newspaper *Lloyds List* state that the *Mary Ann* was in the Bay of Islands on 6 May with a handsome cargo of 1550 barrels of [sperm] oil, and sailed 'on a cruise' on 16 June with 1400 barrels.[7] Perhaps their oil had been restowed and recalculated, or perhaps this discrepancy of 150 barrels had been bartered for supplies. Since the crew would be paid by lays — a lay was a small share of the voyage's profits — rather than wages, however, it is most likely that this 150 barrels was shipped home by a cooperative fellow captain whose own ship was not quite full. A comprehensive list of shipping arrivals and departures at the Bay of Islands shows that while the *Mary Ann* lay there from 6 May to 16 June, there were then in port four other London whaleships, five from the United States, three from Sydney, and three Australian traders.[8]

Evidently, after seven of the crew had left, Captain Hingston was again concerned his vessel was undermanned, as in June 1837 he reshipped four of the men who had previously served just over a year with him, and he took on four more hands. Again, these replacements were a very mixed lot. They averaged almost 27 years of age, and their birthplaces were shown as London, Valparaiso, New York, Gibraltar, Mowee, Cork, and Bravo, while the last was 'A Redy, 25, Newzeeland, ordinary seaman'. These newcomers did not remain on board long — seven had left within six months and only one remained for an honourable discharge at New Zealand in July 1838 when the *Mary Ann* returned, from parts unknown, after another cruise of 13 months.

Meanwhile, Sydney port records show that the whaleship *Mary Ann* of London, a large 396-ton ship under Captain Hingston, arrived there from the whale fishery on 5 December 1837, 28 months from home with 1800 barrels of oil. She left for the sperm whale fishery, 'with stores', on 5 January 1838.[9] The Crew List reveals that this visit to Sydney was marred by a exodus of 15 of her crew. On 3 December, two particularly valuable men from the original crew, the Scots cooper and the English boatsteerer, were 'taken out of ship by police', and the Hawaiian 'George White' and an Irish seamen were 'taken out by authorities'. A check through contemporary newspapers in Sydney has provided no explanation for these serious losses.

Later, three seamen were discharged and seven more deserted, including two of the original crew who had by then served 28 months, plus an American who had joined at 'the Navigators [Samoa]' 16 months earlier, and three seamen who had signed on at New Zealand seven months earlier, including 'A Redy, of Newzeeland'. Their desire to leave the discomfort and boredom of a whaling cruise must have been very strong for them to thus abandon their pay at the first 'civilised' port the *Mary Ann* visited, particularly while they would be very likely to be detected there and imprisoned as deserters.

The *Mary Ann* was now yet again seriously undermanned, so Captain Hingston was obliged to sign on 18 new men at Sydney. Some evidently obtained his

agreement to work their passage and to be discharged later at New Zealand. Again, the newcomers were a polyglot lot. Only five were English, two were Scots, and one was born in France. Alex Dean and Gabel King were boatsteerers from Brava and St Nicholas, and the steward was also a black man from Cape Verde, born on Brava. John Nicholas was born in Guam, Harry Williams in the Sandwich Islands [Hawaii], and five seamen were born in New Zealand — 'Ned New Zealander, Langle, John Bull, Harry Park, and Sam'. Presumably these Māori had been left at Sydney by other whalers, or had deserted whalers there, and wanted a short contract to take them home. Of all the 18 new hands, only three Londoners stayed with the ship till she eventually returned home.

The *Mary Ann* cruised on unspecified sperm whaling grounds from February to 29 July 1838, when she was again reported at the Bay of Islands. Having taken a further 500 barrels in only five months, she at last had a handsome cargo totalling 2300 barrels of sperm oil.[10] The Crew List provides no indication whether the men who were discharged en route were paid for their services in cash or kind. Indeed, the fifteen men who were discharged at the Bay of Islands on 30 July 1838 may well have received little if anything for their seven months' profitable labour, other than their free passages from Sydney!

Also on 30 July, probably by prior agreement, six men who had previously served short contracts were reshipped for London. Six weeks later, however, while the *Mary Ann* still lay at the Bay of Islands preparing for the long voyage home, one, Walter Izard, thought better of it and deserted to remain in New Zealand. In September, seven more men were signed on for London. Five were Englishmen, one was from New York, and one, rather to my amazement, was 'Aneane', born in 'New S. Wales'. What this aboriginal whaler was doing in New Zealand, and what he later did in London, are of course unknown, but he typifies the diverse origins of the human flotsam and jetsam washed up 'on the beach' at the Bay of Islands.

As will be noted later, Captain Hingston took this opportunity to buy land at the Bay of Islands. Well before his departure on 24 September 1838, he had clearly decided that he would return to New Zealand.

Since there were no further desertions recorded in the Crew List, the *Mary Ann* probably did not stop en route home round Cape Horn. She had thus completed a circumnavigation of the globe when she reached London on 1 March 1839. After a long voyage of 41 months, but returning with a cargo of at least 2300 barrels of sperm oil, worth at the high prices prevailing that year about £15,000, the *Mary Ann* probably paid a very good profit to her owners, her captain, and her crew.

Captain William George Cornelius Hingston

The early career of Captain William G. C. Hingston is unknown, but a letter among the Hingston family papers in the Turnbull Library implies that he made a cruise in

the *Sarah and Elizabeth* well before 1830. Mission records show that a Captain Gardner brought the *Mary Ann* into the Bay of Islands in April 1826, and Hingston may well have been in the crew.[11] Similarly, he was probably part of the crew of the *Mary Ann* when, in February 1828, Captain Barnabas Gardner, a veteran in the New Zealand whaling trade, sheltered Augustus Earle and his party from tribal fighting at the Bay of Islands.[12] He was presumably the 'Captain Hingston' who captained the *Admiral Cockburn* on a cruise from May 1831 to May 1835 which included visits to the Bay of Islands in February and March 1833, and in March 1834.[13]

As noted above, during the voyage of the *Mary Ann* from August 1835 to March 1839, Captain William G. Hingston visited the Bay of Islands in March and April 1836, from April to June 1837, and from July to September 1838. He was clearly using the Bay of Islands as a regular provisioning depot, and a suitable spot to allow his weary crew some limited shore leave.

