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Sonia Douglas Wales, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

NOELINE BAKER: A Life in Two Worlds

by

Leah Taylor

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Master of Arts

at the University of Otago, Dunedin.

New Zealand

1992
Noeline Baker was an interesting and unusual woman whose life spanned one of the most dramatic phases of women's history - two world wars, the campaigns for peace they brought into being, the women's suffrage and the changing role of women in society. Her life was one of extraordinary contrast. She was born into an upper middle class family and enjoyed a cosseted, urban girlhood in New Zealand but experienced discomfort, even danger on riding tours with her father. After the Bakers went to live in England, Noeline became a suffragist. Although she herself was removed from the experience of poverty and physical deprivation, she became concerned with the plight of women workers. She enjoyed independence (she never married) but for ten years was a "dutiful daughter", the companion of her elderly father. After his death, she left England and her position in a family network of influence and charm for a life of comparative isolation on Stewart Island, New Zealand. There she applied her energy and enthusiasm to creating a botanical garden. She never severed her links with Britain. She was deeply bonded to the two countries, travelled regularly between them and always missed the one she was away from.

Unfortunately, there are many gaps in this account because the information about Noeline Baker is limited and fragmentary. There is a lack of her own words because her diaries have disappeared and few personal letters were found. In spite of these limitations, the sources are enough to recreate the life of a woman who was in danger of disappearing from history and who is well worth remembering.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe my sincerest thanks to very many people who have helped and supported me during the researching and writing of this thesis.

From the beginning, Dr. Dorothy Page, my supervisor, has been encouraging, helpful and enthusiastic. I am also grateful to her for the research she did for me in London.

To Cadia Russell, Lillian Kennedy, Margaret Hopkins, Joanna Martin, Phyllis Christie, Maida Barlow, and Robert Sansom for welcoming me into their homes and for their time, knowledge and enthusiasm.

To Dorothy Menzies, Sheila Natusch, and Elaine Hamilton for lending personal papers, letters and photographs.

To Joyce Sheehan for doing research for me in Guildford, David Taylor in Washington D.C. and Peter Taylor in Wellington.

My thanks to Annette Facer for her help with photographs, Judith Gibson for her excellent typing, Catherine Taylor for hospitality in Wellington and Les Taylor for proof-reading.

In particular, I am grateful to Sonia Douglas Wales, Mrs. R.H. McCarter and Bruce McVey in the U.S.A., who kindly sent me copies of letters, family biographies and photographs and to Bruce and Marge McVey for travelling to Los Angeles Airport for a brief meeting.

I would also like to acknowledge with gratitude the grant from the Smethurst Fund and the New Zealand Federation of University Women’s Harriette Jenkins Award.
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ABBREVIATIONS

A.T.L.  Alexander Turnbull Library.
D.O.C.  Department of Conservation.
D.S.I.R.  Department of Scientific and Industrial Research.
H.L.  Hocken Library.
Hon.  Honorable, Honorary.
I.A.  Internal Affairs.
I.L.P.  Independent Labour Party.
L.S.W.S.  London Society of Women's Suffrage, London Society of Women's Service.
M.B.E.  Member of the Order of the British Empire.
N.A.  National Archives.
N.U.W.S.S.  National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
O.D.T.  Otago Daily Times.
P.C.  Privy Counsellor.
Q.C.  Queen's Counsel.
V.A.D.  Voluntary Aid Detachment.
W.A.A.C.  Women's Auxiliary Army Corps.
W.A.A.F.  Women's Auxiliary Air Force.
W.E.A.  Workers' Education Association.
W.S.P.U.  Women's Social and Political Union.
W.S.S.  Women's Suffrage Society.
Noeline Baker had two lives in two sharply contrasting worlds. She was a true cosmopolitan, a New Zealander to her British family, a Briton to her New Zealand friends. Deeply bonded to both countries, she belonged to neither in particular. She lived alternatively in each and always missed the other.

Noeline's life covered a period of extraordinary change and opportunity for British women. In some of this she participated, not all. She belonged to a generation and class of women who demanded new social and political rights and freedoms. She was almost an exact contemporary of suffragette leader Christabel Pankhurst, business leader and newspaper owner, Lady Rhondda, and Britain's first woman member of Parliament, Lady Astor.

She spent her girlhood years in colonial New Zealand, but England was always in the background providing cultural and moral standards. When her father retired in 1896, the family left New Zealand to live in England. There Noeline experienced the old-established privileges and traditions of her family's class. After her father's death in 1930, she returned to New Zealand, to the vividness of nature in her other world.

Throughout Noeline's life the contrasts were always there and always important. She enjoyed a cosseted, urban girlhood but also went on riding tours with her father through some of New Zealand's uninhabited wilderness during which she was deliberately exposed to danger, rode where no "lady" had ridden before and experienced some desperately uncomfortable times. Although her early adult life in England was removed from the experience of poverty and physical deprivation, she became a non-militant suffragist, a "prudent revolutionary", because she saw the vote for women as a collective remedy for poverty and injustice. Arguably, she was the most involved of all the New Zealand born feminists who played an active role in the British women's movement up to and including World War One. Nevertheless, after 1918, when some feminist leaders were
beginning to make significant contributions towards broadening women's political, occupational and family roles, Noeline, by contrast, became a "dutiful daughter", a companion to her elderly father. After his death, she left England and her position in a family network of influence and charm in the capital of the Empire, for a life of isolation on one of its most remote islands.

Noeline Baker was a woman to whom causes mattered deeply. Besides women's suffrage and a just society, she worked for the alleviation of food and labour shortages in England during World War One, the ideal of co-operation between the nations of the world, conservation in New Zealand and the study of post-war reconstruction during World War Two.

After Noeline returned to New Zealand, she applied her immense energy and enthusiasm to creating a botanical garden on Stewart Island. Garden history in New Zealand has been largely ignored, thus the story of her garden at "Moturau Moana" is an important part of this study.

Information about Noeline Baker is limited and fragmentary. There is a lack of her own words because her diaries, which John Baker referred to and from which notes were made on her women's suffrage activities and Women's Land Army work, have disappeared (probably destroyed after her death) and only a few personal letters were found. She was unmarried and grew up as an only child, so she had no direct descendants or nieces and nephews who could help, and I was not able to do more than a limited search in overseas libraries and record offices. Nevertheless, replies to innumerable letters sent to individuals, universities, libraries and county record offices in England, New Zealand and the U.S.A. have revealed an astonishing amount of detail.

For Noeline Baker's early years in New Zealand, John Baker's diaries, his book of press-cuttings (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington) and his memoirs have been the principal sources. Noeline's own papers for Women's Suffrage, the Women's Land Army, Post-War Reconstruction and a Dominion Conference on Bush Preservation and Tree Planting (Hocken
Library, Dunedin) have been particularly important. Her women's suffrage material has enabled a detailed description to be made, the first to my knowledge, on the all-important network which existed between provincial branches of Women's Suffrage Societies and their National Union.

John and Noeline Bakers' albums of early New Zealand and world photographs have also proved an invaluable source. The historian of New Zealand photography, F. Hardwicke Knight, has described these as one of the best collections of photographs in New Zealand. Besides providing important evidence, copies of some of the photographs have been included to give a visual dimension to the text.

Noeline Baker's relatives Peter Baker, Dr. Charlotte Wallace and Marie Temple in New Zealand and Barbara Strachey Halpern in England have provided information. The most useful family material, however, has come from Sonia Douglas Wales, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Mrs. R.H. McCarter, Weston, Massachusetts, and Bruce D. McVey in Pacific Palisades, California. They sent letters written by Isabel Baker and Noeline herself, letters from Charles B.E. Douglas to Noeline, photographs and unpublished family biographies.

Although Dr. Dorothy Page, Dr. Sheila Fletcher and David Doughan made a careful search for information on Noeline in the Fawcett Library, City of London Polytechnic, and Mary Mackey, County Archivist at the Guildford Muniment Room, has been very helpful, a detailed search of records in England has been impossible.

The quest became easier for the period after 1930. National Archives had information on Moturau Moana. Many people at Stewart Island and elsewhere remember Noeline and provided photographs and relevant material for the latter stages of her life.

From all these variegated sources, a study has been made of Noeline Baker's life in her two worlds.

   Robert Sansom, Cromwell.

   N. Baker's diary notes, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

3. F.H. Knight, Photography in New Zealand, p.177.

   John and Noeline Bakers' photograph albums are at the Hocken Library, Dunedin, and at the Rakiura Museum, Stewart Island.
CHAPTER 1

JOHN AND ISABEL BAKER

Isabel Noeline Baker, born on Christmas Day 1878 at "Wildwood", Opawa, was the second of two children born to John Holland Baker and Isabel Strachey. Their first child, a boy, had died when only nine months old. Noeline was to be a much loved only daughter.¹

Both Noeline's parents were of English birth, of upper middle class family and of adventurous temperament. They met, ironically, on a ship taking them away from New Zealand.

John Baker had emigrated to New Zealand in 1857 when a lad of fifteen. Born at Chilcomb, near Winchester, he was the eighth of eleven children born to Reverend Thomas Fielding Baker and Catherine Mathias.² John's childhood years were spent in Little Cressingham, Norfolk, in Yarmouth, with his paternal grandmother when his parents moved to Germany and, from 1851, with his parents in Kőenigswinter. He attended the Kőenigswinter Grammar School.³ Meanwhile, Catherine Baker's brother, Archdeacon Octavius Mathias, had settled in New Zealand. When the Archdeacon invited his sister to send one of her sons out to him, John's parents decided he should join his uncle in Christchurch. Another uncle, John Baker of London, outfitted the boy and arranged his passage to New Zealand on the Maori.⁴ This London uncle also paid the 200 pounds for John to be articled to Christchurch surveyor, Cyrus Davie. In 1858, John commenced work as a cadet in the Canterbury Survey office of the Provincial Government.⁵

During his apprenticeship years, John Baker spent summer holidays exploring the hinterland of Canterbury. For instance, in 1860 he rode with a cousin to the headwaters of a branch of the Ashburton river, in search of good pastoral country. Other trips followed, including one with runholder Samuel Butler who, like Baker, was the emigrant son of an English clergyman. They spent Christmas at Butler's sheep station, "Mesopotamia", before following in turn the Rangitata's three tributary rivers. During their explorations, they discovered a pass to
the West Coast which was later named Whitcombe Pass. After Butler returned to live in England and became a celebrated author, he described the discovery of Whitcombe Pass in his book, *Erewhon*. 6

On the completion of his apprenticeship, John Baker moved south. First, he went to the Tuapeka goldfields where he tried goldmining and storekeeping. In 1862, he returned to a surveying career after being appointed an assistant surveyor under Theophilus Heale for the Southland Provincial Government. 7 Three years later, when only twenty-three years, Baker replaced Heale as Chief Surveyor for the province of Southland. 8 In 1870, however, after the Southland province was reannexed to Otago, Baker was under the direction of John Turnbull Thomson as Inspector of Surveys for the Southland District. 9 It was as Inspector of Surveys he carried out the first trigonometrical survey of Stewart Island.

Isabel Baker and her twin brother, Alexander Strachey, were the youngest of the twelve children born to Richard Strachey and Anne Marie Powell of "Ashwick Grove", Oakhill, near Bath. 10 They came from a world of squires, better born clergymen and noteworthy Anglo-Indian families. Leonard Woolf describes the Stracheys as an "intellectual aristocracy of the middle class" whose male members went automatically to the best public schools, to Oxford and Cambridge Universities then into all the most powerful and respected professions. 11

Isabel's father, Richard Strachey, possessed an eager inquisitiveness, a love of adventure and a fondness for travel. He had a distinguished career with the East India Company. Nominated to a writership in the Company's Civil Service, he went to India in 1798. 12 The following year, he became an assistant to the Envoy to Persia, Captain (later Sir) John Malcolm. 13 When Malcolm chose his retinue, appearance was an important consideration because the Persians set great store on personal appearance. The young Richard Strachey made a good impression. Several miniatures were painted of him and hung in various palaces of Fath Ali Shah. Lord Curzon saw a picture of "Istarji, or Strachey the English Adonis" in *Hasht Behesht*.
(Eight Paradises), Isfahan. Seventy or eighty years later when Jane, Lady Strachey was introduced to a Persian in London, he exclaimed, "Ystreench!" and told her the name was still associated with good looks in Persia.

In Persia, near Shiraz, Richard Strachey visited the tombs of the great Persian poets, Hafiz and Saadi. When Malcolm's caravan paused for several days near the ruins of ancient Persepolis, Richard searched amongst the ruins for relics and found a carving of an old man's head. On another occasion, when returning to India after leave spent in England, he rode overland by way of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Georgia and Turkey. His granddaughter, Noeline Baker, discovered his letters and journals while visiting England in 1950. In these, Richard Strachey described his adventures in vivid detail.

Richard Strachey held a number of posts in India. He was Deputy Superintendent of Chandernagore and of Chinsurah. In August 1808 he went on an important mission to Kabul as secretary to Envoy Mountstuart Elphinstone, one of the great names in the history of British India during the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1811, Richard Strachey was appointed Resident at the Court of Scindia, Gwalior, but by this time his health had been affected by the Indian climate. Although he moved to a healthier location, when he became Resident at Lucknow, recovery was slow and he resigned from the service in 1817. Nevertheless, he still elected to travel home to England overland, through Persia, Georgia, Russia, Poland and Germany.

After Richard Strachey came back from India, he purchased Ashwick Grove, a large manor house near the village of Oakhill, in the Mendips, Somerset. In 1830, when he was 49 he married Anne Maria Powell of Wells. The twins, Isabel and Alexander were only two when Richard Strachey died in 1847.

From an early age, Isabel lived for part of each year with her older brother, Richard, his wife, Charlotte, and their large family at Ashwick Grove and at their Dinard villa in Brittany. She also stayed with four of her married sisters. Alexander, on the other hand, went to university, emigrated to
New Zealand and became part-owner of a sheep station in South Canterbury.

At university Alexander met Cyril Hawdon, the younger son of pioneer Australian grazier, Joseph Hawdon, who owned sheep stations in Victoria. After the Canterbury Association changed its rules and allowed land to be held on lease within its New Zealand Canterbury block, Joseph Hawdon also acquired Craigieburn, Grasmere and Riversdale stations. He made a fortune.

Cyril Hawdon and Alexander Strachey became partners when they purchased a 62,000 acre property (runs 254, 357, 380 and 381) near Fairlie. The purchase price for this sheep station, including between 17,500 to 18,000 sheep, was 16,000 pounds. A house was almost certainly built there in 1871 and they named their sheep station "Ashwick", after Alexander Strachey's home in Somerset. In 1871, Ashwick was sold again for 23,600 pounds.

