THE TURNBULL LIBRARY RECORD

WELLINGTON NEW ZEALAND
THE FRIENDS OF THE TURNBULL LIBRARY
October 1969
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CONTENTS

JOHN GEORGE COOKE AND HIS LITERARY CONNECTIONS

A number of the New Zealand Company settlers had literary connections. Browning's friendship with the cousins William Curling Young and Alfred Domett may be cited; Charles Armitage Brown, friend of Keats, ended his days in New Plymouth; Thomas, brother of Matthew Arnold, enlivened Nelson for a short time; and Mary Taylor, friend of Charlotte Bronte, climbed up Mount Victoria at Wellington in 1848 to watch for a ship which might take to Yorkshire her appreciation of *Jane Eyre*.

One such settler not previously noted is John George Cooke, who makes several quite dramatic appearances in the margins of literary history. In addition to associations with Trelawny, the friend of Shelley and Byron, with Armitage Brown, and with the Carlyles at Cheyne Row, Chelsea, Cooke had the distinction of being a relation of Jane Austen. It seems therefore worthwhile to assemble here some of the facts of his life.

The Cookes were from Devon, where they had been landowners and shipowners at Kenbury and Topsham. A seventeenth-century ancestor, Francis Cooke, was made a Canon of Winchester by the patronage of Bishop Trelawny. By 1750, John George's grandfather was established at Greenwich as Treasurer of the Hospital. One of his sons, John, who became a noted naval captain and died heroically on the *Bellerophon* at Trafalgar, merits an entry in the *DNB*. The eldest son, Christopher, born 1759, was a Naval Agent, and profiting greatly by the French Wars, bought himself a country estate, Ashgrove, at Sevenoaks, Kent, and set up there as a landed gentleman. His first wife, sister of Admiral Sir Manley Dixon, died in 1806. He then found a second wife in the household of his neighbour, Francis Motley Austen of Kippington. She was Elizabeth Austen, the second daughter, by this time a widow with two children. Her second marriage in 1810 to Christopher Cooke brought her six more.

Here, then, is one link between Jane Austen the novelist and John George Cooke. Mrs Cooke's father, Francis Motley Austen, was cousin to Jane Austen's father, the Reverend George Austen of Steventon. It was Mrs Cooke's grandfather, Francis Austen, who had given his young nephew George a chance in life when the boy was left destitute in 1737 by his father's early death. Francis sent George Austen to Tonbridge school, 'whence he became a Scholar of St John's College, Oxford,' says Chapman.[1] 'He was later a Fellow of his College, and taking orders obtained in 1761 the living of Steventon by presentation from his kinsman Thomas Knight of Godmersham.'

In 1764 the Reverend George Austen married Cassandra Leigh, and had eight children, of whom Jane was the seventh, bracketed by her sailor brothers Francis and Charles. The eldest son James carried on the family name, later Austen-Leigh. The third son Edward was adopted by his Knight relations, assumed their name, and in due course inherited their estates as Edward Knight of Godmersham and Chawton. (See Tables).

Meanwhile 'Kind Uncle Francis' had also married; his son Francis Motley Austen, George's cousin, married in his turn. Of Motley's large family, six concern us here, Thomas, Jane, Frances, John, George and Elizabeth.

Thomas became Colonel Thomas Austen, later MP for Kent 1845–7; his second wife (m 1826) was sister to Cardinal Manning, and a relation by marriage of John Abel Smith. Jane married William John Campion of Danny whose mother was a Heathcote, and had sons William, Heathcote, and George. Frances married in 1808 Captain William Holcroft of the Royal Artillery, a match which Jane Austen, in a cousinly comment, described as 'misconduct'.[2] Her grandson George Holcroft (b 1832) came to New Zealand in 1871.[3]

John went into the Church, was presented to the living of Chevening, and inherited the family estate of John Austen of Broadford.[4] A son, Charles Wilson Austen, rose to be Lieutenant-Colonel, and died commanding the 14th Regiment at the Siege of Rangiriri, Auckland, in 1863. George Lennard Austen, the fifth son, entered the family firm of solicitors, Austen and Holcroft of Sevenoaks, and married Harriett Hughes.

Elizabeth Motley Austen's first marriage was to Colonel William Skyring (d 1806) by whom she had two daughters, Elizabeth and Emily Mary. Elizabeth Skyring married Major John Longley; after his death she remarried in 1843 Sir John Easthope of the *Morning Chronicle*. Emily Mary Skyring married Frederick Torrens, son of Sir Henry Torrens, and an officer in the Welsh Fusiliers.

In Elizabeth Austen's second marriage to Christopher Cooke, John George, born 1819, was the second son and fifth child.

In 1876, long after his return from New Zealand, John George Cooke compiled what he called 'Reminiscences. Excerpta de ma vie. Souvenirs'., covering his family background and life up to 1850. This, a typescript, is held at Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, the original being owned by Rear Admiral A. D. Torlesse, Hants., England. There were, it seems, other journals also, likewise lost. From internal evidence, the Reminiscences were written for Cooke's stepson Edward Ward, son of Crosbie Ward whose widow married Cooke in 1868.

The Reminiscences give a delightful picture of Cooke's boyhood. In 1819, his father sold Ashgrove – the hounds and their huntsman went

into the service of the Prince Regent – and retired to East End House, Alresford. This little town lies at the lower point of a small triangle completed by Steventon and Chawton, both of Jane Austen relevance. (See ordinance map at p 523 of Chapman's edition of the *Letters*.) The constant visiting among the Austen kin which is so noticeable a feature of Jane's correspondence continued after her death, and Cooke recalls many day-long journeys into Kent or Sussex, travelling with the 'large family coach with box seat and rumble behind, which held six and eight people, a Barouche holding six, and the pony chaise', to stay at Kippington, or Danny, or Chevening. He preferred the Hampshire Austens to his own branch, however. 'The Austens of Sevenoaks and Kent generally are an eminently disagreeable and consequential race', he wrote, making an exception only of 'our kindest and favourite relatives, uncle and Mrs George Austen of Sevenoaks'. This view is confirmed by the critical tone of Jane Austen's references to the Motley Austens and her 'connections in West Kent'.[5]

Mrs George Lennard Austen, the favourite aunt, born Harriett Hughes, was doubly related to John George Cooke, for she was the niece of Louisa Hardy, who had married John George's uncle the heroic Captain John Cooke. She was, moreover, doubly linked to the Austens, not only through her husband, but through her brother, George William Hughes, later (1808) Hughes-d'Aeth, who in 1816 married Harriet Knatchbull. When in 1820 Harriett's brother Sir Edward Knatchbull, 9th Baronet, married Fanny, Jane's most loved niece, and daughter of Edward (Austen) Knight, a pretty tangle of cross connections was set up. (See Tables).

To clarify the Austen record, we must at this point distinguish two families called Cooke, both cousins of Jane's parents. Our John George Cooke's family claimed cousinship with Jane's father; but Jane's mother had a cousin Cassandra Leigh, who married the Reverend Samuel Cooke. He and his children Theophilus, George and Mary often appear in Jane's letters. Jane does not mention the Cookes on her father's side, but notes other members of that family, Francis Motley Austen and his wife, and Harriett Lennard Austen their cousin, Colonel Thomas Austen and his first wife, the Reverend John Austen of Chevening, and young Frances Austen, whose marriage to Captain Holcroft in 1808 provoked the comment already quoted.

Among other relations whom Cooke mentions in boyhood are his cousins William, Heathcote, and George Campion, William Holcroft, Edward Bridges Rice (grandson of Edward Knight), and Captain George Dixon, the last connected through his father's first marriage. New Zealand interest attaches to his friends the Greenwoods of nearby Bramdean, for one of the brothers, Robert, ultimately emigrated to Taranaki in 1850,[6] and a sister, Emily, had married the Cookes' great

friend Charles Biggs Calmady of Langdon Hall, near Plymouth, a promoter of the West of England colonising schemes. Other family friends were the Portals of Laverstoke, and Charles Holte Bracebridge of Atherstone Hall, Warwick, with his relatives the Wingfields and Digbys. And in lonely schooldays near Madehurst, the boy found kindness at Dale Park, for John Abel Smith was 'a friend of my uncle Colonel Austen'. (Smith's cousin Caroline had married the Reverend H. E. Manning, later Cardinal, the brother of Thomas Austen's second wife.)

At Christmas 1829, there was a big family party at East End House, when as Cooke recalled, 'the Greenwoods and my mother's cousin Edward Knight of Chawton came over to skate on the great pond or lake at Alresford . . . Our Christmas festivities were very joyous, we had Carol singers, small and great, and the village band and a set of mummers, who were wont to go round in masquerade playing a curious old mystery or play in which Father Christmas, the Lord of Misrule, St George, his six companions and the Dragon played parts. We had all the good old games and our private theatricals, where my sisters played parts in Miss Edgeworth's "Old Poz" and "Alfred the Saxon in the Dane's Camp", and my father, who had an excellent voice, used to sing some of the most excellent long-since-forgotten ballads, and also for our amusement blackened his face and enacted a nigger with great unction.'

The Knights of Godmersham and of Chawton, like the Greenwoods of Bramdean, come into the New Zealand story. The Reverend William Knight, son of Edward and brother therefore to Fanny Lady Knatchbull, held the living of Steventon, as his grandfather had done. He married Caroline Portal; in 1852 two of his sons, Richard and Arthur Charles, emigrated to Canterbury and established a run on the Selwyn River. Understandably, they called it Steventon. Arthur soon moved to Banks Peninsula, but Richard remained until 1866, when he sold out to F. N. Broome, husband of Lady Barker. It is the Steventon run which she describes in *Station Life* and *Station Amusements,* (1870, 1873).

Schooling over, in 1832 Cooke entered the Royal Naval College at Portsmouth. Here he visited his relations, 'Admiral Sir Francis Austen and Captain Charles Austen . . . own brothers to my beloved Jane Austen, whose works I know by heart.' They were, he noted, 'very unlike the other branch of Austens, our nearer relations in Kent, for they were liberal, amiable and well read'.

Christopher Cooke died in 1833, leaving a fortune of £100,000. In 1834 John George began his naval service as first midshipman on the *Portland* which was stationed in the Mediterranean. It was at this time that he met Arthur Wakefield, then First Lieutenant on the *Thunderer*;

at this time, too, he picked up that extraordinary story about Shelley's friend 'Pirate' Trelawny which he recalled in a letter of 1878, and which gained currency through its publication in William Sharp's *The Life and Letters of Joseph Severn,* 1892. Since this is one of Cooke's major appearances in the margins of literary reference, I give here a substantial portion of the text.

Edward John Trelawny was an intimate friend of both Shelley and Byron, and was with them on that Italian sailing expedition which ended so disastrously with Shelley's death. It was Trelawny who cremated Shelley's body in the funeral ceremony on the beach. This was 1822; in 1824, Trelawny was in Greece with Byron, and was at his death also. Cooke's letter is addressed to Walter Severn, son of Joseph, who was collecting materials about his father's life and friends.

'June 29th, 1878

'As touching your request to write any news of Trelawny, "Pirate" Trelawny, or others connected with the Byronic, Shelley or Keats period, I fear I can give you nothing very interesting. J. E. Trelawny – if he were fourteen at the battle of Trafalgar, which he missed seeing owing to the supineness, as it has been stated, of his Admiral, Duckworth, in getting to sea and joining the Fleet under Lord Nelson and Collingwood – must now be eighty-seven years old, is, I believe, very hale and strong. Some four years have elapsed since I used to see him at the Turkish Baths at Brompton, and a finer specimen of a man of his age, it would be hard to see; he peeled as clean and muscular as a man of fifty. Your father will have two years ago read the remarkable testimony of an Italian boatman, at Spezzia, I think, who related to his, Trelawny's, daughter Letitia, the story current in that part of Italy that Shelley's yacht had been run down by a fishing-boat, no doubt with villainous intent, as they had heard and believed Lord Byron with money was on board the yacht with Mr Shelley and Captain Williams. It sounded *vero,* if not *ben trovato.*

'. . . Did I ever tell you a wonderful story – no doubt there were hundreds extant some forty years ago – which I heard when a midshipman in the Mediterranean in 1835, not so very long after the Greek War of Independence, when Trelawny distinguished himself? It is a curious and rather a ghastly story. Your father will well remember that when Trelawny was in Greece he lived *maritalement* with a daughter of the great Greek Chief Odysseus in the Morea, and she had a child by him. When Trelawny left Greece for Italia he took this child with him. Months afterwards the Odysseus family was made aware of the certainty of not seeing their respected son-in-law again, and wrote to him begging that the child might be sent back. A long time passed, and at last comes a letter to say if the Chief Odysseus or his representative would come across on a certain day to the Custom House at

Zante, the child would be forthcoming. A scampavia was dispatched and away went some of the Odysseus family to Zante. The Custom House authorities could give no account of any child, but they stated that a box had arrived *via* Corfu, which it was much wished should be removed by the Greeks, as it smelt offensively. Whereupon the box was delivered and opened, and a child's body, dead some weeks, appeared; whether any invoice or remarks by Trelawny accompanied it I never heard. The child had died, and he took this grim and savage way of ridding himself of all connection with the Odysseus circle. I wonder I never thought, when in New Zealand some thirty-five years ago, and in constant communication with Mr C. A. Brown, of asking him if he had heard this story. My sister, who has been dead some fourteen years, was wife to the British Resident, Major John Longley, a brother of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and she had heard it from Zanteotes, although it must have happened before John Longley became resident.