Evidently he liked what he saw, as in September 1838 he bought several pieces of land there. Among the Hingston family papers are several letters which refer to his land purchases. One describes land south of the Kerikeri River auctioned on 20 September 1838, and refers to a purchase deed signed by Henry Day and seven named Māori chiefs on 15 March 1837 and witnessed by Thomas Wing and John Blenkinsopp. Another, signed on 1 October 1836 by Henry Day and Kaitāne, was for the island of Motupepe at the mouth of that river. A third appears to be a deed of sale for a land purchase by 'John Wright, master of the schooner *Active*' of the Church Missionary Society on 20 July 1831. Two of the four chiefs signed with a representation of their facial moko, and another signed with Gilbert Mair to witness the transaction. A separate letter in answer to a query about land boundaries is from Mrs Alicia Ross in Hokianga to Captain Wright on 27 February 1839. It concludes 'I hope Mrs Wright and the Misses Featherston are well'.

With the Crew List is a letter written much later by M. J. Murray which records: 'William George Cornelius Hingston was born in London May 6th 1802 ... married Jane Featherston at the Bay of Islands in December 1840 ... and died at his residence Wairoa, Bay of Islands, on September 19th 1891.' Nine of their children and their birthdates are listed, so it is reasonable to assume that many descendants remain from this large pioneer family.

Captain William Hingston (senior)

One thing leads to another. The extent of the information about the cruise of the *Mary Ann* revealed by this four-page Crew List led in turn to a search for more information about Captain William G. Hingston. It seems that the links with New Zealand he began in the 1830s had been preceded a generation earlier by another Captain William Hingston who, family records show, was his uncle, and by two more Captains Hingston who were his father and his brother. They need to be considered one by one.

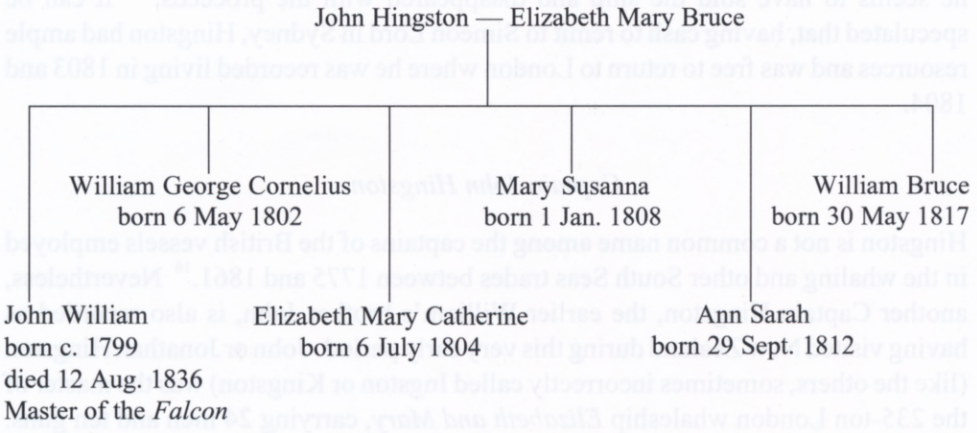


FIGURE 2. A family tree outlining some of the relationships discussed in this article.

Captain William Hingston (senior) was the master of the convict transport *Hillsborough* when it made its infamous 'death voyage', losing a third of its 300-odd convicts before they arrived at New South Wales in July 1799.[14] There Hingston met the newly emancipated ex-convict and future colonial entrepreneur Simeon Lord. They purchased, nominally as joint owners, a Spanish prize brought from Lima which was judiciously renamed the *Hunter* after the infant colony's governor. They then conspired together to circumvent the Honourable East India Company's monopoly on trade in 'the Eastern seas' by sending the *Hunter* to India for a cargo of spirits and other goods that could be sold at high profit at Sydney.

An agreement and ship's articles survive which show that Hingston was instructed to complete his cargo of whale oil and sealskins with timber from the Thames River in New Zealand. Unfortunately, very little is known of this voyage, except that the *Hunter* left Sydney in October 1799, arrived at Thames leaking, uplifted spars and timber, and deposited at least four escaped convicts.

The *Hunter* arrived at Calcutta in the latter half of 1800. At first, the Company officials did not intervene, as the arrival of a prize of war was no breach of their monopoly, so long as the ship was sold with her cargo. When, however, Hingston began loading a cargo of spirits for a return to Sydney, and when suspicions were aroused that 23 convict 'stowaways' had been brought to Calcutta illegally from New South Wales, Hingston was arrested. He lied persuasively that his voyage had the 'immediate approbation' of the vessel's namesake, Governor Hunter, as the new colony badly needed supplies. Not only was Hingston then freed, along with the vessel, but he was also issued with a permit for the export of all items not previously prohibited as exports. Later, however, through some miscalculations in his business dealings, Hingston was unable to retain his credit with the Calcutta merchants, and

he seems to have sold the ship and disappeared with the proceeds.[15] It can be speculated that, having cash to remit to Simeon Lord in Sydney, Hingston had ample resources and was free to return to London where he was recorded living in 1803 and 1804.

Captain John Hingston

Hingston is not a common name among the captains of the British vessels employed in the whaling and other South Seas trades between 1775 and 1861.[16] Nevertheless, another Captain Hingston, the earlier William's brother John, is also recorded as having visited New Zealand during this very early period. John or Jonathan Hingston (like the others, sometimes incorrectly called Ingston or Kingston) was the master of the 235-ton London whaleship *Elizabeth and Mary*, carrying 24 men and ten guns. She was first reported at New Zealand in March 1805.[17] The *Elizabeth and Mary* arrived at Sydney from New Zealand in September that year with 800 barrels of sperm oil, and left only eleven days later, 'for New Zealand and home'.[18]

In November 1808, Captain John Hingston arrived at Sydney in the London whaleship *Speke*. He had brought from England Matara, a son of the Bay of Islands chief Te Pahī. Matara spent some time in Sydney before returning home on the *City of Edinburgh*, which stayed at the Bay of Islands for nearly twelve weeks immediately prior to the massacre of the crew of the *Boyd*, which was burnt at Whangaroa early in December 1809. One of the vessels that took part three months later in some indiscriminate retaliation for that massacre was the *Speke* under John Hingston.[19] In the interim, before she next visited Sydney in September 1809, the *Speke* had taken only 30 tons of sperm oil, but also 150 tons of right whale oil. Though she left Sydney in November to return to right whaling in the Derwent, that was outside the right whaling season in Tasmania, and as noted above she was back at New Zealand by March 1810.