During 1873, Alexander wrote to his twin sister and invited her to travel to New Zealand and "keep house" for him. Isabel and Mary Raine, sister of Alexander's friends, the Raine brothers of "Sherwood Downs" South Canterbury, sailed from Liverpool on 4 June 1874. At Melbourne they changed ships, finally arriving at Port Chalmers on 12 August. When Alexander met his twin sister, he told her he was tired of living in New Zealand and planned to go back to England. "What!" Isabel exclaimed, "After bringing me all these thousands of miles ..." Alexander promised to show her around, before they left on their return journey.

As squatters, Alexander Strachey and Cyril Hawdon had been part of Canterbury's élite rural society, which was described by Charlotte Godley as "the aristocracy of the Plains". They were members of the exclusive Christchurch Club and fitted easily into the country-house life of the South Island's hospitable station homesteads. It was into this society that Alexander introduced his twin sister.

In the 1870's, prosperity had returned to the high country's squatters. The slump in wool prices had ended in
Canterbury Museum, Christchurch.

Elton Album—Bruce D. McVey, California.

Isabel Strachey Baker, 1845-1920.
Dennistoun Albums—
Joanna Martin, Geraldine.

Alexander Strachey at Ashwick, South Canterbury.
Dennistoun Albums—Joanna Martin, Geraldine.

Ashwick homestead, South Canterbury, built for Alexander Strachey and Cyril Hawdon in 1871.
1871 and the national policy of immigration and development was stimulating New Zealand's economy. It was a good time for Isabel's visit.

First, Isabel stayed a month at Grasmere, in the upper Waimakariri river area near Arthurs Pass. By 1874, Grasmere was owned by Arthur Hawdon, the older brother of Cyril and an old Harrovian. He lived there with his wife Sarah Elizabeth, born Barker, the daughter of Dr. Alfred Barker and the first European child to be born in Christchurch.

Then, Isabel spent three months in South Canterbury visiting Alexander's squatter friends. They were guests of the Raine brothers at Sherwood Downs, the Kimbells at Three Springs, the Grays at Ashwick, the McPhersons at Clayton and the Wigleys at Opuha. At these sheep stations sport and social activities were enjoyed. Their owners organised picnics during the summer months, skating trips in winter, football matches and cricket meets. A cricket team, the Burkes Pass Sloggers, formed by local squatters, had been captained by Alexander Strachey in its heyday.

The back country habit of not going home was well-established. Dancing followed days of sport. Lady Barker and Charlotte Godley have described such occasions. Lady Barker visited one homestead, when the bedroom for guests was converted into the ballroom. The piano was brought through, the ladies put on their best gowns and everyone danced from 10pm until 4am. They only stopped then because the ladies were exhausted. Outnumbered by men, the "unfortunate ladies" were "nearly killed" with incessant dancing.

Isabel celebrated her first New Zealand Christmas with the Raines at Sherwood Downs. On Christmas Day, she attended a church service at Burkes Pass. Isabel had a special interest in the little interdenominational church. The plans for it had been drawn up for local runholders, including Alexander Strachey. He had asked Isabel to send the altar furnishings from England and she donated the baptismal font. Named St. Patricks, this Burkes Pass church was officially opened on 18 August 1872.
Isabel met and befriended Cyril Hawdon's two sisters, Alice and Emma. In 1875 both were married to well-known squatters. Alice's husband, Edward Wingfield Humphreys, had taken up land at Strath-Taieri. He named his property "Garthmyl" after his family home in Montgomeryshire. Later, the Humphreys resided in Christchurch, when Edward became briefly, the Member of Parliament for the Christchurch North seat.

Emma Hawdon's husband, Robert Campbell, was the wealthiest and perhaps the most powerful of the Otago runholders. Born in 1843 and educated at Eton, he came to New Zealand in search of land for his father, Robert Campbell of Buscot Park, Berkshire. Huge land holdings were acquired in Otago and Southland including the North Otago runs of Otekaike, Benmore and Station Peak. Robert Campbell also became a Member of the House of Representatives and, later, the Legislative Council, a member of the Senate of the University of New Zealand and the first chairman of the Waitaki Council.

The Campbells epitomised New Zealand's wealthy rural élite. At the time of Isabel Strachey's visit to Otekaike, in January 1875, plans were already under way to build a grand homestead. Designed by N.Y.A. Wales of the Dunedin architectural firm of Mason and Wales, a three-storied, thirty­roomed mansion in the Scotch baronial style was to be built on a site near the Otekaike river. When finished, it stood amongst avenues of English trees and had terraced gardens featuring flights of stone steps, fountains and ponds. A boy was employed to care for the peacocks which roamed in the gardens. Inside the house, the grandeur was repeated. The main reception hall with its beautiful inlaid floor was entered from a segmental portico, with the openings glazed to form a conservatory. The hall and staircase were lit by a large, square, glass lanthorn which was built above the roof in the centre of the building in the form of a tower. Modern features included provision for electric bells in ten rooms and the front door.
Otekaike became a hospitable country house. Robert and Emma Campbell filled it with guests and entertained on a lavish scale. A former head parlour maid has described Otekaike dinner parties. The dining-table was covered with long, white, stiffly starched tablecloths and serviettes, folded to suit the occasion. Long trailing ribbons connected vases of conservatory grown flowers. There were finger bowls beside each setting, with flower petals floating in them. The maid remembered carrying in huge silver tureens of steaming jugged hare soup and enormous cake confections on silver stands.

In 1875, Isabel and Alexander Strachey stayed with Robert and Emma Campbell for a month. Then, when the Stracheys left New Zealand during March, to return to England, the Campbells travelled with them.

First, the Stracheys and Campbells visited the United States of America. During this period, the U.S.A. was a popular destination for the English upper classes. They went to look at an "unpolished" supposedly classless society, to see "savages", and to make their own observations on the experiment of a written constitution and a "majoritarian democracy". The Stracheys and Campbells sailed from Auckland on board S.S. Mikado, bound for San Francisco. A fellow passenger was John Baker.

After thirteen years in the Southland Land District, Baker was taking a year's leave. He planned to visit the United States and Europe.

John Baker already knew Robert and Emma Campbell and on the second day of their voyage noted in his diary that "Miss Strachey sings well". Then, after reaching San Francisco, he went east by train to Ogden with the Stracheys and Campbells. They spent a week together in Salt Lake City, Utah, and on 22 April he wrote that he went for a long walk with "I.S." and "had a little conversation which will probably greatly effect (sic) our future lives". They continued travelling east together as far as Cheyenne, Wyoming, where Baker left them to visit New Mexico.
John Baker rejoined Isabel in France, where she was staying at Richard Strachey's villa in Dinard, near St. Malo. Their engagement was formally announced there on 21 September 1875.\(^5\)

A month later, Baker visited Ashwick Grove for the first time, when he was a guest at Alexander Strachey's wedding. First, he met Isabel at Timewell, Morebath, where she had been staying with her sister Charlotte Phillipps. Baker described their drive to Ashwick Grove. Baker, Isabel, Charlotte and Captain Phillipps were joined by another of Isabel's sisters, Mary and her husband, Charles Elton Q.C. As the Strachey sisters approached the family's estate, the tenants rang the bells of Ashwick church to welcome them home.\(^6\)

In his diary, Baker wrote movingly of a conversation he had with Isabel during this visit to Ashwick Grove.\(^5\) He was now very mindful of how much she would miss the Strachey family, with its traditions and special relationships. She would also miss "dear old" Ashwick Grove when she returned with him to colonial New Zealand.

On 10 December 1875, John Baker and Isabel Strachey were married at St. George's, Hanover Square, London.\(^5\) The day before, at Mary and Charles Elton's London house a marriage settlement was signed.\(^5\) In 1875, there was no Married Women's Property Act and this marriage settlement enabled Isabel to hold property, independent of John Baker.

John Baker wrote in his diary that Isabel kept him waiting at the altar for over half an hour.\(^6\) Nevertheless, according to one newspaper account, "a prettier wedding was never witnessed".\(^6\) Isabel's frock of rich white silk trimmed with Chambery gauze and Brussels lace was "remarkably elegant". Her seven bridesmaids were dressed in frocks of blue muslin trimmed with blue silk and they wore with these blue silk shoes and "Rubens hats" with blue silk linings. Two of Isabel's uncles officiated at the service and afterwards the wedding guests "partook of an elegant and recherche dejener" at the home of Mary and Charles Elton, 10 Cranley Place, South Kensington. The guests included New Zealanders Cyril Hawdon, Emma and
Alice Humphreys, born Hawdon, c1848-1934.

At Garthmyl, the Strath Taieri property of her husband, Edward Wingfield Humphreys. An intimate friend of Isabel Baker, Alice Humphreys gave Noeline Baker her first art lessons.
Emma Josephine Campbell, born Hawdon, 1843-1890.
The intimate friend of Isabel Baker and linked by marriage when Emma's brother, Cyril G. Hawdon married Isabel's niece, Mary Charlotte Georgiana ("Poppy") Strachey of Ashwick Grove. Emma Campbell was Noeline Baker's godmother. It was Emma who suggested the name Noeline when Isabel and John Baker's daughter was born on Christmas Day, 1878.
This thirty-roomed mansion at Otekaikenear Duntroon, North Otago, was finished in 1877. It was the home of Emma and Robert Campbell, friends of Isabel Baker. Noeline Baker and her parents were frequent guests at Otekaiken.
John Baker travelled on this narrow gauge railway line on 29 April 1875 during his trip through the United States.
Dinard, Brittany, in 1875.

John Baker's engagement to Isabel Strachey was formally announced on 21 September 1875 at the Dinard villa of Isabel Strachey's older brother, Richard C Strachey.
Robert Campbell.

A month later, the Bakers sailed for New Zealand on board the Indus. Voyages to or from New Zealand were never very comfortable. Quarters for passengers were cramped and often swamped in high seas. Sea-sickness, the extreme heat of the tropics and the bitter cold of lower latitudes added to their discomfort. There was also the danger of storms and the risk of disease. This voyage was no exception. One of the ship's stokers became ill with small pox. Two children died after being infected with the disease and all passengers were quarantined when the Indus docked at Melbourne. Eleven weeks after leaving Southampton, John and Isabel Baker landed at Bluff. They caught a train to travel to Invercargill and Baker noted in his diary that Isabel's first impressions were "not very good".

On his return, John Baker faced a very different professional situation and career prospects had changed. The abolition of the Provinces had been settled by the time he resumed his duties at the Southland Survey Office. Thomson, the former Chief Surveyor of Otago, had been appointed Surveyor-General for New Zealand. He now gave Baker the option of becoming Chief Surveyor of Otago or of Canterbury. Baker chose the latter because Isabel had made many friends there. He also wrote that Canterbury society was considered to be the "pleasantest" in New Zealand. His appointment was confirmed in November and as Chief Surveyor of Canterbury, he took charge of the Christchurch Survey Office on 2 January 1877.

Professionally, this marked the beginning of a very demanding period for Baker. In a report, dated 7 December 1876, Thomson had written to the Secretary for Crown Lands about the inaccuracies of the Canterbury surveys. For instance, in the district of Little River he found an error of six chains within two miles. In 1876 also, after Samuel Hewlings resigned as Chief Surveyor of Canterbury, the Standard and North Canterbury Guardian noted that under Hewlings' management the Survey office had been allowed "to drift into greater confusion and misrule than ever was the case before".
Then, in his own report to the Surveyor-General in 1878, Baker mentioned the enormous number of sections surveyed but not plotted and the errors found in some of this work. In one case, angles which were supposed to have been observed were hidden by a high hill. As a triangulation, therefore, the survey was useless. He also commented on the increase in subdivision. Frequently, certificates of title did not correspond to the boundaries of occupied land. In one instance, the greater part of a house had been built on a neighbour's property.

Baker's appointment was not popular with everyone. Although agreeing that Hewlings was incompetent, one Christchurch newspaper argued that someone from the Christchurch Survey Office should have replaced him as Chief Surveyor. Further criticism arose when Baker rejected surveys and dismissed staff. He was accused of private motives and personal dislikes. Nevertheless, Thomson in his final report to government finds time to praise the work of Baker who had worked hard to correct the errors made by his predecessors.

On the other hand the Bakers were soon enjoying a pleasant social life in Christchurch. Just after their arrival, they spent an enjoyable weekend at "Ilam" with Leonard Harper and his wife. Mrs. Harper's English relations were friends of the Stracheys. The Bakers made many more visits to Ilam over the years to attend garden parties, tennis parties and balls.

Isabel's Strachey family links with India gave the Bakers entrée into another Canterbury social group. After they moved to Christchurch, the first dinner party they attended was given at "Cashmere", the home of former Anglo-Indian administrator, Sir Cracroft Wilson. The Hon. James Dupré Lance of "Heathstock" and "Horsley Downs" was another friend. He had been in the East India Company's army in India and fought with distinction in the Mutiny. Isabel first met Lance when he visited her brother Richard, at his Dinard villa in 1874. Lance's Heathstock was reputed to be one of the most hospitable homesteads in New Zealand. Other good friends who had links...
with India were Captain and Mrs. Temple and Frank and Nina Neave.

At first, John Baker leased a house at Opawa, named "Wildwood". Nearby, was "Risingholme" the home of William Reeves, the principal proprietor of the Lyttelton Times and a former Minister in the Fox Government. Baker first met Reeves in January 1872, when he accompanied the Minister and others on a visit to Stewart Island. Then, in 1876, William Reeves's son, William Pember, had been a fellow-passenger of the Bakers on the Indus. During their quarantine in Melbourne, Baker wrote in his diary that he had had "a long scramble with Mr Reeves" over the rocks. Ellen Reeves, born Pember, was a member of a distinguished Herefordshire family. Although she was twelve years older than Isabel, they shared a good deal in common, including a love of France (Ellen had finished her education there). Baker's diaries contain many references to the Reeves family.

On 17 April 1877 the Bakers' first child was born. They named their son Owen Strachey. By December, the little boy was seriously ill with infantile diarrhoea, the so-called "Christchurch fever". To escape the unhealthy atmosphere of Christchurch, they took Owen into the country, to Isabel's friends the Raines, of Sherwood Downs, South Canterbury. The little boy seemed to recover, but on their return to Christchurch the illness flared again and Owen died on 14 January 1878.

John and Isabel Baker's daughter was born on 25 December of the same year. Baker wrote in his diary,

Miss Isabel Noeline was born.
Nurse only ten minutes in the house.
Dr. Turnbull nowhere!
Solitary Christmas dinner.


Emma Campbell (born Hawdon), one of Noeline Baker's godmothers, suggested the Christian name, Noeline, because of its Christmas connotation.
Owen Strachey Baker, died 14 January 1878.

2. Ibid, p.18.

Copy of entry in Register of Births, Somerset House, London, 3 December, 1857.

Thomas Fielding Baker (1802-1873).
Catherine Baker, born Mathias (1804-1859).