'I saw a great deal of Mr Brown when in New Zealand; poor gentleman, he made a great mistake in coming out to a then wild and savage country, and where he was miserable. His son had gone before him, and this was the inducement. He amused me by long stories of Keats, Shelley, Byron, and Trelawny, and your good father, and the Hunts, etc.'

This 'ghastly story' has found its way into the *DNB* entry on Trelawny, as well as into the biographical pages of Harold Nicolson and others. H. J. Massingham, however, in his *Memoir,* offers the version given to him by the grandson of Zella Trelawny, the supposed baby of the tale. According to this Zella went with her father to Italy when he left his Greek wife Tersitsa Kemenou, but lived to grow up and marry. It was the death by misadventure of a second infant which provided the nucleus for the scandal which was still current at Zante almost ten years later, when Cooke and the Longleys heard it.

This 1878 letter introduces also another of Cooke's literary associates, Charles Armitage Brown, in whose house at Hampstead the poet Keats had lived from 1817 to 1820, the painter Joseph Severn being also of the company. After the death of Keats in 1821, Brown continued his association with the Romantic group. Trelawny stayed with him in Florence in 1829, while Brown helped him with his *Adventures of a Younger Son*, and advised him on how to deal with that difficult widow, Mary Shelley. In 1837, Brown returned to England, living at Plymouth, where he lectured on Keats and prepared material for a biography. When he and his son Charles decided instead to emigrate, Brown handed all his papers on to Monckton Milnes, who used them in the first biography of Keats, in 1848.

Charles the son sailed for New Plymouth in the *Amelia Thompson*

in March 1841, having John George Cooke as his cabin mate, and old Armitage Brown followed in the *Oriental* in June 1841. 'I have bought land in New Zealand,' he wrote, 'with machinery to take thither, from pins and needles up to a Saw-Mill and a steam-engine.'[7] Some Keats relics came with Brown, including a copy of the sketch of Keats on his death-bed which Joseph Severn had made, and a 'life-size medallion profile-portrait of Keats', both of which his son Charles afterwards gave to Alfred Domett.[8] As Cooke said, Armitage Brown was miserable in New Plymouth, and angry at Company mismanagement. He died in June 1842.

Cooke's career in the Navy was cut short in 1836 by eye trouble, and he changed to the Army. After a period in Germany, including a Munich holiday with the Wingfields, the Bracebridges, and the Lennard Austens of Kippington, he was commissioned Ensign in the 53rd (Shropshire) Regiment, and took up duty at the depot at Naas, near Dublin, early in 1839. A few months later they moved to Plymouth, and it was here, in the nest of Cornish families involved with the New Zealand Company plans, that Cooke became 'colonially bitten'. At this point his Reminiscences contain many names familiar in New Zealand history. Ned Duppa was there, his brother George sailing in the *Oriental* with Francis Molesworth, Henry Petre, and Walter Mantell at the end of the year. Calmady and Edward St Aubyn urged Cooke to go with them.

Cooke called on his Plymouth relations, the family of Admiral Foote (cousins of the Knights), the Manley Dixons, etc. The Wingfields were visiting the St Aubyns, and Cooke fell in love all over again with Charlotte Wingfield. He stayed with the Lemons of Cardew (cousins of the Bullers) and at Pencarrow, Bodmin, meeting there Sir William Molesworth, various Trelawnys, the Grotes, and the Bullers, Charles and Arthur. He went riding 'over Bodmin Moor, or far or near' with Caroline Trelawny and Mary Molesworth, while his Charlotte flirted – in vain – with Sir William. She was, Cooke wrote angrily some forty years later, 'such a born coquette that she would have fascinated a crossing sweeper had no other game presented itself'.

Her inconstancy was the last straw, and Cooke determined to take his broken heart to New Zealand. After trying unsuccessfully to persuade Robert Greenwood to accompany him, he sailed with his old soldier servant Johnston in March 1841 on the *Amelia Thompson*.

The record of Cooke's New Zealand sojourn is detailed and lively. He took up land at Te Hua and at Henui village, on the north-eastern edge of New Plymouth; for a time he managed work and survey gangs for the Company. He built at Henui a strong little stone house, still, standing, which he sold in 1846 to Bishop Selwyn for Mr Bolland's parsonage. In spite of trouble with the Maoris, he farmed his land at

Te Hua, where in 1847 his friend Walter Mantell joined him. Before this, he had become a leader in the colony, being made a magistrate in 1842, and often acting as spokesman for the settlers. In January 1844 he went overland to Auckland to place their grievances before Governor FitzRoy, passing on the way through the Wesleyan mission at Kawhia, where he found the Reverend Whiteley to be a 'kind and excellent man'.

Cooke's notes on his acquaintances give enlightening glimpses of our pioneers; these will do as a sample.

—of Charles Samuel Niblett, at Wanganui, 'a very gentleman-like, active fellow . . . he was going to the dogs with drink' (but he was safely back in Gloucestershire by 1845).

— of William Ernest Wilkinson, at Nelson, 'a wild young fellow . . . a young surveyor whom I knew very well in after life and his family who were half Quakers and half Jews. The mother was a Ricardo and all on the Stock Exchange in London'. (Son of William Arthur Wilkinson and Esther Ricardo, sister of David.)

— of Edward Jerningham Wakefield, at Wanganui, 'pranks . . . riots and debaucheries . . . plurality of wives and concubines'.

This last accusation must be read in the light of Cooke's own conduct, for he was in no position to throw stones. In his Reminiscences, he records that he lingered at Tarawera on his return journey from Auckland in 1844 and took 'a dusky bride' whom he never saw again. The Reverend Whiteley in a letter to Clarke the Protector of Aborigines, complained of Cooke as follows:

'His practice has been to cohabit with one [Maori woman] until she was in the family way, and then to turn her adrift – he has played this part with 3 or 4, and his last lady was from another tribe, which with his former conduct so exasperated the natives that they resolved to avenge themselves and commenced operations on his land.'

To this, W. H. Skinner, who copied out the passage for Horace Fildes in 1934,[9] added a footnote:

'One of Cooke's "ladys" was niece of Wi Tako, her child was known as Mary Cooke. She married one of our settlers and has left a numerous, industrious and greatly respected family, but no credit to Cooke, who left the child to the care of the tribe.'

The Taranaki Museum at New Plymouth has a portrait of this Maori 'wife', which carries an inscription identifying her as Ngapei Ngatata, 'youngest sister of the Hon. Wi Tako Ngatata', *ie* Wiremu Tako Ngatata,[10] paramount chief of Ngati-Awa, and Maori leader at Wellington until his death in 1887. The portrait was painted in Wellington in 1888.

One cannot, of course, accept without question evidence of this type. Whiteley's letter is dated July 1844, but the Maori depredations on the

Te Hua land had begun before Cooke went to Auckland, at least as early as 1843.[11] Cooke's own story of the 'dusky bride' however confirms part of the accusation. In this context, one of his comments concerning Maori women is relevant. 'When these women took up and became the wife "*par amour*" to a European without the ceremony, they were true and faithful and some of them good housewives.' Ngapei Ngatata seems to have regarded herself as a true wife, but Cooke abandoned her. Perhaps this is among the 'wrongdoings' of which he speaks in the Reminiscences of 1876.

He returned to England in 1850, bearing oddly enough, a letter for personal delivery to Thackeray from Edward Jerningham Wakefield, who had been friendly with the novelist in London. On arrival he paid a round of visits to the relatives of New Zealand friends, and made a vain attempt to explain the realities of colonial affairs to Gibbon Wakefield and the Canterbury Association.

His sister Elizabeth was by this time the wife of Sir John Easthope, whom Cooke disliked as 'illiterate and perfectly unscrupulous . . . as thorough a rascal as ever lived', an opinion in which he was not alone. The Easthopes had of course a wide range of literary and political friends. So did Cooke's sister Emily and her husband Frederick Torrens. Cooke did not approve of them, either, for, 'from intimate acquaintance with the Dickens', he wrote, they 'came to know many Bohemians, foreign and home productions, who were not so desirable'.

Cooke also records that he visited his 'relations at Danny, the Campions, and all the Austens in Kent'. The Campions, as has been noted, were related to the Heathcotes, in a branch collateral to that of Sir William, 5th Baronet, who was a founding member of the Canterbury Association. The Heathcotes have another Austen association also, for Sir William's mother, Elizabeth Bigg (–Wither) of Manydown, was the sister of that Harris Bigg-Wither who, one evening in November 1802, had proposed to Jane Austen, and been accepted. But she changed her mind the next morning.[12] (See Tables.)

The Reminiscences cease abruptly at the end of 1850, and Cooke's trail is lost until 1856, when he appears once more on the literary fringe, this time as a constant visitor in the Carlyle household at Cheyne Row, Chelsea. Jane Carlyle's letters soon begin to mention him regularly, and he appears also in the letters of her protegee, the minor novelist Geraldine Jewsbury. From 1856 to 1859 Geraldine was in hot pursuit of Cooke's friend Walter Mantell, who was then in London.

Mantell escaped from her, however, much to the relief of the Carlyles, who regarded him as 'far too clever and *substantial* a man to be thrown away on a *flimsy tatter* of a creature like Geraldine Jewsbury'.[13]

The Jewsbury-Mantell correspondence went on however until her death in 1880, enriching the Mantell Collection in the Alexander

Turnbull Library with some five hundred letters. The friends used Maori nicknames; Mantell was Matara, Geraldine was Manu, and Cooke was Ku. A number of Mantell's replies to his fair pursuer in 1856–9 are headed from 'Ku's office'.

As for Jane Welsh Carlyle, the witty, possessive, neurotic little woman whom Thomas had married, she and John George Cooke struck up a close friendship. Its course may be traced in her letters, or more conveniently in Hanson's *Necessary Evil*. Jane was soon 'Yours Affectionately' to Cooke; she comforted him for a whole week in December 1858 when his mother died. He is described as 'very attentive and sympathetic' to her,[14] squiring her to the station, offering flowers, advice about servants, and Scottish 'First-Foot Gifts' at New Year.[15] Probably his finest hour was in 1864, when Jane returned to Cheyne Row after an almost mortal illness. Here is her account of their reunion.

'As soon as I was in the drawing-room George Cooke came . . . Now this George Cooke is a man between thirty and forty; tall, strong, silent, sincere: has been a sailor, a soldier, a New Zealand settler, a "man about town", and a stockbroker! The last man on earth one would have expected to make one "a scene". But, lo! what happened? I stood up to welcome him, and he took me in his arms, and kissed me two or three times, and then he sank into a chair and – burst into tears! and sobbed and cried like any schoolboy. Mercifully I was not affected by his agitation.'[16]

She was then 63, and he was 45; even allowing for her over-emphasis, that makes a fine Victorian tableau.

Jane Carlyle died in 1866; in 1867, Cooke's friend Crosbie Ward, who had visited London in 1863, was there once more, acting as Agent for Canterbury. He died, however, in December, and the next year his widow married Cooke. She already had two children; there was a third in the second marriage.[17]

Surviving letters in the Turnbull Library give occasional glimpses of Cooke's life in London at this time. There is mention of 'a jolly evening at Henry Petre's', with such names noted as Charles Clifford, Nathaniel Levin, Charles Hursthouse, and George Duppa.[18] In 1863, there is a nice conflation of colonial and literary associations, when Cooke reports to Mantell that 'Trelawny was greatly pleased with the "Pakeha and Maori" book, Old New Zealand. Who wrote it?' Those who know Trelawny's *Adventures of a Younger Son* will understand why Maning's story so pleased the old 'Pirate'.

And so time passed on. Geraldine Jewsbury kept Walter Mantell in New Zealand informed of the progress of the Cooke marriage, its new arrivals, the loss of a baby son, Mrs Cooke's health, etc. He did not find it easy at first to be 'tied to his hearth and home', having been 'so much of a Mormon in some respects'.[19]

In 1876, disaster struck. Cooke became involved in the collapse of shares on the Stock Exchange, and made 'a terrible shipwreck of character life fortune family'. He lost his own money, and that of relatives and friends, but worse still, it seems, 'sold securities and deeds that belonged to others'. Abandoning his wife and family to debts totalling some £45,000 he fled to Sweden, where he seems to have stayed for several years.[20] It was during this period of exile that he wrote his Reminiscences, which refer to his 'unlucky self', to 'drifting into rocks and quicksands', and to being 'a victim to a gang of robbers'.

