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# Joseph Ives 'Celebrated Country Newspaper Propagator'

D. R. HARVEY

According to G. H. Scholefield, Joseph Ives established forty-five newspapers in New Zealand and Australia.<sup>1</sup> Even though Scholefield later modified his estimate to twenty-six New Zealand and five Australian titles,<sup>2</sup> this still high number calls for explanation. For one man to 'plant' over thirty newspapers during his working life is nothing short of extraordinary. Scholefield's statements raise two major questions: which newspapers did Ives establish and why did he establish them?

The first question is the easier to answer, although to do so is impeded by the lack of an adequate bibliography of newspapers published in New Zealand. The disappearance of many of this country's newspapers is a further impediment. Some evidence can be gleaned from the few Ives newspapers which can still be located. But this combined with the evidence in secondary sources is insufficient to confirm the precise number of titles in which Ives had an interest. In addition, the nature and extent of that interest is sometimes by no means clear. I have in the Appendix identified forty-four newspapers published in New Zealand which have some connection with Ives, (twenty-nine definitely established by him) but have identified only two Australian newspapers as being Ives titles.<sup>3</sup>

Having refined Scholefield's figures, the second question can be addressed: why did Ives establish this large number of newspapers? What were his motivations? Several of his titles proved themselves capable of providing at the least a comfortable living, so the explanation cannot be made solely on the grounds of economic necessity. Scholefield, himself a former newspaper editor who had met Ives, suggests a reason:

Ives was the most picturesque of that gay band of pioneers who, with a handpress and a hatful of type, rushed from point to point . . . to hoist the banner of free journalism wherever men needed such an organ of expression.<sup>4</sup>

This may present part of the truth, but probably only a small part. Ives stressed many times in his editorials that he was a businessman, with the motivations of earning a living and of making a profit which that entails.<sup>5</sup> He may also have had a more detached interest in principles of free speech and democracy, and may well have considered his newspapers as a vehicle through which the common man could

express himself,<sup>6</sup> but this was probably a secondary concern. Scholefield notes an element of restlessness in Ives's makeup: 'The grass over the fence always looked greener than that in his own paddock'.<sup>7</sup> Ives must also have enjoyed the social status attached to being a newspaper editor or proprietor in a small town. But I consider that Ives's primary motivation was a wish to be in the centre of the political world and to wield political power, and he used the newspapers he established or leased to further these political ambitions. The study which follows of his newspapers, taking special note of certain years of the *Inangahua Herald*, the *Patea Mail* and the *Paraekaretu Express*, will establish this more clearly.

Ives was by no means alone among newspapermen in succumbing to the lure of political power. It may even have assumed the status for New Zealand newspapermen of an occupational hazard: there was a higher than usual extent of combining the journalistic and political roles in this country, according to Patrick Day.<sup>8</sup> One characteristic of nineteenth century South Australian newspaper editors was that they often entered politics at the local or national level, just as Ives in New Zealand held posts in local, provincial and national governments.<sup>9</sup> A similar point has been made about English newspaper proprietors:

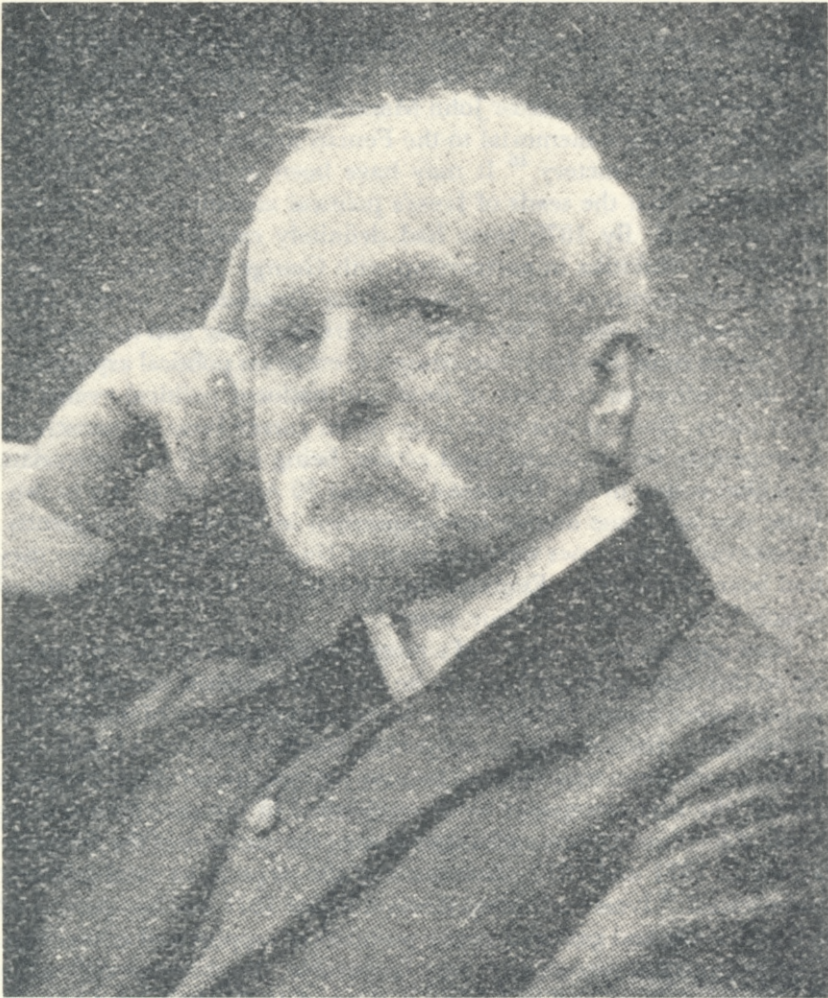
the access papers have afforded to public life has been a major factor. That access has, on a few occasions, been converted into real political power. But for the most part it has been an illusion. Ownership has been a ticket to the front stalls of public affairs, but not to the stage itself.<sup>10</sup>

Apart from some early successes, political power was to elude Joseph Ives.

\* \* \*

Biographical information about Joseph Ives is readily available.<sup>11</sup> He was born in Askeaton, Co. Limerick, Ireland, on 8 February 1844, and in 1852 accompanied his parents to Melbourne, where he was educated at Barnett's Grammar School, Emerald Hill. His father, John Pope Ives, was a police sergeant. In 1866, after his marriage to Sarah Ann Reddin, he worked on the staff of the *Bendigo Independent*. On his arrival in New Zealand in 1868 he began work as the manager, and perhaps printer, of the *New Zealand Celt* at Hokitika. He remained in and about the West Coast for the next eight years, but after 1875 his base became the Canterbury region, and particularly Ashburton. A photograph of Ives with his family shows nine children.<sup>12</sup> He represented the electorate of Wakanui, South Canterbury, in the House of Representatives on two occasions, 1882-1884 and 1885-1887, after that concentrating his activities in the North Island, especially in the Taranaki and Rangitikei areas. He returned for some years to





*Joseph Ives. Photo neg. 17917 1/2*

Ashburton around the turn of the century, and from 1903 based himself in the central North Island. He died on 5 September 1919 in Christchurch.<sup>13</sup> A description of Ives in late 1875 portrayed him as

a fine plump man with a well-groomed appearance. He wore a moustache and a little bunch of hair on his under lip, as was customary in some professional men of those days. . . . Always an optimist, it was hard for others to compete with him, and he was certainly a tireless worker, obtaining considerable influence where he worked.<sup>14</sup>

It is hardly surprising that an Irishman emigrating from Melbourne to New Zealand would land at Hokitika. The West Coast goldfields

were at that time full of fellow countrymen<sup>15</sup> and shipping routes made that coast a natural landfall. Ives probably found employment rapidly as the manager of the *New Zealand Celt*, the Irish Catholic Party's newspaper whose proprietor John Manning was charged with seditious libel for erecting a memorial to the Fenian martyrs of Manchester in the Hokitika Cemetery.<sup>16</sup> It may have been in this heady political atmosphere that the seeds of Ives's political ambitions were planted and nurtured. By 1870 Ives had definitely established a printing business at Hokitika in partnership with George Tilbrook, as shown by advertisements in the first issue of the *Tomahawk* (5 March 1870) and subsequent issues. This heavily satirical weekly and its successor the *Lantern* must also have encouraged Ives in his political aspirations, for they relied on criticism of local and national political events for their effect. Even at this early stage in his career Ives demonstrated a propensity for attracting legal action, being named as a defendant in a libel action in the *Tomahawk* (16 and 30 April 1870). To be fair, Ives was not alone among newspapermen in being sued frequently. Conservative libel laws were retained in New Zealand long after they had been redrafted in England and resulted in frequent law-suits of which Ives attracted his fair share.<sup>17</sup>

Ives appears not to have had a proprietary interest in any newspaper up to this date, perhaps because he had not amassed enough capital to purchase a share. He may have been part proprietor of the *Westland Independent* at Hokitika for a brief period, but the evidence is insufficient to be certain about this. He next became part proprietor of the *Inangahua Herald*, the first newspaper to be established in the new gold-mining town of Reefton. Letters exchanged among the partners of the *Inangahua Herald* in 1871 and 1872 allow some of the steps in its establishment to be traced.<sup>18</sup> Ives had visited Reefton in late 1871 and had purchased a business site and gathered strong promises of support and advertising. The prospects of success were very favourable, despite some difficulties in obtaining plant and in having it shipped to Reefton, and heavier than expected expenses. Ives arrived with his family in mid January 1872, and the first issue was published on 3 February 1872.

A close reading of the *Inangahua Herald* for the period of Ives's proprietorship shows quite clearly how he used it from its inception to bring himself to the attention of its readers. He is regularly noted as being elected to membership of numerous local committees, ranging from one to investigate forming a public company to construct a tramway between Reefton and Murray Creek (20 March 1872), to the Permanent Committee to Administer the Sick and Destitute Relief Fund (8 May 1872), later renamed the Local Hospital Committee (11 May 1872). His letters to the editor include one on the contentious issue of separation from Nelson Province (3 July 1872). Ives contrived some mention of himself in almost every issue of the *Inangahua Herald*

during 1872, usually on some matter connected with local government or local requirements, but also in social contexts such as in his capacity as an official of the Jockey Club (4 September 1872) or as a performer of impromptu speeches at concerts in aid of the Chapel Building Fund (his performance was criticised as insensitive) (16 October 1872). Ives's year of working hard at being prominent paid off. In December 1872 a petition listing 276 names was published requesting him to allow himself to be nominated for the Inangahua electorate of the Nelson Provincial Council. Ives duly assented, noting his pleasure at the request and his intention to 'advance the interests of this important portion of the Province' (14 December 1872). Following issues describe the election meetings. What is most notable about them is the amount of space devoted to reporting Ives's meetings in detail (often verbatim), by comparison with that allowed to his opponent Joseph Carreras. Carreras is barely mentioned and is certainly not supported in editorials, as Ives was:

The emolument attaching to the position of a member of the Council is not worth mentioning . . . Mr Ives in coming forward cannot possibly be actuated by any other feeling than an honest desire to promote the welfare of the district. (18 January 1873)

Letters to the editor were also strongly for Ives:

as the success of his private business hinges entirely upon the future prosperity of the district, this alone should be a guarantee of his sincerity to faithfully serve his constituents. (18 January 1873)

Ives's election with a majority of ten votes was duly noted in the *Gazette*.<sup>19</sup>

The *Inangahua Herald* for 1873 contains reports of the Provincial Council meetings at Nelson and therefore frequently mentions Ives, not always in complimentary terms 'Mr Donne thought as Mr Ives gained more experience he would display more modesty in his remarks' (24 May 1873); '[of Ives] nothing was easier than to make use of insulting and blackguardly language' (5 July 1873). While it is difficult to ascertain precisely the extent to which these mentions are the natural result of a newspaper wishing to serve its readers' local interests, it is quite clear that being a newspaper proprietor offered great advantages in the political arena as an electioneering mechanism. It also offered advantages as a vehicle to ensure that his name was kept before the public once he was elected. These must have been contributing factors in Ives's increased majority of forty-four votes over Carreras in another election for the Nelson Provincial Council in November 1873.<sup>20</sup> Ives was to retain his seat until the Provincial Councils were abolished at the end of October 1876.

During 1873 Ives established a newspaper at Lyell, a gold-mining town near Reefton, but after four months sold his interest in it. At

the end of 1873 he relinquished his interest in the *Inangahua Herald*. He appears to have purchased an interest in the Greymouth *Evening Star* in 1873, although the date and precise nature of his interest is unclear. But he was already looking further afield than the West Coast. In April 1875 the first issue appeared of the *Patea Mail* in the town of Carlyle in the Taranaki Province. Was it coincidental that an election was to be called at the end of 1875 and that there would no longer be a seat for Ives in the Nelson Provincial Council when it was abolished at the end of 1876? The *Patea Mail* for 1875 is the second newspaper examined here to ascertain whether Ives established it mainly to assist his political ambitions.

The evidence from the *Patea Mail* is not as clearcut as that from the *Inangahua Herald*. After an editorial in the first issue with its conventional statements about the glowing future of the district and of the newspaper, Ives's name disappeared from its pages while he attended a sitting of the Provincial Council in Nelson. His absence lasted until June. There are some occasional mentions—the birth of a daughter to Mrs Ives, for instance (31 July 1875)—then in August the Carlyle Town Board election was reported, Ives being the second lowest polling candidate and consequently not elected (25 August 1875). Later issues regularly note Ives in various public capacities, but there is not the same purposeful currying of public favour as noted in the Reefton newspaper. But in early September there appeared a first hint of political ambition, in a letter to the editor signed 'Disgust'. In it the editor is exhorted to use his

utmost endeavours to represent to the electors (which our member [Atkinson, the Colonial Treasurer] thinks so easily gulled and blindfolded), the absolute necessity of returning a member at the next general election, whose interests should be so thoroughly identified with the district, that personal aggrandisement could not allure, from pledges made to the electors. (15 September 1875)

Not until November was the election issue raised again. An editorial advised electors that given the patent lack of interest in the Patea district shown by Atkinson, the present member, they should consider carefully whom to vote for (10 November 1875). A week later the editorial noted 'almost the certainty' of a local candidate opposing Atkinson (17 November 1875). From this date Ives was actively reported in the columns of the *Patea Mail*: he was elected to the Patea East Road Board, he asked questions at a public meeting about the use of a local public reserve, and he became a member of a committee to form a Patea Harbour Board—all this reported in two issues! (24 November, 1 December 1875). Only two weeks after, with the election to begin only a few days later, Ives declared his candidature after a Mr Maguire had declined. The issue where this was reported (18 December 1875) also contains a scathing editorial against Atkinson's performance as

Colonial Treasurer, Maguire's denunciation of Atkinson, and an address by Ives to the electors of the Egmont District. The next editorial predicted a win for Atkinson but with a result 'much closer than will be altogether pleasant' for him (22 December 1875). The following issue devoted four columns to Atkinson's meeting in Carlyle, but the terms in which it was reported, Atkinson's comments 'elicited strong expressions of doubt and incredulity'; his explanation 'seemed however to be incomprehensible to his questioners' surely left no doubt in the readers' minds of the 'correct' way to vote (25 December 1875). The last issue to be published before the election was in the same vein, containing a vehemently anti-Atkinson editorial and reports of two of Ives's meetings.

Whether the final result of 225 votes for Atkinson against Ives's 73 (5 January 1876) was too close a result to be altogether pleasant for the sitting member we can not ascertain. His brother A. S. Atkinson certainly perceived no threat from 'poor Mr Ives, a literary hack now of Patea but formerly of the *New Zealand Celt*'.<sup>21</sup> Ives wrote in the *Patea Mail* not long after nominations had closed that he had as much idea, till very recently, of contesting Egmont, as he had of contesting the Presidency of the United States of America (31 December 1875). The short intervals between Maguire rejecting the nomination, Ives announcing his candidature, and the election suggest this to be the truth. What is interesting though is the manner in which Ives used his newspaper to further his political interests once he had announced his intention to stand.

Immediately after the election Ives was on the move again. He leased the *Patea Mail* to Alexander Black and travelled back to the South Island, to Akaroa. The first issue of the *Akaroa Mail* appeared on 21 July 1876. There is little mention of Ives in its pages in any capacity other than as newspaperman, apart from an occasional notice concerning his racehorse Lord Byron.<sup>22</sup> Ives next went to Ashburton where the *Ashburton Mail* began publication on 12 June 1877, the new proprietors of the *Akaroa Mail* taking charge on 20 July. The move to Ashburton was to signal the start of a period of relative stability for Ives. He retained a direct interest in the *Ashburton Guardian* until 1880 when he leased it, satisfying his newspaper 'planting' urges by starting the *Temuka Leader* in December 1877 at Temuka, about 60 kilometres south 'purely as a commercial speculation',<sup>23</sup> and by starting the *Evening News* in Ashburton to successfully support the Conservative candidate Edward George Wright for the Coleridge electorate.<sup>24</sup> His interest in politics was not, however, dormant, for he stood for the Mayoralty of Ashburton in December 1879, being defeated by Hugo Friedlander by seven votes.<sup>25</sup> It is during this period that we first note accusations of Ives's propensity for paying low wages:

Mr Sutherland has just returned . . . from Ashburton, where he has been engaged for the past week or two on the *Mail*, as he could not agree with the "long hour" proprietor, believing in the good old axiom: "A fair day's work for a fair day's pay."<sup>26</sup>

The year 1880 saw another burst of activity in 'rag-planting', at first in the North Island, in Taranaki where he resumed the proprietorship of the *Patea Mail* to fight the threat of a new newspaper at nearby Hawera and established the short-lived *Hawera Times*, then closer to Ashburton with the *Ellesmere Advertiser* at Southbridge near Christchurch. The North Island was the next to be favoured with an Ives newspaper (still in 1880), the *Waikato Mail* at Cambridge. A definite Ives technique for establishing newspapers can be observed: first identify an up-and-coming town, visit it to canvass support, move in the plant and probably a faithful pressman and editor, produce a few issues, and then advertise the newspaper for sale or lease.

