

93403Q



NEW ZEALAND QUALIFICATIONS AUTHORITY  
MANA TOHU MĀTAURANGA O AOTEAROA

## Scholarship 2007 History

2.00 pm Thursday 29 November 2007

Time allowed: Three hours

Total marks: 48

### QUESTION BOOKLET

There are two topics. Choose ONE topic and answer the question concerning that topic, using the documents and resources provided in this booklet.

**EITHER:** Topic One: England 1558–1667 (pages 2–17)

**OR:** Topic Two: New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century (pages 18–31)

Write your answer in Answer Booklet 93403A.

Check that this booklet has pages 2–31 in the correct order and that none of these pages is blank.

**YOU MAY KEEP THIS BOOKLET AT THE END OF THE EXAMINATION.**

#### Your performance will be evaluated using the following historical skills:

- |                |                                                                                                                    |
|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Skill 1</b> | Effectively communicate sophisticated, substantiated argument.                                                     |
| <b>Skill 2</b> | Develop informed and perceptive judgements about the nature of historical evidence and/or historical research.     |
| <b>Skill 3</b> | Critically evaluate historical narratives.                                                                         |
| <b>Skill 4</b> | Demonstrate a thorough and perceptive understanding of historical relationships in selected contexts and settings. |
| <b>Skill 5</b> | Synthesise, with perception and insight, ideas relevant to the historical context(s) and setting(s).               |
| <b>Skill 6</b> | Demonstrate an understanding of the critical underpinnings and scope of an historical question/context.            |

**Each skill will be assigned a mark out of 8.**

You have three hours to answer your chosen topic from this booklet.

## ***EITHER:* TOPIC ONE: ENGLAND 1558–1667**

### **INSTRUCTIONS**

Your task is to prepare an article for a history journal in which you analyse and evaluate the extent to which England experienced a revolution during the period 1603–1660. Your article will arise from study of the following sources and from your own knowledge.

### **KEY IDEA**

*Compromise, Change, Conflict* and *Crisis* are words that have been used to describe the period 1603–1660. The extent to which England experienced a revolution during this period will depend upon how the word revolution is defined. If there was rapid, fundamental change to the lives of ordinary people during this period, then perhaps that would have constituted revolution. On the other hand, can it still be called a revolution if society remained essentially the same at the end of the period?

You are to use both **your own knowledge** and **evidence from at least SEVEN of the sources** provided on pages 3–17. (**Note:** each letter represents ONE source.)

In your article you should:

- respond to the view expressed in the key idea above, and communicate your own substantiated argument concerning the extent to which England experienced a revolution during the period 1603–1660
- integrate relevant ideas about this historical issue from the evidence in the sources and your own knowledge to develop your argument
- demonstrate an understanding of historical relationships relevant to this historical issue, such as cause and effect, past and present, specific and general, continuity and change, and pattern and trends
- make judgements about the nature of historical evidence concerning this historical issue
- evaluate historians' interpretations and the views of contemporaries that relate to this historical issue
- demonstrate an understanding of this historical issue through breadth, depth, and balanced coverage.

Your article should be written in a formal and fluent style. It should have an introduction that outlines your argument, sequentially presented paragraphs, and a reasoned conclusion. You **do not** need to provide footnotes, endnotes, or a bibliography.

## RESOURCES

### TOPIC ONE: ENGLAND 1558–1667

#### SOURCE A

##### The English Revolution

A great revolution in human thought dates from these decades – the general realisation, which the Levellers, Hobbes, and Harrington summed up, that solutions to political problems might be reached by discussion and argument; that questions of utility and expediency were more important than theology or history, that neither antiquarian research nor searching the Scriptures was the best way to bring peace, order, and prosperity to the commonwealth. It was so great an intellectual revolution that it is difficult for us to conceive how men thought before it was made.

So although the Puritan revolution was defeated, the revolution in thought could not be unmade, nor the revolution in science led by the men who were to form the Royal Society after the Restoration, nor the revolution in prose which the same Royal Society was to consecrate. Even the ideas of men who would not compromise in 1660, of Milton and the Levellers, these ideas were driven underground but could not be killed. 'Give me the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience,' Milton had said. 'Truth is strong next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings to make her victorious; those are the shifts and the defences that error uses against her power. Give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps. ... if it come to prohibiting, there is not aught more likely to be prohibited than truth itself; whose first appearance to our eyes, bleared and dimmed with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unpalatable than many errors.' Such words could not be forgotten.

Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution: 1603–1714* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1961), p 190.

**SOURCE B****The economic decline of the aristocracy**

Observers became conscious, in the later years of Elizabeth, of an alteration in the balance of social forces, and a stream of comment began which continued to swell, until, towards the close of the next century, a new equilibrium was seen to have been reached. Its theme was the changing composition of the upper strata of the social pyramid. It was, in particular the increase in the wealth and influence of certain intermediate groups, compared with the nobility, the Crown, and the mass of small land-holders. Of those groups the most important, 'situated', as one of its most brilliant members wrote, 'neither in the lower grounds nor in the highest mountains, but in the valleys between both', were the squirearchy and its connections.

In spite, nevertheless, of ambiguities, the group concerned was not difficult to identify. Its members varied widely in wealth; but though ragged at its edges, it had a solid core. That core consisted of the landed proprietors, above the yeomanry, and below the peerage, together with a growing body of well-to-do farmers, sometimes tenants of their relatives, who had succeeded the humble peasants of the past as lessees of demesne farms; professional men, also rapidly increasing in number, such as the more eminent lawyers, divines, and an occasional medical practitioner, and the wealthier merchants, who, if not, as many were, themselves sons of landed families, had received a similar education, moved in the same circles, and in England, unlike France, were commonly recognised to be socially indistinguishable from them. It was this upper layer of commoners, heterogeneous, but compact, whose rapid rise in wealth and power most impressed contemporaries.

The facts were plain enough. The ruin of famous families by personal extravagance and political ineptitude; the decline in the position of the yeomanry towards the turn of the century, when long leases fell in; the loss, not only of revenue, but also of authority, by the monarchy, as Crown lands melted; the mounting fortunes of the residuary legatee, a gentry whose aggregate income was put even in 1600 at some three times that of peers, bishops, deans and chapters, and richer yeomen together, and who steadily gathered into their hands estates slipping from the grasp of peasant, nobility, Church and Crown alike, such movements and their consequences were visible to all.