By 1878, when he answered the inquiry from Walter Severn in the letter already quoted, he seems to have been back in England, though retaining business interests in Sweden. From the tone of Sharp's reference in 1892, it may be inferred that Cooke was then still alive. If he kept any further records or journals, their whereabouts is not at present known.

Joan Stevens

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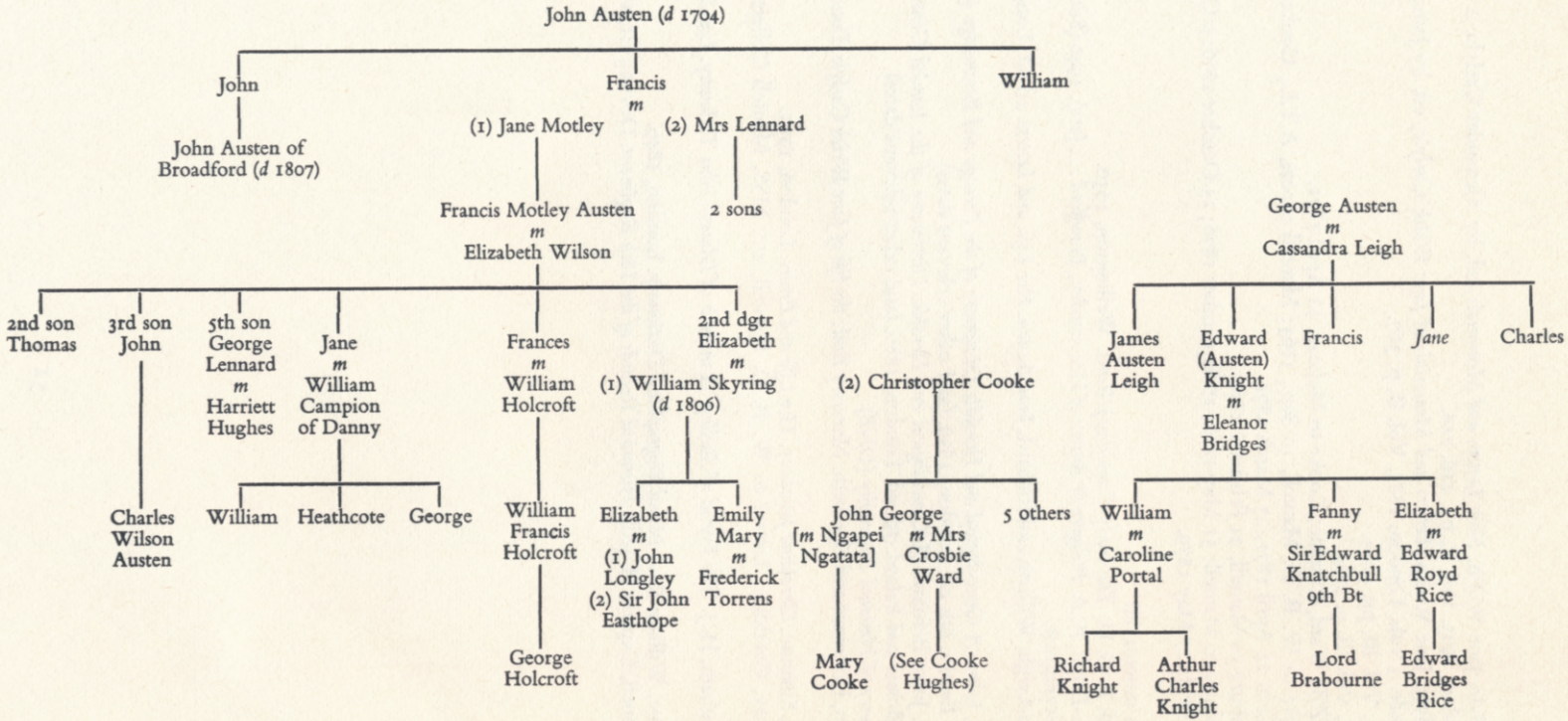

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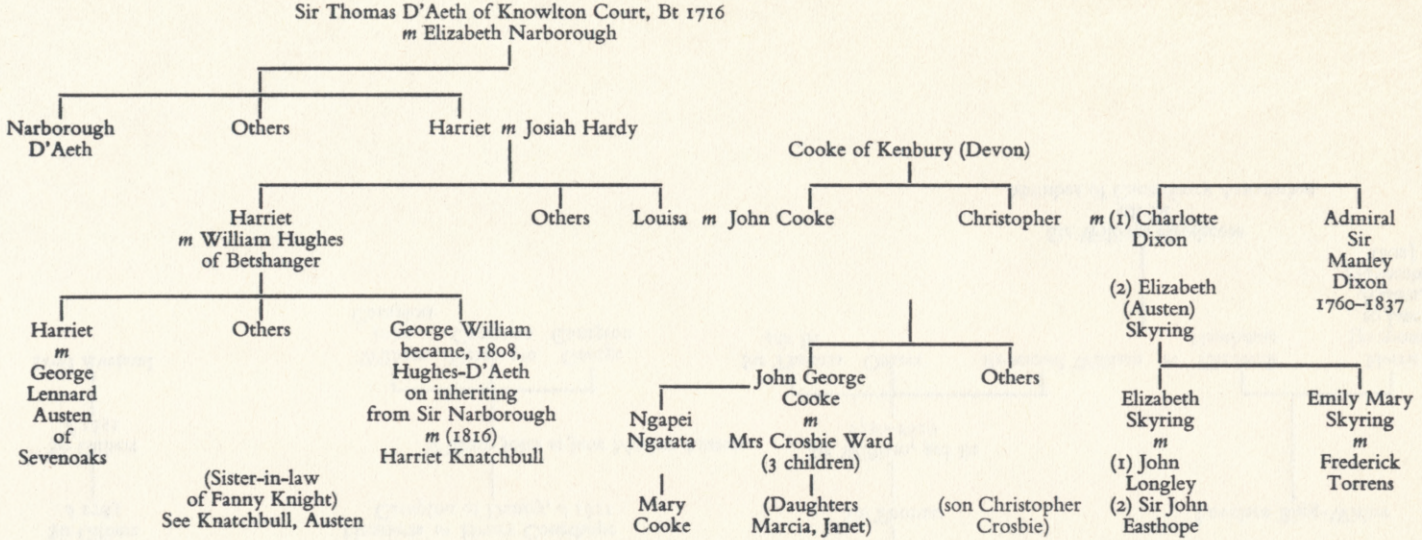

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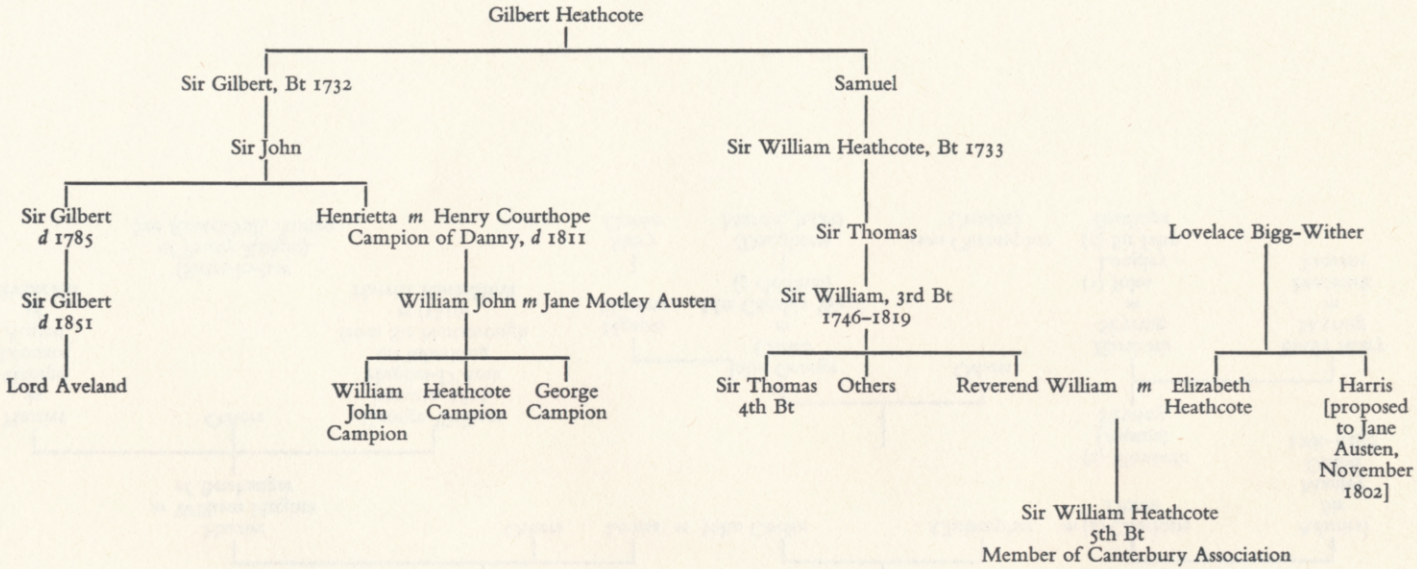

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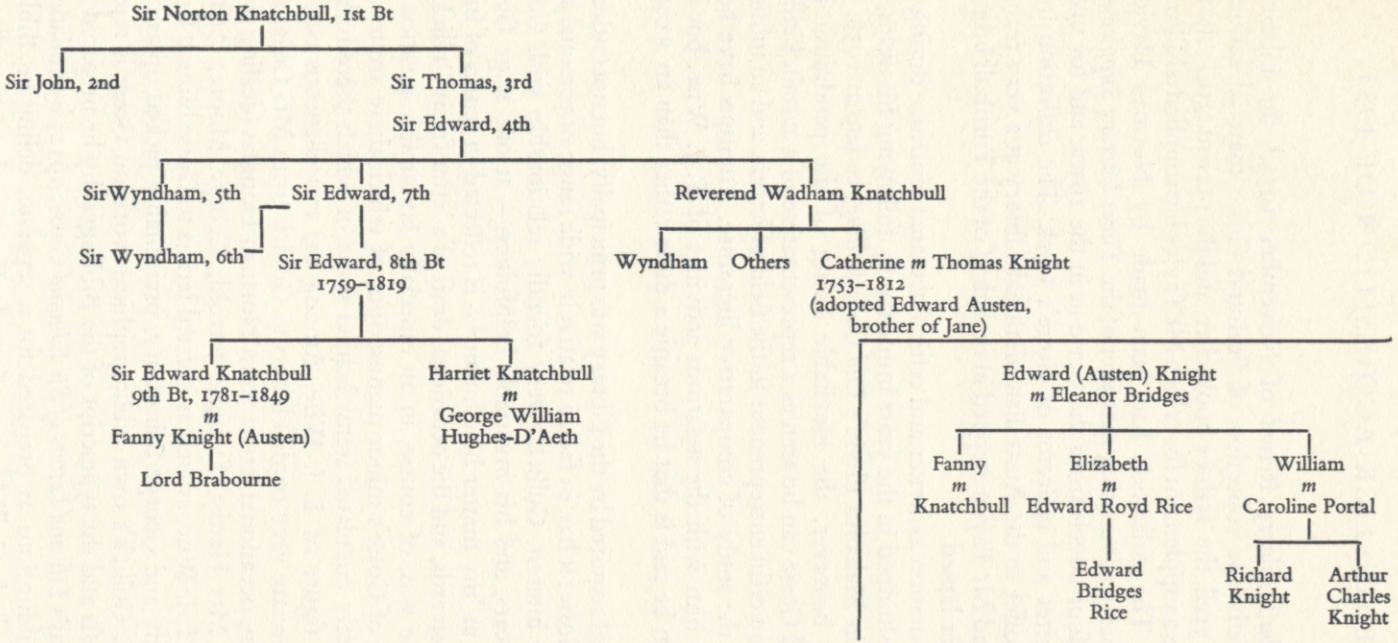

THE GULLICK ACQUISITION OF 1953

In the *Turnbull Library Record* of November 1953,[1] the Librarian described briefly the collection of Edmund Gosse material acquired from James Tyrell, the Sydney bookseller, and the present article should be regarded as a supplement for which Mr Taylor has supplied additional information. The collection had been made by Norman Davidge Gullick, formerly advertising manager of the *Times Literary Supplement,* translator of four novels from the German in the 1930s, and for many years an admirer and collector of Gosse's work. The collection itself had been on offer to the Australian National Library at a very reasonable figure, and Mr Taylor stepped in on behalf of the Turnbull Library when the offer lapsed.

Gosse's reputation as writer and critic fluctuated violently during his lifetime, and slumped in the years immediately following his death, as, for instance, in Malcolm Elwin's *Old Gods Falling,* as late as 1939. Of recent years, however, the inevitable swing of the pendulum has occurred, and Gosse can be seen as a representative of a certain kind of criticism, a powerful entrepreneur in the field of letters, and an influential figure in the study of comparative literature. Attempts have been made to link him with the nefarious activities of T. J. Wise, but the worst that can be said is that he became a dupe rather than an accomplice.

