

The
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RECORD



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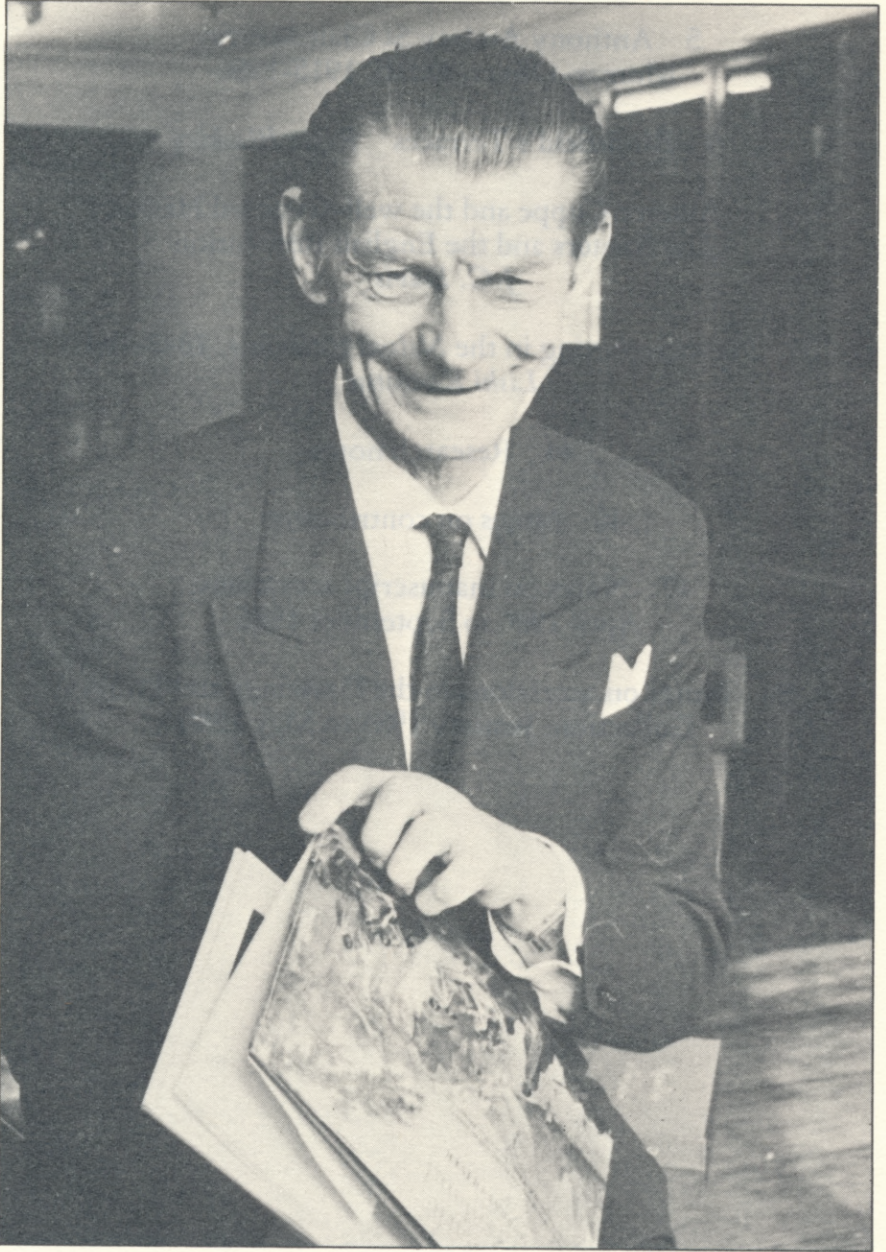
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Photographed at Bowen Street, 1969 Photo neg 16586 1/4

Anthony Audrey St Clair Murray
Murray-Oliver, MBE
1915 – 1986

Tony Murray-Oliver who died in November after a short illness will be missed by the many institutions, committees, societies, friends, acquaintances, paintings, drawings, prints, gardens, flowers, trees, books, periodicals, manuscripts and cats that were the stuff of Tony's life.

For more than two thirds of that life he was principally identified with the Alexander Turnbull Library, and for him it was certainly a home away from home for more than the obligatory 7 hours 35 minutes. However, Tony's arrival at the Library arose from no ambition; the Library had meant little to him till then. On leaving Christchurch Boys High School he had joined Ballantyne's as a draper's assistant. To their credit they recognised his potential and encouraged him to take up a career in something other than salesmanship. In 1938, aged 22, he commenced work at the Turnbull Library.

By 1940 he was already recognised in the Library as the reference expert on art. In the same year he volunteered for the RNZAF and commenced service in June 1942. On his return home from the Solomon Islands at the end of the war Tony found his father's ill health had compelled him to give up farming and that his own help was needed with the farm at Rakaia until it could be sold. He recommenced work at the Library in June 1946, completed a B.A. degree in 1947 and a M.A. the following year. By then he had responsibilities in most areas of Library activity as well as being in charge of the Art Section.

In 1950 the opportunity arose to join the South Pacific Commission as acting Librarian for six months. In the event he did not return to the Turnbull from New Caledonia for two years, and it was some time before he put his watch forward to New Zealand time. In those two years he had experienced French colonial life, a far cry from life in egalitarian post-war New Zealand. He set about changing that. He founded Les Amis de Nouvelle-Calédonie en Nouvelle Zélande, the Wellington Wine and Food Society, and started a private dining club which paved the way for licensed restaurants.

The pattern of his life had now been established. Tony was also at various times the secretary-treasurer of the Wellington Regional Committee of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, the vice-

chairman of the Scenery Preservation Society, Wellington, the chairman of the Friends of Old St Paul's and a member of the Advisory Committee for Old St Paul's, a member of the New Zealand Litter Control Council, and a council member of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust and the Art Galleries and Museums Association of New Zealand. But the Library was the focus of his life and shortly after his unwilling retirement in 1980 he wrote to his friends that he felt 'a sort of non-person'.

Tony was a 'giver' par excellence of his time, his friendship and his love. His passionate interests brought him into contact with a wide range of people, many of whom owned New Zealand paintings, diaries and other material of research value. He created an informal network the length and breadth of New Zealand and overseas of people with every type of interest in our cultural heritage. Through their acquaintance with Tony many have made other connections and found new friends. There have been many occasions when the Library has been permitted first option to purchase or has become the grateful recipient of a donation through Tony's acquaintanceship with those fortunate enough to possess material of value to the research collections of the Library. As recently as 1984, four years after he had formally retired from the Public Service, the Library was most generously donated two Heaphy watercolour drawings located by Tony some years earlier.

Tony organised and catalogued many of the exhibitions that were mounted, but these could only show a fraction of the collections and then only for a short time. He was always aware of the conflict between gathering research material which often had aesthetic and historical appeal and then, in the interest of long term preservation, denying access to the members of the public who were not pursuing any line of research. In 1963 the Queen opened New Zealand House in London, and at Tony's instigation the first of the Turnbull prints were published. Thus began the programme of bringing the images of early New Zealand paintings held in the collections into homes and offices everywhere. For the rest of his working life Tony was responsible for recommending to the Chief Librarian paintings suitable for each issue, and in most cases he wrote the accompanying published notes. The prints have probably done most to make the New Zealand public at large aware of the Library.

I first met Tony Murray-Oliver in 1966, when I was employed at the Victoria University Library to mount a group of maps. My interest in the conservation of cultural property had recently led me to consider the career possibilities. The maps I was working on were part of the Fildes Collection and on one occasion I noticed a pair of pencil sketches by Heaphy. I had photographs taken and set

off to the Turnbull. Tony saw me, and it was not long before his interest moved from the sketches to my own work and ambitions.

As a result of that encounter I was to become one of the young people for whom Tony held a lamp. In fact in my case it led to my recruitment by the Library several years later as a Conservation Officer. Tony's own arrival had been even more by chance and he was aware that the interest of young people in the arts, in our heritage and indeed in any aspects of the finer things in life needed nurturing if institutions like the Turnbull were to prosper and New Zealand to develop. How many there must be who have met Tony and received that encouragement.

JEAVONS BAILLIE

To mark the occasion of Tony Murray-Oliver's retirement from the Library, a selective list of his publications was published in the Record (v.14 no.1, May 1981, 35-39). This was based on a much fuller unpublished bibliography compiled by Diana Meads.

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 and received that encouragement.

LEAVING BATH

It was the evening of the 11th of June 1957 when I left Bath
 for the first time. My departure was published in the Record on 14th June 1957.
 The following day I was in London and I was in the city of London
 by 12th June.

Blomfield's Terraces

ROGER BLACKLEY

*The number of this painter's works are undoubted proof of his industry.*¹

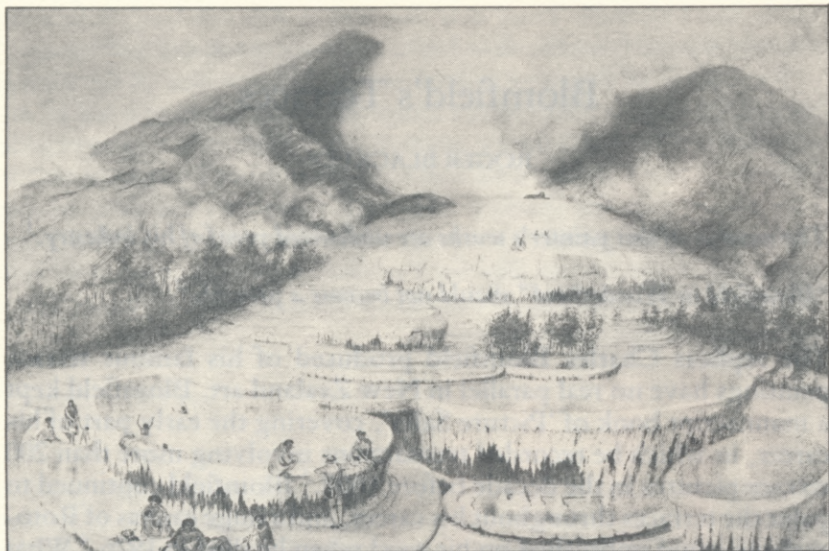
*"Blomfield in Wonderland" should not become a proverb.*²

The replicas Charles Blomfield produced of his famous terrace paintings have no real parallel in New Zealand art. Blomfield kept a manuscript book of 'Picture Sales', covering the early part of his career, in which he recorded transactions involving more than 200 terrace pictures in the decade before 1892.³ Blomfield continued to paint the terraces throughout his career, and a huge canvas of Rotomahana stood unfinished on his easel when he died in 1926.⁴ What is the meaning of this vast chain of cloned pictures? How did it all begin? And what was its significance for Blomfield's career?

He first visited the world-renowned pink and white terraces during a camping trip in the summer of 1875-76. Blomfield and his friend Thomas Spurgeon camped at Rotomahana ('all by ourselves on the spot so many have come thousands of miles to see') from New Year's Eve until 3 January, and left amid accusations of trespass and vandalism from the Tuhourangi of nearby Te Wairoa.⁵ Although tourists in 1876 were still being encouraged to make indelible inscriptions on the very surface of the terraces, the appropriation of specimens of silica formation had finally been forbidden, as had visitors without Maori guides. Blomfield's journal does not refer directly to painting, an habitual activity, but the several terrace pictures he records selling before 1883 must be based on sketches he made during this visit.

He returned with his wife early in 1883, when he made the sketches on which he based the Rotomahana canvases exhibited with the Society of Arts in April 1883. Particularly acclaimed were two large pictures now in a private Auckland collection, showing tourists and Maori guides visiting both terraces. During 1884, Blomfield made arrangements to return to Rotomahana for an extended painting trip. Remembering the trouble of 1876, he negotiated rights to camp and paint through Te Wairoa schoolteacher and friend Charles Haszard. The *Auckland Weekly News* reported on these negotiations:

The Maoris are a very conservative people concerning their customs and privileges, but one by one these customs and privileges, sometimes very obstructive



Charles Heaphy. Crater of White Terrace. Watercolour, 39.4 x 60.3cm. Alexander Turnbull Library

ones, are being broken down. It has been the custom to allow no-one to visit Rotomahana unless in the native boat or accompanied by a native guide; but our local artist, Mr Charles Blomfield, who has been negotiating for some weeks past with the principal chiefs of Rotomahana, has at length obtained their consent to allow him to go there alone. He intends to take a boat, and camp on the shores of Rotomahana for some weeks, and thoroughly explore the district. Instead of trusting to a few rapid sketches as hitherto, he intends to take a number of canvasses and paint direct from nature, thus getting a much more truthful representation of the many strange and beautiful sights in this wonderland of the antipodes. Mr Blomfield expects to exhibit some of these pictures at the forthcoming exhibition of the Society of Arts in April.⁶

Blomfield spent six weeks that summer at Rotomahana in the company of his eight-year-old daughter. Mary amazed tourists by frolicking in the steaming landscape, as her father painstakingly worked up a series of twelve canvasses.

Blomfield documented the trip in an invaluable series of letters to his wife, in which he reveals his method of working on the same picture on various days, as atmospheric and/or geothermal conditions recurred.⁷ He mentions initial troubles with a Te Ariki chief he calls 'Thompson the Thundercloud', and describes the arrival of photographer George Valentine with associate George Chapman in January 1885. At first he suspects them of having 'jumped our claim, and I believe pitched their tent in the very place I cleared for ours'.⁸ That evening Blomfield visited the photographers and reported Valentine (whom he calls Ballantyne) as saying 'another wet day would be enough for him'.⁹ Instead the weather cleared,



Charles Blomfield. *White Terrace*. 1897 Oil on canvas, 81.5 x 133cm. Auckland City Art Gallery, presented by D. L. Murdoch, Esq

and Valentine exposed his wonderful series of views.