Such a [noble] family, inheriting great estates, often inherited trouble. Its standards of expenditure were those of one age, its income that of another ... The overheads of a noble landowner, a great establishment, and often more than one; troops of servants and retainers; stables fit for a regiment of cavalry; endless hospitality to neighbours and national notabilities; visits to court, at once ruinous and unavoidable, had always been enormous. Now, on the top of these traditional liabilities, came the demands of a new world of luxury and fashion. The wealth of some of the nobility, and especially of the older families, was not infrequently more spectacular than substantial. It was locked up in frozen assets. Side by side with more lucrative possessions, their properties included majestic, but unremunerative franchises, hundreds, boroughs, fairs and markets; a multitude of Knights' fees, all honour and no profit; freeholds created in an age when falling, not rising, prices had been the great landowners' problem, and fixed rents were an insurance; and hundreds of prickly copyholds

whose occupants pocketed an unearned increment while the real income of their landlord fell.

But to say that many noble families, though not they alone encountered, in the two generations before the Civil War, a financial crisis is probably not an overstatement. The fate of the conservative aristocrat was, in fact, an unhappy one. Reduced to living 'like a rich beggar, in perpetual want', he sees his influence, popularity and property all melt together. For, if the new world had its victims, it also had its conquerors. The conditions which depressed some incomes inflated others; and, while one group of landowners bumped heavily along the bottom, another, which was quicker to catch the tide when it turned, was floated to fortune.

R. H. Tawney, 'The Rise of the Gentry, 1558–1640', *Economic History Review*, xi (1941), pp 2, 4–5, 8–10, 12–13, 16–17.

## SOURCE C

**Rise of the office-holders — decline of the mere gentry**

I believe that Professor Tawney's interpretation is evidentially weak. The distinction between 'aristocracy' and 'gentry' is so entirely arbitrary that no useful conclusions can be based upon it. While his aristocracy consists of a diminishing group of those families who happened to be noble at the beginning and still noble at the end of the period, his gentry consists both of the gentry who remained gentry throughout the period, and of those men who began as gentry and ended as peers, and of those who began as merchants, yeomen or anything else, and ended as gentry. No wonder the gentry, thus calculated, appear to 'rise' at the expense of the peerage. Is the evidence of economic difficulty ... inseparable from the nobility, and is the evidence of economic advance inseparable from the gentry? In my opinion the answer is clearly, no. Peers and gentry had, on their different levels, the same problems, the same ambitions, the same conventions, the same tastes. Both were landlords; both had large families; both accepted the rule of primogeniture and the custom of entail; both had to find portions for daughters and younger sons. They built, according to their capacity, similar houses; they were buried in similar tombs. The history of the Elizabethan and Jacobean gentry is strewn with their casualties, although Professor Tawney's searchlight, seeking to illuminate only prosperity among the gentry and aristocratic decline, has seldom lit upon them. If it has, he dismisses them as 'exceptions'. ... I thus conclude that Professor Tawney's theory of the rise of the gentry at the expense of a declining peerage is a mistaken formulation.

But there nevertheless is a phenomenon, which may still be called 'the rise of the gentry', and this phenomenon ... still needs to be explained. The rising class may not have been 'the gentry' as distinct from 'the peerage'; but certain families within the landlord class, whether peers or gentry, undoubtedly did prosper and acquired, through their political machine, the Houses of Parliament, a political power at the expense of the Crown. The question is, who were these families, and to what did they owe their prosperity? Almost without exception they were office-holders; Cecils and Howards, Herberts and Villiers and their numerous kindred.

Thus, in an analysis of the 'new' peerage, I find no adequate support for Professor Tawney's theory. Rather I conclude that whereas many families indubitably increased the yield of their lands, the great new fortunes were almost invariably made either by offices or in trade. ... Land alone, without the help of offices or trade, even if it were improved, was hardly capable of causing the significant rise of any but a most exceptional family. For against the increased rents shown on estate accounts in this period must be placed the decline in the value of money.

I have already suggested that office rather than land was the basis of many undoubtedly 'rising' families. I would now go further. Instead of the distinction between 'old' and 'new' landlords, between peers and gentry, I would suggest as the significant distinction between 'court' and 'country', between office-holders and the mere landlords. And by the words 'court' and 'office' I do not mean only the immediate members of the royal circle or the holders of political office: I use the words in the widest sense to cover all offices of profit

under the crown – offices in the household, the administration and, above all – for it was most lucrative of all – the law; local office as well as central office, county lawyers as well as London lawyers, deputy-sheriffs as well as ministers, an auditor or vice-admiral.

The Great Rebellion is the central event of the seventeenth century in England, and any interpretation of English society which leaves unexplained that great convulsion is obviously unsatisfying. Now Professor Tawney's thesis, in my opinion, leaves it unexplained, or rather, his explanation explains only his own thesis, not the facts. For what is his explanation?

According to him, the Great Rebellion was the logical, though violent, culmination of the process which he imagines, a form of emphatic foreclosure by the creditor class of rising 'entrepreneur' gentry, City merchants and lawyers, upon the mortgaged estates of a half-bankrupt peerage, Church and Crown: 'It was discovered, not for the last time, that as a method of foreclosure, war was cheaper than litigation.' But this explanation, while consistent with his theory, seems to me quite inadequate when we come to examine more closely the actual course of the rebellion. For apart from the fact that the English peerage, on the eve of the Rebellion, was at least as rich as at any time in the preceding century, this explanation entirely leaves out of account the men who, more than any other, made the Great Rebellion — the men whose radicalism converted it from a series of political manoeuvres into civil war and social revolution: the Independents.

H. R. Trevor-Roper, 'The Gentry: 1540–1640', *Economic History Review*, Supplement 1 (1953), pp 1, 4–13, 26, 30–35, 41–42.

## SOURCE D

## A century of revolution

Over sixty of the M.P.s who sat after Pride's Purge were gentlemen whom it would be difficult to call either lesser or declining. At least nine were lawyers, and as many had been courtiers or royal officials; many more came of lawyers' or courtiers' families. A number of those Independents who were 'mere' gentlemen entered the House as 'recruiters' in 1645, and so cannot be used as evidence for the origins of the civil war. Wales and the western counties, which one would have expected to contain a large proportion of 'mere' gentry, had a considerably *smaller* proportion of M.P.s in the Rump than did the rest of the country. When we look at the leaders of the Independents, we encounter men of considerable wealth – Vane, Hesilrige, Mildmay, Pennington, Whitelocke. Henry Marten at first sight would seem to fit Professor Trevor-Roper's conception of a declining gentleman who was an Independent – for all that most of us know of Marten is that he was a republican and heavily in debt. Closer investigation, however, reveals that he was the exact opposite of Professor Trevor-Roper's declining gentleman who used the civil war to recoup his fortunes; he was rich enough to be a county M.P. in 1640, and incurred his debts by voluntary expenditure on Parliament's behalf during the civil war. Professor Trevor-Roper frequently mentions Oliver Cromwell as an Independent who was also a declining gentleman – and he is a more plausible example than most. But Cromwell would do equally well if one wished to prove that the civil war was fought exclusively over religious issues. The really declining branch of the Cromwell family was that of the extravagant Sir Oliver de Hinchinbrooke – the *Royalist* branch.