The material acquired by the Library was principally, but not entirely, confined to Gosse; it has, in fact, a relatively wide range of personal and bibliographic interest. Gullick's very friendly relationship with Gosse in his later years, and his invariable helpfulness – at one stage Gosse refers to him as 'my master henchman'[2] – is reflected in scores of brief letters and postcards, and the occasional draft of a letter from Gullick to Gosse; and he was, of course, in an especially favourable position to acquire some of Gosse's minor manuscripts, of which there are ten, as well as privately circulated items behind some of which there lurked the ominous figure of T. J. Wise. Among the miscellaneous correspondence there are very cordial letters to Gullick from Mrs Gosse and Philip, the son, occasional letters from Norman Douglas (dealing with advertising), Mrs Hardy, Douglas Jerrold, George Moore, Arthur Waugh, and T. J. Wise, as well as isolated letters to Gosse himself from Thomas Hardy and George Saintsbury, presumably picked up as collector's items. Gullick's own bibliographical work on Gosse is represented by drafts and the typescript of the Bibliography he prepared for Evan Charteris's *Life and Letters of Sir Edmund Gosse,* 1931; by collations of Gosse's publications as prepared for a separate, definitive Bibliography, for which Gullick's own Introduction survives as well as a

proof of the collation of the first item, although the Bibliography itself appears never to have been published; and by classified lists of Gosse's poetry, prose and editorial work. The typescript of Gullick's translation of Heinrich Hauser's *Once Your Enemy,* 1936, is also preserved.

In addition to manuscript material of this kind, the Library acquired Gullick's comprehensive collection of Gosse's published work, and some very rare works indeed, including *A Critical Essay on the Life and Works of George Tinworth,* 1883, the unique *Six Lectures to be delivered before the Lowell Institute in December, 1884,* 1884, the *Catalogue of the Library of the House of Lords,* 1908, *Lady Dorothy Nevill. An Open Letter,* 1913 (MS, Proof and Volume), *A Catalogue of the Works of Algernon Charles Swinburne in the Library of Mr Edmund Gosse,* 1919, and E. H. M. Cox's *The Library of Edmund Gosse,* 1924. There are also smaller pamphlets, privately printed versions of periodical articles, which appear neither in Wise's Ashley Library, nor in the British Museum.

A more detailed examination of the collection is rewarding. The correspondence with Gosse covers the period 13 November 1913 until 15 March 1928, some two months before Gosse's death at the age of 79. Gosse was thus elderly and on the verge of retirement from the Librarianship of the House of Lords when the first, characteristic letter was written, 'Dear Sir, If you will call here [17 Hanover Terrace] at 6 tomorrow (Friday) afternoon, I shall be happy to see you.'[3] Gullick, in a later letter to Gosse, of which the copy is preserved, gave an account of his early admiration for the author: 'I was fifteen years old when I first read a book of yours, the Eighteenth Century literature', and he goes on to describe the 'almost physical thrill of delight' Gosse's pages on Gibbon had given him, and the courage with which *Father and Son* had inspired in him 'to rebel against the ugly and depressing religion of my home environment'.[4] With this as a basis, the relationship ripened between a young man of not more than 24, and the Librarian of the House of Lords. The invitations to tea become more frequent, and Gosse helps him to private tutoring 'of a rather advanced kind in English Literature' to a young lady of about 20 on 'good remunerative terms'.[5] By January, 1915, however, Gullick was in uniform as an Able Seaman, and in June had written 'from the Islands where burning Sappho loved and where our dear Rupert Brooke lies buried'.[6] In the midst of the Gallipoli episode, Gullick remembered Gosse's birthday, 21 September, and by November was back in England, recuperating in hospital.

Sporadically we learn of a commission in the Gloucester Regiment, of ill-health, of Gosse's abortive attempt to find Gullick a post in agriculture, of an invitation to tea in May, 1919. And then, in 1920, the record amplifies: by 1921, Gullick has become 'a bibliographical Me

. . . What a wonderful person you are'.[7] Gullick's verse, deferentially submitted, is admired for 'its sturdiness with which the desired expression is forced . . . from the language' and likened to Hardy's; and Gosse goes on, 'I have always had an instinctive feeling that you were born to succeed . . . I only regret that I can hardly hope to witness the blossoming of the aloe'.[8] (Had Gosse been reading 'The Prelude'?) By October, 1922, Gullick's collection of Gosse's work is clearly substantial, for Gosse describes Wise's collection as 'not nearly as complete as yours',[9] and at this stage Gosse must have given Gullick 'the real first edition of *From Shakespeare to Pope*'[10] in the form of the Lowell Lectures – the volume bears Gosse's note of gift – and also introduced Gullick to Wise.[11] As the collection expands, Gosse's letters become an interesting mixture of personal and minor bibliographical information, leading in the direction of Gullick's intended Bibliography of Gosse's works which so deeply touched him; 'When you are as old as I', he writes, 'may you possess a young friend as devoted to your service as you have shown yourself to be.'[12] In October of 1924 he advises Gullick to write the Introduction himself, and to ask Wise to write the Preface;[13] but from that point on the project seems to lapse, and it may be that it became too formidable a task. One further bibliographic activity is, however, undertaken, the private publication of Gosse's first essay on Swinburne of 1875[14] which had previously only existed in translation in Danish, Dutch, German and Swedish, the English manuscript of which had been given to Gullick. This, the redirection of the *Times* and its *Literary Supplement* to the surprising number of hotels and country houses to which Gosse had resort, and the occasional exertion of influence behind the scenes, was all that Gullick could now do for the rapidly ageing master, while Gosse regularly despatched the successive volumes of the collected Swinburne edited by Wise and himself to his protégé.

Taken all in all, the correspondence of fifteen years shows the more attractive and humane side of Gosse, agreeing to act as godfather to Gullick's daughter,[15] generously sending him £20 for a holiday of convalescence,[16] advising the use of sulphuric acid on boils;[17] at the end of a long and busy life susceptible to, and grateful for, the admiration of a younger man, and free from the irritating superficiality and occasional malice of his other correspondence.

Wise's correspondence with Gullick is brief, and relates to his interest in Gosse, who had effected an introduction at the end of November, 1922, the meeting taking place on 4 December. Wise's response was characteristic: 'You evidently care for and appreciate good books, and by a natural consequence mine are at all times at your disposal. The enclosed will add one really interesting and important item to your "Gosse" collection. Why not get Mr Gosse to add his name

on page 8 below that of Watts-Dunton? If you could induce him out of the goodness of his heart to add a word or two confirming my notes, it would add greatly to the attraction of the pamphlet and render it a really important bibliographical record.'[18] The 'interesting and important item' was a privately circulated copy of Swinburne's manuscripts. On the half-title page there is the inscription, 'To Norman Gullick / From Thos. J. Wise', below which Wise had added: 'The Preface to this booklet was written by Edmund Gosse, although it bears the signature of W. T. Watts-Dunton. The circumstances which resulted in this curious wrong ascription will be found detailed at length in my Bibliography of Swinburne, Vol. II, 1920, pp. 20–25. Thos. J. Wise.' To this, Gosse had added, 'Quite true; and now confirmed by the sole writer of the Preface. / Edmund Gosse.' Yet this again is inaccurate. Wise had indeed testified of the third and fourth paragraphs of the Preface, which he quoted in his Bibliography of Swinburne, 'Although the long Prefatory Note from which the above extract has been taken bears the signature of Watts-Dunton, that gentleman had in fact nothing whatever to do with it beyond attaching his name to the proof.'[19] It was precisely at the end of the third paragraph that Gosse had inserted the words, 'Here T. W-D. ends';[20] if Gosse's statement is to be believed, Watts-Dunton *had* provided a Preface, Wise had exaggerated in his customary fashion, and Gosse had allowed himself at least to be inconsistent.

Other letters from Wise display an interest in the intended Bibliography as early as January 1923, the occasion of another gift to Gullick. Correspondence briefly resumes in 1924, when Gullick's offer of a duplicate of Gosse's scarce *Memoir of Thomas Lodge,* 1882, is warmly accepted, and an exchange offered, possibly Wise's private issue of *Letters from Algernon Charles Swinburne to Edmund Gosse,* Series I–V, 1910–11, the first volume of which is inscribed by Wise to Gullick.[21] At the end of December, 1925, Wise hopes to see the 'grand bibliography' making an appearance, and reassures Gullick as to cost.[22]

By this time, Gullick's collection of Gosse's printed works was indeed substantial. In the Preface to the intended Bibliography, he describes his collations as 'in the greater part compiled from books in my own collection', and claims an almost complete set of the private issues. It was unquestionably larger than that of Wise, which consisted of thirty-seven titles, but Wise was among the first to receive a copy of the limited issues inscribed by the author, as the Ashley Catalogue confirms. The pride of Gullick's collection was *Six Lectures written to be delivered before the Lowell Institute in December, 1884,* 'privately printed in an impression of only four copies at the Chiswick Press in London, October, 1884 . . . the rarest of Edmund Gosse's private issues.'[23] Gullick's copy had been given to him by Gosse, for it bears his inscrip-

tion, it was the one listed in the *Catalogue of a Portion of the Library of Edmund Gosse,* 1894,[24] and one wonders why Gosse should have parted with it, unless there were still some bitterness remaining from Churton Collins's attack on their revised version. There may have been another copy, for in a letter confirming the Lowell Lectures as 'the real first edition', Gosse says that Wise's copy was 'bound later',[25] but it is not listed in the Ashley Catalogue.

There is an intrinsic interest in the Lowell Lectures, for they are virtually the text of the lectures which Gosse gave in the University of Cambridge as Clark Lecturer in the Michaelmas Term of 1884, and subsequently at the Lowell Institute and a number of American universities in the winter of 1884–5.[26] Gullick's copy bears the mark of minor revision only, perhaps for oral delivery, but certainly not for printers' copy. There are, for instance, bracketed portions of the text which are retained in *From Shakespeare to Pope*, as are substitutions and interlinear modifications. Gosse is explicit in the Preface to the later volume that he modified the text after delivering the lectures, in response to informed criticism: 'In consequence of such criticism, I have been able profitably to revise the work, to add evidence where it seemed wanting, to remove rash statements and to remould ambiguous sentences. Above all, I have given a great deal of care to the accumulation, in the form of notes and appendices, of historical and critical data . . . .[27] There is good evidence of this revision when the texts are collated, in at least one respect laying Gosse open to Collins's ferocious attack. Gosse had added to the original the single sentence, 'Shaftesbury introduced this exaggerated elegance of diction into the field of prose, and his success increased the foppishness of the poets',[2]: while in the Index he identified Shaftesbury as the first earl of the Cabal, instead of the third earl of the *Characteristics*; 'and this is a University Lecturer!', stormed Collins.[29] It was an inexcusable error which Gosse frankly admitted. Another error concerned the date of the Miscellanies of John Norris of Bemerton, given by Gosse as 1678. Gosse's explanation was as follows: 'This date should be 1687, but every writer of the press is aware that this inversion of the figures is one of the very commonest of misprints. That an error in correcting proofs should be construed into ignorance shows a strange forgetfulness of a misfortune to which all writers are exposed.'[30] If the Lowell Lectures had been widely disseminated, Gosse would have been forced to point out that he was haunted by this identical misfortune, for the same error was already in the original,[31] and one wonders whether Gosse ever reverted to them, or was aware of the inaccuracy.

The days of literary societies associated with major writers are by no means over, yet one cannot see the formation in the 1970s of an Edmund Gosse Literary Group such as flourished in New York in the 1920s,

for whom Gullick had written a fine tribute as 'one of his best friends and who knows more about his writing than Sir Edmund himself'.[32] Gullick attempted a Bibliography, and apparently failed; he left no statement about Gosse, apart from the Introduction to the Bibliography and an appreciation of him which he sent over to the Literary Group already mentioned. But a critical appraisal of Gosse needs to be made, and Gullick's collection and bibliographical data would form a valuable foundation for such a study.

J. R. Tye

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THE LETTERS OF TOOI AND TEETERREE

1818–19

The Bay of Islands during the years of early European settlement is a stage lit with surprising brilliancy by the voluminous missionary records and by the books of explorers and travellers, but a stage on which the spotlight plays with somewhat haphazard and erratic intensity on leading and minor characters. One of those on whom it shone most frequently was a young chief of Paroa Bay who signed himself 'Thomas Tooi'. In relation to his importance among the Maori community of his day he received more than his share of the spotlight and this, as in other cases, exposed more enigmas than it clarified. Those of whom we have but brief glimpses emerge more often as simple and straightforward characters; those whom we see more often and more clearly become more complex and difficult to understand.

