

“A habit of walking with God”¹: The Books of Alfred Nesbit Brown

KIRSTINE MOFFAT

Abstract

This article aims to contribute to the growing body of scholarship about reading communities in New Zealand by reconstructing the reading lives and reading tastes of Alfred Nesbit Brown (1803-1884), his family, and his missionary contemporaries from the books they read, collected and preserved. Brown’s library, which remains intact at the Elms Mission Station in Tauranga, is a material reminder of Brown’s spiritual life, mission work, and reliance on book knowledge to assist with the practical tasks of colonial life. The library also speaks of Brown’s relationship with a larger community of readers: his family, his Church Mission Society (CMS) colleagues, his Catholic competitors, and the Māori iwi he worked among.

On an overcast winter’s day I walked up the white shell path towards Alfred Nesbit Brown’s library, built in 1838-1839 and situated in the grounds of The Elms, a tranquil, green oasis near the heart of Tauranga’s CBD. Brown was a Church Mission Society missionary who, with his first wife Charlotte, established the Te Papa Mission Station in 1838. He lived in the mission house (built in 1848) until his death in 1884, changing the name of the property to The Elms when he purchased it from the CMS in 1873. The Elms is the oldest European heritage site in the Bay of Plenty, with the mission house and library carrying a New Zealand Historic Places Trust Class 1 registration. A family home until 1991 (inherited and lived in by Brown’s sister-in-law Euphemia Maxwell and her descendants), The Elms is now a historic house museum run by The Elms Foundation and The Friends of The Elms.

Brown’s library is distinctive in that his books remain in situ in their original location. There is no acquisition list, as the books that make up the library multiplied organically and naturally over several decades — some of them travelling with Brown from his English homeland, some of them purchased by Brown and his family, several of them given as gifts, many of them sent to New Zealand from British family and friends, and some of them added by later residents (although most of Euphemia, Alice, and Duff Maxwell’s books are shelved in the main house). While most of the books in the collection are personal to Brown, inscriptions indicate that the library also contains books belonging to his first wife Charlotte, his second wife Christina, his daughter Celia, his son Marsh, and his CMS colleagues. The library remains a living testimony to a love of books and provides a compelling visit for any bibliophile; a list of holdings can also be viewed in The Elms archive.²

The olive grey, shingled-roofed library nestles between palm trees, a brick sundial near the entrance and a tall chimney to the right. The white-trimmed, square-latticed windows flank the dark green door. When I open the door and step into the calm hush of the interior my first impression is of wood: the polished kauri of the walls, the gleaming mahogany of the desk, the imposing six foot teak bookcases and slightly shorter bookcases of warm cedar, all with their front doors closed to keep out damaging dust and light. The rich brown of the wood is in harmony with the worn leather of the chairs beside the fireplace and at the desk.³



Figures 1 and 2: Exterior and Interior of Alfred Nesbit Brown's Library, The Elms, Tauranga. Photographed by K. Moffat with kind permission of The Elms.

My eyes are immediately drawn to the paintings and photographs which adorn the walls. An engraving of J.E. Herbert's painting of the *Asserting of Liberty of Conscience by the Independents in the Westminster Assembly of Divines 1644* takes pride of place above the fireplace. Photographs of Brown's friends and contemporaries feature prominently — Sir William Martin, first Chief Justice of New Zealand, Bishop Selwyn and Henry Williams — as does an engraving of the Coronation of Queen Victoria. There are many family photographs and drawings, including a pencil sketch of Brown's son Marsh and a charcoal sketch of his ward Sophia Baker. Family, patriotism, faith — these are the themes the images reveal.⁴

On Brown's desk a bronze inkstand sits with two square glass ink bottles and several quill pens, the set a gift from Bishop Selwyn to Brown. An ivory handled seal with "C.M.S. New Zealand" imprinted on it and red sealing wax rest on the ink tray. An olive tree paperweight holds down some sheets of paper covered in a copperplate script full of flourishes. Most poignantly of all a pair of spectacles rests beside the pages, as if Brown has just got up from his desk momentarily and can soon be expected to return, sit down and continue to write.⁵

The most prominent feature on the desk is a King James Bible, its' beautiful embossed leather cover faded and slightly frayed with use, its first page inscribed with Brown's name.⁶ This is the Brown I have come here to discover: the scholar, the reader, the writer, the man of books. I ease open the doors of the bookshelves, stand back and marvel, breathing in the slightly musty perfume of old books over a century old. Now the books dominate the room.



Figures 3 and 4: Interior of Alfred Nesbit Brown's Library, The Elms, Tauranga. Photographed by K. Moffat with kind permission of The Elms.

There are no glossy dustcovers in garish hues, but mellow covers of cloth and leather in muted browns and reds, blues and greys. The occasional gold embossed spine gleams quietly with understated elegance. Some are imposing tomes, some are dainty and delicate. The backing of some of the books is torn in places. When I start to lift volumes from the shelves they fall open easily, some of them with annotations and inscriptions, some with bookmarks and pressed flowers within. These books are well used and well thumbed, not just the display books of a gentleman's library, designed to impress, but the books of a man, and a family, who loved to read.

For me, a fellow reader, the books delight and appeal as tangible reminders, or footprints, of Brown: his character, his tastes, his interests, his passions. Donald Jackson Kerr, writing of Sir George Grey's book collection, declares that "books record the tastes and interests of their owners" and that his study of Grey's collection helped him to see Grey in "a new light", not just as an administrator in the glare of public life, but as a private individual, a "bookman and collector".⁷ Likewise, Lydia Wevers writes of the way in which her encounter with the Brancepeth Station library brought the reading tastes and habits of that Wairarapa community alive.⁸

In *Reading on the Farm*, Wevers deftly appropriates a comment by Mikhail Bakhtin to assert that "All [books] have the 'taste' of a profession, a genre, a tendency, a party, a particular person, a generation, an age group, the day and hour."⁹ Brown's library, which remains intact, provides a "taste" of a particular reader, Brown himself, in a particular place (Tauranga), at a particular "day and hour" in colonial New Zealand history. Brown's was a reading family, who loved books and frequently celebrated a birthday or anniversary with the gift of a new volume, typically inscribed with a brief message. The library also includes books belonging to the CMS, of which Brown was a devoted and loyal member and servant, and is thus an enduring, material testament to the reading lives of a professional and spiritual community and of the role of books in missionary interactions with local Māori.

Beth Palmer and Adelene Buckland write of the need to "build on Richard Altick's attempts to individualize conceptions of the Victorian 'common reader'".¹⁰ This article aims to contribute to this growing body of scholarship by reconstructing the reading lives and reading tastes of Brown, his family, and his missionary contemporaries from the books they read, collected and preserved. A majority of the books within the library reflect the mission focus and puritan sensibilities of Brown and like-minded members of the CMS, and the collection illustrates in miniature Altick's contention that the Evangelical movement actively encouraged reading and the collecting of books:

Like their Puritan forebears, the evangelicals, believing as they did in the supreme importance of Scripture, stressed the act of reading as part of the program of a truly enlightened life. They believed that the grace of God could, and did, descend to the individual man and woman through the printed page. The cultivation of the reading habit was therefore as indispensable as a daily program of prayer and observance of a strict moral code. With the Bible always at the centre, there grew up a huge literature of admonition, guidance, and assurance.¹¹

Writing of mission in the New Zealand context, Peter Lineham highlights the centrality of the "Bible Transaction" to Evangelical and Methodist missionaries. For both the Wesleyans and the CMS under the leadership of Henry Williams the Bible was the "vital ... tool of the missionaries", embodying "their authority" and the message that they "wanted to pass on to Māori people".¹² The "Evangelicals in general believed that instruction from the Scriptures would lift individuals from the morass of pagan society".¹³ As a consequence translation, book production, and teaching literacy were core missionary tasks.¹⁴