4. Ibid, p.15.


8. Ibid, p.73.


John Turnbull Thomson (1821-1884), civil engineer, surveyor and architect.

In 1871, after the Otago Provincial Council had had a serious argument with Thomson, Baker was invited by the Superintendent to become Chief Surveyor of Otago but Thomson refused to resign.


After Robert (later Lord) Clive had overthrown French power, India was governed from London by the Honourable East India Company. Following the Indian Mutiny in 1857, the rights of government were transferred from the Company to the British Crown. The India office was established in 1858 as a department of the British Civil Service and under a Secretary of State.


15. Sanders, _Strachey Family_ p.103.


_Gulistan_, the "Rose Garden" and _Bustan_, the "Fruit Garden" are the most famous of Saadi's poems.


Noeline Baker deposited Richard Strachey's letters and journals, bound in four volumes, at "Sutton Court" (the Strachey family seat near Pensford, Somerset) in 1950. These have since been transferred to the Somerset Record Office, Obridge Road, Taunton.


Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1859), distinguished soldier and Anglo-Indian administrator.


22. R. Atthill, _Old Mendip_, p.46.


Joanna Strachey, Mrs George Masters; Mary Augusta (Minnie), Mrs Charles Elton; Charlotte Margaret (Sharlie), Mrs J.J. Phillipps; Katherine (Katie), Mrs John Winterscall
Cyril Goodwich (or Goodricke) Hawdon (1846- ).

Joseph Hawdon (1813-71).

An unpublished history of the Hawdon family states that Cyril was educated at Rugby under Frederick Temple.

Henry Brown bought Ashwick from Strachey and Hawdon on behalf of his Scottish tweed manufacturing firm at Selkirk and admitted Melville J. Gray to a one-third share of a partnership in the sheep station. The price of 23,600 pounds was for a going concern, including 31,650 sheep. Hawdon and Strachey only took their private belongings with them, including books and a piano.

Other sheep stations in this area were Albury, Haldon, Mount Nessing, Rollesby.
   H.M. Thompson, *East of the Rock and Pillar*, p.44.

Robert Campbell senior (c1811-1887).
Hon. Robert Campbell (1843-1889).

46. Ibid, p.251.
See also P. Chandler, *Glenaray*, p.113.

Robert Campbell and Sons Ltd. (Incorporated 1881) owned
the Plains, Burwood, Mavora, Mararoa, Greenstone, West
Dome, Mount Linton, Galloway, Otekaike, Station Peak,
Benmore and Bushey Park stations.

See also Baker, *Surveyor in New Zealand*, p.158.
V Walker, "Otekaike .. 'the place of a home'",

48. Walker, Ibid.

49 Pinney, *Early South Canterbury Runs*, p.253. See also

Smith Bodichon, p.116.


52. J. Baker's diary, January 1871 to June 1875, A.T.L.,
No.114, 22 March 1875.

53 Ibid, 22 April 1875.

54. The Campbells and the Strachey's travelled on to Chicago,
Niagara and New York. They sailed from New York on
5 May 1875.

55. J. Baker's diary, 637, 21 September 1875.
56. Ibid, 1 November 1875.

Alexander Strachey married Fanny Augusta Phipps at Whitestone House, Shepton Mallet, Somerset on 3 November 1875. Isabel Strachey was one of the seven bridesmaids and Cyril Hawdon the best man.

57. J. Baker's diary, 637, 8 November 1875.

58. Ibid, 10 December 1875.

59. Ibid, 9 December 1875.

60. Ibid, 10 December 1875.


62. J. Baker's diary, 637, 13 January 1876.

63. Ibid, 21 February 1876.

The passengers on the Indus were detained in quarantine for a week and vaccinated.

64. Ibid, 1 April 1876.


The Abolition of the Provinces Act came into force on 1 November 1876.


67. New Zealand Gazette, 1876, p.912.


75. Ibid.

76. Ibid, p.156.

See also Acland, Early Canterbury Runs, p.281.
Wildwood had been vacated by the Count De La Pasture.

James Macandrew, Superintendent of Otago, and Professor Sale of the University of Otago accompanied Reeves and Baker on the steamer Wallace to Stewart Island.

Owen Strachey Baker was baptised at St Mark's Anglican Church, Opawa, 19 May 1877. His godparents were, Thomas Baker (uncle), Alexander and Fanny Strachey (uncle and aunt).

Owen Strachey Baker died at Oxford, after his parents removed him from Christchurch again. His body was buried on 17 January 1878 at St. Peter's Anglican Church, Riccarton, Christchurch.

Richard C. Strachey of Ashwick Grove presented a memorial (Chancel) window by Clayton and Bell to All Saints' Church Oakhill, Somerset, in remembrance of his nephew, Owen Strachey Baker.

Isabel Noeline Baker was baptised at St. Mark's Anglican Church, Opawa, 19 January 1879. Her godparents were, Richard Charles Strachey (uncle), Fanny Fisher (born Baker - aunt), Emma J. Campbell of Otekaike, Charlotte M. Phillipps (born Strachey - aunt).
Noeline grew up in New Zealand. Nevertheless, there is not a great deal of information about these years. Her early childhood was obviously a happy time, spent with affectionate parents in a stimulating environment. John Baker's diaries provide some insights, although he wrote mostly about his work.

For instance, there was panic when one year old Noeline became ill with infantile diarrhoea. Having lost their son from the same illness, the Bakers were taking no chances this time. Noeline was taken from disease-prone Christchurch to Little Akaloa, Banks Peninsula, where she and her nurse, Eliza Shaw stayed for over three months. They only returned to Opawa when the heat of summer and autumn was over and the risk of disease had passed.\(^1\)

Before Noeline's second birthday the Bakers shifted from Opawa to Fendalton, Christchurch. John Baker had purchased a fourteen acre property with a large house, a cottage and stables. He named this place "Chilcomb", after the rectory in Hampshire where he was born.\(^2\)

Noeline recalled her childhood at Chilcomb. She remembered her father romping with her, making dolls' houses and wooden carts, in which they could harness the dogs, and endless other toys. In the evenings he would tell her stories, especially an Arabian Nights' tale about an imaginary boy named Jimmy.\(^3\)

Chilcomb was the venue for a good deal of entertaining and Noeline, a cute and friendly child, became a favourite of guests. Her parents hosted garden parties, tennis tournaments, musical recitals, luncheons, dinner parties and dances.

Relatives from England visited during this period. Isabel Baker's nephew, Claude Strachey, of Ashwick Grove, came to Canterbury in 1882 to learn farming.\(^4\) He became a frequent guest at Chilcomb. Claude's sister, Poppy, had married Cyril Hawdon in 1881. When they came from England to settle at "Westerfield", Hawdon's Canterbury sheep station, the Bakers hosted several parties for the newly-weds.\(^5\) John Baker's
nephew, Hugh Fisher, visited during January 1884.

In February 1884, Isabel Baker's friend, Katharine Elton, arrived from California. Katharine had come to New Zealand to marry Charles Douglas, a surveyor for the Lands and Survey Department, New Plymouth. Five year old Noeline was Katharine Elton's little bridesmaid. This marked the beginning of a very special friendship between Noeline and "Aunt" Katharine, which later extended to Katharine Douglas's children and grandchildren.

John Baker escorted the bride and recalled their carriage-ride to St. Barnabas's Church, Fendalton, for the wedding ceremony. Noeline sang, "Hark the Herald Angels Sing", at the top of her voice. She thought going to church was synonymous with singing hymns.

The most important event during this early childhood period was a visit to England in 1884. John Baker had been having respiratory problems which were aggravated due to overwork. He applied to the Surveyor-General for a year's leave, with the intention of seeking a cure at a German spa. In February 1884, he was appointed Commissioner of Crown Lands for Canterbury. This new responsibility added to his already considerable workload and there was some doubt about him being spared from the office for a year. Isabel Baker intervened. As a result, the Surveyor-General, James McKerrow, gave his consent. On 5 April 1884, Noeline, her parents, her nurse and cousin, Claude Strachey, sailed from Lyttelton on board S.S. Ruapehu, bound for England via Cape Horn and Rio de Janeiro. The Christchurch Press noted John Baker's departure for a "well-merited" holiday, and several of their friends farewelled them at Lyttelton.

For New Zealand-born Noeline this first visit to Victorian England introduced her to an English upper class style of living. Staying at gracious country-houses and meeting members of her mother's family, who had a "highly romantic" regard for their ancestors and traditions, was a memorable experience.

Nineteenth century London, with all its sights, sounds and smells, was an exciting place for this little girl from the colonies. Noeline walked in Kensington Gardens, was taken
Elton Album -
Bruce D. McVey, California.
Original by P. Schourup,
Christchurch, N.Z.

Noeline Baker, c1881.
Robert Sansom, Cromwell.

Chilcomb, Christchurch.
The Fendalton home of the Bakers.
Noeline Baker and her parents were passengers on this steamship in 1884 when they travelled to Great Britain via Cape Horn and Rio de Janeiro. Their voyage took 39 days from Lyttelton to Plymouth.
shopping for new clothes and visited the London Zoo with her father, where she had a ride on an elephant. 14

The Bakers spent several weeks at "Timewell", Morebath, as the guests of Isabel's sister, Charlotte, and her husband, Captain James Phillipps. 15 At Timewell, Noeline enjoyed some of the pleasures of country-house living. In his diary, Baker described picking wildflowers from the fields with Noeline and going on long walks and carriage drives in this south Exmoor region. 16

Their visit gave Noeline the opportunity to become better acquainted with this aunt (also one of her godmothers) and uncle. They were an interesting couple. James Phillipps was the grandson of an Indian princess, Khair un Nissa, a Begum of aristocratic Persian blood and a descendant of Mohammed, who had married the Resident at Hyderabad, Lieutenant-Colonel James Achilles Kirkpatrick. 17

Another of Isabel Baker's sisters, Minnie Elton, lived in the picturesque, fifteenth century manor house, "Whitestaunton", Chard. Thought to be one of the finest Tudor manor houses in England, its surroundings were described by a contemporary writer as "eloquent of learned leisure and cultured comfort". Like the Strachey family, the Eltons were an old, West country family. Charles Elton was an eminent scholar, the Conservative Member of Parliament for Somersetshire, a brilliant lawyer and the author of several books on land tenure. 19 He also wrote the Origins of English History (1882). He possessed a valuable library and was a great collector of antiquities and objects of archaeological interest (he was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries). During the Bakers' visit to Whitestaunton, in January 1885, Noeline was too young to appreciate the splendid library but her aunt and uncle's small book collection would have appealed to a little girl. The most notable item, an eighteenth century Bible, measured only 31mm by 28mm. 20 Her uncle, however, could have kindled her early interest in archaeology. In the grounds of the Whitestaunton Estate were the remains of a Roman villa in which Charles Elton took especial pride. Later, Noeline had her own collection of Roman objects of archaeological interest,
including glass, a coin and fragments of pottery. Some of these came from Whitestaunton and are now at the Rakiura Museum, Stewart Island.

The Bakers visited John Baker's relatives also, including his Uncle John who had paid Baker's fare to New Zealand in 1857. They went to see his grandfather's rectory at Rollesby but it was at Isabel Baker's former home in Somerset that they spent the greater part of their leave.21

Ashwick Grove was conveniently near places the Bakers wanted to visit. From it they travelled to Bath; Wells Cathedral, where there was a memorial stone for Noeline's great-great grandfather Law, a former bishop of Bath and Wells; to Cheddar to see the famous caves and to Sutton Court, the Strachey family seat.

Located near Pensford, about fifteen miles south of Bristol, and containing an ancient stone manor house and the village of Stowey, the Sutton Court estate had a long history. The earliest parts of the house are Norman and were built by the Suttons who held the land at the time of the Domesday Survey. The St. Loes owned the estate in the fifteenth century and in Tudor times important additions were made to the house by Elizabeth Hardwicke, whose third husband was William St. Loe.22 Although she married a fourth time, she bequeathed Sutton Court to the son of her second husband and it was from his descendants the widow Jepp purchased the estate in 1642. She, in turn, bequeathed it to her son, John Strachey.23 At the time of Noeline's visit, Sutton Court belonged to Sir Edward Strachey, the third baronet and first cousin of Isabel Baker.24

Not only were the Bakers able to see over the old manor house and its grounds, they could view the family portraits in the Great Hall.25 These included one of Noeline's grandfather, Richard Strachey, after a painting hung in one of the palaces of the King of Persia and another of him in middle age by William Patten.

A luminous embroidered cat, framed like a picture would have appealed to Noeline. This had been given to her great-grandfather, the first Sir Henry Strachey, because of his
devotion to cats. Sir Henry's descendants shared this devotion. For instance, Noeline's grandfather, Richard Strachey, wrote to his sister from Persia describing the very fine cats he saw, with their long hair and bushy tails. He promised to send one home to her. Noeline probably saw Sir Edward Strachey's favourite cat, "Jim", at Sutton Court. Jim was thought to be descended in a direct line from "King George", the cat in the embroidered picture. Lytton Strachey, another devotee, wrote a poem, The Cat, and Julia, Lady Chance (born Strachey) was skilled at drawing cats.

Noeline shared this love of cats. In the 1930s, after she built her house at Stewart Island, she brought her beloved cat, "Capers" from England to live with her at Moturau Moana.

As well as being a convenient base for their excursions, Ashwick Grove was the venue for several events during the Bakers' stay. Noeline enjoyed the children's mid-summer Hay Party at Pondsmead. In September, John Baker took part in the partridge shooting. The Mendip Hounds met there in December. Then, there was a family wedding when Richard Strachey's second daughter Constance (Connie) married R. Seymour Whalley at All Saints' Church, Oakhill, on 10 July 1884.

Noeline was one of Connie Strachey's eight bridesmaids. Their frocks were made by Madame Rennet et Cie of Regent Street, London, and featured cream spotted muslin trimmed with lace and strawberry coloured satin ribbons. Large straw hats, decorated with lace and "fraise aigrettes", were worn.

The wedding of the squire's daughter was a special event for local villagers and estate tenants. They lined the route to the church with trees; erected four large floral arches featuring messages of goodwill and decorated the village with bunting. On the morning of the wedding, men and women gathered at the church to welcome the young bride. Although the bridegroom's father officiated at the church, the local vicar and combined choirs from the villages of Oakhill and Ashwick participated in the wedding service. Afterwards, the bells of Ashwick, Stoke Lane and Shepton Mallet Parish Church were rung.
Elton Album -
Bruce D. McVey, California.

Isabel and Noeline Baker, 1884

The original photograph was by Jabez Hughes and Mullins, photographers to the Queen and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Ryde, Isle of Wight.
Whitestaunton Manor, c1885.