Even if we could accept the equation of Independents with declining gentlemen, it would not help us to explain the civil war. For when the war began, the men in control at Westminster were not those whom we call Independents, and certainly not declining gentlemen; they were great peers like Warwick, Essex, Manchester, Hampden; the richest commoner in England, Pym, government employee and treasurer of a City company; Holles, son of a gentleman rich enough to buy an earldom. When the Five Members escaped from the King's attempt to arrest them in January 1642, they did not flee to the backwoods; they retired to the City of London, where they were warmly welcomed. The civil war might not have been won without the Independents, but they did not start it ...

Christopher Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1968), pp 17–21.



## SOURCE E

**Social and economic structure**

Perhaps the most serious result was to over-simplify the processes of economic and social change. Elizabeth and the early Stuarts did not rule over a declining peerage, a desperate mere gentry, or a rising gentry and yeomanry. Social mobility was a personal not a class experience. Each person responded to the current economic threats and opportunities of inflation in an individual way. As a general rule, producers benefited from rising prices, while landlords (on fixed rents), wage-earners (whose income lagged behind rising prices), and consumers (especially the Crown) lost. Nevertheless, the fate of each peer, gentleman and merchant depended on a combination of circumstances peculiar only to him: the nature of his property (whether it was fertile and consolidated, or infertile and scattered), chance (bad harvests), inadequate fertility (no heirs), excessive fertility (an embarrassing number of children to provide for), estates encumbered with debts, thrift or extravagance – and so on. This is not an attempt to atomise history, to suggest that we can only study individual, not collective, experience; personal fortunes but not general trends. Indeed, there were such trends: in particular, inflation and accelerated mobility. However, they have nothing to do with the rise and fall of classes. The Marxist concern with class tensions and conflicts must be jettisoned, and attention switched to more meaningful and relevant economic developments: the hyperactive land market (stimulated by the sale of Crown and Church property), population growth (which increased the demand for goods), the European political situation (which often closed markets to English goods) and commercial farming practices (such as enclosures, rack-renting and evictions, all of which were responses to inflation and current market conditions).

We are faced with two extremes of interpretation: one is individualistic; the other is concerned with classes. As so often occurs, the most realistic approach lies somewhere in between. Consider, for example, one small manageable sample, the peerage. Every noble's experience differed from that of his fellows. And yet, through all of the confusion of this diversity we can detect three broadly based movements. The wasters and spendthrifts declined: among them the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, spending his way through one of the richest inheritances in England. Henry, Lord Berkeley was almost as spectacular. As his steward lamented, he overran his purse by 'cards, dice, tennis, bowling alley, and hawking and hunting'. In his lifetime he sold lands worth £41 000 and made but one purchase – Canonbury manor for £5. 11s. 8d. Yet was he a declining peer? As a result of the industry of his steward, John Smyth, his remaining estates were still supporting him in the style to which he was accustomed, even at the very end of his life. On the other hand, Lord Vaux, who unlike Berkeley was not addicted to the good life, was in serious financial difficulties. In 1593 he could not even attend the opening of Parliament, because he could not afford to get his parliament robes out of pawn. However he was a recusant, crippled with the financial burdens of a devout Catholic.

**SOURCE F****James I and the gunpowder plot**

In this plot, which did so lately fall out, and which was a destruction prepared not for me alone, but for you all that are here present, and wherein no rank, age, nor sex should have been spared; this was not a crying sin of blood ... it may well be called a roaring, nay a thundering sin of fire and brimstone, from the which God has so miraculously delivered us all ...

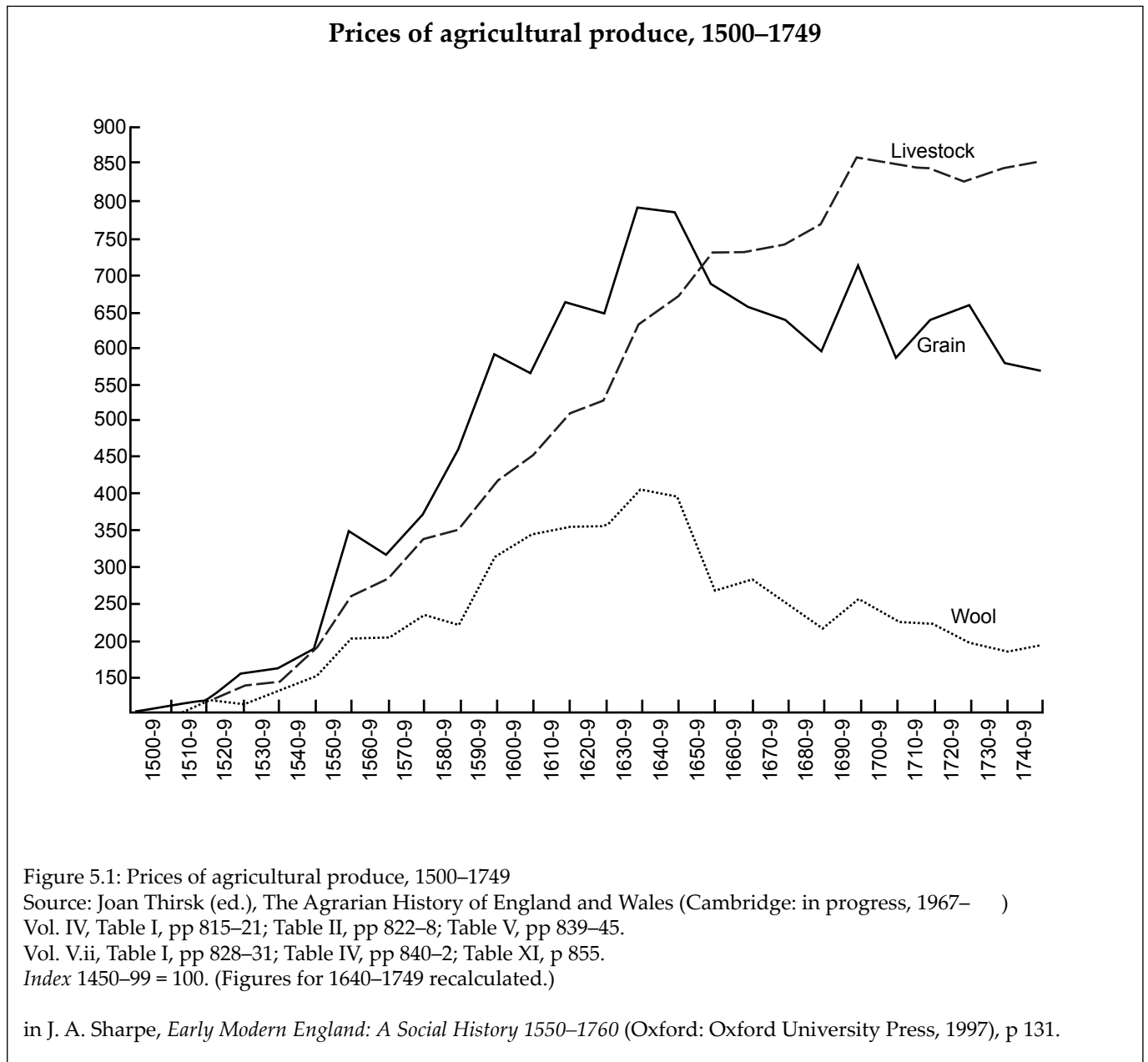
... The horrible and fearful cruelty of their device, which was not only for the destruction of my person ... but of the whole body of the State in general; wherein should neither have been spared, or distinction made of young or of old, of great nor of small, of man nor of woman; the whole nobility, the whole reverend clergy, bishops and most part of the good preachers, the most part of knights and gentry ... The whole judges of the land, with the most of the lawyers and the whole clerks: And as the wretch himself that is in the Tower does confess, it was purposely devised by them, and concluded to be done in this House; that where the cruel laws (as they say) were made against their religion, both place and persons should all be destroyed and blown up at once.