Growing up in and embracing this Evangelical tradition, books were of vital importance to Brown. He and his wife Charlotte brought a substantial collection of books with them when they left England for New Zealand in 1829. Some sense of the scope of their collection is evident in that they brought the two six foot teak bookcases with them on the long sea voyage and commissioned the two cedar bookcases when they arrived in Paihia in 1829. When they settled in Tauranga in 1838 one of Brown's priorities was the construction of the library to house his books, reputed to be the first free-standing library in New Zealand. It was completed in 1839, the first permanent building to be erected at Te Papa. Such was Brown's devotion to the proper care of his collection that he was active in the construction of the library and built the fireplace and chimney in 1844 so that his precious books would not suffer from damp.¹⁵

The collection of books the Browns brought with them was supplemented whenever possible. The Brown collection in the Tauranga City Library includes lists of boxes of goods that arrived from England and from fellow missionaries in Northland and Auckland. Many of these contained books. Black Bush Box 19 is typical. Among the itemized contents are: Noel's Hymns, Cruden's Concordance, Pascal's Thoughts, Woodridge's Expatriate, a Bible, a Dictionary, some magazines and two copies of the Reverend E. Bickerseth's *Come Out of Rome*.¹⁶ Neither Alfred nor Charlotte Brown have left any recorded impressions of receiving such a box, but their likely feelings are captured by Sarah Selwyn in a letter written on January 23 1844: "... the letters being read and reread, the parcels come next, the books first, for a book especially an amusing or interesting book is wonderfully acceptable in New Zealand. Such a one goes the rounds."¹⁷ As Wevers highlights, in colonial New Zealand "the connection to print culture ... was a vital source of agency, a way of belonging despite the fact of distance".¹⁸

Several of the books in Brown's collection, such as *Meditations of a Christian Mother*, are inscribed "Church Mission Society", an indication that his library was not only of personal value but also of importance to his fellow missionaries. It was in his library that Brown met with visiting missionaries, such as Bishop Selwyn, Henry Williams and Thomas Chapman, and entertained dignitaries such as Chief Justice Martin and Sir George Grey. It was also his private retreat, the place where he wrote his daily journal and his many letters and sermons and the place where he went to study and to read. There is no direct record of the value Brown placed on his library, but I suspect that while he was at odds with Bishop Selwyn's High Church theology (refusing the offer of a bishopric in 1847 and 1853) he shared Selwyn's sense of his library as a sanctuary.¹⁹ Selwyn's books were housed in the stone store at Kerikeri, ten miles away from his home at Waimate, and he visited his books whenever possible. In his 1843-44 Visitation Journal he records: "A delicious day ... Books all arranged around me. Such a sight is not to be seen in New Zealand, so fresh and inspiring."²⁰

Selwyn was certainly a different brand of Anglican to Brown: supportive of the ideals of the Oxford Movement, "High Church, Tory, and Establishment orientated", and determined for Māori to embrace "full English ways".²¹ In contrast, Brown's Evangelicalism was "rooted in English Puritanism and in the Great Awakening" of the eighteenth-century and is representative of the early CMS emphasis on conversion rather than Europeanization.²² However, the importance of their libraries to both clergymen reveals the common roots of their different strands of Protestantism. Jean-Francois Gilmont emphasizes the Reformation origins of an enduring Protestant endorsement of reading. Martin Luther described printing as "the ultimate gift of God and the greatest one. Indeed, by means of it God wants to spread word of the cause of the true religion to all the Earth, to the extremities of the world", while John Foxe paid tribute to the "divine and miraculous inventing of printing" in his *Book of Martyrs*.²³ Altick writes of the continuation of this tradition in the nineteenth-century, in which "the

printed word was the chosen weapon of aggressive, proselytising religion, the distribution of Bibles and didactic literature became a large industry".²⁴

Brown's library illustrates the interconnectedness of books and Evangelical belief, with the Bible at the centre of both his faith and his library. In a sermon entitled "Search the Scriptures" he proclaimed that while "[b]ooks of science and philosophy have their use", the "Bible is of infinitely greater value than all others" because it is not "of human composition but the Word of God".²⁵ The King James Bible that takes pride of place on Brown's desk is but one of the many editions in his collection. Brown also brought with him a six volume edition of the authorized version, published in 1826 and *The Pictorial Bible in Four Volumes*. An 1823 New Testament in Greek and English is inscribed to "The Reverend Alfred Nesbit Brown with the best wishes and prayers of his friend and brother William Thompson Francis Barnabas. July 1828. St John 5th v 19th. Joshua Ch 1s v 9th. St Matt Ch 28 vs 20 21st." S. Clarke's *Collection of the Promises of Scripture Under their Proper Heads* has a more elusive inscription: "A memento of Christian affection from a female friend to Mr A.N. Brown. August 27th 1824." Is the "female friend" Charlotte Arnett, who Brown married in 1829, or another admirer?

The supreme importance of the Bible to Brown and CMS colleagues such as William Williams is also evident in his 1845 publication of *Brief Memorials of an Only Son*.²⁶ Written to commemorate the godly life and brave death of his son Marsh and to exhort his daughter Celia to follow her brother's Christian example, Brown devotes much of the text to a passionate advocacy of Bible reading and study. In the Preface to the second edition, Brown's mentor Dr William Marsh extols the Scriptures as "the Oracles of God, and the only infallible guide to man, from error to truth, from sin to Saviour, and from Heaven to Earth".²⁷ This was most certainly true of the Brown family, Brown writing he was "constantly impressing" upon his son's "mind a truth so often dwelt upon in various forms of Scripture, that 'we are not our own,' having been 'bought with a price;' and hence, that the great purpose of our life should be, to glorify our redeemer in our bodies and in our spirits which are His."²⁸ When Marsh became bed-ridden with erysipelas his main consolation was being read to from the Bible, Brown describing his dying son as "a patient leaner upon God's word" who "found in its exceeding great and precious promises a firm support and comfort".²⁹

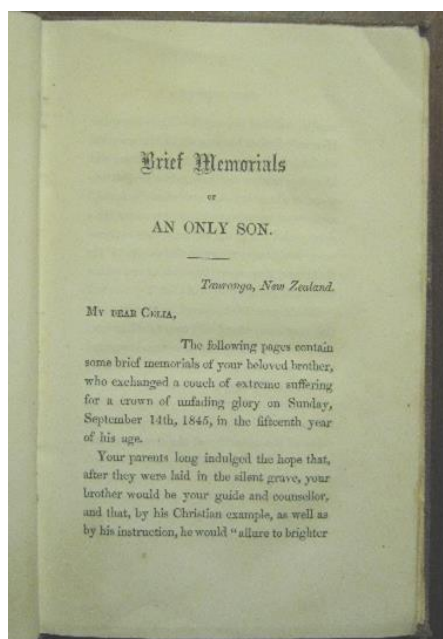
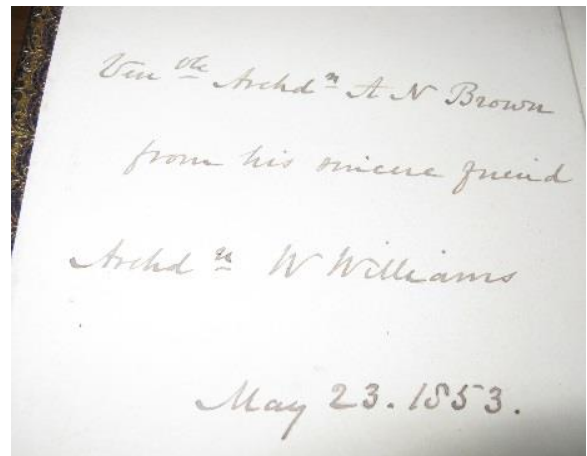
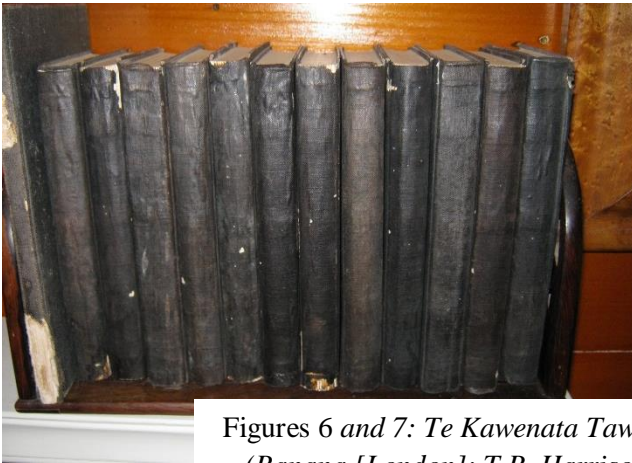


Figure 5: Archdeacon A.N. Brown, *Brief Memorials of an Only Son*, 2nd ed. (Auckland: St John's College Press, 1849), p. 1. Photographed by K. Moffat with kind permission of The Elms.