The home of Charles I. Elton Q.C.,
near Chard Somerset.
This Tudor manor house is partly of the fifteenth century
but enlarged in the reign of Elizabeth I.
The home of Noeline Baker's uncle and aunt, she first
stayed there in 1885.
Sonia Douglas Wales, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Mary Augusta Elton, born Strachey, c1838 -1914.

Noeline's beloved Aunt Minnie. A gifted woman who shared her husband's interest in rare books.
Country Life Library.

Sutton Court, Pensfold, Somerset.
Strachey family seat since 1662.
Wedding festivities had begun the day before, when Richard Strachey hosted a dinner party for thirty-four guests. After the wedding ceremony, the bridal party and invited guests returned to Ashwick Grove where a quadrille band from Bath played in the portico of the house and caterers served the déjeuner in the "most recherché manner". Then, in the evening, a ball was held for the neighbours.

Wedding guests included the sisters, Elinor Rendel and Dorothy Strachey, the eldest daughters of Lieutenant-General (later Sir) Richard Strachey, F.R.S., and Jane Strachey. Little did these women realise that their young New Zealand cousin, Noeline, would eventually become intimately involved with their mother, sisters and a brother in the fight for women's rights.

For Noeline, another memorable occasion at Ashwick Grove was Christmas Day 1884, her sixth birthday. Christmas in New Zealand could be a sad time for immigrants. Sarah Courage described it as "a solemn, not a jolly time". Sarah and her husband talked and thought of "home", relations and friends and wondered if they would ever see them again. Lady Barker also wrote about her terrible homesickness. Perhaps it was due to an absence of nostalgia, that Baker wrote a longer than usual diary entry for 25 December 1884. A delighted Noeline came to her parents' bedroom to show them her present-filled stocking, everyone went to church and after lunch Christmas gifts were opened in the drawing room. The family was joined for the evening by Alexander Strachey and his wife. Squire Strachey himself escorted his niece into her first dinner and Noeline sat at his side throughout the Christmas meal.

It was with real regret that the Bakers finally left Ashwick Grove on 13 February 1885, to travel to Plymouth. From there they sailed for New Zealand on board the S.S. Ruapehu.

Noeline's visit to England was an extension of the Baker's Christchurch, upper class, English style of life. Only now, one could fairly say the young Noeline was conscious of belonging to an old, distinguished, county family. Nevertheless, her New Zealand experiences during the next decade were to affect her profoundly.
At a time when New Zealand was keeping pace with the world in the education of girls, Noeline received an old-fashioned education with an emphasis on accomplishments. Baker's diaries have very few references to Noeline's education and there is no evidence of her attending school, although there were good schools for girls in Christchurch and Wellington. Noeline's first governess, Miss Paul, joined the Baker household in March 1887. She was replaced by Miss Louie Collinson. In 1888 Alice Humphreys gave Noeline her first art lessons. These were continued the following year by a Miss Gee. In 1880 also, Noeline received gymnastic lessons. Baker did not mention music lessons, but considering Isabel Baker's interest in music and the value Victorian society placed on musical accomplishments for girls, it seems probable Noeline received some form of musical training. As an adult, she was passionately fond of music.

Only two of Baker's diary entries seem to be more attuned to the educational improvements being sought for women. In 1894 Noeline was learning geometry from a tutor and on 10 December 1895 she sat the New Zealand matriculation examination. Although Noeline's tertiary education was postponed until 1899, when she became a student at the Slade School of Fine Art, University College, London, the inclusion of a non-traditional subject for girls in her studies and the sitting of the university's entrance examination suggest a less conventional outlook. Nevertheless, while Noeline remained single it was expected she would remain at home throughout her adulthood and fulfil her duties as a daughter.

Noeline's education was greatly enhanced by the influence of her home environment. She grew up among cultivated people with an interest in the arts, public affairs and the society in which they lived. Baker mentioned Noeline's delight when she saw "A Midsummer-Night's Dream" performed in "limelight" at Mrs. Studholme's bazaar. "Spanish" music students played for Isabel Baker's guests at a musical concert held at Chilcomb. They were "appreciated immensely", especially after playing their final number, "Valse d' Estudiantina". On another occasion Noeline, dressed as Britannia, led the march at the
children's fancy dress ball hosted by Alice Humphreys. The three act play, "Sleeping Beauty" was also performed. When the Bakers held a summer garden party at Chilcomb and the guests included naval personnel from the Curacoa, tennis, croquet, "Fleming's" band, a carol and glee-singing group and dancing on the lawn were arranged to entertain.

While gaiety and social occasions were enjoyed by Christchurch's élite, life had a more sombre side during this decade. It was a period of prolonged depression. Christchurch, where the Vogel land boom had been most frantic, was one of the first towns to be hit by the depression and it was hit the hardest. In 1885 and again in 1888 a reluctant Baker made reductions in his staff to lower departmental expenditure. Some of the Bakers' closest friends were forced to quit their sheep stations.

It was because of this depression and the hardships created from its effect, that the child Noeline gained her first understanding of the principles of Christian Socialism. During the 1850's a group, known as Christian Socialists aimed to promote social reform by showing that Christianity was a way of life applicable to the industrial society of the nineteenth century. The leading spirit in this group was Frederick D. Maurice. Isabel Baker's cousin, Sir Edward Strachey of Sutton Court, had lived and studied with Maurice in 1836. He wrote,

Theology was the centre of his (Maurice's) thought and life, but it was the centre from which every human interest radiated, and no human interest was foreign or uninteresting to him.

In New Zealand, the Reverend Rutherford Waddell and Bishop Churchill Julius of Christchurch believed in Christian Socialism. They preached that the concepts of Christ ought to shape and guide a Christian society. From his Presbyterian pulpit, Waddell condemned the growth of "sweated" labour conditions in Dunedin's clothing industry and, after the subsequent investigation, Bishop Julius reminded members of his Church of England diocese of their obligations to society. The Bakers were communicant members of the Anglican Church and
The principles of Christian Socialism were important factors in the development of Noeline's feminism. Twenty years later, she also became concerned with the "hideousness" of sweating and condemned the labour conditions in England's clothing industry.

Christian Socialism was not the only concept Noeline absorbed during these formative years. Profound changes were taking place in New Zealand politics. At the forefront of these changes was William Pember Reeves.

Born in 1857, Reeves was the son of the Bakers' friends, William and Ellen Reeves of Risingholme, Opawa. He was a Fabian socialist who wrote the country's first socialist pamphlet. He also helped to found the first modern political party in New Zealand. He was elected to Parliament as the Member for St. Albans in 1887. From 1891 to 1896 he was the first Fabian socialist to hold cabinet office in the Liberal Government. He was also the author of comprehensive labour legislation, including an Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act (1894). Britain's Liberal premier, Herbert Asquith, said that Reeves had helped to make New Zealand a laboratory in which political and social experiments are every day being made for the information and instruction of the older countries of the world.

One of these "political and social experiments" and the most radical of the Liberal Government's legislation was the Electoral Act of 1893, when New Zealand became the first country in the world to give women the vote. The Women's Suffrage debate had begun in New Zealand during the 1860's, when Mrs. Mary Muller published, under the nom-de-plume "Femina", a number of newspaper articles and her Appeal to the Men of New Zealand (1869), challenging New Zealand men to throw off old world prejudices and allow women here the right to a voice in government. Nevertheless, it was only after the Women's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.) became a national society that serious agitation for votes for women began.

Some progress had been gained already for New Zealand women. The Stout-Vogel Ministry sponsored a Married Women's
Then, in April 1887, Vogel introduced a Women's Suffrage Bill. Although a majority of nineteen voted for it, the Bill was defeated in committee and withdrawn. In 1890, when the measure was dealt with again, there was a resounding majority of twenty-six in favour but, once again, this did not spell success. Sir John Hall's subsequent amendment was defeated by seven votes. After the Liberals' victory and the 1891 assembly of Parliament under John Ballance's leadership, the suffrage movement within the W.C.T.U. renewed its efforts.

This campaign, for the enfranchisement of women, coincided with the Bakers' move from Christchurch to Wellington. John Baker had been appointed Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Land District of Wellington and on 20 May 1891 took over the Wellington Survey office. Noeline and her mother joined him in November, when they moved in to "Lindfield", 5 Tinakori Road.

There is no evidence of Isabel Baker taking part in the New Zealand Women's Suffrage campaign. Nevertheless, she was probably sympathetic. She enrolled for the 1893 Election; several of her friends, including Maud Pember Reeves, took part in the campaign, and later, in England, she became a member of the N.U.W.S.S.

When Sir John Hall introduced his female franchise measure into Parliament it was passed in the Lower House with little opposition. But the real test was expected in the Legislative Council.

Noeline, now fourteen years and at an impressionable age, was living in Wellington during this interesting time. Without a doubt, she would have been keenly interested in the parliamentary debate which, by this stage, was attracting phenomenal public interest. According to the Auckland Star men watched the various phases of the contest in the Council with more interest than they did share prices or fluctuations in their daily business. Women, this newspaper claimed, let the fashions slide and waited "breathlessly" for each day's news in the morning and evening newspapers. People also filled the gallery of the Legislative Chamber, including the
Governor's wife and daughter.\textsuperscript{71} Right up to the final debate, friends of women's suffrage feared defeat. Even after the Council passed the Bill with a two vote majority, the controversy did not end. When the Bill, with amendments, was returned to the Lower House, the procrastination of Premier, Richard Seddon, delayed its consideration until after the weekend.\textsuperscript{72} Meanwhile, the eighteen Legislative Councillors who voted against the Bill at the third reading signed a protest; Arthur Macdonald, a "meddlesome busybody" in Dunedin, telegraphed the Governor asking him to withhold his assent and brewing interests hastily organised petitions opposing the measure.\textsuperscript{73} The delay also caused rumours to circulate in Wellington. For instance, the Electoral Bill was to be killed; Parliament would be dissolved, the Electoral Bill was to be at the bottom of the order paper and Mr. Fish intended to "stonewall" it.\textsuperscript{74} In spite of "stonewall being written in every line of Mr. Fish", the Bill was passed on Monday 11 September 1893. The Governor, Lord Glasgow, signed the Act on 19 September.\textsuperscript{75} New Zealand thus became the first country in the world to admit women to electoral franchise.

Before all the excitement had died down, Oliver Strachey arrived to stay with the Bakers.\textsuperscript{76} Oliver Strachey had a special interest in the Women's Suffrage issue. His mother, Jane Strachey, was an ardent feminist and a close friend of Women's Suffrage leader, Mrs. (later Dame) Millicent Fawcett.\textsuperscript{77} Jane Strachey had enthusiastically signed and helped to circulate the first Women's Suffrage petition which John Stuart Mill presented to the British House of Commons in 1867. Did Noeline and Oliver discuss these things when they went riding together in Wellington during Oliver's visit? This is not known, but they certainly never realised they would be working together twenty years later, in Great Britain's Women's Suffrage campaign.

Meanwhile, Noeline was enjoying her social life in the colonial capital of New Zealand. Katherine Mansfield has described the Thorndon area in which the Bakers lived. She had been born at 25 Tinakori Road and, from 1899 to 1907, lived at
This latter place was the setting for her short story, "The Garden Party". As well as the grand houses, including the Prime Minister's residence, in Tinakori Road there were nearby lanes with "little mean dwellings painted a chocolate brown". Washerwomen lived in the lane Katherine Mansfield described "and sweeps and a cobbler and a man whose house-front was studded all over with minute bird-cages".

Like Katherine Mansfield, Noeline enjoyed the social life of Wellington: garden parties, tennis parties, picnics and dances. After one dancing lesson, Isabel Baker entertained the members of Noeline's class for tea.

Sometimes, Noeline stayed at the homes of her friends. For instance, from 29 December 1893 until 3 January 1894 she was the guest of the Bell girls at "Taumaru", their beautiful Lowry Bay house. Francis (later Sir Francis) H. Dillon Bell showed a deep personal interest in young people. Given Noeline's enthusiasm for native plants, one wonders if he discussed with his daughters' friend his efforts to preserve the native trees and native birds at Taumaru.

When the football teams from Wanganui Collegiate School and Christ's College, Christchurch, played in Wellington in 1894 there was a flurry of social activity. The Sprotts held a dance on 30 August, the interschool match took place on 3 September, a dance at Government House followed during the evening and Mrs. T.C. Williams hosted an "At Home" the next night. Mrs. Williams and her three daughters received "over thirty young fellows" and her daughters' friends. Noeline attended all these functions.

In 1895, Noeline had her own, all-female dance on 12 September at the Wellington Art Gallery. The room was draped with bunting and "charmingly decorated" with ferns, palms and flowers. Masses of snowdrops decorated the supper table. Isabel Baker and Noeline received the twenty-eight guests and according to the report in the New Zealand Mail, Isabel wore a handsome black satin gown trimmed with jet and chiffon. Noeline's frock was cream crepon trimmed with lace and ribbons.

In contrast with the pampered, upper-class, English style
upbringing Noeline received, were the riding tours with her father when her courage and stamina were put to the test. Around August 1889 Noeline was given her first pony.\(^85\) The following year, when only eleven, she accompanied John Baker on one of his inspection tours of Banks Peninsula. She had never been away before without her mother or her governess. Isabel Baker had no qualms about Noeline's riding ability, but she did have serious doubts about her daughter's ability to cope with the buttons on her clothes.\(^86\)

During their ride, Noeline and her father stayed at small hotels and hospitable farm homesteads. Their route was over Dyer's Pass to Port Levy; Mackintosh Bay (now Menzies Bay); Little Akaloa, where Noeline had spent the summer of 1879-80; Okain's Bay; Waikerikeri Bay and Akaroa. From there they caught the steamer to Lyttelton.\(^87\)

At Mackintosh Bay they stayed with John Menzies and his family. John Baker and Menzies had met in Southland. Then, Baker helped Menzies to secure his Banks Peninsula land.\(^88\) A former student of the University of Edinburgh, Menzies had an alert mind and the gift of holding children spell-bound with his stories. He and his wife had a large family, so staying with them was a happy experience for Noeline. Years later, she returned as the guest of John Menzies' grandson, Ian.\(^89\) By then he had taken over part of his grandfather's property.

Their visit to the Maori Pa at Okain's Bay, Banks Peninsula, was Noeline's first encounter with the Maori people. She was fascinated. She retained a life-long interest in Maori culture; tried to learn the Maori language; befriended Ema Umurau Kareta, the granddaughter of Kareta, who was one of the signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi and visited other Maori villages.\(^90\) For many years a greenstone mere, given to her father by a Maori chief, hung beside her bed.\(^91\)

Another highlight of their Banks Peninsula tour, was a walk in the bush near Waikerikeri.\(^92\) There, Noeline saw magnificent tree ferns growing. This marked the beginning of her life-long interest in New Zealand's native flora.

Noeline accompanied her father on two other riding tours. After Baker was appointed Commissioner of Crown Lands for the
Land District of Wellington, they rode over the Rimutaka Range to Cape Palliser. Then, during 1894, they went to the northern section of John Baker's Wellington survey district.

