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NOVEMBER 1967
VOLUME I (n.s.) NUMBER 2

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BURROWS AND HEKE'S WAR

On the face of it, a slim book with the cumbrous title of *Extracts from a Diary kept by the Reverend R. Burrows during Heke's War in the North in 1845* is one of the most useful sources of contemporary information about the early stages of the first clash of arms between British forces and Maori warriors. It is unique in providing what appears to be a contemporary record of the shadow fighting which broke out between Heke's and Nene's allies and followers before British forces attacked Heke at Puketutu on 9 May 1845, and continued until Heke was wounded and put out of action on 12 June. Maning's version of this contest, in his *War in the North*, is more colourful but lacks the precision of a journal entered up day by day. The view which Burrows had of the war as a whole was limited and in many respects prejudiced, as were also the accounts of other contemporary writers, including the military. No one however was in a better position to describe the events as seen locally than the cleric appointed to take charge of the Waimate Mission Station after Bishop Selwyn's departure for Auckland in November 1844, who was in constant touch with Heke himself as well as providing, unwillingly, a base for Despard's assault on Ohaeawai towards the end of June 1845. His journal is indeed a mine of detailed information. It tells, for instance, that Heke used the term *kupapa* (meaning a neutral, or fence-sitter) twenty years earlier than it has otherwise been recorded; it describes how a party of Heke's followers dragged two small cannon out of the Waimate mill-pond (where they had been hidden by a settler) for use against the British; it records that Colonel Despard, when Nene offered his support, insulted him with the reply, 'When I want the help of savages, I will ask for it' — a reply which the interpreter managed to avoid translating.¹

Burrows published the *Extracts from a Diary* in 1886. In the preface he wrote: 'Some years before the late Sir William Martin left New Zealand, he did me the honour to read the Diary, extracts from which are embodied in the following pages; and he advised me not to allow the manuscript to be lost, as it contained what might form a chapter in a future history of New Zealand.... Although I have allowed many years to pass away since these suggestions were made, I always had such implicit confidence in Sir William Martin's judgement, that I all along intended some day to act upon his advice. Having been confined to my home for the last month, I have employed my time in putting together what follows.' The book opens with a brief introduction recounting (not entirely accurately) some of the circumstances which led up to the war, and this section concludes with the statement: 'My journal dates from March 3 1845, from which time I kept a tolerably correct, and on some days a very full, account of events as they transpired. The follow-

ing record, therefore, will be extracts from the said journal, interwoven with such remarks and explanations as may be thought necessary to make the whole as intelligible as possible to the ordinary reader.' Then follow almost daily entries up till 20 July, after which he wrote: 'Although my journal for the next two months contains a large amount of matter, much of it is not such as would be interesting to the general reader. I shall, therefore, only copy such portions as may be considered either instructive or amusing, or both.' The armies and the war having moved away from the Waimate area, the extracts and summaries given in the remaining dozen pages are of less interest to us today.

It is for the period 3 March to 20 July, when Burrows acted as an intermediary between Nene and Heke, as well as between the British and their opponents, and was an eye-witness of the attacks on Puketutu and Ohaeawai, that the published *Diary* is most informative. An illustration is the account of the construction of Ohaeawai pa. Colonel Despard was so impressed with the design and strength of the pa that he was convinced some European had a hand in building it.² Cowan and others, following Maning, have written that it comprised an existing pa, belonging to Peni Taua, to which Heke and Kawiti made substantial additions.³ But on 17 May, only a month before Despard's arrival at Waimate, the *Diary* records: 'Learned from Heke's natives who are here that there has been a disagreement between Heke and Kawiti as to where they should erect a second pa, the former wishing to have it at Ohaeawai, the latter at Te Ruapekapeka,....' On 21 May, a mere four weeks before Despard approached what was to be for him an impregnable fortress, the *Diary* reports a visit to Ohaeawai where Burrows found Heke and Kawiti reconciled, and the pa begun. 'Found Kawiti busy marking out the lines and otherwise helping on the work. Whilst waiting for the return of Heke I had a good opportunity for observing the locality they have selected as a site for their new pa.' If this is a contemporary journal entry it seems clear that no pa could already have stood on the site. The engineering skill and industry of Kawiti and his followers (Heke taking no further part after being wounded on 12 June) are therefore the more remarkable. On the strength of several subsequent entries mentioning visits to the site we can also accept the assurance given to Despard by Burrows that no European had any hand in the construction of the pa.

Many other examples of the usefulness of this document, assuming it to be a contemporary record, could be quoted. There are, unfortunately, grounds for suspecting that in preparing it for publication Burrows did rather more than interweave, as he said, 'such remarks as may be thought necessary to make the whole as intelligible as possible to the ordinary reader.' Some of these interwoven remarks are obvious and irrelevant from the point of view of the historical validity of the pub-

lished *Diary*. For instance, after quoting Heke as using the term *kupapa*, Burrows added in parenthesis, 'a kupapa is one who is sitting still, taking no part with either side'. Similarly, in the passage describing the site of Ohaeawai, Burrows added: 'It does not require the practised eye of a military engineer to see that they are making one fatal mistake in placing the stockade within long rifle range of a conical hill situated to the west, and bordering on a small forest.' In the event, possession of this hill nearly gave Despard victory, and Burrows may have well added his comment afterwards. If so, the claim to foresight was a harmless piece of vanity.

As was the normal and required practice among missionaries in the field, Burrows sent a copy of his diary to the CMS in London. By 1845 the practice had rather died out, and oddly enough the only journal Burrows transmitted was for the period 3 March – 31 December 1845. Since he was for part of this time in the storm centre of critical events this too may be ascribed to vanity – a useful vanity. Nor need it surprise us that the document sent to the CMS, of which the Turnbull Library has a microfilm copy⁴, should be specially compiled for the purpose. Most missionaries edited their day-to-day journals before sending home a fair copy. The difference between the Burrows journal preserved in the CMS archives and that published in 1886 is however startling. It was natural that in writing of Nene he should call him 'Walker' to the CMS and 'Waka' in a New Zealand publication, and perhaps not surprising that for the CMS he should omit most of the passages critical of Colonel Despard. But it is certainly surprising to find that the two versions only rarely use the same phraseology, and that the CMS version is a mere fifth the length of the published one.

Burrows sent off the CMS version in three instalments covering the periods 3 March – 31 July, 1 August – 31 October, and 1 November – 31 December, respectively. The first instalment was written out in a different hand from the two subsequent ones, and was accompanied by a covering letter dated 15 September 1845.⁵ The Turnbull Library also holds a MS copy of this instalment, written in a partly filled exercise book by the hand which wrote the instalments for 1 August – 31 December. Comparison with the letter signed by Burrows (and with other letters now held in the Hocken Library) shows that the Turnbull MS and the subsequent instalments sent to the CMS were written by Burrows himself, while the first instalment on the CMS microfilm was a transcription made by a copyist who also indulged in some unimportant editing. Punctuation and capitalisation differ as between the Turnbull MS and the microfilm, and occasionally the copyist (perhaps Mrs Burrows) inserted minor alterations or embellishments in the MS itself.

From this evidence it may be presumed that Burrows intended to retain a copy of the journal, as edited for the CMS, in the exercise

book, but that this intention was abandoned after the first instalment. The evidence confirms the natural presupposition that neither the Turnbull MS nor the instalments sent to London were themselves the original journal. Further, it is apparent that Burrows must have worked from this original document in 1886: the actual instalments sent off to the CMS would not then have been available to him, and the Turnbull MS ends on 31 July, while the published *Diary* continues, intermittently, until the end of the year. This original document was presumably the one read by Sir William Martin and it would today have as much interest for us as it had for him. Without it, can we make any assessment as to whether the Turnbull MS-CMS version or the published *Diary* conforms more closely to the missing original?

Happily, one small clue exists. When Hugh Carleton was writing his *Life of Henry Williams* in the 1870s he quoted a communication he had received from an unnamed clergyman. The correspondent wrote to Carleton, 'I quote from my journal', and then gave an entry for 7 July 1845.⁶ The entry is undoubtedly from Burrows's journal, though it differs greatly both from the CMS version and from the *Diary*. The Turnbull MS however provides us with an illuminating revelation. The original entry has been crossed out, and a new one inserted. Both are fortunately legible. By comparison with a letter written by Burrows in 1879 on the CMS microfilm it is clear that the revised entry was written by him in the 1870s in a handwriting markedly changed since 1845. This revised entry is substantially the same as that printed by Carleton: the differences can be readily explained by reference to Carleton's habit of 'improving' the style of all material he used — whereby, alas, the breathless prose of the letters and journals of Mrs Henry Williams becomes formal and correct. So likewise with Burrows. The revised journal entry in the Turnbull MS was transformed into the sort of style Carleton considered proper.

It would therefore seem certain that in writing to Carleton Burrows did precisely what he said: 'I quote from my journal.' He quoted, in other words, from his original journal, not from the version prepared for the CMS. For some reason he then decided to insert this original entry into the CMS version he had retained — the Turnbull MS. We are thus in possession of one single entry from his original journal which we can compare both with the CMS version and with the published *Diary*. Here are the three forms in which the entry for 7 July 1845 appeared:

1. *Original journal*: Left early for the Camp on my arrival I was met by Wilmot who told me that Colonel Despard had determined upon retiring to the Waimate. He begged me if I had any influence with the Colonel to dissuade him from such a mad act. Mr Clendon also confirmed what Wilmot had said. I went as usual to report myself to the Colonel and he informed me of his intentions. I ventured to point out to him what I considered would be the result of such a step. I was not thanked for my

advice, but was glad to find shortly afterward that the order had been countermanded. Walker & all the leading men of his party were much opposed to the [step]* and the former gave the C to understand that he & his men did not intend to follow his example.

2. *Turnbull MS – CMS version*: Went to the Camp this morning found the Colonel had decided upon returning here to wait for more assistance or further orders. Walker and all the leading men were opposed — they were well aware the confidence such a step would give the party in the Pa and most probably add to their numbers, whereas a steady resistance notwithstanding the loss they have sustained would inspire the enemy with fear and very shortly to desert their Pa should an opportunity offer. The Natives have not ceased to wonder & talk at the determined manner in which the Soldiers attacked them some calling them very courageous others terming it madness. One remarked they were *devils* and not men to rush up in the manner they did.