Early in the stay Blomfield wrote requesting 'five or six of my cards', and 'also a piece of transferring paper, black one side and dark green the other, on my shelf near the hole in the chimney'.¹⁰ Regular groups of tourists encountered him at work painting the terraces, and this is where he received his first orders. The request for transferring paper indicates that he may have begun his production of replicas while still in the Hot Lakes district.

Seven of the 'originals' were hung among the loan works at the April exhibition. The *Star* reviewer wrote: 'The Rotomahana studies demand the first notice . . . These were all painted on the spot, with the object of getting the tints as true to nature as paint could make them. They were mostly rough, and would require to be worked up with care'.¹¹ That Blomfield was indeed working them up with care is revealed by his 'Picture Sales', where he lists the names of the clients throughout the world who were receiving terrace pictures. His greatest coup was the inclusion of fourteen Rotomahana canvases in London's Indian and Colonial Exhibition of 1886. These were on display when Tarawera erupted, destroying the terraces. The paintings sold for a total of 180 guineas, and resulted in yet more orders for replicas.

Despite occasional critical disparagement of his 'panorama-work', most newspaper commentary of the 1880s was supportive of what was seen as a patriotic activity. Here is the *Herald* commenting on several Rotomahana views on display in a Queen Street shop window in September 1885.



George Valentine. Pink Terrace, Lake Rotomahana. 1885 Photograph, 19.2 x 29.2cm. Auckland Institute and Museum

Charles Blomfield. Pink Terrace. 1885 Oil on canvas, 43.5 x 58.5cm. Private collection, Auckland



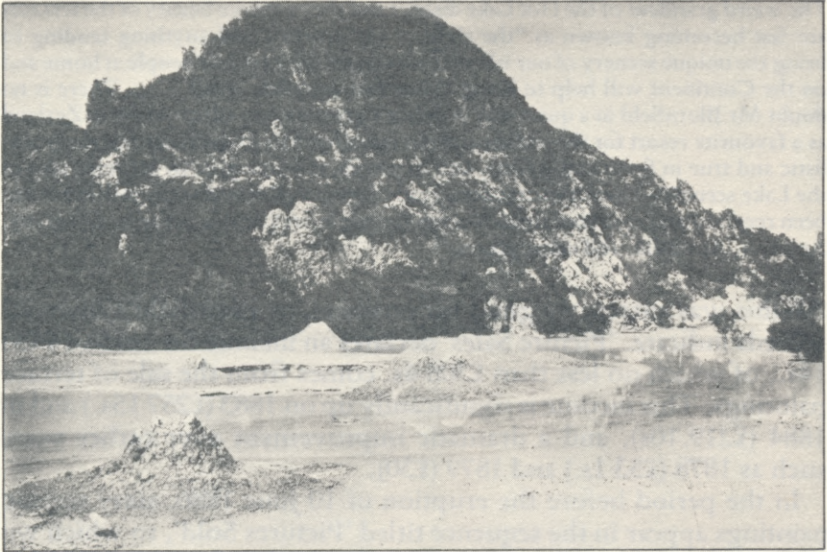
The weird grandeur of the Hot Lake district and the exquisite beauty of the terraces are fast becoming known as “the sight of the world”, and anything tending to bring the unique scenery of our island home under the notice of people at home and on the Continent will help to bring about this desirable result There is no doubt Mr Blomfield in a quiet way is doing a great deal to advertise New Zealand as a favourite resort for the tourist and the traveller. His pictures are intensely realistic and true in form and colour, and to people at home give an accurate idea of the Lake scenery. These pictures are already being well distributed, orders having been received and executed from tourists hailing from London, France, Germany, America, Australia, and other places.¹²

All this was extremely good for business, as Blomfield’s financial records indicate. ‘Picture Sales’ declares an income for 1885 of £434 14s., of which no less than £308 4s. comes from the sale of terrace paintings. This income is significantly up on 1883 (£257 15s.) and in 1884 (£219.10s), and a dramatic improvement over earlier years such as 1878 (£53 1s.) and 1879 (£30).

In the period before the eruption of 10 June 1886, sixty terrace paintings appear in the sequence titled ‘Pictures Sold’, to which we can add the fourteen he sent to the Indian and Colonial Exhibition. The production of yet more pre-eruption terraces is recorded in a separate sequence of ‘Pictures Sent away for Sale’. Here under July 1885 we find eleven terrace paintings ‘sent to Hot Lakes on exhibition’, a consignment each to the Lake House, Pallace [sic] Hotel, and Rotomahana Hotel. Through such industry and entrepreneurship, Blomfield secured his position as the most successful landscape painter in Auckland during the 1880s.

However, this obsessive copying of his own work inevitably led to a degradation of Blomfield’s reputation. The sheer quantity of the replicas—painted on canvases, panels, cardboard, and shells—almost overwhelms the possibility of grasping a wider oeuvre. That is, Blomfield made his name virtually synonymous with the terraces. The popular idea that works bearing pre-eruption dates are in some sense the ‘real’ terraces, while the later ones are merely ‘fantasies’, is an understandable response in the face of such a host of pictures. Yet such a notion cannot adequately deal with the later masterpieces, and it also disguises the true nature of Blomfield’s entire project.

Although they were painted largely in response to a perceived demand by tourists, Blomfield’s terrace pictures rarely admit any indication of tourist activity at Rotomahana. The lake and the terraces appear tranquil, populated sometimes by a few Maori figures, but more often devoid of any human sign. The delicate tendrils of Te Tarata’s basins are fixed in a state of pristine glory more comparable to early watercolours such as Heaphy’s celebrated view, than to the actual state revealed by photographers contemporary to Blomfield. Despite the ideology of truth to nature that



George Valentine. The Porridge Pot, Lake Rotomahana. 1885 Photograph, 18.9 x 29cm. Auckland Institute and Museum

motivated his painstaking field work of January 1885, the replicas both before and after the eruption promote a nostalgic vision of Rotomahana in its 'native purity', uncontaminated by tourism.

The selective nature of Blomfield's 'truth' can likewise be seen in his ability, in the midst of forestry's devastating progress, to find remnants of sylvan bush in which to sketch. His researches into the picturesque, fairly typical of his time, do not necessarily mean that Blomfield was blind to nature's essential fragility, to the real changes that were so typical of his time. Long after the cataclysmic eruption, he wrote the following account of how tourism inevitably transformed the landscape:

Rotomahana was unique. There was never anything like it before, and will never be again. It was beginning to be known as one of the sights of the world. The number of tourists visiting it doubled every few months. Soon the Government would have taken control and then all kinds of incongruous 'improvements' would have been introduced. The Maoris may have control of a beauty spot for years without altering its natural aspects, but as soon as the European steps in it soon loses its native purity. They form shell paths and build trim shelters at Whakarewarewa, turn the slopes of Ruapehu into a Scotch Highlands, and make a hideous wilderness of many a fine stretch of bush. One dreads to think of what Rotomahana would have looked like with shelters, tea kiosks, signboards, steam launches and perhaps a big hotel just where I pitched my tent.¹³

Nevertheless, tourism remained the context for Blomfield's terrace-replica business. His 'Gallery of New Zealand Art' in the Victoria Arcade lay between the wharves and the hotels, and adver-



Charles Blomfield. Mud Flat, Rotomahana. 1885 Oil on canvas, 35.5 x 61cm. Collection of Maurice Lennard, Auckland

tisements in the newspapers advised that 'Tourists and Visitors to Auckland are especially invited to view the collection'.¹⁴ Within this studio-shop, the terrace replicas functioned as up-market versions of the photographic views that were avidly collected by tourists long after the eruption had transformed Rotomahana. The huge editions of the photographs and the endlessly cloned oil paintings together played a part in constructing that particularly potent New Zealand folk myth: the Legend of the Lost Terraces.

Buried under the weight of the replicas, the 'original' terrace pictures of 1885 need to be appreciated for their contribution to a plein-air tradition in which Blomfield was an important pioneer. At a time when virtually all pictures intended for exhibition were painted within a comfortable studio, Blomfield undertook arduous trips burdened with all the materials he needed to produce oil paintings on the spot. When exhibited, these paintings had 'from Nature' proudly appended to the titles. In this sense the true successors to the terrace 'originals' are not the replicas, but rather the melancholy series of oil sketches of post-eruption Rotomahana Blomfield made under difficult circumstances in October 1886, four months after the cataclysm. In these extraordinary views he carefully documented the radically altered landscape, choosing vantage points as close as possible to those of the earlier terrace series.¹⁵ And back in Auckland, some of these views in turn became replicas within the 'Gallery of New Zealand Art'.



Charles Blomfield. Rotomahana. 1894 Oil on canvas, 60.5 x 90.5cm. Alexander Turnbull Library

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- 1 'Auckland Society of Arts', *New Zealand Herald*, 12 April 1883, p.5.
- 2 'Calamo Currente', *New Zealand Herald*, 2 May 1885 (supplement), p.1.
- 3 Picture Sales, Auckland Institute and Museum Library, MS30
- 4 Information from the present owner, a granddaughter of the artist.
- 5 Muriel Williams, *Charles Blomfield, His Life and Times* (Auckland, 1979), p.52. The charge of vandalism was unjustified, but it is true that Blomfield's axe (for chopping firewood) is the identical instrument that the scientist von Hochstetter advised as necessary for breaking off a specimen (in the commentary to D. L. Mundy's *Rotomahana*, London, 1875).
- 6 *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 December 1884, p.18.
- 7 For accurate transcriptions of these letters, now in the Auckland Institute and Museum Library, see Williams, *Charles Blomfield*, pp.68-73.
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- 11 'Society of Arts Exhibition', *Auckland Evening Star*, 17 April 1885, p.2.
- 12 *New Zealand Herald*, 21 September 1885, p.5.
- 13 'Painting the Terraces. A Departed Glory', undated newspaper clipping, Blomfield papers, Auckland Institute and Museum Library. For the entire text see Williams, *Charles Blomfield*, pp.74-77.
- 14 *New Zealand Herald*, 2 April 1888, p.8.
- 15 Blomfield stressed the comparative nature of his post-eruption work during a later debate over whether the terraces still existed ('The Lost Terraces. Gone Forever' *New Zealand Herald*, 1 February 1902 (supplement), p.1).

Abiezer Coppe and the well-favoured Harlot: The Ranters and the English Revolution

J. C. DAVIS

Historians in search of the English Revolution of the seventeenth century have come, in recent times, to seek it not amongst those well-known heroes of old, but amongst the obscure and lowly. John Hampden, Oliver Cromwell and John Milton are swept aside as conservative and ultimately repressive. The authentic voice of revolution comes from other less famous mouths: Jacob Bau-thumley, George Foster, Laurence Clarkson and, perhaps, Richard Coppin. There is an ironic nicety about this setting at nought of the things that are by those that are not, which would have appealed to Abiezer Coppe and his alleged Ranter colleagues.

For Coppe, as for other seventeenth century radicals, we have to stitch together the appearance of biographical understanding from scattered scraps of information. Coppe's appearance is unknown to us; his life obscure, except for a flurry of notoriety in 1650-51.¹ He was born in Warwick on 30 May, 1619. At the age of seventeen, he went up to All Souls, Oxford, but soon transferred to Merton College. Apparently, in Oxford, he showed Presbyterian leanings, but he left the university without a degree on the outbreak of civil war in 1642. In the mid-1640s he reappears as a Baptist and preacher to the garrison at Compton House in Warwickshire. Richard Baxter, then lecturer to the Coventry garrison, thought him the most competent and effective Baptist preacher in the region of Warwickshire, Oxfordshire and Worcestershire. However, despite their patronage by some sections of the army, Baptists were vulnerable to persecution and Coppe is reported, at this time, as imprisoned for fourteen weeks.

In 1649 he broke with the Baptists, being ejected from their London meetings. His repudiation of the formalism of the gathered churches springs from this time. On 4 January 1650, his *A Fiery Flying Roll* appeared in the booksellers. Four days later, the Council of State issued a warrant for his arrest on the curiously phrased charge of writing 'some blasphemous truths'.² He was arrested and imprisoned in Warwick. On 1 February, a Friday, the usual day on which the House devoted itself to religious issues, the Rump condemned *A Fiery Flying Roll*. All copies were to be seized and destroyed. Specimens were to be burned by the hangman in several

places about London.³ The following day, the Council of State ordered Coppe to be brought to the capital. Various delays ensued, but on 19 March the transfer took place. Clearly, however, some urgency had gone out of the situation. On 19 July, the Rump ordered a committee to deal with those responsible for *A Fiery Flying Roll*. Two months later, it was still urging similar action on another committee.⁴ Not until 2 or 3 October was Coppe finally hauled before a Parliamentary committee. We have no record of its proceedings, and the press accounts, hostile and sensational, have to be treated with caution. Clearly, however, the committee hearing was abortive in the sense of producing no resolution or finding. Coppe apparently questioned the committee's authority to act judicially, and its members seemed to experience difficulty in finding a charge to bring against him.⁵

Three months later, in January 1651, he published, from prison, *A Remonstrance* dissociating himself from sensational reports of his beliefs and conduct. Also in this work, he tried to demonstrate the compatibility of his beliefs with the so-called Blasphemy Act of August 1650. The ambiguity of this ordinance has hardly yet been recognised by historians. It was primarily directed against atheists, only secondly against blasphemers, and ironically—in terms of Coppe's views—it also laid down penalties for religious formalism. In July 1651, Coppe published a further clarification of his views, and sometime between then and September he was released from prison after a possible incarceration of 21 months, with no formal charges ever brought against him. In 1657, he published a work called *Divine Fireworks*, thematically close to *A Fiery Flying Roll*. After the Restoration, he practised as a physician under the sardonically assumed name of Dr Higham. He was buried at Barnes in Surrey in 1672. One last twist: in 1680, Coppe's verse, *Character of a True Christian*, was published as a broadsheet, with the printer's advice that it might be sung to the tune of 'The Fair Nymphs'.⁶

What have historians made of him? The nonconformists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—Barclay, Masson, Whiting, Rufus Jones, Tindall and Nuttall—were universally condemnatory. The Ranters epitomised the excesses of enthusiasm; Coppe, their leader, a kind of spiritual dementia which was devastating for other nonconformists because it pushed the authorities into the repression of the Blasphemy Act. From the 1950s, however, other historians began to take an interest from a very different direction. Two books in 1957, Norman Cohn's *Pursuit of the Millennium* and A. L. Morton's *The Everlasting Gospel* (a study of the historical antecedents of William Blake's thought), presented the Ranters as something substantially more than a provocation on the margins of nonconformity. In 1970, Cohn published an article

in *Encounter* in which he argued the affinities between Ranterism and the counter-cultural movements of the late nineteen sixties. In the same year, Morton published his collection of essays, *The World of the Ranters*, in which Ranterism became a movement in its own right, influential throughout the length and breadth of England, evoking and only being suppressed by a systematic campaign of savage repression. In 1972, Christopher Hill gave the imprimatur of his enormous prestige to this evolving edifice in his brilliant study *The World Turned Upside Down*. The Ranters here assumed an ideologically leading and enormously significant role in the attempt at revolution from below; what Hill called the revolution within the revolt, or the second revolution. They were linked explicitly with the theories of Herbert Marcuse and implicitly with those of Antonio Gramsci.