On a small bookshelf on the mantelpiece of Brown’s library are a row of battered books with charcoal–coloured cloth bindings. These are books that have been read and re-read. There is no title marking or author on the spine, but when the books are opened their contents are revealed: the first six books of the Old Testament in Māori, translated by Robert Maunsell and published in London in 1848. The Gospels in Māori, translated by William Williams, had been published in Paihia in 1837 and Maunsell’s translation of the Old Testament followed in the 1840s. Lineham emphasizes that the “Māori Bible was ... an important symbol of the values of Protestants and the nature of their expectations in missionary endeavours”.³⁰ This is certainly reflected in Brown’s library, which also holds a book of prayers and waiata with the inscription: “To Archdeacon A.N. Brown from his sincere friend Archdeacon William Williams. May 23 1853.” Brown believed passionately in his mission calling, declaring that “God has raised up the Bible Society and the Missionary Society ... to bring in the era of universal and unclouded light”. For Brown, the most potent weapon in this cause was the “word of Salvation”.³¹



Figures 6 and 7: *Te Kawenata Tawhito*, translated by Robert Maunsell (*Ranana* [London]: T.R. Harrison, 1848). *Ko Te Pukapuka O Nga Inoinga*, translated, revised and edited by William Williams, 2nd ed. (*Ranana* [London]: T.R. Harrison, 1852), inscription.
Photographed by K. Moffat with kind permission of The Elms.

Paul Landau confirms the vital importance of the written word and literacy in Evangelical missions, declaring that missionaries “believed that reading was a direct route to grace. On a daily basis, they tested their pupils with recitations and essays, and many of them composed and translated catechisms, prayer books, hymns and Bibles, primers and spelling books.”³² While Paul Moon contends that for some Māori possession of a Bible did not necessarily denote literacy, with books also valued as decorations and as charms to ward off evil spirits, the ability to read the Bible was a skill desired by many converts.³³ Lineham highlights that Māori “revered the Bible with a sense of tapu, as a propitious talisman, the recitation of which was seen to be a powerful incantation”.³⁴ He also makes the pertinent point that by translating the Bible into Māori the missionaries “sought to make the recipients of the message responsible for obedience to the biblical injunctions” but simultaneously “empowered [Māori] to be Christians on their own terms”.³⁵ The early CMS missionaries lived and worked

in Māori communities, learned to speak and write Māori, and relied on Māori converts to further their message, training many of them as teachers in the local schools and urging them to travel to nearby settlements to spread the Gospel.³⁶ As Lineham emphasizes, these “[l]iterate Māori played a crucial role in the radical changes in culture which took place in that generation — and they were not always subservient to the missionaries”.³⁷

Of the books specifically mentioned by Brown in his journal it is the Māori Bible and Prayer Book which received the most attention, in part because his journal is not a private but a professional journal, recording key events and progress at his mission station to send to the CMS in London. However, Brown’s personal delight in Māori requests for Testaments and Prayer Books shines through, as does his frustration that he never has enough books to satisfy demand, a frustration shared by many of his fellow missionaries. Lineham reports that approximately 70,000 copies of the Māori Bible were distributed by the missionaries (at first by giving them away and then by seeking a contribution from converts), but that at many gatherings demand exceeded supply.³⁸ Brown’s entry for March 27 1839 is typical: “Sold some more copies of the Prayer book. The natives are very anxious to possess them. One of the men, yesterday, on receiving a book said ‘I have now got a telescope to see the rocks and prevent my ship striking on them.’”³⁹ Such was the desire of one woman for the Prayer Book that she offered Brown “3 figs of tobacco for one of our 36 page Prayer Books ... three times the value at which we have sold them”.⁴⁰ The New Testament was equally sought after. On September 18 1846 Brown reflected on the journey of chief Kororo, who travelled a hundred miles to obtain a Testament for himself and his sons:

I do not think our friends in England who are whisking about on railroads at the rate of 30 miles an hour, are in a proper position to judge of the labour which Kororo has undergone to procure 3 Testaments. To me it is a cheering fact and nerves one’s energies for fresh exertions in the mission field, that a Chief verging on 60 years of age is willing, in order to procure for himself and family the gift of 3 Testaments, to undertake a journey through a country where in consequence of swamps and woods and hills, it requires considerable exertion to perform 2 miles and a half in an hour.⁴¹

Nothing delighted Brown more than evidence of Māori appetite for the Scriptures, as this represented tangible evidence of his influence. After meeting with a recent convert, Ka Maru, on July 6 1839, Brown was gratified to learn that “He is applying himself to reading and can already make out a few verses unassisted. He asked me to read to him the account of Nichodemus coming to our Saviour by night ... Some of the Natives must have been previously reading the chapter to him, for he repeated verbatim the first ten verses.”⁴² After one of his regular evening classes of religious instruction on September 9 1839 Brown was similarly encouraged by the range of biblical knowledge displayed by probably the most famous of his converts, Tarapipi Te Waharoa who Brown christened “William Thompson” (Wiremu Tamihana) when he baptized him in 1839:

In the course of the reading I had occasion to enquire what a Temple was. ‘The praying house of the Jews’ replied William Thompson. ‘Do you recollect any other temple mentioned in the testament?’ ‘Yes. The temple of Heaven in the Book of Revelation.’ ‘Any other?’ ‘Yes. The bodies of believers are temples of the Holy Ghost’ and turning to 1 Cor 6c 19v he read the passage ...⁴³

Te Waharoa was later involved in the Māori King movement in the 1850s and was given the title “Kingmaker” by Pākehā.⁴⁴

Brown was frequently frustrated at the dearth of available books. On July 21 1839 he visited Otumotai Pa and recorded in his journal that

there is a daily attendance of 50 Natives at this school, and such is our destitution of the Sacred Scriptures that we cannot supply them with a single copy of the Testament. Two or three well thumbed ones (the property of the teachers) are all they possess, and these are so much used that they will soon drop to pieces.⁴⁵

Such was the scarcity and value of the Māori Testaments that those possessing the books were very careful to preserve them, Brown writing that “besides being in paper covers, and put away in small bags after school, they attach the covers of the Testaments together by strings about 4 inches long, which only admits of their being half opened and thus the binding is kept whole for a much longer period than it would otherwise be.”⁴⁶

Given that so much of Brown’s time was spent preaching and teaching, it is unsurprising that a significant proportion of the religious books in his collection are biblical dictionaries and reference volumes. As Robert Glen writes, when the Evangelicals “turned to their Bibles for guidance they were not primarily after intellectual or historical exegesis of the text. They were searching for guides to holy living, plain truth practically applied.”⁴⁷ One of Brown’s biblical guides with a particularly moving inscription is the Reverend W. Gurney’s *Pocket Dictionary of the Holy Bible*. This was given to Brown by his friend and mentor Dr William Marsh upon his departure for New Zealand. The inscription reads: “W. Marsh to his beloved friend and brother in the missionary work A.N. Brown. April 23/29.” Brown continued to supplement his collection of biblical reference material once in New Zealand. One of the books in the Black Bush Box previously mentioned was A. Cruden’s *A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament* and in 1837 Brown received the Reverend W. Jowett’s *The Christian Visitor* inscribed to “The Rev A.N. Brown with the Author’s kind and Christian Regards”. The guide which shows the most wear is *Annotations Upon All the Books of the Old and New Testament* by the “Joynte-Labour of certain Learned Divines”, published in 1645. This massive book, with its worn leather cover and broken spine is literally falling apart, testimony to both its age and its value to Brown in his work.