Ives's return to Patea, although probably coinciding with the end of Black's lease of the *Patea Mail*, was hastened by the impending appearance of a newspaper in nearby Hawera. His attempts to stifle any opposition were graphically recounted by Patrick Galvin, one of the original proprietors of the threatening *Hawera and Normanby Star*. Ives brought with him an English editor, Edward Houghton. He at first offered to buy out Galvin and his partner, then when no response was forthcoming asked how much Galvin might pay him not to enter the contest. Ives persisted, first with Galvin and then with Galvin's partner Innes in Wellington. However, Mrs Innes 'had packed up her furniture, piano, etc., and was determined to come to Hawera', and the battle was on. Ives established a branch office of the *Patea Mail* in Hawera's High Street and used that newspaper for extensive advertising for the *Hawera Times*, including its delivery by 'mounted couriers'.

The paper came out for about three weeks, and the "mounted couriers" (a boy) rode from Patea to Hawera in the early hours of the morning and delivered the paper to all the old subscribers of the "Patea Mail".<sup>27</sup>

This move did not meet with much support and Ives withdrew from the contest after two issues and sold the *Patea Mail* to Houghton. A more successful outcome for Ives occurred in the case of the *Ellesmere Advertiser* where the proprietor of the rival title the *Ellesmere Guardian* purchased the 'stock and plant' of the *Advertiser*. A contemporary trade journal noted of this transaction

no one will doubt that "Joe" (Heaven bless him!) has made "another good thing" by one of his prematurely-born journals . . . No fear of him losing a penny in speculation.<sup>28</sup>

The next year began for Ives with the establishment of the *Wairarapa*

*Star* in Masterton. It was quickly sold and he announced his intention to start a daily newspaper in Wellington to support the Liberal interest, but was persuaded not to persevere.<sup>29</sup> He went back to Ashburton and set up as an auctioneer,<sup>30</sup> this move probably prompted by the impending national elections. To assist with his election campaign he took over in October 1881 the proprietary of the *Ashburton Mail* from Jacobson and Eyton, to whom he had leased it in 1880. Ives was not successful in gaining the Wakanui seat against J. C. Wason,<sup>31</sup> but Wason's election was declared void after a petition was presented, and Ives was successful against Alfred Saunders in a by-election held on 16 June 1882.<sup>32</sup> His ambition to wield political power at the national level had been achieved. Exactly what use he made of his proprietorship of the *Ashburton Mail* to achieve this success has not been determined by examining the newspaper, but a contemporary commentator had no doubt:

Possibly now the elections are over, and the *Mail* is no more useful as an electioneering paper, it may change hands, and possibly it may also change tactics, and give comp a better show for work.<sup>33</sup>

The eighth Parliament was dissolved in June 1884 and in the elections held in August Ives lost his Wakanui seat, its boundaries having been altered, to John Grigg.<sup>34</sup> Grigg, however, retired after the first session of the ninth Parliament and Ives was again successful in a by-election in July 1885, this time defeating E. G. Wright whom he had supported through the Ashburton *Evening News* in 1879.<sup>35</sup> The ninth Parliament was dissolved in July 1887. Ives's career as a member of Parliament seems on the whole to have been undistinguished. His activities as an electoral representative appear to have been confined to writing letters attesting to the suitability of constituents for official positions or for naturalisation, and asking for more polling booths to be established in his electorate.<sup>36</sup> He spoke against the Telegrams Protection Bill, intended to protect Reuters telegrams, in his capacity as a newspaper proprietor, seeing it as unnecessary and monopolistic.<sup>37</sup> He achieved brief notoriety (to modern eyes if not to those of his contemporaries) by unsuccessfully moving that the vote for women be confined to women property holders rather than to all women.<sup>38</sup>

Ives still maintained close links with the newspaper world while a Member of the House of Representatives. In 1885 he leased the *Ashburton Mail* and probably sold his interest in it in the following year. In 1886 he took over the proprietary of the already well established *Timaru Herald*. A brief examination of this title during Ives's fourteen month lease suggests that he had little interest in using it as a means of furthering his political ambitions. He was in Melbourne in early 1887.<sup>39</sup> Relinquishing control of the *Timaru Herald* was immediately

followed by establishing a new daily, the *Timaru Evening Mail*, which he sold at the end of 1887. Meanwhile, he had in the middle of 1887 leased the Napier *Evening News and Hawke's Bay Advertiser*, established two years earlier, to assist him in his campaign for the Napier electorate. In the elections held on 26 September 1887 Ives was not successful against the sitting Member, the Hon. J. D. Ormond.<sup>40</sup> He departed from the *Evening News* at the end of 1888, bound for Australia.

Albury, New South Wales, was Ives's next arena. The *Albury Evening Mail* began publication on 9 March 1889, Ives retaining proprietorship of it until December. He moved to Newcastle, New South Wales, to start the short-lived *Evening Star*, and by December was back in Albury to again take over the *Albury Evening Mail* until it was sold at the end of April 1891. Where Ives was for the remainder of 1891 and 1892 has not been ascertained. By March 1893 he was firmly established back in New Zealand, this time in the Rangitikei township of Hunterville. The first issue of the *Paraekaretu Express* was published on 10 March 1893 to considerable local interest, the first copy printed being auctioned for sixpence at the request of bystanders.<sup>41</sup>

Reading the *Paraekaretu Express* leaves little doubt that Ives had the 1893 national election firmly in his sights. He can be observed in action, moving into a recently settled area, rapidly establishing himself, and angling for the nomination. Although the customary 'Ourselves' in the inaugural issue (10 March 1893) made no mention of Ives's political ambitions (indeed, quite the opposite—'We enter the field as independent journalists—attached to no particular party or clique'), by the third number Ives had established himself in the public eye as the spokesman for a deputation of local interests waiting on the visiting R. J. Seddon. On 14 April Ives openly advertised himself by publishing a letter written to him by Seddon; also in that issue he noted that he would take part in a public debate. One month later the matter of Ives's availability for nomination was out in the open. In a letter to the editor one J. Johnston asked

Mr. Editor, it is commonly rumoured that you . . . wish the electors here to cut and dry the proprietor of the Express as a candidate for the coming contest. The result of the rumour here is anxiously watched. (16 May 1893)

This was answered by a long letter in which Ives stated

as I am an old campaigner in the political field I have learnt wisdom . . . and consequently Mr. Johnston will have to be content to wait for the lapse of time to bring forth "the result of the rumour" that is being anxiously watched . . . (19 May 1893)

In the same number, Ives in an editorial strongly accused the present incumbent of the Waitotara electorate, Mr George Hutchison, of



ineffectiveness, and, as if to redress the balance, a letter from 'A Liberal' was published which stated that

I hardly think that Mr. Ives, who is but a short comer among us, will have the presumption to thrust his candidature for the Rangitikei seat on us. (19 May 1893)

The pace now warmed up. Ives was invited by 83 electors to address a public meeting in Ohingaiti, the invitation and Ives's acceptance being published (30 May 1893) and his speech reported (6 June 1893). This meeting moved that if Ives wished to be the candidate, they would express a vote of confidence in him. In following issues references to Ives in public, business, and private capacities proliferate; only the most significant are noted here. In the report of his address to another meeting (20 June 1893) Ives expressed interest in becoming a candidate, but was still unsure of his support. He consented to a request by electors in Marton to address a meeting there (21 July 1893). References uncomplimentary to John Stevens, who had been announced as the official Rangitikei Liberal Association's candidate on 27 June, begin to appear. But Ives did not appear too eager to declare himself openly, perhaps wishing to be seen to be gathering a solid base of support:

Mr. Ives, who claims to have a large and compact following in the Rangitikei district, has determined to feel his way among the more settled and populous centres before definitely announcing his candidature. (5 August 1893)

There were two significant factors underlying the Liberal nomination. Rangitikei was a safe Liberal seat and whoever secured the nomination was sure to win the election. Voters outside Marton, the electorate's main town, were apparently dissatisfied with the performance of Stevens, who was the Marton-based Rangitikei Liberal Association's candidate, fearing that he would not represent their interests. Ives held several meetings in Marton, at one of them appealing to the soon to be enfranchised women by advertising that 'the gallery will be reserved for ladies and their escorts' (8 September 1893). Another Marton meeting strongly attacked the Rangitikei Liberal Association:

The coterie of would-be usurpers of the political privileges of the people of this district attended Mr. Ives's meeting at Marton on Friday last, and they received, at his hands, one of the soundest whippings, in the presence of the public, that it was possible for a man to administer. (19 September 1893)

Mentions of Ives flew thick and fast. One example is the reporting of the battle with the Marton *Mercury*, accused of an 'attempt to control the political opinion of the people of this district' by not reporting Ives's speeches (19 September 1893). His speeches and meetings were fully

reported and commented on, and the Rangitikei Liberal Association was constantly attacked. More local meetings were addressed by Ives, but by October he had still not declared himself. The endorsement of Stevens by Seddon, the Premier, was characterised as an attack on Ives: it would

offer up as a sacrifice that sterling and long-trying politician — Mr. Joseph Ives . . . The man who stood loyally by the party with whom Mr. Seddon was associated . . . from 1880-1886 . . . is now to be thrown aside. (17 October 1893)

More meetings were reported, then on 31 October Ives formally announced his candidature.

This unsatisfactory state could not be allowed to continue. As both Stevens and Ives appeared to have strong support the Liberal interests could not afford the possibility of the vote being split and so allowing the opposition candidate to win the seat. Stevens and Ives met but neither party was willing to back down (11, 14 November 1893). A few days later Stevens stated his determination to stand and on 21 November Ives bowed out.

During the past two or three months he had been buoyed up by hopes that he would have sufficient strength to enable him to go to the poll [but] the people were anxious to maintain the Liberal vote intact. He had no desire to wreck his party. (21 November 1893)

Stevens was successful with 2100 votes to his opponent's 1924.

The Liberal Party's rejection of Ives effectively shut him out of any further significant role in national politics. Although he did further attempt to become elected to the House of Representatives, he must have stood as an independent and was not successful.<sup>42</sup> In any case it is difficult to investigate Ives's use of his later newspapers to further his political ambitions as files of Ives newspapers after the *Paraekaretu Express* are far from complete.

For the sake of completeness Ives's further 'rag-planting' activities need to be briefly documented. He headed north from Hunterville to Stratford in 1894, establishing the *Egmont Post* there and using it as the base for two more titles, the *Eltham Guardian* and the *Hawera Morning Post*. He sold his interests in this chain by August 1895 and next established the *Pahiatua Argus*, selling his interest in this title in January 1896. Ives moved a little way south to the Horowhenua town of Manakau, where the first issue of the *Levin and Manakau Express* appeared on 4 April 1896. His next move was back to Ashburton to establish the *Ashburton Standard* in October 1896. This move may not be unrelated to the national elections to be held in December of that year, but as no issues of this title have been located the point must remain conjectural. The Ashburton Newspaper Company leased the *Standard*

from Ives in January 1898, and in April Ives appeared back in the North Island, this time as the lessee of the *Hauraki Tribune* at Paeroa and the *Goldfields Advocate* at nearby Karangahake. By October he was back in the South Island and was again attempting to implement a chain of newspapers, first establishing the *Geraldine Advocate* then using it as a base for the *Temuka Times*, the *Fairlie Star*, the *Pleasant Point Mail* and the *Mackenzie County Chronicle*. This chain was sold in September 1899.

Ives's next venture was into the far south, Riverton in Southland. The first issue of the *Riverton Times* was published on 13 October 1899 but it was, together with its satellite titles the *Orepuki Miner* and the *Otautau Mail*, shortlived. Ives spent some time in Australia at about this time.<sup>43</sup> He is next noted back in Ashburton, resuming control there of the *Ashburton Standard* for about a year before selling it. Again, his move may have been related to the national elections held in November 1902. A contemporary commentator noted

Mr Joseph Ives (known amongst irreverent persons as "the rag-planter") is now running the *Ashburton Standard*, a morning daily with which he was formerly associated and largely helped to "plant", if, indeed he was not wholly responsible for the "planting". His connection with Ashburton dates back some twenty years or more . . . returning home some twelve months or more . . . [he] discovered that a new generation had grown up in Ashburton, who knew not Joseph. He is making his presence felt there now though.<sup>44</sup>

Ives's next move, to Taihape in the central North Island, was to be his last in the arena of newspaper 'planting'. He established the *Taihape and Mangaweka News* in 1903, and was to retain his interest in it until at least 1908. He also established in 1907 the *Waimarino and Ohakune Times* at Ohakune. Of his time in Taihape it was reported

In spite of living only two years in Taihape, he impressed residents strongly. Although known locally as "Joey Low Wages" he appears to have been highly respected.<sup>45</sup>

He was in Ashburton in March 1905 in an unsuccessful attempt to resuscitate the *Ashburton Standard* under a new title, the *Ashburton Daily News*. He may still have been in Taihape for the 1908 and 1911 national elections; Scholefield suggests that he stood in the Waimarino electorate in 1911.<sup>46</sup> Joseph Ives died in Christchurch on 5 September 1919.<sup>47</sup>

\* \* \*

This study has not aimed at completeness. Some obvious sources have not been examined, the most evident being Ashburton newspapers for the period when Ives stood for national elections. However, the evidence presented here is sufficient to confirm that Ives's primary

motivation in establishing a large number of newspapers was political ambition. Further examination will strengthen and refine this hypothesis but is unlikely to alter it.

Much has been brought to light about Joseph Ives's business practices as a newspaperman. Although this evidence calls for a fuller study in its own right, it is worth noting briefly the main practices. One major reservation must, however, be noted. Ives was atypical of the genre of New Zealand country newspaper proprietor in the nineteenth century and so his practices may not apply more generally without some modification.

Perhaps the most interesting of Ives's practices was the concept of the chain of newspapers, where the same setting of type, or largely the same setting, was used for editions published in different towns. Ives was not an innovator. This had been tried before by Joseph Mackay in the 1860s and 1870s based on the *Bruce Herald* at Milton<sup>48</sup> and by Alexander McMinn in the 1880s based on the *Manawatu Standard* at Palmerston North.<sup>49</sup> Ives first used the concept in Ashburton, the *Temuka Leader* in 1878 being a satellite title to the *Ashburton Mail*:

The *Temuka Leader* is dragging out a curious existence. It is found to be a reprint of the *Ashburton Mail*; in fact, the "matter" is "carted" backwards and forwards.<sup>50</sup>

The next attempt in 1880 again involved only two newspapers, the *Hawera Times* being printed at the offices of the *Patea Mail* at Carlyle. In 1894 a chain was established in Taranaki at Stratford, where from the *Egmont Post* offices two more titles were issued. But the most ambitious attempt was that in 1898 when four titles were based on the flagship *Geraldine Advocate*. One further chain of three titles based at Riverton was established in 1899.

There are strong indications that Ives had several reliable staff who travelled with him and whom he could leave in control of a newspaper during his frequent absences. Evidence for this is strongest in the case of Edward Reddin, whose name occurs in conjunction with the production side of the *Ashburton Mail*, the *Patea Mail*, and as acting manager of the *Waikato Times*. His connection with Ives is simply explained, for he was the brother of Ives's wife and came to Reefton at the age of 14, where he was apprenticed to Joseph Ives. In 1884 he went to Australia, where he spent the rest of his life as a newspaper proprietor.<sup>51</sup> Another was A. W. Hogg who was editor of the *Ashburton Mail*, joint proprietor with Ives of the *Evening News* (Ashburton), and proprietor of the *Wairarapa Star* when Ives sold it. For many of his newspapers Ives hired editors, and some information about the duties he expected of them is given in the report of a trial in 1881, when Ives was found guilty of wrongful dismissal of Douglas McTavish as editor of the *Waikato Mail*.<sup>52</sup>

Ivess's use of non-union labour and paying of low wages is well documented. He was known as 'Joey Low-Wages' at the end of his career in Taihape<sup>53</sup> but this trait can be noted much earlier. In 1878 Ivess was called the 'long hour proprietor', one who did not believe in 'the good old axiom: "A fair day's work for a fair day's pay."<sup>54</sup> Much was made of the low wage issue during the 1887 Napier election when Ivess was lambasted by both workmen and employers for his defence of newspaper proprietors who paid low wages:

he is a veritable Ishmael of New Zealand journalism . . . If the multiplication of small and struggling country sheets and poorly-equipped job offices be a boon, Mr Ivess is a benefactor . . . The man who establishes a business where a reasonable opening exists, takes a personal interest in the venture, charges fair prices, pays fair wages, and makes the concern remunerative, is a gain to the whole community. He, on the other hand, who engages in such unbusinesslike speculations as that of Timaru, and saddles his workmen with a share of the loss, not only does irreparable injury to his own trade, but indirectly to every other industry.<sup>55</sup>

This same election campaign produced an anti-Ivess broadsheet in which his actions at the *Timaru Herald* were compared with the exemplary record of his opponent J. D. Ormond. The author, a workman on the *Timaru Herald*, described how they had been paid award rates before Ivess took over, but the news of his arrival caused most of the compositors to try to find work elsewhere, 'well knowing Mr Ivess's liking for cheap labor'. Ivess notified the compositors that he would have to dismiss some of them and replace them with boys. The outcome was that the compositors formed a cooperative to set the paper ready for the printer, for a fixed weekly sum regardless of hours worked. Ivess introduced boys anyway and trained them to replace the compositors, who were put on piece work. This also proved too expensive for Ivess, who reduced the piece work rate still further. The conclusion was that

with one exception, no man has done so much injury to our trade. Although Mr Ivess has started a number of papers in various parts of the colony, I do not know one of which he may feel proud. They are all very inferior papers, and he generally employs the cheapest labor—men who have half learnt their trade, and who could not hold their own among good men.<sup>56</sup>

Another example comes from William Hearn Thomas, managing editor of the *Geraldine Guardian* when Ivess arrived to establish a rival newspaper, the *Geraldine Advocate*. Thomas noted that Ivess employed 'a bevy of young girls at the type cases' whose work needed close supervision.<sup>57</sup>

One final example of Ivess's practice confirms the importance of government advertising for the viability of the country newspaper. Correspondence preserved at National Archives shows that Ivess was

assiduous in asking for a share of government advertising for his new titles.<sup>58</sup> Success was mixed. Ives's new titles were sometimes awarded advertising for the region, for example, the *Paraekaretu Express* (20 March 1893) but on occasion they lost out to already established titles (as for the *Egmont Post*, 2 August 1894, the *Egmont Settler* already carrying the advertising).