(It may be as well to note here in parenthesis that these two Captains Hingston are not to be confused with Captain Higton or Highton who left Sydney in 1812 in the *Isabella* and was wrecked on the Falkland Islands.[20] Nor are they the same as Captain Hindson, whose whaling cruise in the *Cape Packet* from 1833 to 1835 included visits to Sydney and to the Bay of Islands while Captain W. G. Hingston was at sea on the *Mary Ann*.[21])

Captain 'J. W.' Hingston

Two more Hingstons appear in British and Pacific whaling records for the next generation. 'Mr J .W. Hingston, a very pleasant young gentleman' was given a letter of introduction by the Rev. G. Pritchard in Tahiti on 6 January 1827.[22] This was probably W. G. Hingston's elder brother, then aged 28, who was, presumably, the

unspecified 'Captain Hingston' who captained the London whaleship *Cyrus* on a voyage to Timor from May 1830 to October 1833.[23] His next voyage, from May 1835, was his last, as in July 1836, after a visit of three months recoopering their 1600 barrels of sperm oil, his ship, the *Falcon*, 'drifted ashore at Ascencion [Ponape]; and was wrecked, with master and five crew murdered by natives. About 500 barrels of oil was recovered and brought home.'[24] A very short account of this 'Wreck of the ship *Falcon*, Captain J W Hingston,' was written in 1890 by W. B. (William Bruce) Hingston, the youngest brother of the deceased — and of W. G. C. Hingston. A copy is now held in the Alexander Turnbull Library.

Conclusion

Most of the above was written in 1991, well before contact was made, in 1995, with descendants of W. G. C. Hingston, who include a Māori Land Court judge and several prominent Māori and pākehā farmers. Their records, including a family tree for John Hingston (senior) and his wife Elizabeth Mary Bruce, clarified and confirmed the relationships since included above. With these family sources, there now seems good grounds for nominating the descendants of Captain William G. C. Hingston as 'the pākehā family with the longest connection with New Zealand'. For, from the above discussion, it seems that W. G. C. Hingston's uncle William visited in 1799, his father John visited in 1805 and 1809–10, and W. G. C. himself arrived in 1833 if not several years earlier. Moreover, William G. C. Hingston returned, and gave up the sea to live at Wairoa in the Bay of Islands, where he remained a pioneer settler, and a family patriarch, for over fifty more years.

That such an extraordinary claim has emerged from a close examination of a Crew List of only four double pages suggests that any other surviving Crew Lists could well provide a new fertile source for further probings into New Zealand's whaling heritage and our early pākehā history.

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9. *Sydney Herald*, 7 December 1837 and 15 January 1838.
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13. Jones, 1986, pp. 97–98, 102; Richards and Chisholm.
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15. D. R. Hainsworth, *The Sydney Traders* (Melbourne, 1972), p. 65.
16. See Jones; see H. Morton, 'Index, Australian Newspapers and New Zealand Whaling 1803–1852' (unpublished index, University of Otago, 1985).
17. R. McNab, *From Tasman to Marsden; a History of Northern New Zealand from 1642 to 1818* (Dunedin, 1914), p. 101.
18. J. S. Cumpston, *Shipping Arrivals and Departures, Sydney, 1788–1825* (Canberra, 1964), p. 55.
19. McNab, on pp. 120 and 140, has, incorrectly, 'Kingston'.
20. Cumpston, p. 83; Charles H. Barnard, *Marooned, being a Narrative of the Sufferings and Adventures of Captain Charles H. Barnard*, ed. by B. S. Dodge (Middletown, Conn., 1979), pp. 55–60.
21. See Morton.
22. Johnson, pers. comm.
23. Jones, pp. 89 and 98.
24. Jones, pp. 100 and 114.

Correction: In William Main's article ' "The lanthorn that shews tricks" ' in the *Turnbull Library Record* 27 (1994), 45–54, it was incorrectly stated that Vicesimus Lush was a teacher by profession. The author has subsequently been advised that Lush was in fact an Anglican minister, and we wish to apologise for this error.

Clyde Taylor at Ninety

An Appreciation by Sheila Williams

Clyde Romer Hughes Taylor, Chief Librarian of the Alexander Turnbull Library from April 1937 to August 1963, has this year celebrated his ninetieth birthday.

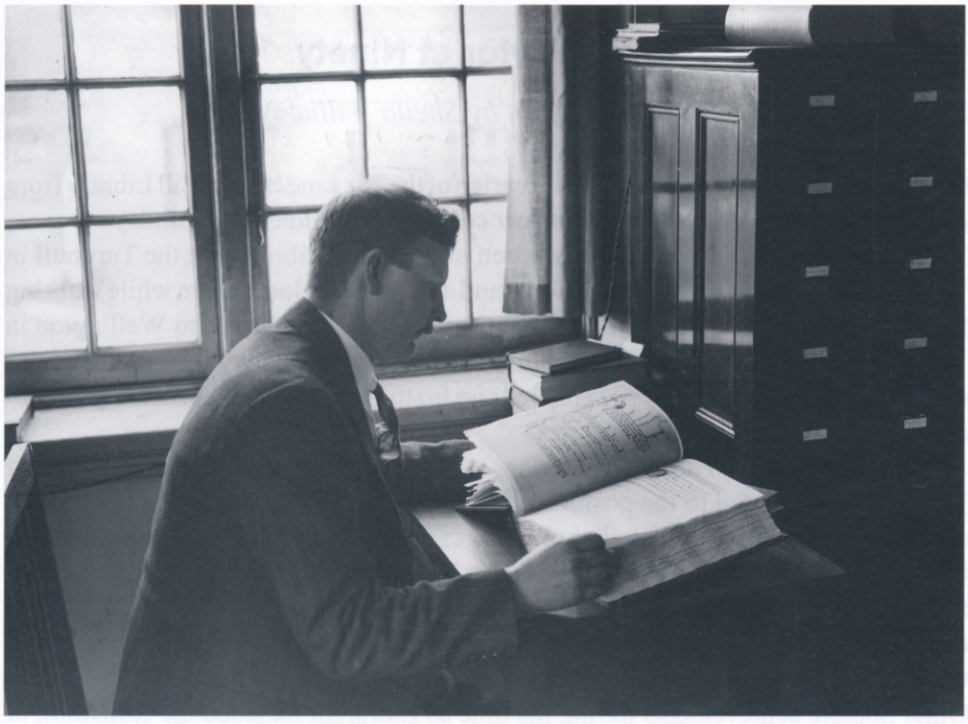
Prior to being appointed to the position of Assistant Librarian at the Turnbull in 1933, he had gained an MA with honours and a Diploma in Journalism while working for the Lands and Survey Department in Christchurch. He moved to Wellington in 1929 to take up the position of Librarian in the Department of Agriculture. The award of a Carnegie Fellowship in 1934 enabled him to study at the Michigan Library School and to visit notable overseas libraries.