The doors were open. The movement became a phenomenon. A flood of writings followed. G. F. Ellens, Frank McGregor, Barry Reay, Nigel Smith, David Underdown, Barry Coward, Anne Hughes, have all written at length on them. Ranter writings have been edited and subjected to literary analysis. Anonymous scraps of manuscript are now identified as Ranter on the basis of their style. Textbooks ignore them at their peril.⁷ Thesis writers, the final sign of a field which has 'arrived', are and have been busy. A British student journal, *The Ranter*, is in publication.

Surprisingly, there remains a good deal of confusion about which individuals in the seventeenth century were Ranters. Hill and Morton have insisted on the existence of a mass movement with a certain ideological vagueness at the core. McGregor sees nothing but the core, which he defines much more tightly. In both accounts, however, Coppe is *a* if not *the* leading figure. Moreover, the general consensus is that there are two central, identifying, features of Ranter thought; its antinomianism and its pantheism. For Ranters, as antinomians, the moral law was no longer binding. It was the Joachite third age of the Spirit. The laws of the first and second commissions, the Old and New Testaments, were dead letters to them. The Spirit spoke directly. Scripture had become a useless, if not pernicious, old book to be cast aside. To the pure, infused with the spirit, all things were pure. This could mean a practical antinomianism as well as a theoretical, an acting out of sin in order to show one's participation in the majesty of God. Swearing, drinking, smoking, fornicating, blaspheming, these were as much worship of the divine for the children of the Spirit as the cringing formalisms of those still enmeshed in the second commission. Indeed, they were more so. Closely associated with this was a pantheism which, seeing God in all things, could not acknowledge sin as a separate category. God was in darkness as well as light.

To understand the significance which this group took on for those historians writing about them since 1970, we have to look at the British Communist Party Historians' Group and the programme which they developed for themselves between 1946 and 1956, when many of them left the party.⁸ Christopher Hill and A. L. Morton were prominent in that group, as were E. P. Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm, Donna Torr and Rodney Hilton. Their two goals were, first, to demonstrate that there existed a long tradition in British history whereby the people sought to make their own history, rather than remaining a passive screen on which dominant social groups left an impress shaping that history, and, secondly, that Britain's high cultural tradition was not separable from these concerns; hence Hill on Milton, Morton on Blake, and Thompson on Morris.

These issues remained to the fore in their work after their split with the party. Thompson's *Making of the English Working Classes* is, in large part, an attempt to demonstrate that the English working classes made themselves; always struggled to control their own destiny and cultural forms. Similarly, Hill's *World Turned Upside Down* is about the attempt to control the flux of the English Revolution from below. Three further influences bore on this work: Gramsci's notion of the hegemony of the dominant classes as being expressed in all available forms, including the internalisation of values by the subordinate classes— notions of place, appropriate role, decency, modesty and so forth; secondly, Herbert Marcuse's idea, and the contribution of the Frankfurt school to seventies revolutionary theory, that there could be no true revolution without the casting aside of all forms of repression. Inverting Lenin, permissiveness was a revolutionary stance. A third influence was the ferment of revolutionary liberation in 1968 in the capitals and on the campuses of the West and in the streets of Prague. The year itself, 1968, came to symbolise revolutionary spontaneity, direct action and authenticity. When it came, the true revolution could come without programmes, almost without ideology.

In this framework, the English Revolution of Hampden, Cromwell and Milton took on new meaning. The groups or classes who came to power in the English Revolution, the men of property brought with them the protestant ethic, a discipline for themselves and a means of disciplining the under classes. Sin and hell internalised control on behalf of the dominant classes; the more successfully they were internalised, drummed into the lower orders, the more marginal could the means of overt physical coercion remain. Sin and hell made a police state and a standing army unnecessary. They made 'civilised' repression possible and saved the propertied taxpayer money.

The Ranters were the spearhead of the struggle against the internalised repression of the puritan sense of sin, or guilt. As Frank McGregor puts it, 'their ultimate aim was the attainment of freedom from the burden of sin'.⁹ Antinomianism and pantheism were instruments to that end. By 1984, Hill was arguing that the truly revolutionary voice of the seventeenth century was heard only in the writings of Abiezer Coppe, George Foster and Laurence Clarkson, three Ranters. By accepting property, the Levellers inevitably blunted the revolutionary edge of their cause. Winstanley and the Diggers rejected property but, by accepting sin, Winstanley ultimately endorsed the need to repress and diverted his vision of a better society into a utopianised totalitarianism. It is the Ranters who, in rejecting sin and repression, epitomised the negation of the protestant ethic and its accompanying cultural forms which have been major props of the hegemony of the ruling classes ever since.¹⁰ This is the framework which has underlain the claim that the Ranters warrant our attention and the significance which has been attached to them over the last fifteen years.

Coppe is a spearhead, a leader, a defining instance of Ranterism. Morton's view was that it is 'in his writings that the Ranter attitude to good and evil was most powerfully developed'.¹¹ In Hill's version, there was a mystical, quietist wing of the Ranters led by Joseph Salmon, but Coppe was the leader of the 'drinking, swearing, smoking Ranters' acting out sin so as to repudiate it as a restraining category.¹² Despite the absence of evidence that Coppe ever engaged in these practical antinomian activities, he continued to be seen as their advocate. *A Fiery Flying Roll*, according to McGregor emotional and incoherent, was the text of practical antinomianism, declaring 'all religious ordinances obsolete'.¹³ Coppe's reputation as a leader of the Ranters rests, therefore, on a reading of this text. My view is that such a reading is a gross misreading, and that it is their overall framework or paradigm that forces these good historians to major distortion and egregious error in this case. It is a cautionary tale I tell. The people make their own history. They must have resisted the protestant ethic, a hegemonic projection of their masters. To do so, they must have repudiated sin and hell in gestures of antinomian and pantheistic defiance. The Ranters led that struggle. Coppe was a Ranter. Therefore *A Fiery Flying Roll* must have said these things. Let us see.

Like many of his contemporaries in 1649—the year of the downfall of monarchy, Lords and the ancient constitution—Coppe was dwelling with an electrifying sense of the imminence of God's second coming, of an approaching millenium, a third dispensation. It was a world in which things that are not would set at nought the things that are. In which, Coppe suggested to illustrate the

inversion to come, woman would no longer be a weaker vessel. Two themes were stressed in his writing of 1649. One was the end of property as a consequence of the practical effect of Christian ethics; the rich in giving to the poor would divest themselves of their wealth. Secondly, that it was religious formalism, of all types, which hypocritically stood in the way of this practical Christianity—feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, fatherless and afflicted—the practical Christianity of the heart.¹⁴ These are still themes which are central to *A Fiery Flying Roll* when it appears in January 1650. The *Roll* is a deliberately controlled, but extraordinarily savage, attack upon every manifestation of formalism. Form without praxis is the cancer of hypocrisy. The marrow of true Christianity is in its practical charity. The consequences of the wholehearted pursuit of practical Christianity would be the undermining of a property system whose moral basis was covetousness and hardness of heart. The indebtedness of Coppe to the Levellers, with their emphasis on practical Christianity, and to Winstanley's indictment of covetousness is clear.¹⁵ But he rejects 'sword' levelling and Winstanley's 'digging' levelling for a levelling based on moral renewal inspired by God's spiritual informing of individuals; the setting at nought of things that are by God's use of the things that are not.¹⁶

The language of *A Fiery Flying Roll* is deliberately startling. It is meant to communicate the urgency of an imminent divine coming, both inward and outward in its effects, which is not so much comforting as unsettling, disturbing and overturning. In addition, Coppe had to impress upon his readers the awesome, distracting legitimacy of his own prophetic role. There is, accordingly, a good deal of semantic athleticism about the work, but it would be a confusion to suggest that there is anything of the mystical about it. Rather than a rejection of Scripture, the tract is a meditation upon two scriptural texts, Hosea ii.9 (with the Lord's threat to return and recover his corn, wool and flax) and the whole of The General Epistle of James, but especially chapter one's injunction to practical Christianity and chapter five's warning to the rich. In fact, rather than repudiating Scripture, Coppe rejects the allegorising of these texts. Scripture and spiritual illumination must co-exist, like a jewel and its cabinet. The thrust of the tract is a balanced attack on formalism with, on the other hand, a condemnation of sterile religious enthusiasm.

The heart of true Christianity is in the self-denying work of charity. 'He that hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother in want, and shutteth up the bowells of compassion from him, the love of God dwelleth not in him; this man's Religion is in vain . . . he never yet broke bread—that hath not forgot his [meum].'¹⁷ As

William Walwyn had argued that the levelling effect of true Christianity would be to 'empty the fullest Baggs, and pluck down the highest plumes',¹⁸ so Coppe warned that 'the mighty Leveller' was coming to infuse men's hearts with a charity which would bring down the established order, both within men and in society at large. Those who resisted would be judged, punished and eventually swept away.¹⁹

Who are they who stand in the way: these things that are; frustrating the things that are not? The rich, obviously, but also those religious formalists, devious in their appearances, who everywhere diverted religious performance from its true work in charity, into the niceties of observance and speculation. Coppe saw his work as 'a terrible threat to the Formalists'. The formalities of religion were amongst those things which had been set on high and must be cast down in the day of the Lord.²⁰ The meticulous, intolerant observances of the 'Precisian' were no more than hypocrisy 'for under them all there lies snapping, snarling, biting, besides covetousnesse, horrid hypocrisie, envy, malice, evill surmising'. Not only are anglicans, presbyterians and independents wanting in this regard, so too the gathered churches of the sects, the 'anti-free-communicants', setting themselves apart to quarrel over sprinkling, dipping and the like, masked their hypocrisy behind a contentious preoccupation with forms.²¹ Even so, and it is important to recognise this, Coppe's attack does not stop here. Amongst those who abandon forms altogether is yet a new kind of formalism. Strutting through his work is a character, 'the young man void of understanding' alias the 'well-favoured Harlot'. The sexual inversion, the male harlot, is typical of Coppe. This figure also rejects the formal churches and their ordinances in favour of the sufficiency of the spirit within, the antinomian speculations of the 'Spirituell Notionists'.²² Their posturing also produces nothing in terms of practical Christianity. It is an anti-formalist formalism, still clothing religion in hypocrisy, still sterile, still the enemy. So worrying to Coppe is it, that the prime objective of the second part of *A Fiery Flying Roll* is to discover 'the secret villanies of the holy Whore, the well-favoured Harlot (who scorns carnall ordinances, and is mounted up into the notion of Spiritualls)'. The well-favoured Harlot, scorning Scripture, 'speaking nothing but Mystery, crying down carnall ordinances, &c. is a fine thing among many, it's no base thing (now adaies) though it be a cloak for covetousnesse, yea though it be to maintain pride and pomp; these are no base things. These are things that ARE, and must be confounded...'. But this, by our historians' definition, is the Ranter antinomian, demolisher of the protestant ethic. Yet for Coppe he is one of the things that are—to be overthrown by the things that are not.

The extraordinary thing here is that Coppe is denouncing the very image with which he has been mistakenly identified. The anti-nomian dabbler in the liberty conferred by inner illumination is anathema to him, another devious formalism which chokes the practice of living by Christ. For a moment, he is depicted even as the carrier of sin's bacillus, the deceiver of the Last Days.

I see a brisk, spruce, neat, self-seeking, fine finicking fellow (who scornes to be either Papist, Protestant, Presbyterian, Independent or Anabaptist) I mean the Man of Sin, who worketh with all deceivableness of unrighteousness, 2. *The. 2*. Crying down carnall ordinances, and crying up the Spirit: cunningly seeking and setting up himself thereby.²⁴

Formal ordinances were indeed to come down: but not for avid inner religion, a new formalism, but for the righteous performance of a practical Christian charity.