An interesting comparison can be made between Joseph Ives and James Henry Claridge, another prolific 'planter' of New Zealand country newspapers.<sup>59</sup> Claridge was employed on several country newspapers until at the age of thirty-five he began his career of establishing a total of eleven newspapers. Unlike Ives, Claridge stayed in one region, the central North Island, and did not return to a base area as Ives did to Ashburton. His newspapers were small weeklies, bi- or tri-weeklies, never dailies. Claridge appears not to have been motivated by anything more than restlessness; there is no suggestion that political ambition was a reason. Much more awaits discovery about Ives when this study is extended. A more thorough examination of Joseph Ives's activities, and particularly of his work practices and business activities, can be made from the secondary sources which this study has utilised only at a basic level.

#### REFERENCES

- 1 *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, edited by G. H. Scholefield (Wellington, 1940). v. 1 p. 430.
- 2 G. H. Scholefield, 'Joe Ives: rag-planter', *New Zealand Listener*, 25 February 1944, 6-7. Scholefield noted here that Ives also 'controlled or bought another seven or eight in New Zealand and stood in as godmother at the birth of several more.'
- 3 The appendix lists the titles and gives bibliographical information about each title.
- 4 Scholefield, 1944.
- 5 One example is his editorial in the first issue of the *Paraekaretu Express*, 10 March 1893.
- 6 Ives's newspapers always encouraged the exercise of democratic rights through voting. Ives always reminded his readers to enrol on electoral rolls, usually noting that registration papers were available at the newspaper office. This was the case even when Ives himself was not standing; for example, from the *Akaroa Mail*, 27 March 1877:  
'We again beg to remind non-electors that this is the last week they can effect registration. Persons desirous of having their names inserted on the Electoral Roll can obtain the necessary form at our office, free of charge, and all information as to the correct filling up of same will be provided.'
- 7 Scholefield, 1944.
- 8 *The Political Role of the Early New Zealand Press* (Hamilton, 1981), p. 1.
- 9 Susan Cary, quoted in Rod Kirkpatrick, *Sworn to no Master: a History of the Provincial Press in Queensland to 1930* (Toowoomba: 1984), p. 272.

- 10 Simon Jenkins, *Newspapers: the Power and the Money* (London, 1979), p. 18.
- 11 Mainly from the Ives entry in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1940) and from Darrell Latham's *The Golden Reefs* (Christchurch, 1984), p 384-86. See also the tributes of Massey and Ward on Ives's death in *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, v. 184, 11 September 1919.
- 12 Latham, facing p. 145.
- 13 Obituary, *Taihape Daily Times*, 5 September 1919, p. 5, col. 5.
- 14 W. K. Howitt, 'Joseph Ives', *New Zealand Listener*, 29 September 1950.
- 15 In 1867 as many as twenty-six per cent were Irish-born, compared with less than thirteen per cent for New Zealand as a whole, according to P. R. May, *The West Coast Gold Rushes*, 2nd (rev.) ed. (Christchurch, 1967), p. 273.
- 16 G. H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1958), pp. 245-46.
- 17 See Ives's leader in the *Paraekaretu Express*, 11 August 1893.
- 18 Papers relating to the establishment of the *Inangahua Herald*, 1871-1872, at the West Coast Historical Museum, Hokitika. I am indebted to the Director of the Museum, Lynda Wallace, for bringing these to my attention and for supplying copies.
- 19 *New Zealand Government Gazette (Province of Nelson)*, 22, no. 7 (14 February 1873), p. 19.
- 20 Latham, p. 233.
- 21 A. S. Atkinson to Emily E. Atkinson, Nelson, 15 January 1876, in *The Richmond-Atkinson Papers*, edited by G. H. Scholefield (Wellington, 1960).
- 22 Lord Byron was scratched from a race meeting at Christmas 1876 (*Akaroa Mail*, 29 December 1876, p. 2, col. 4.)
- 23 *Supplement to the New Zealand Press News*, 1 January 1878, p. 1.
- 24 J. O. Wilson, *New Zealand Parliamentary Record, 1840-1984* (Wellington, 1984), p. 287.
- 25 Joe Brown, *Ashburton, New Zealand: its Pioneers and its History, 1883-1939* (Dunedin, 1940), p. 663.
- 26 *New Zealand Press News and Typographical Circular*, no. 25, (March 1878), p. 2.
- 27 *Hawera Star*, jubilee number, 10 April 1930, Section 2, p. 3.
- 28 *Colonial Printers Register*, 1, no. 13 (11 September 1880), p. 206.
- 29 *Griffin's Colonial Printers Register*, March 1881, pp. 89, 108-109.
- 30 *Griffin's Colonial Printers Register*, July 1881, p. 153.
- 31 *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, v. 184, 11 September 1919.
- 32 Obituary of Ives, unsourced but possibly the *Wairarapa Daily Times*, in the Alexander W. Hogg Scrapbooks, v. 5, p. 83. ATL
- 33 *Griffin's Colonial Printers Register*, December 1881, p. 2-3.
- 34 Scholefield, 1944, p. 6; Alexander Turnbull Library MS Papers 446: Rolleston Family papers, folder 48, copy of telegram from Ives to William Rolleston dated 8 June 1884.
- 35 *Who's Who in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1908), Ives entry.
- 36 Internal Affairs papers, National Archives of New Zealand.
- 37 *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, v. 42, 29 June 1882, pp. 106-107.
- 38 Raewyn Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician* (Auckland, 1986), p. 269.
- 39 Ives's comments in *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, v. 57, 31 May 1887.
- 40 J. O. Wilson, p. 207. Years after the event Ives reported that his vote was 950 against Ormond's 1000 (*Paraekaretu Express*, 3 November 1893, p. 2, col. 4-5).
- 41 *Paraekaretu Express*, 13 March 1893, p. 2, col. 3.
- 42 Scholefield, 1944, p. 6, notes at least two later attempts, one in 1908, and one for the Waimarino electorate in 1911.
- 43 *Free Lance*, 4 August 1900, p. 4, col. 3.
- 44 *New Zealand Mail*, 4 August 1900, p. 4, col. 3.
- 45 *Taihape Times*, 16 May 1956, p. 2.

- 46 Scholefield, 1944.  
 47 *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, v. 184, 11 September 1919.  
 48 Scholefield, 1958, p. 190, 192.  
 49 Nicola Freen, 'Journalist of Repute', *Turnbull Library Record*, 18 (October 1985), pp. 89-90.  
 50 *New Zealand Press News and Typographical Circular*, no. 24, (February 1878), p. 2.  
 51 James Manion, *Paper Power in North Queensland* (Townsville, 1982), pp. 235-36.  
 52 *Waikato Times*, 17 March 1881, p. 2, col. 7-8.  
 53 *Taihape Times*, 16 May 1956, p. 2.  
 54 *New Zealand Press News and Typographical Circular*, no. 25 (March 1878), p. 2.  
 55 *Typo*, 27 August 1887, in *Selections from Typo*, (Wellington, 1982).  
 56 *The Wages Question: Who is the Good Employer?* (Napier, 1887).  
 57 William Hearn Thomas, *The Inky Way* (Auckland, 1960) pp. 45-46.  
 58 For example, *Patea & Hawera Mail*, 31 March 1875; *Waikato Mail*, 16 September 1880; *Wairarapa Star*, 27 May 1881; *Timaru Evening Mail*, 28 June 1887. These examples come from the nominal indexes to the Internal Affairs files, 1867-1906, most of the original letters having been destroyed.  
 59 This paragraph is derived from several sources: his son C. J. Claridge's manuscript autobiography "Paperchase" (Auckland Institute and Museum Library, MS687); C. J. Claridge's 'J. H. Claridge and his Country Newspapers', *Historical Journal Auckland-Waikato*, no. 26 (1975), 7-10; Scholefield, 1958; and Stella Jones's 'More Claridge Newspapers', *Auckland-Waikato Historical Journal*, no. 36 (April 1980), 24-27.

## APPENDIX

### IVESS'S NEWSPAPERS

The forty-four New Zealand newspapers listed here are those in which Joseph Ives had an interest. This total can be broken down into more specific categories. For twenty-nine there is definite evidence that Ives established that title as sole proprietor or, on two occasions, as part proprietor; for these, he may also have been legally registered as the printer and/or publisher. In three more cases he leased the newspaper from its proprietors to become the sole proprietor, usually for about a year. For a further seven titles it is likely that Ives was the proprietor, but the evidence is less conclusive and is usually based on references in contemporary journals, especially printing trade journals. He was the joint printer and publisher of one title. He may have been associated with four more titles, but for these the evidence is unverifiable and in two instances the Ives connection is so unlikely as to border on the fictional. If the definite/likely/unlikely distinctions are ignored the total, then, is forty-four titles in New Zealand, not too different from Scholefield's original forty-five. The total of twenty-nine titles definitely established by Ives is not too dissimilar from Scholefield's revised estimate of twenty-six.

Scholefield's estimate of five Australian titles is more difficult to verify, as the state of historical and bibliographical studies of newspapers in Australia appears to be in a more parlous state than in New Zealand. Only two titles have been definitely associated with Ives, but for only one of these have copies been located.

It must be noted that these are conditional totals which are subject to revision as further evidence becomes available from a closer examination of the newspapers



themselves and from important secondary sources. It is useful here to briefly note these sources and the relative value of the evidence derived from them. In this study the veracity of data taken from the newspapers themselves is considered to be unquestioned, at least for bibliographical information presented in the colophons and in the newspaper texts. But for only seventeen of the thirty-two titles in which Ives had a definite proprietary interest have any issues from the appropriate period been located. These are usually only a single issue or a mere handful of issues, and for only five do the existing issues form anywhere near a complete run.

Other evidence used comes largely from two sources. The most fruitful source has been the registrations of newspapers legally required by the Printers and Newspapers Registration Acts of 1868 and 1908 and their amendments, the resulting affidavits and registers being held at High Courts throughout the country. They give the names of the proprietor(s), printer(s) and publisher(s) and the place of printing for each title registered. This source is unfortunately not complete, as affidavits were not deposited for all titles. For several of Ives's more shortlived creations I have not located affidavits or register entries; nor can the dates of registration be taken as anything more than an approximate guide to the date when the newspaper started publication or when its personnel changed. I have not yet located all of these registrations and so have not seen all of the registrations for known Ives newspapers. There may also be more previously unidentified Ives titles waiting to be noted. The other category of evidence comes from references in contemporary periodicals, most notably the printing trade journals. Such references vary from the very precise—for example, the Typographical Society reports which list the compositors working on a newspaper, or which detail Ives's transgressions of wage awards—to the more general which might note only that a newspaper had changed hands within the last five years.

More precise details of holdings and location of extant issues can be found in D. R. Harvey's *Union List of Newspapers Preserved in Libraries, Newspaper Offices, Local Authority Offices and Museums in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1987).

Sources consulted are:

*Colonial Printers Register* (Dunedin). 1879 O 15 (v.1. no.1)—1880 S 11 (v.1. no.13).  
*Printing, Bookselling & their Allied Trades circa 1900: Extracts from the Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* (Wellington, 1980).

*Griffin's Colonial Printers Register* (Dunedin). 1880 O 16 (n.s. v.2 no.1)—1881 D 12 (v.3 no.1).

*List of Newspapers Placed on the Register at the General Post Office, Wellington* (Wellington) 1886—

*New Zealand Press News and Typographical Circular* (Dunedin), 1876 Mr 1 (no.1)—1879 S 1.

Registrations of newspapers deposited at Supreme Courts under the provisions of the Printers and Newspapers Registration Act 1868 and subsequent Acts. They contain the following information: names(s) of proprietor, printer, publisher, and place of printing.

G. H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1958).

*Selections from Typo: a New Zealand Typographical Journal* (Wellington, 1982).

## NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPERS

A fuller account, prepared by Dr Harvey, citing all the detailed evidence on Ives's connections with the following newspapers is available from the editors on request.

AKAROA MAIL AND BANKS PENINSULA ADVERTISER. Akaroa. 1876 J1 21—(still being issued). 2w. Widely held.

Ivess was proprietor and publisher from 1876 to 20 July 1877.

ASHBURTON DAILY NEWS. Ashburton. 1903?—1905? d. Only one issue, dated 7 September 1903 has been located.

Ivess appears to have re-established this title in February or March 1905 after an earlier attempt in 1903, perhaps by Henry Willis, had failed. It apparently did not last past the end of 1905.

ASHBURTON MAIL. Ashburton. 1877 Je 12—1932 F 27. Incorporated by Ashburton Guardian. 2w, 3w 1878 Ja 5. Most issues are extant, although not all have been seen for the periods of Ivess's interest.

Ivess established this title on 12 June 1877. He leased it on 9 February 1880 to Howard Charles Jacobson and Robert Henry Eyton. Ivess resumed a proprietary interest on 3 October 1881.

ASHBURTON STANDARD AND FARMERS ADVOCATE. Ashburton. 1896 0?—? (after 1903). 3w, d by 1900. No holdings have been located.

Ivess established the *Ashburton Standard* in October 1896 with J. J. B. Blakemore as printer and publisher. He leased the paper to the Ashburton Newspaper Company Limited in January 1898, but at some stage during 1900 returned to Ashburton and resumed control. It was sold in April 1901 to I. W. T. Baxter and W. H. Higgins.

EGMONT POST. Stratford. 1894?—1903? 3w? No holdings have been located.

Ivess established the *Egmont Post* in August 1894, and sold it in May 1895 to F. E. Mackenzie.

ELLESMERE ADVERTISER. Southbridge. 1880 Ag?—1880 S? 2w? No holdings have been located.

This title was established by Ivess in early August 1880 and may have been leased almost immediately to G. Renner.

ELTHAM GUARDIAN. Stratford. 1894 Ag?—? ? No holdings have been located.

The *Eltham Guardian* was established by Ivess in August 1894, probably shortly after the *Egmont Post*. It was sold in May 1895, with others in the chain, to F. E. Mackenzie.

EVENING NEWS (ASHBURTON). Ashburton. 1879 Ag 18—1879 S? d? No holdings have been located.

The *Evening News* was probably established only as an election newspaper to support Edward George Wright as Conservative candidate for the Coleridge electorate. It was published from the office of Ivess's *Ashburton Mail*.

EVENING NEWS AND HAWKE'S BAY ADVERTISER. Napier. 1885 Ja 4—1897? d. A few scattered issues have been located.

Ivess leased the already established *Evening News* in mid 1887 to assist him with his campaign for the Napier seat in the national elections of 26 September 1887, and relinquished his interest in the paper at the end of January 1888.

EVENING STAR. Greymouth. 1866 Mr 18—? d. A few scattered early issues for 1869-1873 have been located, but none for the years 1874-1876.

The evidence linking Ives to the *Evening Star* is unclear. He appears to have become associated with this title in about 1873, perhaps initially as printer and later as proprietor or part proprietor.

FAIRLIE STAR. Geraldine. 1898 N—? 3w. No holdings have been located.  
This title was established by Ives at Geraldine in November 1898.

GERALDINE ADVOCATE. Geraldine. 1898 O?—? 3w? No holdings have been located.  
Ives established this title in October 1898. It was sold by September 1899 to H. T. Rix and H. B. Stewart, who printed it at Temuka.

GOLDFIELDS ADVOCATE. Paeroa. 1897 F 13—1911? 2w? Two issues have been located.  
Ives took over the *Goldfields Advocate* in May 1898 from H. T. Gibson and A. W. Ellis, who had established it in Karangahake in February 1897. He moved its production to Paeroa but by August 1898 had relinquished his interest to A. W. Ellis, who returned it to Karangahake.