When the original Turnbull Librarian, Johannes C. Andersen, retired in 1937, Mr Taylor was appointed to the position of Chief Librarian. Drawing on his overseas experiences, he initiated a number of changes to make the library more available to the general public. Instead of the front door being locked and users having to knock to be admitted, the door — of what is now Turnbull House — was left open to encourage readers. During the time he was in charge, the staff increased from four to 23 and such specialised collections as the Photograph Collection were developed. Other notable achievements during his time as Librarian included the formation of The Friends of the Turnbull Library and the establishment of a publication programme in order to make the resources of the Library better known; he was instrumental in the establishment of the *Turnbull Library Record.*

As well as his position in the Library, he was closely involved with other organisations, most notably the Polynesian Society, of which he was secretary for nearly twenty years, compiler of several editions of the *Index to the Journal of the Polynesian Society*, and editor of the *Journal*. The Polynesian Society published the first edition of his important bibliographic compilation *A Pacific Bibliography: Printed Matter relating to the Native Peoples of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia* (Wellington, 1951). Clarendon Press (Oxford) published a second edition in 1965.

A keen interest in numismatics led to his election as a fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society of New Zealand and his editorship of the *Numismatic Journal*, and he served as the New Zealand Secretary of the Hakluyt Society for over twenty years. He also worked part-time for 14 years as Assistant Film Censor. In 1960, he was awarded a Nuffield-Rockefeller United States Government Travel Fellowship, which enabled him to carry out further research abroad, and he was elected a Fellow of the New Zealand Library Association in 1962.

Following his retirement from the Library, he accepted a part-time position as librarian of the National Council for Adult Education and remained there for ten years, during which time he compiled *Continuing Education in New Zealand: A Bibliography of Published Material* (Wellington, 1975).



Clyde Taylor reading *The Great Chronicle of London*, c. 1952

Among his other publications are four editions of *The Gothic Beauties and History of the Canterbury Provincial Buildings*, and the pamphlets *Milestones* and *Fifteen Great Names in New Zealand History*. His *A Bibliography of Publications on the New Zealand Maori and the Moriori of the Chatham Islands* (Oxford, 1972) is a revised and updated version of the New Zealand and Māori sections of the *Pacific Bibliography*.

Clyde Taylor is essentially a bibliophile. His detailed knowledge of typography, paper manufacture, and book-binding enabled him to confirm the authenticity of works or to spot possible forgeries. He performed this service for members of the public as well as for the Library — although his advice to eager owners that their supposedly priceless manuscript was in reality a later copy was not always well received! Described on his retirement as a man who was dedicated to books without being bookish, he is a practical man, who turned his hand to book-binding and repair work when necessary. For many years, he serviced the small hand-cranked Gestetner used to reproduce the library's catalogue cards. He also maintained a large garden, kept bees, and serviced his own car.

Clyde Taylor's thirty years as Assistant and Chief Librarian have played a large part in making the Alexander Turnbull Library what it is today. We wish him well in his ninetieth year.

Research Notes

From mid-June 1994 to March 1995, the Library hosted a Fulbright Scholar, Marilyn E. Lashley, Assistant Professor of Afro-American Studies at the University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, and a specialist in public policy within her major discipline of political science. She was granted a Fulbright Research Scholarship to do a comparative analysis of the parallel development of public policy for resolving 'the minority problem' in postwar New Zealand and the United States.

Originally here for the usual Fulbright term of six months, Professor Lashley was granted an extension from 30 December 1994 to 20 March 1995. During her time here, Professor Lashley made many useful contacts, with staff of other Government departments such as Te Puni Kokiri and the Department of Statistics, politicians, academics, and other individuals. She held seminars at five New Zealand universities, Library staff heard progress reports on her research on two occasions, and she addressed The Friends of the Turnbull Library on 14 February 1995. Professor Lashley then had a temporary research position at the Brookings Institute, Washington. At the end of June 1995, she returned to New Zealand for a month's visit, having been invited to give the keynote address at the Population Association of New Zealand's biennial conference in Christchurch, 29–30 June 1995. Library staff await with great interest the publication of her research.

The 1994 National Library Research Fellow (April 1994 to March 1995) was Wellington historian Susan Butterworth. Her Fellowship topic was 'The Colonial Savant in Politics, a study of the intellectual interests and background of the first generation of New Zealand politicians up to 1875'. During her period as Fellow, she built up an automated database of the names, occupations, intellectual and/or social interests, and other related aspects of the politicians of this period. She addressed the Library staff on two occasions about her research, and more recently gave a talk at the Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, on 5 September 1995.

The 1995 National Library Research Fellow (April 1995 to March 1996) is Dr Kerry Taylor, a specialist in labour history. Dr Taylor has conducted extensive research on socialism and trade unions in New Zealand, and on the 1951 waterfront lockout. His PhD thesis, completed in 1994, was on the history of the Communist Party in New Zealand. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the Trade Union History Project, and of the Professional Historians' Association of New Zealand/Aotearoa. From 1991 to 1994, he was a temporary lecturer in the History Department at Victoria University of Wellington, and prior to taking up the Fellowship, was a Resident at the Stout Research Centre. He contributed to Kevin Hince's book *Opening Hours: History of the Wellington Shop Employees Union* (Wellington, 1990), and with John Martin, co-edited *Culture and the Labour Movement: Essays in New Zealand Labour History* (Palmerston North, 1991), based on papers presented at the 1990 Conference organised by the Trade Union History Project. A recent article is ' "Our Motto, No Compromise": The Ideological Origins of the Communist Party of New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History* (October 1994), 160–77. Dr Taylor's Fellowship topic is 'Working Class Identity in New Zealand'.

The Library and Victoria University of Wellington jointly organised the *Freedom and Modernity? Early Modern Studies in the Pacific* conference, held at the National Library in August 1994. The main purpose of the conference was to further early modern studies (to ca. 1850) in the Pacific region, and it addressed many aspects of European intellectual culture before 1850. The conference coincided with the opening of *"That Serpent Milton": A Radical View of John Milton from the Collection of the Alexander Turnbull Library*, a major exhibition of works by and concerning Milton, focusing on his political radicalism and the (often far from complimentary) reactions of his contemporaries.

The Library is offering support to the New Zealand History of Print Culture Project. An initiative of Te Whāinga Aronui/The New Zealand Academy for the Humanities, the Project is part of an international effort to document the History of the Book. The New Zealand project, which is presently being established, intends to look at all aspects of the printed word — from catalogues to comics, brochures to books — and at the various technologies for reproducing or representing it, from fine printing to the Internet. The Library's collections will be an important research resource for this project.