As it may very well be possible that the zeal of your hearts shall make some of you in your speeches rashly to blame such as may be innocent of this attempt; but upon the other part I wish you to consider, That I would sorry that any being innocent of this practice, either domestic or foreign, should receive blame or harm for the same. For although it cannot be denied, That it was the only blind superstition of their errors in religion, that led them to this desperate devise; yet does it not follow, that all professing that Romish religion were guilty of the same ...

*From James I's speech in Parliament, 1605.*

Extracts on the Gunpowder Plot and the nature of Parliament, [www.royal.gov.uk](http://www.royal.gov.uk)

## SOURCE G



## SOURCE H

**Agriculture and social change**

In England pasture farmers enjoyed an assured and relatively stable market for their produce, and solved the problem created by the dwindling size of their holdings by undertaking more industrial employment. These developments caused some writers to press the novel argument that pasture farming supported a larger population than corn. Reckoning in the work created by crops like wool, hemp, and flax, it was plausible. A Gloucestershire agriculturist who had promoted hemp and flax growing argued the case from his own practical experience. He calculated that forty acres of flax would employ more than 800 people for a year, and even allowing a wage bill of 8d. a day for 300 men, 6d. a day for 300 women, and 3d. a day for 200 young people, it would still yield more profit to the sower than 160 acres of corn or grass. Sir Richard Weston claimed that one acre of flax was worth four to five acres of corn ... Dairy farms occupying 100 acres of land employed many more hands than 100 acres of the best corn land; even sheep keeping, while it depopulated the countryside, nevertheless kept a great many people in working the wool into cloth. One of the questions that follow from analysis of social and economic trends in the seventeenth-century countryside is how and why the dual economies in pastoral regions stimulated technical innovation in industry. It is plainly anomalous to expect agricultural innovations of an expensive kind from these regions. The pressure upon industry seems to derive from the very success of the dual economy. As the market for industrial goods expanded, it met labour shortages which peasant-workers could not, or would not, satisfy, and which are reflected in the rapid rise in textile wages. For peasant-workers to turn wholly to industry meant surrendering their hold on the land and surrendering, moreover, a life of varied labour as well as independence. The advantage to the national economy of factory-based industries may seem clear enough if we take a sternly economic view excluding other considerations, but it was purchased at the price of a traditional, and in many respects congenial, life, centered upon a smallholding of land, with its industrial annexe. Throughout the seventeenth century, at least, the economics of smallholdings in pastoral regions were not such as to drive the peasant-worker from the land.

Phyllis Deane has recently described in general terms the causes of the industrial and agricultural revolution. She concluded with certain misgivings about generalisations on a national scale. The national economy is not always the most convenient unit of economic analysis. The effect of regional variations in economic conditions is that statistics relating to a particular area may give no indication of the comparable movements for the nation as a whole, and that the national aggregates may obscure the trends for regions in which the significant changes are taking place. An attempt to assess the quality and rate of economic change at the national level may not lead to meaningful results whether we are looking for the significant continuities or for the significant discontinuities of history.

Joan Thirsk, 'Seventeenth Century Agricultural and Social Change', in Paul S. Seaver, *Seventeenth Century England, Society in an Age of Revolution* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1976).

## SOURCE I

## Trial of Charles I

## Extract from a report of the trial of Charles I, January 1649

*Transcript*

Then the Clerk reads.

**Clerk:** Charles Stuart King of England, you are accused, on the behalf of the people of England, of divers high crimes and treasons, which charge hath been read unto you. The Court now requires you to give your final and positive answer by way of confession or denial of the charge.

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**King:** Sir, I say again, that so I might give satisfaction to the people of England of the clearness of my proceedings, not by way of answer, not in this way but to satisfy them that I have done nothing against the trust that hath been committed to me, I will do it; but to acknowledge a new Court against their privileges to alter all the fundamental laws of the Kingdom in their behalf, Sir, you must excuse me.

**Lord President Bradshaw:** This is the third time that you have publicly disowned this Court and put an affront upon it. How far you have preserved the fundamental laws and the freedom of the subject your actions have spoken it, for truly, Sir, men's intentions are used to be shown by their actions; you have written your meaning in bloody characters throughout the whole kingdom. But, Sir, the Court understands your meaning. Clerk record the default, and gentlemen you that brought the prisoner, take him back again.

**King:** I have one word to you; if it were only my particular indeed I would not.

**Lord President:**

Sir you have heard the pleasure of the Court, and you are, though you will not understand it, to find that you are before a court of justice.

**King:** Well, Sir, I find I am before a power and went away. These words he spake with a low voice as he was going away.

## SOURCE J

## The Royall Oake of Brittainye

Let us kill him  
and steal his  
inheritance  
– Math. 28.38

A terrible person thrown in to  
the mouth of the monster

late but in  
earnest

What advantage  
honesty?

Kill and take  
possession  
– 1. Kings. 19

A slippery  
place

Eikon  
Basilike

Biblia  
sacre

Magna  
Charta

Statutes

Reportes

Oak falls when  
the woodcutters  
gather

An untrustworthy crowd pulls  
(the tree) down with great  
violence

Fatted for  
slaughter

To injure the  
lifeblood causes  
greatest danger

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Artist Unknown c. 1651

Dale Scarborough, *England 1625–1660: Charles I, the Civil War, and Cromwell* (London: Hodder Education, 2005), p 271.