HAURAKI TRIBUNE. Paeroa. 1881?—1900? w, 3w by 1896 Mr 5. No issues from the Ives period have been located.

The *Hauraki Tribune* was established by C. F. Mitchell in about July 1881. Ives is noted as the sole proprietor, publisher and printer in April 1898, and as the proprietor only (H. B. Stewart being the printer and publisher) in August 1898.

HAWERA MORNING POST. Stratford. 1894 O 20—1900? 3w. None of the five issues located have been examined.

The *Hawera Morning Post* was established by Ives in October 1894, the first issue being on 20 October. He appears to have disposed of his interest before August 1896 when Patrick Galvin is noted as leasing this title from the Hawera Morning Post Newspaper Co. Ltd.

HAWERA TIMES. Patea. 1880 Ap 24?—1880 Ap? 3w. No issues have been located.  
Ives established this title in opposition to the *Hawera Star*, probably to protect his interest in the *Patea Mail*. It did not prosper against its rival and ceased after only two issues.

INANGAHUA HERALD. Reefton. 1872 F 3—1936 O 8. 2w, 3w 1874 Ja 13, d by 1882 My 9. Most issues are extant.

The *Inangahua Herald* was established by Ives in partnership with H. Thomson and C. Mirfin, the first issue being published on 3 February 1872. Ives relinquished his share in late November or early December 1873.

LANTERN. Hokitika. 1870 Jl 9—1870 S 24. w. Continues *Tomahawk*. Three full sets have been located.

Ives, with Tilbrook, was printer and publisher of the *Lantern*, but it is possible that they also had editorial control.

LEVIN AND MANAKAU EXPRESS. Levin. 1896 Ap 4—? 2w. One issue, not seen, has been located.

Ives established the *Levin and Manakau Express*, the first issue appearing on 4 April 1896. In June 1896 it was sold to W. J. Reidy.

LYELL ARGUS AND MATAKITAKI ADVERTISER. Lyell. 1873 F 21?—1882? w, 2w 1874 Ja 31? A few issues have been located.

Ivess established this title while a partner in the *Inangahua Herald* at nearby Reefton. He was the sole proprietor, using the production facilities of the *Inangahua Herald* for the early issues. He later purchased a plant and installed it at Lyell, then sold his interest to Niven and Johnson, leasing them the plant from 23 June 1873.

MACKENZIE COUNTY CHRONICLE. Geraldine. 1898?—? 3w? No copies have been located.

Ivess established this title in late 1898 or early 1899. It was sold by September 1899 to H. T. Rix and H. B. Stewart who moved its printing to Temuka.

NEW ZEALAND CELT. Hokitika. 1867 O 26—1868? w. A few scattered issues have been located.

Scholefield suggests that Ivess was the first manager of the *New Zealand Celt*. No further evidence has been found to support his statement, and there is no mention of Ivess on the issues seen.

OREPUKI MINER. Riverton? 1899?—1899? 3w. No copies have been located.

This title was one of three established by Ivess in 1899 and based at Riverton.

OTAUTAU MAIL. Riverton? 1899?—1899? 3w. No copies have been located.

This title was one of three established by Ivess in 1899 and based at Riverton.

PAHIATUA ARGUS. Pahiataua. 1895 Ag 24—1896? 3w. The first three months have been located, but have not been examined.

The *Pahiataua Argus* was established by Ivess in 1895, the first issue appearing on 24 August. Ivess was noted as the proprietor and John McKellop as the printer and publisher. Charles Cuming appears to have purchased the proprietary from Ivess in January 1896.

PARAEKARETU EXPRESS. Hunterville. 1893 Mr 10—? 2w, 3w? Scattered issues have been located.

Ivess established this title in 1893, the first issue appearing on 10 March. It was sold to Albert Wilson and Frederick Unwin, their proprietary taking effect on 29 December 1893.

PATEA MAIL. Carlyle. 1875 Ap 14—1889? 2w, 3w 1880 Ap 29?, d 1882 Ja 3, 3w 1882 Ap 24. Most issues have been located.

Ivess established this title in 1875, the first issue being that of 14 April. It was managed in Ivess's absences by Alexander Black, who took it over completely in March 1876. Ivess resumed the proprietary on 3 April 1880, bringing with him Edward Houghton, who purchased the paper, the change of ownership taking effect from 1 July 1880.

PLEASANT POINT MAIL. Geraldine. 1898?—1899? 3w? A fragment of one issue has been located.

Ivess established this title in November 1898. It was sold by September 1899 to H. T. Rix and H. B. Stewart who moved its printing to Temuka.

POST. Ashburton.

The only mention located of this title notes 'Mr Joseph Ivess has started an evening paper at Ashburton, the *Post*. It made its first appearance on the 11th ult. [i.e. March]. It is a creditable "sheet".' (*NZPN*, no. 26, (April 1878), p. 5). This may refer to the *Evening Echo*, which began in Ashburton on 11 March 1878 and was renamed the

*Ashburton Herald* on 22 February 1879. There is no Supreme Court registration for a *Post* at Ashburton.

PRESS. Greymouth? 187-? -? w? No copies have been located.

The only mention located of this weekly newspaper is that by Scholefield.

RIVERTON TIMES. Riverton. 1899 O 13 - 1900? 3w. Only one issue has been located. This title was one of three established by Ives in 1899 and based at Riverton.

STRATFORD POST. Stratford. 1896? -? ? No issues have been located.

The only mention located is that in the *Cyclopaedia* extracts, p. 35: 'The Stratford Post was founded by Mr J. Ives in 1896, and afterwards owned by Mr J. H. Clayton.'

TAIHAPE AND MANGAWEKA NEWS. Taihape. 1903 O 22 - 1959 F 27. Title *Taihape and Waimarino News* 1905 F 7; *Taihape Daily Times* 1906?; *Taihape Times* 1930 Mr 3. 3 w, d 1906?, 3w 1930 Mr 3. Only one issue from the Ives period has been located. Ives established this title in 1903, the first issue appearing on 22 October. He retained his interest until at least February 1908, but how much longer after this date he continued to be associated with this title has not been ascertained.

TEMUKA LEADER. Temuka. 1877 D 1 - 1932 D 31. 2w, 3w 1897 O 18. No issues published during Ives's proprietorship have been located.

Ives established this title, the first issue appearing on 1 December 1877. He sold it to J. J. Utting, the transfer being effected on 1 April 1878.

TEMUKA TIMES. Geraldine. 1898? -? ? No copies have been located.

Ives established this title in October 1898. It was sold by September 1899 to H. T. Rix and H. B. Stewart who moved its printing to Temuka.

TIMARU EVENING MAIL. Timaru. 1887 Je? -? d? No copies have been located.

Ives established this title in June 1887. He retained his interest in it for the remainder of that year, selling to H. E. Muir and T. Lawson.

TIMARU HERALD. Timaru. 1864 Je 11 - (still being issued). w, 2w 1866 Je 13, 3w 1871 D 13, d 1876? Widely held.

Ives took over the proprietary of the already long established *Timaru Herald* from 1 March 1886, F. Osborn being noted as printer. He disposed of it to E. G. Kerr on 2 May 1887.

TOMAHAWK. Hokitika. 1870 Mr 5 - 1870 Je 11. w. Continued by *Lantern*. Three full sets have been located.

Ives, with Tilbrook, was a printer and publisher of the *Tomahawk*, but it is possible that they also had editorial control.

WAIKATO MAIL. Cambridge. 1880 S 1 - 1883? 3w. Two issues, not seen, have been located.

Ives established the *Waikato Mail* in 1880, the first issue being that of 1 September. It changed hands in January 1881, the new proprietor being C. O. Montrose.

WAIMARINO AND OHAKUNE TIMES. Ohakune. 1907? - 1948 Je 1. Title *Ohakune Times* 1909? w?, 3w ?, 2w by 1947. No issues published before 1911 have been located.

This title was established by Ives, probably in August 1907. It may have been purchased in 1908 by Fryer and Jones.

WAIMATE STAR. No copies have been located.

Ivess's link with this title (if indeed it ever existed) is tenuous. Scholefield suggests that it is 'a legend' that Ives established the *Waimate Star* as early as 1873. No other record of its existence has been located.

WAIKAWA MAIL. Waipawa. 1878 S 14—1980 N? 2w, 3w 1885 Ja 6. Most issues have been located, but have not been seen.

The *Waipawa Mail* may have been established by Ives in September 1878, but the evidence is unclear.

WAIRARAPA STAR. Masterton. 1881 Ap?—1938 Mr 31. d. Title *Wairarapa Age* 1902 Ap 14. Only one issue from the Ives period has been located.

Ives established this title in about April 1881, and shortly afterwards sold his interest in it to J. J. Smith and A. W. Hogg, who carried on the business from 23 May 1881.

WAITARA PRESS. Waitara. 1883 F?—1884 N 4. 2w. Only the final issue has been located.

Ives's connections with the *Waitara Press* are unproven. Scholefield noted that Ives established it in 1873, but this date should be 1883, as the Supreme Court registration for this title is dated 17 February 1883 and notes that the proprietor, printer and publisher is Joseph Armit or Arnitt (the clerk's hand is difficult to decipher). The title was sold in about March 1884 to E. D. Norris and W. J. Guerin, and its final issue was that of 4 November 1884.

WESTLAND INDEPENDENT. Hokitika. 1870?—1871 N? d. No copies have been located.

Evidence for Ives's involvement with the *Westland Independent* is scanty. Scholefield notes that it was established by Harris and Cobb, Edward Harris being proprietor of the *Tomahawk* which Ives, with Mirfin, printed. Ives is noted as part proprietor of the *Westland Independent*, but the retrospective nature of this reference (*NZPN*) does not allow precise dating. It seems possible that Ives and Mirfin may have purchased the *Westland Independent* so that they could ship its plant to Reefton to print the *Inangahua Herald*.

#### AUSTRALIAN NEWSPAPERS

Scholefield's estimate that Ives established five newspapers in Australia, at Albury, Peak Hill, Parkes, Newcastle and Lismore, is difficult to verify. Only two specific Australian titles have been identified. Ives was in Melbourne in about February 1887, as shown by a comment by him in the *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, v. 57, 31 May 1887, but no specific title relating to this visit has been identified. He was in Albury in 1889, establishing the *Albury Evening Mail and Wodonga Chronicle*, first issued on 9 March 1889. He was still noted as the proprietor on the issue for 18 December but by 20 December a new proprietor, Jas. A. Ross, was named. Another specific title, in Newcastle during 1890, can be identified. The *Evening Star* lasted only three months (R. C. Pognoski, 'The History of Journalism and Printing in the North of New South Wales, Part II', *Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings*, 24, pt. 6 (1938) 426-427). No copies have been located. Ives moved back to Albury to take control again of the *Albury Evening Mail and Wodonga Chronicle* from 10 December 1890. It ceased on 30 April 1891.

# Depicting Pacific peoples

BERNARD SMITH

First, may I thank the Committee of the Friends of the Turnbull Library for inviting me to give the first of the Founder's Lectures. This is a great honour and one that I shall treasure. I owe much to scholars born in this country: Professor A. D. Trendall, who taught me the little I know about classical archaeology; the late Professor J. W. Davidson, Foundation Professor of Pacific History at the Australian National University, who made it possible for me to deepen my interest in the European perception of the Pacific; and the late Professor J. C. Beaglehole who first suggested that I should make a catalogue of the work of the artists and others who travelled with Cook. I did not realise that his almost casual suggestion in 1949 would involve me in a lifetime's work.

It is generally agreed that Cook's three voyages greatly enhanced the economic and political power of Europe in the Pacific. But before such power could be fully exercised certain basic sciences and technologies, the efficient maidservants of power, had themselves to be enhanced. Cook's voyages advanced astronomy, navigation and cartography or, as he might have put it, geographical science. But there were other sciences of less direct concern to the Admiralty enhanced by his voyages and these also contributed in their time to European domination in the Pacific, namely natural history, meteorology and the emergent science of ethnography.

Important advances were made in all these sciences continuously throughout the three voyages, but there were differences in emphasis. The first voyage is the botanical voyage, *par excellence*, the second voyage is the meteorological voyage, and the third, the ethnographic voyage.

These changing emphases were due largely, though not entirely to contingent factors. On the *Endeavour* voyage, Banks, Solander and Parkinson with their interests centred on botany made a powerful team. On the second voyage, Cook himself, his astronomers Wales and Bayly, the two Forsters, and William Hodges, the artist, were all deeply interested in the changing conditions of wind and weather, light and atmosphere, as they traversed vast sections of the southern oceans. By the third voyage Cook had come to realise that both scientific and

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The text of the inaugural Founder's Lecture delivered in the National Library's auditorium on 15 September 1987.

popular interest had shifted to the native peoples of the Pacific, to the nascent science of ethnography.

All these sciences were descriptive sciences and depended greatly upon the production of visual records. Historians, dazzled by the abilities of men like Cook and Banks have not done full justice to the abilities of their supporting artists. Yet it was their work, in engraved reproduction, that fashioned the images of the Pacific that etched themselves deeply into the European mind. Words are often forgotten but the images remain.

Yet none of the three professionals, Parkinson, Hodges, and Webber, who travelled with Cook were trained for the enormous task that confronted them. To have found and enlisted the versatility that the portrayal of the Pacific and its peoples required would have been impossible. Eighteenth-century art students were trained to fulfil special requirements; to draw plants and animals for natural historians, to draw maps and charts and topographic views, for the army and the navy, or higher up the social ladder, to paint landscapes and portraits or even history paintings of memorable deeds from scripture or the classics for Royal Academy audiences. But no one was trained to do all these things.

So the demands the voyages placed on their artists was quite unprecedented. It's surprising they coped as well as they did. The young Sydney Parkinson was probably as good a botanical draughtsman as anyone practising in England at that time. But with the death of the unfortunate Alexander Buchan he had to cope with figure drawings as well; something that he had obviously no training in. Hodges, on the second voyage, had been trained superbly by Richard Wilson as a landscape painter, but on the voyage he had to train himself to produce portraits.

Hodges has not been given his due. He is one of the finest of all the English eighteenth-century landscape painters. A greater, more varied painter than his master Richard Wilson, only Thomas Gainsborough, among his contemporaries, excels him. The quality of his work unfortunately has been largely ignored because of the abiding ethnocentricity of European taste that draws a firm distinction between the aesthetic and the exotic. So much of Hodges's life was spent outside of Europe, first in the Pacific, then in India, that the exotic character of his work has largely precluded an approach in terms of aesthetic assessment — at least among Europeans. Exotic content inhibits aesthetic judgement. Yet in the work of Hodges and Gainsborough English landscape first released itself from its provincial domination by those classical Italianate models in which British artists were trained, and it is in the work of Hodges and the work of Joseph Wright of Derby that eighteenth-century landscape painting begins to confront the central interest of nineteenth-century landscape — the portrayal of light.



John Webber, Cook's artist on the third voyage, never succeeded in reaching the kinds of aesthetic quality that we find in the best of Hodges's work, but he was better trained for the job ahead of him than any of the others. He could put his hand to anything. Navigational views, plants and animals, portraits, landscapes, and something rather new, a sequence of drawings depicting historical events of the voyage. 'We should be nowhere without Webber', John Beaglehole rightly observed, yet managed to do him less than justice.<sup>1</sup>

They were all quite young when they enlisted with Cook: Parkinson, twenty-three; Hodges, twenty-eight; Webber, twenty-four, and all in poor circumstances. Whoever else would want to risk their lives in uncharted seas? What parents would risk their sons' lives, unless little else was offering? Thomas Jones, a fellow art-student of Hodges in Richard Wilson's studio and one who came of the Welsh landed gentry, was offered the post on Cook's second voyage some weeks before Hodges was. Thomas had been trying to get his parents to provide him with funds for a tour of Italy. When they heard that he'd received an offer to go with Cook they willingly gave him the money to go to Italy.<sup>2</sup>

Webber was not in that class. His father, an orphan of Bern had been assisted by the Corporation of Merchants of that city to train as a sculptor. In his thirties he had gone to England in search of work and there married Mary Quant an English girl who endowed him with six children. Life was difficult for the young family and John, who was the second son, was sent back to Bern where he grew up under the care and protection of his maiden aunt. The Corporation assisted John as it had assisted his father and at the age of sixteen he was apprenticed to Johann Aberli, the most famous Swiss landscape painter of his day, the man who first made views of the Swiss mountains high fashion. No drawings by Webber from his time with Aberli are known to have survived but he must have learned from him to give his landscapes that sense of breadth and height and that feeling for atmosphere which served him in such good stead when he came to paint the icy landscapes of the north Pacific.<sup>3</sup>

After three years with Aberli, Webber proceeded to Paris, assisted by an annual stipend from the Bernese Corporation. There he studied under Johann Wille, a German artist and engraver long resident in Paris, a respected teacher and authority on art.

Wille was something of a *bon viveur*, entertained dealers and connoisseurs, and possessed the attractive habit of taking his students into the rural hinterland of Paris in search of peasant life. They were living through the autumnal days of the *ancien régime* when peasant life was *à la mode*, both in the sentimental rococo manner that Marie Antionette so loved, and the more realistic style of the Dutch. Under Wille's influence Webber made drawings of French rural life. The

training came in handy when he had to fill his Pacific landscapes with the peoples of Tonga, Tahiti or Nootka Sound.