3. *Published version*: Left early for the camp. On my arrival I was met by Captain Wilmot, of the Artillery, and Mr Clendon, Magistrate of the Hokianga District, who informed me that the whole force was about to be withdrawn to the Waimate, there to wait for reinforcements from Sydney and Melbourne. Captain Wilmot pressed me to use my influence with the colonel to prevent such a step. I went, as usual, to report myself to the colonel, accompanied by Mr Clendon. On our way to the tent we noticed nearly the whole camp busy in preparing for a move. After the usual salutations the colonel told us his intentions. Mr Clendon, who had been primed beforehand, ventured to give it as his opinion that the withdrawal from the situation, leaving the rebels in the pa, would add greatly to their numbers, and enable them to take to the bush and do much mischief. Colonel Despard, who was suffering very much at the time from neuralgia, and had been for several days, replied, 'What am I to do? Quite one-third of my men are either killed or disabled; if the rebels from the pa were to come out in force and line the bush all round, I have not sufficient men to go out against them.' The reply to this was, 'You have Waka here with his men for such work as that should it be needed, but the rebels are not likely to leave their pa in any force to attack you so long as you are here.' The Colonel was now informed that Waka meant to remain even if the troops were withdrawn, and what he would ask for would be some help in strenghtening the stockade his men had put up on the flat a little way to the rear of the camp. Colonel Despard was further informed that it was reported on very good authority that a proposition had been made by Kawiti to desert the present pa, and withdraw to the neighbourhood of Ruapekepeka. It was also suggested to the colonel by Mr Clendon that the 32 lb gun, lately brought in the *North Star*, might be so placed as to do much more execution than it had hitherto done. After some further conversation we withdrew, and immediately afterward the order to strike tents, etc. was countermanded. During the day the gun was dragged some way further up Waka's hill, and a steady fire from thence opened upon the pa. At my suggestion the few wounded, who were still in the camp, were removed to the Waimate. We numbered now altogether about 30 in hospital. The drays have been sent to Kerikeri for further supplies of ammunition, etc.

* Word omitted in the Turnbull MS, but supplied in Carleton's transcription.

From internal evidence it seems not improbable that the variation between the versions for the entry of 7 July are typical of the period 3 March – 20 July. The Turnbull MS-CMS version states the facts briefly but includes a spattering of explanatory notes. The published *Diary* is a free-flowing narrative unlike the sort of jottings of which journals are usually composed. This is the pattern for 7 July. In the Turnbull MS four lines out of fifteen summarise the information given

in the original; the balance, describing the views of Nene's followers and the feelings of Kawiti's men inside the pa at Ohacawai, were presumably based on subsequent discussions, incorporated here in order to explain the situation to the CMS. The published *Diary* on the other hand greatly expands the original jottings into a detailed account of the day's events. One need not for that reason doubt the general accuracy of the *Diary*: re-reading his old journal will have recalled to Burrows's mind many details which were not included in it. He will also have had available to him, from published sources and from personal conversations, much information of which he had been unaware when writing up his journal in 1845. On the other hand it would be impossible for him in 1886 to recollect the exact terms of conversations held forty years earlier. Sometimes these conversations are briefly recorded in the Turnbull MS, and were presumably therefore written down in the original. On 7 July they were not. Nor were they in the other examples quoted earlier. We cannot therefore be certain either that Heke used the term *kupapa* or that Despard told Nene that if he wanted the help of savages he would ask for it. There is however ample evidence in the Turnbull MS of frequent discussions with Heke; and there is also corroborative evidence in Despard's own reports, and in the account of the war he wrote in 1846,⁷ of his generally scornful attitude towards his Maori allies. Heke's joking reference to pigs as *kupapa* and Despard's rudeness to Nene would at least be in keeping with their characters.

To sum up, then, we may accept the statement made by Burrows in his preface to the *Diary* that he wrote the version for publication in a month during 1886; it is apparent that in doing so he was working from an original journal which, except for one single entry, we no longer possess; it seems clear that he went beyond his avowed purpose of interweaving 'such remarks and explanations as may be thought necessary to make the whole as intelligible as possible to the ordinary reader'; but at the same time it is probable that this amplified version conforms more closely to the original journal than the abbreviated version compiled for the CMS, of which the Turnbull MS covers the period 3 March – 31 July.

Ormond Wilson

REFERENCES

- ¹ *Diary* pp 25, 33 and 38; 1 May, 30 May and 19 June 1845. (For the emergence of *kupapa* during the wars of the sixties, see R. I. M. Burnett, 'Kupapas', *Journal of the Polynesian Society* Vol 74 No. 2, June 1965).
- ² *Diary* p 45, 11 July 1845. Despard to FitzRoy, 12 July 1845 (quoted in the *New Zealander*, 30 August 1845).
- ³ Maning, *War in the North*, (appendix to *Old New Zealand*) 1910 edition, 314. Cowan, *New Zealand Wars*, I 48–9.
- ⁴ Turnbull Micro MS 212.
- ⁵ Turnbull Micro MS 211.
- ⁶ Carleton, *Life of Henry Williams*, II 113–4 n.
- ⁷ Despard, 'Narrative of an Expedition...', *United Services Magazine* 1846.

WILLIAM FOX IN WESTLAND

The naming of the Fox Glacier

Few premiers have had time or talent to paint during a political walk-about. The Fox paintings of Westland some of which are now held by the Library are all the more interesting because of the hazards of his tour: trial by floods of water; trial by floods of words. Fox's original exploration of part of the Buller watershed in February 1846 with Thomas Brunner, Charles Heaphy, and the Maori guide Kehu, had exciting incidents. Fox nearly drowned¹; his visit in February 1872 was also somewhat aquatic. And the words incidental to that visit amounted to a fluid mass of some weight and bombast.²

As citizen John Cross of Hokitika expressed it on 5 February 'He [Fox] comes here as the chief of a Government whose policy has ruined Westland... Mr Fox and his arch-plotter, Mr Vogel, have despoiled us all.' In thus asking for Fox to be confronted with the wrongs and the requirements of Westland, citizen Cross was spelling out the word welcome as a synonym for accusation.³ Other correspondents rushed into print in the manner of boys leaping over a fence when they hear a dogfight in the street. *Vulpecula* wrote 'In common decency then, and in the name of hospitality, let our bore be muzzled this time, and though in all meekness bearing it ourselves, let not our guest be asked to bear our Cross.⁴ *Publicola*, too, was anti-Cross and anti 'the presentation of flatulent addresses' and claimed 'Mr Fox is visiting the West Coast in order to make himself acquainted with its condition and prospects... the less we molest Mr Fox during his visit the better...'.⁵

Meantime, at Westport on 6 February, a deputation waited on Fox and asked for a dray road to connect the Buller and the Grey. A sub-editor invented a new knowledge, that of 'Cross-Ology' and *Vulpecula* was again rude about Cross and his verses.⁶ Cross, of course was indignant, and, under 'Cross Purposes', pointed out that his writings had been approved of by four Colonial Governors.⁷ On 9 February Greymouth suffered a flood described as one of its worst ever.⁸ And four days later a correspondent *Citizen* wrote against any deputation 'hastily got up'.⁹

Fox and his party arrived in Greymouth on 13 February: 'He has abandoned his intended overland trip, as all the roads and bridges are washed away' but the Hokitika Borough Council discussed 'the expediency of arranging for a deputation to wait upon the Premier'.¹⁰

Telegrams from Fox to the Hon William Gisborne, Colonial Secretary, featured trial by flood and the need for a road from the Buller to the Grey. On 23 February, Fox telegraphed: 'I have made the inland journey from Greymouth — visiting Reefs inspected Road lines etc — I think the reefs will prove a great fact.... The present population ...

about Reefton estimated at 2,500 — If crushing good [population] may increase before winter to 4,000 and ultimately to any amount. The road work is the most important matter.... Weather down the Buller and last night frightful — Sea making steady inroads a great part of town perhaps all will go by degrees....¹¹ and again, on the same date: 'Have carefully inspected roads from Greymouth to Westport — It is of the utmost importance that the connecting line between the two rivers should be pushed on without delay — Famine prices not to say starvation of 3000 to 4000 people may be the consequence if any delay — the great thing is to get drays through to Reefton from Buller landing on one side and Ahaura on other — Mr Dobsons specifications are ready for much of the work and will very soon be for the whole.... I recommend that very much be left to his discretion so that not an hour be lost in pushing on the indispensable work....'¹²

Fox, with his wife and Secretary, was due to arrive in Hokitika on 24 February.¹³ The newspaper editorial called for a welcome: 'Here we have had, for some forty-eight hours, the Prime Minister of New Zealand amongst us, and yet his advent has excited no more attention than if he had been an individual of ordinary importance only.... Mr Fox betook himself to Government House, and there he has remained undisturbed by grievance mongers, in the quiet enjoyment of a repose which must have proved a welcome change after the trying ordeals he has gone through since he has been on the Coast.'¹⁴

On 28 February a deputation did meet the Premier: it consisted of the Mayor of Hokitika, and six councillors, including the redoubtable Cross; the Town Clerk read an address asking for port subsidies, and a railway link between Hokitika and Greymouth. In his reply Fox looked backward to his adventurous youth: 'It was a pleasureable reminiscence that he was the first white man to set foot on the Buller some twenty-five years ago. At that date, looking forward, he might have had a dim prescience that at some future period — perhaps in a hundred years — the country would be inhabited by an industrial population. But he could never have conceived that in so brief a space of time so much would have been done.'¹⁵ The following day, the editorial noted that the lesson of the interview was that Fox had told the deputation to look to self-help for a remedy for the difficulties of the Corporation of Hokitika.¹⁶ And on 4 March Fox left for a visit to 'the southern portion of the County...'¹⁷

The newspaper of 9 March noted that 'the Premier has no particular object in view, but is making a tour with the view of informing himself by personal observation of the requirements of the various districts through which he passes'.¹⁸ Later it commented that he 'will probably be detained in consequence of the rising of the streams. . . we can only come to the conclusion that Mr Fox has roused the ire of Neptune, who

raises a commotion when he sees a favourable opportunity of troubling the hon. gentleman'.¹⁹

In the event, and in the words of the newspaper 'during the whole of the trip fine weather prevailed, and the journey of the Premier to the southern goldfields of Westland was in every respect a complete success . . . it has afforded to him pleasures, which only those can enjoy who, like him, take delight in the grand and majestic, as displayed in the scenes of a mountaneous country such as that of the Okarito district'.