A review of the Alexander Turnbull Library's and the National Library's acquisitions, cataloguing, and serials check-in functions resulted in the merging of the separate sections in 1994. These functions are now carried out centrally, and meet the bibliographic and conservation requirements of each particular collection of published material. In 1995, work began on updating and completing bibliographic records for the Alexander Turnbull Library's early Māori-language imprints from 1815 to 1900 (see Phil Parkinson's article in this issue for more information).

The project to duplicate the retrospective collections of the Concert FM New Zealand Composer Tape Archive has been completed, with the Library now holding 296 digital audio tapes consisting of well over 2000 works by contemporary composers. The individual works are being input onto TAPUHI, the Library's database for unpublished heritage items.

Notable Acquisitions

A long-standing gap in the Library's holdings of early editions of Milton's prose works was filled with the acquisition of the 1649 *Articles of Peace*, one of only 12 known copies of the first edition, purchased from the Fairfax Collection. Other Milton acquisitions included the first edition of *Paradise Lost* in Swedish, translated by J. Oxenstierna (1815).

Additions to the collection of early voyages and travel accounts included the rare French tribute to Cook, P-E. Lemontey's *Éloge de Jacques Cook* (1792), and the first edition of Pierre Sonnerat's *Voyage aux Indes Orientales* ... (1782), with 140 engraved plates.

The late Brian Salkeld's bequest to the Library included more than 40 volumes of rare English and printed music, ranging from fragments dated 1499 and 1543 to an early nineteenth-century reissue of Handel's oratorio *Esther*.

The Library recently acquired the splendid collection of musicologist Dr John M. Thomson. Of national and international significance, the collection comprises approximately nine metres of material dating from ca. 1945 to 1995. Included is a rich collection of correspondence relating to music and the arts from a wide range of New Zealand and overseas musicians. There are also subject files on topics covering the wide range of Dr Thomson's activities. His founding of the international journal *Early Music* and subsequent editorship are reflected in the collection, as is his interest in the history of music printing.

In April 1995, pop star Dinah Lee, New Zealand's 1960s 'Queen of the Mods', donated her collection to the Library. The occasion was celebrated by a lively function at the Library, attended by the Hon. Roger McClay, Associate Minister Responsible for the National Library. There was wide media coverage of the ceremony and of Dinah Lee's visit to Wellington, which included her giving a lecture at the Stout Research Centre as part of its seminar series on Popular Culture in Postwar New Zealand. Dinah Lee's collection at this stage consists mainly of her scrapbooks and photograph albums, which reflect her international career and influences in the area of fashion as well as rock music.

The 'Notes on Accessions to the Drawings and Prints Collection', *Turnbull Library Record* 27 (1994), 103–04, listed a volume by an unknown artist with the title *New Zealand and Pacific Sketchbook, 1848–49*. Subsequent research has established that the sketchbook is the work of Henry Hume Turnbull, surgeon aboard HMS *Havannah*, and that the sketchbook is therefore closely linked with the illustrated journal of Philip Doyne Vigors, held by the Library's Manuscripts and Archives Section, and currently being edited for publication in England by Jane Samson.

Henry Hume Turnbull's career was as a naval surgeon, and he was killed in the Boxer Rebellion in China in 1858. He served in the Pacific from 1846. The 64 sketches include views of Wellington, Porirua, and the Bay of Islands in the 1840s; Tasmania; and many Pacific Island scenes, including Fiji, with a portrait of Thackembow (Cacobau) Tui Viti, King of Fiji. The sketchbook was found in a trunk in an attic in England, and was donated to the Library by Mrs Kate Kavanagh.

There have been many significant accessions to the Oral History Centre, too many to describe in full. Two will have to serve as examples. 'Cappuccino: The Rise and Fall of

New Zealand's Coffee Bar Culture' is a fascinating exploration of a remarkable phenomenon at its peak in the 1950s and 1960s: European immigrants provided dimly-lit, European-style 'candle chambers' with good troubadours, good coffee, delicious food, and an atmosphere irresistible to poets, writers, and songmakers, and to the not-so-openly-creative Kiwi. The nine interviews with some of the most significant of these foreign 'impresarios' and songsters, together with the observations of Sir Robert Jones, then a travelling salesman, capture the moods of the era and offer an insight into the shaping of the New Zealand psyche.

'Hiruharama' is a vast project, including both audio and video cassettes, in which Monty and Steven Soutar have recorded the recollections of almost 50 Ngāti Porou from Hiruharama and the East Cape area. Interestingly, the team recording the memories not only used formal interviewing techniques but also captured members of Te Whānau-ā-Rongo-i-te-kai speaking naturally at the Penu Marae, Hiruharama. This is a rich archive containing memories of Māori rural life from the 1920s, experiences with the Māori Battalion, and Māori insights into education and many other aspects of life. In both Māori and English, it will also be of great value linguistically.

Notes on Accessions to the Manuscript and Archive Collection

A Selective List of Acquisitions, July 1994 to June 1995

A selection of manuscript and archive acquisitions is listed in the *Turnbull Library Record* to alert researchers to newly-acquired material judged to be of research value. For access to newly-acquired collections and to those marked 'restricted', the Library would welcome notification that access will be sought, preferably with an indication of a likely date. This will help staff in establishing priorities in processing collections. The following list updates 'Notes on Accessions to the Manuscript and Archive Collection', *Turnbull Library Record* 27 (1994), 95–102. Additions to existing collections are not usually listed, except where they add substantially to what is already held. Microfilm material produced by the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau and the Australian Joint Copying Project has also not been included. 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).

ALL SAINTS' CHURCH (HATAITAI-KILBIRNIE, WELLINGTON). *Records, 1892–1994.* 1.25m. DONATION.
The records include vestry minutes, registers, newsletters, club records, and financial records.

ALLFREY, ARTHUR. *Correspondence, 1905–07.* 1 folder. PURCHASE.
Allfrey was an young upper-class tourist who visited New Zealand as part of a world tour in 1906. The letters are to his mother and include descriptions of social and sporting events and tourist spots.

ALTRUSA INTERNATIONAL, DISTRICT 15. *Records, 1966–94.* 3.3m. DONATION.
Correspondence, minutes, photographs, and other records relating to the service work of Altrusa International in New Zealand.

ANDREWS, ERNEST STANHOPE. *Papers, 1939–92.* 60cm. DONATION: Mr Robin Andrews, Auckland.
The papers include diaries, photographs, correspondence, and clippings, and relate mainly to Andrews's work with the National Film Unit during the 1940s and to his later teaching career. (Corrected entry from 1993–94 list.)