In Paris, Webber also attended classes at the *École des Beaux Arts*, learned to paint in oils and probably took lessons in the life class. The 'Portrait of a Sculptor' (Kunstmuseum, Bern) possibly Friedrich Funk, his cousin, was probably painted during his student days in Paris. After four years in Paris he returned to his family in London and was admitted as a student at the Royal Academy classes. He also did some work for a London architect, mythological scenes for interiors. They were probably similar to those overdoor panels one sees in Adam houses. He may also have painted the religious painting 'Abraham and the Three Angels' (Landesmuseum, Munster) after his return to London. It is the only attempt, we know of, of a major figure composition completed before he embarked with Cook.

Webber exhibited a portrait of an artist and two Parisian views at the 1776 Royal Academy exhibition. Attracted by the quality of the portrait, which has never come to light, Solander recommended to Cook that Webber should accompany him on his third voyage. It seems to have been all somewhat last minute.

Indeed one gains the impression that the Admiralty was not greatly interested in the appointment of professional artists to its ships. Had it not been for the continuing influence of men like Banks and Solander, professionals like Hodges and Webber might never have been appointed. Webber's appointment was expressed in words identical to those used in the appointment of Hodges:

Whereas we have engaged Mr John Webber Draughtsman and Landskip painter to proceed in His Majesty's Sloop under your Command on her present intended Voyage, in order to make Drawings and Paintings of such places in the Countries you may touch at in the course of the said Voyage as may be proper to give a more perfect Idea thereof than can be formed by written descriptions only; You are hereby required and directed to receive the said Mr John Webber on board giving him all proper assistance, Victualling him as the Sloop's company, and taking care that he does diligently employ himself in making Drawings and Paintings of such places as you may touch at, that may be worthy of notice, in the course of your Voyage, as also of such other objects and things as may fall within the compass of His abilities.<sup>4</sup>

There is some uncertainty as to the length of time Webber had to prepare for the voyage. The Academy exhibition opened on 24 April 1776 and Solander is said to have gone to Webber's rooms with the invitation to join the voyage two days later. But Webber in a letter to his cousin states that the decision for him to go was not made until 'eight days before my departure'. Doubtless he did not get the official Admiralty letter until eight days prior to leaving. He also told his cousin why he had decided to go.

This idea my dear Cousin, no doubt will seem rather strange to you, but to me it was enough to see that the offer was advantageous and besides, contained the matter

which I had always desired to do most (to know, to sail and to see far away and unknown countries). The Admiralty appointed me for 100 Guineas per year and above that paid all the expenses of my work. This, together with the means which I hoped to receive on my return, in order to distinguish myself with images of novelties, gave me hope that my lot would be happier in the end, if God spared my life. All this was decided eight days before my departure, and I was in quite a hurry to pursue all matters that were necessary.<sup>5</sup>

It is pleasing to be able to record that in the end Webber succeeded in distinguishing himself with images of novelties he had seen and drawn in the Pacific, but it occurred only years after the voyage and only by his carefully cultivating the market for Pacific exotica that developed in Britain following the publication of the official account of the third voyage in 1784.<sup>6</sup> Webber's *Views in the South Seas*, were the first of those etched or aquatinted series of prints put out independently by travelling artists to cater for the demand for scenes of the exotic picturesque that became so fashionable during the first half of the nineteenth century.

In our catalogue of the artwork of the third voyage Rüdiger Joppien and I have itemised and described over four hundred drawings made by Webber that relate to the third voyage. What I should like to do now is consider that body of work as a whole. What kinds of drawings were made? Is there a consistent programme of work being followed? Were there constraints on Webber, and how did they operate?

As to Webber himself there was the hope, innocent enough, as we have seen, that he would eventually be able to distinguish himself with 'images of novelties'. But he was in Cook's service and it is to Cook's perception of the uses that he could make of Webber's skills that we must turn if we are to understand the visual programme of work undertaken.

Cook was above all a navigator and coastal views were the most valuable drawings an artist could make for the purposes of navigation. So Cook asked Webber to make the coastal views that were used to embellish the charts made on the voyage, largely by the young William Bligh. The late R.A. Skelton attributed these views to Bligh himself but a comparison with the original coastal views by Webber now in the British Library indicates clearly enough that they are by Webber not Bligh. That is what one would expect. Cook was a man who made the best use of the talent available. There is in Webber's coastal views that feeling for atmospheric perspective that he probably gained from working with Aberli as a student in Bern.

Webber's coastal views have never been fully published, but they will be when the Hakluyt Society completes the three volumes of the *Charts and Views of Cook's Voyages* which has been designed to complement *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*. Then, when the historians of science eventually get around to publishing all the original drawings relating to natural history, we shall have the full corpus of visual

material, to complement the comprehensive verbal record compiled by John Beaglehole.

Cook's instructions certainly required him to make natural history drawings. 'You are . . . carefully to observe the nature of the Soil', they read, '& the produce thereof; the Animals and Fowls that inhabit or frequent it; the Fishes that are to be found in the rivers or upon the Coast, and in what plenty; and, in case there are any, peculiar to such places, to described them as minutely, and to make accurate drawings of them, as you can'.<sup>7</sup>

Cook carried out these instructions with the assistance of his surgeons on the *Resolution*, William Anderson and David Samwell, and William Ellis, surgeon's second mate on the *Discovery*. The Print Room of the British Museum holds sixty-five drawings by Webber, mostly of birds and fishes. The British Museum of Natural History holds an album of drawings mostly of fish by William Ellis, and the Alexander Turnbull includes eight folios of natural history drawings by Ellis.

What is of more than passing interest is that neither on the second or third voyage was Cook required by his instructions to make drawings of plants. Instead he was told to collect specimens of the seeds of 'Trees, Shrubs, Plants, Fruits and Grains peculiar to those Places' visited.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, the Forsters who to some extent were a law unto themselves carried on Banks's excellent botanical work, George Forster making over 300 plant drawings now in the British Museum (National History). But on the third voyage few drawings of plants were made. Perhaps the Admiralty felt that it would be quicker to bring home specimens than spend an inordinate amount of time on the voyage producing drawings of plants. Not that they were entirely neglected; Webber made a fine drawing of the Kerguelan cabbage (British Library, London) but his general practice was to incorporate curious plants within landscape settings.

For on the third voyage the emphasis had moved firmly from drawing plants and animals towards drawing peoples and places. This was not because Cook's instructions had changed. As to people they had remained constant for all three voyages:

You are likewise to observe the Genius, Temper, Disposition, and Number of the Natives and Inhabitants, where you find any; and to endeavour, by all proper means to cultivate a friendship with them; making them Presents of such Trinkets as you may have on board, and they may like best; inviting them to Traffick; and shewing them every Civility and Regard; but taking care nevertheless not to suffer yourself to be surprised by them . . . .<sup>9</sup>

There is no requirement here or anywhere else that the native peoples should be drawn, and if the instructions are taken literally Genius, Temper and Disposition would have been difficult to render graphically, except by the most talented of artists and in conditions different from

those that obtained on the voyages. Nevertheless the depiction of indigenous peoples became an increasingly important concern with each voyage. Cook followed his instructions but, as John Beaglehole observed, never felt himself limited by them. 'A man would never accomplish much in discovery who only stuck to his orders' Cook had advised his young French correspondent Latouche-Treville.<sup>10</sup>

Cook was forty-eight when he embarked on his third voyage in 1776. He had just completed preparing the text of his second voyage for John Douglas his editor. His portrait had been painted by Nathaniel Dance. He was already the most famous navigator in the world and he must have been aware of it, knew that he had already made history, that on the present voyage he would be making more history and had in John Webber an artist capable of recording it.

It would seem also that he had developed a fairly clear idea how that history, the history of the third voyage, should be presented in publication. While at the Cape in returning to England on the second voyage he had been mortified and distressed by the many inaccuracies in Hawkesworth's account of his first voyage and by the attitudes attributed to him that were not his.<sup>11</sup> Nor did he appreciate the controversies that had arisen from Hawkesworth's discussion of the sexual practices and freedoms of Tahitian society. On that issue he had written to John Douglas in quite unequivocal terms, concerning the second voyage: 'In short my desire is that nothing indecent may appear in the whole book, and you cannot oblige me more than by pointing out whatever may appear to you as such'.<sup>12</sup> That meant surely that Webber would not be spending much time drawing naked savages in the Pacific even though he may have spent time drawing nude men and women in the life class of the *École des Beaux Arts*.

The test came early. From 24 to 30 January 1777 the *Resolution* and *Discovery* havened in Adventure Bay, Van Diemen's Land, to wood and water. Twice a party of Tasmanians came out of the woods to greet the woodcutters, 'without', Cook recorded, 'shewing the least mark of fear and with the greatest confidence imaginable, for none of them had any weapons, except one who had in his hand a stick about 2 feet long and pointed at one end. They were quite naked & wore no ornaments, except the large punctures or ridges raised on the skin . . .'<sup>13</sup>

Webber appears to have made this drawing (Plate 1) to record the second meeting on 29 January:

We had not be[en] long landed before about twenty of them men and boys joined us without expressing the least fear or distrust, some of them were the same as had been with us the day before, but the greater part were strangers. There was one who was much deformed, being humpbacked, he was no less distinguishable by his wit and humour, which he shewed on all occasions and we regretted much that we could not understand him for their language was wholly unintelligible to us . . . Some of these men wore loose round the neck 3 or 4 folds of small Cord which was made

of the fur of some animal, and others wore a narrow slip of the Kangaroo skin tied around the ankle. I gave them a string of Beads and a Medal, which I thought they received with some satisfaction.<sup>14</sup>

This was the first occasion on which native peoples had been encountered on the third voyage, and this little known drawing, now in the Naval Library of the Ministry of Defence, London, provides an insight into the subsequent visual programme that was closely followed during the whole third voyage. It is quite an ambitious composition for Webber to have begun so early in the voyage, but is obviously unfinished, and I suspect that it is unfinished because Cook felt that it would not be a suitable subject to be engraved in the official account of his third voyage. There seems to be little doubt that it was drawn on the voyage because Webber included a drawing, under the heading 'New Holland Van Diemens Land', in his catalogue of works submitted to the Admiralty on his return, entitled 'An Interview between Captain Cook and the Natives'. What it would seem Cook did approve of was a drawing of a man and another of a woman of Van Diemen's Land which would indicate complete nudity without actually representing it. ('A Man of New Holland', 'A Woman of New Holland', British Library.)

Although the 'Interview' was never completed or engraved, it does foreshadow what might be described as the official Cook/Webber visual art programme for the voyage. Cook is shown meeting the local people in an atmosphere of peace and potential understanding, offering them gifts and the hope of friendship. And as he began so he continued. All of Webber's developed compositions constructed on the voyage and for the official publication seem to be saying the same thing: the people of the Pacific are indeed Pacific people.<sup>15</sup>

They had not always been depicted so peacefully. In Hawkesworth's *Voyages*, for example, the first engraving ever to depict Tahitians, though it renders them looking like orientals, shows them engaged in a violent conflict with Captain Wallis's ships and his guns reducing them to submission (v.1, pl. 21). In Parkinson's *Journal* two Australian aborigines are depicted 'Advancing to Combat' as Cook landed in Botany Bay,<sup>16</sup> and in the official account of Cook's second voyage, Hodges had published his painting depicting the violent reception Cook received when he attempted to land at Eromanga in Vanuatu in 1774 (Pl. LXII, facing page 46).

Illustrations of this kind were bound to, and did, create controversy. On the second voyage the Forsters, father and son had both been critical of the way in which native peoples were frequently treated by the members of Cook's crews. They saw themselves as independent, scientific witnesses who, though they greatly respected Cook's abilities, were not prepared to turn a blind eye to everything that happened.



Plate 1. John Webber, 'An Interview between Captain Cook and the Natives', pencil, pen and wash, 66 x 97.2 cm. 1777. Naval Library, Ministry of Defence, London.

This itself caused resentment.

Some of the tensions that developed on the second voyage are implicitly revealed in George Forster's *A Voyage round the World* (1777). After providing a detailed account of Cook's attempted landing at Eromanga, he wrote:

From his [i.e. Cook's] account of this unhappy dispute, Mr. Hodges has invented a drawing, which is meant as a representation of his interview with the natives. For my own part, I cannot entirely persuade myself that these people had any hostile intentions in detaining our boat. The levelling of a musket at them, or rather at their chief, provoked them to attack our crew. On our part this manoeuvre was equally necessary; but it is much to be lamented that the voyages of Europeans cannot be performed without being fatal to the nations whom they visit.<sup>17</sup>

Comments of this kind aroused the anger of William Wales, the meteorologist on the voyage, a man who felt deeply loyal to Cook whatever the circumstance and was also a good friend on the voyage of William Hodges. In his *Remarks on Mr. Forster's Account of Captain Cook's last Voyage round the World* (1778) he described Forster's description of the affair at Eromanga as 'one of the most singular pieces of misrepresentation and detraction that ever dropped from a pen'.<sup>18</sup> This was characteristic of the vitriolic attack which Wales launched on the book as a whole. It caused George Forster in turn to publish his *Reply to Mr Wales's Remarks* (1778). Concerning Eromanga he wrote in defence:

I had my information of this transaction from the mouth of Captain Cook and those who accompanied him, within an hour or two after the affair had happened. Suppose it disagreed with Captain Cook's written journal, and printed narrative, and contained some particulars not advantageous to seamen; — what then? What reasonable man will not believe that Captain Cook would exactly relate the matter in the same order as he meant to write it afterwards; or that he would not, upon cool reflection, suppress in writing the mention of such facts as were unfavourable to his own character, even tho' they could at most be construed into effects of unguarded heat . . . The officer's orders [i.e. to shoot] appeared to me unjust and cruel. Let every man judge for himself. So much I know, that the matter was discussed in my hearing, with much warmth, between the officers and Captain Cook, who by no means approved of their conduct at that time.<sup>19</sup>

Cook had sailed on the third voyage before Forster's *Voyage* and the resulting controversy was in print. But the heat that had arisen on his own ship over the affair at Eromanga may well have discouraged him from permitting Webber to portray violent confrontations with native peoples on the third voyage.

Cook had good practical reasons to suppress such images of conflict. Not only did his instructions require him to cultivate friendship with native people, the representation of conflict with natives could have had at that time the most unpredictable results. For the contemporary political situation in England was volatile. A week before Cook sailed out of Plymouth<sup>20</sup> the American colonies had declared their independence. Radical opinion seized upon Cook's voyages as yet another attempt by England to dominate weaker societies. Cook had been instructed to return Omai to the Society Islands; the social lion had become something of an embarrassment.<sup>21</sup> Satirists had seized upon his presence to satirise the condition of English society. It would be surprising if Cook had not seen and read the most virulent of these satirical broadsides, entitled *An Historical Epistle, from Omiah to the Queen of Otaheite; being his Remarks on the English Nation*, which appeared in 1775 while he was resident in London between his second and third voyage. Omai is presented in the satire as a critic of European culture and criticises trenchantly those nations who:

. . . in cool blood premeditately go  
To murder wretches whom they cannot know.  
Urg'd by no injury, prompted by no ill  
In forms they butcher, and by systems kill;  
Cross o'er the seas, to ravage distant realms,  
And ruin thousands worthier than themselves.

As a man of Empire, the representative of George III and the Admiralty in the South Seas, Cook it may be assumed, was reluctant to allow anything to occur in the visual record of the voyage that could give credence to those kinds of sentiments.



Let us turn to Webber's second major set piece of the voyage 'Captain Cook in Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte Sound' (Plate 2). Cook is presented shaking a Maori chief by the hand, a European mode of greeting that it is unlikely that he would have preferred since he knew well enough that nose rubbing was the traditional Maori greeting. Nor does the scene confirm the written evidence of any of the journals. For, on entering Ship Cove on this occasion Cook found the Maori afraid to come aboard, though many of them knew him well from his previous visits. They were afraid he had come to avenge the massacre of Furneaux's men, eight of whom had been killed and eaten at Grass Cove nearby, on the previous voyage. With Omai as interpreter however, friendly relations were quickly established with the parties visiting the ships.



Plate 2. John Webber, 'Captain Cook in Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte Sound', pen, wash and water-colour, 60.7 x 98.5 cm. 1777. National Maritime Museum, London.

Yet there is no evidence that the obvious reading of this composition records an actual event. That is to say Cook did not on this occasion come off his landing boat and go up and shake a Maori chief by the hand. To all accounts the portion of the beach they landed on was unoccupied—a natural precaution in any case—and it was not until a little later that a party of the Maori came and set up some temporary habitations nearby. It is indeed true that friendly relations were established on this occasion quickly enough and this may be credited to Cook's practical good sense, true too that all we should expect from a record of an historical event rendered in the mode of a history painting is the general spirit of the occasion, not evidence as to what actually occurred. But my point is that in staging the event in this way Webber

is addressing a British, indeed a European audience. Ethnographical information of great interest is being conveyed about the nature of the temporary habitations, the dress and adornment of the Maori, but it is conveyed within the framework of a potentially political message: Cook the friendly voyager meeting his old friends the Maori.



Plate 3. John Webber, 'The Reception of Captain Cook at Hapai', pen, wash and water-colour, 44.8 x 63.6 cm. 1777. British Library, London. Add. MS 15513, fol. 8.