Thomas Tooi, the most conspicuous of lesser chiefs, remains the most enigmatic of all. Even the correct rendering of his name is still open to debate. The 'Thomas' seems to have been adopted, or given to him, only during his visit to England in 1818, and to have been used only there. But, oddly enough, his fellow voyager, young Titeri, acquired no English cognomen, but was invariably referred to (and signed himself) solely by his Maori name, rendered in the orthography of the time as 'Teeterree'. Thomas's proper name was rendered by different writers in forms as various as Tui, Toi and Touai as well as the more usual Tooi.[1] Among more recent writers Percy Smith used the form Tui, while in editing works in which his name appeared J. R. Elder, A. G. Bagnall and L. M. Rogers have preferred Tuhi.[2] Judith Binney, in her biography of Thomas Kendall, has reverted to Tui. She does so on the grounds that J. L. Nicholas identified the name of the passenger on the *Active* with the bird common in New Zealand.[3] William Williams, who admittedly did not know the man (he had died before Williams arrived in New Zealand) but often heard him spoken of, rendered his name as Tuai.[4] Because this appears to be more consonant with the general usage of the -i ending for Maori words as used by Marsden and his contemporaries, and because William Williams would seem to be a sounder authority than Nicholas, the somewhat ungainly Tuai is probably to be preferred to the mellifluous Tui.

The resolution of a satisfactory spelling of his name is merely of pedantic or bibliographical interest. The variations are however typical of the contradictory reports about the man himself. They are offered us when he first appears upon the scene, at Parramatta in 1814. Marsden and Kendall then both refer to his fine qualities and intelligence, but

while Marsden reported that he had learnt to repeat the Lord's Prayer Kendall referred to his friendship with the convict Richard Stockwell and to his use of bad language.[5] The contradictions reappear in the accounts of Tuai when after much travelling abroad he settled again among his tribe. In 1820 Major R. A. Cruise of the *Dromedary* described him as 'without exception the greatest savage, and one of the most worthless and profligate men in the Bay of Islands'.[6] Dumont d'Urville, however, while sceptical of Tuai's motives, reported that during the visit of the *Coquille* in 1824, the captain, officers and men 'had nothing but praise for him; and I have often admired the tact and shrewdness which enabled this native to realise with whom he had to deal and by what means he could commend himself to all'.[7]

When Tuai boarded the *Dromedary* and *Coquille* in 'gentleman's attire' and cocked hat, Cruise wrote that he might have been a foreign officer and d'Urville took him for an Englishman. Tuai could be all things to all men. The most notable illustration of this adaptability (which was not peculiar to him) and this instinctive tendency to assimilate himself to his surroundings and to the society in which he found himself is now provided in a series of letters recently presented to the Alexander Turnbull Library by Dr G. C. Petersen. They were written by the Reverend George Mortimer of Madeley, Shropshire, with whom Tuai and Titeri stayed for some months in 1818, by Francis Hall and by the young men themselves, to the Reverend Josiah Pratt, secretary of the Church Missionary Society. In 1817, after Tuai and Titeri had spent a couple of years at his Parramatta school, Marsden sent them to London under the care of the C.M.S.[8]

The account of their stay in England, from the spring of 1818 till the end of January 1819 when their homeward bound ship finally cleared the Downs, is recorded mainly in various letters in, or from the archives of the C.M.S. Those presented by Dr Petersen are dated February to October 1818 and refer to the months spent at Madeley. Microfilms of these letters, made when they were in the possession of the late Mr K. A. Webster, were acquired by the Library in 1961, together with additional letters from Francis Hall. Some further letters from Tuai and Titeri, written from London in October 1818 and from the *Baring* in January 1819, and some drawings of Maori motifs done by Tuai, were acquired by the C.M.S. in 1965, and microfilm copies were then sent to the Turnbull Library.[9]

Unlike Moehanga who travelled to England with John Savage in 1805 and Hongi who went with Kendall in 1820, Tuai and Titeri do not seem to have been introduced into the upper ranks of English society, and no record of any public attention to them has so far been noted. They spent their time under the protection of the C.M.S. and its friends. Francis Hall, an earnest young man who had for several

years been pleading with the C.M.S. to allow him to go to New Zealand, was given the privilege of escorting them to Madeley. They made the journey about the end of May and Hall remained with them till they returned to London in October. (His wish to go to New Zealand was subsequently fulfilled when he sailed with the Reverend John Butler, James Kemp, Tuai and Titeri in January 1819.) Before their arrival in Shropshire the Reverend George Mortimer expressed delight at the prospect of entertaining the young New Zealanders in his home and forthwith set about making plans for the profitable employment of their stay with him. A study of the iron smelting process at the local works was high on his list – 'Mr Kendall & Mr Nicholas both seem convinced that they have iron & if so it wd. if worked contribute very materially towds. their civilization.' The young men proved to be properly impressed by both iron and china works, exclaiming '"Dearee me dearee me – New Zealand man no believe"'. They also delighted in the exercise of their manual skills, showed proper respect for the Sabbath, performed private devotions and endeavoured to instruct Hall in their own language. They reported however that there were at least seven or eight different dialects spoken in New Zealand, most of which they could not understand. Titeri won special praise for his rejection of the advances of a beautiful and accomplished but immodest young lady who pursued him into his bedroom, and Tuai was admired for the tales of his own heroic exploits with which he regaled his hosts.

Mortimer repeatedly sang their praises and Hall wrote enthusiastically of 'the agreeable manner of these interesting young men, so far superior to what might be expected of them'. Nevertheless, despite their many virtues, Tuai and Titeri gave some cause for anxiety and disappointment. Titeri suffered repeatedly from a 'complaint in his bowels' which at one time was so serious as to cause fear for his life. A spiritual defect however proved more intractable than this physical one. Though they liked to go to church and say their prayers they were uninterested in spiritual instruction, and when religious topics were introduced they tended to change the conversation. Hall was not without hope that the Holy Spirit would in the end prevail, but when it came to intellectual effort he was forced to admit defeat. As Mortimer reported on 13 June, despite every effort and inducement – even the promise of a workshop for their own use as a reward for regular study – they could not be persuaded to interest themselves in learning 'ay b, ab – & b, a, ba', thereby acquiring the art of literacy. On 26 June Hall wrote: 'They are contented and happy, and all goes well till they are brought to abc: They do not like their book, notwithstanding the good advice they have received from various persons in this respect; they come to it with reluctance, and soon weary, and leave it with

pleasure. There are times indeed when they really appear to have a desire to learn; at others, the enemy of Souls seems suddenly to get an advantage over them, they become fretful and obstinate, they scowl, and act in a manner which grieves me.' In September, not long before returning to London, he reported that in church the young men liked to look over the hymnal when singing, though they could not read it. And yet, extraordinarily, on 26 June he had also written that Titeri had of his own accord written out the Lord's prayer, and dated that same day we find two letters written in copperplate handwriting, signed respectively 'Thomas Tooi' and 'Teeteree', and then others written similarly in August. The June letters convey Tuai's regret that he is unable to read and Titeri's self-condemnatory remark: 'I am very bad boy and cannot read the Book', and again, in August, 'Cannot yet understand to read the Book: some words very easy, some very hard; make my head ache'.

Until recently I had not located Micro MS 303, acquired by the Library in 1961, on which these letters appear. In 1965, being then interested in the career of these young men, I made some efforts to establish whether the later letters, received by the Turnbull on microfilm from the C.M.S., might be supposed to have been written by Tuai and Titeri themselves, or written for them, in language and handwriting which they might have been supposed to adopt. A Maori scholar pointed out that the style of expression and construction were those which a Maori with some knowledge of English might be expected to use. At the same time the impeccable spelling pointed to some considerable assistance, as in Titeri's account of a visit to the Tower of London: 'I see plenty guns, thousands. I see lion and tiger, and cockatoo; I talk to cockatoo he know me very well. I see Elephant quite astonished my countryman no believe if I tell him.' So likewise the letter headings ('London Oct^{r} 28, 1818' and 'Baring in the Downes Jan^{y} 16th 1819') could hardly have been composed by Tuai and Titeri themselves. An English graphologist, to whom I submitted photocopies for comment, could make no suggestion as to the identity or character of the writers other than to remark that they were probably written by adult Maoris of the time and that one bearing the signature of Teeterree was in a different hand from that bearing the signature of Thomas Tooi. On the other hand, Tuai himself, in 1824, told the Frenchman R. P. Lesson that he could neither read nor write, and had no idea what the missionaries had passed off in his name.[10] To suppose however that these letters were merely a hoax perpetrated by officials of the C.M.S. seemed nonsensical in that they were exchanged merely within the small inner circle with whom alone Tuai and Titeri had dealings, and though one letter, sent across the world to Samuel Marsden, eventually found its way back again into the pages of *The*

Lady's Magazine[11] there is no hint anywhere that these epistolary efforts, or hoaxes, were used to impress the outside world. So the mystery remained unexplained.

The fact that the solution had all along remained hidden in Micro MS 303 provides this student with a salutory lesson in the need to search for even the most hidden clues, and to scrutinise even the most indecipherable microfilm. In this case however negligence, not virtue, has been rewarded. Thanks to the miracle of modern techniques of reproduction I now have before me Xerox copies of the manuscripts presented by Dr Petersen which are more legible than the original and far less tiring to the eyes than the difficult microfilm version. With this assistance a faint note added to Tuai's letter to Pratt of 26 June 1818 becomes transparently clear. It is apparently written by someone in the C.M.S. office, and reads:

Note by Mr Hall:

'The words of these Letters are their own. I was their amanuensis, & put them down on a slate, from which they copied them; but they cannot read what they have written.' F.H.'

Maori skill in mimicry and imitation was attested by many visitors; Hongi Hika's carving of a bust by himself won general admiration; but there could surely be no more remarkable illustration of patient workmanship than the achievement of these two young men in transcribing exactly, down to the last punctuation point, a script which they did not understand. If the explanation of how the letters came to be written is hardly more credible than the suspicion of a hoax it does nevertheless explain the distinctive difference in handwriting between the letters written at Madeley and those from London and the *Baring*; it confirms the graphologist's assertion that the letters by Tuai and Titeri, though copied from one man's careful script, were themselves written down by different hands; it supports Tuai's statement that he could neither read nor write – even though he exaggerated (after his usual manner) when he professed ignorance of what the letters contained.

There is another, perhaps even more remarkable, aspect of the affair. By the middle of January 1819 when the last letter was written, Tuai had spent most of the preceding five years in Australia and England and Titeri all the previous three. They were both of above average intelligence. Perhaps, by the end of their stay in England, they could read a few more words than they had learnt after three or four months at Madeley (and after their longer periods under Marsden's care). Probably the business of copying had become easier: the writing has certainly become more flowing, though whether this merely represented a more flowing style on the slate one does not know. But the

fact remains that they acquired no real literacy in the English language. A decade later, when the efforts of the missionaries to teach literacy in the Maori language began to produce spectacular results, young men like Tuai and Titeri were as quick and eager to learn as these two had been slow and unwilling. This in itself seems to justify the missionaries as against their critics who contended that their efforts should have been directed towards the teaching of English, not to literacy in the vernacular.

Ormond Wilson

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[5] *Missionary Register* III (1815) 103, 198.
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[11] *The Lady's Magazine* Vol. 1 (March 1820) p. 143.

PRACTICAL SEAMANSHIP 1777

A copy of a *Treatise on Practical Seamanship* by William Hutchinson, published in 1777, was recently presented to the Wellington Division of the Royal New Zealand Naval Volunteer Reserve, HMNZS Olphert, by an old member of the Division, Lieutenant-Commander I. L. Thomsen, RNZNVR (RET'D), for long Director of the Carter Observatory. He in turn obtained the book, which is in first class condition, from Dr L. J. Comrie, a New Zealander who became Superintendent of the Nautical Almanac Office in Greenwich. The volume will be held on permanent loan by the Turnbull Library, where it will form a useful addition to an already good selection of works on early seamanship.

When this book was published, Hutchinson would appear to have been approaching sixty years of age. He was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and served his apprenticeship as a cook on a collier working between the North East of England and London; and he claims that seamen brought up in this hard school 'are the most perfect in working and managing their ships in narrow, intricate, and difficult channels, and in tide ways'. From there he graduated to the East India trade and was in command of a privateer in the Mediterranean as a young man. He was also at sea, presumably in command of East Indiamen, during the Seven Years War which began in 1756. In 1760 he came ashore as Dock Master at Liverpool, and was so employed when his book was written.

A letter received from the Secretary of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board quotes Picton's *Memorials of Liverpool* as follows:

'Captain William Hutchinson was a remarkable man . . . of varied qualifications and pursuits, amongst other things the inventor of reflecting mirrors for lighthouses, the first of which he erected at Bidston in 1763. In 1794 he published a treatise on naval architecture. From January 1768 to August 1793 he continued a series of observations on the tides, the barometer, the weather, and the winds, the MSS of which are in the Athenaeum and Lyceum Libraries in Liverpool. From these were obtained data by which the Holdens, father and son, calculated the tide-tables. He was also the founder of the Marine Society. He died February 14, 1801, and is interred in St. Thomas' churchyard, Liverpool.'