Brown’s journal makes it clear how invaluable such books were in his ministry. On October 22 1839 he writes that he had been occupied in “Making a list of the Miracles of our Saviour which I took from the *Companion to the Bible*. On giving the paper to Thomas Bamford, he read it through and then enquired why I had omitted the miracle which Christ wrought in order to pay tribute? A pleasing proof of the diligence with which the Natives ‘search the Scriptures’.”⁴⁸ Brown also quotes William Burkitt’s *Expository Notes, with Practical Observations on the New Testament* on September 9 1839, commenting happily that the students in his Māori school “devote much time to reading the New Testament. ‘The best book’ as Burkitt quaintly remarks ‘that was ever written against Popery.’”⁴⁹

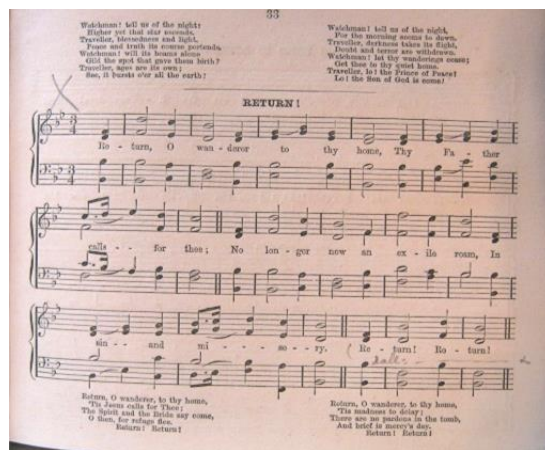
Preaching advice, prayer books and hymnals are also a central part of Brown’s library. This points once again to the practical nature of his ministry, which consisted of preaching and leading worship as well as biblical exegesis. Brown’s collection contains many volumes of sermons, by divines such as the Reverend C. Bradley, Dr Thomas Goodwin and the Reverend John Flavel. J. Hughes’ *Sixteen Sermons* was a gift to Brown “from his affectionate and faithful Friend John Latham, June 14th 1827. ‘In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths.’”

As is to be expected in the collection of a CMS missionary, there are several copies of the *Book of Common Prayer* in Brown’s library. Thus far the individual books that I have mentioned have all been Brown’s own books, but the inscriptions on some of these prayer books highlight that some of the books in the collection belonged to family members. Christina

Brown, Brown's second wife, was the proud owner of two beautiful editions of *The Book of Common Prayer*, one of them a gift from the Bishop of Wellington on the "happy occasion of her marriage" in 1860 and the other dedicated to her "from her affectionate Husband on her birthday. June 15 1883."

Brown's collection is also rich in hymnals, such as *the Revival Tune Book*, *The New Zealand Hymnal* and R. Palmer's *The Book of Praise*. Many of these bear inscriptions, two hymnals bearing witness to the courtship between Brown and his first wife Charlotte. She gave him a copy of *The Missionary Minstrel* in 1827, signing herself as his "friend". The following year Brown gave her an edition of John Wesley's *Olney Hymns* on July 20 1828 with the inscription: "Charlotte Arnette, a memento of affection from her sincere friend A.N.B. 2 C. Rev 10v." The Brown family were musical, Charlotte, Christina, and Celia playing both the piano and the harmonium. In 1858 the visiting Eliza Stack wrote that "in the evening eleven of the school children came into the sitting room, and sang Maori and English hymns while Celia accompanied them on the harmonium".⁵⁰ Given that music was part of the Browns' mission work as well as a personal pleasure, it is unsurprising that some of the hymnals should also include annotations and markers indicating particularly well-loved hymns. *The Revival Tune Book*, a gift to Christina Brown from G. Palmer of HMS *Rosario* in 1869, contains a pencil cross by "Return" and a torn scrap of paper to mark the place of another favourite, "Yonder".

Figure 8: *The Revival Tune Book*, vol. 2 (London: Morgan and Chase, 1864), p. 33. Photographed by K. Moffat with kind permission of The Elms.



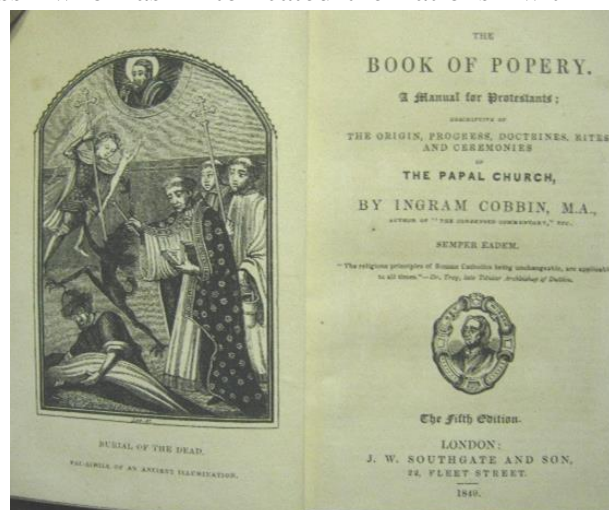
In comparison with the wealth of Bibles, biblical commentaries, prayer books and hymnals in Brown's library the selection of theology is relatively sparse. Within the nineteenth-century Evangelical Protestant community of which Brown was a part, reading and understanding the Bible was of primary importance, with theology occupying very much a secondary place. Having said this, certain key theological texts were of importance to nineteenth-century Protestants. Writing of the theological worldview of nineteenth-century Evangelical missionaries, John Hitchen identifies the works of the Puritan divine Richard Baxter as one of the core theological texts.⁵¹ Brown's library contains Baxter's *Practical Works* in four volumes. Hitchen likewise comments on the likely presence of William Paley's meditations on natural theology in the libraries of Evangelical missionaries.⁵² Paley's *Natural Theology and Tracts*, which opens with the famous metaphor of the watch to demonstrate intelligent design in the universe, is to be found on Brown's shelves.

In contrast to the relative dearth of theology, Brown's shelves are filled with volumes relating to church history. One of the first volumes I noticed was a large brown book on one of the leather chairs. This is a sumptuous edition of F.W. Farrar's *The Life of Christ* (1874), with an ornate cover and delicate black and white illustrations. Understandably, given Brown's calling and his profound loyalty to the CMS, this section of his library contains several volumes

relating to the lives and work of missionaries, such as the Reverend S.A. Walker's *Missions in Western Africa* (1845) and Mrs Weitbrecht's *Female Missionaries in India* (1843). Brown's collection also reflects the distinctly Calvinist nature of Evangelical beliefs, with many books relating to the Reformation, such as J. D'Aubigne's *History of the Reformation* (1845) and the Reverend Charles James' *The Reformation: A Direct Gift of Providence* (1840). When I opened the doors of the bookcases, my eyes were immediately drawn to the eight volumes of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. Magnificently bound in dark brown leather, with inset red panels and gold scrolls on the spine, these volumes are also lavish in their use of wood cut illustrations, all vilifying the torturous practices of the Catholic church and celebrating the martyrs of the Reformation, such as Thomas Cranmer. Next to the Bible and, possibly, *Pilgrim's Progress*, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* was the most common and popular book to be found in the homes of Puritans and Protestants.

These volumes in praise of the Reformation are matched with a range of nineteenth-century books and pamphlets attacking Catholicism as the enemy of Protestantism. The titles of these volumes, many of them published by the Protestant Association in London, give a clear indication of the contents: *The Frauds of Romish Monks* (1827), *The Sinfulness of Being Present at Popish Ceremonies* (1842), *Popery the Enemy of God and Man* (1842). A squat brown volume, *The Truths of Protestantism Contrasted with the Errors of Popery*, is typical of the sentiments of these books. The ministers whose 1837-8 lectures fill the volume describe the Church of Rome as a "mighty sorceress" who has "intoxicated the nations" with her "poisoned cup" and call on Protestants to "rally to the old cry of 'No Popery' ... because 'No Popery' is — no slavery intellectual, moral or spiritual".⁵³

Figure 9: Ingram Cobbin, *The Book of Popery: A Manual for Protestants* (London: J.W. Southgate and Son, 1840), title page. Photographed by K. Moffat with kind permission of The Elms.