## SOURCE K

## The Second Part of St. George for England



Now the *Rump* is confounded, there's an end to the *Round-head*,  
 Who hath been such a bane to our Nation;  
 He hath now plai'd his part, and 's gone out like a fart,  
 Together with his '*Reformation*'.  
 For by his good favour, he hath left an ill savour,  
 But's no matter, we'll trust him no more;  
*Kings* and *Queens* may appear, once again, in our sphere,  
 Now the *Knaves* are turn'd out of door.

*Scot*, *Nevil* and *Vane*, with the rest of that train, are into '*Oceana*' fled;  
 Sir *Arthur* the brave, that's as arrant a Knave,  
 Has *Harrington's* '*Rota*' in's head.  
 But he's now full of cares, for his foals and his mares,  
 As when he was routed before,  
 But I think he dispairs, by his arms or his prayers,  
 To set up the *Rump* any more.

I should have never have thought that a *Monk* could have wrought  
 Such a *reformation* so soon:  
 That House, which of late was the jakes of the State,  
 Will ere long be a House of Renown.  
 How good wits did jump, in abusing the *Rump*,  
 Whilst the House was press'd by the Rabble;  
 But our *Hercules Monk*, though it grievously stunk,  
 Now hath cleansed that *Augean*-stable.

(Source K continues over the page)

## SOURCE K cont.

And now Mr. *Prynne* with the rest may come in, and take their places again;  
 For the House is made sweet, for those Members to meet,  
 Though part of the *Rump* yet remain;  
 Nor need they to fear though his breeches be there  
 Which were wrong'd both behind and before,  
 For he saith, "'twas a chance," and "forgive him this once!"  
 And swears he will do so no more.

'Tis true, there are some who are still for the Bum  
 Such tares will grow up with the wheat;  
 And there they will hum till a *Parliament* come  
 That can give then a total defeat.  
 But yet, I am told, that the *Rumpers* do hold  
 That the Saints may swin with the tyde;  
 Nor can it be treason, but Scripture and Reason,  
 Still to close with the stronger side.

Those Lawyers o' th' House, as Baron *Wild-goose*,  
 With Treason *Hill*, *Whitlock* and *Say*,  
 Were the bane of Laws, and our 'Good Old Cause,'  
 And 'twere well if such were away.  
 Some more there are to blame, whom I care not to name,  
 That are men of the very same ranks;  
 'Mongst whom there are one, that to-devil *Barebone*,  
 For his ugly Petition gave thanks.

But I hope, by this time, hee'l confess 'twas a crime  
 To abet such a damnable crew,  
 Whose Petition was drawn by *Alcoran Vane*,  
 Or else by *Corbet* the Jew.  
 By it you may know what the *Rump* meant to do,  
 And what a Religion to frame;  
 So 'twas time for St. *George* that *Rump* to disgorge,  
 And to send it from whence it first came.

**Finis for the *Rump's* *Finis*.**

The text of this ballad appears in the Bagford collection (III, 54) and the Thomason Tracts (669, f. 25, vol. xviii, 4). Thomason dates it to March 7, 1660 (1659, O.S.).

[www.lukehistory.com/ballads](http://www.lukehistory.com/ballads)



## SOURCE L

**Arrival of Charles in England, May 2, 1660**

After that to writing till dinner. At which time comes Dunne from London, with letters that tell us the welcome news of the Parliament's votes yesterday, which will be remembered for the happiest May-day that hath been many a year to England. The King's letter was read in the House, wherein he submits himself and all things to them, as to an Act of Oblivion to all,<sup>1</sup> unless they shall please to except any, as to the confirming of the sales of the King's and Church lands, if they see good. The House upon reading the letter, ordered £50,000 to be forthwith provided to send to His Majesty for his present supply; and a committee chosen to return an answer of thanks to His Majesty for his gracious letter; and that the letter be kept among the records of the Parliament; and in all this not so much as one No. So that Luke Robinson himself stood up and made a recantation for what he had done, and promises to be a loyal subject to his Prince for the time to come. The City of London have put a Declaration, wherein they do disclaim their owing any other government but that of a King, Lords, and Commons. Thanks was given by the House to Sir John Greenville, one of the bedchamber to the King, who brought the letter, and they continued bare all the time it was reading. Upon notice made from the Lords to the Commons, of their desire that the Commons would join with them in their vote for King, Lords, and Commons; the Commons did concur and voted that all books whatever that are out against the Government of King, Lords, and Commons, should be brought into the House and burned. Great joy all yesterday at London, and at night more bonfires than ever, and ringing of bells, and drinking of the King's health upon their knees in the streets, which methinks is a little too much. But every body seems to be very joyfull in the business, insomuch that our sea-commanders now begin to say so too, which a week ago they would not do.<sup>2</sup> And our seamen, as many as had money or credit for drink, did do nothing else this evening. ... After musique I went up to the Captain's Cabin with him and Lieutenant Ferrers, who came hither to-day from London to bring this news to my Lord, and after a bottle of wine we all to bed.

<sup>1</sup> "His Majesty added thereunto an excellent Declaration for the safety and repose of those, who tortured in their consciences, for having partaken in the rebellion, might fear the punishment of it, and in that fear might oppose the tranquillity of the Estate, and the calling in of their lawful Prince. It is printed and published as well as the letter, but that shall not hinder me to say, that there was never seen a more perfect assemblage of all the most excellent natural qualities, and of all the venues, as well Royal as Christian, wherewith a great Prince may be endowed, than was found in those two wonderful productions." — Sir William Lowers' *Relation ... of the voiage and Residence Which ... Charles the II. Hath made in Holland*, Hague, 1660, folio 3

<sup>2</sup> "The picture of King Charles II. was often set up in houses, without the least molestation, whereas a while ago, it was almost a hanging matter so to do; but now the Rump Parliament was so hated and jeered at, that the butchers' boys would say, 'Will you buy any Parliament rumps and kidneys?' And it was a very ordinary thing to see little children make a fire in the streets, and burn rumps." Rugge's *Diurnal*. — B.

You have three hours to answer your chosen topic from this booklet.

## **OR: TOPIC TWO: NEW ZEALAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

### **INSTRUCTIONS**

Your task is to prepare an article for a history journal in which you analyse and evaluate the extent to which the Treaty of Waitangi played a pivotal role in the development of New Zealand's sense of nationhood by 1900. Your article will arise from study of the following sources and from your own knowledge.

### **KEY IDEA**

The Treaty has been called the founding document of New Zealand, but how much validity does it have in relation to New Zealand's developing sense of nationhood by 1900? The Treaty was an agreement between two peoples purporting to lay the foundation of a political, legal, and social contract. However, the Treaty lacked a fundamental conceptual framework to accommodate the different understandings and expectations that Pākehā and Māori had of the document. The significance of the Treaty as an instrument in the development of New Zealand's sense of nationhood by 1900 is therefore contestable, particularly when we keep in mind that nationhood is a dynamic, ongoing process, determined by numerous factors other than race relations.