BELL FAMILY. *Papers, ca. 1870–1940.* 4m. DONATION: Mr F. and Mrs M. Bell, Masterton.
At the core of this collection are the papers of Sir Francis Henry Dillon Bell. They provide a good record of his work as Cabinet Minister, Prime Minister, Member of the Legislative Council, Mayor of Wellington, and leading lawyer.

BINNING, MAX. *Letters from Maurice Duggan, 1973–74.* 1 folder. DONATION.
Nine letters from Duggan to his friend Binning, mainly concerning personal matters, and some related papers.

BROADCASTING HISTORY TRUST. *Research notes and papers relating to James Shelley, ca. 1884–1994.* 50cm. DONATION.
Correspondence, notes, and other material collected and created by Peter Harcourt and Ian Carter, and used in the latter's biography of Shelley.

BURNETT, R. I. M. *Correspondence relating to the Historic Places Trust, 1964–95.* 13cm. DONATION.
The collection illuminates some of the early workings and activities of the Trust.
Restricted.

BUS AND COACH ASSOCIATION OF NEW ZEALAND. *Records, 1931–93.* 7m. DONATION.
Includes minute books, correspondence, circulars, and subject files of the Association and the New Zealand School Transport Contractors' Association.
Restricted.

BYRNE, STAFFORD, 1903–76. *Papers, ca. 1935–72.* 10cm. DONATION: Mr N. H. Leake, London.
Draft autobiography, drafts for novels, short stories, and radio plays, as well as other papers relating to his career in New Zealand and Britain.

CARADUS, JEAN. *Halse family papers, ca. 1781–1950.* 3 folders. DONATION.
Of particular interest is an 1874 diary of Māori Land Court judge Henry Halse describing a journey through the central North Island.

CHURCH OF THE SEVEN RULES OF JEHOVAH. *Records, 1850–1928.* 1m. DONATION: Mr Len Chamberlain, Pōkeno.
This Māori religious movement was based in the Wairarapa and eventually merged into the Rātana Church. Included are Church records, whakapapa books, and correspondence.
Restricted.

CROSADO, DOUGLAS. *Papers, ca. 1936–94.* 45m. DONATION: Mr Kevin Crosado, Wellington.
A large collection relating to Crosado's research interest in railway trade unions. In addition to his own papers, the collection includes the archives of various unions gathered by him over the years.

DAVIN, DANIEL MARCUS. *Further papers, 1916–90.* 12m. PURCHASE.
Includes diaries, correspondence, and subject files relating to his long career as a writer, publisher, and unofficial agent for New Zealand writers, as well as his own extensive manuscripts for novels, short stories, and non-fiction writing.
Partial restriction.

DELL, RICHARD KENNETH. *The First Hundred Years of the Dominion Museum.* 6cm. DONATION: Dr R. K. Dell, Wellington.
This unpublished draft history includes discussion on the educational aspects of museums and lists of former staff.

EDMOND, LAURIS. *Further papers, 1968–93.* 1.5m. PURCHASE.
Correspondence, diaries, and literary manuscripts for poetry, autobiographical works, and other writing.
Restricted.

EVANS, PETER. *Papers relating to the Evans, Lees, and Grant families, 1841–1977.* 1m. DONATION.
Includes papers of Eyre Evans, who was active in temperance and social reform around the turn of the century.

FIRTH, CEDRIC. *Papers, 1928–90.* 2m. DONATION.

Firth was an architect, and the collection includes architectural job diaries, correspondence, and client files for private and governmental work he undertook.

GOTLIEB, MARCUS. *From Mitau to Zion, the Life and Times of a Great New Zealand Zionist Campaigner*. 1 folder. DONATION: Mr M. Gotlieb, Wellington.
An unpublished biography of Isaac Gotlieb, a leading Jewish figure in Wellington.

INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL OF THE ARTS. *Records, 1985–89*. 4m. DONATION.
Includes artistic files, minutes, programmes, and administrative papers for the 1986 and 1988 Wellington Festivals.

IRELAND, KEVIN. *Papers, 1953–94*. 1.6m. PURCHASE/DONATION.
Correspondence, drafts for poems and librettos, other material relating to published works, and records of the Auckland and New Zealand PEN organisations.
Restricted.

JESSON, ERNEST H. *War diary, 1916*. 2 folders. DONATION: Mrs Margaret Glasson, Greymouth.
Describes Jesson's voyage to Egypt and army life there, and his time in England and France.

JONES, PEI TE HURINUI. *Papers, 1885–1976*. 4m. DONATION: Mr K. and Mrs H. Carpenter, Plumpton, Australia.
Correspondence, subject files, literary drafts, Kingitanga records, and other papers relating to Jones's long and full political and literary career.

KING, MICHAEL. *Letters from Frank Sargeson, 1970–80*. 2 folders. DONATION.
Letters from Sargeson to E. P. Dawson and Roderick Finlayson, collected by King during his research for his forthcoming biography.

LOWE, JOSEPH. *Dance book, ca. 1850s–1860s*. 1 volume. DONATION: Mrs J. F. Flett, Sheffield, England.
Lowe was a noted nineteenth-century dancing master and this book gives detailed instructions for numerous dances.
Restricted.

LUXFORD, NOLA. *Further papers, ca. 1920–87*. 18m. DONATION: Estate of Ms Nola Luxford.
Contains extensive correspondence, drafts, ephemera, and photographs relating to Luxford's career as Hollywood actress, organiser of the American ANZAC club, broadcaster, and worker for many volunteer and charitable organisations.

MCCALLUM, JANET. *Papers relating to women members of Parliament, 1992–94*. 2 folders. DONATION.
Letters from various women politicians, and their families and friends, giving information for McCallum's book on women parliamentarians.

MCCORMICK, ERIC HALL. *Further papers, ca. 1780–1995*. 6.2m. DONATION: Estate of Mr Eric Hall McCormick.
The collection includes extensive correspondence, diaries, drafts of various works, research notes, and photographs.
Partial restriction.

MACKAY, ROBERT PERCY. *Logbook of the* Splendid*, and related papers, 1875–ca. 1930*. 4 vols and 1 folder. PURCHASE.

The *Splendid* was a whaling ship operating out of Dunedin in the 1870s. Mackay was a crew member, and the log gives a detailed record of the ship's activities, 1875–77.

MCLEOD, ALAN L. *Letters from Denis Glover, James K. Baxter, and Louis Johnson, 1960–68.* 1 folder. DONATION.
Eight letters to McLeod in response to his requests to include extracts from these authors' writing in his books on New Zealand literature and culture.