A few months later in Lifuka, Tonga, Webber began another large history set-piece. Cook and his men now intermingle freely with a great crowd of Tongans as they mutually enjoy the boxing and other entertainments prepared for them (Plate 3). The painting may be identified with the work in Webber's catalogue entitled 'The manner of receiving, entertaining and making Captain Cook a present of the productions of the Island, on his Arrival at the Happi'.

So it continued throughout the voyage. Everywhere Cook goes in the Pacific his arrival is celebrated by Webber in scenes of joyful reception, in dancing, boxing entertainments, gifting, trading. Nothing must disturb this sense of peacefulness. Even Cook's own death, the great trauma of the voyage, is not drawn nor will it be included in the official publication.

Webber got better at it as the voyage progressed. One of the finest of all John Webber's drawings surely must be his record of Cook's meeting with the Chuckchi people of northern Siberia. They were only on that icy peninsula for between two and three hours, yet Webber managed to make a number of delightful drawings on the spot.<sup>22</sup> Naturally suspicious of the newcomers the Chuckchi refused to put down their arms the journals tell us. Except upon one occasion when

a few of them laid them down and danced for Cook and his men. It was that moment of friendship that Webber chose to record in a beautifully balanced composition (Plate 4).



*Plate 4. John Webber, 'Captain Cook's meeting with the Chukchi at St Lawrence Bay', pencil, pen, wash and some water-colour, 1778. National Maritime Museum, London.*

This then is the implicit message of the Cook/Webber programme. Cook is the peacemaker, the philanthropist who is bringing the gifts of civilisation and the values of an exchange economy to the savage peoples of the Pacific. Later, after Cook's death, the same message is spelt out to all Europe, in the sixty-odd plates, upon which enormous care and attention was spent, that was included in the Atlas to the Official Account.

True, these grand peaceful ceremonies and occasions did occur, they were high points in a long voyage, and we might agree deserved to be recorded for posterity. They were moreover the kinds of events that suited John Webber's medium. Watercolour drawing and painting with its broad washes of transparent colour, its feeling of amplitude for the breadth and depth of space is an art surely suited to rendering peaceful scenes. So that in this instance we might want to conclude with Marshall McLuhan that the medium is indeed the message.<sup>23</sup> Webber portrayed the truth, but it was a highly selective truth, from which all sense of violence and tension had been removed.

Consider for a moment what a modern television camera crew, with the right to film whatever they chose, might have selected, to send by satellite back to Europe. They might have selected different events than

the boxing and dancing receptions at Tonga for Europeans to remember the visit by. Consider, for example, these incidents recorded by the young midshipman on the *Resolution*, George Gilbert, concerning the stay at Tonga.

These Indians are very dexterous at thieving and as they were permitted to come on board the ships in great numbers, they stole several things from us. This vice which is very prevalent [prevalent] here, Capt Cook punished in a manner rather unbecoming of an European viz: by cutting off their ears; firing at them with small shot, or ball, as they were swimming or paddling to the shore and suffering the people (as he rowed after them) to beat them with the oars, and stick the boat hook into them where ever they could hit them; one in particular he punished by ordering one of our people to make two cuts upon his arm to the bone one across the other close below his shoulder; which was an act that I cannot account for otherways than to have proceeded from a momentary fit of anger as it certainly was not in the least premeditated.<sup>24</sup>

It was Cook himself who on the previous voyage had named Tonga, the Friendly Islands.

Nothing delights a camera crew so much as a conflagration; so they would have been very busy on Moorea on 9 and 10 October 1777. When the *Resolution* had left the Cape it must have seemed like, as David Samwell, described it, a 'second Noah's ark'.<sup>25</sup> Cook had on board 'two Horses, two Mares, three Bulls, four Cows, two Calves, fifteen Goats, 30 Sheep, a peacock and a hen, Turkeys, Rabbits, Geese, Ducks and Fowls in great plenty . . . for the purpose of distributing them among the Islands visited.'<sup>26</sup> This was Cook in the role of philanthropist of the Enlightenment bringing the blessings of civilisation to the Pacific. The livestock was to be distributed to the natives, either as gifts to appropriate chieftains or in the process of trade.

Not every Pacific person understood the conventions of hierarchical gifting or of a market economy. So when one of the *Resolution's* fifteen goats was stolen in Moorea, Cook went on a violent punitive mission for two days burning the native houses and destroying all the native canoes his party came in contact with, and did not cease until the goat was returned. 'The Losses these poor People must have suffer'd would affect them for years to come' wrote Thomas Edgar, the master of the *Discovery*.<sup>27</sup> 'I can't well account for Capt Cooks proceedings on this occasion; as they were so very different from his conduct in like cases in his former voyages',<sup>28</sup> wrote young George Gilbert.

Others since Gilbert have attempted to explain Cook's markedly changed behaviour on the third voyage. The best is that given by Sir James Watt in his masterly essay on the 'Medical Aspects and Consequences of Cook's Voyages'.<sup>29</sup> Sir James brings strong evidence to show that Cook on the third voyage was a sick man and suggests that it may well have had the effect of changing his normal pattern of behaviour. I would not question this but it must be said that his

sickness did not curb his aggression when his authority was threatened.

It is not my intention here to address the whole question of Cook's changed behaviour on the third voyage. I do not feel adequately equipped as an historian to attempt it. But I would suggest that those historians who feel they are might address themselves, without wishing to minimise the significance of Sir James Watt's findings (since historical causation is notoriously multiple rather than singular) to wider, more general, more countervailing forces acting upon Cook's behaviour and personality during the later months of his life. What I am getting at might be summarised in such phrases as 'the loss of hope', 'an increased cynicism', 'familiarity breeds contempt', 'power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely'. By comparison with his contemporaries there need be no doubt that Cook was a wise, extraordinarily gifted and humane commander. But his first duty was to the survival of his crew and the success of his expeditions. That meant, as he saw it, that his word must not be questioned even when it could not be properly understood. When words were not understood only brute action remained.

On setting out on his first voyage in the *Endeavour* Cook had been given written advice by Lord Morton, the President of the Royal Society. The Society, you will recall, had sponsored the voyage and Cook gave to Morton's 'Hints' a respect second only to his Admiralty instructions. They contained the most detailed set of instructions he ever received on how to treat the native peoples encountered. Morton's 'Hints' enshrined the high hopes of the philosophers of the Enlightenment for an eventual universal brotherhood of mankind under the leadership, it need hardly be said, of European man. Allow me to quote:

Have it still in view that shedding the blood of those people is a crime of the highest nature: — They are human creatures, the work of the same omnipotent Author, equally under his care with the most polished European; perhaps being less offensive, more entitled to his favour.

They are the natural, and in the strictest sense of the word, the legal possessors of the several Regions they inhabit.

No European Nation has a right to occupy any part of their country, or settle among them without their voluntary consent.

Conquest over such people can give no just title; because they could never be the Aggressors.

They may naturally and justly attempt to repel intruders, whom they may apprehend are come to disturb them in the quiet possession of their country, whether that apprehension be well or ill founded.

Therefore should they in a hostile manner oppose a landing, and kill some men in the attempt, even this would hardly justify firing among them, 'till every other gentle method had been tried.

There are many ways to convince them of the Superiority of Europeans . . .<sup>30</sup>

That indeed was an Enlightenment vision of hope. But by 1777 Cook was an old Pacific hand who seems to have grown tired in the use of

the many subtle ways in which indigenous people could be convinced of the superiority of Europeans. By 1777 he could cut corners brutally if the occasion arose. There is a sense of disillusion, of a loss of hope. On the first voyage, rather in the spirit of Morton's 'Hints' he had expressed an admiration for the simple life of the Australian aborigines, 'far . . . happier than we Europeans'.<sup>31</sup> And on the second, in Queen Charlotte Sound, he expressed a fear that his very contact with the Maori, since his first voyage, had degraded them: 'Such are the consequences of a commerce with Europeans and what is still more to our Shame civilised Christians, we debauch their Morals already too prone to vice and we interduce among them wants and perhaps diseases which they never before knew and which serves only to disturb that happy tranquillity they and their fore Fathers had in joy'd'.<sup>32</sup> Yet on the third voyage, with his horses, cows, bulls and goats, etc. he was still playing the role of an official philanthropist of the Enlightenment seeking to raise Pacific people from their savage state to a higher level of civilisation. Did the growing realisation of the contradiction between the philanthropist role he was required to play and his actual experience make him increasingly cynical and brutalise his behaviour? By the third voyage he had become convinced that he and other European voyagers were bringing venereal and other diseases to the Pacific. In such cases of guilt it is not unusual to blame the victims. In Queen Charlotte Sound he wrote into his journal, 'A connection with Women I allow because I cannot prevent it . . . more men are betrayed than saved by having connection with their women, and how can it be otherwise sence all their View are selfish without the least mixture of regard or attachment whatever . . .'<sup>33</sup>

The point I wish to make is this. Cook, in his lifetime had absorbed enough of the hopes and expectancies of the Enlightenment to become aware by his third voyage that his mission to the Pacific involved him in a profound and unresolvable contradiction. In order to treat native peoples in the enlightened way that Morton had exhorted and to survive he had to establish markets among people who possessed little if any notions of a market economy. The alternative was to use force from the beginning as the Spaniards and Portuguese had done, and eighteenth-century Englishmen prided themselves that they could behave more humanely than Spaniards.

There was nothing new about the working methods used for establishing more or less humane contact with primitive people, even when they were, as the ancient Greeks said, stubborn. You began by gifting. The Greeks had borne gifts all the way down the Red Sea Coast to the fish-eaters and others of the Arabian seas.<sup>34</sup> It was the acknowledged way of expanding a commercial empire. And if you wanted wood, water and fresh food at each new landfall on a long voyage, without immediately resorting to violence, there was no other

way. So you had to establish markets, at the side of the ship, or on the beaches, as in Webber's fine painting of the market Cook established at Nomuka, in Tonga ('The Harbour at Annamooka', British Library).

To establish one's peaceful intentions one began by gifting. The nature of gifting was more deeply embedded in primitive survival economies than the nature of property or the nature of a free market. So Cook took with him on his third voyage thousands of articles from Matthew Boulton's factory Soho in Birmingham; axes, chisels, saws, metal buttons, beads, mirrors etc., as presents, and for trading.<sup>35</sup> The year Cook sailed (1776) was the year in which the principles of free trade, of the universal benefits of an international market economy was given its classic expression in Adam Smith's *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, and it is of passing interest to note that the same publishers, Strahan and Cadell, published the official account of Cook's Second Voyage a year later. As I mentioned in another context Cook was Adam Smith's first and perhaps greatest global agent.<sup>36</sup> He opened a new third of the world to free enterprise.

Smith, the theorist of perfect competition, argued that market prices established themselves by the natural laws of supply and demand; if there was any control at all exercised by this beautifully delicate mechanism it was best described as wrought by 'an invisible hand'.<sup>37</sup> But Smith drew his conclusions primarily from a study of developed market economies that had been in existence in Europe from ancient times. Cook, the practical man, had the grave problem of insisting upon the rules and conventions where they did not exist or existed at the fringe rather than the centre of the primitive polity. There were of course markets in the Pacific before Cook, but at various stages of development, from the complete non-existence of the concept among the natives of Van Diemen's Land<sup>38</sup> to the astute Indians of Nootka Sound, of whom Cook wrote in chagrin on one occasion that it seemed that 'there was not a blade of grass that did not possess a separate owner'.<sup>39</sup>

So in the Pacific Cook had to play at being, as best he could, Adam Smith's God. If the laws of property essential to a free market economy were transgressed and a goat stolen an act of the god must descend upon the whole community. If a law is not understood as a natural law the best thing to do, if you possess the power of a god, is to make it seem like one.

What I would suggest then is that Cook on his third voyage became increasingly aware in his grand role as Enlightenment Man that he was involved in contradictions that he could not resolve. He had come to the Pacific to spread the blessings and advantages of civilised Europe. What the locals most wanted was the ironware that for so many centuries had made Europe powerful, what Cook's young sailors wanted even more than they wanted fresh food was the bodies of the native

women, and it was the one universal product most often offered, most readily available. So Cook became increasingly aware that wherever he went he was spreading the curses much more liberally than the benefits of European civilisation. The third voyage records not only his death but before that his loss of hope. For what Adam Smith's free market economy offered the South Seas was not really the difference between civilisation and savagery but the difference between exploitation and extermination. Those peoples who were sufficiently advanced to grasp the potential advantages of a market economy survived to become the colonial servants of their European masters, those who could not, because of the primitive nature of their societies, like the natives of Tierra del Fuego and Van Diemen's Land, in the fullness of time of Adam Smith's invisible god were exterminated; though in a few cases their part-European descendants lived on to cherish the sad tale.

The art of John Webber cannot of course speak to us of such things except by its very silences. And for what he does give us we should be grateful. It is an Arcadian Pacific and for the most part, a pacific Pacific; a new region of the world to be desired by Europeans, sought out, converted to the true religion, rendered subservient, exploited. It is epitomised in Webber's portrait of Poedua, the daughter of Orio, chief of Raiatea (Plate 5). Here Webber builds upon that image of the Pacific that the preceding voyages had so rapidly and so successfully fashioned. The Pacific as young, feminine, desirable and vulnerable, an ocean of desire. To her, during the next century, all the nations of Europe will come.

Now in all probability, though it cannot be established entirely beyond doubt, Webber painted Poedua's portrait during the five days during which she was held hostage in the *Discovery*. Raiatea was Cook's last port of call in the Society Islands before he sailed for the cold waters of the north Pacific. Two of the crew, enchanted by the island life, decided to desert. Cook, by now well versed in the art of taking hostages, had Orio, his daughter Poedua and his son-in-law lured into Captain Clerke's cabin and a guard mounted, holding them prisoner. They should not be released but taken to Europe, old Orio was informed, unless he activated himself in getting the deserters back to Cook. It took five days.

Captain Clerke, who like William Anderson, also secretly longed to stay in the Society Islands instead of going to their deaths from tuberculosis in the cold northern seas,<sup>40</sup> describes what occurred:

I order'd some Centinels at the Cabin Door, and the Windows to be strongly barred, then told them, we would certainly all go to England together, if their friends did not procure their release by bringing back the 2 Deserters. My poor friends at first were a good deal struck with surprise and fear, but they soon recollected themselves, got the better of their apprehensions & were perfectly reconciled to their Situation





Plate 5. John Webber, 'A Portrait of Poedua', oil on canvas, 144.8 x 94.0 cm. National Library of Australia, Canberra.

. . . The News of their Confinement of course was blaz'd instantaneously throughout the Isle; old Oreo was half mad, and within an hour afterwards we had a most numerous congregation of Women under the Stern, cutting their Heads with Sharks Teeth and lamenting the Fate of the Prisoners, in so melancholy a howl, as render'd the Ship while it lasted, which was 2 or 3 Hours, a most wretched Habitation; nobody cou'd help in some measure being affected by it; it destroyed the spirits of the Prisoners altogether, who lost all their Chearfulness and joined in this cursed dismal Howl, I made use of every method I cou'd suggest to get them away, but all to no purpose,

there they would stand and bleed and cry, till their Strength was exhausted and they could act the farce no longer. When we got rid of these Tragedians, I soon recover'd my Friends and we set down to Dinner together very cheerfully.<sup>41</sup>

Whether you view the affair as a Pacific farce or as a Greek tragedy it is not difficult to imagine how the camera crew of say a not particularly friendly nation might have recorded the scene.

Everything points to the fact that so far as the visual events of the voyage were concerned Webber was setting out quite deliberately to construct a peaceful image of the Pacific, and of the peaceable relations of its peoples with the voyagers. Even when he drew portraits; for example, just as they left the Society Islands Webber drew a portrait of a Chief of Bora Bora, with his lance, but when he made the finished drawing he removed the lance. (British Library).

After Cook's death the apparent desire for a suppression of all scenes of violence and conflict continues in the engraving of scenes of the voyages published in the *Atlas* of the official account. Even a face that could recall a scene of great violence is not included. We know that Webber painted a portrait in oils of Kahura,<sup>42</sup> the Maori chieftain who was responsible for the killing and eating of Captain Furneaux's men at Grass Cove on the second voyage. Cook established beyond any reasonable doubt that Kahura was responsible for the massacre but instead of taking revenge, he developed a respect for his courage and the confidence Kahura placed in him.<sup>43</sup> Dr. Joppien has succeeded in identifying one of the portraits now in the Dixon Library, Sydney as a portrait of Kahura.<sup>44</sup> It is of interest that a portrait of Kahura was among those omitted in the list selected for publication in the *Atlas*. Perhaps the portrait of a notorious cannibal, however much admired by Cook, was not considered suitable for the official account of the voyage.

Nor was a representation of Cook's own death. And when Webber made his famous drawing (Plate 6) which was later engraved by Bartolozzi and published separately in 1784, Webber presented the great navigator in the role of a peacemaker holding out a hand gesturing to his men in the *Resolution's* pinnacle to stop firing at the enraged Hawaiians.