You are to use both **your own knowledge** and **evidence from at least SEVEN of the sources** provided on pages 19–31. (**Note:** each letter represents ONE source.)

In your article you should:

- respond to the view expressed in the key idea above, and communicate your own substantiated argument concerning the extent to which the Treaty of Waitangi played a pivotal role in the development of New Zealand's sense of nationhood by 1900
- integrate relevant ideas about this historical issue from the evidence in the sources and your own knowledge to develop your argument
- demonstrate an understanding of historical relationships relevant to this historical issue, such as cause and effect, past and present, specific and general, continuity and change, and pattern and trends
- make judgements about the nature of historical evidence concerning this historical issue
- evaluate historians' interpretations and the views of contemporaries that relate to this historical issue
- demonstrate an understanding of this historical issue through breadth, depth, and balanced coverage.

Your article should be written in a formal and fluent style. It should have an introduction that outlines your argument, sequentially presented paragraphs, and a reasoned conclusion. You **do not** need to provide footnotes, endnotes, or a bibliography.

## RESOURCES

### TOPIC TWO: NEW ZEALAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

#### SOURCE A

6 February 1840

As soon as Hobson was seated, he announced he was ready to take signatures. Henry Williams read the Treaty again and invited the chiefs to come forward. No one moved. The missionary printer William Colenso queried Hobson as to whether the natives understood what they were being asked to sign. Colenso insisted they ought to understand it in order to make it legal. Hobson exonerated himself, saying it was no fault of his if they did not understand it, they had heard it read by Mr Williams. Busby tried to mollify Colenso by quoting what Hone Heke said the previous day, that 'the native mind could not comprehend these things; they must trust to the advice of the missionaries'. Colenso was equal to this evasion, saying that he put the responsibility on the missionaries to explain the Treaty in all its bearings in case there was a reaction and they would be blamed. The impasse was broken by Busby, who hit upon the idea of calling chiefs by name to come forward. Hone Heke was called first and the signing commenced. Of the forty-three chiefs who signed that day, twenty-three belonged to the Confederation of United Tribes, while the rest came from other tribes. One of the latter was Iwikau, the younger brother of Te Heuheu, the paramount chief of Taupo. He was at Waitemata on a musket-buying expedition when Hobson's emissary arrived with the invitation to attend the meeting at Waitangi. As each chief signed, Hobson shook hands, saying, 'He iwi tahi tātou' (We are one people), thereby laying down the ideology of assimilation that was to dominate colonial policy well into the twentieth century. Each chief who signed the Treaty was given two blankets and some tobacco.

Since the real meaning of the Treaty was concealed by imprecise translation, grave doubts arise as to whether the chiefs signed with their 'free and intelligent consent'. Furthermore, the association of Treaty signing with gratuities raises the question whether the chiefs were prompted as much by cupidity\* as by the promised benefits of British protection. Iwikau, for one, thought he had done well securing two blankets by the simple act of putting his mark on the Treaty. At subsequent signings other chiefs exhibited mercenary motives. One was Te Rauparaha, who signed twice when the Treaty was hawked around the country by the missionaries and Hobson's other emissaries. One chief at Tauranga said, 'Pay us first and we will write afterwards.'

\* *cupidity* excessive desire to acquire or possess more (especially more material wealth) than one needs or deserves.

**SOURCE B****Normanby's instructions, 1839**

I have already stated that we acknowledge New Zealand as a sovereign and independent state so far at least as is possible to make that acknowledgement in favour of a people composed of numerous dispersed and petty tribes, who possess few political relations to each other, and are incompetent to act or even deliberate in concert. But the admission of their rights, though inevitably qualified by this consideration, is binding on the faith of the British Crown.

The Queen, in common with Her Majesty's predecessor, disclaims for herself and Her subjects every pretension to seize on the Islands of New Zealand, or to govern them as a part of the Dominions of Great Britain unless the free intelligent consent of the natives, expressed according to their established usages, shall first be obtained. Believing, however, that their own welfare would, under the circumstances I have mentioned, be best promoted by the surrender to Her Majesty of a right, now so precarious and little more than nominal, and persuaded that the benefits of British protection and laws administered by British judges would far more than compensate for the sacrifice by the natives of a national independence which they are no longer able to maintain, Her Majesty's Government have resolved to authorise you to treat with the aborigines of New Zealand in the recognition of Her Majesty's sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those Islands which they may be willing to place under Her Majesty's dominion.

I am not aware of the difficulties by which such a treaty may be encountered. The motives by which it is recommended are, of course, open to suspicion. The natives may probably regard with distrust a proposal which may carry on the face of it the appearance of humiliation on their side and of a formidable encroachment on ours: and their ignorance even of the technical terms in which that proposal must be conveyed, may enhance their aversion to an arrangement of which they may be unable to comprehend the exact meaning or probable results.

These, however, are impediments to be gradually overcome by the exercise on your part of mildness, justice and perfect sincerity in your intercourse with them. You will, I trust, find powerful auxiliaries amongst the missionaries who have won and deserve their confidence; and amongst the older British residents who have studied their character and acquired their language. It is almost superfluous to say that, in selecting you for the discharge of this duty, I have been guided by firm reliance on your uprightness and plain dealing.

You will therefore frankly and unreservedly explain to the natives or their chiefs the reasons which should urge them to acquiesce in the proposals you will make to them. Especially you will point out to them the dangers to which they may be exposed by the residence amongst them of settlers amenable to no laws or tribunals of their own and the impossibility of Her Majesty extending to them any effectual protection unless the Queen be acknowledged as the Sovereign of their country, or at least of those districts within or adjacent to Her Majesty's subjects' lands or habitations. If it should be necessary to propitiate their consent by presents or other pecuniary arrangements, you will be authorised to advance at once to a certain extent in meeting such demands, and beyond those limits you will reserve and refer them for the decision of Her Majesty's Government.

## SOURCE C

## Assimilation

Clearly, the main reason was that assimilation could be equated with settler interests, notably in relation to the acquisition of Māori land. It was hardly coincidental that legislation to individualise Māori land titles and allow 'free trade', and to confiscate the land of 'rebel' Māori was passed soon after the settlers took responsibility for Native Affairs in the early 1860s. The objective of the Native Land Act, Henry Sewell told parliament, was two-fold; to amalgamate the Māori to the British social and political system, and to bring the bulk of the Māori lands within the reach of colonisation. The legislation, said Frederick Whitaker, was necessary 'to break down the beastly communism of the tribe' which stood as a barrier to the assimilation of the Māori. The 'free trade' policy was continued vigorously for the remainder of the nineteenth century and played a vital part in the opening up of the central North Island for European settlement, including those two last refuges of Māori independence, the King Country and the Urewera. Moreover, the policy could be pursued with a relatively free conscience, since Māori population was still declining and there was little likelihood that they would need the land.