Brown's thinking was very much in tune with these volumes, as his reaction to Bishop Pompallier's visit to Tauranga in 1840 and the establishment of Catholic mission at Otumoetai and Maketu demonstrate. On February 2 1840 Brown reflected that the "battle which Wickliffe fought in England, may yet have to be refought in this country. May it be in Wickliffe's spirit!"⁵⁴ The enemy in this battle is Catholicism, which Brown describes as a "mockery of 'pure and undefiled religion'".⁵⁵ He was particularly critical of Catholic ignorance of the Scriptures, delighting in the triumph of one of his converts, Matthew, over a Catholic priest. Matthew quoted from the fourteenth chapter of Revelations to prove to the priest that the

wearing of a cross, which he describes as a “graven image”, was unbiblical.⁵⁶ Brown was also well pleased with the actions of a principal Chief of Maungatautari, who tore up the tracts distributed by a disciple of a Catholic priest.⁵⁷ The battle between Protestant and Catholic was in many ways a battle of books, Brown complaining after a three hour meeting with the Catholic priest at Otumoetai that “it was impossible to keep him to the Scriptures. Councils, Fathers, History, tradition, everything in short but the simple word of God”. Brown was particularly incensed when the priest

produced a book professing to be ‘a short history of the Protestant Religion by Protestants themselves’, using his knowledge of the publishing world to refute this claim: ‘I told him we could not receive [the book] as any authority, it being printed by Coyne of Dublin, — himself a Roman Catholic and the printer of the Douay Bible and Dens Theology.’⁵⁸

While books with a religious subject form a significant part of Brown’s collection, his library is by no means restricted to this professional preoccupation. Many of the well-thumbed volumes fall under the category of practical advice for daily living, such as *Letters on the Importance of Duty and the Advantages of Early Rising* (1822), *Till the Doctor Comes* (1870), and *Instruction for Gardening for Ladies* (1851), indispensable books for missionaries adjusting to a life in New Zealand that contained many physical demands and challenges and few of the amenities of “Home”. Several of the volumes in the library have an educational focus and clearly relate to Charlotte Brown’s schoolteacher profession. She was described by the principal of the Islington training college as a “young woman of piety and superior education to most Missionary Females”, had run a school for girls prior to her marriage, established schools for missionary children at Paihia and Matamata, and was responsible for the education of her own children.⁵⁹ In *Brief Memorials of an Only Son* Brown writes that “Marsh’s education was principally conducted by your dear mother; and his mind was more amply stored with History, Geography, French and other subjects than is common with boys of his age”.⁶⁰ As well as several guides to grammar, an elementary Greek grammar and a Latin-English dictionary, the library also includes the 1827 volume *Hints for the Improvement of Early Education of Nursery Discipline*, with chapters on subjects such as “Truth and Sincerity”, “Authority and Obedience”, “Temper” and “Vanity and Affectation”. In the realm of secular as well as religious education morality was always at the forefront of the Browns’ minds.

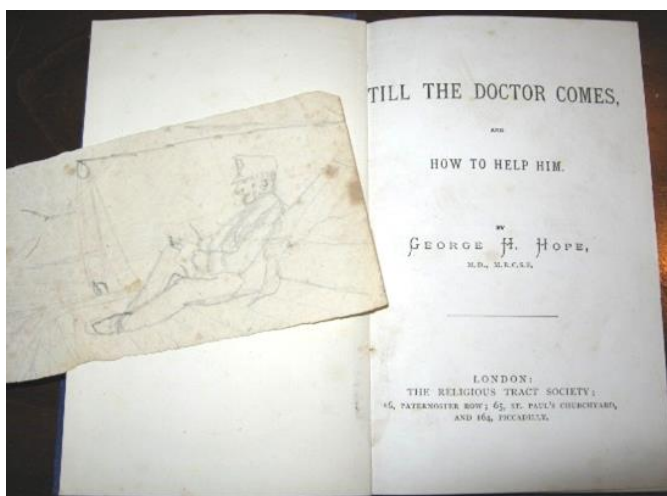


Figure 10: George H. Hope, *Till the Doctor Comes, and How to Help Him* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1870), title page and sketch. Photographed by K. Moffat with kind permission of The Elms.

Medical texts form a significant presence in Brown’s library. Norman Etherington asserts that medicine was an important part of missionary work, captured by David

Livingstone's observation that "God had only one son ... and He gave Him to be a medical missionary".⁶¹ While Livingstone had the advantage of medical training, most missionaries "relied on books and the experience gained through trial and error to treat themselves and other people".⁶² Etherington writes that European missionaries kept their own medical kits and handed out medical advice, with "visitations of disease and miraculous recoveries both counted as manifestations of God's Providence".⁶³ Brown's medical kit is still to be found in his library, with bottles of Powder of Rhubarb and Tincture of Gentian. His books include A Biling's *First Principles of Medicine*, Dr Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* and *South's Household Surgery or Hints on Emergencies*. The latter illustrates its descriptions of illnesses and cures with helpful sketches, such as the correct method of applying leeches, use of a claw to pull a tooth, and the appropriate way of constructing a tourniquet. Brown's collection also contains *Outlines Of Midwifery*, very necessary in a colonial environment in which doctors were rarities. The damaged spine suggests that this was a particularly well-used book. Frances Porter notes that "pregnancy is the recurring subject in letters to Charlotte Brown except that, following the accepted subterfuge it was not directly referred to — wives were simply 'unwell'".⁶⁴ As well as advice on the delivery of children *Outlines Of Midwifery* also contains chapters on good health during pregnancy, the section on "Predisposing causes of difficult labour" giving an insight into nineteenth-century thinking about the body:

The first source of difficulty is weakness: we know that labour requires a certain quality of force and power ... Fatness is another predisposing cause of difficult labour: fatness offers resistance, and generally occurs in women of weak constitutions; so that here we have resistance and want of power.⁶⁵



Figure 11: Alfred Nesbit Brown, Medical Kit, The Elms, Tauranga. Photographed by K. Moffat with kind permission of The Elms.

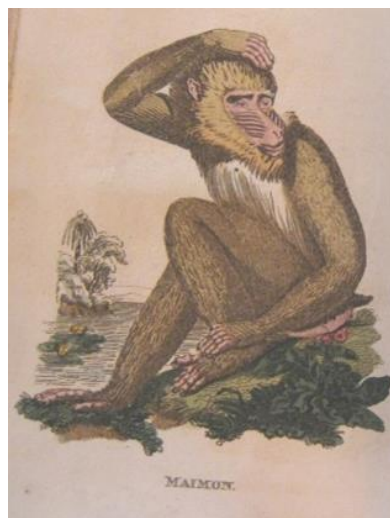
Brown and his family were all too aware of the evils of ill health. Charlotte suffered from painful headaches, Brown was plagued with inflammation of the eyes, and their son Marsh died from a blood infection after a long and painful illness. In many cases there was little or nothing that could be done for those who were sick, but Brown's journals speak of his attempts to alleviate, where possible, the suffering of both family members and Māori. In January 1839 an epidemic of influenza swept Tauranga, Brown recording that "my family and household all suffering, Celia especially". In spite of his own illness, Brown sat up with baby daughter for three nights in succession.⁶⁶ During a typhus epidemic the following year Brown was active amongst his Māori flock, administering "upwards of 100 doses of medicine" on

March 29 1840.⁶⁷ He was also called upon to attend to the wounds of several Otumoetai Māori injured by a raiding party from Thames. On May 22 1842 he wrote that “Five of those who made their escape have severe gunshot wounds, which I have dressed as well as I was able, but the bullets remaining in two of them makes me fear the result”.⁶⁸ While increasing emigration brought more doctors to New Zealand, Brown questioned whether “medicines and medical aid will be gratuitously and liberally supplied” to Māori.⁶⁹