MCQUEEN, HARVEY. *Papers, 1986–90.* 1.30m. DONATION.
Papers relating to McQueen's work in the Prime Minister's Department of David Lange, where he was closely involved in the education reforms of that time.
Restricted.

MARSH, NGAIO. *School exercise book, 1911, ca. 1920.* 1 vol. DONATION: Miss Jillian A. Kerr, Christchurch.
Contains essays by Ngaio Marsh when she was a pupil at St Margaret's College, Christchurch, in 1911. Also family notes by the Pugh family who owned the book ca. 1920.

MORRIS, MAUDE ETHEL. *Poems by Katherine Mansfield and associated letters, 1907–ca. 1949.* PURCHASE.
An original holograph of 'The Pillar Box', a typescript of 'The Bath-Baby', and correspondence to Morris from the dedicatee of the letter giving her recollections of Mansfield.

MOUNT VICTORIA RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION (INC). *Records, 1977–93.* 30cm. DONATION.
Includes newsletters, papers relating to Crossways Community House, town planning matters, and the Community Watch scheme.

NEW ZEALAND AMATEUR SWIMMING ASSOCIATION, WELLINGTON CENTRE. *Records, 1926–94.* 30cm. DONATION.
Contains minutes, annual reports, circulars, and balance sheets.

NEW ZEALAND ENGINEERS' UNION. *Records, 1898–1933.* 3.6m. DONATION.
Includes records of the national office and the Auckland, Wellington, Hutt Valley, and Masterton branches of the union.

NEW ZEALAND NATIONAL PARTY, OHARIU ELECTORATE. *Records, 1970–92.* 1.60m. DONATION.
Formerly part of the Karori electorate. The collection includes minutes, publicity material, women's selection matters, polls, and fundraising concerns.

NEW ZEALAND SOCIAL CREDIT ASSOCIATION. *Minute books, 1948–59.* 2 vols. DONATION.
Minutes of the annual conferences, 1948–59, and the Dominion Executive, 1953–59. Although the Library already holds extensive Social Credit and Democratic Party archives, these are mostly from the post-1960 period.

NEWZTEL COMPANY. *Transcripts and summaries of television and radio news, 1981–89.* 30m. DONATION.
Newztel has provided a commercial service providing transcripts of radio and television news items since 1981. This donation of earlier transcripts provides a record of broadcast media news coverage that is not easily available through other sources.

PAYNTER, C. E. *His Majesty's Hired Brig* Williams *on Discovery towards the South Pole, 1819–20.* 1 vol. PURCHASE.

A previously unknown account of one of the earliest voyages into Antarctic waters. It is believed that on this voyage the land mass of the Antarctic continent was first sighted.
Restricted: microfilm copy available.

PRATT, SARAH. *Journals, ca. 1840–46*. 2 vols. DONATION: Mrs D. Studholme, Masterton.
Pratt (née Fowler) came to New Zealand in 1843 and settled at Riwaka. The journal describes her English childhood, travel to New Zealand, and early experiences in the Nelson region.

ROTH, HERBERT OTTO. *Papers, ca. 1872–1994*. 35m. PURCHASE.
The collection includes an extensive array of archival material created by individuals and groups involved in the labour movement, as well as Roth's own comprehensive indexes, research notes, and autobiographical material.

SAMUEL MARSDEN COLLEGIATE SCHOOL. *Records, 1920–84*. 1.5m. DONATION.
Minutes and financial records of the school's Management Board and Board of Governors.
Restricted.

SAXBY, JUANITA. *Papers relating to the Electoral Reform Coalition, 1987–95*. 5 folders. DONATION.
Papers relating to the activities of the Coalition in the Wellington region.

SCOUT ASSOCIATION OF NEW ZEALAND. *Minute books, 1912–86*. 2.4m. DONATION.
Minute books for the Dominion Executive and various subsidiary committees.

SHERWOOD, MAUD WINIFRED. *Papers, 1880–1922*. 30cm. DONATION: Mrs Jean Heraud, Whitianga.
Diaries, notebooks, letters, clippings, and ephemera relating to her life and career as an artist. Photocopies of these papers have been donated previously.

SIMPSON, PETER. *Papers of and relating to Leo Bensemann, 1983–92*. 2 folders. DONATION.
Comprises letters from Bensemann to various people, and the text of a talk about Bensemann by Simpson.

SMITH, RONALD. *Papers, 1941–79*. 60cm. DONATION.
Contains papers from Smith's long and active career in the Communist Party and other left-wing causes.

STEVENSON, RONA. *Papers, ca. 1960–83*. 4cm. DONATION: Mr and Mrs Cade, Wellington.
Comprises a draft autobiography, a history of the Taupo Women's Club, newspaper clippings, and photographs.

SUTTOR FAMILY. *Letters to Mrs W. H. Suttor from Anne Mocatta and to Mr W. H. Suttor from S. Mocatta, 1841–44*. DONATION: Mrs J. Jenkins, Queensland.
Personal letters discussing family matters and current events in Wellington. Included is additional information on the Mocatta family.

THOMSON, JOHN MANSFIELD. *Papers, ca. 1945–95*. 9m. PURCHASE.
Correspondence, subject files, and research material relating to Thomson's long musicological career in Britain and New Zealand.
Partially restricted.

UPPER HUTT SCHOOL. *Admission registers for the Upper Hutt and Kaitoke Schools, 1890–1982*.

25cm. DONATION.
The Kaitoke School register is for the years 1917–46.

VOGT, HERLOF ANTON HERLOFSEN. *Papers, 1907–92.* 1.6m. PURCHASE.
Includes correspondence, literary manuscripts, and other material relating to his activities as a literary figure and educationalist.
Restricted.

WELLINGTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. *Further records, 1884–1986.* 8.6m. DONATION.
Includes minutes of the Wellington Chamber of Commerce council and various subsidiary committees, and minute books and other records of the Associated Chambers of Commerce.
Restricted.

WILLIAMS, C. S. *A collection of legends and tales of Whangaroa.* 3cm. DONATION.
Unpublished Māori and Pākehā traditions of Northland, and a contemporary description of Whangaroa Harbour.
Restricted.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION. *Further records, ca. 1953–89.* 5.3m. DONATION.
National Council records, including National Executive minutes and correspondence files.