The main account, headed **THE PREMIER'S VISIT TO THE SOUTH**, follows:

The Hon Mr Fox and his private Secretary, Mr Brown, accompanied by the Chief Surveyor of Westland, Mr Mueller,²⁰ started from Hokitika on Monday, the 4th inst., to visit the southern goldfields. The party having passed that night at Ross, were on the road at daybreak, and although the Wanganui Bluff was very bad and the travelling around it positively dangerous, they managed to reach Okarito the same evening. On Wednesday morning, fresh horses having been obtained, they proceeded to the Five-Mile Beach and were there joined by Mr Tizard, Mr Canavan,²¹ and others with whom they proceeded up the Waiho River, to visit the glacier on the right hand or southern branch of the river. The only road available is a natural one — the river-bed — and as that is generally composed of hard gravel, with a plentiful sprinkling of various-sized boulders, the riding is somewhat tedious, but now and again enlivened by having to ford the river, which in some places was rapid and deep, and, not withstanding the most laborious efforts of the riders to screw up their legs, the cold water frequently moistened most of them; for though the river was low the fords became worse and worse as progress was made up the stream. Occasionally, one of the packhorses would evince a strong desire to cross the river in a place deep enough to take him afloat, when instant chase would be given — visions of wet blankets and rheumatics startling the stolid into activity, whilst the bare possibility of want of tucker quickened even the most active. On the way up the river, the party called at Mr Friend's station, between the Waiho and the Totara, expecting to be able to avail themselves of his knowledge of the fords, but unfortunately he was absent at another station lower down the river, and so the party were doomed to find and select fords as best they could. Yet, notwithstanding this drawback, they safely reached the camping ground, at the foot of Mount Mueller, by 5 o'clock in the evening, no harm having been sustained through the furious eagerness of one horse to go ahead — especially in water — or the exceedingly small size of another of the animals. So anxious did one horse appear to approach the glacier, that one would have almost supposed that his

usual food was ice, and that the allowance had been stopped for a day or two.

The scenery was charming. The widening river-bed; and ever winding, ever rushing stream; the changing patches of bush and scrub; the lofty hills, backed by the towering mountains, clothed in their bright snowy garments; and then the glacier, picturesque and beautiful, bathed in the sunshine and clinging to the mountain with icy hand; blood red blossoming rata, contrasting with the dull green bush.

On the road up, sketches of the glacier were taken by Mr Fox and by Mr Brown, and on reaching the camping ground, the hon Premier set to work painting with a freshness and vigor that would have led one to suppose that he had only been taking a 'gentle constitutional', instead of making a difficult and tedious journey. All hands but the artists turned to and formed the camp. The horses, with the aid of a few strokes of a billhook, were all placed in natural stalls in the scrub of the river bank, and fed; fires were lit, dinner cooked, and tents pitched. A journey up the river is a splendid appetiser and ample justice was therefore done to the provisions provided, and indeed, to anyone in search of an appetite the journey is to be strongly recommended. A few hours passed pleasantly, chatting around the camp-fire, and the party turned in for a good night's rest so as to make an early start in the morning. The whole party were astir at daybreak on Thursday morning. Ablutions were performed on the river bank, during which the snowy water was generally allowed to possess powerful cooling properties; the astonishment of the party can be therefore conceived when they observed Mr Fox walk down to the river and take a 'header' in a deep hole. The sight was enough to send a shiver through any looker on who had just returned from bathing his face and hands in the ice stream, and we could almost expect to see the remains of the Premier floating downstream in the shape of a big icicle, instead of which he returned to the camp as fresh and as warm and lively as a three year old — just as if he had been in the habit of taking an iced bath every day of his life. Breakfast had, and horses fed and watered, the journey afoot up the river was commenced. The highest point attainable by horses is the forks, and a distance of about two miles has to be travelled afoot to reach the glacier. The first part is over the stones at the side of the river, where the stream has washed away the terrace, and afterwards up an old river bed. The former is not very easy travelling, and on a warm day very fatiguing; for one has to spring from boulder to boulder, and at times the way is very much impeded by fallen timber and big rocks, but the late heavy freshets have cut so far into the terrace as to render the travelling far easier than heretofore. In some places the river appears to have risen about thirty feet, and occasionally to have completely covered the summit of its banks. Approaching nearer, ever changing views of the

glacier present themselves; deeper and deeper becomes the bluish green tinge, deepening still more in the depth of fantastic clefts in the icy mass; the tips of its picturesque points, or many steeples, one might say, seem to become shaded in mourning for the passing away of the bright white winter snows. Nearer and nearer — grander and grander does the sight become. The very air, as if awed by the glacier, comes down chilled from over it. Gazing at the stupendous mass of ice and the lofty hills around, a man feels himself but an atom, his heart is chilled, and he shrinks involuntarily at the thought of his very nothingness in comparison with the stupendous grandeur of the objects around him.

The effect of the view of the glacier from a short distance was considerably heightened by the rata on the adjoining hills being covered with their bright red flowers, brightly contrasting with the dull green bushes and the delicately tinted glacier — and all together bathed in a flood of sunshine. The glacier is about half-a-mile across the point, rising abruptly like a wall, here and there cut into caves, the lower part having at a short distance, much the appearance of grey rock, from the gravel and stone covering it. From a large cave at the southern end flows forth the first of the Waiho, which runs close across the front of the glacier. Upwards for miles lies the solid icy mass, filling up the huge gully between the lofty hills, and finally hidden from sight by a bed of mountains. The ice assumes all manner of fantastic shapes. At the base there is a perfect bridge, bright and clear, but not to be trodden by human foot; higher up there is a huge pinnacle with an eye through which the sunlight seems to stream. These were striking points, but ever new beauties in the view met the wondering eye, and the effect produced on the mind is beyond description. The low altitude of the glacier — about 675 feet above the sea level — and the luxuriant vegetation and close proximity to the ice — a vegetation covering the hills on both sides of the glacier for a height of from 800 to 1000 feet — are the most remarkable features.

Several excellent sketches were taken by Mr Fox, the party lingering wherever some new view was presented for the admiring gaze. At length they started on the return journey, reaching the camp about three o'clock in the afternoon. There they saddled up and travelled down the river as rapidly as possible, and arrived at Mr Friend's lower station at about six o'clock in the evening. Mr Fox and his secretary, Mr Mueller and Mr Tizard, were hospitably entertained there for the night, the remainder of the party returning to Okarito. While making some sketches of a greenish hue at the glacier, Mr Fox, oblivious of the fact that copper is poison, and that continuous sucking of it from a paintbrush is somewhat dangerous even to an iron constitution, laid himself open to an attack of illness which lasted for two days, but the excitement of the visit to a hitherto unapproached glacier, was sufficiently strong even to

counteract the effects of the poison, for on Saturday afternoon he was quite himself again.

On Friday morning the party started for Gillespie's Beach, where they spent the remainder of the day. Originally it was intended to visit the mouth of Cook's River only, but some statement respecting the existence of a glacier at one of the sources of the river, having reached Mr Fox, he determined to search for it. Accordingly, Mr M'Lellan having volunteered to accompany the expedition and give the exploring party the benefit of his knowledge of the river, arrangements were made, and a start effected a little before daylight on Saturday morning. The party proceeded up the river, but found the first and second fords rather deep. The river-bed at the mouth is considerably less in breadth than that of the Waiho, but higher it opens into a far more extensive country, some parts covered with light scrub and grass, appearing to afford an excellent run for cattle. After following the river from its mouth for three or four miles, the party proceeded in a north-easterly direction for about five miles, when they came within view of a grand glacier, falling from the mountains in one solid body, and conveying the idea of a mighty rushing, overwhelming river, suddenly chained and fixed by frost. When first presented to the view, the scene was most grand and singular. Journeying towards the glacier, the way becomes rougher and rougher, and at last lies among boulders and soft sandy mullock, difficult for horses; then the terrace runs so close to the river as to render the passage impassable for the animals. As far up the river as it was possible to take horses they were camped, and the remainder of the distance — about two miles — had to be travelled afoot. This proved no easy task, as the narrow space between the terrace and the river was occupied by large boulders, and the river was at times blocked with big stones, and, in places by fallen timber. However, by perseverance, the glacier was reached, but to obtain a good view of it, crossing the river to the south side was necessary, and that at first sight seemed impossible. Soon, however, the discovery was made that close up to the base of the glacier the river ran in several streams. Crossing some of these, and crawling over large boulders, and sometimes over the lower part of the glacier, the party succeeded in reaching the south side in safety, when Mr Fox took some sketches of the magnificent scenery before him. The *debris* continually falling down from the glacier is very considerable and the whole of the lower part appears, from a short distance, as if composed of grey stone. On the southern side of the point stands a lofty wooded hill, from which a fine view of the stupendous mass of ice can be had, but there was not sufficient time to examine it from that spot. The appearance of the glacier, when closely approached, is not so picturesque as the Waiho glacier, but is, perhaps, more nobly grand in its simplicity. Its height is 770 feet, and therefore, nearly 100 feet higher than the Waiho glacier.

The water does not seem to flow out of it as from the Waiho glacier but bubbles up in its front, where there is a remarkable fountain throwing out a great body of water, boiling up some feet in height. The effect of the whole view, like that of the Waiho glacier, is much heightened by the bright red of the rata flowers. As the party proposed to return to Gillespie's Beach the same day, but little time could be spared at the glacier, and, having christened it the 'Fox Glacier', the return was commenced soon after 2 pm. While climbing across the morain on the return journey, at one place, after Mr M'Lellan had got safely over, Mr Fox following after him had a dangerous slip on the ice, but by the timely assistance of Mr M'Lellan and Mr Mueller, he succeeded in crossing the place in safety. The rest of the party had to take a different track, for a single slip might have started tons of stone both above and below, and escaping the dangers thereby caused, would have been difficult indeed. Travelling homeward several stoppages were made and excellent views obtained of the glacier and Mount Cook range in their majestic grandeur. The river having risen considerably since the morning, the fording was effected with considerable difficulty. At the last two fords more especially, the horse Mr Fox was riding was nearly carried off its legs. The last ford was reached at dark, and though known to be too deep it was taken in preference to trying a fresh one. Crossing the lagoon, and the beach reached, the tide was found to be too far in for passing the bluff without great risk of a thorough wetting, but making a rapid rush round the rocks, the party got to Gillespie's receiving only a few splashes of spray. The return journey's end was reached at about 8 o'clock in the evening, everyone being highly pleased with the excursion...'²²

Heinrich von Haast in the life of his father²³ was bitter that the glacier his father had named 'Prince Alfred' was renamed by Fox's party. This was ironic seeing that von Haast Senior had renamed more features than any other sub-alpine traveller. To give both von Haasts justice it must be emphasised that neither of them claim discovery; von Haast Junior states 'It seems clear, therefore, that Haast never visited the Fox Glacier, but only saw it from the mouth of the Weheka.'²⁴

Who then first visited the Fox Glacier? It is likely that Charles Douglas was the first to make a *recorded* visit. His Cook River MSS in the Turnbull Library, quoted on page 23 of *Mr Explorer Douglas*; (ed. Pascoe, Wellington, 1957) make it clear his first visit was in 1868. It is more likely that unrecorded visits were made by unknown prospectors earlier in the sixties. They were in the Balfour Glacier country in 1866 and would not have neglected the Fox, so much more spectacular and more accessible. It is appropriate that the credit for an important discovery can fairly go to an unknown explorer.

When on 11 November 1847 Thomas Brunner and Kehu forded the

Cook river on a raft they did not travel inland. The Fox Glacier feeds the Fox river tributary of the Cook river, but was beyond the ken of Brunner.