The Browns’ life in New Zealand required a knowledge of building, horticulture and agriculture. Brown’s journals make references to “painting the library” (December 19 1838), “building my chimney” (April 2-7 1838), “digging for water”, “glazing windows” (January 22 1838), “pruning fruit trees” (July 23 1839), and “sowing turnips and carrots” (September 3 1839).⁷⁰ The library was, on occasion, a storage space for produce from the garden. When William Gisborne visited the library in 1847 he noted that “among and above and below” the shelves of books hung “long rows of tempting, rosy-cheeked apples, brightly reflecting the ruddy fire”.⁷¹ The Reverend C.B. Baker, who arrived in Tauranga in the 1860s, wrote of the “good effort” that had been made “in bringing into cultivation some of the Society’s land. We have six acres of wheat and five acres of potatoes put in, and have laid down twelve acres of grass”.⁷² Some of this activity may well have come naturally to Brown, who was described by many as a natural gardener, but books also provided a useful resource.⁷³ His shelves include A. Blacklock’s *A Treatise on Sheep*, D.T. Fish’s *Pruning Grafting and Budding Fruit Trees* and J.C. Loudon’s *An Encyclopaedia of Agriculture*. The latter is a weighty tome that promotes itself as a guide to both the theory and practice of agriculture and the author provides helpful sketches of everything from threshing machines to different types of clover.

As well as these practical resources, Brown’s library also contains a number of volumes of natural history, history, geography, and travel. Illustrations are a relative rarity in Brown’s volumes, but most of the natural history books contain pictures. Perhaps my favourite of all Brown’s books is *The Natural History of Quadruped and Cataceous Animals*, which promotes itself as being “profusely illustrated with hand done paintings” in which the various animals appear to be posing for the illustrator, such as the mischievous monkeys and the coy maimon. The history selections in Brown’s collection do include a number of classical texts, including Dr Goldsmith’s histories of Greece and Rome and Peter Parley’s *Tales About the Mythology of Greece and Rome*, which was a birthday gift to Celia from her mother and is embellished with engravings on wood. However, a significant number of the histories focus on England’s past. Brown’s birthplace clearly continued to hold a place in his heart, with Thomas Cromwell’s *History and Description of the Ancient Town of Colchester* to be found in his library.

Figure 12: *The Natural History of Quadruped and Cataceous Animals*, vol. 1 (Bungay: Brightly and Co, 1811) plate 5. Photographed by K. Moffat with kind permission of The Elms.



Of the general histories of England, the most lavish is S. Turner's multi-volume *Modern History of England* (1835). The matching set is encased in pale brown smooth leather and on the spines the title is picked out in glowing gold against scarlet panels. Chapter 1 of Book 1 opens with the author's reflection on the nature of history, which he describes as being "like man himself, often an erring, but always a noble subject".⁷⁴ Likewise, most of Brown's geographic books remain rooted in the West, with *The Diamond Gazetteer of Great Britain and Ireland* and a *Compendium of Ancient Geography* present on his shelves. However, he also owned a *General Atlas* which included a map of Australasia and a *New System of Geography and World History* which contained a chapter on New Zealand. Brown's travel books, such as *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (1854) and *Three Weeks in Palestine and Lebanon* (1846) show an appetite for adventure that the Browns bravely transformed into reality when they immigrated to New Zealand. Understandably, the travels of other missionaries appealed to the Browns, such as David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*. With its impressive pull-out frontispiece of the Victoria Falls, the book bears witness to the perceived exotic beauty, as well as the challenges and difficulties, to be found in mission work.

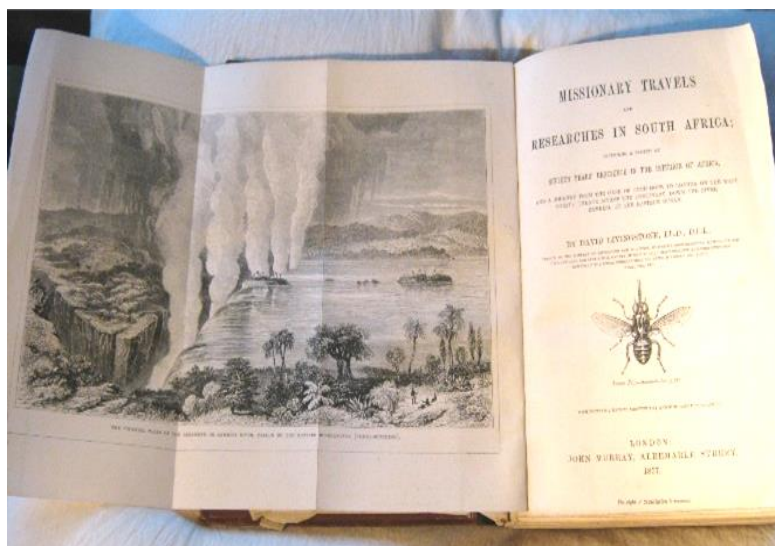
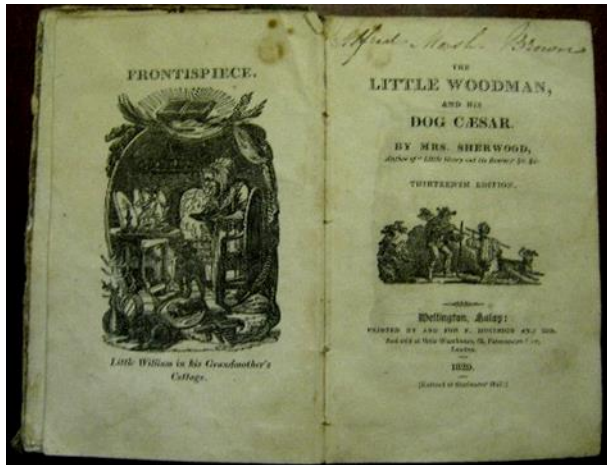


Figure 13: David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London: John Murray, 1857), frontispiece. Photographed by K. Moffat with kind permission of The Elms.

Most of the books mentioned thus far had a practical or educational function in the life of Brown and his family. Reading material with a more recreational purpose is more sparse, but does form part of the collection. The Browns were certainly fond of newspapers, magazines and periodicals and among the many religious publications in this category are also to be found bound copies of *The Illustrated London News* and two volumes of Charles Dickens' monthly magazine *Household Worlds*. Brown's library also includes volumes of poetry and a few novels. The relatively few examples of imaginative literature are undoubtedly a reflection of Brown's Evangelical worldview. Altick argues that

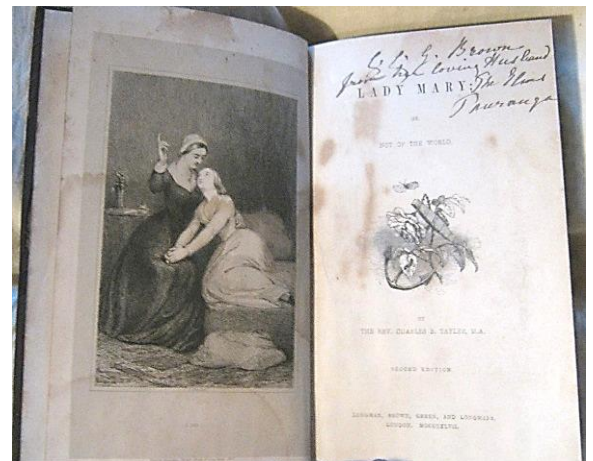
Along with the evangelicals' deep faith in the efficacy of print ... went an equally profound distrust. Rightly used, books could make men wiser, purer, and more devout; but misapplied, they could prove a snare of the devil. For the evangelical denomination had a passionate suspicion of imaginative literature ...⁷⁵



An early-nineteenth-century discussion in the main Evangelical periodical, *The Christian Observer*, included “A.A.’s” denunciation of fiction for heightening “only imaginary and unattainable enjoyments” and contributing to “the low tone of public morals” and Excubitor’s attack on what the writer regarded as the highly seductive and dangerous romanticising of the fiction and poetry of Fielding, Smollett, Sterne, Byron and Scott.⁷⁶ However, *The Christian Observer* also published reviews of novels and in an