Even a calculating charity was a type of formalism, a restraint on the true practice of charity. Coppe's well-known story of his encounter with a beggar illustrates that there can be no holding back, no limit, in the practical exercise of Christianity. Sunday, 30 September 1649, in Coppe's recounting of it,²⁵ saw him wrestling with his conscience before an abject beggar encountered in the open country. His first instinct was to give two pence. Then another dimension of his hypocrisy urged him to give six pence, 'enough for a Squire or Knight, to give to one poor body'; enough because 'hee's worse than an Infidell that provides not for his own Family, True love begins at home, &c . . .'. As an itinerant preacher, his maintenance was uncertain and it was necessary to 'Have a care of the main chance'. All this prudence urged in favour of sixpence but, on searching his pocket, Coppe found that all he had was a shilling piece. The beggar, naturally enough, had no change for this and Coppe was reduced to offering to leave him sixpence at the next town. As Coppe turned and rode away, prudence and conscience fought within him. On the one hand, his necessities, having ridden all day with little food or drink and still eight or nine miles to go, 'my horse being lame, the waies dirty, it raining all the way, and I not knowing what extra-ordinary occasion I might have for money'. On the other hand, the injunctions of the Epistle of St. James, chapter five, its warning to the rich and the Epistle's injunction to practical Christian charity thundered in his ears and finally Coppe, suffused with 'sparkles of a great glory', threw all that he had into the beggar's hands. True Christian charity knows no limits. The hypocrisy of conventional religion, the well-favoured Harlot, is its fertility and subtlety in finding restraints. Compared to the wickedness of this, cursing and swearing 'base impudent kisses' and lust are innocuous offences. As Christopher

Hill is obliged to acknowledge, 'Coppe agreed that adultery, fornication and uncleanness were sins', but he regarded the wickedness of those who hypocritically preached Christianity while evading their real obligations as Christians as so much worse. Coppe's tragedy is that he has, nevertheless, been transformed by the same historian into the 'leader of the drinking, smoking, swearing Ranters'.²⁶

Coppe's vision was therefore of a soon to be purged and reformed society. The spirit of Christ would cast down the mighty and the wealthy, sweep away the hypocrisy of formal religion and open the hearts of men and women to a life of true charity, of true righteousness. It is a noble vision and one deeply rooted in the Christian tradition. Moreover, it owes nothing, in this version, to pantheism, antinomianism or liberation from the restraints of a religion which demands self-effacement. Indeed, through the work runs a heavy insistence on the arduous and even frightening social obligations of Christianity. It is an insistence which is abroad in the later 1640s and culminates in different ways in Walwyn, Winstanley and Coppe. 'The true communion amongst men, is to have all things common, and to call nothing one hath, ones own. And the true externall breaking of bread, is to eat bread together in singleness of heart, and to break thy bread to the hungry, *and tell them its their own bread* &c. els your Religion is in vain.'²⁷ In one of his typical, and yet scriptural, inversions Coppe insists that this rigorous self-denial and service 'is perfect freedom and pure Libertinisme'. With its performance, 'Sin and Transgression is finished and ended'.²⁸

Such a vision was critically alarming precisely because it could be argued to have some warrant in the teachings of Christ. It therefore had to be dissociated from them, and it is not at all surprising that accusations of blasphemy and immorality swiftly followed. What is surprising is the credulity of some historians in the face of these charges and their unwillingness to examine Coppe's denials seriously. As we have seen, Coppe was swiftly imprisoned after the appearance of *A Fiery Flying Roll* but was dealt with lethargically, even by seventeenth century standards, thereafter. Beyond Parliamentary condemnation, he was never, as far as we know, officially found guilty of anything, including any offence under the Blasphemy Ordinance of 9 August 1650; which is, of course, supposed to have been occasioned by the sort of Ranter excess Coppe is alleged to have incited and taken part in.

His *Remonstrance* and *Copps Return to the Wayes of Truth*, both of 1651, can be read as the sincere protestations of a man whose social and ethical message has been blanketed under a welter of accusations of blasphemy and immorality without the issue ever being brought to the test in court. But historians have thought otherwise.

Because he is identified as a Ranter, his 'recantations' must be suspect. Ambiguity is held to typify their protestations.²⁹ Read in this light, his guilt is presumed and any assertions of innocence are to be regarded with suspicion. Moreover, the burden of proof has fallen on Coppe. Nigel Smith, for example, finds him wanting in that he denies accusations of immoral behaviour but 'with no supporting evidence'. *Copps Return* is held 'to read like the parody of an apology, as if Coppe is mocking the authorities'.³⁰

My claim is that Coppe has been misread because he has been read against the overriding preoccupations of the people's history in the Communist Party Historians' Group sense, rather than against the context of seventeenth century concerns and, in particular, the Biblicalism of its Christianity. Moreover, I believe that that kind of misreading has clouded our view of the Ranter phenomenon as a whole.

There was no Ranter movement and consequently no savage repression. Frank McGregor recognised this as long ago as 1968. Quaker and Baptist 'evidence' of such a movement is suspect because the 'Ranter' was used by both movements, as McGregor has shown, to discipline their own members, to sectarianise them, and to distance themselves from unacceptable sectarian excess. And yet Quaker and Baptist sources provide the most prolific 'evidence' of a protean Ranterism. In this connection, it is worth remembering Thomas Edwards's depiction of Independents in 1646. In his account, they practised incest, bigamy, rape, adultery and fornication of all kinds. They were, according to him, notorious for their drunkenness. They neglected religious observance, were ostentatious in dress, wore long hair, laughed, jested and were generally frivolous. Were this not enough, an Independent had been heard to assert his liberty to worship the sun, moon, or a pewter pot if he saw fit.³¹ Before the Ranters existed, they were prefigured in Edwards's view of the Independents, illusory as it might have been, and elsewhere.

These are projections of deviance which tell us more about moral anxieties and uncertainties, about the need to reassert moral boundaries, than they do about substantive historical reality. Sociologists and some historians are used to dealing with these categories of projected deviance and moral panic. There is a lurid, semi-pornographic, yellowpress sensational literature produced in some quantity in late 1650 to early 1651 which depicts Ranter orgies, promiscuity and blasphemy. Historians have, with the left hand, expressed caution about it while, with the right hand, using it as evidence of a Ranter movement. There is an absurdity here. We can link almost all of this output to a very small circle of printers and writers, of the Grub Street variety, producing their material rapidly

and repetitively for an avid, but evanescent, market.³² Nevertheless, it is intriguing how these fictions deploy images familiar from the Theophrastian character books, in particular the character of the athiest, and from the prodigy books of the early seventeenth century. All this fits the pattern of contraries and inversions so characteristic of the seventeenth century mind, as Stuart Clark, Michael Hunter and others are making clear to us.³³ As the athiest had warned people, anxious about irreverence, of the moral collapse which the inversion of true religion would bring, so the Ranter inverted sectarian seriousness and stood as a warning of sectarian excess. What is particularly striking, in this context, about the sensational literature is the image of the woman on top, which Natalie Zemon Davis has observed in early modern charivari.³⁴ Ranter women are sexually aggressive, defiant of their husbands and masters, of appetites unlimited. I suspect that, on this level, the Ranter phenomenon's legislative connection is, in fact, closer with the Adultery Act of 1650³⁵ than with the Blasphemy Act of the same year.

If the Ranter myth of 1649-50 was a projection relating to fears of sectarian deviance rather than its actuality in antinomian practice and pantheistic belief, what of the others, apart from Coppe, who have been alleged to be Ranter leaders and spokesmen? My readings again indicate the need for great caution. George Foster was a millennialist who believed that practical Christianity would lead to the sharing of possessions in equality³⁶; closer to Winstanley and Coppe than the stereotype of the Ranter. Joseph Salmon was a Seeker, advocate of the life of spiritual contemplation.³⁷ Richard Coppin, a perfectionist Arminian who stressed the legitimacy of the indwelling spirit, proved extremely difficult to convict of blasphemy in his own day, despite repeated and malicious attempts to do so.³⁸ Like Coppin and Foster, Jacob Bauthumley is best seen in the context of Winstanley. All four were concerned with the tensions of an inner dualism to which the imminent rise of the spirit of righteousness within each individual could bring an end. 'And so I see, that if men were acted and guided by that inward law of righteousness within, there need be no laws of men, to compel to restrain men, and I could wish that such a spirit of righteousness would appear, that men did not act or do things from externall rules, but from an internall law within.'³⁹ The words are Bauthumley's but they might easily be Winstanley's. As Lionel Lockier observed in 1652, 'Ranter' was a label used by formalists to discredit those who sought a true Christian community.⁴⁰ It is Laurence Clarkson, who, in *A Single Eye All Light* (1650), comes closest to the antinomian pantheism required of the Ranter type, but there is no evidence of any sustained connection between him and Coppe or

any of the other alleged leaders of the Ranters. His so-called autobiography, *The Lost Sheep Found* (1660), has to be treated with extreme caution. It is a work of Muggletonian polemic and, I would argue, its polemical purposes override any intention to provide a record of actual events.

There was no coherent core of Ranter ideologues providing leadership for a mass movement, nor even for a loosely associated conjunction of individuals. There were no Ranters but there was a Ranter phenomenon, dissociated from reality and projecting an image of ultimate sectarian deviance, disintegration and inversion. There was a hegemonic structure in the seventeenth century but it was not challenged by the Ranters who did not exist. Rather Ranterism; an antinomian libertinism, pantheistic immoralism and a spiritual enthusiasm slighting Scripture; was a projection of that hegemonic aspiration. It was a control myth as the myth of atheism or that of the excesses of Munster were before it. The curious irony is that the myth of the right in 1650, the myth of Ranterism became the myth of Marxist historiography in the 1970s and 1980s. Coppe did challenge the hegemonic structures of his day but not in the name of Ranterism, of an antinomian libertinism throwing off all moral restraint to be free of the protestant ethic. Rather his protest was in the name of a Scripturally based ethic of Christian charity and antiformalism. It was more dangerous and difficult to deal with precisely because it was rooted in the established order's own legitimations.

In this instance, it is not simply a question of dotting i's and crossing t's, but, to use a pregnant and familiar phrase a matter of turning the world upside down or setting it back on its feet. The Ranters were not, as historians have suggested, a coherent group, or even a movement, who challenged Scripture, rejected sin and hell, declared an antinomian liberty and the pantheistic legitimation of all things equally; in other words, repudiated the protestant ethic and its hegemonic apparatus. These people did not exist. We cannot find them. The more closely we look, the more completely the chimaera of their sect, group, movement disintegrates before our gaze. But the belief in their existence was real enough in the seventeenth century, as it has been latterly in our own time. Who benefitted then from the belief's dissemination? Certainly not those who aspired to free religious speculation, unfettered spiritual illumination: the mission of the things that are not to set at nought those things that are. The belief in Ranterism was a terrible warning against the speculative liberty of the untutored, against spiritual enthusiasm, against plebeian religion, against allowing the slightest authority to the things that are not. Ranterism was a hegemonic myth, a repressive myth—not its counter. It was used by those who

wished to defuse a freely proliferating sectarianism and, either in society at large or as leaders of sects like the Baptists or Quakers, to bring religious speculation to its senses, place it under control, making the sects respectable, orderly, cautious—in other words, repressed. That repression could not have been achieved by a myth of practical Christianity, of levelling charity—Coppe's myth—but only by a myth of excess, of a collapse of theological and moral bearings, of spiritual disintegration, of, as it were, religious irreli-
gion.

Who, one might finally ask, benefits then from the myth's resur-
rection and inversion in our own time? Only those whose com-
mitment to the notion of the people's history as a counter-cultural
struggle against oppression outweighs their desire to understand
the past in its own terms. In this sense, they may happily prove as
mythic as the Ranters.

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News reporting in the *Nelson Examiner*, 1842 – 1874

LISHI KWASITSU

Charles Elliott took as the guiding principle of his editorial policy for the *Nelson Examiner* a quotation from De Tocqueville's *De la Démocratie en Amérique*, the assertion that journals are necessary not only to secure liberty but also to maintain civilisation.¹ After justifying systematic emigration to New Zealand as a national characteristic of the British motivated by the lure of money and adventure, Elliott stated his editorial policy as follows:

It only remains for us to state that, with respect to the New Zealand Company, under whose direction this settlement has been planted, we are wholly independent of its influence. It is indeed satisfactory to know, that the opinions, as well as the interests of that association, are, in all matters of importance to the colony, the same as those of the majority of our fellow-colonists. If, however, questions affecting the public welfare should arise, on which we cannot conscientiously support the Company, we shall call upon the public to redeem a pecuniary obligation to that body, under which we are known to be, for the means of establishing this journal:—This course we can conscientiously adopt—it can involve no breach of faith. We have made no stipulation to advocate any interests at all: we shall assuredly advocate none but those of the community.

With this, then, we commit our paper to the public, that, by the principles we have here asserted, we will stand or fall. By these we desire to be judged—to these we shall steadfastly adhere. So long as we defend these honestly, we shall deserve support: we are content to lose it when we desert them. Freedom of trade, freedom of the subject, freedom of the press,—these, and the liberty which passes these, that liberty which our fathers fought for in the old time before us, and suffered and perished to maintain—freedom to worship God according to conscience—these are the ends we shall endeavour to secure. If we succeed, our purpose will be our guerdon: it will be our consolation if we fail.²

Elliott believed that the only way to uphold the stated socio-political responsibilities of the press was to pursue the truth vigorously in all matters of individual and social importance: journalistic reporting that required close surveillance over the activities of the governed as well as governors and other forms of constituted authority. Many of the leading articles in the *Nelson Examiner* were therefore designed to arouse and sharpen public opinion with the aim of preventing 'the leprosy of bad government' so very prevalent in colonial societies.³ Aside from rededicating his journal occasionally to the fight against misgovernment, Elliott often editorialised on the role of the press and

on his treatment of news reporting. His definitions of the socio-political responsibilities of the colonial newspaper are lucidly stated in the following passage which also illustrates the anecdotal quality of some of the editorials.