Perhaps the main interest of Hutchinson's Treatise in New Zealand, is the insight it gives into the early training of Captain James Cook, who joined his first collier in 1747; Hutchinson would have preceded him by only a few years. It is a little disappointing that Cook is not mentioned at all, but although published in 1777, there are indications

that the book was first drafted prior to 1769, in which case Cook would not have returned from his first voyage.

So we have to be satisfied with Hutchinson's descriptions of some of the techniques which Cook was brought up in; two of these are worth quoting. First, 'On Tacking':

'But the best lessons for tacking, and working to windward in little room, are in the Colliers bound to London, where many great ships are constantly employed, and where wages are paid by the voyage, so that interest makes them dexterous, and industrious to manage their ships with few men, in a complete manner, in narrow channels, more so perhaps than in any other trade by sea in the world.'

Secondly, 'On making Passages in the Coal Trade':

'In the navigation from Newcastle to London, two thirds of the way is amongst dangerous shoals, and intricate channels, . . .

'Blowing weather and contrary winds, often collect a great many of these colliers together, so that they sail in great fleets, striving with the utmost dexterity, diligence, and care, against each other, to get first to market with their coals, or for their turn to load at Newcastle, where at the first of a Westerly Wind, after a long Easterly one, there are sometimes two or three hundred ships turning to windward in, and sailing out of that harbour in one tide; the sight of so many ships, passing and crossing each other in so little time and room, by their dexterous management, is said to have made a travelling French gentleman of rank, to hold up his hands and exclaim, "that it was there France was conquered".

'What is most worthy remarking here when they are going out with a fair wind in their great deep loaded ships, and the waves running high upon the bar, that they would make the ship strike upon it, if she was to sail out pitching against the head waves, to prevent which when they come to the bar, they in a very masterly manner bring the ship to, and she drives over, rolling broad side to waves which management preserves her from striking.

'When they turn to windward up the Swin in dark hazey weather . . . a compass course is not to be relied upon, therefore each ship, very artfully, endeavours to get a leader that they know draws more water than themselves, and the leading ship knowing their danger running no farther than they think is safe, commonly lets go her anchor, the next following ship apprehending the same danger, has their anchors ready and lets it go just above the first ship, and the next steers close past these two ships and come to an anchor just above them, and so on with the next, till the whole fleet forms a line one above the other, so that the ship that was first becomes last, when they commonly again heave up her anchor, and steer close by the whole fleet if they are perceived to ride a-float and the next ship follows them, and either

comes to an anchor again above the uppermost ship as before, or proceeds forward, according as they find by the soundings, by which they know that they have past the dangers they were afraid of and gets into a safe track, where they can depend upon the compass course, then they set and carry all the sail possible to get or keep a-head of each other.'

A second point of interest to Turnbull Library readers, rests in Hutchinson's reference, in drawing his reader's attention to an illustration, to the 'much more masterly delineation in Falconer's Marine Dictionary'. For the Turnbull Library holds three copies of different editions of this volume; not the original 1769 edition, but a 1789 one, together with later ones of 1815 and 1830. And while the two men produced their books differently, they have many points of contact. There is one slight mystery which I am unable to solve; it arises out of Hutchinson's remark that Falconer's plate 'came out a good while after my plates were struck off'. Now as Hutchinson did not publish until eight years after Falconer, it would therefore seem that Hutchinson's plates were 'struck off', and his accompanying notes presumably in draft form, about ten years before publication.

There are other clues which support, but do not confirm, this theory – as already noted, the failure to mention Cook is significant; and in the end papers is a chart of the approaches to Liverpool originally dated 1771, but corrected to 1776; and finally, in as much as they appear to be out of order, the last few entries appear to be a postscript.

Hutchinson, had certainly seen Falconer's book before going to press, and so one would expect his own to show some advances – which I think it does – but whereas Falconer's Dictionary is inevitably 'Verra interesting, but awfu' disconnected', and Hutchinson is more readable and more opinionated, the former ran to several editions over sixty years or more, with little amendment beyond up-dating, while Hutchinson as far as I am aware reached only the second edition.

Falconer is undoubtedly an easier and much more complete Book of Reference, suitable for any seaman's bookshelf; whereas Hutchinson wrote for men who wanted to be not just seamen, but good ones. For this reason he introduces almost another dimension when compared with Falconer, and is the more interesting for it.

Hutchinson's biography, as I have sketched above, leaves wide gaps. Falconer's life is well documented, from his birth in poverty in Edinburgh, through service at sea in Royal and Merchant Navies, through two shipwrecks and a celebrated poetic work 'The Shipwreck', to his loss at sea on *HMS Aurora,* when that ship vanished without trace on a voyage to India in 1769; (the year his Dictionary was first published). His manner is described by the Editor of the 1815 edition as 'Blunt, awkward, and forbidding – but a thorough seaman'. His own original introduction endorses this view, in his abrupt dismissal of

previous attempts to produce similar books as 'extremely imperfect – voluminous but very deficient in the most necessary articles – vague, perplexed and unintelligible'.

Hutchinson, one feels, was a much happier man, and aware of his own shortcomings; thus 'as an author, he would be glad of any remarks candidly pointed out how to improve his defects'. Also a more humble man; in discussing Privateering he remarks that he 'never had the advantage' of service in 'our incomparable Royal Navy. I hope my defects will be thought the more excusable.'

His work is also much enlivened by many anecdotes drawn from his own experience. They would be more valuable to historians if he had included more details of the men, ships, date and circumstances which surround each of them; but this he largely omitted. Nevertheless, there is much to delight the lay reader, and the historian, in remarks such as:

'In the latter part of the last foreign war, in the evening, I saw one of His Majesty's scows of war with all sail set crowding away with a large wind at S.S.E. and rainy weather, with about 140 pressed men on board, that night the wind blew suddenly round to the opposite point N.N.W. and blew a storm that must have overset and sunk her, for no remains was ever found but her barge that had floated off the booms.'

(This, Hutchinson reckons, with a logic I cannot follow, should 'go against that vile and cruel practice of pressing seamen for government's service).

'On getting a Pilot on Board in bad Weather at Sea: This is sometimes attended with so much danger, that the Pilot sloops belonging to Liverpool, rather than run the risk of boarding a ship from their own sloop, sometimes go no nearer to the ship than to have a small rope thrown to or veered a-stern to them, which they make fast about the pilot's body under his armpits, he then goes overboard into the sea when as near the ship as they dare venture, and he is hauled on board the ship by the rope.'

(A practice unlikely to meet with approval from the pilots of 1969! And yet there are similarities between the Treatise of 1777, and the Admiralty Manual of Seamanship of 1964. None more striking than the comparison of 'stiff' and 'crank' ships, (Hutchinson); and 'lively' and 'sluggish' ships, (Admiralty). Apart from the evolution of different terminology, the 1964 edition could easily be a simple re-draft of the 1777 one.)

On Letter of Marque Ships and Privateers: 'I have known our people vastly at a loss, both in privateers and merchants ships, when a war happens after a long peace; as in the first part of the war before last, I was in an East India ship of 32 guns, and a letter of mart ship in the Jamaica trade, where our great guns and small arms were never

exercised, because none on board either ship knew how it was to be done . . .'

But nevertheless, Hutchinson was so keen on Swivel Gun Carriages that he 'was induced to think this carriage worthy the notice of the managers of our Royal Navy, therefore I got a nice model with a gilt gun, etc. made, and a friend to present it to Lord Anson, then at the head of the Admiralty, and was ready to give a report of it, but my well meant endeavours were disregarded, for I never heard or saw anything further of my gun and carriage afterward.'

One hopes that his suggestions had a bearing on the introduction of swivel guns in time to be decisive factor in Rodney's victory over de Grasse at the Saints in 1782; and that his gilt model gun may have been known to Sir Charles Douglas, Rodney's Captain of the Fleet, who is credited with this, and other, reforms.

Hutchinson's interest in reflecting mirrors, lighthouses, and tides is evident from several pages devoted to these topics. The Port of Liverpool gained four lighthouses in 1763, all fitted with reflecting parabolic mirrors, three years after Hutchinson became Dockmaster. He claims that 'the losses have been very few in comparison to what they were before the light houses were Built'.

Finally, in his conclusion, which is an exhortation to religious observance (clearly much honoured in the breach!):

'For the first fifteen years I was at sea, in different trades, I never saw any religious duty publicly performed on board except that in an East India Ship, for two or three Sundays, when we draw near the Cape of Good Hope, we had prayers, which ceased after we passed the Cape. Indeed that great Company, or their Managers, are highly blamable in shamefully rating these large ships at 499 tons, in order to avoid the expense of a Clergyman.'

J. F. Allan

The formal entry for the book is as follows

HUTCHINSON, William

A | treatise | on | practical seaman∫hip; | with | hints and remarks | relating thereto: | de∫igned to contribute ∫omething towards fixing rules | upon | philo∫ophical and rational principles; | to | make ships, and the management of them; | and also | navigation, in general, more perfect, | and | con∫equently le∫s dangerous and destructive | to | health, lives, and property. | By William Hutchinson, Mariner, | and dock master, at Liverpool. | Printed, | and sold for the author at all the principal seaports in Great-Britain | and Ireland, 1777.

4^0 xiv, 213p. 11 plates

The second edition which is not held in the Library, is recorded as follows in the British Museum Catalogue. It would appear to be some fifty-six pages larger than the first edition, although with the same number of plates.

HUTCHINSON, William

The second edition, considerably enlarged of A treatise on practical seamanship; with new and important hints, etc. Liverpool, Printed for the author. 1787.

xv,269p. 11 plates

JOHN WEBBER: AND HIS AQUATINTS

John Webber, RA, (1752–1793) was the official artist appointed by the Admiralty to Cook's third voyage. Biographical details are available in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (which gives the birth-date of 1750?), Beaglehole[1] and Bernard Smith[2] (who gives the death-date of 1798). These notes are concerned with points that are little known.

Webber's Christian name too often appears as James. The origin of this error is shown below but unfortunately the wrong name was perpetuated in the catalogue[3] of the centennial exhibition of New Zealand art, which has been subsequently quoted elsewhere. Further, the New Zealand-born naturalist Dr Averil Lysaght[4] explains that Webber sometimes signed himself William, although more often John. (She also lists his bird paintings which, with his other natural history works, are preserved in the British Museum.)

The *DNB* records that Webber witnessed Cook's death, but Professor Beaglehole denies this. The Cleveley aquatint of the event is therefore more likely to be accurate than Webber's versions, often engraved. The third representation of it, by Zoffany, is purely imaginary.

It is believed that Webber's portrait of his brother, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1776, attracted the notice of Dr Solander and that this resulted in the artist's appointment to Cook on the third voyage. Yet it was as a landscape painter that he joined the *Resolution* and it is for his landscapes that he is known, although his work on the voyage necessarily covered every aspect. As a portraitist Webber is perhaps unfairly neglected.

The popular portraits of Cook are those by Dance, which have been engraved in numerous versions, becoming progressively less like the originals. But Dance was a fashionable professional portrait painter and one would expect that he flattered his subjects. His Cook appears romanticized, even idealized, to present the image the public expected. Cook's contemporaries described him as good-looking but plain, rather than handsome. Webber's portraits of him are probably more true to life. Engravings have been made from that done at the Cape of Good Hope, but the most interesting is that in the National Art Gallery, Wellington. Beaglehole gives its provenance, according to which the picture was painted in 1776 and given by Cook to his wife. In 1960 the oil painting was purchased in England by the New Zealand Government. The only other authentic portrait of Cook is that by William Hodges, official artist on the second voyage. The original is lost but an engraving from it by J. Basire, 1777, appears as the frontispiece to the official account of the second voyage, and has often been copied by other engravers.

Too few know Webber's portrait of Poedooa [Poetua, daughter of a chief of Raiatea], owned by the Admiralty but on loan to the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich. Her enigmatic beauty is remarked upon by both Beaglehole and Smith.

Smith also considers Webber's conscientious attention to botanical detail in his landscapes, in which unusual prominence is given to trees, and human figures are introduced only as an incidental foil, reversing the usual procedure of the time.

After the 1776–80 voyage Webber was employed for some time by the Admiralty, making finished drawings to be engraved by a number of well-known specialists in this field. Because of the large number of plates and charts included in the three volumes, publication was delayed until 1784. It is for these plates that Webber is best known. All sixty-one are from his work, although William Ellis, surgeon's mate on the *Discovery*, also drew many very attractive landscapes, bird studies, etc, recorded by Beaglehole and Lysaght. As with the engravings of the first two voyages, many of Webber's are still being reproduced today.