Following the tour, a letter was headed *Some Small News by 'Finningan'*: 'Dear Joe' thus: 'I have discovered a great secret, and that is the no less wonderful one that the Prime Minister of New Zealand is here... I went to the Police Camp and there I learned that a 'fox' had been caught at last. But he is here on the sly.... It is rumoured that next time the Premier comes this way he will visit the people of Westland... The Premier has been down Okarito way drawing Mount Cook, but where he is going to draw it to, is not known yet...'²⁶

On 20 March Fox was at the Kanieri, and the following day at Stafford. On 22 March he delivered a lecture in the Town Hall for the benefit of the Hokitika Academy; his subject 'Travels in the East'²⁶ was through Egypt to Jerusalem. The following evening he lectured about the 'Liquor Traffic' and his plea for 'Total Abstinence' has this result: 'The applause was prolonged for a very considerable time'.²⁷

The final relevant newspaper report was that 'The Hon W. Fox, his secretary, and Mrs Fox were passengers by the coach to Christchurch yesterday morning'.²⁸

Fox had survived his trials by words and water; his audiences had survived his words and his plea for temperance. This visit may not have caused any ripple in New Zealand political history or converted West Coasters to an aversion to talk or beer, or a combination of both, but Fox the artist had bequeathed to posterity some paintings of merit and some topographical puzzlement. John Pascoe

The Library is indebted to Miss M. V. Mueller of Auckland for permission to reproduce the painting of the Fox and Franz Josef Glaciers.

The *Wilkie Loan Collection* of Fox paintings at the Alexander Turnbull Library is of great interest to students of Westland. After the death of Lady Fox, Sir William was tended by his god-daughter, Annie Campbell. She was the mother of J. C. Wilkie, and inherited most of the Fox paintings. Mr Wilkie has lent this collection to the Library. In the Westland and Nelson Provincial context they are dated 1872 and include: WL 66 'On Inangahua River — Christy's Landing': two pack-horses, 3 barrels, a case of food and a man with his load.

WL 70 'Fr Joseph Glacier from Five Mile. 20 miles': miners at work in the goldfields, a wheel, a flume, and good view of the glacier.

WL 71 Unnamed. The glacier could be the Fox and the mountains could be Douglas Peak and Mount Haast.

WL 72 'Mount Cook and Francis Joseph Glacier'. [Actually the Fox Glacier; see note at foot].

WL 73 'View from Mt Mueller looking towards Mt Cook'. Mount Cook is surely hidden in this view.

WL 74 'Mt Cook from Hokitika'. Yes; no dispute. The foreground is evocative of the period and shows an anchor, the river, a sailing boat, and an upturned boat. Mt Tasman is to the right of Mt Cook.

WL 75 'Cobden Coal Mine. Grey River': a lovely scene but the river is blue not grey.

WL 77 'Otira Gorge looking down'. A pleasant rather sentimental painting with a purple haze spreading to the basins under Mount Barron; patches of rata.

WL 81 'Kanieri; Hokitika River etc.' Cows low in the foreground. the Clarke Pass from the Kokatahi to the Griffiths (Wilberforce) is clear to the right.

WL 82 'Mt Cook. Lake Mahinapua, Hokitika'. Canoe in foreground. Definitely not Mount Cook; more likely to be a peak of the Hokitika-Whitcombe watershed. J. D. P.

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- 1 *Early Travellers in New Zealand*, ed. by Nancy M. Taylor (Oxford, 1959), pp. 200-1 for Heaphy's account.
- 2 The files of the *West Coast Times and Observer* (Hokitika) are the main source of this paper. They are cited as WCT.
- 3 WCT, 5 February 1872.
- 4 WCT, 6 February 1872.
- 5 WCT, 6 February 1872.
- 6 WCT, 7 February 1872.
- 7 WCT, 7 February 1872.
- 8 WCT, 12 February 1872.
- 9 WCT, 13 February 1872.
- 10 WCT, 14 February 1872.
- 11 I. A. 34/18 (National Archives). The population of Reefton varied from 1361 in 1874, to 1544 in 1911 and 1783 in 1956. It was 1730 on 1966 Census figures.
- 12 I. A. 34/18 (National Archives). Irregular punctuation in these telegrams has needed the insertion of a few dashes to make them readily intelligible. Sir Arthur Dudley Dobson (1841-1934) discoverer of Arthur's Pass; in 1872 he was Chief Surveyor for Nelson Province.
- 13 WCT, 24 February 1872.
- 14 WCT, 26 February 1872.
- 15 WCT, 28 February 1872.
- 17 WCT, 29 February 1872.
- 17 WCT, 4 March 1872.
- 18 WCT, 9 March 1872.
- 19 WCT, 11 March 1872.
- 20 Gerhard Mueller (1835-1918) Chief Surveyor for Westland in 1872.
- 21 I have not been able to identify these settlers. One or two obvious misspellings have been corrected in transcription.
- 22 WCT, 15 March 1872.
- 23 Von Haast, H. F. *Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast* (Wellington, 1948).
- 24 *op. cit.* p. 1020.
- 25 WCT, 16 March 1872.
- 26 WCT, 23 March 1872.
- 27 WCT, 25 and 26 March 1872.
- 28 WCT, 27 March 1872.



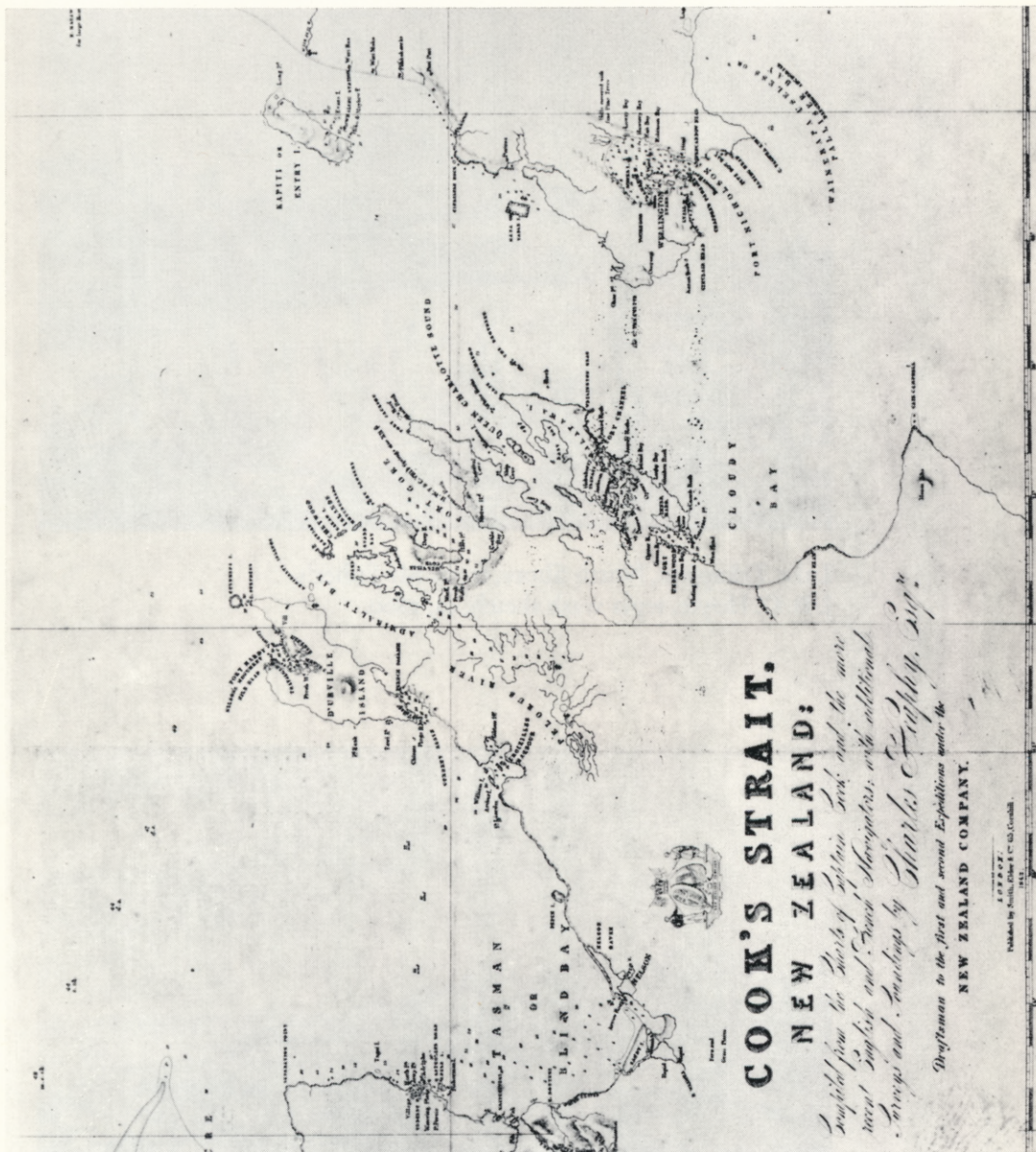
The Franz Josef Glacier, painted by William Fox
Mounts Roon and Moltke on centre and right



The Fox Glacier, painted by William Fox. Douglas Peak in the centre



Section of Chart of Cook Strait, published by James Wyld, March, 1841



Section of Chart of Cook Strait by Charles Heaphy, 1842



Lake Takapuna, North Shore, from Mr Fisher's
J. B. C. Hoyte, sepia wash sketch, ca. 1860



Wyniard (sic) pier, Auckland, with St. Paul's Church
J. B. C. Hoyte, sepia wash sketch, ca. 1860

THE FIRST NEW ZEALAND PILOT (1842)

In 1965 the library took advantage of a welcome opportunity to purchase privately in England a volume of maps entitled on the spine *New Zealand Pilot*. In this collection are 22 maps, bound as listed below, all but one being hydrographic charts published by the Hydrographic Office of the British Admiralty. All these charts are in mint condition and have obviously never been used for navigational purposes.

Up to and including 1845 the Hydrographic Office published a total of 23 charts of New Zealand coastal harbours and waters and of these 21 are in the present collection. The two lacking are those of Akaroa Harbour and chart 1273 an early survey of Port Nicholson which was superseded by chart 1423 following E. M. Chaffers survey in 1839. The Turnbull Library has the most complete holdings in the country of nineteenth century hydrographic charts and previously lacked nine out of a total of 78 recorded hydrographic charts of New Zealand published before 1900.¹ Five of the nine charts previously lacking are included in the present collection.