Notes on Accessions to the Drawings and Prints Collection

A Selective List of Acquisitions, July 1994 to June 1995

Acquisitions of paintings, drawings, prints, and sculpture are listed selectively in the *Turnbull Library Record* to alert scholars to newly-acquired material judged to be of research value. The following list updates 'Notes on Accessions to the Drawings and Prints Collection', *Turnbull Library Record* 27 (1994), 103–04. Only original works and significant engravings and prints are included; photomechanical reproductions recently published are excluded.

ARTIST UNKNOWN. *[Soldier Asleep in a Whare, Being Watched Over by a Māori Woman. Between 1845 and 1865]*
Watercolour. A rare interior domestic view of a young soldier, being tenderly watched by a young Māori woman as he sleeps. PURCHASE.

ALEXANDER, JAMES EDWARD, 1803–85. *Proposed Maori Rangers, 1861.*
Watercolour. A Zouave-type uniform designed by Colonel Alexander of the 14th Regiment. Two Māori men are shown modelling the uniform against a New Zealand landscape background. PURCHASE.

AUBREY, CHRISTOPHER. *Ford, Jacob's River, Wrey's Bush [Southland], 1887.*
Watercolour. A team of horses and a covered wagon along with a man on horseback and his dog, crossing the swollen Aparima River. PURCHASE.

BACKHOUSE, JOHN PHILEMON, 1845–1908. *[Pink Terrace]* and *[White Terrace ca. 1880].*
Two oils on card. A pair of oils, postcard size, possibly painted for the tourist trade. DONATION: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

[BEECHEY, FREDERICK WILLIAM], 1796–1856. *[Landing in Bounty Bay, Pitcairn Island, December 1825]*
Watercolour. Very similar to an engraving in F. W. Beechy's *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific* ... (London, 1831), but possibly showing the crew returning to HMS *Blossom*, rather than landing at Pitcairn. PURCHASE.

BOWRING, WALTER ARMIGER, 1874–1931. *[Ten Press Portraits of Notable New Zealanders] 1900–1903.*
Ten chromolithographs, mostly of Christchurch identities. DONATION: Mrs Molly Cameron, Masterton.

BUTLER, MARGARET, 1883–1947. *[Bust of Architect William Meek Page] 1936.*
Plaster bust. A life-size portrait of Wellington architect W. M. Page, donated by his daughter. DONATION: Miss Kirsty Page, Dunedin.

DRUMMOND-FISH, G., fl. 1906–38. *[Anzac Bay ... Looking towards Imbros] 1915* and *[Anzac Camp, Gallipoli, 1915].*
Two watercolours. Detailed views at Gallipoli showing the Anzac camp at breakfast-time and the surrounding area. PURCHASE.

EASTMAN, DAVID, d. ca. 1972. *[Portrait of Olive Smuts-Kennedy] 1969.*
Oil on board. Life-size portrait of a noted Wellington local body politician. DONATION: Mrs Olive Smuts-Kennedy, Waikanae.

FLINT, C. W., fl. 1881. *Wharekauri in an Early Stage of Cultivation, Chatham Islands, New Zealand, 1881.*
Pencil and watercolour. A rare view of the homestead and outbuildings of a pastoral run in the Chathams, the property of Edward Chudleigh. The artist's surname is not clear and could be Hunt, rather than Flint. PURCHASE.

FURKERT, FREDERICK WILLIAM, 1876–1949. *[Public Works Department Camps at Ōhākune, ca. 1906, during the Completion of the Main Trunk Line]*
Two oils on board and on tin. Details of PWD camps in dense bush, painted by the engineer in charge of the completion of the Main Trunk Line. DONATION: Miss Ursula Furkert, Wellington.

GULLY, JOHN, 1819–88. *[Trafalgar Street South, Nelson, Looking towards Christ Church Cathedral] 1885.*
Watercolour. An early view of Nelson with established trees and several identifiable buildings. PURCHASE.

HARRISON. *[Portrait of William Swainson Engaged in Ornithological Research, ca. 1836]*
Oil on canvas. The artist of this portrait is referred to by contemporary family reports only as 'Mr Harrison', and his further identity is unknown. The portrait, painted in England, shows scientist and early Hutt Valley settler William Swainson at work on an ornithological publication. PURCHASE.

HOYTE, JOHN CLARKE, 1835–1913. *[Miners' Slab Huts in a Bush Clearing, Coromandel District, between 1854 and 1867]*
Watercolour. A detailed view of early settlers' temporary residences. PURCHASE.

IGGLESDEN, CHARLES MOORE, 1832–1920. *[View Looking from Captain Sharpe's Garden, The Terrace, Wellington] Dec. 1868.*
Watercolour. A splendid and detailed view of early Wellington from Flagstaff Hill, incorporating the Clifton Terrace Boys' School, St Mary's Hill Street Basilica, and 'The Grange' in Wadestown, along with a view along Lambton Quay and out to the Hutt Valley. PURCHASE.

LEE-JOHNSON, ERIC, 1908–93. *[Charles Brasch, 1951; Self-Portrait, 1940s; Maurice Duggan, 1950s; Rex Fairburn, 1945]*
Two ink, one pastel, one charcoal. Portraits of the artist's friends, writers Charles Brasch, Maurice Duggan, and Rex Fairburn, together with an early self-portrait. PURCHASE.

LODGE, NEVILE SIDNEY, 1918–89. *[Archive of Original Cartoons for the* Evening Post *and* Sports Post, *1941–88]*
3678 ink drawings. A significant donation to the New Zealand Cartoon Archive of a lifetime's work by one of New Zealand's best-known cartoonists. DONATION: Mrs N. Lodge, Wellington.

MATHEWS, ROYDON C., 1886?–1973. *'Speak up laddie!', 1930 [Caricature of Alexander M. Burns, General Manager, Christchurch Press].*
Ink and Chinese white. Drawn by a Christchurch journalist, this portrait includes signatures of senior journalists on the *Press*. PURCHASE.

NORMAN, EDMUND, 1820–75. *[Waikato or Wairarapa Settlement, 1840s or 1850s]*
Ink and wash. One of New Zealand's most careful and accurate early surveyor-artists drew this as-yet-unidentified scene of a river plain with low hills, cabbage-tree and flax, a European house, and part of a Māori pā. PURCHASE.

OLIVER, RICHARD ALDWORTH, 1811–89. *[Three Māori portraits, ca. 1850]*
Three watercolours. Portraits of Rangi-Hira, the wife of Rangihaeata, and her family; 'Half-castes at Pomare's Pa, Bay of Islands, 1851', an original for the lithograph published in Oliver's *Sketches in New Zealand* (London, 1852); and 'Te Paki, a Maori Warrior'. PURCHASE.

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