The chief business of a newspaper, indeed, as its very name implies, is not so much to promulgate opinions as to communicate facts; to furnish information of what is passing around us and in the world at large, or, as it is usually called, to give the domestic and foreign intelligence; to supply a want which the spread of education is constantly making more and more a necessity of civilised life; although the need has been felt by society in all its stages, in its primitive and barbarous state as well as in the most refined and enlightened communities. In the hut of the savage, or in the tent of the Arab, the traveller has always been welcomed with a ready and profuse hospitality; but, his hunger once satisfied, he is surrounded by an eager crowd of inquirers, excited and insatiable in their thirst for news; he is overwhelmed with questions, and wearied out by the frequent demands to repeat over and over again what they are never tired of hearing, until, in the midst of the din, he falls asleep with the comfortable conviction that he has given an honest equivalent for his food and lodging a dozen times over. Again, the Athenians, the most polished and intellectual people of antiquity, were accustomed, as Demosthenes tells us, to assemble daily in the marketplace, for the one great and principal purpose of hearing and telling the news; and the perpetual repetition of the question, 'What news?' gives the great orator occasion for one of his finest bursts of eloquence and indignation.

This, then, is the first and principal object of the periodical press—it is a chronicle of passing events; of those which happen in the same locality in the first place, as most likely to interest the great majority of its readers; and next, of those movements in the great world outside, whose real importance and relative value become more correctly appreciated, as the community becomes more enlightened, more free from self-conceit, and more capable of connecting itself with those great interests of society on which its own welfare really depends, and of which it forms an integral although sometimes a very insignificant portion. Nor are these interests of one kind only. The producer and consumer, the buyer and seller, communicate together in our columns; the wants of trade are made known, and the resources of commerce; the disputes which arise upon our relative social rights, and the decisions of the law; the crimes which disturb the peace of society from time to time, the punishments which follow them, and the precautions which are to prevent their recurrence; the convulsions of nature; the movements of politics; the discoveries of science, and its applications to general use; the conclusions of thoughtful and the inventions of practical men: all these form some items only of vast and ever-accumulating mass of human knowledge which the press is engaged in distributing. But while it thus furnishes information and solid materials for thought, it has a secondary function, scarcely less important. It reflects the opinions of society upon the past, its hopes and wishes for the future; it furnishes the battle-field on which they wage war, and brings their real worth and value to the test of free discussion. But in doing this work, in giving its views and passing its judgement upon the various topics which, one after another, arrest public attention, and which it has now become an established part of its duty to discuss; and still more in the letters of its correspondents, who occasionally assist in the task, and correct, or dispute, or confirm its conclusions; it has to be guided as to the comparative space and attention it shall give them by the general demand and feeling of its readers; and by the means they have at their command of obtaining the same information from other sources. In a large community, each party has its organ, which supplies what it requires, and excludes what it objects

to; in a small one, each class, and perhaps each individual, in turn is dissatisfied that the subject he is chiefly interested in should receive so much less attention than he thinks its due. Alas! we can assure them that the feeling is not confined to themselves; that the writer, no less than the reader, is often dissatisfied with his work; with his subject; or with his power of doing justice to it; or the time and space which can be given to it; or the imperfect conclusions at which he is sometimes stopped, and beyond which he finds himself unable to proceed. One rule is, however, very clearly ascertained: Readers will tolerate anything rather than being bored; and nothing produces this effect more certainly than harping too long upon one string; insisting too pertinaciously upon one subject, however important or really good in itself. They must have change of diet; and, if need be, insist upon it, like the labourers in some parts of Scotland, who, in their arrangements for hiring, stipulated not to have salmon more than three times a-week. We are aware that these observations are of a very general nature, although we must ask our readers to take it upon trust that they have a particular application; and to believe, as Addison said in the 'Spectator', 'that whenever we are particularly dull, we have a good reason for it in the background'.⁴

Not unrelated to the above quotation is the following one in which Elliott theorises on the editorial personality needed to uphold his principles of editorial responsibility: an unbribeable man of integrity with presbyterian virtues of hard work and practical intellect.

An Editor has been defined as 'a miserable wretch who daily empties his brains that he may fill his stomach'. Whoever the happy author of this brilliant impertinence may have been, he certainly was altogether unacquainted with the matter which he took in hand. Editors have always been more or less the subjects of unthinking ridicule, and this not invariably from persons whose want of talent could but bring upon them contempt from the objects of their ill-directed satire . . .

In the first place, it should be well considered what sacrifices he has to make. All individual prejudices must be set aside; all temptations to make his journal the channel of personal attacks, either on his own part or that of his friends, must be strenuously resisted: he is the servant of the public, and no other influence must be allowed to direct or bias his pen. In the matter of correspondents' letters, his difficulties are not small. The Scylla of private resentment threatens him on one side, while on the other yawns the Charybdis of public opinion; and between these two he must guide his editorial barque. To do this, a good deal of judgment and skill, moderation and good nature, is necessary; the editorial conscience must be frequently appealed to, and the editorial verdict be carefully considered, and given in such a manner as never to wound unnecessarily the feelings of any individual, and yet not to lose sight of the final object of publicity, namely, the putting down of abuses, and furthering the public weal. This must always involve careful thought, and often much mental labour and wearying research on the part of the Editor. *His* office is no pleasant literary retreat; his duties no easy sinecure. All comfortable domestic arrangements, all delightful literary pursuits, must give way or be subordinate to the imperious requirements of the newspaper. In England, where most classes of people are greatly overworked, Editors, if the truth were known, stand out from the masses by the peculiarly onerous character of their profession; and in this country, where hard work is not the order of the day, the Editor is most certainly the hardest worked man in the community. The ordinary routine of a newspaper office is laborious enough, but it is more particularly the tension of the brain, necessary to the due consideration of public rights and wrongs, which

makes the Editor's life burdensome, and his death too often premature. His labours do not consist, as many people seem to suppose, in simply filling up a certain number of columns with letters and words so many times a week; those letters and words must have a meaning, and a specific meaning; and the amount of good or evil which they are calculated to do depends, in part, upon the personal character of the Editor, and in part, also, upon the assiduity with which he applies himself to his task. How often, when the citizen, 'good, easy man', has drawn about his head the curtains of repose, when the quick-eyed constable thinks of no 'summons' save that of his wife to supper, when the only 'steps' the members of the Roads Board are considering are those which lead to their respective dormitories, when the last votary of the billiard-table plays a good-night cannon, and looks gloomily at his empty glass, might the Editor still be seen driving his weary pen over sheet after sheet, to feed the impatient and insatiable press, or busy amid bewildering heaps of 'copy' and 'proof'. Yet he must not be regarded as a mere quill-driver: he is the guardian of the rights of the community, and a magistrate responsible to public opinion. No man's integrity is more severely tested than his; no man's private character more exposed to the attacks of malicious or unthinking individuals. The days of Editorial duelling indeed are, in British lands, gone by, but there are still ways of annoying an Editor, without spitting him with a rapier, or riddling him with a pistol bullet; ways by no means overlooked or neglected by a large class of persons, who do not consider, or do not make allowance for the perplexities of their self-made foe. Nothing can be more cowardly or in worse taste, than a direct attack upon an Editor; not because he is unable to resent or punish it, but because his position, and the duty which he owes to the public, naturally deter him from doing so. A personal attack upon an Editor, is an indirect injury to the public safety; for the more entirely the Editor is devoted to the service of the community, the less capable is he of resisting such an attack on equal terms. Even the Editorial 'we' has been carped at, as a mask for personal malice. Now this 'we' is, in fact, of great service to every community possessing a newspaper, for it enables the Editor to separate his person from his office, and to write more boldly on subjects which, more or less, impugn the powers that be, thus forming a simple, but efficient safeguard to the freedom of the press. Perhaps no one has so great a power of injury as an influential Editor, and yet no one is, by a strict adherence to his duty, so entirely prevented from using that power; for he is to some extent a public inquisitor: he knows something about everybody, and often much more than anybody supposes; so much indeed, that sometimes the reputation, if not the personal safety of individuals, is in his hands, but his integrity is, or should be, unimpeachable. The name of Woodfall will go down to posterity with that of his more talented correspondent Junius, because no threats and no bribes were sufficient to make him untrue to the public trust, and every good Editor deserves to share the praise which Woodfall's conduct gained for him.

Were the perplexing niceties of an Editor's position duly considered by the public, such sallies as that with which these remarks commence, would be only striking by their stupidity, and those cases would be very rare in which an indignant individual considers himself entitled to burst into a newspaper office, and fiercely 'demand' to 'see the Editor!'¹⁵

News gathering during the early pioneering years of journalism was crude and amateurish. News collecting was done mainly by newspaper proprietors themselves who were in most fledgling establishments self-sufficient as their 'own reporter, compositor and often pressman'.⁶ News came to the newspaper office from almost any source. It came mainly by word of mouth from private indi-

viduals and gentlemen travellers as well as by the generosity and goodwill of captains of passing ships who brought with them news from other colonial settlements and files of contemporary newspapers. This method of news gathering was made difficult by the poor and painfully slow infrastructures of communication and transportation. Intra-settlement transportation was for more than two decades on foot.⁷ Coastal sailing vessels were slow and made unreliable by the vagaries of the weather. It took anything up to eight days to travel by boat from Wellington to Nelson.⁸ News often did not reach Nelson from the seat of government, then in Auckland, for 'nearly four months' and often arrived indirectly from Sydney.⁹

Some time ago, when communication by vessel between Auckland and the southern settlements of the colony was so infrequent, that we occasionally had news of a later date from England than from our own seat of Government, and when our intelligence from Auckland often came to us by way of Sydney, the Government established a fortnightly overland mail between Auckland and Wellington, which, although the transit was somewhat tedious, occupying as it did about a month, still a regular communication was established, and when no direct conveyance by sea offered, letters and papers could be forwarded by this channel, slow and tedious as it was.¹⁰

News collecting techniques improved slowly. By the close of 1849, Elliott started to use reporters in the field. With the introduction of steam navigation to Nelson on 28 August 1853,¹¹ Elliott received with greater regularity correspondents' reports from Dunedin, Greymouth, Wellington, Auckland, Sydney, London, Paris and Rome. But it is not known how many of these correspondents were paid reporters. Reports from correspondents were mostly published anonymously under the caption 'from our own correspondent', or 'from our special correspondent'. These reports were supplemented with texts of government bills and acts, public lectures, poems, reprints from books and contemporary newspapers whose sources Elliott had the courtesy to credit. Most of the bylines from contemporary newspapers appear to be lifted verbatim without any modification. In 1867 Elliott joined Nation and Robert Lucas, proprietor of the *Nelson Evening Mail*, to form what was a short-lived press association¹² to receive telegraphic news that arrived at Bluff Harbour and Wellington from England via the Suez and Panama. When unsatisfactory service led to the breaking up of the association, Elliott appointed a private agent to provide the service, but the New Zealand government's monopoly of the telegraph service forced him to cancel this private arrangement and to rely on the government service.¹³ News

reports which were wholly or partially inaccurate were corrected in subsequent editions of the paper and the editor often answered correspondents' complaints of misprints and other forms of misrepresentation.

One of the popular sections of the *Nelson Examiner* was the Letters-to-the-Editor column: a public forum in which a variety of personal and public views were freely expressed. As a rule, the editor would not publish letters 'unless made acquainted with the name of the writer'¹⁴ but many letters were signed with names such as S. Secrecolo, Ouvrier, A Working Man and Memorandum which were unmistakably pseudonyms. Each letter was inserted as and when space was available, but letters rejected by the rival management of the *Nelson Colonist* and the *Nelson Evening Mail* were very often published while correspondence on controversial religious and similar issues was often excluded. The *Nelson Examiner's* generosity knew no bounds when it came to publishing letters to the editor which were often numerous and lengthy.

The length of our correspondence, and the reports of Public Dinners, leave us no space for editorial observations. In one sense we are sorry for this, as there are several questions of local, as well as general interest, which we desire to bring before our readers' notice. If however our correspondents insist on monopolising all our paper to themselves, we must not quarrel with them, for they too are discussing questions which bear immediately upon the welfare of the community. When they begin to tire, we shall resume our task.¹⁵

Local news

In its news reporting, the *Nelson Examiner* was essentially the colonial settlers' mouthpiece, recounting a mixed bag of local and foreign news not unlike its American predecessors of the 1770s.

Being the medium of the leadership, colonial newspapers normally contained what its members wanted said. And this, it appears, was a very mixed bag indeed. Advertisements, literary essays, political polemics, and news filled pages studded with everything from an account of violence in Britain over a 'buxom country wench', to a locally composed elegy on the death of a favourite cat, to the proceedings of the Continental Congresses.¹⁶

The *Nelson Examiner* reported all matters of socio-economic and political interest to the settlers: the waste land regulations, the politics of provincialism and separation, the New Zealand Wars and the Maungatapu murders among others. While not often critical of the New Zealand Company, the *Nelson Examiner* was a champion of the settlers' interests. The Wairau Affray in which several Europeans were killed at the mouth of the Tuamarina Valley received extensive coverage to which the paper's first supplement was devoted. So sensitive was this issue that the settlers petitioned Parliament in London on 15 June 1844 when Governor Fitzroy

refused to pursue further the matter of the Wairau plains. The land question was a perennial problem. There was great uneasiness when the New Zealand Company's new land regulations were announced in March 1846. The new regulations which were to give all land purchasers the right to reselect new land while losing three quarters of each new acre led the landowners to petition William Fox, the Nelson Agent of the New Zealand Company, a petition which was published in the *Nelson Examiner* on 6 June 1846. With the creation of the Provincial Councils in 1853, the General Assembly gave them the power to legislate laws to regulate the sale and disposal of waste lands. When the Nelson Provincial Council introduced the sale of agricultural rural lands by auction, the *Nelson Examiner* found it 'mischievous in a high degree'.¹⁷ Nor did it agree with the Council when it introduced into its Waste Lands Bill of 1857 a credit sale system whereby through paying down eight percent of the original price of a piece of land, the purchaser could buy any piece of land. The *Nelson Examiner* argued that fifty persons with fifty pounds could be enabled by the bad provisions of a bad bill to purchase all 50,000 acres of land in a particular area to resell at a great profit.¹⁸ Although sale by auction was retained in the act that was passed in 1858, the credit sale system was removed, probably as a result of the *Nelson Examiner's* criticism.