If my analysis is correct Cook on his third voyage, at least so far as the visual record was concerned, was constructing an image of himself as a man of peace in the Pacific, a man universally welcomed there by peaceable people. Representations of violent encounters were suppressed or ignored. He could not have known as he left the island of Bora Bora that he would discover another great Polynesian society in the north Pacific unknown to Europeans and that there he would be received as the very incarnation of a god of peace, as the returning god Lono, the god of carnival, of the Makahiki festival.<sup>45</sup> So it was that Cook was received, as few men have been, into an alien culture

in a fashion that accorded with his own personal and most innermost desire; and the myth of Cook as the hero of peace and the harbinger of civilisation in the Pacific was sustained in Europe and the Pacific long after his death. But it was myth not reality. The reality lay in the hidden contradictions latent in establishing a free market economy in the Pacific. To do that Cook had taken with him iron from Matthew Boulton's Birmingham factory that when fashioned into daggers was used to cut him down on Kealakekua beach. For when Cook, this man of peace attempted for the last time to take a Pacific chieftain hostage—dealing once again in the coercive market in which captives are exchanged for stolen goods—the hidden hand of Kukailimoku, the Hawaiian god of war struck him and four of his marines down. Cook had committed the fatal error of returning to the island when peace no longer reigned there, not even in myth. The course of history is littered with such ironies.

\* \* \*

The present lecture has drawn heavily upon the combined research of Dr Rüdiger Joppien and of mine from volume three of *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages* (Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1987), for many of the facts presented. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Joppien for his recent research on the early life and training of John Webber. In other cases where I have drawn directly on Dr. Joppien's personal research this is mentioned in the notes. Apart from that the opinions expressed are my own.



Plate 6. John Webber, 'The Death of Captain Cook', pen, wash and water-colour, c. 1781-83, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.

## REFERENCES

- 1 For he also wrote 'he did his best, but he had a sort of modern fashion-artist's devotion to length of body and leg, a manner rather than a style, and that, in a producer of documentary drawings, is rather dismaying'. On the issues thus raised see B. Smith, *Style, Information and Image* (Christchurch, 1988), in the press.
- 2 *Memoirs of Thomas Jones*, *Walpole Society*, 32 (1951), 37.
- 3 For a detailed account of Webber's early life and training see R. Joppien, in R. Joppien and B. Smith, *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*, III (Melbourne, 1987).
- 4 Admiralty to Cook, 24 June 1777, quoted in *The Journals of Captain James Cook*, ed. J. C. Beaglehole (London, 1967), III, 1507.
- 5 Joppien and Smith, III, 223.
- 6 For a more detailed discussion of this point see Joppien, in Joppien and Smith, III, 189-96.
- 7 Cook, *Journals*, III, ccxxiii.
- 8 *ibid.*
- 9 *ibid.* cf. Cook's Instructions for the first voyage, *Journals*, I, cclxxx, and for the second, *Journals*, II, clxviii.
- 10 'Car je soutiens que celui ne fait qu'exécuter des ordres ne fera jamais grandes figures dans les découvertes', quoted in Cook, *Journals*, II, 695.
- 11 See J. C. Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook* (London, 1974), pp. 439-40.
- 12 British Library, Egerton MSS 2180, fol. 3, quoted by Beaglehole in Cook, *Journals*, II, cxlvi.
- 13 Cook, *Journals*, III, 52.
- 14 Cook, *Journals*, III, 54.
- 15 See R. Joppien in Joppien and Smith, III, p. 193 et al. The remainder of this lecture develops the implications of this initial insight of Dr. Joppien.
- 16 S. Parkinson, *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas* (London, 1773), Pl. xxvii (fp 134).
- 17 G. Forster, *A Voyage Round the World* (London, 1777), II, 257-58.
- 18 W. Wales, *Remarks*, p. 71.
- 19 G. Forster, *Reply to Mr. Wales's Remarks*, p. 34.
- 20 On 12 July 1776.
- 21 On Omai in general see E. H. McCormick, *Omai Pacific Envoy* (Auckland, 1977).
- 22 See Joppien and Smith, III, catalogue 3.272, 3.273, 3.274.
- 23 Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media* (London, Sphere Books, 1967), pp. 15-30.
- 24 *Captain Cook's Final Voyage: The Journal of Midshipman George Gilbert*, ed. Christine Holmes (London, 1982), pp. 33-34.
- 25 Cook, *Journals*, III, 995.
- 26 Gilbert, p. 20.
- 27 Edgar in Cook's *Journals*, III, 232 5n.
- 28 Gilbert, p. 47.
- 29 In *Captain James Cook and His Times*, ed. Robin Fisher and Hugh Johnston (Vancouver, 1979).
- 30 Quoted in Cook, *Journals*, I, 514.
- 31 Cook, *Journals*, I, 399.
- 32 Cook, *Journals*, II, 174-75.
- 33 Cook, *Journals*, III, 61-62.
- 34 See *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, ed. G.W.B. Huntingford (London, 1980).
- 35 Cook, *Journals*, III, 1492.
- 36 B. Smith, 'Cook's Posthumous Reputation' in *Captain James Cook and his Times*, p. 179.
- 37 'He intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by

- an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention,' Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, eds. R. H. Campbell, A. S. Skinner and W. B. Todd (Oxford, 1976), I, 456.
- 38 'They received everything we gave them without the least appearance of satisfaction . . . they either retrieved it or threw it away without so much as tasting it'. Cook in Adventure Bay, *Journals*, III, 52.
- 39 Cook, *Journals*, III, 306.
- 40 The story is told by James Burney first lieutenant on the *Discovery* who had it from Anderson. It is recounted in Burney's *Chronological History of North-Eastern Voyages of Discovery* (London, 1819), p. 233-34 and quoted in J. C. Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook* (London, 1974), p. 568-69.
- 41 Clerke in Cook, *Journals*, III, 1317-18.
- 42 See his manuscript 'Catalogue of Drawings and Painting in Oyl by Mr Webber' under 'Portraits in Oyl Colour. New Zealand. Kahowre a Chief. National Library of Australia, Canberra.
- 43 Cook, *Journals*, III, 69.
- 44 Joppien and Smith, III, 19, 285.
- 45 On these dark and profound matters of ethnohistory see Marshal Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Reality* (Ann Arbor, 1980) and Greg Denning, 'Sharks that walk on the Land: the Death of Captain Cook', *Meanjin*, 4 (1982), 427-37.

#### Notes on Contributors

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BERNARD SMITH is a distinguished scholar and interpreter of the visual arts. He has taught at Melbourne and Sydney Universities, and is a former president of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. His published works include *European Vision and the South Pacific* (1960); *The Boy Adeodatus* (1985) an autobiography of his youth; and *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages* with Rudiger Joppien.

#### Correction

In the previous issue of the *Record* 20 (October 1987), the caption to one of the illustrations was incorrect. The caption on p.87 should have read:  
*Portrait of Ferdinand von Hochstetter, from a lithograph by J. Dauthage, 1859. Photo neg. 475 MNZ 1/4*

## Research Notes

Just before the final text of this issue went to the printers we learned of the death in Wellington on 17 April of Ormond Wilson, a long serving member of the Alexander Turnbull Endowment Trust Board, and the Trustees Special Committee for the Turnbull. An appreciation will appear in the October issue.

The Library will be making a major contribution to the celebration of the Katherine Mansfield centennial year in 1988. An exhibition, calling on the wide range of Mansfield materials in the collections from the memorabilia (her typewriter and shawl) through photographs, paintings and drawings, manuscripts, periodicals, books, and music, is being mounted in the National Library's exhibition gallery for October. In addition the Library will be supporting an international scholarly conference being organised through the Stout Research Centre at Victoria University. A major reconstruction of the Mansfield collections in the Manuscripts Section is under way. It is proposed to issue a new inventory to the Katherine Mansfield papers and related papers in the collections.

Recent publications issued by the Library include the 1987 Photographic Print 'An Edwardian City' featuring six black and white photographs of Christchurch at the turn of the century, sponsored by *The Star*, Christchurch; the Fletcher prints featuring reproductions of three watercolours from the Fletcher-Challenge collection in Auckland (Sharpe's 'Wenderholm', Mein Smith's 'Woburn Farm' and David Powell's 'Diggings Township: the Dunstan'); a new edition of volume one of Early Eyewitness Accounts (de Surville's in 1769); and *Women's Words*, an annotated guide to material in the Turnbull Archives and Manuscripts collection identified as being of value for women's studies. All these publications are available from the National Library Bookshop on the ground floor of the Molesworth Street building.

The National Library has published a consolidated *Union List of Newspapers*, based on the two national surveys of newspaper holdings and their condition conducted by Dr Ross Harvey, formerly Newspaper Librarian at the Turnbull. Dr Harvey edited the new *Union List* which is the first complete statement of newspaper holdings since 1961. It comprises brief bibliographical information and details of the holdings of New Zealand newspapers 1840-1986, and overseas published newspapers 1801-1986. Original copies and microforms are included. The *Union List* was launched at the N.Z.L.A. conference at Hamilton in February, and is available for sale from the National Library.

The second volume of letters between Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck, *Na to hoa Aroha: From Your Dear Friend* was published in 1987. The launching took place at Urenui, Sir Peter Buck's birthplace. Edited by

Professor Keith Sorrenson, and published by Auckland University Press, the letters cover the period 4 May 1930 to 12 August 1932. A third volume will follow. Professor Sorrenson made extensive use of the Buck-Ngata letters in the Manuscripts collection, and publication was assisted by a grant from the Endowment Trust.

Two recent novels well illustrate how Turnbull manuscripts can provide factual material and stimulate the writer's imagination. In *Symmes Hole* Ian Wedde made extensive use of whaler James 'Worser' Heberley's 'Reminiscences'. For her first published novel *After Z-Hour*, Elizabeth Knox read a number of First World War diaries, in a search for authentic expression and colloquial slang for her character Mark, a young New Zealand serviceman.

The first award of the National Library's research fellowship has been made to Dr Rory Sweetman to enable him to complete a book on the trial for sedition in 1922 of James Liston, the Roman Catholic Coadjutor Bishop of Auckland. Dr Sweetman has been working on New Zealand Catholicism and the Irish Issue 1910-1922 at Cambridge for his doctoral thesis. He will make extensive use of the Turnbull's collections and in particular the diaries and other papers of Patrick Joseph O'Regan, Liston's defence counsel, which were deposited in Turnbull in 1976.

The Chief Librarian has been awarded a thirty day International Visitor award by the United States Government to enable him to visit a wide range of research libraries and related institutions in the United States during April 1988. The primary purpose of the visit is to make arrangements to borrow about fifty books from the United States for a major exhibition during New Zealand's commemoration of the sesquicentenary of European settlement in 1990. The books have been selected to represent the culture and ideas of the European heritage. Mr Traue will also take the opportunity to look at techniques for the exhibition of library materials and to improve the Library's contacts with the hand printing movement in the United States.

In late November 1987 Sharon Dell, Keeper of the Collections, visited Australia on a short study tour of research libraries. She visited the National Library in Canberra; in Sydney the Mitchell Library, the State Library of New South Wales, and Fisher Library, University of Sydney; La Trobe and the State Library of Victoria in Melbourne. A range of activities and policies were examined including automated cataloguing of non-book materials, conservation programmes, rare book collections, display techniques, the storage of paintings, drawings and prints, photographs and manuscripts, and the operation of field officers. Australian counterparts gave freely of their time and opinions, making the tour particularly successful, and providing the Keeper with several recommendations for application to Turnbull policy and practice.

It is with sadness that we record the untimely death of Tony Ralls, a member of the Catalogue Section for eight years and Assistant Editor of the *Record* from 1983 to 1986. The Chief Librarian, speaking at his funeral service, described Tony at his best 'as a gentlemen and a scholar; concerned for others and sensitive to their needs; concerned for truth . . . He believed passionately in the Turnbull and what it represented—a research library, dedicated, in Alexander Turnbull's words, to the search after truth. He believed in high standards and he saw in the Turnbull an excellence seldom achieved in this country . . . .'

## Notable Acquisitions

### *National Council of Churches*

With the transfer, in December 1987, of some thirty-five metres of records from the National Council of Churches in New Zealand, the Library has acquired one of the most valuable collections for research into ecumenism in this country.

The N.C.C. was founded in 1941 and drew its membership from the major Christian churches with the exception of the Roman Catholic church. Its aim was to advance the ideas of ecumenism in general among its members, and through its links with the world-wide movement it was able to coordinate welfare work both in New Zealand and abroad.

The records include twenty-five metres of subject files which formed the main filing system of the N.C.C., together with an extensive series of minute books covering Executive and Annual General Meetings, the National Christian Youth Committee, the Women's Committee, the Church and Society Committee and other financial and working committees. There are also scrapbooks of newspaper clippings, photographs and publications including the bulletin *Church and Community*. The main records include good coverage of local branch activity and also some material of earlier organisations, dating from the 1920s, whose efforts led to the setting up of the N.C.C.

Although the organisation officially ceased to exist in December 1987, a new body called the Conference of Churches in Aotearoa/New Zealand (CCANZ) based in Wellington and including the Catholic Church for the first time will continue its work.

### *Rev. Percy Hall Collection*

Miss Dorothy Hall has donated to the Library the papers and books of her father the Rev. Percy Hall. He took up his appointment as Headmaster of Tereora Boarding School, Rarotonga, in 1900 and returned to England for theological training with the London Missionary Society in 1905. In 1908 he embarked again for Rarotonga where he remained until 1916.

The manuscript collection comprises four main groups. One group gives an overview of education in the Cook Islands, ca. 1890-ca. 1920, and includes records of Tereora School, Rarotonga, 1895-1911; diaries, essays, sermons and journals written by pupils; and the debate between the LMS and



the New Zealand government over 'secular education' in the Islands. The other three groups comprise correspondence between Rev. Hall and his pupils, ca. 1903-20; stories and legends of the Cook Islands; and records of the journal *Te Karere*, including an account book, 1901-15.

The printed collection spans more than seventy years of printing history in the Cook Islands and reflects Rev. Hall's involvement with the LMS, teaching and matters of government. Over half the collection, some forty items, were not held by the Library. Others are different editions of works already held. The earliest given date of publication is 1844, and an 1846 edition of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in Cook Islands Maori bears the signature of W. Wyatt Gill. This is marked up with holograph alterations to the text in preparation for an 1892 edition.

The printed items are in a variety of formats and languages and many carry the imprint of the Mission Press, Rarotonga. Their subjects range from biblical translations, evangelical and teaching texts, to hymns, missionary laws and school rules.

### *Sir Charles Fleming*

Sir Charles Fleming, a good friend and supporter of the Library died late in 1987. He gave his strong support to our efforts to strengthen the Library's collections on the history of science and to encourage research into the history of science in New Zealand. Sir Charles served as the chairman of the organising committee for the Library's History of Science Conference in 1983.

He worked with the Library over the years to obtain a portrait of Sir Joseph Banks, the founding father of natural history documentation of New Zealand, and made a handsome gift to the Turnbull towards the purchase of an anonymous portrait of Banks, derived from Thomas Phillips's 1814 work.

His scientific papers, which have been donated to the Library, form an exceptional body of material spanning a career of some fifty years. They reflect all facets of his endeavour: ornithology, palaeontology, geology, biogeography and the history of science. He kept meticulous records; his trip to the Chatham Islands in 1933 for example, comprises diaries, field notebooks, photographic negatives and prints, and associated correspondence. Later trips to the Chathams are documented with the same care.

There are many subject files relating to environmental and interest groups: Antarctica, 1958-; the Manapouri campaign, 1970-; the Fauna Protection Advisory Council, 1970-; the Native Forest Action Group; National Parks, scenic and scientific reserves. He was a champion of the Royal Society of New Zealand Act 1965.

There are files on scientists, which range from his work on Ferdinand von Hochstetter, whose *Geologie von Neu-Seeland* he translated in 1959, to those who appear in his most recent study, *Science, Settlers and Scholars*.

The collection also contains Fleming family material. This New Zealand branch retained close financial contact with relations in Kintyre and Glasgow. Material collected by an earlier family member includes genealogical records, eighteenth and nineteenth century deeds, receipts and certificates, and letters, 1859-1897, from Samuel Fleming who set up business at Onehunga. The diaries, letters and photographs of some New Zealand family members have been added to the collection. Sir Charles synthesised the documents into his own typescript account of the family.

# Notes on Manuscript and Archive Accessions

## A SELECTIVE LIST OF ACQUISITIONS, APRIL 1987 TO NOVEMBER 1987

Acquisitions of manuscripts and archives 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 staff in establishing priorities for sorting collections. The following list updates the Notes in the *Record* for October 1987. 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).

ASSOCIATION OF HANDCRAFT PRINTERS NEW ZEALAND. *Records, 1974-1984*. 30cm.  
DONATION: Mr C. Alldrift, Auckland.

Comprises membership records and general correspondence.

BARTON, SHIRLEY A.M. *Rewi Alley papers, ca. 1936-1986*. 1m. PURCHASE.  
Letters from Alley to Barton, 1952-1986; poems, plays, talks, scrapbook.

BATESON, FRANK M. *John Grigg: a Musical Astronomer, 1987*. 28 leaves. DONATION.  
Grigg (1838-1920) was a noted amateur astronomer and musician from Thames.  
Carbon typescript.

BELL, GERDA GERTRUDE ELIZABETH, b. 1903. *Research notes relating to Ernest Dieffenbach, ca. 1976-1986*. 2 folders. DONATION.

Letters, articles and clippings collected by Dr Bell for her research on the New Zealand Company surgeon and naturalist Dieffenbach.

BENSEMANN, LEO VERNON, 1912-1986. *Papers, 1934-1979*. 19 folders. DONATION: Mrs E.M. Bensemann, Christchurch.