Chart no	Title	Survey date	Publication date
1212	The islands of New Zealand compiled from the voyages of Captain Cook and all the subsequent British and French navigators	no date	1838
1089	Lauriston Bay	1769	1781
1092	Wangaroa Bay	1834	1836
1090	Bay of Islands	1824, 1830-32	1836
1275	Tutukaka Harbour and Nongodo River	1837	1840
1093	Shouraka Gulf and the mouth of the River Thames	1769-1834	1836
1349	Wai-temata Harbour	1840	1841
1094	Kiahow Harbour	1834	1836
1423	Port Nicholson	1839	1842
1091	Shookianga River	no date	1833
1414	Tory Channel	1839	1841
1097	Torrent Bay and Astrolabe Road	1827	1836
1272	Port Underwood in Cloudy Bay	1837	1840
1096	Current Basin	1827	1836
1098	Port Gore	1834	1836
1328	Rouabouki Road	1839	1840
1595	Tokolabo and Koko-Rarata bays	1840	1844
1694	Wakaroa	1840	1845

Chart no	Title	Survey date	Publication date
1281	Doubtful Harbour/Anchor Island harbour/Facile harbour/Pickers-gill Harbour	1793/1791	1840
1099	South west extreme of New Zealand from M. Duperrey's atlas	1824	1840
1095	Port Hardy	1834	1836

In the first half of the nineteenth century the Hydrographic Office did not always note corrections and reissues made to charts so alterations were made to maps which were republished without changing the date of publication. Consequently it is not always easy to tell whether these were first or later editions. It appears that all but six of these charts are the first issues, the others all being reissued before 1846. Chart 1212 although dated 1838 is not the first issue as it does not show the mythical Taranaki Bay on the south Taranaki coast which was charted on all New Zealand maps between 1838 and 1840. The existence of this bay was not finally disproved until 1840 as the reviewer in the *New Zealand journal* of James Wyld's map of New Zealand noted 'the harbour of Taranaki, which far eclipsed all others in the older maps, has been omitted in this, for the very excellent reason that it has no existence in fact'.² Chart 1090 of the Bay of Islands is a second edition, an earlier one being published in 1833. Chart 1093 does not include the original soundings for Waitemata harbour and with the note 'see plan' referring to chart 1349 of Waitemata harbour published in 1840 must be after that date. The copy in this collection of chart 1349 is however not the first edition as published in 1840 but an edition published the following year. Chart 1097 of Torrent Bay and Astrolabe Road was originally published with the title Blind Bay, Western shore. Both editions bear the date 1 July 1836 but apart from the title there seem to be no significant differences. Chart 1099 of the south west extremity of New Zealand was first published in 1833 entitled South point of T'Avai Poenamoo. This copy has corrections on it up to June 1840.

The remaining map in the collection is one by Charles Heaphy which has not previously been reported as being held in New Zealand although it is listed in the British Museum *Catalogue of the printed maps, plans and charts*. London, 1885. Vol 1. col 897. This is a map entitled: 'Cook's strait, New Zealand. Compiled from the charts of Captain Cook and the more recent English and French navigators; with additional surveys and soundings by Charles Heaphy esqre, draftsman to the first and second expeditions under the New Zealand Company. London: Smith Elder and co., 1842.

This shows an area of the North Island from Taranaki round to Cape Palliser and in the South Island from Rocky Point to Cape Campbell

with insets of Port Hardy, Current Basin, Port Underwood, Torrent Bay and Astrolabe Road, Port Nicholson, Tory channel and Nelson haven. It also includes sailing directions for Port Nicholson and Cook's strait This covers the same area as a map already held by the library published by James Wyld on 6 March 1841, entitled: 'To the New Zealand Company, This chart of Cook's strait compiled from original surveys is dedicated by their obliged servant James Wyld.' The Heaphy map although omitting names used in the Wyld map is much more accurate and clearly incorporates later information. By a strange distortion of the coast line on the map by Wyld, Stephens Island, off the North east tip of D'Urville Island is shown approximately opposite the entrance to the Manawatu river and Cape Farewell opposite north of Waitotara. These errors do not occur in later editions of maps by Wyld but other errors persisted even as late as 1858. These include not showing Porirua Harbour which is clearly marked on the Heaphy map and the Waikanae river on the Wyld map is marked as much longer than it actually is.

The greatest persistent area is perhaps around Cape Egmont where the Heaphy coastline closely resembles present day mapping whereas the Wyld map shows many irregular indentations, perhaps put in as Captain Mein Smith principal surveyor of the New Zealand company suggested 'to break the uniformity of the [coast] line'.³ Even though the existence of Taranaki Bay had been disproved there is mapped a non-existent Patea harbour and Egmont Bay, the latter persisting on other editions of maps during the 1850's.

The sailing directions for Port Nicholson and Cook's strait are basically those of Captain E. M. Chaffers, commander of the New Zealand Company's ship *Tory*, as forwarded by him to the directors of the New Zealand company on 8 October 1839.⁴

Sheila Williams

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- ² *New Zealand journal* 1 no. 22, 21 November 1840, p 281.
- ³ *New Zealand journal* 2 no. 38, 3 July 1841, p 162.
- ⁴ *New Zealand journal* 1 no. 8, 16 May 1840, p 99-101.

THE RIVAL BIBLIOGRAPHERS

JAMES COLLIER AND T. M. HOCKEN

About two and a half years ago, while hastily scanning a 1909 file of the *Evening Post*, I paused to run through a feature article on Dr T. M. Hocken written by the Australian journalist A. G. Stephens. The writer referred to Hocken's 'immense task' in compiling his forthcoming bibliography of the works relating to New Zealand then with the Government Printer. He gave a transcription of the first page of the bibliography and reviewed at length its early contents. An eye-catching new fact in the article was the statement that the Government Printer was publishing the work on the '...enlightened recommendation of Mr Charles Wilson, the librarian of Parliament, who was asked to report on the matter.'¹

The steps whereby the publication of the bibliography in 1909 had become a state responsibility were hitherto unknown and here was the first definite 'trace' of the decision. Unfortunately the records of the General Assembly Library threw no light on this particular commission by Mr Wilson. Charles Wilson (1857-1932), a journalist, Member of Parliament in 1898-99, was appointed Chief Librarian in 1901. He had thrown himself energetically into his new duties, but in background and interest was very much less qualified than the compiler to pass judgement on a work of this kind.

His report if not in the expected place could perhaps be in another. In 1895 an overseas enquiry about a bibliographical matter had been dealt with by the Colonial Secretary's Office² and a decade later the same administration may have acted. This was in fact the case with, for posterity, the rewarding find of a minor dossier on the subject.³ The proposal seems to have originated in an approach by Hocken to John Mackay the Government Printer, in February, 1906 as a result of which Hocken wrote formally to the Hon William Hall-Jones: 'A few evenings ago I had a long conversation with Mr Mackay the Government Printer regarding the publication of some important manuscript written by me... a Bibliography of the Colony. Mr Mackay promised to bring this under your notice & it was very pleasant to me to learn a day or two ago that his interview with you was of a very encouraging kind. Following his suggestion I desire to lay before you fuller particulars, which I think are of an interesting kind.

'Learning some years ago that Mr Collier, the Government Librarian, was preparing a Bibliography of N.Z. literature I called upon him during a visit to Wellington & explained to him what I had already done in the matter. He was greatly pleased & suggested that we might carry out the work conjointly — he doing the pamphlets & I the books. To this I readily assented & with this view he visited Dunedin to inspect my

work & make final conclusions. In one sense the result was very gratifying to me, in another very disappointing though the latter arose entirely from Mr Collier's sentiments & honourable scruples. He considered my work so extensive & careful that it would be quite unfair to group it with his own under our joint names, & that it should be issued separately & from this view he did not recede.

'I regretted this extremely for not only did Mr Collier's skill as a librarian far exceed mine, but the appearance of his Bibliography stamped his labours as being far superior to the diffident way in which he apparently estimated them — indeed his book is excellent, & for long I was deterred by this from taking further steps with regard to mine.'⁴

Collier's *The literature relating to New Zealand: a bibliography* appeared in 1889, twenty years before Hocken's, so the meeting to which Hocken referred must have taken place even earlier. However, the revelation that the two bibliographers had met and discussed collaboration in almost the remote past was an exciting discovery. The fact, too, that at this early time Hocken, some twenty years before the publication of his own work, had made progress at a standard to warrant the somewhat fulsome assessment which Collier apparently gave. The date of Hocken's visit to Collier in Wellington can be inferred. Collier in a letter to Hocken in the Hocken Library dated 19 July 1888 states that the Doctor had called at the General Assembly Library when in Wellington during the recess. Collier's own visit to Dunedin would therefore have probably been after the end of the Parliamentary session on 30 August.

The proposed division of responsibility is also of interest. In Collier's bibliography, apart from its full and careful transcription, one of its features was the number of entries for secondary material, particularly periodical references many of which are still not in any New Zealand library. Hocken's own detailed annotation of book material, particularly for the early years may have been apparent in this early draft.

Hocken continued his letter to Hall-Jones by naming the 'competent persons' who had seen the manuscript, ... 'Professor Morris, late Professor of English, German & French Literature at the University of Melbourne, strongly pressed me to place it in his hands, saying that he would secure its publication by the Victorian Government. But of course to this I could not listen.' He mentioned also Augustus Hamilton of the Colonial Museum, Judge Chapman, Percy Smith and Sir Robert Stout. He invited inspection: 'Of course I should expect & desire that some thoroughly competent person should examine it on behalf of the Government. And it will give me great pleasure on the occasion of your next visit to Dunedin not only to show it to yourself but also other manuscripts & my extensive library which is without

doubt the best in the world on N.Z. literature.' Mackay had asked him to state his terms — 'It is difficult to do this fully now... I think 30 or 35 copies would do for myself. I should like the volumes to be printed per se — that is, as not forming part of an "Historical Records" idea which I understand the Government is proposing to publish....'

Hall-Jones minuted the letter to the Parliamentary Librarian through Col. Pitt then Colonial Secretary — 'As Dr Hocken's work appears to be of some value I think it would be as well for the Librarian to see the manuscript. I understand the Doctor would be satisfied with 35 copies for his own use. The cost of printing this work to be borne by the Govt....'⁵ Pitt concurred.

Charles Wilson commented at length on the same day as the Minute and only two days after Hocken had dated his letter. 'I have often heard of Dr Hocken's work, and of his bibliography. If it really merits the encomiums that have been passed upon it, I for one, as Librarian of what is really New Zealand's National Library, would be only too glad to hear that the Government had decided to print and publish it.'⁶ He claimed that the only existing bibliographies of New Zealand were three, firstly Collier's, secondly the Catalogue of the York Gate Library (The Silver collection, by E. A. Petherick, published in 1886) and a Francis Edwards catalogue, presumably *Edwards' Australasian catalogue...* 1900. He considered that 'the first of these is very imperfect and now almost useless; the second has many good features but is practically confined to books possessed by Mr Silver... [and] the third is merely a trade list.' For one whose lengthy professional life as a librarian appears to have been innocent of any bibliographical exercise good or bad, Wilson's strictures on his predecessor were unwarrantably severe. Collier's work was incomplete but until replaced by something better was useful and worthwhile.