The original paintings are scattered around the world more widely than those of any other of Cook's artists. Beaglehole lists the whereabouts of these in his section on the Graphic Records of the voyage. Of particular interest are the sixty-six watercolours held in the Dixson Library of the Public Library of New South Wales, 'apparently the finished designs for the engravings in the *Voyage*'. Many are exact duplicates of other originals by Webber in the British Museum and the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. Among the most striking of Webber's ethnological studies are those in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University.

The Aquatints

It is commonly stated that Webber published a series of sixteen aquatints in colour of Pacific views, between the years 1788 and 1792. This is correct, as far as it goes, but interesting variations to be found seem to have escaped notice. It seems always to be assumed that this series consisted of those plates published posthumously by Boydell.

In the Turnbull collections, however, among the several made-up sets of engravings illustrating Cook's voyages, one volume contains several apparently rare variants.

The four earliest aquatints are dated 1787 (one lacking the month of publication) and are the joint production of Webber himself and Mrs Maria Catharina Prestel. These are all in sepia. The captions given below follow the varied presentation found on the prints, three of which do not seem to have been reproduced elsewhere, although the fourth appears also in the next series.

[1] Drawn & Etchd by I. Webber Aquatint by M. C. Prestel
A VIEW IN ANNAMOOKA, ONE OF THE FRIENDLY ISLE'S
Vide Cooks last Voy. Vol. I. Chap. IV
London Pub^{d} 1787 by I. Webber N° 312 Oxford Street.

[2] Drawn & Etchd by I. Webber Aqua Tinta by M C Prestel
A VIEW IN MATAVAI, OTAHEITE.
Vide Cooks last Voy. Vol. II Chap. II
London Pub^{d} Feb^{y} 1 1787 by I. Webber N° 312 Oxford Street

[3] Drawn & Etch'd by I. Webber Aqua tinta by M. C. Prestel
VIEW IN ULIETEA
Vide Cook's last Voy. Vol. II Chap. VII
London Publish'd Feb^{y} 1 1787 by I. Webber N° 312 Oxford Street.

[4] Drawn & Etch'd by I. Webber Aqua tinta by M. C. Prestel
A VIEW IN PULO CONDORE
Vide Cook's last Voy. Vol. III Chap. X.
London Pub^{d} Feb^{y} 1. 1787 by I. Webber N° 312 Oxford Street.

Presumably Webber was not satisfied with Mrs Prestel's contribution to his first publications, for he next published the sixteen unnumbered aquatints listed below, between 1788–92. These have been bound in the order in which Boydell's publication has them and the latter have been interleaved in this Turnbull volume. Both Webber's own issues measure approximately 16 × 22 inches; Boydell's, 16 × 21 inches. Although the plate-marks and the coloured surfaces vary only infinitesimally, it would seem that Boydell's plates were re-drawn, although scrupulously carefully.

In each case Webber's first version is colour-washed in sepia and grey, giving a very beautiful and soft effect. (There is a second set of these in one of the other collections in the Alexander Turnbull Library.) Webber's second version is finely hand-finished in bright but soft colours in eight of the plates; the other eight remain in only the sepia and grey tonings of the first series. The third version occurs in the Boydell issue, below; heavier and darker in colouring. Titles are identical in every case. Only Boydell's plates are numbered, but sometimes so faintly as to be almost undetectable. Variations in captioning are given for the two Webber series. He was admitted as a member of the Academy in 1791. Throughout 'J' is given as 'I' as was the practice then.

[1] *View in Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand.* I. Webber fecit . . . Pub^{d} Oct^{r} 1. 1790 by I. Webber N° 312 Oxford Street

[NB Webber's second version, in full colour, and Boydell's issue, carry identical text, including the reference to Cook's last voyage, but both have 'I Webber fecit R.A' – with Boydell as publisher of the final version.]

[2] *Boats of the Friendly Islands.* I. Webber R.A. fecit . . . Published Aug.t 1 1791 . . .
[Webber's second version is not in full colour, the emphasis being on a blue wash.]

[3] *A Sailing Canoe of Otahaite.* I. Webber R.A. fecit . . . Pub.d Aug.t 1792 . . .
[All three Turnbull copies of this Webber print are identical, being basically in sepia with only a trace of blue; in all, as in the Boydell issues, the Cook voyage reference is restricted to 'Vol. 1' and there is no month of publication by Webber.]

[4] *The Plantain Tree, in the Island of Cracatoa.* I. Webber fecit, 1788 . . . Pub.d Nov.r 1. 1788 . . .
[Again all three of Turnbull's Webbers are sepia with only a hint of blue.]

[5] *A View in Oheitepeha Bay, in the Island of Otaheite.* I. Webber, R.A fecit . . . Pub.d Aug.t 1. 1791 . . .
[One copy in full colour, with the mountains markedly more blue than in the Boydell issues where they are pink-tinted.]

[6] *Waheiadooa, Chief of Oheitepeha, lying in State.* I. Webber fecit . . . Publish'd July 1. 1789 . . .
[One Webber issue in full colour.]

[7] *View of the Harbour of Taloo, in the Island of Eimeo.* I. Webber fecit. . . . Pub.d July 1. 1789 . . .
[One in full colour, although the sky is blue where it is pink in Boydell.]

[8] *A Toopapaoo of a Chief, with a Priest making his offering to the Morai, in Huoheine.* I. Webber fecit. R.A. . . . Pub. Oct. 1. 1789 . . .
[The print in full colour bears only 'I. Webber fecit.' and the seated figure is pink; but it is brown in the Boydell print, which has 'R.A.' included.]

[9] *The Resolution beating through the Ice, with the Discovery in the most eminent danger in the distance.* I. Webber R.A. fecit . . . Publish'd Aug.t 1. 1792 . . .
[The three Webbers are pale sepia, with only a hint of grey. In some of the plates the reference to Cook's last voyage does not agree with the extract Boydell gives in his accompanying text. In this case it does, the entry being for 23 July 1779: but Beaglehole notes that one of the

original drawings by Webber of this scene, that in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, identifies it as off Icy Cape and is dated 18 August 1778 – Cook's farthest point north.]

[10] *The Narta, or Sledge for Burdens in Kamtchatka.* I. Webber fecit. . . . Pub.d July 1. 1789 . . .
[The blue wash is marked in the second version. In all, including Boydell's, the Cook reference is: 'NB not mention'd in Cooks. last Voyage.']

[11] *Balagans or Summer Habitations, with the method of Drying Fish at S.t Peter & Paul. Kamtschatka.* I Webber R.A. fecit . . . Pub.d Aug.t 1 1792 . . .
[All the Webbers, pale sepia and grey.]

[12] *View in Macao, Including the residence of Camoens, when he wrote his Lusiad.* I. Webber fecit. 1788 . . . Pub.d Aug.t 1. 1788 . . .
[All the Webbers, pale sepia and grey.]

[13] *View in Macao.* I. Webber fecit. 1788 . . . Pub.d Aug.t 1. 1788 . . .
[Again, as above.]

[14] *A View in the Island of Pulo Condore.* I. Webber R.A fecit. . . . Pub.d Aug.t 1. 1792 . . .
[All three in sepia, with a hint of grey. Re-drawn from the Webber Prestel aquatint of 1787.]

[15] *View in the Island of Cracatoa.* I. Webber fecit . . . Pub.d July 1. 1789 . . .
[All three Webbers in sepia, with background in grey.]

[16] *The Fan Palm, in the Island of Cracatoa.* I. Webber fecit. 1788. . . . Pub. Aug.t 1. 1788 . . .
[The second Webber version in full colour, the girl's skirt being pink, but white in the Boydell print.]

Two Boydell Issues
The Boydell title-page is notable for its two errors, in the names of Webber and Cook. In the case of Webber, this has caused confusion for 160 years. 'Views in the South Seas, from drawings by the late James Webber, draftsman on board the *Resolution,* Captain James Cooke, from the year 1776 to 1780. With letter-press, descriptive of the various scenery, &c. These plates form a new series, and are of the same size as those engraved for Captain Cooke's last voyage. The

1 A VIEW IN ANNAMOOKA, ONE OF THE FRIENDLY ISLE'S
Drawn & Etchd by I Webber Aquatinta by M. C. Prestel
London Pub.d 1787 by I Webber . . .

2 A VIEW IN MATAVAI, OTAHEITE.
Drawn & Etchd by I Webber Aqua Tinta by M C Prestel
London Pub.d Feb.y 1 1787 by I Webber . . .

3 VIEW IN ULIETEA
Drawn & Etch'd by I. Webber Aqua tinta by M. C. Prestel
London Publish'd Feb.y 1. 1787 by I. Webber . . .

4 A VIEW IN PULO CONDORE
Drawn & Etch'd by I. Webber Aqua tinta by M. C. Prestel
London Pub.d Feb.y 1. 1787 by I. Webber . . .

drawings are in the possession of the Board of Admiralty. London: published by Boydell and Co. No. 90, Cheapside. Printed by W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland-Row. 1808.'

Because of the date on the title-page the Boydell plates are invariably given as having appeared in 1808: yet every one of the sixteen aquatints bears the date of publication as 1 April 1809. They are all finished in much heavier colouring than that used by Webber in his own earlier publication and, although attractive, they quite lack the charm and delicacy that is so apparent in the Webber plates when the Boydell are placed against them.

It has been left to Major J. R. Abbey[5] alone, in his invaluable definitive check-list, to have the last word on Boydell's *Views in the South Seas*. He has discovered what has escaped all other researchers, that Boydell re-issued the *Views*, probably in 1820–21 as the paper is watermarked 1819 and 1820. The first issue is watermarked 'J. Whatman 1805'. Apart from the watermark, it appears impossible to differentiate between the 1809 and 1820(?) volumes unless, as is seldom the case, the original binding has been retained, inclusive of the paper label pasted on the front cover. Abbey quotes a label given by Hocken:[6] *Views in the South Seas, by James Webber, illustrative of Captain Cook's Voyages, 16 plates, coloured, Price £6 6s.*, and thinks this may be the original label. I believe this to be so, and that the 1820(?) label is that given by Abbey: *Views in the South Seas. From drawings by the late James Webber. London: Published by Boydell and Co. Cheapside.*

In the Turnbull collections are one copy of each of the Boydell issues, the second issue having been re-bound; and another second issue set had been broken up and bound into the made-up volume which also contains the Webber plates described above.

A. A. St. C. M. Murray-Oliver

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[4] Lysaght, A. M., Some eighteenth century bird paintings in the library of Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820). London, Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History): Historical series, v. 1, no 6, 1959.

[5] Abbey, J. R., Travel in aquatint and lithography, 1770–1860, from the library of J. R. Abbey: a bibliographical catalogue. 2 vols. London, privately printed at the Curwen Press, 1957.

[6] Hocken, T. M., A bibliography of the literature relating to New Zealand. Wellington' The Government Printer, 1909.

KATHERINE MANSFIELD'S *AT THE BAY*

Mrs Morris has written an article refuting several arguments of Mr Newlove in the April issue; but as this is too long for publication in the *Record*, she has, at our request, submitted this abridged version.

I have to thank Mr Barry Newlove for his detailed research into the situation of the house *At the Bay*, and welcome him to the growing number of Katherine Mansfield enthusiasts in New Zealand.

I would repeat that my theory is based on my knowledge of the landscape, the legacy of Sir Harold Beauchamp's letters and the notes about his conversation with my husband. A pioneer must expect his thesis to be altered by subsequently found truths.

The main point on which Mr Newlove joins issue with me is whether the house *At the Bay* is on the eastern hill side or on the western flat side of Muritai Road.

Mr Newlove and I differ in our interpretations of the meaning of the words 'up' and 'down'. I maintain that Katherine Mansfield used them in the ordinary sense of different levels; he that they are used on one level, as 'up to the house', 'down to the gate', which meaning cannot be applied in a general sense, *eg* to a house built below road level.

There were, strictly according to the dictionary definition, no bungalows at the Bays. The Glen has as much right as any other cottage in the Bays to be called a bungalow, a word more generally understood by the English, for whom the story was written, than our colloquial words.

Before 1902 there was a paddock in front of The Glen, 2 roods 8.7 perches of land having been added to the property in that year, after the house was built, and after Katherine Mansfield was at the Bay.

In Muritai, as Mr Newlove states, the hills are at the back of the bay; they are also at the back of The Glen. His house would be built on the flat land, facing the main road, without much view except of the hills and the bush. Katherine Mansfield wrote 'And from the bush there came the sound of little streams flowing, quickly, lightly, slipping between the smooth stones . . .' One would need to be near the bush to hear the little streams, but there was a stream flowing beside the Glen. And her phrase: 'gushing into ferny basins and out again'. There used to be a small waterfall on the opposite side of the valley from the Glen which exactly fits this description. And again: 'a faint stirring and shaking, the snapping of a twig'. The bush almost touched the north-east corner of the house, but such gentle bush sounds would not be heard in a bungalow across the road.

The important question in this discussion is whether Mr Harold Beauchamp leased more than one house at the Bays. It has been established that he leased The Glen.