Though the Native Land Acts were clearly the most important weapon in promoting the assimilation policy, other aspects of the application of law were of importance. In particular there was the continuing settler demand that all Māori who plundered, assaulted, or murdered settlers, must be brought to justice – to British justice – and prevented from absconding to Māori districts. This remained a problem even when the wars were over, since Māori accused of such crimes were able to obtain refuge in the King Country (until about 1885) or the Urewera (until 1892, or, in some estimates, 1917). Coupled with the settler drive to impose the British legal and judicial system was a determination not to recognise any independent Māori authorities whether these were village *rūnanga* (committees) or quasi-national political movements like the King Movement or Kotahitanga, the Māori Parliament or Home Rule movement of the late nineteenth century. Māori had been granted representation in the European parliament; this was their proper forum. At Waitangi in 1840, Hobson had announced: 'We are now one people.' Thereafter settlers were to assume, with some satisfaction, that they were fulfilling this pronouncement when they were making of the Māori a British people.

M. P. K. Sorrenson, 'How to Civilise Savages: Some 'Answers' from Nineteenth-Century New Zealand' in *The New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 9(2), Oct 1975, p 107.

**SOURCE D****Treaty signings**

*For copyright reasons, this resource cannot be reproduced here.*

P. Moon and P. Biggs, *The Treaty and its Times: the Illustrated History* (Auckland: Resource Books, 2004), p 218.

## SOURCE E

## Land sales in the late nineteenth century

*For copyright reasons, this resource cannot be reproduced here.*

Ngāti Kahungunu tribe signing over ownership of Lake Wairarapa to the Crown in January 1896. Land court judge W J Butler is in the centre, handing over the cheque. On his right is James Carroll MHR, who was brought up among Ngāti Kahungunu and who had been the mediator. The photograph was taken at Papawai Pa. This Pa was the seat of the Māori parliament in the 1890s. Hamuera Tamahau Mahupuku, chief of the Papawai community was a leader in the Kotahitanga movement, he sits on the ground to the left of the table, wearing a cloak, his hat is in front of him.

Photo taken at Papawai, January 1896.

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz>, reference number: PAColl-7489-85.

## SOURCE F

## Treaty texts and translations

From the British Government's point of view, the chief purpose of the treaty was that the chiefs should cede their sovereignty to the Queen. In all the English versions, the Chiefs of the Confederation and the Separate and Independent Chiefs agreed to 'cede to Her Majesty, the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty' which they possessed. In the Treaty of Waitangi this became: *ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou w[h]enua*. The idea of giving up forever appears to be reasonably clearly conveyed. The point at issue here, as in the preamble, is whether the concept of territorial sovereignty is adequately contained in *te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou whenua*.

At the Kohimarama Conference in 1860, translating Governor Browne's opening speech which included large chunks of 'the English version', Donald McLean translated 'all the rights and powers of sovereignty' as *nga tikanga me nga mana Kawanatanga katoa*. In 1869, when the Legislative Council ordered a 'careful translation' of 'the English version', T. E. Young of the Native Department translated 'all the rights and powers of sovereignty' as *nga tikanga me nga mana katoa o te Rangatiratanga*. Sir Apirana Ngata's twentieth-century explanation of the treaty leaves no doubt that in his view *te mana rangatira*, chiefly authority, had been ceded to the Queen by the Treaty of Waitangi. To all these experts, the Māori concept of *mana* was part of the European concept of sovereignty, but in the Treaty of Waitangi there is no mention at all of *mana*.

Writing in 1860 about the Treaty of Waitangi, Sir William Martin said: 'The rights which the Natives recognised as belonging thenceforward to the Crown were such rights as were necessary for the Government of the Country, and for the establishment of the new system. We called them 'Sovereignty'; the Natives called them 'Kawanatanga', 'Governorship'.

It was not the New Zealanders who called 'this unknown thing' *kawanatanga*, it was the Protestant missionaries. It was a coined word, from *kawana*, itself a transliteration of 'governor'; in office, Pontius Pilate would have been at least as well known to the New Zealander of 1840 as were the governors of the Australian colonies. The word *kawanatanga* had been in occasional use in *mihinare* translations since 1833; in the order for morning service 'that all our doings may be ordered by the governance' — *ki tou kawanatanga*; and in I Corinthians 15:24: 'Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom of God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power' — *Ko reira te mutunga ino oti te rangatiratanga te hoatu e ia ki te Atua te Matua; ina oti te w[h]akangaro te kawanatanga katoa, te mana katoa me te kaha*.

Had Williams applied this scriptural precedent and associated *mana* with *kawanatanga* in the translation of sovereignty, no New Zealander would have been in any doubt about what the chiefs were ceding to the Queen. There was, moreover, already a precedent in a secular political context for including *mana* in the translation of sovereignty. In the Māori text of Busby's declaration of independence, 'all sovereign power and authority within the territories of the United Tribes' was translated as *ko te Kingitanga ko te mana o te w[h]enua*



*o te w[h]akaminenga*. Yet when this same sovereign power and authority was to be ceded to the Queen by, among others, the very chiefs who had supposedly declared themselves possessed of it in 1835, only *te kawangatanga katoa* of their lands was specified. It is difficult not to conclude that the omission of *mana* from the text of the Treaty of Waitangi was no accidental oversight.

R. M. Ross, 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Texts & Translations' in J. Binney (ed.) *The Shaping of New Zealand History*, (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), pp 98–99.

## SOURCE G

## Māori Meeting in Hawkes Bay 1876

PAKOWHAI, 4 May, 1876.

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To Mohi Turei, Rapata Wahawaha, and others; to Henare Potae

Chiefs, tribes: Greetings! This is a notice to you that your people should come to disclose your ideas clearly. The Meeting will be held at Pakowhai on 27 May and will continue at Pakowhai until 29 May. The discussion will begin with the subjects for which you are called.

1. First subject! A Parliament for Maori people to organise their Land should take place.
2. Second. The tribes should unite in this Land, and its organisations.\*
3. Third. The time for Maori members of Parliament has ended. They are not for the future. What should we do?
4. Fourth. The decision of the Land has emerged that land sales should stop. They will not stop. How are we to stop them?
5. Fifth. Notices have come out to the Land that the Court should stop. It will not stop. How are we to stop it?
6. Sixth. Are we surviving or perishing through the operations of Parliament in these years that are passing?
7. Seventh. Will we not agree to petition the Queen to look into the troubles that oppress us?
8. Eighth. What ideas are there about Elections?