The *Nelson Examiner* attributed to various factors the agitation which became popular in the 1860s for provincial independence from the central government. The rugged, largely virgin terrain of the country, made inaccessible by poor communication and transportation, isolated most of the early provinces from one another and from the central government first situated in Auckland and from 1865 on in Wellington. First mentioned in Auckland,¹⁹ the quest for provincialism became a political expedient that developed into a strong movement for separation, particularly in Otago in 1861, following the discovery of gold. Separatism was a staple for press commentary in Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin, and Elliott often lifted extracts on the subject from the *Lyttelton Times*. While some politicians limited their demands to the creation of small independent provinces, others sought the creation of two colonies separated by Cook Strait.²⁰ The *Nelson Examiner* was, however, more moderate in its interpretation of the politics of separation. Elliott noted that disproportionate disbursement of government revenue was central to the separation question, but argued that creation of colonies was a prerogative of the Queen of England. Moreover, the military security of several small provinces would be too expensive for the central government to maintain.²¹

The *Nelson Examiner* is one of the notable chronicles of the hostilities between Maori and Pakeha. The distrust and suspicion

generated either way by the tragic events of the Wairau Affray apparently led Elliott to demand vigorous prosecution of the wars which broke out in Taranaki on 17 March 1860.²² Elliott severely castigated the military inefficiency of British Generals Gold and Cameron and the government's vacillating and expensive conduct of the war, and together with the *Wanganui Chronicle*, the *Thames Advertiser*, the *Auckland Evening Star*, the *Wellington Evening Post* and the *Grey River Argus*, (from all of which Elliott quoted bylines) appeared to have exerted considerable influence on the final outcome of events. But Elliott was no less concerned about accurate representation of the historical facts of the war.

The words 'native war', will now almost cause a man to drop his paper in disgust. But we have not done with them yet; they must stand, and they will stand again and again; they will stand as long as men try for party purposes, to foist off ungenerous guesses and base insinuations for pure knowledge and undefiled truth. How many more times are we to be called upon to state the true cause of the native war? How is it that men of intelligence, will persist in uttering mis-statements, when the truth lies within their reach? It is a lamentable fact, that to some natures a belief, or a pretended belief in the political dishonesty of people in high places, is more pleasant than a belief in their political honour and straightforwardness. Here we have Mr Saunders, again stating as a fact, that which he merely supposes to be a fact. He says (and his party says with him) that the native war arose from a squabble about the right ownership of a few acres of land. As often as this mis-statement finds its way into print, will we contradict it. We are writing history—it is the duty of everybody to see that nothing is perverted, 'extenuated, or set down in malice'. The native war arose in a very simple fashion. One landed proprietor, being a loyal subject of Queen Victoria, wanted to sell land, which was undoubtedly his own private property; a band of men, evil disposed to wards the Government, leagued together to prevent him from selling—and even went so far as to threaten the lives of the purchasers. The man who wanted to sell, naturally claimed the protection of the law under which he had lived, and that protection was afforded him—that it took the form of steel and gunpowder, was not the fault of the administrators of the law, but the fault of the blind fanaticism of the opponents of the law, and more than that, it was the fault, the heinous fault, of those who 'urged them on'. Once again, do we assert, that the war was not undertaken to 'try a question of ownership'; the question of ownership was *settled* long before hostilities were even talked of. The opposers of the sale agreed to the justice of the settlement; they acknowledged that the would-be vendor was the rightful owner, but they added that, rightful owner though he was, he should *not sell*. If this coercion of a peaceable subject by a set of turbulent league-men, and this threatening to take the lives of her Majesty's officers, would not militate against the Queen, her Crown, and dignity, and against the law of her realm, we should like to know what would. Farther on we find Mr Saunders slaving Mr C. W. Richmond, and then like a 'boa', endeavouring to swallow him whole. Mr Saunders commences by calling Mr C. W. Richmond a man of varied talents, and a most amiable man, and immediately afterwards he accuses Mr Richmond of acts of which no such man as Mr Saunders describes, could be guilty. Fancy Mr C. W. Richmond, or Mr anybody else, fascinating an old soldier like Colonel Gore Browne, into such a state of noodleism that he would march off his army and commit acts highly injurious to the colony at large, and of course, by inference, highly beneficial to Mr Richmond, and his settlement in particular. This is a very

covert way of insinuating that a member of the House used his political influence for his own aggrandizement, and that the Governor had been made a cat's-paw.

Mr Saunders again states that the war originated in a struggle *for* land. It did not; it originated in a struggle *about* land. The value of the land struggled for was nothing, but the value of the principle which it involved was everything; and to uphold that principle was the war declared, and for that purpose only.²³

The ghastly incidents which became known as the Maungatapu murders generated great public excitement and demand for news. On June 13, 1866, James Dudley, James De Pontius, John Kempthorne and Felix Mathieu who were travelling from Deep Creek to Nelson were murdered by Richard Burgess (alias Hall), William (alias Phil Levy) and Thomas Kelly (alias Hannon). A day earlier, James Battle had suffered a similar fate at the hands of John Joseph Sullivan. Elliott attributed these crimes to the convict elements among the gold fortune-seekers that flocked into Nelson, especially from the Australian colonies. The six day long trial of the murderers by jury and their subsequent execution were reported in detail. Its popularity as the first of its kind in the colony probably helped to increase the circulation of the paper.

Foreign news

The *Nelson Examiner* was, for a long time, the only source of home news for the Nelson settlers. In keeping the pioneering settlers in touch with the rest of the world, Elliott provided news from Britain, the rest of Europe, the American colonies and other colonial societies. Brief foreign news reports were usually issued to be followed by full reports, and bylines from overseas newspapers were used to fill gaps in slack time. When there was a sudden inflow of overseas news or an exclusive despatch from a foreign correspondent, it was often published in a supplementary issue. While the *Nelson Examiner* reported the regal pomp and opulence of the King of Dahomey (now Benin) in the 1860s, the affluence and military formation of the Asante King Koffee Calcalli (Kofi Karikari),²⁴ gold and other mineral discoveries in California and elsewhere, the politico-economic progress in the Australian colonies, and took active part in advocating a forcible end to the Chinese influx into Melbourne in 1857, reporting of war news remained the staple of foreign news.

The secret and deceitful diplomatic manoeuvres preceding the outbreak of the Crimean War (1853-1856) and the battles of the war attracted regular coverage. So did the severe privation suffered by the English forces, the adverse economic effects of the war on mercantile marine in the South Pacific, and false speculations following the death of Czar Nicholas I of Russia about the end of the war. The

Nelson Examiner published news of the war in the form of bylines mainly from the *London Times*, the *Liverpool Times*, the *Manchester Guardian*, *Journal de Constantinople*, *Journal de Debats*, the *Sydney Morning Herald* and in the form of letters written from the battle front by servicemen. Such was the *Nelson Examiner's* influence and interpretation of Britain's efforts in the war that through its successful appeal over £1,031 12s. 6d.²⁵ was collected as a British Patriotic Fund for the orphans and widows of fallen British soldiers. In this exercise, the *Nelson Examiner* was a champion of Anglo-Saxon virtues and energies.

If ever there was a just war undertaken, it is the war which has led the troops of England and France to the East, to beat back a ruthless and cruel invader of the territory of an unoffending ally; if ever it was the duty of peaceable men, and those who live by the arts of peace, to succour those engaged in war, it must be when the enemy is a violater of treaties, an infringer of rights, and one whose lust of power leads to the enslavement of our race. As Christians, as patriots, as lovers of freedom, nay, as men averse to strife, and desirous of seeing the world become one great temple of concord, we must admit the necessity—the sad necessity—of checking the march of the Russian towards universal dominion, the destiny which her sovereigns have sought to persuade themselves was in store for them; the object which her rulers have long and strenuously kept in view. People who hold these sentiments, will need little stimulation to subscribe liberally, according to their means, to relieve the suffering which such a war will inflict; those to whom such sentiments are foreign, if British subjects, are unworthy of the name they bear.²⁶

The *Nelson Examiner* not only reported the news of the war but also provided critical commentary on how other journalists were presenting the news. While Elliott found the *New York Courier and Advertiser* pro-British, he saw the *New York Herald* as pro-Russian and attributed the general unsympathetic American attitude to Britain during the war to the large Irish element and cosmopolitan character of the American population.²⁷

Elliott sought to influence public opinion along similar lines in support of Britain during the Indian mutiny (1857-1859). Though he did not initiate it, Elliott drew editorial attention to the setting up of an Indian Relief Fund. With bylines from the *Bombay Telegraph*, the *Friend of India*, *The Times*, the *Colombo Times*, and the *Sydney Empire* in addition to his own editorials, on the diversity of peoples and geographical features of India, he provided news about the rebellion. The *Nelson Examiner's* position was that a successful British rule in India was a desirable civilising influence for the Far East.²⁸

The American Civil War (1861-1865) generated marked divisions in public opinion which were reflected in the editorials of most contemporary newspapers. Part of the controversy was due to ignorance of American conditions at the time; an ignorance that led

to misrepresentation of the causes of the war. Elliott at first favoured the Northern States which he saw simplistically as prosecuting an anti-slavery war.²⁹ But when it became evident during the war that the North was fighting to preserve the union of the United States, Elliott accused the North of 'waging a wrongful war . . . a needless war',³⁰ and opined that 'the idea of re-establishing the Union is simply chimerical, and that the sooner the American statesmen reconcile themselves to the permanent separation between the Federal and Confederate States the better.'³¹ Though he found reports on the war in *The Times* authoritative, Elliott was sceptical about the reliability of his North American sources, including the *San Francisco Bulletin* and the *Richmond Observer*, from both of which he lifted extracts. What further shifts occurred in Elliott's editorial opinion towards the close of the war, I have been unable to trace.

Elliott blamed the Franco-Prussian war (1870-1871) on the 'dictatorial bearing'³² of Napoleon III and his 'intolerable interference with the domestic affairs of other nations'.³³ France had warned Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen not to accept the Spanish crown offered to him by General Prim with the secret encouragement of Prince Otto von Bismarck of Germany. The possibilities of war between France and Prussia would seem to have been averted when Prince Leopold first accepted but subsequently rejected the offer. When France demanded a guarantee, King William, who regarded Prince Leopold's renunciation of the throne and subsequent resignation as the end of the matter, refused to see Benedetti, the French Ambassador, again: a refusal Bismarck maliciously exploited.

In publishing the telegram containing this information Bismarck altered it so that the King's refusal to see the Ambassador again appeared to arise from the nature of the French demands. The altered telegram was received by the French as an insult, which had to be avenged.³⁴

Bismarck's skilful machinations had thus misled many journals, including the London *Times* and the *Nelson Examiner*, into presenting France unsympathetically as the aggressor. Though Elliott saw a victory for Bismarck as a chance for all Germany to be reunited,³⁵ he interpreted defeat for France as 'a humiliation to Europe and to us'.³⁶

Such was Elliott's treatment of news reporting. From being a self-sufficient pressman and reporter, Elliott slowly developed a corpus of reporters, both locally and abroad. To improve news gathering he formed Nelson's first newspaper press association with Nation and Lucas. Steam navigation speeded files of contemporary newspapers and the telegraph brought the news more

quickly and efficiently to his readers. The *Nelson Examiner* clearly contributed to the establishment of New Zealand's traditional support for British foreign policy and it is probably through the reputation it achieved for authoritative reporting that it was regarded as the best of the early newspapers.³⁷

Though Elliott was an enterprisingly competent printer who produced quite an influential paper he did not achieve commercial success. The *Nelson Examiner* expired on 15 January 1874 and Elliott was worth only three hundred pounds at his death two years later. Reasons for his business failure included non-payment of his subscription and advertising bills, and competition from the *Nelson Colonist* launched on 23 October 1857 by William Nation who successfully supplanted Elliott as a printer for the Nelson Provincial Council.

REFERENCES

This is a slightly modified section of work presented in the Department of Librarianship at the Victoria University of Wellington in partial fulfilment of requirements for the Master of Arts degree.

For further discussion of Charles Elliott and the *Examiner* see the author's 'The Production of the *Nelson Examiner* in the Context of the Early New Zealand Press', 19, no. 2, 123-139, and 'Charles Elliott's Revenue from the *Nelson Examiner*', *Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand*, 9, no. 4, 121-138.

- 1 Charles Elliott (1811-1876) had a brief and successful career in England prior to his arrival in Nelson on 9 February 1842 with his wife Jane and two sons aged seven and five. Another son was born on 6 May 1848. Elliott founded and printed the *Nelson Examiner* from 12 March 1842 to 15 January 1874. He also had the distinction of compiling and printing the first four New Zealand stud books. Elliott reached social and political prominence in a variety of ways. He became committee member of the Nelson Institute on 3 July 1848 and was appointed co-secretary of the Horticultural Society in 1848. Elliott, who was a lifelong secretary and treasurer of the Nelson Turf Club, became pro tem acting secretary of the Nelson Constitutional Association on 27 November 1850. He was appointed a member of a provisional committee of the Nelson Mining Company on 10 July 1852, and was in 1854 variously chairman of the Select Committee on Steam Communication and chairman of the Select Committee on Education. In 1861 Elliott was chairman of the Select Committee on Patent Slip and Dry Dock. He represented Wairau in the Nelson Provincial Council from 1853 to 1859, Amuri from 1860 to 1861 and Nelson from 1863 to 1864. He represented Awatere in the Marlborough Provincial Council between 1860 and 1861, and was the Member of the House of Representatives for Waimea from 1855 to 1858. In 1874, Elliott was appointed as Immigration Officer for Nelson, an office he held until his death on 5 July 1876.
- 2 *Nelson Examiner (NE)*, 12 March 1842, p.2, col. 4.
- 3 *NE*, 6 March 1847, p.2, col. 1.
- 4 *NE*, 12 February 1859, p.2, cols 3-4.
- 5 *NE*, 25 February 1864, p.2, cols 3-4.
- 6 *NE*, 11 January 1851, p.182, col. 4.