Their journey, a round trip from Hunterville to Wanganui, began in January. John Baker attended a land sale at Hunterville and afterwards they set out on their horses. The first night, they slept at Ohingaiti. Then, from there, they rode past an immense cutting being made for the future Main Trunk rail line; through camps for railway workmen; in magnificent New Zealand forest and across wild, uninhabited country. They stayed at Studholme's station, "Ruanui", where Noeline sketched beautiful views of Mount Ruapehu, and nearly a week at Birch's station, "Erewhon". From there they rode to Tokaanu, passing close to the volcanoes Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu. This was the closest Noeline had been to "great" mountains and according to John Baker she was "spellbound".

It took all day for the Bakers to cross Lake Taupo on a steam launch. From the village of Taupo, they visited the Huka Falls and the thermal attractions at Wairakei.

Their next destination was to be Taumarunui, on the upper reaches of the Wanganui River. At Tokaanu, Baker collected camping equipment and hired a Swedish packman and two packhorses. Once again, Noeline rode her cream-coloured pony over a route which was often difficult and sometimes dangerous. In some places the track was cut out of the papa cliffs and was only two or three feet wide. At one cutting, leading down into the Makatote River, Noeline turned round to see if her father was going to dismount. Baker wrote,

I did not get off because I knew that we had many dangerous places to face before we reached the end of the journey and I wanted to try her (Noeline's) nerve. It was certainly a nasty bit of road and if I had known how bad I should have made her get off and lead her pony. In some parts the cutting had slipped away and the track was so narrow that there was just room for the horses' feet and no more; the swags on their backs grazed the cliff and on the other side there was a sheer drop to the river-bed a hundred feet below.
At the Waimarino Plains surveyors' camp, a part-Maori man joined them to act as interpreter and to arrange their transport for the eighty mile journey down the Wanganui River from Taumarunui to Pipiriki.

Their Wanganui River journey was an exciting experience. Noeline and her father travelled in a Maori canoe, made from a hollowed-out tree trunk and paddled by a Maori couple whose baby and infant child came with them. Although there were dangers, these people managed the canoe superbly and shooting rapids, crossing whirlpools and racing through narrow guts with the currents of the river proved to be more exhilarating than frightening. At night, Noeline and her father slept in their tent on beds of fern. The river's scenery was beautiful and the tree ferns, magnificent. A stop was made to visit a Maori village sited on a high, riverside terrace. Then, after they reached Pipiriki, they drove to Ohakune to collect their horses for the ride to Wanganui. Altogether, this tour was a wonderful achievement for fifteen-year-old Noeline. Her stamina and courage had been tested to a remarkable degree. In parts, she had ridden where no "lady" had ever ridden before.

There were more adventures in January 1896 when the Bakers went on a tour of the South Island. Because of recurring ill-health, John Baker had decided to take early retirement. When they left their pleasant Christchurch home in 1891, John and Isabel Baker had already decided to eventually return to live in England. Baker, therefore, was determined to show his wife and daughter some of the more inaccessible attractions of the South Island, before they left New Zealand.

On 6 January 1896, the Bakers and a Miss Izard crossed to the South Island. Not only did John Baker describe their tour, but his collection of photographs featuring places they visited is extant. They went to the West Coast, the Sounds, the Lakes and Mount Cook.

Baker described in vivid detail their two day trip through the Buller Gorge. They had box seats on the coach, to obtain the best views, but in places where the road had been tunnelled through rock, outside passengers ducked their heads to avoid injury. The coach's swingletree and pole broke too.
Baker helped the driver make a temporary repair to the latter by splicing on a strong piece of wood cut from the bush.  

At Port Chalmers they boarded the *Tarawera* for their trip to the Sounds. Miss Izard had returned to Wellington, but Miss Lysaght, Miss Burnett, Mr. Symes from the Melbourne *Age* with his wife and sister-in-law and Miss Wilde, sister of Oscar Wilde, were among their friends travelling on board. They encountered a violent storm in Foveaux Strait, en route to Bluff, but the beauty and peculiar charm of the Sounds made up for the earlier discomfort. They visited Long Sound, Dusky Sound, Breaksea Sound, Doubtful Sound, George Sound and Milford Sound.

After a visit to Invercargill, the Bakers travelled by train and Lake steamer to Queenstown. On their first day, they drove to Skippers. Describing the road, Baker had "never seen anything that looked so perilous". They also went by steamer to the head of the Lake. Noeline and her father rode up the Routeburn Valley as far as the Harris Saddle and into the Rees Valley to the Lennox Falls.

It took three days to reach Mount Cook from Timaru. Nevertheless, to see the beauty and grandeur of the Southern Alps made the long journey worthwhile. One day, while visiting Kea Point, the Bakers were joined by Joseph (later Sir Joseph) Kinsey; his daughter; an Italian Guiseppe Barszilino; his alpine guide, Mathias Zurbriggen, and John Clarke, the New Zealand alpine guide who had been a member of the first party to climb Mount Cook. Clarke pointed out the Empress and the Noeline Glaciers to the Bakers. The latter had been named by Noel Brodrick after Noeline, when he made the first survey of the mountain's glaciers in 1888.

Throughout their South Island tour, the Bakers were very impressed with the forest and plants they saw. For instance, in the Buller Gorge the bush was richer than anything they had ever seen. At the Sounds, Baker described huge trees covered with every sort of parasite, including wreaths of moss hanging from the branches. There were "gigantic" tree ferns and at Milford Sound the scarlet rata blossoms made "gorgeous patches of colour against the dark evergreens".
Sonia Douglas Wales,
Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Noeline Baker, c1892.
Noeline was a teenager living in Wellington when local photographer, R. Herrmaun, of Cuba Street took this.
"Drop Scene", Wanganui River, c1894.

The Maori canoe (partly visible) is similar to the one Noeline and John Baker travelled in for their trip down the Wanganui River in 1894.
Hawk's Crag, Buller Gorge, c1896.

This illustrates the state of the coach road through the Buller Gorge when the Bakers toured the South Island in 1896. At Hawk's Crag the coach came so near the edge there were only inches to spare and outside passengers had to duck to avoid injuring their heads.
Baker Album VIII, Hocken.

Picnic at Kea Point, the Hermitage, Mount Cook, 20 February 1896.

From Left: Guiseppe Barszilino, an Italian businessman; M. Zurbrigggen, Swiss alpine guide; John Baker; Isabel Baker; Miss Kinsey; Jack Clarke, New Zealand alpine guide and member of the party of three who made the first ascent of Mount Cook, 25 December 1894 and Noeline Baker.
Noeline Glacier, Mount Cook, 1893.

Named the Noeline Glacier by Thomas Noel Brodrick who carried out the first survey of the mountain's glaciers in 1888. He named it after his chief surveyor's daughter, Noeline Baker.

This photograph is from an original taken by George Moodie for Burton Brothers, photographers, Dunedin.
Baker returned to Wellington and work but Noeline and her mother remained in the South Island until the end of March. This was their final visit before leaving New Zealand.

On 6 October 1896, John Baker presided at his last Wellington Land Board meeting. While he spent his final days at his Wellington office and attended the auction of Chilcomb, in Christchurch, Noeline and Isabel Baker visited their friends the Lysaghts at Mokoia and the Douglasses in New Plymouth. Baker joined them in New Plymouth. They sailed from there to Auckland, en route to Rotorua where Noeline received treatment for rheumatism.

Finally, on 23 November Noeline and her parents sailed from Auckland on board a steamer bound for Sydney. Baker wrote,

> We were all sad to think that this was really good-bye to New Zealand, and we lingered on deck till it was no longer possible to see even the dim outline of its coast.
Twins, Charles Bloomfield Douglas and Gerard Noel Douglas were born 6 April 1843 at Ottery, St. Mary, Devonshire. They came to New Zealand c1861 to join an older brother, John Ambrose Douglas, a partner in "Highfield" (or Ida Burn), western Maniototo, Otago. In 1874, the Douglas twins purchased land in the southern Salinas Valley, California. When this proved uneconomic, Charles sold his interest to his twin brother and returned to New Zealand to become a survey cadet in the office of Barr and Oliver, Dunedin. In 1883, he was appointed surveyor with the Lands and Survey Department, New Plymouth, and remained there until his death in 1899.

Katharine Pauline Elton at 32 and unmarried, was sent to California by her father to help her sister Charlotte with her rapidly increasing family. Charlotte L. Elton had married Gerard Douglas at Clifton, England, in 1876. It is not known if Katharine met Charles Douglas in California, but five years later she gave up her life of "dutiful spinsterhood" and travelled to Christchurch, New Zealand, to marry him.


16. *Ibid*, 8, 9, 10 June 1884.


   James Achilles Kirkpatrick (1764-1805).


   Charles Elton was the half-brother of Katharine Elton Douglas and Charlotte Elton Douglas.


   J. St. Loe Strachey (1860-1927).
   Editor-owner of the *Spectator*.
   Named after the St. Loes of Sutton Court.


   The first Strachey to live at Sutton Court.
   From childhood he was the friend of philosopher, John Locke. The correspondence of John Strachey and John Locke, much of which has been preserved, shows the intimate character of their friendship.


   Lord Strachie, the second Baron, lived at Sutton Court from 1936 until his death in 1973. Due to his neglect, the manor house became very dilapidated. His heir, Lord O'Hagan, sold the estate.


Julia, Lady Chance, born Strachey.
The author and illustrator of *A Book of Cats* and translator also illustrator of Theophile Gautier's *A Domestic Menagerie* (1899).


34. *Ibid*, 10 July 1884.

Robert Seymour Whalley, second son of Reverend James P. Whalley, Rector of Wretham, Norfolk.


36. *Ibid*.

37. *Ibid*.

Married James M. Rendel, the chairman of Assam Bengal Railway and an authority on Poor Law administration.

Dorothy Strachey (1865-1960). Educated at Les Ruches, Fontainbleau, Mlle. Souvestre's famous school. When Mlle. Souvestre set up a school at Allenswood, Dorothy Strachey joined her teaching staff. In 1903 she married French painter, Simon Bussy and went to live at Roguebrune, on the Mediterranean. She had a number of books published including, *Eugène Delacroix* (1907) and *Olivia* (1949). Translated the works of her friend André Gide. Other friends included Eleanor Roosevelt and Henri Matisse. Dorothy Bussy and her daughter Jane Simone Bussy did highly important work with the French Underground during World War II.


40. Barker, *Station Life in New Zealand*, p.103.


42. *Ibid*, 14 February 1885.
43. Christchurch Girls' High School, founded in 1877.
Mrs Swainson's school, Fitzherbert Terrace, Wellington,
-founded in 1878.
(Acquired by the diocese of Wellington in 1920 and renamed
Samuel Marsden Collegiate School).
Wellington Girls' College, founded 1882.

44. J. Baker's diary, 1 January 1887 to 17 March 1897, A.T.L.,
Acc.36, 639, 1 March 1887, 19 March 1890, 2 June 1888,
1 March 1889, 23 June 1888.

Dorothy Menzies to L. Taylor, 2 February 1990.

46. J. Baker's diary, 639, 1 May 1894, 10 December 1895.

47. Ibid, 14 February 1889.


49. Ibid, p.67.

50. Ibid.

51. Sinclair, Reeves, p.52.


For instance, the Kimbells, Three Springs, and Arthur
Hawdon, Grasmere.

54. Frederick D. Maurice (1805-72).

55. Sir Edward Strachey as quoted in Sanders, Strachey
Family, p.173.

56. Olssen, History of Otago, p.100.
See also, W.J. Gardner, ed.,

Rutherford Waddell (1849-1932).

Churchill Julius succeeded H.J.C. Harper as Bishop of
Christchurch in 1889.

57. John Baker had been confirmed by Bishop Harper in 1858.

58. "Industrial Aspect of Women's Suffrage",
N. Baker's speech notes, 1 December 1912, H.L., M.I.,
+ 619/A.

59. Sinclair, Reeves, p.80.
William Pember Reeves (1857-1932).
60. Ibid, p.212.


Mary Muller, born Wilson (1820-1901).


66. Grimshaw, Women's Suffrage in New Zealand, p.46.


John Baker became Assistant Surveyor-General, 1 March 1892.

68. J. Baker's diary, 639, 14 November, 27 November 1891.

John Baker leased Lindfield from Mrs Harriett Riddiford.


Magdalene (Maud) Pember Reeves, born Robison, (1865-1953).

After William Pember Reeves became a Cabinet Minister in the Liberal Government in 1890, his family joined him in Wellington and Maud joined Ellen Ballance the Premier's wife, in enlisting support for women's suffrage.

70. Grimshaw, Women's Suffrage in New Zealand, p.70.

71. New Zealand Mail, 15 September 1893, p.41, A.T.L.

Lady Glasgow and Lady Augusta.

72. The brewing party in the Lower House, fearful of Council proceedings, had extracted a promise from Richard Seddon that some new Councillors would vote against the reading if necessary. W.H. Reynolds and E.C.J. Stevens, two opposition Councillors who had always opposed the suffrage without the electoral rights safeguard, were so incensed at Seddon's manipulations they switched sides and cast their votes in the Bill's favour. Thus the Electoral Bill was passed in the Upper House by the action of the Government's enemies.

Grimshaw, Women's Suffrage in New Zealand, p.92.
73. **New Zealand Mail**, 15 September 1893, p.12, p.21, A.T.L.


Henry Smith Fish (1838-1897).

75. **New Zealand Mail**, 22 September 1893, p.33, A.T.L.

76. J. Baker's diary, 639, 1 October 1893.

Oliver Strachey (1874-1960).
The third son and sixth child of Lieutenant-General (later Sir) Richard Strachey, F.R.S. and Jane Strachey. He was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, before service with the East Indian Railway.


Jane Maria Strachey, born Grant (1840-1928).
Born on the East India Company's ship, The Earl of Hardwicke, in a violent storm south of the Cape of Good Hope to Henrietta, born Plowdon, and Sir John Peter Grant, a distinguished Anglo-Indian administrator and, later, Governor of Jamaica. In 1859, Jane married her father's secretary, Richard Strachey. There were thirteen children of the marriage of whom five sons and five daughters grew up.
She had been an ardent feminist from the age of nineteen after she had read John Stuart Mill's, *On Liberty*.

Millicent Fawcett, born Garrett (1847-1929).
Mrs. Fawcett had encouraged the women of New Zealand in 1893.

"You have been a great help to us all through" wrote New Zealand feminist leader Mrs. Kate Shepherd in 1893.

K.W. Sheppard to M. Fawcett, 4 October 1893, as quoted in B. Harrison, *Prudent Revolutionaries*, p.25.

78. Street numbers have been changed in Tinakori Road.
Originally number 25 (where the Beauchamps lived until 1893) was 11 Tinakori Road and Lindfield, the Baker's home, was number 5.