The collection of typographer, painter and editor Leo Bensemann consists of letters from friends and colleagues associated with The Caxton Press, 1934-1978; nine music scores by Douglas Lilburn, 1941-1945, 1962; and printing blocks of Lilburn's *Four Preludes* for piano, 1945.

*Partly restricted.*

CARR FAMILY. *Letters and journal, 1879-1881*. 4 items. DONATION: Mr F.H. Carr, Essex, England.

Journal kept by Billy Carr on the *Alastor*, 1879-1880, and three letters written to his family from New Zealand. Photocopies.

CATES, CHARLES. *Diary of the Ups and Downs of a Common Soldier, 1914-1916*. 2v. and 1 folder. DONATION: Whangarei Public Library.

Cates served with the New Zealand Mounted Field Ambulance at Gallipoli. He was wounded and invalided back to New Zealand.

CHAPMAN, LESLIE WALTER. *Diaries and letters, 1941-1945*. 5v. and 1 folder. PURCHASE.  
Daily experiences of a gunner in the Middle East and Italy.

- DANILOW, NICHOLAS, 1896-1981. *Papers, 1896-1981*. 30cm. DONATION: Mrs A. Danilow, Wellington.  
 Danilow came to New Zealand in 1939 as a refugee, and in 1942 introduced the teaching of Russian to New Zealand universities. Includes biographical material, writings of and about Danilow, correspondence, newspaper clippings, photographs and a portrait.
- FAMILY LIFE EDUCATION COUNCIL. *Records, 1966-1986*. 2m. DONATION: Mrs B. Morris, Wellington.
- GOODMAN, REV. GEORGE H. *Papers, 1930-1986*. 1.3m. DONATION.  
 Pacifist, family and church affairs.
- HEUGHAN, ROBERT H. *Diary of a Voyage on the Indian Empire, 1862*. 39 leaves. DONATION: Mr J. Clark, Haywards Heath, England.  
 Details activities on voyage to Auckland. Photocopy of typescript.
- HUGHES, JOHN GETHIN. *Gallipoli, 1941?* 1 folder. DONATION: Mrs L. Hughes, Wellington.  
 Reminiscences of the Gallipoli campaign and the role played by the Canterbury Infantry Battalion. Photocopy.
- JONES, STELLA MORRISON (CLARIDGE). *Literary papers, ca. 1950-1960s*. 2 folders. DONATION.  
 Includes short stories, plays, photographs, and newspaper clippings on Jones's life and work.
- LAWSON, JOHN. *Diary, 1928*. 1v. PURCHASE.  
 Diary kept when Lawson and others attempted to locate missing aviators George Hood and J.R. Moncrieff.
- LEARY, LEONARD. *Gallipoli; France, 1941?* 1 folder. DONATION.  
 Reminiscences of service with the Wellington Infantry Battalion at Gallipoli and the New Zealand Divisional Signal Company in France, 1915-1918. Photocopy.
- LONG, MARGARET. *Papers relating to human rights organisations, ca. 1950s*. 30cm. DONATION.  
 Includes papers on Niue Islanders Committee, 1954; capital punishment and human rights; police offences and civil liberties.
- MCWHANNELL, RHODA. *Diaries, 1938-1986*. 91v. DONATION.  
 Daily entries including appointments, weather, current news, and trips to Europe and South Africa.
- MARRIOTT, SOPHIA. *Letter from Caroline Abraham, 19 December 1850*. 2p. PURCHASE.  
 Notes her husband Bishop Abraham's departure and her own illness.
- MEADS, DIANA. *The Works of A.A.St C.M. Murray-Oliver: an Annotated Bibliography, 1979*. 41 leaves. DONATION.  
 Further annotated by Murray-Oliver.
- MOUNTFORT, BENJAMIN WOOLFELD, 1825-1898. *Mountfort family history, ca. 1890s*. 142 leaves. DONATION: Mrs J.A. Stichbury, Auckland.  
 Part of a holograph family history prepared by Mountfort, a Christchurch architect. Covers from eleventh to sixteenth centuries.
- NEW ZEALAND DAIRY FACTORY MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION. *Minute books, 1908-1939*. DONATION: N.Z. Co-operative Dairy Co. Ltd, Hamilton.
- NEWMAN, SARAH. *Letter from Caroline and Joseph Newman, n.d.* 4p. PURCHASE.  
 Written to 'my dear sister'. It includes an additional note from Joseph Newman to William Newman.

- NEWMAN, WILLIAM, d. 1906. *Letter from Joseph Newman, December 1855*. 4p. PURCHASE.  
Written from Remuera to his brother in England concerning business matters.
- PASCOE, JOHN. *Correspondence, 1962*. 4 items. PURCHASE.  
Pascoe corresponded with Harold Leov and Andrew Sharp about the latter's *Ancient Voyages in the Pacific*.
- PAUL, J.T. *Inwards letters, 1914, 1940s-1950s*. 13 items. PURCHASE.  
Thirteen letters including one from Sir Francis Henry Dillon Bell, 1914, and several from William Downie Stewart.
- PERRY, JAMES F., 1858-1926. *Logbook kept on board the Orari, 1882*. 1v. DONATION: Mr R. C. Perry, Broadbeach Waters, Australia.  
Describes daily shipboard life, and includes a sketch of the vessel. Photocopy.
- PHILLIPS, DONALD JOHN. *Papers relating to the Berlin Airlift, 1948-1949*. 3cm. DONATION: Mrs L. Stenhouse, Palmerston North.  
Phillips was a flight lieutenant with the Australian squadron. Includes logbook and newspaper clippings.
- ROWE, BETTY. *Account of Life on Arapawa Island, n.d.* 254 leaves. DONATION.  
An American family's life on the island in Queen Charlotte Sound, and their battle to save the wild goat and sheep population.
- SAVAGE, STEPHEN, 1875-1941. *E Tuatua Tiato . . . , 1907*. 61 leaves. PURCHASE.  
Original typescript with corrections and annotations of Savage's 1908 publication.
- SHAW, GEORGE BERNARD, 1856-1950. *Papers relating to a visit to New Zealand, ca. 1934-1951*. 45 items. PURCHASE.  
Includes notes for an article giving Shaw's views on currency depreciation and migration for the *Evening Post*, two programmes, pamphlets and clippings.
- SHERRIFF, REV. FRANCIS. *Sermons, 1873-1902*. 30cm. DONATION: Mr H. Needham, Wellington.  
Sermons mainly delivered at All Saints, Foxton.
- SINCLAIR, SIR KEITH. *Research papers relating to South African War and World War One, ca. 1986*. 30cm. DONATION.  
Chiefly copies of newspaper clippings and card index of research on New Zealand troops in South Africa, Gallipoli and Flanders.
- UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE. AOTEAROA COMMITTEE. *Records, 1985-1987*. 4m. DONATION.  
Files on peace education, marches, conferences, publications.
- WELLINGTON DAIRY EMPLOYEES' INDUSTRIAL UNION OF WORKERS. *Records, 1924-1977*. 30cm. DONATION: Mr C. Sargeant, Wellington.  
Includes correspondence, notices, accounts and awards.
- WELLINGTON PHOTOGRAPHIC SOCIETY INC. *Records, ca. 1895-1930*. 30cm. DONATION.  
The Society was founded in 1892. Includes minutes, 1895-1930.
- WILLIAMS, GRIFFITH WILLIAM A., 1885-1963. *South Taranaki Pioneering, ca. 1960*. 10 leaves. PURCHASE.  
Account of bushfelling and farming.

# Notes on Accessions to the Drawings & Prints Collection

A SELECTIVE LIST OF ACQUISITIONS,  
JUNE 1986 TO DECEMBER 1987

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 1987. Only original works and significant engravings and prints are included: photomechanical reproductions recently published are excluded.

ARTIST UNKNOWN. [*Bertha Burnett. 1829*]

Oil 26.5 x 21.4cm. (sight)

Painted in Edinburgh in 1829. Subject came to N.Z. with husband Samuel Burnett. Settled at Taita where S. Burnett had a sawmill and supplied timber for the first Wellington wharf. BEQUEST: Miss L. Knight, Masterton.

——— *Browning Pass from the valley of the Wilberforce. [1866?]*

Pencil & Chinese white 17.8 x 24.3cm. Related to lithograph by Ward & Reeves after Haast. PURCHASE.

——— *Erino. Massacre Bay. [184-?]*

Ink and watercolour 13.8 x 12.9cm. Rino was principal chief of Ngati Awa of Golden Bay. PURCHASE.

——— *E Piko. [184-?]*

Watercolour 17.8 x 14.8cm. E Piko was a chief from Motueka. PURCHASE.

——— *White negroes. [18--?]*

[London]: Thos. Kelly, Paternoster Row, [n.d.]

Engraving (hand-col.) 27.5 x 21.5cm. Plate 27 from unknown publication. PURCHASE.

BACKHOUSE, JOHN PHILEMON, 1845-1908. *Lake Taupo; Mount Egmont; Rotorua; The Pink Terraces; The old bridge and toll-house, Whakarewarewa, Rotorua; Ohinemutu, Rotorua. [1886]* 6 paintings in 3 mounts oil on board 7.6 x 12.7cm each (sight). PURCHASE.

BALGH, VISTUS, 1799-1884. *Ko-towa-towa, a New Zealand chief. Drawn by A. T. Agate, V. Balch sc. [Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1845].*

Engraving 13.3 x 11.0cm. Plate from C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition. During the years 1838 . . . 1842.* v.2, p. 396. PURCHASE.

BARNS-GRAHAM, ALLAN BARCLAY, b.1906. *Oliver Duff. [194-?].*

Black & white chalk on brown paper 37.2 x 27.4cm. PURCHASE.

——— *T. A. McCormack. [194-?]*

Black & white chalk on grey paper 37.5 x 27.1cm. PURCHASE.

BAXTER, GEORGE, 1804-1867. *The Revd J. Williams' first interview with the natives of Erromanga . . . Printed in oil colours by G. Baxter (patentee) . . . London: J. Snow, [1840]* Col. Baxter print 10.8 x 7.3cm. Removed from John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands . . . London, 1840.* PURCHASE.

BOOTHAM, JOSEPH, 1911-1986. *Peter McLeavey 1962.*

Pastel 52.0 x 37.2cm (sight). PURCHASE.

BROWN, NIGEL, b.1949. *Clairmont: Naked in memory Clairmont. 84.*  
Colour monoprint with acrylic 59.6 x 45.2cm. PURCHASE.

[CHEVALIER, NICHOLAS], 1828-1902. Attributed works. *Pigeon Point, Banks Peninsular [sic], New Zealand. [1866?]*

Proof etching 8.1 x 13.8cm. From a pencil drawing now in the National Art Gallery entitled 'Pigeon Bay'. PURCHASE.

CLARK, RUSSELL STUART, 1905-1966. *Russell Clark August 1959.*  
Ink 27.0 x 23.0cm. PURCHASE.

[CLARKE, CUTHBERT CHARLES], 1819-1863. *Coromandel Harbor [sic] N.Z. [1949?]*  
Pencil & sepia wash 15.8 x 24.2cm. PURCHASE.

——— *Pahia [sic] Beach, Bay of Islands. [1849]*

Watercolour over pencil 16.3 x 22.9cm. PURCHASE.

——— *Opita on the Thames, N.Z. [1849]*

Ink & sepia watercolour 21.1 x 26.8cm. PURCHASE.



[Cuthbert Clark] Pahia [sic] Beach, Bay of Islands [1849] *Drawings & Prints Coll. A143/13*

EARLE, AUGUSTUS, 1793-1838. [*Against truth, n.d.*]  
Watercolour, pen & ink 17.8 x 25.4cm. PURCHASE.

FENNER SEARS & CO. *Wesley Dale, New Zealand, drawn by John Dennis from a sketch by D. Tyerman. [London]: Fenner Sears & Co., [1831]*

Engraving (hand-col.) 9.8 x 14.1cm.

Original watercolour held by ATL. PURCHASE.

FORBES CO. *Apteryx australis. Boston: Forbes Co., [18--?]*

Tinted lithograph 50.9 x 40.5cm. PURCHASE.

GRIMSDALE, MURRAY, b.1943. *Douglas Lilburn [19]85.*

Pencil, pastel & acrylic 40.2 x 30.4cm. PURCHASE.

GUIAUD, J. *Aiguade aux Iles Auckland* . . . *Desine par L. Le Breton lithe par J. Guiaud, lith. de Thierry freres, Paris. Paris: Gide Editeur, [1846]* Plate from: Dumont d'Urville, J.S.C. *Voyage au Pole sud. Atlas pittoresque*. Plate 176.

Lithograph (hand-col.) 20.2 x 37.2cm. PURCHASE.

[HARRISON, CHARLES] [*Gold mining scenes 186-?*]

Black's Rush; Camp, Round Gully Tent, Saxons Rush; Dunedin Harbour; Greigs Station, Upper Taieri Plains; Hogburn; Junction township, Dunstan; The Manuhere-kia; Mollineaux [sic] River below the junction; Mollineuas [sic] River, Coal Point; Port Chalmers; Road to the Dunstan, Deep Creek; Rush to the Hogburn; The Woolshed; Upper township, Dunstan.

Pencil, or pencil and grey wash on card variable sizes to 19.0 x 22.0cm. PURCHASE.

HAWKINS, WILLIAM WEBSTER, b.1842. *Illustrations of N.Z., 1866-67*.

29 ink drawings in sketchbook 22.0 x 27.5cm, blue buckram. PURCHASE.

HEAPHY, CHARLES, 1820-1881. *C. L. Churton: Mrs Heaphy, 1851*.

Pencil and watercolour on card 25.1 x 19.9cm. (oval).

Inscribed on verso 'This was taken about 6 months before they were [married] . . .'

DONATION: Miss H. Nicholls, Waipukurau.

HOLMES, WILLIAM HOWARD, 1825-1885. [*Willis St, Wellington*] 1863.

Pencil, watercolour, Chinese white 24.1 x 34.1cm. PURCHASE.

[HUTTON, THOMAS BIDDULPH] 1824-1886. *Sketch of Henry Williams house & premises from behind Horotutu Bay of Islands N. Zealand. 1859*.

Watercolour 8.8 x 2.6cm. DONATION: Mr M. T. Hutton, Masterton.

MCINTYRE, MARY CECILIA, b.1933. *Machine Dreams: From Scratch Aug 85. 1985*.

Pencil & col. pencil on paper 56.5 x 76.0cm. Music group showing Charlotte Wrightson, Phil Dadson and Richard Von Sturmer, & self-portrait of artist. PURCHASE.

——— [*Portrait of Terry Stringer*]. 1986.

Oil on hardboard 28.6 x 19.8cm. PURCHASE.

——— *Portrait of Tony Fomison. [1986?]*.

Lithograph, artist's proof 38.4 x 53.7cm. PURCHASE.

——— "*See no evil*": a portrait of Patrick Hanly with thanks to Tony Fomison. [1986?]

Oil on board 29.0 x 49.5cm. Unfinished portrait of Sir Robert Muldoon on verso. PURCHASE.

MACLURE, MACDONALD & MACGREGOR (Firm). *Lyttelton, Port of Victoria drawn by E. Norman; Maclure, Macdonald & Macgregor lith., London. Lyttelton: published by Martin Heywood, [1859?]*

Tinted lithograph 24.9 x 39.1cm. PURCHASE.

——— *Town of Lyttelton. Drawn by E. Norman. Maclure, Macdonald & Macgregor lith., London. Lyttelton: published by Martin Heywood, [1859?]*

Tinted lithograph 24.8 x 38.8cm. PURCHASE.

[MERRETT, JOSEPH JENNER] 1816?-1854. *Tomita: Waka: Nene, New Zealand chief. [n.d.]*

Watercolour 29.5 x 25.8cm. PURCHASE.

[PRESTON, JAMES] 1834-1898. *Otahu homestead, 1861*.

Pencil, watercolour, Chinese white 24.5 x 34.8cm. PURCHASE.

REES, WILLIAM GILBERT, 1827-1898. *Original sketches. 1852-1884*.

52 pencil or watercolour drawings in album 31.0 x 25.5cm. 1/2 green calf. DONATION: Mrs G. Rees, Lower Hutt.

ROBLEY, HORATIO GORDON, 1840-1930. *A Tangi at Matapihi*. 1894.  
Watercolour & ink 19.7 x 29.4cm. PURCHASE.

STRUTTON, EDITH E., b.1867? *Pandila Rambal*. 1904.  
Oil on board 21.8 x 15.3cm. Portrait of an Indian woman. DONATION: St John's  
Presbyterian Church, Wellington.

SUTHERLAND, SCOTT, 1910-1984. *Ron Stenberg* [196-?]  
Patinated bronze 30.5 x 19.5 x 22.3cm. DONATION: Ron Stenberg, Fife, Scotland.

TOOGOOD, SEYMOUR H. *Head Quarter camp, Waitotara River: looking towards the mouth &  
1 mile from it, river fordable*. [1865]  
Pencil & watercolour 11.9 x 21.9cm. PURCHASE.

WARD & REEVES (Firm). [*Illustrations for*] *Report . . . upon the practicability of constructing  
a bridle road through the gorge of the Otira . . . [Christchurch]: Ward & Reeves, [1865]*  
27 tinted lithographs variable sizes to 28.0 x 19.0cm. PURCHASE.



William Holmes [Willis St, Wellington] 1863 *Drawings & Prints Coll.* B121/15



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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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