In a letter to my husband on 8 February 1937, Sir Harold wrote: 'Dear Sir, This morning I am in receipt of your letter dated 5th instant in which you seek further information concerning my daughter, Katherine Mansfield. Before I purchased the property – already referred to – in Day's Bay, I took a furnished cottage for my family at Muritai, and she made the acquaintance of a Mrs Jones – I fancy my daughter made use of her in one or two of her sketches.'

In all their correspondence, Sir Harold did not mention any other house; and until there is evidence that the Beauchamp family lived in any other Bay house, I still maintain that The Glen, to which every piece of descriptive writing in Katherine Mansfield's *At the Bay* can be applied, is the Burnell House.

Maude E. Morris

CORRECTION

The autobiography of Robert Shortried Anderson Section II (in April issue of *Record*) Note 4, p.14, Henry's Public House. Mr K. M. Stevens has corrected my identification of the owner to Thomas Henry. Miss P. French of the Reference Staff, Auckland Public Library coincidentally found a reference (*New Zealander* 20 January, 1858, p.2) advertising for the sale in the name of Thomas Henry a licensed inn at 'the town of Marsden, Whangarei Heads' and points out that it was Henry who sold the One Tree Hill Estate to Brown and Campbell.

Mr R. F. Grover, Assistant Chief Librarian, has been awarded an Anzac Fellowship in terms of which he is spending six months in Australia examining library and other institutional holdings of New Zealand manuscripts, paintings and photographs. Mr Grover who began his assignment on 1 July, is undertaking this work with the welcome support of the Australian National Librarian, Mr H. L. White, and the Principal Librarian of the Library of New South Wales, Mr G. D. Richardson, in whose libraries much of his time will be spent. He will also visit Adelaide, Melbourne, Hobart and Brisbane. While in Canberra at the National Library of Australia he will also study bibliographical procedures and techniques. These are of great interest to Turnbull, which as part of the National Library, is responsible for the *New Zealand National Bibliography*. The Turnbull Committee and Trustees are grateful to the Australian Library authorities who, as part of Mr Grover's programme, have permitted extensive runs of manuscript to be photocopied for consultation in the Turnbull Library.

Miss M. Walton, Head of Reference, who has been on leave in the United Kingdom since the beginning of June, spent some weeks at work in London in August–September at the conclusion of her holiday. Her task has been to assist Mr John Maggs of Messrs Maggs Bros to identify the items in which the Library is interested in the collection of the late K. A. Webster bought by the firm. During his relatively short active period as a book collector as distinct from a collector of Maori artifacts, Mr Webster had built up what was undoubtedly the finest private collection still extant on New Zealand, Australia and their colonising background. In earlier years Mr Webster had generously permitted some of his manuscripts to be copied for the Library. By a tragic conjunction of circumstances one such consignment was almost totally destroyed on its return, in the 1961 Aotea Quay fire. Before his sudden death in October 1967 the Library had bought a number of manuscripts from Mr Webster. The sympathetic indulgence of Mrs Webster, the Trustees of the estate and of John Maggs in giving New Zealand in the form of the Library the opportunity of acquiring not merely the manuscripts which Mr Webster still retained but also selections from his pamphlets, maps and numerous other rare ephemera is greatly appreciated.

The Library, in agreement with the National Library of Australia, the Mitchell Library and the University of Hawaii, were bidders at the 2 June Paris sale of the Ropiteau-O'Reilly collection of Tahitian and other Pacific manuscripts with early island imprints. These libraries, with the Australian National University in Canberra, constitute the

Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, an organisation of research libraries whose whose main function is the location of manuscript and rare printed material dealing with the Pacific and the arrangement of its microfilming for the benefit of member libraries. Turnbull's membership is as part of the National Library. Mr R. Langdon, the executive officer of the Bureau who is in Canberra at the Australian National University, reported on the negotiations in *Pambu,* no 11 June 1969, in which he quoted a librarian as saying that the negotiations had been 'a quite successful exercise in interlibrary and international co-operation'. The complex series of consultations in fact involved two last-minute calls by the Chief Librarian to Canberra and Sydney. Competition was very strong and many items wanted by Mitchell, The National Library of Australia and Turnbull went to other buyers. The Library's own purchases included letters by William Wilson, John Jefferson, John Harris, Henry Nott, Samuel Tessier, John Davies, and John Youl, all dealing with the establishment of the Tahitian mission. This acquisition matches a prized possession of the Library, the original journal of William Puckey, who landed at Matavai Bay in 1797. A Pacific log kept by Henri Jouan and Tahitian imprints were also acquired. The cost, approximately $3,000, will be met by the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust.

Mention of the Endowment Trust reminds us that in this issue members will find the Annual Statement of Accounts of the Friends of the Turnbull Library. Although as part of the National Library the Alexander Turnbull Library has an increased allocation available to it for the purchase of library materials, the escalating prices of books, paintings and manuscripts still place it at a disadvantage in competition with overseas institutions. The capital of the Endowment Trust which began with a £100 donation by Sir George and Lady Shirtcliffe thirty-five years ago, has been added to over the years by donations and bequests, but most substantially by profits from the sales of Library prints published by the Trust. These funds, which total at present approximately $45,000, need to be both husbanded and increased if the Library is to buy what it needs. Members, by encouraging the purchase of prints and other Library publications, will assist greatly in adding to our resources. The funds of the Friends of the Turnbull Library are used primarily to support the *Record,* the cost of which at the present time is a little in excess of our subscription income and returns from sales of the cards and other publications sold in the name of Friends. While the large increase in membership and worthwhile exchanges has been most gratifying, members are urged to widen still further the circulation by drawing the *Record* to the attention of friends and colleagues, and so enable at least three issues a year to be published, as originally planned two years ago.

FRIENDS OF THE TURNBULL LIBRARY
BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 MARCH 1969

Last year $		$	$
	ACCUMULATED FUNDS		
2,631	Balance 1 April 1968	2,844.06	
213	Surplus for year	—	
—	Deficit for year	72.73	
—	Tasman blocks written off	200.00	
2,844			2,571.33
	These are represented by:		
	ASSETS		
5	Cash on hand	0.60	
381	Cash at Bank	678.46	
1,367	Post Office Savings Bank	1,156.70	
578	Stock of publications	416.52	
200	Blocks (Tasman)	—	
20	Crockery	20.55	
2,551			2,282.83
	INVESTMENTS (Hugh Walpole Endowment)		
240	HVEP & Gas Board Debenture	—	
224	Post Office Savings Bank	482.10	
464			482.10
	(Other)		
600	HVEP & Gas Board Debentures		600.00
3,615			3,364.93
	LESS LIABILITIES		
6	Subscriptions paid in advance		10.00
	HUGH WALPOLE ENDOWMENT		
446	Balance 1 April 1968	463.69	
17	Interest received	18.41	
463			482.10
302	LIFE MEMBERSHIP RESERVE		301.50
$42,844			$2,571.33

STATEMENT OF INCOME & EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR ENDED 31 MARCH 1969

Last year $		$	$
	INCOME		
	INCOME		
444	Subscriptions	558.79	
84	Profit on sale of Publications	176.97	
88	Interest and Donations	85.44	
616			821.20
	EXPENSES		
54	Printing and Stationery	41.34	
18	General Expenses	17.42	
12	Audit Fee	15.00	
—	Treasurer's Honorarium	10.00	
301	Journal – Printing	656.59	
	Blocks	126.40	
6	Meeting Expenses	27.18	
12	Equipment donated to Library	—	
403			893.93
213	SURPLUS FOR YEAR		—
—	DEFICIT FOR YEAR		472.73

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have examined the records of the Friends of the Turnbull Library for the year ended 31 March 1969. In our opinion, the Balance Sheet and above Statement of Income and Expenditure correctly sets out the financial position and the transactions for the year, according to the records and explanations given to us. We have accepted the Secretary's Certificate as to quantities and values of stock of the Society as at 31 March 1969.

PATTRICK, FEIL & CO
Honorary Auditors

Wellington
22 May 1969

TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF NEW ZEALAND

Chairman: Sir John Ilott

Appointed by the Governor-General:
Sir Ronald Algie, Professor J. C. Garrett,
Honourable H. G. R. Mason, CMG (temporary Trustee vice Mr A. D. McIntosh)
Mr D. J. Riddiford, MP, MC, The Right Reverend A. K. Warren

Elected by the Library Committee of the House of Representatives:
The Honourable R. E. Jack, MP, Mr W. W. Freer, MP

Statutory Trustees:
The Director-General of Education (Dr K. J. Sheen)
The Secretary for Internal Affairs (Mr P. J. O'Dea)
The Clerk of the House of Representatives (Mr H. N. Dollimore)

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Messrs D. J. Riddiford, Ormond Wilson and the Secretary for Internal Affairs

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National Librarian: Mr H. Macaskill, BA, FNZLA
Deputy National Librarian: Mr D. C. McIntosh, BA, ANZLA
Executive Officer and Treasurer, Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust: Mr P. E. Richardson

ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY

Chief Librarian,
Alexander Turnbull Library: Mr A. G. Bagnall, MA, FNZLA
Assistant Chief Librarian: Mr R. F. Grover, BA, ANZLA
Librarian in charge of Reference Section: Miss M. Walton, MA, ANZLA
Librarian in charge of the Catalogue Section: Miss N. M. Irvine, ANZLA
Assistant Editors, New Zealand National Bibliography and Senior cataloguers: Mr P. L. Barton, NZLA cert.,
Mrs R. F. Graham, BA, DIPNZLS, Mr M. J. H. Wyatt, BA, DIPNZLS
First Assistant Catalogue Section: Miss K. S. Williams, MA, ANZLA
First Assistant Reference Section: Miss J. M. Bergen, BA, DIPNZLS
Reference Assistants:
Mrs M. Hickman, NZLA cert., Mrs M. G. Hughes, NZLA cert.
Manuscripts Librarian: Mrs M. A. Scott, BA, DIP NZLS
Assistant Manuscripts Section: Mr P. B. L. Crisp, MA, DIP NZLS
Acquisitions Librarian: Miss D. M. Sherratt, BA
Education Officer: Mr A. A. St. C. M. Murray-Oliver, MA, ANZLA
Art Librarian: Mrs H. M. Curnow, BA
Librarian in charge Photograph Section: Miss M. J. Lord, NZLA cert.

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.

OFFICERS

President: Canon N. Williams
Immediate Past President: Mr Denis Glover
Secretary: Miss M. Walton *Treasurer:* Miss D. Sherratt

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Mr J. Berry, Mr A. Helm, Mr B. Jones, Professor D. F. McKenzie
Mr C. R. H. Taylor, Mr J. E. Traue, Mr I. Wards

Record Editor: Mr A. G. Bagnall, *Chief Librarian*

Two new sets of greeting cards, reproduced from prints in the Library, have now been issued by The Friends of the Turnbull Library.
From aquatints by John Webber and after John Cleveley, respectively:

Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte Sound, February 1777 and *The Death of Captain Cook, February 1779.* Both cards are in colour, approximately 6 x $7\frac{3}{4}$ ins, and sell at 25 cents each.

Six engravings from the copper-plates in the British Museum (Natural History) made from watercolours prepared for Banks from Parkinson's sketches on Cook's first voyage. The subjects are:

Kaka-beak, Koromiko, Convolvulus, Native Iris, Dandelion, and *Tree Fuchsia.* In black and white, the cards are 10 cents each.

An example of one of the cards is enclosed.

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 75 c.

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 and the FOX PORTFOLIO

Three reproductions in colour of watercolours by Sir William Fox, two being in the Nelson area and one of Otaraia Pa on the Ruamahanga. Coloured surface of each, approximately 9 x 12 ins. *$2.00 each, with descriptive leaflet.* ALSO six other prints – Kaiteriteri; Lake Rotoroa: Tiraumea river; Tuakau; Hokitika; Pohaturoa rock – with a brochure by Dr E. H. McCormick. Edition of 2,000. Portfolio $14\frac{1}{2}$ x $18\frac{1}{2}$ ins. *Sold only as a set of 6, at $10.*

The BARRAUD PRINTS 1967:

Wellington 1861; Lake Papaitonga, Horowhenua; The Barracks, Napier. Coloured surface, approximately 10 x 15 ins. *$2.00 each, with notes.*

The EMILY HARRIS PRINTS

New Zealand flower paintings – Rangiora, Blueberry, Mountain cabbage-tree. Coloured surfaces, approximately 18 × 12 ins. Edition of 2,500. $2.00 each, with notes; *set of 3, in illustrated folder, $6.00.*

MAPLESTONE PRINTS

To be issued December 1969. Hawkestone Street, Wellington; New Plymouth; Scene near Stoke, Nelson. All 1849.

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 ins. Price 20c.

Offprints of the articles on S. C. Brees in November 1968 *Turnbull Library Record* available 25c.

Set in 'Monotype' 10 pt and 12 pt Bembo and printed by the Pelorus Press Ltd, Auckland, New Zealand