80. J. Baker's diary, 639, 14 July 1893.

Noeline's friend was Margaret Sara Bell.

82. J. Baker's diary, 639, 30 August 1894, 3 September, 4 September 1894. See also New Zealand Mail, 14 September 1894, p.13. A.T.L.

83. J. Baker's diary, 639, 12 September 1895. See also New Zealand Mail, 20 September 1895, p.13.

Guests were Mesdames Stowe, Acland, and E.J. Reid. Young women included Misses Stowe, Acland, Tolhurst, Levin, Burnett and Johnston. Girls were Misses Haselden, Edwin, Brandon, Bell, Riddiford, Quick, Williams (2), Gore, Fitzherbert, Reid, Rawson, Wilson, Coleridge (2), Martin, Beetham, Richardson and Harding.

84. Ibid.


89. Ian Menzies married Dorothy Acton-Adams, a daughter of Noeline's childhood friend, Mary, born Neaves.


96. Ibid, p.248.

John Baker had asked Brodrick to carry out a survey of the glaciers on Mount Cook.

Thomas Noel Brodrick (1855- ).

Brodrick became the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Wellington then the Under-Secretary for Crown Lands.
CHAPTER 3

ADVENTURE AND ART

At an age when migrants tended to go to colonies, eighteen year old Noeline was returning to the "old world", to England, where a new and exciting phase of her life began. Considering the Bakers' love of travel and adventure, it is not surprising they chose to return to England by a roundabout route. Unfortunately, John Baker's last diary entry is 17 March 1897, several months before their journey ended, but it has been possible to trace their route from the Baker photograph albums (Hocken Library and Rakiura Museum, Stewart Island) and John Baker's press cuttings.

The family's ten month journey was sufficiently unusual to cause interest. The "Wanderings of the Bakers" were described in the "Anglo-Colonial Notes" of one New Zealand newspaper and the London correspondent for the Press, Christchurch, reported they had almost broken the record for "variegated and elongated journeys" from New Zealand to Great Britain.¹

First, the Bakers spent sixteen days in Sydney before boarding R.M.S. Ophir bound for Bombay, via Melbourne, Adelaide and Colombo. A serious outbreak of bubonic plague in Bombay caused them to change their travel plans.² Instead of landing at Bombay for a tour of India, they travelled from Colombo to Calcutta and set out from there.

The Bakers' visit to India was more than merely a sight-seeing expedition. Four generations of Strachey's had served with distinction in India, at first under the East India Company and, after 1857, under the Crown and their travels took on features of a family pilgrimage. Noeline's great-grandfather, Sir Henry Strachey, had gone to India in 1765 as secretary to Lord Clive.³ Sir Henry's three sons, Henry, Edward and Richard (Noeline's grandfather) went out as writers in the East India Company's Civil Service and had distinguished careers as judges and in administration.⁴ In the next generation, no fewer than four of Edward's sons served with distinction. Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Strachey joined the Indian Army and was honoured for his explorations in Tibet and
the Himalayas. One of the most brilliant members of the family in any generation was Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Strachey. After beginning his career as an engineer officer he moved into civil government becoming head of the Indian Public Works Department, a member of the Council and president of the Famine Commission (1878-80). William went to India as a writer and became secretary to the Secret and Political Departments. A fourth son, Sir John Strachey, was a member of Sir John Lawrence's Council and Acting Governor-General after Lord Mayo's assassination in 1872. He also became Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Provinces and, from 1876, Financial Minister of India in Lord Lytton's Council. In the fourth generation, sons of Sir Richard and Sir John served in India as well as Noeline's Ashwick Grove cousins, Theodore and Clive Strachey. When in the preface to the 1903 edition of his book, India: Its Administration and Progress, Sir John Strachey wrote,

We may be forgiven if we take pride in remembering that during the last century and a half four generations of our family have given to India the best portion of their lives,

it was no more than the bare truth.

Noeline and her parents were constantly reminded of their family's record during their visit. They were the guests of Theodore Strachey at Cawnpore, where he was head of the Bar. At Moradabad, they stayed with Clive Strachey who was serving with the United Provinces' Police Force. While in Moradabad, Clive took them to see Strachey Channel, which had been named after Sir John Strachey. They travelled on East India Railway Company's trains and saw the Strachey Bridge, spanning the Jumna River and named for Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Strachey. Then, in Lucknow, Noeline sketched the tower of the ruined Residency, where her grandfather, Richard Strachey, had once lived. In Calcutta there even was a statue in memory of Glancer, Grandfather Richard's beloved dog (died 25 February 1814), which had accompanied him during his long ride overland from Russia to India.
But even more than family pride, was the fascination of
the many races and variety of religions which made the Bakers' visit to Ceylon and India so absorbing. At Kandy, the Dalada Maligawa (the Buddhist temple of the sacred tooth) fascinated Noeline. She made a sketch of it. In Darjeeling she purchased a Tibetan prayer-wheel at the Bazaar. When they visited Benares, the holy city of all Hindus, the Bakers went by boat down the sacred Ganges. From the river they could see a richly coloured jumble of temples, mosques and palaces and at the water's edge the famous ghats. According to Hindu belief, those who die in this sacred city and are cremated with due ritual on a burning ghat go to Shiva's heaven of unending light. Hindu pilgrims were gathered there throwing flowers on the Ganges' sacred surface, bathing in the purifying waters and cremating their dead. Then, on the trip from Calcutta to Rangoon, Noeline persuaded a Burmese priest to sit for a sketch. At Prome, on the trip down the Irrawaddy River from Mandalay, the travellers visited the Shivesandaw Pagoda, with its many stupas covered with gold leaf; a temple for Theravadin Buddhists.

In Agra and Delhi especially, the Bakers were overawed with the Muslim architecture. The great buildings of the Mogul emperors, Akbar the Great and Shah Jehan, left a lasting impression. In Agra they saw Akbar's massive stone fort and palace and, nearby, his ruined capital of Fatehpur Sikri. They also visited his magnificent tomb at Sikandra. Shah Jehan's palace and the Pearl Mosque, one of the glories of Agra, were in the Fort too. The most beautiful building of all, the Taj Mahal, an eight-sided marble mausoleum surrounded by Persian-style gardens, was built by Shah Jehan for his beloved empress.

At Delhi Fort, built by Shah Jehan the Bakers saw some of the most ancient, the loveliest and the most splendid buildings in India. In the Diwan-ir-Am, the hall of public audience, there was a canopy of pure white marble, on four columns and surrounded by a low marble rail, all inlaid in delicate patterns with semi-precious stones. Beneath this once stood the famous Peacock Throne. They also visited the Great Mosque,
or Jama Masjid, which lies outside the Fort but built by Shah Jehan. Its three domes of white marble are surmounted by inverted lotus blossoms, out of which rise slender gilden spires. 19

Another architectural feature, in the neighbourhood of Delhi, is the Kutb Minar, in the courtyard of the mosque Kwal-ul-Islam and said to be the most perfect tower in the world. It is 238 feet high and Noeline and John Baker climbed the 379 steps to the top. 20

The traditional occupation of a travelling lady during this Victorian era, was sketching and painting. In his diary, John Baker frequently mentioned Noeline occupied in this way. For instance, during their stay in Agra, he noted that she spent hours sketching and painting. Then, at Lucknow, she sketched the tower of the old Residency, where her grandfather, Richard Strachey, had lived eighty years before. This was to be a gift for her mother. 21

In India, the Bakers travelled by train, usually during the night when it was cooler. These journeys were not always comfortable. For instance, travelling on the Darjeeling Himalayan line with its narrow gauge and small carriages was particularly uncomfortable. Nevertheless, a splendid view of Mount Kangchenjunga and, after a pony ride to Tiger Hill, a glimpse of Mount Everest made the journey worthwhile. 22 Then, on their trip to Calcutta from Benares, the Bakers were wakened at 4am. to be medically examined for plague symptoms. 23

Unfortunately, Baker's diary ends before they visited Singapore, China and Japan. The photograph albums and the newspaper accounts of their travels confirm their fascination with these countries too. Canton, for instance, was one of the most interesting small cities they saw and after their month long stay in Japan they left with considerable regret. 24

During the Californian part of their tour Noeline met a young woman who would become her life-long friend. Katharine Douglas was the daughter of Charlotte and Gerard Douglas, sister and twin brother respectively of the Bakers' New Zealand friends, Katharine and Charles Douglas. Through her mother and her aunt, with whom at this time she was staying while she
Noeline and her parents travelled on this narrow gauge line in January 1897 at the beginning of their tour of India.
The scene of the massacre of British prisoners by Nana Sahib, a Mahratta prince, during the great Indian Mutiny of 1857. The Bakers also visited the Memorial and gardens, where the bodies of the 200 victims of the massacre had been buried, and the memorial church. There, they saw the name of "young Mannering" the son of Isabel Baker's former guardian who had been killed in the massacre.
Baker Album IX, Hocken.

Hindu pilgrims washing in the sacred waters of the Ganges river at Benares, c1897.
Jama Masjid, or Great Mosque, Delhi, c1897.

Built in the middle of the 17th Century by the Emperor, Shah Jehan, it is considered to be one of the finest buildings of its kind in India.
Ruins of the British Residency, Lucknow, c1897.

Noeline's grandfather, Richard Strachey was British Resident at Lucknow at the time of his retirement in 1817. It was here also that Sir Henry Lawrence took refuge with all the European inhabitants and a few troops when the Indian Mutiny broke out in 1857. He died from a wound received in the early part of the siege, which lasted from 1 July to 25 September.
trained as a teacher, she was also a connection of Isabel Baker.  

Katharine and Noeline were the same age, both were intelligent and shared a love of adventure. It is not surprising, therefore, that their friendship blossomed. The financial situation of Katharine's parents was in decline by this time and, in contrast to Noeline, it was necessary for Katharine to train for a career to support herself. After completing teacher-training in San Jose, Katharine taught in a one-room school in the Big Sur, continued to study the French and Spanish languages and entered the University of California at Berkely. After graduation she won a scholarship to study at the Sorbonne in Paris. Katharine would spend the summer, before she took up her scholarship in England and renew her friendship with Noeline when she visited the Bakers in Guildford.

While in North America, the Bakers also went to many of the Continent's scenic attractions. These included Mount Shasta, Yellowstone Park, the Columbia River, Mount Hood, the Muir Glacier in Alaska and the beautiful Yosemite Valley. From Vancouver, their journey took them through the Rockies. They crossed the Great Lakes, saw Niagara Falls and travelled by steamer down the St. Lawrence River to Montreal. After a short stay in Quebec, they boarded an Allen liner bound for Liverpool.

After many months of intensive travel, the family was content to spend the winter of 1897-98 in Clifton. Although Ashwick Grove was still the seat of Richard C. Strachey, he and his wife, Charlotte, were living at Clifton in 1897. Later, the Bakers moved to London. In 1899, their address was 11 Campden Grove, Kensington. By then, Noeline was a student of art.

Art was an acceptable accomplishment for middle-class women during this Victorian era. Towards its end, large numbers were being trained in public art schools, in workshops of the Arts and Crafts Movement, in an expanding network of private institutions and at ateliers abroad.

The Slade School, founded in 1871 by a series of
Corner of Rangoon's Shwe Dagon Pagoda, c1897.

This is one of the leading pilgrimage shrines of Buddhism and considered to be a masterpiece of Oriental architecture.
Situated at the apex of the delta of the Chukiang (Pearl) river and the commercial centre of southern China, the Bakers thought it was one of the most fascinating small cities they saw on their travels.

This photograph was taken in the garden of Warren House, Guildford, the Bakers' home until 1914. Katharine visited England c1906, prior to going to the Sorbonne, Paris, on a scholarship.
Baker Album XI, Hocken.

Noeline and John Baker on Glacier Point Rock
Yosemite National Park, 1897.

Noeline, second from left and John Baker,
third from left.
Baker Album XI, Hocken.

Glacier Hotel and mountain, Canada, c1897.

Noeline and her parents travelled on this Canadian-Pacific Railway from Vancouver to Lake Superior.
endowments from Felix Slade, a wealthy connoisseur, who wished to establish a London University Chair of Fine Arts, had opened its doors to women in 1872.\textsuperscript{31} By the time Noeline enrolled, it was the most progressive art school in London.

The professors were both distinguished and eccentric enough to be memorable. Described by biographers of Augustus and Gwen John, Frederick Brown, the head of the Slade School, was a forceful, somewhat military character, invariably dressed in a black frock coat. His teaching ability had a hold on his students and his wonderful memory enabled him to refer to drawings former students had done years before.\textsuperscript{32}

Assisting Brown was Henry Tonks, a former surgeon and an extraordinary man. Gaunt, fierce and always dressed formally in grey, he was the greatest teacher of drawing in England. He set high standards for his students and often reduced the female ones to tears at their first lesson, for the Slade School did not set an entrance examination and not all students were gifted. Once, after staring at a girl's drawing for several minutes, he asked her if she could sew. If his students could withstand such criticism he would teach them all he knew.\textsuperscript{33}

Wilson Steer, the third member of the triumvirate, taught painting. All teachers at the Slade School had to be practising artists and Steer was a very good painter but a poor teacher. He was a bulky man with a fear of draughts. Even in the height of summer he wore a heavy overcoat, yachting cap and policeman's boots. Often, when he sat behind a student to criticise their work he would fall asleep.\textsuperscript{34}

As a student at the Slade School, Noeline would have spent the first year downstairs in the "Antique Room" with the Graeco-Roman sculpture. There, on sheets of Ingres paper with tomato-coloured chalk the students drew the Discobolus and Venus de Milo.\textsuperscript{35}

In their second year, students progressed to the Life Class. Women were strictly segregated and the male nudes were never completely nude. Even when the model was a female, the ladies were required to leave the room when Tonks entered. He wrote his comments in the margins of their drawings.\textsuperscript{36}
Tonks also insisted his students should have a knowledge of anatomy approaching that of medical students. Skeletons were kept in the basement and reluctantly studied.37

Tonks put great emphasis on the study of the Old Masters. He encouraged his students to look at the pictures in the National Gallery more. "I cannot teach you anything new" he told them. "... But I can teach you something of the methods of the Old Masters."38

It was during this period that the Slade School produced some of its most eminent pupils. Augustus John studied there from 1894 to 1898; Ambrose McEvoy, 1894 to 1896; William Orpen, 1897 to 1899 and Wyndham Lewis, 1898 to 1901.39 Gifted women were a distinguishing feature of the Slade too. One of Tonks's favourites was Edna Waugh, 1894 to 1898, who, when nineteen, was married off to Sir William Clarke Hall.40 Other notable women include Ursula Tyrwhitt, 1893 to 1894 and 1911 to 1912 and Gwen John, 1895 to 1898, who became the most brilliant artist of them all.41

University College, London, can only verify Noeline enrolled at the Slade School in 1899. Nothing further has been recorded about the time she spent there.42 There is no evidence either of her exhibiting her work. Nevertheless, she continued to have a life-long interest in art and painted watercolours, especially during the interwar years.