1816 issue Thomas Babington Macaulay, writing as Candidus, declared that the best fiction had the power to “excite the strongest veneration for all that is great, elevated, or virtuous”.⁷⁷

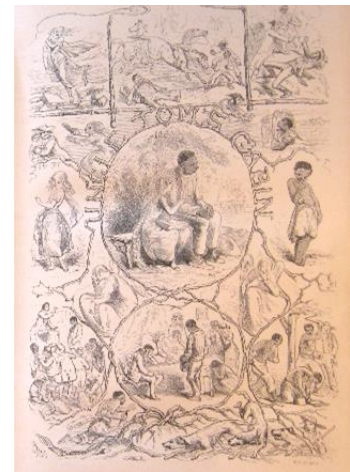
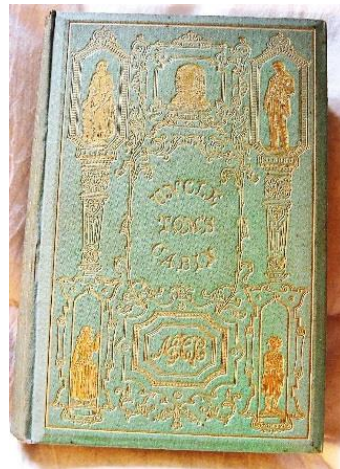
Figures 14 and 15: Mrs Sherwood, *The Little Woodman, and His Dog Caesar* (London: F. Houlston and Son, 1829), frontispiece. Reverend C.B. Tayler, *Lady Mary, or Not of the World*, 2nd ed. (London: Stanford and Swords, 1847), title page. Photographed by K. Moffat with kind permission of The Elms.



Brown’s collection reflects a cautious acceptance of some imaginative literature, particularly poetry and fiction with a moral and religious dimension. In his *Brief Memorials* Brown approvingly recalls Marsh’s reprimand to Celia when he saw her reading a fairy tale: “Do not read that book, dear Celia: there is no *truth* in it. Fairy tales are nonsense.”⁷⁸ However, Marsh and his father did enjoy certain kinds of fiction. Brown’s library contains a beautifully illustrated copy of Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress* and father and son shared a stimulating conversation during Marsh’s illness about whether Bunyan drew some of his ideas from the “journeys of the children of Israel in the wilderness”.⁷⁹ After reading Mary Sherwood’s *The Little Woodman and His Dog Caesar* Marsh remarked approvingly to his father that “Mrs Sherwood would not have written such a touching story, if she had never read in the Bible the still more touching one of Joseph and his brethren”.⁸⁰ Sherwood was a favourite of many missionaries, the Wesleyan William Woon writing in 1835 of his admiration for *Susan Gray* (1802): “such a triumph of virtue I never read before ... Admired the Grace of God in her”.⁸¹ As well as Sherwood’s *The Little Woodman*, Brown’s shelves also contain a copy of the Reverend C.B. Tayler’s *Lady Mary, or Not of the World* given to Christina Brown “from her loving husband”. The novel ends with a warning that a preference for the world and a rejection of Christ as Saviour is “but an awful proof of the infatuation of the unconverted heart”.⁸² Brown also gave Christina an elaborate, illustrated edition of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. This is amongst the most ornate of any of the books in Brown’s collection. The pages are edged in gold, the pale green front cover is

engraved with gold silhouettes and each chapter begins with an illustration that wends its way around the text. A selection of Sir Walter's Scott's novels and George Eliot's *Romola* round out the selections of fiction.

Figure 16: Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1853), Photographed by K. Moffat with kind permission of The Elms.



Brown's shelves also contain several volumes of poetry, ranging from *The Beauties of Shakespeare*, to the collected works of Milton and Tennyson. Once again, the most sumptuous edition, the poems of George Herbert's religious poetry, was a birthday gift from Brown to his second wife Christina. This book is as much a pleasure to the touch as it is to the eye. The padded covers cushion the palms of the hands while the fingers trace the indentations of the engraved flowers and the ridged spines. Inside, each page is pleasingly bordered and sketches give visual embodiment to Herbert's words.

Both Brown's published and unpublished writings reveal a knowledge of the religious poetry of his day and a relish for an apt quotation. In one manuscript he quotes from Anna Letitia Barbauld's "The Death of the Virtuous" to illustrate his belief that "a Christian should be contented with nothing but his lot in providence".⁸³ Likewise, in *Brief Memorials* he slightly adapts "The Three Sons", a poem by John Moutrie, the Rector of Rugby and friend of Thomas Arnold, to express his own grief and his consolation that Marsh has gone to a better place, concluding: "Oh! I'd rather lose my other child, / Than have him here again."⁸⁴ On occasion Brown composed as well as quoted poetry. *Brief Memorials* ends with a poem to "Alfred Marsh Brown in his infancy" and the collection of his manuscripts contains several drafts of poems.⁸⁵ Perhaps influenced by some of his reading on natural theology, such as Thomas Chalmers' *A Series of Discourses on Christian Revelation Viewed in Connection with the Modern Astronomy* (1817), one of Brown's more imaginative flights of fancy is an untitled poem about roving to the moon:

I am mooning – I am mooning –
I've had enough of earth.
The moon's the place, the moon's the place
For Girls of gentle birth.⁸⁶

For all Brown's certainties, his private papers reveal that his Christian walk was not without its difficulties and doubts. He once wrote:

His religion was not official but pastoral — not a religion of impulses, but of habit,
a habit of walking with God.
It is the perfection of holiness to do what God loves, and to love what God does.
We never form so close an alliance with God as in affliction.

I feel myself giving way to dejection. I know it is a sin. I think a month on a trial, but scarcely a moment on a mercy.

My unbelieving heart asks could not the Lord have convicted me by putting into my cup any other bitter rather than that bitter.⁸⁷

The page is undated and it is thus unclear to which “bitter” Brown is referring, perhaps the death of his son (1845), or of his first wife Charlotte (1855), or perhaps of a setback in his mission. However, what is clear is that even in moments of crisis and inner conflict his thoughts turn to God. He was indeed in the “habit of walking with God” and the centrality of God to Brown’s life and work is apparent in his library, in which books relating to biblical exegesis, theology, church history, and moral, Christian living dominate.

You can get to know a man through the books that keep him company and Brown’s library reveals him to be a courageous, robust, dedicated, serious man of faith, of the utmost probity and integrity, devoted to his family and his work, and with an occasional strain of whimsy. Maybe not a “common” reader in terms of being representative of the wider, more secular colonial reading community, but a man whose reading tastes and habits adds a valuable piece to the mosaic of the “common reader” in nineteenth-century New Zealand. Many of Brown’s attitudes may be perceived as problematic in a post-colonial, postmodern age: his suspicion of fiction, his intolerance for Catholicism, his unwavering belief in the civilizing necessity of mission. But in an age and society in which faith in anything is increasingly absent there is something appealing in entering a library so full of faith in many things: faith in God, faith in family, and faith in the power of books to help in any situation, be it explaining a passage of scripture, setting a broken bone, planting an apple orchard, or reassuring a dying child.