These are little subjects for which you are called. It is for you to raise other subjects for your people to bring. That is all the message.

---

(From the Committee of Kahungunu)

From: Henare Tomoana,  
 Henare Matua,  
 Noa Te Hianga,  
 Renata Kawepo,  
 Paora Kaiwhata,  
 Karaitiana Takamoana.

\* He meant that the tribes and their committees should unite – in what would now be called a national movement. KS

**SOURCE H****The Prendergast decision**

Whether Māori would have appreciated the doctrine of aboriginal title, had it been explained to them at that time, is uncertain. It was an imported doctrine based on constitutional concepts which would have been quite foreign to Māori: that the Crown (according to ancient feudal theory) was technically the ultimate owner of all land in its territory, but that such ownership was subject to indigenous title. As it turned out, however, the doctrine of aboriginal title, even on its own terms, did not stand Māori in good stead in the courts. Judges are not always bound by precedent, and important judgments can chart new interpretations of the law. In 1877 the Chief Justice, Prendergast, ruled that the courts had no jurisdiction to entertain any claims based on a supposed aboriginal title. In his landmark judgment in *Wi Parata v. The Bishop of Wellington* (1877), influenced by a narrow group of contemporary English writers on international law who argued that tribal societies had no legal status whatsoever, Prendergast denied that native title had any basis in common law. The Treaty of Waitangi had no validity as an instrument of cession since Māori, as a tribal society, had no legal status, and no customary rights which the courts could enforce; therefore the Treaty could not transform the Māori right of occupation into a legal right. Secondly, he argued that Māori held rights to their lands, once the Crown declared sovereignty, only on sufferance. Ignoring the fact that Māori had long been considered British subjects, and that the Crown could not therefore make 'acts of state' against them, Prendergast argued that land transactions conducted by the Crown with Māori were 'acts of state', which could not therefore be examined by the Courts.

Anne Parsonson 'The Challenge to Mana Māori' in Geoffrey W. Rice (ed.) *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992), p 193.

## SOURCE I

**1883 Petition from certain Māori Chiefs to Queen Victoria**

In the year 1851, a new plan was devised by the Government to enkindle strife in respect to the Maoris. Armies were sent to Parihaka to capture innocent men that they might be lodged in prison; to seize their property and their money, to destroy their growing crops, to break down their houses, and commit other deeds of injustice. We pored over the Treaty of Waitangi to find the grounds on which these evil proceedings of the Government of New Zealand rested, but we could find none. Some of the European inhabitants of this Island disapproved of these injurious doings to Maori men; and it was vaguely rumoured that Sir Arthur Gordon, the Governor, refused to approve of these acts. Many other evils have been discovered by our hearts, therefore have we considered right, O mother, the Queen, to pray that you will not permit increased evil to come upon your Maori children in New Zealand, but to graciously sanction the appointment of a Royal English Commission to abrogate the evil laws affecting the Maori people, and to establish a Maori Parliament which shall hold in check the European authorities who are endeavouring to set aside the Treaty of Waitangi, to put a bridle also in the mouth of Ministers for Native Affairs who may act as Ministers have done at Parihaka, so that all may be brought back to obey your laws; and to prevent the continued wrongs of land matters which are troubling the Maori people through days and years; and to restore to the Maoris those lands which have been wrongfully confiscated according to the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi; and to draw forth from beneath the many unauthorised acts of the New Zealand Parliament the concealed treaty, that it may now assert its own dignity.

In this year 1881, we, O the Queen, built a House of Assembly at the Bay of Islands, and the great symbol there is a stone memorial, on which has been engraved the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi, so that eyes may look thereon from year to year. Two invitations were sent to the Governor, requesting him to unveil the Stone Treaty Memorial. He did not accede to the request. Perhaps his disinclination arose from the fact that the Europeans had disregarded the principles embodied in the treaty, because in you, O Queen, is vested the sole authority affecting the Waitangi Treaty. Should you authorise, O mother, the Queen, the appointment in England of a Royal English Commission under your queenly seal, to investigate the wrong-doings of both races, then will you rightly be informed, O mother, as to what is just and what is false.

New Zealand Parliament House of Representatives appendix to the Journals, A6 1883, p 2.

Cited in *Ngā Kupu Korero: The People of the Treaty Speak*, November 15, 1990–February 23, 1991, Book One, material collected by Charles Royal.

**SOURCE J****Procession celebrating Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, Nelson 1887**

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Procession celebrating Queen Victoria's jubilee, Trafalgar Street, Nelson, June 1887, photograph taken by Frederick Nelson Jones, June 1887.

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz>, reference number: 1/1-011433-G.

## SOURCE K

### The 1860 Kohimarama Conference

I may frankly tell you that New Zealand is the only Colony where the aborigines have been treated with unvarying kindness. It is the only Colony where they have been invited to unite with the Colonists and to become one people under law. In other colonies the people of the land have remained separate and distinct, from which many evil consequences have ensued. Quarrels have arisen, blood has been shed, and finally the aboriginal people of the country have been driven away or destroyed. Wise and good men in England considered that such treatment of aborigines was unjust and contrary to the principles of Christianity. They brought the subject before the British parliament, and the Queen's Ministers advised a change of policy towards the aborigines of all English colonies. New Zealand is the first country colonised on this new and humane system. It will be the wisdom of the Maori people to avail themselves of this generous policy, and thus save their race from evils which have befallen others less favoured. It is your adoption by Her Majesty as her subjects which makes it impossible that the Maori people should be unjustly dispossessed of their lands or property. Every Maori is a member of the British Nation; he is protected by the same law as his English fellow subject; and it is because you are regarded by the Queen as a part of her own especial people that you have heard from the lips of each successive Governor the same words of peace and goodwill. It is therefore the height of folly for the New Zealand tribes to allow themselves to be seduced into the commission of any act which, by violating their allegiance to the Queen, would render them liable to forfeit the rights and privileges which their position as British subjects confers upon them, and which must necessarily entail upon them evils ending only in their ruin as a race.

Baker Family Papers 1828–1879. Extracts from diaries of William & Reverend Charles Baker, 1828–1848 & correspondence & official documents, Micro MS 32 Nos 1, 2, 3, Alexander Turnbull Library.

Cited in *Ngā Kupu Korero: The People of the Treaty Speak*, November 15, 1990–February 23, 1991, Book Six, material collected by Charles Royal.

## SOURCE L

## Census 1901

*For copyright reasons, this resource cannot be reproduced here.*

J. Binney, 'Two Communities, 1820–1839' in J. Binney, J. Bassett, E. Olssen (eds), *The People and the Land: An Illustrated History of New Zealand 1820–1920* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1990), p 36.