When the Bakers moved to London, Noeline saw more of her Strachey relations. Of the first Sir Henry Strachey's family, only Noeline's great-uncle Edward and her grandfather Richard had children. Barbara Strachey has described a close and continuing friendship between descendants of these two branches of the Strachey family. The intense clannishness of these families was heightened by intermarriage.43

In 1899 the focus of the family was the home of Sir Richard and Lady Strachey (now retired and living in England) at 69 Lancaster Gate, their large and pretentious house just north of Kensington Gardens, in London. Jane, Lady Strachey, was only eighteen when she became the second wife of Sir Richard. She was referred to by Virginia Woolf, in a memorial tribute, as the type of the Victorian woman at her finest, many-
Mount Egmont, c1931, by Noeline Baker.

R. Sansom, Cromwell.
sided, vigorous, adventurous and advanced. Had she been a man she would have ruled a province or administered a Government department. But even while she wrote despatches at her husband's dictation and debated, for she was in the counsels of the men who governed India, she was conscientiously bringing up a family of ten.\(^{44}\)

When Noeline was welcomed into the group, the eldest daughter, Elinor, was married and the mother of five. Richard, also married, was a colonel in the Rifle Brigade, Dorothy taught at Mlle. Souvestre's school at Allenswood and Ralph, a brilliant mathematician, was an engineer for the East India Railway Company. Witty, intelligent Philippa (Pippa) was the mainstay of the family. Oliver, who had visited the Bakers in Wellington, came next. Educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, he served with the East India Railway Company and had a penchant for music. Pernel was in her final year at Newnham College, Cambridge, and Lytton, already a writer of exceptional ability, was an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge. Majorie was still a pupil at Allenswood and James, the youngest, went to St. Paul's.\(^{45}\)

Lady Strachey liked to entertain all members of the family on Sunday afternoons. No doubt, this included the Bakers, after they moved to London.

Lytton Strachey has described his mother's Sunday afternoon gatherings. Often, two of his highly eccentric uncles would be there. There was Uncle William a gentleman in spats, who had been well known at Holland House in the middle of the century and who, having once visited Calcutta, henceforth kept his watch set by Calcutta time, a habit which was somewhat disconcerting to his friends in England.

Then, there was Uncle George, a retired diplomat, "bent double with age and eccentricity, hideously sniffing, and pouring out his opinions on architecture to anyone who ventured within his reach".\(^{46}\) But occasionally, one might find in the drawing-room an uncle of a different sort, Uncle Edward, the third Baronet, was an eminent Victorian and a versatile writer who contributed to the *Quarterly Review, Fraser's Magazine*, the
Leonard Woolf, one of Lytton Strachey's undergraduate friends at Trinity College, Cambridge, sometimes called formally on Lady Strachey on Sunday afternoons. He recalled how Pippa Strachey decided the younger people must be taught by her to dance Scottish reels. Leonard Woolf went to one or two of her evening parties at which about twenty young people, including the Stephen sisters, Vanessa and Virginia, practised under the lively and exacting tuition of Pippa. When she considered they were proficient enough, a large dance was given in the Lancaster Gate drawing-room and Pippa's pupils put on their display.  

Leonard Woolf has also described Sunday suppers at Lancaster Gate when a "deafening, furious, hilarious argument" took place around the table.  

Whether Noeline participated in the Scottish dancing, or regularly took part in the Sunday gatherings is not clear. Certainly she stayed with the family on occasions after her own family moved to Guildford in 1905. It would be safe to guess that the milieu of the Stracheys influenced her in one direction, her concern for rights of women. Dr. Brian Harrison argues that social reform often runs in families. New ideas readily catch on in small groups that meet regularly, because trusted relatives lend confidence to one another. This happened with the foremost British feminist families, the Garretts and the Pankhursts. It also happened with the Stracheys, notably Lady Strachey; her daughter Pippa; son Oliver and Oliver's wife, Ray; granddaughter Elinor Rendel; Julia, Lady Chance (born Strachey) and Noeline Baker. All were to have a significant role to play in the fight for women's suffrage in Great Britain.
2. Ibid, p.51.

Henry Strachey (1736-1810).

Secretary to Lord Clive, 1764-68.  
Member of the House of Commons almost continuously, 1768-1807.  
Secretary to the Peace Commission set up to restore peace to the American Colonies and headed by Admiral Richard Lord Howe, and General Sir William Howe, 1776-78.  
British negotiator in Paris, 1782.  
Master of the King's Household, 1794-1805.  
Created Baronet 1801.  
Married Jane Latham, born Kelsall, 1770.

Robert, Baron Clive of Plassey (1725-1774).  
Founder of the British Empire in India, soldier and statesman.

Went to India as a writer in 1792.  
Third Judge of the Court of Appeal and Circuit in the Ceded Provinces at his retirement in 1805.  
Second Baronet, 1810.  

Edward Strachey (1774-1832).  
Went to India as a writer in 1793.  
Secretary to the President at Poonah, 1801.  
Judge at Midnapore, Agra, Calcutta, Jessore, Decca and Moorshedabad, 1804-11.  
Married Julia Woodburn Kirkpatrick in India, 1808.


Henry Strachey (1816-1912).  
Joined the Indian Army, 1835.  
Awarded gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society, 1852.  
Married Joanna Catherine Cloete of Newlands, Cape of Good Hope, 1859.

Richard Strachey (1817-1908).

Went to India in 1846 as an engineer officer.
Awarded L.L.D. Cambridge, 1897.
Royal Society Medal, 1897.
Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India, 1897.
Meteorological Society's Symons' Medal, 1906.
Married Caroline Anne Bowles, 1854.
She died in 1855.
Married Jane Maria Grant, 1859.


William Strachey (1819-1904).

Went to India as a writer in 1838.
Colonial Office, 1848-70.


John Strachey (1823-1907).

Went to India in 1848.
Appointed Knight Commander of the Star of India, 1868.
Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire, 1872.
Married Katherine Jane Batten at Almora, 1856.
Katherine, Lady Strachey was made a member of the Crown of India, 1878.

Richard John Strachey (1861-1935).
Ralph Strachey (1868-1923).

Sir John Strachey's sons.
John Strachey (1857-1900).
Arthur Strachey (1858-1901).
Judge of the high court at Bombay, 1895.
Chief Justice of the high court at Allahabad, 1899.
Knighted, 1899.

Theodore Strachey (1866-1921).
Called to the Bar, 1884.
Head of the Bar, Cawnpore.

Richard Clive Strachey, (1866-1903).
Personal Assistant to the Inspector-General of the United Provinces Police.
Died in India with typhoid fever.

11. J. Baker's diary, 639, 31 January 1897, 18 February 1897.


Strachey Hall at the Muhammaden Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, founded in 1875 by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and which became the nucleus of the Moslem University in India, was also named for Sir John Strachey.


17. J. Baker's diary, 639, 7 March 1897.

*Baker Album, No.IX, H.L.*

18. J. Baker's diary, 639, 6-12 February 1897.


It was Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Strachey who had advocated the narrow gauge for sparsely populated tracts at Indian trunk lines.


The last entry in J. Baker's diary, 639, is 17 March 1897.

25. Charles Elton, the half-brother of the Elton sisters and uncle of Katharine Douglas was Isabel Baker's brother-in-law.


In 1971, when the Slade School was one hundred years old, Anthony d'Offray's Gallery had an exhibition of Edna Clarke Hall's drawings and watercolours. The artist was ninety-two at the time but her work was described as showing the great strength of the techniques loved by the Slade "draw, draw, draw!"


Edward Strachey's youngest son, George (1828-1912) married his cousin, Anne Georgiana Strachey of Ashwick Grove. She died in 1858 the year after their marriage.

Anne Georgiana's sister, Charlotte Strachey, married Captain James Phillipps, the son of "romantic" Kitty Kirkpatrick, cousin of Julia Strachey, Edward's wife.

47. *Ibid*, p.185.

Edward Strachey (1812-1901).

48. L. Woolf, *The Journey Not the Arrival Matters*, p.120.


50. N. Baker's diary notes, 10 August 1914, H.L., M.I., +619/A.


Rachel Conn Strachey, born Costelloe, (1887-1940).

Elinor Rendel (1885-1942), daughter of Elinor Rendel, born Strachey.

Studied history and economics at Newnham College, Cambridge.

Later, qualified as a doctor.

Julia, Lady Chance, born Strachey, only daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Strachey.
CHAPTER 4

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

When the Baker family arrived in England the long-established movement for women's suffrage was about to move into a new, more intensive phase. Noeline participated fully in this. Not only does her involvement illustrate the dedication and hard work of the movement's supporters, but it gives an insight into the provincial activities of an extensive network, not fully covered in published works on women's suffrage.

The women's suffrage movement began in the 1850s and 1860s. John Stuart Mill, an early champion of the cause, with Henry Fawcett presented a petition to the House of Commons in 1866 asking for votes for women. He also introduced a motion for women's suffrage when the Second Reform Bill was debated in 1867. Nevertheless, success was elusive and when women's suffrage supporters failed to secure the inclusion of votes for women in the Second Reform Bill (1884), they lost much of their enthusiasm.

Noeline's commitment to votes for women might well have been stimulated by events in New Zealand, which became the first country in the world to give women the vote. Then, after the Bakers returned to England, the women's movement began a new aggressive stage. In October 1903 the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (founded in 1897) sponsored a National Convention in Defence of the Civic Rights of Women. As a result, steps were taken to make women's suffrage an issue at the next election. An election fund of 2520 pounds was raised, focus was shifted from Parliament itself to parliamentary candidates and 133 new women's suffrage committees were established in parliamentary constituencies, to raise support for the women's cause.

Also in October 1903, the Women's Social and Political Union (W.S.P.U.) was launched in Manchester by Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters, in close collaboration with the Labour Party. As a small provincial group it did nothing to
attract attention, but after the Pankhursts moved to London in 1905 the W.S.P.U. began to break with its original Labour connections, became increasingly authoritarian in structure and adopted unorthodox tactics. First, these tactics went no further than knocking at Prime-Minister Asquith's door or engaging in purely technical assaults on policemen. By 1908, when the W.S.P.U. was engaged in mass lobbyings of Parliament, it moved forward to window-breaking and from 1909, after the imprisonment of its members, to hunger-striking. The final and most extreme stage of the militant campaign involved letter-burning, arson and other attacks on property. 6

At a time when the radicals were on the ascendant, Noeline was committed to the moderate wing of the women's movement. Nevertheless, the N.U.W.S.S. was faced with a real challenge by the actions of the militants, the so-called suffragettes, and their willingness to become martyrs for the sake of women's suffrage. As a consequence, the N.U.W.S.S. changed its tactics. When a favourable reception was sought for a private member's bill, the National Union borrowed the concept of demonstration from the W.S.P.U. and a procession was organised to show Parliament there was a demand for the vote for women. Although modest by subsequent standards, the so-called "Mud March" on 9 February 1907 was the largest and most significant public demonstration in support of women's suffrage that had ever been held. 7

Noeline's cousin, Philippa Strachey, was at the centre of the organisation for this procession. She gave jobs to every woman she knew, her family and their friends. John Maynard Keynes, then an undergraduate and staying with the Stracheys at Lancaster Gate, was detailed to open Exeter Hall and keep the hecklers out until the marchers were seated. 8 When asking her brother James to be a steward, Philippa wrote,

... bands brakes and badges are provided trained gymnasts with trumpet voices are engaged. Police in their thousands will attend us... But further assistants are much wanted .... What a sell if only 30 females assemble! And the weather! Lor!!!
Philippa need not have worried about the support from members of the N.U.W.S.S., but the weather was a different matter. Three thousand women, led by Lady Strachey, Millicent Fawcett, Lady Frances Balfour and Dr. Edith Pechey-Phipson, marched with banners and massed bands through mud, slush and fog from Hyde Park Corner to the Exeter Hall. Despite this support, the private member's bill which followed was talked out, just like its predecessors.

It is possible Noeline helped Philippa with the Mud March. Later, Noeline herself said she had worked for the women's movement from 1907. There is a Miss Baker listed as a member of the L.S.W.S. in 1907. Although there is no way of knowing if this is Noeline, Philippa and Lady Strachey were active members of the London Society at this time and Philippa gave jobs to every woman she knew.

The following year, Philippa organised an even bigger procession for the N.U.W.S.S. On 13 June, suffragists from all over England poured into London on special trains and more than 10,000 women from forty-two organisations walked from the Embankment to Albert Hall. On this occasion, beautiful banners, designed and made by members of the Artists' Suffrage League were carried in what the Morning Herald described as "a living miracle of gracious pageantry". Again, it is possible Noeline was involved.

It was at a provincial level however, rather than in London that Noeline's suffrage activities were concentrated. In 1909, the secretary of the Surrey, Sussex and Hants Organisation of Suffrage Societies asked Noeline to obtain signatures for a voters' petition on Election Day, 25 January 1910. Two meetings were held to make arrangements and on the day of the election Noeline and her team collected 580 signatures outside polling stations in Guildford. This was her first documented involvement with the women's movement.

By 1909, Noeline and her parents were living in Guildford, at Warren House, an old farm house belonging to Lord Onslow, the son of a former Governor of New Zealand.
Life for Noeline followed the pattern of many unmarried, upper middle class daughters. Although thirty-one, she was confined by convention to her family home and economically dependent. She travelled extensively, but it was always in the company of her parents or an older relative. For instance, the Bakers visited Spain, Gibraltar and Tangier, Morocco, in 1899. The following year, their tour of Germany and Austria included a performance of the Passion Play at Oberammergau. They spent seven months in Italy from November 1901 and in 1908 Noeline went to Greece, Dalmatia, Corfu and Montenegro with her cousin, Lady Chance. Nevertheless, time must have hung heavily for intelligent, energetic Noeline. Was she relieved to have reached her thirties, when she could put aside any pretence of being marriageable and concentrate on her own interests?

The election work of Guildford suffragists led to the foundation of the Guildford and District Women's Suffrage Society. At the end of 1909, the secretary of the Godalming Suffrage Society obtained promises from Guildford suffragists to form a committee. Following the January General Election, Noeline and her helpers became the nucleus of the Guildford and District Women's Suffrage Society. The inaugural meeting was held in the Judges' Room of the County and Borough Halls, Guildford, on 11 February 1910. Noeline's cousin, Julia, Lady Chance of Orchards, Godalming, active in the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association (C.U.W.F.A.) and the N.U.W.S.S., was in the chair, the paid organiser of the Surrey, Sussex and Hants Organisation of Suffrage Societies had come to set up the new branch and a Miss Goodman gave the address. A president, vice-presidents, two secretaries, a treasurer and an executive committee were elected. Louisa, Lady Roberts became the first president of the new society; Lady Chance and her husband, Sir William, vice-presidents; Noeline was appointed secretary and John Baker a member of the executive committee. Their first meeting after the inaugural one was a drawing-room meeting held at the home of Miss Vaughan on 1 March. In March also, the Guildford and District Women's Suffrage Society was affiliated to the N.U.W.S.S.
Robert Sansom, Cromwell.