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- ¹ A.N. Brown Papers, Reel 11 – Miscellaneous Notes, Tauranga City Library.
- ² The Elms Catalogue, The Elms, Tauranga.
- ³ For the specifications, wood type and history of the bookcases and desk in Alfred Nesbit Brown's Library see Ibid.
- ⁴ For a full listing of the pictures on the wall of the library see Ibid.
- ⁵ For a full listing of the contents of Brown's desk see Ibid.
- ⁶ For the publication details of the volumes in Alfred Nesbit Brown's Library see Ibid.
- ⁷ Donald Jackson Kerr, *Amassing Treasures for All Times: Sir George Grey, Colonial Bookman and Collector* (Delaware and Dunedin: Oak Knoll Press and Otago University Press, 2006), 14, 16.
- ⁸ Lydia Wevers, *Reading on the Farm: Victorian Fiction and the Colonial World* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2010); Lydia Wevers, "Reading on the Farm: A Study of the Brancepeth Farm Library," *Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand* 28, no. 1-2 (2004): 184-194. For other studies of books and reading in colonial New Zealand see Kathleen Coleridge, "'New Books, Just Received from London': Access to New Publications in Colonial Wellington," *Script and Print* 29 (2005): 57-65; Dulcie Gillespie-Needham, "The Colonial and His Books: A Study of Reading in Nineteenth Century New Zealand" (PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1971); Suzann Liebich, "'The Books are the Same as You See in London Shops': Booksellers in Colonial Wellington and Their Imperial Ties, ca 1840-1890," *Script and Print* 31, no. 4 (2007): 197-209.
- ⁹ Wevers, *Reading on the Farm*, 280.
- ¹⁰ Beth Palmer and Adelene Buckland, "Introduction," in *A Return to the Common Reader: Print Culture and the Novel, 1850-1900*, eds. Beth Palmer and Adelene Buckland (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 3-4.
- ¹¹ Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 99.
- ¹² Peter J. Lineham, *Bible and Society: A Sesquicentennial History of the Bible Society in New Zealand* (Wellington: Daphne Brasell Associates Press and The Bible Society of New Zealand, 1996), 5.
- ¹³ Ibid., 9.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., 8.
- ¹⁵ Noeline Edwards, "Archdeacon Brown – Missionary," (master's thesis, University of New Zealand, 1950), 235-236.
- ¹⁶ A.N. Brown Papers, Reel 11.
- ¹⁷ Sarah Selwyn, Letter, January 23 1844, cited in Gillespie-Needham, "The Colonial and His Books," 196.
- ¹⁸ Wevers, *Reading on the Farm*, 216.
- ¹⁹ Neil Benfell, "The Shape of the New Society: Selwyn, CMS and the New Zealand Company in Fierce Debate." in *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand 1814-1882*, ed. Robert Glen (Christchurch: Latimer Fellowship, 1992), 74.
- ²⁰ Bishop Selwyn, Visitation Journal 1843-4, cited in Gillespie-Needham, "The Colonial and His Books," 200.
- ²¹ Benfell, 81.
- ²² Ibid., 74, 78.
- ²³ Jean-Francois Gilmont, "Protestant Reformations and Reading." in *A History of Reading in the West*, eds. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 213.
- ²⁴ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 100.
- ²⁵ A.N. Brown, *Select Sermons* (Tauranga: The Elms Trust, 1997), 56-7.
- ²⁶ Archdeacon A.N. Brown, *Brief Memorials of an Only Son*, 1845 (Gisborne: Elms Trust, 1991). 200 copies were originally printed on St John's College Press. It was subsequently reprinted in England and Australia and was translated into German. Sir George Grey admired the book, writing to Brown that the book had "reached him late in the evening, but that neither he nor Lady Grey could retire to rest before they read it through" (Letter to Dr Marsh, July 29 1851, A.N. Brown Papers, Reel 1 –

Correspondence), and arranged a Māori translation. For more details see C.W. Vennell, *Brown and the Elms* (Tauranga: Elms Trust, 1984), 66-67.

²⁷ William Marsh, Preface to Second Edition of Brown's *Brief Memorials*, 6.

²⁸ Brown, *Brief Memorials*, 10.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

³⁰ Lineham, *Bible and Society*, 23.

³¹ Brown, *Select Sermons*, 14.

³² Paul Landau, "Language." in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 194.

³³ Paul Moon, *Māori Transition to a Literate Society in the Nineteenth Century, He Parekereke: Occasional Publications Series* 6, no. 6 (1997): 20.

³⁴ Lineham, *Bible and Society*, 19-20.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

³⁶ Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 317. Peggy Brock examines the role of new Christians proselytizing among their own communities and becoming missionaries themselves in Peggy Brock, "New Christians as Evangelists." in *Missions and Empire*, 132.

³⁷ Lineham, *Bible and Society*, 23.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 18-20.

³⁹ Reverend A.N. Brown, Journals, vol. 2, October 28 1836-December 31 1840, 23, Sladden Collection, Tauranga City Library.

⁴⁰ Brown, Journals, vol. 2, 13.

⁴¹ Reverend A.N. Brown, Journals, vol. 3, January 1 1841-December 31 1846, 33, Sladden Collection.

⁴² Brown, Journals, vol. 2, 14.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 20.

⁴⁴ Evelyn Stokes, "Te Waharoa, Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi." in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated October 30 2012, accessed January 10 2014, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t82/te-waharoa-wiremu-tamihana-tarapipipi>.

⁴⁵ Brown, Journals, vol. 2, 15.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 2-3.

⁴⁷ Robert Glen, "Those Odious Evangelicals: The Origins and Background of CMS Missionaries in New Zealand." in *Mission and Moko*, 21.

⁴⁸ Brown, Journals, vol. 2, 23.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 20.

⁵⁰ E. Stack, Jottings from My New Zealand Journal 1858, 21-22, MS STA 50-327, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

⁵¹ John Hitchen, "Theological Roots of a Nineteenth Century Missionary Worldview," *Stimulus* 7, no. 2 (1999): 40-41.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 40-41.

⁵³ Church of Scotland, Presbytery of Glasgow, *The Truths of Protestantism Contrasted with the Errors of Popery, as Illustrated in the History of Past and Present Times, in a Series of Lectures* (Edinburgh: W. R. M'Phun, 1837), 34-5.

⁵⁴ Brown, Journals, vol. 2, 28-29.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, March 8 1840, 31.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, March 19 1840, 32.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, February 11 1842, 2-3.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, January 30 1842, 17.

⁵⁹ Frances Porter, "All That the Heart Does Bear: A Reflection on the Domestic Life of Missionary Wives." in *Mission and Moko*, 136.

⁶⁰ Brown, *Brief Memorials*, 10.

⁶¹ H.O. Dwight, H.A. Tupper, and E.M. Bliss, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Missions* (London: 1904), 447, cited in Norman Etherington, "Education and Medicine." in *Missions and Empire*, 275.

⁶² Etherington, 279.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 280-81.

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- ⁶⁴ Porter, 146.
- ⁶⁵ J.T. Conquest, *Outlines of Midwifery* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown and Green 1820), 145.
- ⁶⁶ Vennell, *Brown and the Elms*, 47.
- ⁶⁷ Brown, Journals, vol. 2, 33.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 22.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 18.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, December 19 1838, 19; April 2-7 1838, 23; January 22 1838, 19; July 23 1839, 15; September 3 1839, 19.
- ⁷¹ William Gisborne, 1847, quoted on an information plaque in Alfred Nesbit Brown's library.
- ⁷² Vennell, *Brown and the Elms*, 93.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, 33-34.
- ⁷⁴ S. Turner, *The History of England During the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, 3rd ed. (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1830), 1.
- ⁷⁵ Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 108-9.
- ⁷⁶ *Christian Observer* XIV (1815): 512-17 and XVI (1817): 425-8, cited in *Ibid.*, 110-11.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.* (1816): 784-86, cited in Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 115.
- ⁷⁸ Brown, *Brief Memorials*, 28.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.
- ⁸¹ William Woon, Journal, cited in Gillespie-Needham, "The Colonial and His Books," 192-3.
- ⁸² Reverend C.B. Tayler, *Lady Mary, or Not of the World*, 2nd ed. (London: Stanford and Swords, 1847), 309.
- ⁸³ A.N. Brown Papers, Reel 11 – Miscellaneous Notes. Brown quotes:
So fades a summer cloud away;
So sinks the gale when storms are o'er;
So gently shuts the eye of day;
So dies a wave along the shore.
- ⁸⁴ Brown, *Brief Memorials*, 33. John Moultrier's "The Three Sons" concludes:
When we think of what our darling is,
And what we still may be; -
When we muse on that world's perfect bliss,
And this world's misery; -
When we groan beneath the load of sin,
And feel this grief and pain; -
Oh! we'd rather lose our other two,
Than have him here again.
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 36.
- ⁸⁶ A.N. Brown Papers, Reel 11 – Miscellaneous Notes.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*