If Dr Hocken has done his work well, he has produced a bibliography, which will be welcomed by librarians all the world over... But I would not like to say, that the work is worth undertaking, unless I saw the manuscript. I have not yet taken my yearly holiday and if you approve I would be glad to place a portion of it at the disposal of the Department, and personally examine the Manuscript on the spot. I could then give a reliable report upon the whole matter. The incidental expenses for travelling, etc., would be comparatively trifling. Such an investigation would also be useful in affording an opportunity of ascertaining particulars of many publications that at present the Library lacks. To show how incomplete is our own Collection, I may mention, that I know of nearly 380 books and pamphlets, which we have not got, and very few of these are included in Collier's bibliography.

I could also thoroughly inspect Dr Hocken's famous library of New Zealand books and would no doubt gather much information that would be of value. If ever Dr Hocken's Library Comes into the market I hope it will be secured by the Government, for the General Assembly Library. The Doctor has, I believe, hundreds of items, especially rare pamphlets, which we have not got....

It was not until June that Wilson managed to visit Dunedin but the report which he made on his return strongly supported publication.

...Arriving in Dunedin on Monday night June 11 I waited upon Dr Hocken on the following morning and was most courteously received.... I spent several hours each day from the Tuesday to the Saturday inclusive, in going through the manuscript, sheet by sheet, and was from the outset greatly impressed with the industry, patience, and perseverance and most scrupulous regard for accuracy which have been displayed by the Doctor.

I compared many scores of entries with the originals of the volumes and pamphlets... in the bibliography. As you are doubtless aware, Dr Hocken possesses what is far and away the most comprehensive collection of works dealing with the early history and literature of this colony that is in existence.... His library, which at a rough estimate, I would say, is worth at least from £6000 to £8000 (actual value in the open book market) consists of thousands of volumes of books, bound pamphlets, broadsheets and proclamations also valuable charts and illustrations, and has thus afforded the bibliographer opportunities, lacking in so many instances to previous workers... for personally comparing, checking, and correcting his entries by reference to first sources.

Wilson compared the work with Collier's and the two other items noted earlier and remarked on the greatly increased number of entries, the detailed biographical information at the Doctor's command, the identification of pseudonyms, the annotations and analysis of the contents of the voyages. 'Were it merely a dry-as-dust record of all that has been written and printed in or about the Colony of New Zealand there might be some reasonable objection to it being printed at the expense of the state. But it is much more.' He proceeded to examine its value from three aspects, its comprehensiveness, its use to the historian and student of New Zealand history and its value to the general public. 'The publication of such a record as that to which the Dr has devoted so many years of patient industry and careful research cannot fail... to be of widespread interest and value. There is nothing like this work in print that in any way approaches it in practical value...'

Repetitive and unnecessarily prolix as was Wilson's report there was no question about his earnest enthusiasm and Hall-Jones authorised printing to proceed on 3 August 1906.⁷

It was almost exactly three years later that the completed work appeared.⁸ Reviews appear to have been mainly confined to the daily press and were in general commendatory and largely uncritical,⁹ seldom showing the perceptive appreciation of the pre-publication article by Stephens. 'Liber' in the *New Zealand Times* thought that the annotations although on the whole commendable showed a tendency to indulge in criticism which reflected the prejudices of the compiler. Hocken's comments on Stout's edition of Wakefields' *Adventure in New Zealand*, he thought 'somewhat discourteous' (and the reader will recollect that Stout was cited by Hocken as one who had commented favourably on his work); 'Liber' thought that if some items were

criticised then all should be but that primarily a bibliography should be a record and not a collection of 'pemmican' reviews. However these were only mere drops in the ocean of accurate well arranged information.

But one voice which might have been heard appeared to be silent — in fact might by now be silent for all time — Collier, with whom Hocken had offered to collaborate twenty years before. Unknown to Hocken, Collier was still alive, in Sydney, whither he had gone over ten years earlier. Although Hocken was himself to die the following year, Collier lived on until 1925. His papers might have found a resting place in some Australian library. Enquiries by the researcher during the following months both from the Hocken Library and likely Australian sources failed to bring to light any further information. If a door had been opened into our bibliographical history and the light turned on, a strong feeling remained that the whole text had not been read.

And so the search shrank to a mere subconscious alertness to any possible clue until a few months ago. A careful resorting of A. H. Turnbull's correspondence and accounts then brought to light a most dramatic letter from Hocken to Turnbull written only three months before his death and six months after the publication of the bibliography; a letter which from its significance in a number of contexts had almost culpably not been available to Dr E. H. McCormick when preparing his lectures on *The fascinating folly* in 1960. It is given in full:

Dunedin, Feb 28/10

My dear Turnbull,

I must not allow a second of your kind letters to pass unanswered though I am in a sadly crippled condition & do not know what the end may be. However I can & do still do some work though mostly in bed. I am very pleased that you derive so much assistance from my bibliography which I am quite sure is of great value. I was somewhat annoyed & still more so as unable to answer from illness that odd & curious criticism of Collier's in the — I forget what. He took & gave in the same breath. A most jealous spirit seems to have pervaded him — very very different from the correspondence I had with him before ever he commenced his bib. 25 years ago when I offered to work conjointly with him. Fortunately I kept this correspondence, not certainly with the least idea that it might ever prove useful but simply as a pleasant reminiscence of what an able man like himself might say on the whole subject. His solar myth business I was on the ace of rejecting as it is now virtually valueless & superseded but at the time I was pushed for time to make further research & as the matter was of no great importance I accepted his remarks. I thought he was dead until at the last moment his 'Sir G. Grey' appeared which whilst interesting appears to me to be unfinished & somewhat erratic. Still the book did not profess to be more than a sketch of some incidents in his life. I hope in about 10 days to begin forwarding the collection to its final home. Still it is a great regret that I cannot superintendent its proper distribution — especially the pictures. Few can understand this but you will most thoroughly. I was sorry indeed to pass twice through Wellington without seeing you — the first time I have ever done such a thing. But I was simply unable & had to

remain on board. You know how much I should enjoy a long talk & browse with you. Let us hope the day may come again. I forbear to ask you questions.

Ever your sincerely my dear Turnbull
T. M. Hocken¹⁰

Most regrettably, the day was not to come again — and one would like to think that the strain of Collier's criticism did not hasten the end. But where was the review? The tantalising reference to the '... criticism of Collier's in the — I forget what' began a widespread search for the likely resting place. After all, Collier had been long resident in Australia and his contact with New Zealand must, by now, have been tenuous. The review was just as likely to have been published in Australia as in New Zealand. It was clearly not in a well-known publication for Hocken even in sickness was too keen a bibliographer to fall a victim to 'active forgetting' in such a case. However, after the tedious elimination of the obvious and the less obvious the inspired curiosity of a staff member led her to take off the shelf the single volume of a small periodical, *The Citizen*, which existed only for 23 numbers in 1909. It was published and edited by a young journalist, Arthur Nelson Field later a well-known *Dominion* newspaper columnist, 'T.D.H.' and later still the protagonist of unpopular and unorthodox economic and political theories. His invitation to Collier was, however, perceptive editing. He pointed out in the anonymous introduction to the review, that the bibliography had received only perfunctory notice from the daily press and *The Citizen* was now able to make a 'critical appraisal' of it. The article was therefore 'a review of the work of one expert by another.'¹¹

Collier wrote in a crisp, fluent style which as he approached the climax of his argument reached a pitch of almost oratorical intensity. Collier (1847-1925), it may be recalled, although not a graduate, had been educated at St. Andrews and Edinburgh Universities and had been in the 1870s the research assistant and later collaborator of Herbert Spencer in the latter's *Descriptive sociology*. A breakdown in 1876 left him incapacitated for some years and his coming to New Zealand in the early 1880s was a move in search of health. Although only four years Chief Librarian (1885-1889) of the General Assembly Library, by New Zealand standards his experience and scholarship were formidable as was his achievement in completing and publishing his bibliography in the last year of his brief service. Hocken's criticism of Collier's biography of Sir George Grey was accurate and just while his *Pastoral age in Australasia* published in 1911 dealt only with Australia, an interesting point in view of his strictures shortly to be noted on Hocken for interpreting the scope of his work quite differently from the implications of its title.

Collier in the review began by outlining briefly some European and American bibliographies and then passed to New Zealand:

We have manfully done our part in these remote regions. Australia has catalogued down to a recent date all the publications relating to Australia¹², and it was a great achievement, even if only the titles of the books were given. New Zealand ahead of her contemporaries here as in so much else, has done a great deal for her literature. Only mentioning the useful lists in Thomson's and Wakefield's works and Mr Davis's fuller catalogue, the writer may be permitted to acknowledge a royal octavo issued by the Government just twenty years ago. It was really the first bibliography of that literature. Depending largely on the excellent, but incomplete, collection in the Parliamentary Library, he went in chase of books to be found in other collections, or noted down what he could learn of inaccessible works. Acquaintances in the colony and friends abroad strenuously aided him, especially in the mazes of German literature. His plan included an account of each book in some detail; sometimes a critical appraisal of it; indications about the author and recovery of his name, if the book were anonymous; the circumstances under which it was written, if these were significant... Besides two separate indexes of authors and titles, there was a classified catalogue, where not only books, but their contents were distributed under a series of headings....

The possessor of the completest collection of New Zealandiana in existence — a collection now generously bestowed on the University of Otago — has resumed the never-to-be-finished task. All the leisure of a busy professional life has been lavished on the patriotic duty of fitting himself to be the bibliographer of New Zealand. In fulfilment of it he has gathered together from every source all the books, maps, charts, manuscripts, letters and curios that could throw light on the history of the colony. He has ransacked public libraries and private collections. He has interviewed every person in the Dominion of any importance.... In 1903 he spent some months at the Record Office tabulating the correspondence of the New Zealand Company and the documents connected with its eventful history.... Minute researches among the other *incunabula* of New Zealand have made of him an expert. A more highly qualified bibliographer could not be found.

Collier then proceeded to join issue with Hocken over the scope of the bibliography claiming that the discrepancy between the size of his own work and that of the Doctor's was due not merely to the new items included but because Hocken's work included not merely the literature relating to New Zealand (the scope of Collier's and the title-page definition of Hocken's) but also the literature published in it, whether or not of any specific New Zealand association. 'The first of Dr Hocken's loans from his predecessor,' Collier wrote, 'is to be found on the title-page. I had named my compilation *The literature relating to New Zealand: a Bibliography*, and rightly, because only publications relating to New Zealand are included in it. Dr Hocken similarly calls his work *A Bibliography of the Literature Relating to New Zealand*. The title is a complete misnomer. The doctor has spread a wider net than mine, with smaller loops, which nothing published in New Zealand is allowed to escape. ... I cannot help thinking that this extreme inclusiveness is a mistaken policy.' He objected also to the inclusion of non-New Zealand works by authors such as E. G. Wakefield and A. Domett many of

whose titles he considered irrelevant. He noted, too, that in his own bibliography he had catalogued only those sections of general works which related to New Zealand whereas Hocken had transcribed fully the entire contents of many Pacific voyages. Maori literature he thought should be elsewhere although he admitted that in strict interpretation of Hocken's running title, *Bibliography of New Zealand Literature* it had a place.