- 7 J. Newman, 'Land Transport in the Early Days', *Journal of the Nelson Historical Society Incorporated*, 1, no. 2 (May 1957) p.5.
- 8 *NE*, 18 November 1843, p.354, col. 4.
- 9 *NE*, 30 July 1842, p.82, col. 2.
- 10 *NE*, 6 September 1854, p.2, col. 2.
- 11 *NE*, 3 September 1853, p.5, col. 1.
- 12 *NE*, 19 September 1867, p.2, cols 4-5.
- 13 *NE*, 23 November 1867, p.3, col. 2.
- 14 *NE*, 15 February 1851, p.104, col. 4.
- 15 *NE*, 1 March 1851, p.2, col. 2.
- 16 Robert M. Weir, 'The Role of the Newspaper Press in the Southern Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution: an Interpretation', in *The Press and the American Revolution*, pp.99-150 (p.117).
- 17 *NE*, 7 January 1857, p.2, col. 5.
- 18 *NE*, 16 May 1857, p.2, cols 1-4.
- 19 *NE*, 16 January 1866, p.2, col. 5.
- 20 *NE*, 12 October 1867, p.2, cols 5-6.
- 21 *NE*, 21 March 1860, p.2, cols 2-6.
- 22 *NE*, 17 March 1869, pp. 2-3.
- 23 *NE*, 22 February 1866, p.2, col. 4.
- 24 *NE*, 17 November 1873, p.3, col. 5.
- 25 *NE*, 6 October 1855, p.3, col. 2.
- 26 *NE*, 21 March 1855, p.2, col. 4.
- 27 *NE*, 18 May 1855, p.2, col. 4.
- 28 *NE*, 13 January 1858, p.2, col. 4.
- 29 *NE*, 11 March 1863, p.2, cols 3-5.
- 30 *NE*, 21 January 1865, p.2, col. 4.
- 31 *NE*, 26 November 1864, p.2, col. 5.
- 32 *NE*, 10 September 1870, p.2, col. 5.
- 33 *NE*, 1 October 1870, p.2, col. 5.
- 34 *The History of The Times: The Tradition Established, 1841-1884* (London: The Office of *The Times*, 1939), p.417.
- 35 *NE*, 10 September 1870, p.2, cols 5-6.
- 36 *NE*, 29 October 1870, p.3, col. 1.
- 37 Patricia Mary Burns, 'Foundation of the New Zealand Press, 1839-1850', 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Victoria University College, Wellington, 1957), II,100.

Research Notes

Sally Edridge's *Solomon Islands Bibliography to 1980*, published in 1985 by the Turnbull in association with the Solomon Islands National Library and the Institute of Pacific Studies, has won the John Harris Award of the New Zealand Library Association for excellence in bibliography.

Professor Robert Ellwood of the Department of Religion, University of Southern California, has been awarded a Fulbright research fellowship for study at the Turnbull during 1987. Professor Ellwood proposes to compile a working inventory and historical account of the new religious movements among Europeans in New Zealand since 1840 and to present comparative perspectives on such movements in New Zealand and the United States. The movements to be studied include Theosophists, Rosicrucians, Spiritualists, initiatory organisations (including Scientology), and Eastern groups from Vedanta, Transcendental Meditation, Western Zen and the Unification Church. Professor Ellwood's books include *Religious and Spiritual Groups in Modern America*; *Alternative Altars: Unconventional and Eastern Spirituality in America*; *One Way: the Jesus Movement and its Meaning*; and *The Eagle and the Rising Sun: Americans and the New Religions of Japan*.

The official opening of the new National Library building has been set for Wednesday 5 August. A five-day programme of special events is being planned to mark the occasion. The Turnbull's Manuscripts Section will be opening on 6 April to researchers who have advised the Library of their special needs, and the rest of the Turnbull's collections will be available from late May.

Professor A W Crosby, the Turnbull's first Fulbright research fellow, has produced a book, *Ecological Imperialism: the Biological Expansion of Europe 900-1900* (Cambridge University Press, 1986) which draws substantially on the research done at the Turnbull in 1979. Professor Crosby used the New Zealand experience as a case study of the kind of ecological takeover discussed in general terms in the early part of his book. He is Professor of American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin.

The Turnbull has placed a subscription to the specialist collection 'Publishing, the Booktrade and the Diffusion of Knowledge' from 'The Nineteenth Century', a microfiche edition of printed books in English. 'The Nineteenth Century' is a large-scale programme to republish in microfiche over a 30-year term the English language books and pamphlets of research value within clearly defined subject areas published in the nineteenth century. The project will begin with the collections of the British Library and then move to the Bodleian and other research collections. The

'Publishing, Booktrade' collection includes the economics of publishing and the distribution of books; catalogues of libraries; auction sale catalogues; publishers' catalogues; bibliographies; subject catalogues; new techniques in printing; the manufacture of paper; binding; libraries; copyright; legal deposit; and journalism. The Turnbull will receive 500 microfiche each year, initially for a five year period. The Turnbull's collections on printing and publishing history and the arts and crafts of the book, the strongest historical collection in New Zealand, will be strengthened substantially by this microfiche publication.

Isabel Ollivier, transcriber and translator of accounts of French explorers for the series Early Eyewitness Accounts of Maori Life, has been awarded the John Dunmore Medal by the Federation of Alliances Françaises of New Zealand. This annual award, established on the retirement of its namesake in 1984, recognises contributions to the knowledge or understanding of the part played by the French people or the French language in the development of the Pacific.

Three volumes in the series, published by the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust with the assistance of Indosuez New Zealand Limited, have appeared so far.

Despite the limited access we were able to provide for our regular researchers during 1986 and early 1987 the output of publications which drew on the collections and services of the Turnbull seems to have set a new record both in numbers and quality. As well as the hundreds of books and articles acknowledging illustrations from the pictorial collections, and the dozens of family, local and institutional histories, we noted in particular Angela Ballara's *Proud to be White: a Survey of Pakeha Prejudice in New Zealand*; James Belich's *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*; Judith Binney's *Morehu: the Survivors*; Raewyn Dalziel's *Julius Vogel: Business Politician*; Sir Keith Sinclair's *A Destiny Apart*; *New Zealand's Search for National Identity*; Anne Kirker's *New Zealand Women Artists*; and J. R. H. Andrews's *The Southern Ark; Zoological Discovery in New Zealand 1769-1900*. All of the authors have been regular inhabitants of the reading rooms at 44 The Terrace over the past few years and we welcome these scholarly fruits of their labours.

Work is well advanced on the preparation of *Women's Words: A Guide to Manuscripts in the Alexander Turnbull Library Relating to Women in the Nineteenth Century*, compiled by Diana Meads, the Manuscripts Librarian, and Kay Sanderson, formerly a member of the Manuscripts Section and now the Library's Systems Librarian. The guide describes the contents of over 500 manuscript collections which contain material relating to nineteenth century women, and includes a name and subject index. It is hoped that a companion volume describing twentieth century collections will be prepared at a later date.

Changes in the organisational structure of the Turnbull leading to the creation of two major divisions, one responsible for collection devel-

opment and preservation and the other for library services, have begun. The changes, first proposed in 1985, are designed to improve the Turnbull's ability to meet its objectives under the National Library Act. Collection development and preservation comes under a new position, the Keeper of the Collections, who is responsible initially for the oversight of the Manuscripts Section, the Archive of New Zealand Music, the pictorial research collections (Drawings and Prints, Maps, Photographic Archives) and Newspapers. Two new positions have been created in library services, a Technical Services Librarian in charge of cataloguing, acquisitions and serials, and a Reader Services Librarian responsible for the reading rooms, reference correspondence, the new Pictorial Reference Service, and the Maori subject specialist.

Tony Ralls, the *Record's* Assistant Editor since 1983 with special responsibilities for negotiating production schedules and standards with our printers, has resigned from the position. Tony's keen eye for detail and his commitment to the highest levels of expression and presentation have enabled him to make a major contribution to the *Record* over the past four years. Kay Sanderson and Philip Rainer have joined the team as Assistant Editors and were actively involved in the preparation of this issue.

Notes on Contributors

ROGER BLACKLEY is curator of historical New Zealand art at the Auckland City Art Gallery. He is currently working on a survey exhibition of New Zealand landscape pictures for 1990, and is completing research for a book on the nineteenth-century landscape watercolourist Alfred Sharpe.

COLIN DAVIS is Professor of History at Massey University. He has written extensively on early modern politics, society and political thought and much of his research has been done in the Turnbull Library's seventeenth century collections. His latest publications include *Fear, Myth and History: The Ranters and the Historians* (1986) and a chapter in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought* (forthcoming).

LISHI KWASITSU, BA (HONS), DIP LIBR (GHANA), MA (WELLINGTON), is a PhD student at Monash University.

Notes on Manuscript Accessions

A SELECTIVE LIST OF ACQUISITIONS, APRIL 1986 TO SEPTEMBER 1986

Acquisitions of manuscripts are listed selectively in the *Turnbull Library Record* to alert scholars to newly acquired material judged to be of research value. For items marked 'Access subject to sorting' or 'Restricted' the Library would welcome notification that access will be sought, preferably with an indication of a likely date. This will help the staff in establishing priorities for sorting collections. The following list updates the Notes in the *Record* for October 1986. Material produced by the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau and the Australian Joint Copying Project is not listed except for items copied under the latter's Miscellaneous series. New accessions for the Archive of New Zealand Music are listed in *Crescendo*, the bulletin of the International Association of Music Libraries (New Zealand Branch).

CORRECTED ENTRY

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

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

Restricted.

BACK, GEORGE, 1867-1948. *Diary on Board the Barque Lizzie Bell of Liverpool, 1879*. 16 leaves. DONATION: Mrs B. N. Jenkins, New South Wales.

Diary kept jointly by George and his father, John Back, 1 July-16 October 1879. Photocopy of typescript.

BAYFIELD, ST CLAIR. *A Theatrical Tour through New Zealand and Australia in the Early 19th [i.e. 20th] Century, 1901-1902*. 1 microfilm reel. PURCHASE.

Diary covering Bayfield's travels with the Hawtrey Comedy Company. Describes rehearsals, theatres, weather conditions, and local scenery.

BEATTIE, GERALD C., b.1892. *World War I Diary, 1916-1919*. 215 leaves. DONATION. Diaries kept by Corporal Beattie while serving with the 1st Otago Battalion in France. Typed transcripts.

BRYANT, AGNES RUTH MAUDE, b.1896. *Reminiscences and Reflections about Reikorangi, ca. 1983*. 41 leaves. DONATION: Mrs Ruth Wright, Waikanae.

Recollections of life at Reikorangi, near Waikanae, at the turn of the century. Includes an account of the history of the district up to the 1910s. Photocopy of typescript.

BUTLER, MICHAEL GRANT. *Moonies Under Fire, 1984*. 3 folders. DONATION.

Unpublished manuscript based on personal experience. Details activities and ideology of the Unification Church in New Zealand, 1973-1983; and the Unification Church world-wide, ca. 1950-1983.

CATHOLIC CHURCH. OCEANIA MARIST PROVINCE. *Oceania Marist Province Archives, 1893-1971*. 40 microfilm reels. PURCHASE.

The archives cover the period from 1898 when the Province was established, to 1971 when the administrative headquarters moved from Sydney to Suva, Fiji. Includes inwards and outwards letters and documentation relating to the administration of the Province.

CRUTTWELL, EDWARD C. *Diary, March 13 to May 11, 1915*. 1v. PURCHASE.

Diary describing stay at Hanmer Springs and environs, as part of a six months recuperative sojourn in New Zealand. Includes some photographs, postcards, and newspaper clippings.

FRY, JAMES ARTHUR BARRETT, b.1850. *Reminiscences of James Arthur Barrett Fry, 1850-1876, 1918?* 1 microfilm reel. PURCHASE.

Reminiscences of early life in England and emigration to New Zealand. Fry worked for the *Southern Cross* newspaper in Auckland, before moving to Dunedin, and then to Australia where he worked as a shearer and station hand. Includes sketch maps of areas visited in New South Wales and Victoria. Microfilm of typescript.

GOOD FAMILY. *Papers, 1811, 1882-1884*. 1 folder. PURCHASE.

Papers comprise a letter by Thomas Good, 1882, from Taranaki to a cousin in England, describing the local area; diaries kept by one of his nephews on a trip to New Zealand, 1883-1884, visiting Invercargill, Dunedin, Christchurch and Nelson; and an account for a subscription to the *Worcester Herald* addressed to a Mr Goode, 1811.

GREENWOOD, WILLIAM, 1910-1986. *Papers, ca. 1938-1983*. 30cm. DONATION: Mr & Mrs R. Blanchard, Timaru.

Papers of local historian, Methodist lay preacher, and Timaru city councillor. Includes research notes, sermons, prayers, notebooks.

GREY, SIR GEORGE, 1812-1898. *Maori Manuscripts, ca. 1845-1905*. 147v. PURCHASE.

Manuscripts accumulated by Sir George Grey, mostly written during the 1840s and 1850s. Includes work by Maori men and women, Pakeha collectors, and Grey himself. Contents include waiata, korero, whakapapa, letters, proverbs, legends, traditions. Photocopies of originals held at Auckland Public Library.