Having warmed up on points of logic, very proper in one who had been the amanuensis of Herbert Spencer, he proceeded to exercise the real sinews of his criticism:

Save in the particulars I have mentioned, Dr Hocken's plan is the same as my own in all respects. His original design was to make the accurate transcription of titles suffice. From his immediate predecessor he borrowed the idea of adding such notes as appear in my Bibliography. He has done it with a plenitude of information, personal and historical, such as he alone possesses. He rightly claims that he has shed many side-lights on the history of the colony, and has shot a dry catalogue, which otherwise would have been a Barmecide feast, with bright scarlet threads of history and biography. What could, for example, be more pathetic than the accounts of the various literary adventures of J. G. S. Grant.... The book abounds in such sketches. Nothing but unstinted praise can be extended to the whole of Dr Hocken's work in this department. I have but one exception to take to it. Some of the notes, and these among the more important, are devoid of originality in places where originality is implicitly claimed. I find no fault with his adapting from my note on Schirren's work the reference to the English and German editions of Hochstetter's book on New Zealand. It is a small matter that he should take from me his account of Louis Reybaud's article on New Zealand as long ago as 1840. It is little that he should have extracted after me, the portions of *Cassell's Picturesque Atlas of Australasia* relating to New Zealand. It is a light thing that he should have transcribed the titles of the French and English versions of an essay by Alphonse Esquiros, and again used my very words in describing it. Nor is it, perhaps, of much importance that he should have carried off bodily the notes I appended to two works of Andrew Long [sic], with reference to other English publications on their subjects and to French and German books.... Other conveyances appear still more questionable. Dr Hocken has verbally appropriated, without a word of acknowledgement, my analysis of Lesson's work on the Polynesians, which it cost some labour to make. I spent no little time in cataloguing Quatrefagues' various works on the same race, and in giving the gist of his theories on its origin; but the whole of the rather long note in which I have condensed his views has been similarly annexed. All such notes (and they are numerous) should have been printed within inverted commas, with the name of their author appended to them. At present they figure as of Dr Hocken's authorship, and no one is to know that he had not even seen the erudite works he will seem to have analysed.

What substance was there in Collier's contention? One obvious borrowing, has long been familiar to users of both, namely Hocken's transcription of the unseen asterisked entries in Collier. Collier in his very brief introductory note makes the signification of the asterisk quite clear — it is prefixed to items which he 'has had no opportunity of examining.' In Hocken's bibliography it is inferentially clear that the mark has the same meaning but this is nowhere explained. This may

have been merely an oversight by the Government Printer but it covers hundreds of entries chiefly those which Collier obtained from Poole's Index and from Dr Scheppig of Kiel. Presumably when Collier saw the Doctor's preliminary work twenty years earlier the entries were without notes or he would not have so confidently made the charge in the beginning of the lengthy quotation above that this idea Hocken had borrowed from the reviewer. Again, where Hocken has used the exact words of Collier in an annotation he should have inserted quotes although as Collier himself acknowledged Hocken's own wide knowledge and industry enabled him to make an infinitely greater number of useful notes than the few which he borrowed.

What of the examples specifically quoted? The first Schirren (Collier, p 63; Hocken, p 185) is not clear-cut although it appears that Hocken has much shortened and paraphrased the note of his predecessor while adding to the example the names of Percy Smith, Fornander and others. The book is not in the Trimble catalogue of the Hocken Library which does not necessarily prove anything while the section of the note to which Collier took exception that relating to Hochstetter has been recast and could have been done from the original work. The second example Reybaud (Collier, p 28; Hocken, p 90) is a clear paraphrased borrowing for Collier has seen the work but Hocken has inserted an asterisk. In the case of *Cassell's Picturesque Atlas ...* a common work readily available to both, all that Hocken appears to have done is to summarise in his own words the New Zealand sections of the book. Here, however, Collier may be correct for he, Collier, overlooked in Vol 2, *Wellington and its surroundings* as, more significantly did Hocken also. The note under Esquiros (Collier, p 78; Hocken, p 216) in the second work is a clear borrowing, as there is also in the second Andrew Lang reference (Collier, p 164; Hocken, p 380) but not in the first (Collier, p 153; Hocken, p 353) where Hocken's rewording implies at least a reference to an intermediate source if not the original.

What then is a considered judgement? It would have been better in some instances to have used quotation marks and it was unfortunate that the explanation of the asterisk was not given. Collier may have made over-much of the borrowings and Hocken in his last sickness was over-concerned. Merely to claim one's own is not to be pervaded by a jealous spirit. And Collier continued to conclude on a note of unqualified praise... 'The careful collations of difficult works are beyond praise. Errors of any moment are non-existent.' And in that same mood we may leave the controversy. A. G. B.

REFERENCES

- ¹ *Evening Post*, 3 April 1909.
- ² Secretary, Royal Colonial Institute to Colonial Secretary, NZ 7 March 1895, re listing of NZ publications and reply on file Col.Sec. 95/1063. Col.Sec. 96/1649.

As in numerous other instances I am indebted to Miss J. Hornabrook, National Archives, for locating the papers and to the Chief Archivist, Mr J. D. Pascoe, for permission to publish them.

- ⁴ Hocken to Hall-Jones 20 February 1906, on 96/1649.
- ⁵ Hall-Jones minute on above, 23 February 1906.
- ⁶ Wilson to Hall-Jones, 22 February 1906, *ibid.*
- ⁷ Minute, Hall-Jones, 3 August 1906, *ibid.* and Cabinet approval, *ibid.* 28 June 1906.
- ⁸ *Evening Post*, 19 August 1909; reference to the bibliography '...on the point of being issued from the Government Printing Office'.
- ⁹ eg *New Zealand Times*, 28 August 1909; *Evening Post*, 21 August 1909; *Otago Daily Times*, 14 August 1909, and *Sydney Bulletin*, 7 October 1909.
- ¹⁰ Hocken to Turnbull, 28 February 1910, in A.T.L.
- ¹¹ *The literature of New Zealand; A criticism and a protest in The Citizen*, 24 October 1909, p 485-6. Lacking as we still do indexes to so many New Zealand periodicals the happy inspiration of Miss M. Walton curtailed an otherwise lengthy search.

NOTE ON MANUSCRIPT ACCESSIONS

It is proposed that henceforth the more important additions to the Library's holdings of manuscript should be noted regularly in the *Record*. Individual pieces are being acquired continuously by donation or purchase and it is practicable to list selectively only groups or collections of some size or on which staff have been working for some time in the compilation of the necessary inventories. It is hoped that next year a loose-leaf edition of the Library's holdings will be available. This will be a preliminary to a fuller printed catalogue to be published as part of the Library's 1970 jubilee programme.

The following items are a selection made without prejudice to the many smaller individual pieces of equal significance in their own fields which it has been necessary to omit.

ASHWORTH Edward, 1814-1896

Journals, 1841-1845 3v. illustrated. Various sizes.

Part Diary, part reminiscence concerning Ashworth's voyage to New Zealand, fifteen months stay in Auckland, three months sojourn in Sydney, voyage to and residence in Hong Kong. Ashworth was an architect and surveyor; one notebook is illustrated with his paintings of scenes in Australia, New Zealand and at sea.

BARRIF Sir James Matthew, 1860-1937

The boy David; a play in 3 acts. 150 l. 26cm.

Typescript, bearing earlier title: *The two farmers*. Author's own copy, extensively annotated by him.

Includes 2p. MS, and MS letter from Peter Davies, publisher (Barrie's executor) to Mrs C. L. Murray whose late husband was Barrie's nephew.

BENNETT George, Lieut., 1808-1845

Journal, 1838-1845. 176 l, ca. 22 blank l. 21 cm.

Describes Bennett's experiences travelling and surveying in Ireland 1838-40; voyage to Sydney, 1841, on the *Lady Clarke*; brief stay in Sydney; voyage to New Zealand in 1842; impressions of Kororareka and Russell; residence in Auckland and Wellington.

BULLER Walter Lawry, 1838-1906

Letter books and account books, 1877-1892. 15v. 37cm.

10v. of letter books, 1877-92, and 5v. of account books, 1878-85, all from period when Buller, as senior partner in firm of Buller, (Lewis) & Gully, barristers & solicitors, was engaged largely in Maori Land Court work.

CARNEGIE Andrew, 1835-1919

New Zealand library applications. Photocopies. 2v.

Applications ca. 1900-25 from New Zealand Local Authorities to Andrew Carnegie for grants to erect library buildings.

Includes typed inventory.

Original on 16mm microfilm supplied, 1966, by Carnegie Corporation of New York.

GIFFORD Algernon Charles, 1862-1948

Gifford-Bickerton papers, 1877-1946. 9ft.

Papers of A. C. Gifford and A. W. Bickerton, whose common interest was Astronomy. Gifford's other interests include Shakespeare authorship, Social Credit, tramping in Te Anau-Milford area, Christ's College, and Wellington College.

Professor Bickerton's papers, which, after his death, were sent to A. C. Gifford, include 29 vols. of journal, 1911-28, concerned with astronomical matters, problems of advancing age, and daily activities. Large mass of articles and notes relates mainly to astronomy, but refers, too, to his dismissal from the academic staff of Canterbury University College by the College Board of Governors, 1895.

RANSTEAD William, 1860-1944

Additional papers. ca. 18 ins.

Correspondence, newspaper cuttings, photographs, concerned with the history of the *Clarion* newspaper and those associated with it; the Socialist Soup Van; the Toynbee Hall Lectures; the *Clarion* settlers who emigrated to New Zealand in 1900; Keir Hardie's visit to New Zealand; Labour Churches in England and New Zealand.

RED CROSS. New Zealand Red Cross Society

Correspondence, ca. 1941-1945. 5ft.

Mainly files of correspondence of the Prisoners of War Enquiry Office of the Society which are concerned with the tracing of New Zealand prisoners of war and of civilian internees. Included is correspondence with the Australian Red Cross, International Red Cross, Geneva, New Zealand Base Records, Wellington, New Zealand Red Cross branches and subcentres, the offices of the New Zealand Prime Minister and High Commissioner (London), and with relatives making enquiries.

REEVES family

Commonplace and birthday book, 1865-, ca. 800 pages, 21 cm.