GRIFFIN, GERALD J. *Papers relating to left-wing politics, 1911-1974*. 3m. PURCHASE.

Papers reflect Griffin's interest in communism, socialism and Irish issues.

HUTTON, ALEC. *Letters, ca. 1917-1919*. 10cm. DONATION: Mr N. Boyack, Lower Hutt.

Letters written by Alec Hutton to his family from France and military camp. Photocopies.

ILOTT ADVERTISING LTD. *Records, 1892-1984*. 78cm. DONATION: Mr Jack V. Ilott, Wellington.

The agency was founded in 1892. These records were gathered for a history of the agency, and include company records, photographs, audio-visual material, and research notes.

LILBURNE, ANNE. *I Went Out, Not Knowing, 197-?* 2 folders. DONATION.

Reminiscences of time spent in China, 1937-1951, as a nurse and member of a small group of missionaries connected to the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.

MENZIES, JOHN FORSYTH. *Diary Leaving from Greenock, 1878-1879*. 53 leaves. DONATION: Mr F. J. Brooker, Wellington.

The Menzies family travelled to Plymouth by train. They sailed on the *Boyne* on 18 November 1878, arriving at Lyttelton on 26 February 1879. Diary records daily routine of shipboard life. Typescript.

MOULE, HENRY C. C., 1893-1986. *New Zealand Letters Sent Home by Her Brother to Dorothy Bosanquet, 1958-1959*. 4v. DONATION: Mr P. Bosanquet, Bradford-on-Avon, England.

Moule was a lecturer in Music at Cambridge University, and came to New Zealand as an External Examiner for the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music. He travelled extensively, recording his impressions of the country and people. Typescripts.

PAGE, FREDERICK JOSEPH, 1905-1983. *Papers, 1905-1983*. 1.43m. PURCHASE.

Papers consist of correspondence, music scores, printed music, art programmes and catalogues, and personal writings. Mainly material relating to New Zealand and overseas composers and artists. Page was married to artist Evelyn Page, and some of her papers are included.

SOLANDER, DANIEL CHARLES, 1736-1782. *Papers, between 1771 and 1782*. 1 microfilm reel. PURCHASE.

Papers comprise fair copies of descriptions of animals observed during James Cook's first voyage, 1768-1771; and catalogue of birds from the second voyage, 1772-1775.

WATERMAN FAMILY. *Correspondence, 1942-1944*. 4cm. DONATION: Mrs M. Cook, Wellington.

Chiefly to members of his family from Gunner Harry Waterman serving with the 29th Light Anti-Aircraft Regiment in New Caledonia and elsewhere in the Pacific. Also letters from fellow Gunners Reg J. Anderson and Harry A. Scott to Waterman's parents.

WATTERS, BETHLYN. *Oates family papers, 1852-1891, 1955*. 7 folders. DONATION.

The Oates family settled in the Wairarapa in the 1850s. Papers consist of correspondence between Jane Oates and her sister in England, and genealogical material about the Oates and Morten families.

WELCH, GEORGE HENRY, 1859-1906. *Diaries, 1901-1903*. 3v. DONATION: Mrs A. L. K. Carroll, Wellington.

Diaries recording daily farm and family activities at Miki Miki, Wairarapa.

WELCH, WILLIAM KEMBLE, 1886-1964. *Letters, 1867-1906*. 45 items. DONATION: Mrs A. L. K. Carroll, Wellington.

Letters by George Henry Welch to his son Kemble at boarding school, as well as to other family members. Describe farm activities and social events at Miki Miki, Wairarapa.

WHITBY, GEORGE. *Log of the Pekin, 1849-1850*. 1v. PURCHASE.

The *Pekin* carried New Zealand Company passengers from England to New Zealand. Captain George Whitby kept the log, 7 August 1849-29 October 1850. There are daily entries, and brief descriptions of ports visited, including Port Chalmers, Wellington, Nelson and New Plymouth. Includes both outward and return voyages.

Notes on Accessions to the Drawings & Prints Collection

A SELECTIVE LIST OF ACQUISITIONS,
JANUARY 1985 TO MAY 1986

Acquisitions of paintings, drawings, prints and sculpture are listed selectively in the *Turnbull Library Record* to alert scholars to newly acquired material judged to be of research value. The following list updates the 'Notes on Art Accessions' in the *Record* for May 1985. Only original works and significant engravings and prints are included: photomechanical reproductions recently published are excluded.

ARTIST UNKNOWN. [*Album of an officer en route to and from New Zealand and on service in New Zealand*] 1863-1867.

42 pencil, ink & watercolour on album leaves 26.5 x 36.2cm. PURCHASE.

———*Insulaire de la Nouvelle Zéelande* [Paris, Pavard, 1788]

Engraving & aquatint (hand-coloured) 17.8 x 11.8cm PURCHASE.

———*Nueva Zelanda . . . Parte N. de la isla del Medio desde el Estrecho de Cook* [after 1862]

Pencil & watercolour 17.2 x 24.5cm. Two coastal profiles. PURCHASE.

———*Rangihaeta: Rauparaha's fighting general* [184-?]

Ink & watercolour 28.4 x 19.1cm. Related to portraits of the same subject in Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass., in Bett Collection, Nelson Provincial Museum, and in Alexander Turnbull Library. PURCHASE.

———*Rauparaha: Kafia chief* [184-?]

Ink & watercolour 27.7 x 18.5cm. Related to portraits of the same subject in Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass., in National Library of Australia, in Bett Collection, Nelson Provincial Museum, and in Alexander Turnbull Library. PURCHASE.

———*Wanganui* [186-?]

Pencil & watercolour 17.8 x 25.2cm. PURCHASE.

BALOGHY, GEORGE, b.1950. [*Kidikidi revisited*. 1985]

Coloured lithograph 31.6 x 45.5cm. Pastiche based on Chazal's 1826 aquatint after Lejeune. PURCHASE.

[BARRAUD, CHARLES DECIMUS] 1822-1897. *Ta ringa Kuri* [185-?]

Pencil & watercolour 17.2 x 8.3cm. Portrait of Te Kaeaea (Ngati Tama tribe). PURCHASE.

CLARKE, CUTHBERT CHARLES, 1819-1863. *Fern-tree. W. Swainson del. Cuthbert Clarke lith.* [Auckland, 1849].

Lithograph (hand-coloured) 18.4 x 15.2cm. One of only three known copies. PURCHASE.

———[*Rangitoto from central Auckland, with Maori figures and bullock cart in foreground*. 1850?]

Pencil 24.9 x 34.8cm. PURCHASE.



[Charles Decimus Barraud] Ta ringa Kuri [185-?] Drawings & Prints Coll. A84/47

[COOKSON, JANETTA MARIA] 1812-1867. [*Views of Lyttelton, Akaroa, Otaki and Rotorua*] 1851-1853.

25 pencil or pencil & wash, each 17.5 x 25.7cm. Views of the artist's house at Mt Rhodes, Otaki church and mission station, various identified houses at Akaroa and Lyttelton. PURCHASE.

[CROSS, ENID] [*Portrait of Barc in an armchair*. ca 1956]

Pastel 53.7 x 41.8cm. DONATION: Enid Cross, Auckland.

CUSHMAN, GEORGE HEWITT, 1814-1876. *View in New Zealand*. Drawn by A. T. Agate. G. H. Cushman sc. [Philadelphia, Lea & Blanchard, 1845]

Engraving 11.8 x 18.0cm. Detached from Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition. PURCHASE.

[GILBERT, GEORGE CHANNING] 1838-1913. [*Brighton Place, the home of Rev. Thomas Gilbert, Omata, New Plymouth*] 1863.

Pencil 19.7 x 28.0cm.

- [*Brookwood from the east, Omata. ca. 1860*]
Pencil 23.6 x 26.0cm.
- [*Brookwood, the home of Rev. H. Brown, Omata, New Plymouth. ca. 1860*]
Pencil 26.2 x 32.3cm.
- [*Farm, possibly at Wakatu, Nelson. 18--*]
Watercolour over pencil 29.3 x 20.8cm.
- [*House in a clearing at Omata. ca. 1860*]
Pencil 23.6 x 25.9cm.
- [*Mount Arthur range from Wakatu, showing the old road over the Waimea estuary, Nelson. 18--*]
Watercolour over pencil 22.1 x 34.6cm.
- [*Oakura Bay and Tataraimaka Headland from Brookwood, Omata. ca. 1860*]
Pencil 23.6 x 25.9cm.
- [*Residence in the Nelson district. 18--*]
Watercolour 21.2 x 29.8cm. Believed to show Sir Edward Stafford's house.
- [*Swiss cottage, the home of Jabez Marriage Gibson. ca. 1860*]
Pencil 18.9 x 27.9cm. DONATION: Ray Gilbert, Eastbourne.
- [GLEESON, NELLIE] [*Wallsend Mine, Westland. 1887?*]
Oil on unstretched canvas 25.4 x 37.3cm. DONATION: Miss Agnes Sullivan, Petone.
- [GREEN, SAMUEL EDWY] 1838-1935. [*Off Bab el Mandeb [185-]*]
Ink & watercolour 19.3 x 28.7cm.
- [*Wreck of the Margarita Mirabeau near Cook Rock, Crystall beach, Akatore [1907]*]
Pencil & watercolour 15.9 x 27.5cm. DONATION: Professor G. H. Green, Auckland.
- GULLY, JOHN, 1819-1888. [*Sketchbook of South Island scenes*] 1887.
25 pencil & 1 wash, each 13.6 x 21.8cm. PURCHASE.
- HEAPHY, CHARLES, 1820-1881. [*Mt Egmont, from the Sugar Loaf Islands, Taranake. 1849.*]
Watercolour & Chinese white 14.4 x 18.3cm. PURCHASE.
- [HOLMES, WILLIAM HOWARD] 1825?-1885. [*Wellington beach. 1856.*]
Pencil & watercolour 22.2 x 33.2cm. PURCHASE.
- HOMEYER, ELIZABETH, b.1832 or 1833. [*Port Chalmers, Otago, N.Z. 1850.*]
Watercolour with Chinese white 18.8 x 25.5cm. PURCHASE.
- MACMILLAN, ETHEL LOUISA, d.1942. [*Chiefly Wellington scenes*] 1933-1935.
18 watercolour over pencil, various sizes. Mainly scenes of Brooklyn and environs, where Ethel Macmillan (née Latham) and her husband, Charles Edward (M.P. for Tauranga, 1923-1935) lived during the Parliamentary session.
DONATION: Mrs Ellen McCormack, Tauranga.
- MATTHEWS, MARMADUKE, 1885?-1949. [*The Campanile - Wellington [193-?]*]
Etching 23.4 x 17.1cm. PURCHASE.
- MOLLER, I. S.S. Manaia [*between 1912 & 1926*]
Oil 34.0 x 63.0cm. PURCHASE.
- POKIHA, RANGI HAUITI, 1895 or 1896-1980. [*Maori whare puni [ca. 1910]*]
Pencil & ink 18.4 x 24.5cm. DONATION: Mrs B. Watters, Days Bay.
- SMITHER, MICHAEL DUNCAN, b. 1934. [*Elizabeth Smither writing*] 1974.
Pencil 25.2 x 20.1cm. PURCHASE.

STONES, ANTHONY, b. 1933. [*Head of Rewi Alley*] 1984.

Patinated bronze 27.5 x 20.0 x 20.5. PURCHASE.

———*Sketchbooks, 1981-1982.*

272 ink or ink & watercolour in 2 sketchbooks, each 28.0 x 22.0cm. Portraits of Frank Sargeson, Michael Illingworth, Rod Dixon, John Walker, Sir Edmund Hillary and Roderick Finlayson. Auckland and Northland scenes. PURCHASE.



Michael Smither [Elizabeth Smither writing]. 1974 *Drawings & Prints Coll.* A6/38

STRINGER, TERRY, b. 1946. [*Head of Eve Page*] 1984-1985.

Patinated bronze 31.0 x 18.0 x 21.5cm. PURCHASE.

SWAINSON, WILLIAM, 1789-1855. *Road to the Hutt between Noranga & Petoni.* 1848.

Pencil 11.9 x 16.2cm.

———*Thompson's (Young Rauperaha) New house. Otaki [1849?]*

Pencil 8.9 x 12.9cm. DONATION: Early Settlers' & Historical Association, Wellington.

WHIDBORNE, HARRY ELDERTON. *Camp, Poutoko, New Zealand. 57th & 70th Detachments.* 1864.

Pencil & Chinese white 10.2 x 15.6cm.

———*Fort Robert & coast half a mile beyond Poutoko, New Zealand [1864]*
Pencil & Chinese white 10.2 x 15.5cm. PURCHASE.

WOOLLASTON, MOUNTFORD TOSSWILL, b. 1910. [*Barry Brickell. 1968*]
Ink 38.0 x 50.5cm.

———[*Self-portrait*] 1979.
Pencil & watercolour 31.6 x 28.2cm.



Sir Tosswill Wollaston [Barry Brickell. 1968] Drawings & Prints Coll. B17/40

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THE FRIENDS OF THE TURNBULL LIBRARY

The Society known as the Friends of the Turnbull Library was established in 1939 to promote interest in the Library, to assist in the extension of its collections, and to be a means of interchange of information on all matters of concern to those interested in books generally as well as in the manuscripts, sketches, maps and photographs with other materials which throw light on our history.

The Society carries out its objectives by means of periodic meetings and the production of publications, including the Friends' *Newsletter*.

The annual subscription of \$20.00 entitles members to receive the *Turnbull Library Record* free. Members of the Society are also able to purchase Library publications, including those of the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust, at a discount.

Correspondence and enquiries regarding membership should be addressed to the Secretary, the Friends of the Turnbull Library, P.O. Box 12-186, Wellington North.

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