Many of the birthday entries are autograph signatures. Contains five photographs, including one of Risingholme.

PETCH Robert, 1852-?

Papers. 1876-1882. 41 items.

Outward correspondence to his family in England from Kakarama in the Taranaki Province where Petch initially bought land but was ultimately forced to sell at a loss. The letters, scattered with anecdotes of local interest, give a very full impression of early Colonial life in a fast growing settlement, still under the influence of uncertain Maori-Pakeha relations, with emphasis on domestic, agricultural and economic establishment.

SELWYN George Augustus, Bishop, 1809–1878
Letter book of Bishop Selwyn, 1841–1845; copies in various hands.
iv. unpag. 26 cm. illustrated.

Mainly copies of letters written by Bishop Selwyn to his family in England, including one to the Reverend E. S. Coleridge. Describes his voyage to New Zealand on the *Tomatin*, and his ecclesiastical visitations throughout New Zealand, including commentary on landscape and native habitat, with emphasis on preaching and teaching carried out amongst the natives, the establishing of mission stations, especially the Waimate, and on the attack made on Heke's pa and the sacking of Kororareka. Includes letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury, short extracts from the letters of H. and W. Williams and copies of newspaper reports on Bishop Selwyn's activities in Australia and New Zealand. There are illustrations, possibly by Caroline Abraham.

TURNER Henry J. fl. 1869–1872
Papers, 1869–1872. 8 items.

Outward correspondence from Cambridge, Waikato where Turner worked as a stockrider and on a flax mill, written to his mother and brother in England. The letters include references to economic and agricultural conditions and to the shortage of Anglican Clergy in New Zealand, with some emphasis on troubled relations existing between Maori and Pakeha, and on the system of unofficial land sale.

TURNBULL Walter, 1823–1897
Original journal and notes of Mr and Mrs Walter Turnbull, 1857–1880. Account books of John Turnbull, 1825–1853. 2 vols. ports. 22 cm. Contains: diaries of Turnbull's voyage to New Zealand, 1857, on the *John McVicar*, a letter written by his wife to a friend, journal kept on a voyage from Wellington to London, 1870, on the *Halcione*, a brief biographical sketch, 1872, and a family history, two journals kept on board the *Nemesis* on a voyage from London, 1876, four letters written to his wife on a voyage from London to Wellington, 1880, and account books, with personal notes, of John Turnbull (father of Walter), 1825–1853. Includes photos of John, Walter and Alexandrina Turnbull.

WORSLEY Frank Arthur, 1872–1943
Diary and logs relating to the British Arctic Expedition 1925, under the leadership of Captain F. A. Worsley and Grettir Algrarsson. 3 vols. 37 cm.

Diary and logs kept on the Brig *Island*, during the last Polar expedition in a sailing ship. Includes: rough log kept by Worsley, containing historical notes on the Franz Josef Archipelago and records of the ship's day-to-day position: Worsley's personal diary, with notes on preparations for the voyage, humorous anecdotes, detailed descriptions of Arctic regions, particularly of Franz Josef Land, with some emphasis on marine and wildlife and on passages made through pack ice. These

diaries have been the basis of Worsley: *Under sail in the frozen North*, London 1927: official log kept by F. W. Dunn-Taylor.

WRIGHT Sydney Evelyn, 1825-1897
Journals, 1839-1894. 12 v. various sizes.
First six volumes concerned mainly with life at sea, but include (Vol. 3) 1841-1844, a period of nine months in New Plymouth. The daily round in Lyttelton, Christchurch and Wellington in later volumes. Vol. 11 is a journal of a period in Burma in 1848. Vol. 12 is miscellaneous papers, logs etc.

Of the papers listed, the Ashworth Collection is being typed and editorial work towards publication has been undertaken by Mrs I. M. Winchester. The Endowment Trust has also decided that the Bennett Journal should be published. This will be put in hand as soon as essential editorial work has been completed. In amplification of the formal entry for the Gifford-Bickerton papers, it may be mentioned that Mr Gifford, who was a master at Wellington College for 32 years and an astronomer with a reputation far beyond New Zealand, preserved a life-time's inward correspondence — personal as well as that concerning his work and interests (the College, astronomy, the authorship of Shakespeare, tramping). He received the papers of Professor Bickerton after the latter's death, and these came to us also. Apart from a great deal of astronomical material, Professor Bickerton's 29 large volumes of diary-journal, will be a goldmine for a biographer, and still rich for students of a wide range of scientific and historical subjects both in England and in New Zealand.

The Ramsden papers, referred to in the *Turnbull Library Record XV*: p. 13, have arrived at the Library in separate lots, over a fairly long period. They have now been provisionally sorted, and are relatively accessible. Mr Ramsden's drafts of his uncompleted biographies of Sir Peter Buck, Sir Apirana Ngata and Princess Te Puea are naturally subject to copyright limitations but the associated background material is a rich collection of papers indeed, containing much personal and biographical matter, and — the outstanding feature — both sides of a long, full, and regular correspondence between Buck and Ngata. As a record of the thoughts, activities and personal interaction of two great Maoris, this surviving correspondence is as yet unique.

M. S.

RECENT ACQUISITIONS TO THE ART COLLECTION

Apart from the Swainson Drawings covered in the last number and the Ashworth Journals and Sketches — to be discussed in detail at a later date — the major addition has been Charles Meryon's large drawing of the death of Marion du Fresne, at the Bay of Islands on 12 June 1772. This picture was generously presented to New Zealand by the Australian Government — together with a Sidney Nolan landscape, deposited in the National Art Gallery — to mark the visit of Mr Holt, the Prime Minister of Australia, last February. It came from the Rex Nan Kivell Collection in the Australian National Library, and was last seen in this country in 1953-54 when a selection of the Nan Kivell paintings was sent on tour by the Turnbull Library on behalf of the Department of Internal Affairs. The picture is perhaps of greater historical importance because of the artist than of his subject. It is believed to have been made about 1850, after Meryon had abandoned painting and was turning towards etching: in this latter field he was to become recognized, posthumously, as France's master in the nineteenth century. Meryon has a particular interest for New Zealand as he was stationed at Akaroa in the corvette *Le Rhin* from 1843-46. His etchings of Akaroa in 1845 are well known. They have been on exhibition at the Library with his *Mort de Marion du Fresne*, which will later be displayed in the main centres.

The Library was most fortunate to purchase at Sotheby's one of the few known oils by Augustus Earle. It depicts the young chief Te Rangituke, of Kawakawa, with his wife and son. The painting is being cleaned and restored in London before being sent out.

Generous donations have included a collection of sketchbooks and drawings by Frances Hodgkins and her sister, Mrs Field, presented by members of the Field family, and covering chiefly scenes in the South island; a collection of sketchbooks and watercolours by the Lysaght sisters, of views in Taranaki, South Canterbury and the Chatham Islands, presented by Miss Josephine Whitehorn on behalf of the estate of the late John L. Moore, the well-known artist; and a large number of watercolours of the Hutt Valley, Lake Manapouri and Oamaru by A. C. Gifford, presented by his son and daughter.

A number of pictures have been purchased by private treaty, and at auction in New Zealand, London and Sydney. Among several of the more significant items may be mentioned a series of eight historically useful sepia wash sketches of Auckland in the eighteen-sixties, by J. B. C. Hoyte; a water-colour by C. Aubrey of Masterton in 1891; a wash sketch of the Hutt Valley from the Rimutaku road, by Nicholas Chevalier; an engraving by J. T. Johnston of the baptism of Te Ngahue at Te Ariki in 1876; and a collection of thirty-seven engravings, being portraits, chiefly of Cook and of Banks, with a few of other noted explorers.

A. A. St. C. M. M.-O.

THE FRIENDS OF THE TURNBULL LIBRARY

The Society known as the Friends of the Turnbull Library was established in 1939. The objects of the Society are to promote interest in the Alexander Turnbull Library, to assist in the extension of its collections, and to be a means of interchange of information relating to English literature, to the history, literature, and art of New Zealand and the Pacific, and to all matters of interest to book-lovers. The Society carries out its objects chiefly by means of periodic meetings and the production of publications, of which the *Turnbull Library Record* is the main one. Correspondence and enquiries regarding membership should be addressed to the Secretary, The Friends of the Turnbull Library, Alexander Turnbull Library, Box 8016, Wellington.

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SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM THE ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

Published for the Library by the Government Printer:

McCORMICK, E. H. — *Tasman and New Zealand: a bibliographical study*. (Bulletin number 14) 1959. 72p, plates 75c.

MARKHAM, Edward — *New Zealand or Recollections of It*, edited with an introduction by E. H. McCormick. (Monograph series, number 1) 1963. 114p illus. (some plates in colour) \$3.00.

BEST, A. D. W. — *The Journal of Ensign Best, 1837-1843*, edited with an introduction and notes by Nancy M. Taylor, (Monograph series, number 2) 1966. 465p plates (col. frontis.) \$3.50.

Published by the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust Board:

The FOX PRINTS 1965

issued in 1966 in an edition of 2,500 numbered copies of each of three reproductions in colour from watercolours by Sir William Fox, sometime Premier of New Zealand. This is the third in the Library's annual series of sets of prints. Two scenes are in the Lake Rotoiti and the Matakaitaki areas of Nelson in 1846: the third is of Otaraia Pa on the Ruamahanga River in the Wairarapa, in 1847. The coloured surface of each print measures approximately 9 x 12 inches. The reproductions sell at \$2 each, singly or in sets, with a descriptive leaflet.

FOX, Sir William — *A Portfolio of Six Views*,

taken from the original watercolours, three being in the Turnbull collections, three in the Wilkie Loan Collection of Fox watercolours; with an accompanying brochure by Dr E. H. McCormick. The views cover Kaiteriteri, 1846; Lake Rotoroa, 1846; the Tiraumea river, 1846; Tuakau, Lower Waikato, 1864; Hokitika, 1872; and Pohaturua rock, Taupo, 1874. The portfolio measures approximately 14½ x 18½ inches, overall. The edition is of 2,000 copies. The prints are not sold singly. The price is \$10.00 a set.

The BARRAUD PRINTS 1967:

in an edition of 2,500 numbered copies of each of three reproductions in colour from watercolours by C. D. Barraud. The views are of *Wellington (from Brooklyn) 1861*; *On Lake Papaitonga, Horowhenua, ca. 1863*; and *The Barracks, Bluff Hill, Napier, ca. 1864*. They are expected to be available in mid-December. The sets will be available in a folder with a page of notes. Sold singly or in sets, the prints will cost \$2.00 each.

Published by the Friends of the Turnbull Library:

Captain James Cook's chart of New Zealand (1769-70), reproduced from the original in the British Museum by courtesy of the Trustees. Approximately 14 x 14 inches. Price 20c.