Noeline Baker and her parents on the lawn at the Warren House, Guildford, c1910. Leased by John Baker from 1904 to 1914, this house was owned by Lord Onslow.
Baker Album XIV, Hocken.

Skating at Château-d'Oex, Switzerland, December 1908. Noeline Baker in centre of photograph.
For the fledgling branch, the year 1910 was a propitious one; a parliamentary Conciliation Committee was formed and a suffrage bill introduced in the House of Commons. Already the January election had given the women's movement fresh cause for hope. For the first time, the Government had given the semblance of an election pledge, when it went to the country with the admission that the votes for women question was a political issue. Mrs. Pankhurst declared a truce and non-militant work only was undertaken by the W.S.P.U. At the same time, Henry N. Brailsford, with the support of Millicent Fawcett of the N.U.W.S.S., formed a Conciliation Committee. Excepting Brailsford, the honorary secretary, and the chairman, Lord Lytton, this Conciliation Committee consisted of Members of the House of Commons in favour of women's suffrage and was representative of all political parties. With the blessing of the N.U.W.S.S. and the more grudging acquiescence of the W.S.P.U. the Conciliation Committee introduced a suffrage bill, based on the municipal franchise. This so-called Conciliation Bill passed its first reading on 14 June 1910.

Before the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, Guildford's suffragists supported the N.U.W.S.S. promotional activities. On 15 June they organised a meeting held in the Constitutional Hall, Guildford. This was chaired by Lady Betty Balfour, a member of the N.U.W.S.S. executive and a moving spirit in the C.U.W.F.A. Lady Betty Balfour was the sister of Lord Lytton, chairman of the Conciliation Committee. Marjorie Corbett, the principal speaker, was on the N.U.W.S.S. executive too. Some Guildford members attended a meeting at Queen's Hall, London, on 28 June and took part in the huge demonstration held in Trafalgar Square on 9 July. On this occasion, deputations from branch societies were joined by large contingents of suffragists who came from Manchester and Edinburgh. Over 10,000 people gathered in Trafalgar Square which was festooned with the red, white and green banners of the N.U.W.S.S. Three days later, the Bill passed its second reading by 299 votes to 189. Nevertheless, the House of Commons voted to send the Conciliation Bill to a Committee of
the Whole House, instead of the usual Standing Committee, and it was announced that further facilities would not be given to the Bill that session.  

Although the House of Commons seemed reluctant to allow the Conciliation Bill to proceed further, the N.U.W.S.S. went ahead with plans to urge Government to grant further facilities. At Guildford, letters were written to the local Member of Parliament (Conservative), Edgar Horne, to ask for his support. He refused to give any pledges or to receive a deputation. More successful were the branch's open-air meetings. The first, held in North Street, Guildford, on 20 August at 7pm., was given an attentive hearing. Sir William Chance presided and the speakers were Councillor Margaret Ashton of the N.U.W.S.S. and Russell Davey, an executive committee member of the Guildford and District Women's Suffrage Society.

It was Noeline who organised the most ambitious of Guildford's projects in supporting the Bill, a huge demonstration held in Guildford on Saturday, 29 October 1910. The largest demonstration ever held in Guildford, it contained representatives from eleven branches in the Federation and eleven branches of the National Union, including contingents from Brighton and Portsmouth. Other related societies, including members of the W.S.P.U. were represented too. The procession, led by mounted constables and the Stoughton Band, proceeded from the Railway Station yards to the County and Borough halls where a massed meeting was planned. The suffragist marchers wore red, white and green ribbons and carried banners from the various districts. The colourful commemorative banners of famous women, designed by Mary Lowndes and made by members of the Artists' Suffrage League for the National Union's 1908 procession, were a feature of the procession along with bannerettes with embroidered doves and olive branches, which symbolised peace through the Conciliation Bill.
Noeline Baker's Papers, Hocken.

Guildford's Great Demonstration, 29 October 1910.
Commemorative banners of famous women, designed by Mary Lowndes and carried in Guildford's Great Demonstration.
Speaking to the audience in the packed Borough Hall, the chairman, A.W. Chapman, congratulated Noeline for having organised such a "magnificent meeting". The response, he thought, offered practical proof to the Government and the world at large that the Members of the House of Commons who had been supporting the women's cause in the House had behind them a solid and determined mass of public opinion which would have to be reckoned with at the next general election.31

Lady Frances Balfour and Frances Sterling, members of the N.U.W.S.S. executive who were on speaking tours during the parliamentary recess, also spoke to the audiences in the Large Hall and at the overflow meeting in the Eastern Hall.32 Lady Frances Balfour moved the resolution, "that the Government would not delay giving facilities for the further stages of the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill and its passage into law".33

Other speakers included Henry Brailsford, secretary of the Conciliation Committee, and Sir William Chance, who commended the work women were already doing in public life.

Besides these two indoor meetings, crowds gathered at two places in North Street and listened attentively to speakers who addressed them from motor-cars. These included Edith Palliser, parliamentary secretary of the N.U.W.S.S.

The Surrey Advertiser, commenting on the day's proceedings remarked that however much people may differ about the wisdom of giving women the vote, all who were present at Saturday's "great demonstration" had to admit that some women knew how to organise a thoroughly successful meeting.

The arrangements were done with a degree of skill and forethought which reflected the greatest credit upon Miss Noeline Baker, the energetic hon. secretary, and those associated with her.34

In spite of all this promotional activity, suffrage organisations and the Conciliation Committee were soon to acknowledge that the Conciliation Bill was dead for 1910. A General Election was due and in spite of the expected return of
the Liberals there were doubts about the Government agreeing to the granting of facilities to the Bill in 1911. Undaunted, the N.U.W.S.S. began to prepare for the General Election.

The Guildford suffragists loyally supported the efforts of the National Union. Once again, Noeline was in charge of arrangements on polling day. The month before, Noeline and the branch treasurer attended a special N.U.W.S.S. Council meeting in London when an electioneering strategy was outlined to branch representatives. This time, voters were handed literature containing the views of statesmen on the women's suffrage issue.

The second General Election in 1910 concluded a busy year for members of the Guildford and District Women's Suffrage Society. From the initial drawing-room meeting to the General Election in December they had vigorously promoted the cause in their area. As well, Miss Seymour represented the branch on the committee of the Surrey, Sussex and Hants Federation and Noeline, as secretary, attended the annual meeting of the Council of the N.U.W.S.S., held in London during March, and the July Council meeting in Bristol. Membership had increased to fifty-one by the year's end and plans were already under way to promote the Conciliation Bill in the new Parliament.

After the first reading of the Conciliation Bill was passed on 9 February 1911, the N.U.W.S.S. sponsored a variety of activities to increase support for the measure. The executive reasoned that if after the second reading the majority was large enough, the Government would have to seriously consider granting facilities that session. Activites at Guildford included performances by members of the Actresses' Franchise League of three suffrage plays, An Englishwoman's Home, How the Vote was Won and The Apple. Maude Royden, president of the Chester Women's Suffrage Society and a member of the Executive Committee of the N.U.W.S.S. and the London Women's Suffrage Society and Mrs. Berwick Colby addressed a meeting at the Ward Street Hall, Guildford, on 1 May. The Guildford and District Society was represented at the National Convention, held in London during May to gather
support for the Bill which was scheduled to have its second reading a few days later. When the vote came, 255 voted for the measure and only 88 against. Brailsford was jubilant. The "superb division was the fruit of all the unremitting work which women all over the country had been doing".

Spurred on by a real sense of optimism, the W.S.P.U. organised a Women's Coronation Procession to be held on Saturday, 17 June 1911. As at Guildford's demonstration, constitutionalists and militants marched together in a spirit of harmony. Eight Guildford members were among the forty thousand women from at least twenty-eight women's suffrage organisations and from every part of the kingdom and empire. They marched five abreast in a gala procession with floats, banners, music and historical costumes. It seemed as though the pageantry of the Middle Ages had come back to London's streets.

Although the Government decided to postpone further action on the Bill until 1912, from July until October 1911 the N.U.W.S.S. concentrated on building up parliamentary support for it. As in the past, local affiliates assisted with the campaign.

This interaction between local members of Suffrage Societies and their national executive was an important part of the network. For instance, in 1911 Suffrage Societies urged constituents to write to their Member of Parliament. At Guildford, where Edgar Horne still refused to pledge his support or receive a deputation, they arranged meetings. At one meeting, organised by the Guildford and District Society at the Albury Village Hall, Edith Palliser, parliamentary secretary of the N.U.W.S.S., was a speaker. Debates were held. On 12 August in North Street, Guildford, the Suffrage and Anti Suffrage Societies took part in an open-air debate at which the anti-suffrage resolution was lost by a large majority.

It was during this period Noeline herself began to speak at public meetings, first, at Blatchford and, in October, at Albury Village Hall with Edith Palliser.
On 7 November 1911 Asquith dropped his bombshell. A new franchise bill for men only would be introduced, although this could be amended to include votes for women. The *Times* said the Government had "exploded a mine" under the Conciliation Bill. The *Evening Star* thought Asquith's bombshell would "blow the Conciliation Bill to bits". On 28 March 1912 the Conciliation Bill was indeed lost at its Second Reading by fourteen votes.

The women's movement was left with an unparalleled sense of betrayal. Militants smashed hundreds of windows and non-militants, in due course, came up with their scheme for close co-operation with the Labour party.

For Noeline 1911 was a busy year. As well as speaking at meetings she was attending to all the expanding branch's secretarial work. By now also, her organisational skills were recognised and she was being drawn into suffrage work at the centre, in London. During March, Philippa Strachey invited her to come to London "to have a little change of air and do suffrage work for us instead of Guildford". The L.S.W.S. wanted to employ someone to work for a fortnight at Chelsea. Philippa continued

It wd be glorious if you could come and turn an honest penny in this way. We are offering £2 a week and you would have to stop (for as long as Cousin Minnie permitted you not to be with her) at Belsize Park Gdns. This would cast (perhaps) a frivolous appearance over the affair and not shock the family so much. Do come. It will be quite amusing and the Chelsea Committee are charming people to work with and not at all stiff being chiefly on the artistic lay. R.S.V.P. by return of post that you will come and save us all from ruin.

Your affecate cousin,

Philippa Strachey.

Philippa and Noeline were members of what Hume describes as a "feminist cousinhood", bonded by enthusiasm for the women's suffrage cause. Philippa seemed to be able to make everything possible and amusing. She was the secretary of the
London Society for Women's Suffrage, later London Society for Women's Service, almost continuously from 1907 to 1951. Noeline could have been a member of the L.S.W.S. from 1907, was definitely listed from 1912 and retained her loyalty, even beyond her return to live in New Zealand.

During November 1911, Noeline organised one of the most innovative projects of any suffrage society, a Sweated Industries Exhibition. Although Mary MacArthur and others of the Women's Trade Union League had a Sweated Industries Exhibition in the Queen's Hall, London, in 1906, this Guildford exhibition was the first to be staged by suffrage societies. It was sponsored by the Guildford, Godalming, Haslemere and Farnham Suffrage Societies.

Suffragists were concerned about the plight of women employed as out-workers in their own homes. Their wages were at the barest subsistence level and to earn this amount the women worked immensely long hours. Noeline would later cite the case of a shirt machinist who received ninepence for each dozen shirts she made. After working ten to twelve hours each day and paying one shilling and sixpence a week for the hire of a sewing machine, the woman was left with four shillings and sixpence a week to live on. In contrast, a man's average weekly wage was thirty shillings. Maude Royden believed many of these women were driven to prostitution. There were around 5,000,000 sweated workers in 1911 and she claimed the Government was the country's largest sweating employer. She said,

If we were represented ... we would refuse to be responsible for the wretched condition of the working women and would demand the enactment of laws for protection.

At the Guildford Exhibition, six female out-workers demonstrated their work. On display also were some 200 exhibits lent by the Anti-Sweating League. Then, in the evening, a Lantern Lecture was given. Speakers included James J. Mallon, the secretary of the Anti-Sweating League who had helped with the 1906 London Sweated Industries Exhibition and
Noeline's New Zealand acquaintance, Maud Pember Reeves. 61

Although the suffragists' concern for the sweated workers was genuine, their middle class organisation was keen to cross class barriers, especially after the defeat of the Conciliation Bill in March 1912. The Liberal Party could no longer be seen as a friend of the women's suffrage movement and this prompted a re-evaluation of the National Union's old allegiances and its political strategy. Between April 1912 and January 1913, the N.U.W.S.S. planned to concentrate on building up a parliamentary majority for a women's suffrage amendment to the Franchise and Registration Bill and this included securing the Labour Party's commitment to the enfranchisement of women. The N.U.W.S.S. adopted a new by-election policy: the Election Fighting Fund. This would support Labour candidates during by-elections and thus attack the Liberal Government by promoting more three-cornered contests. 62 At the same time, the Friends of Women's Suffrage was introduced for working-class sympathisers who could not afford to join the N.U.W.S.S. 63

Representatives from the Guildford and District Society attended the National Union's Council Meeting 14-15 May 1912, when the Election Fighting Fund and Friends of Women's Suffrage schemes had been debated and adopted. Nevertheless, the Guildford and District Society did not introduce the Friends of Women's Suffrage scheme until 1913. 64

There was a new burst of activity by members of the National Union as work began in support of the Women's Suffrage Amendments to the Franchise and Registration Bill. As well, the N.U.W.S.S. was promoting an amendment, commonly known as the "Snowdon amendment", to clause 9 of the Home Rule Bill, as a means of persuading Irish Nationalists to look more favourably on women's suffrage. 65

Once again Guildford suffragists commenced a vigorous campaign in support of the National Union. It began with meetings in the neighbouring villages of Shalford, Ash, Normandy, Ripley, East Clandon, West Horsley, Ewhurst and Cranleigh. Numerous other meetings were held throughout the year. Venues were drawing-rooms, village halls, schools, inns
and, during the summer months, village greens, church fields, private gardens and on the streets of Guildford. Many speakers were involved. From the Guildford branch, speakers included Lady Roberts, Lady Chance, Noeline and even Noeline's mother, Isabel Baker, who addressed an open-air meeting on the Green at Ripley when the speaker failed to arrive. The suffrage van, hired by the N.U.W.S.S. to tour the countryside and drum up support for the Amendments, was at the Guildford and District branch meeting at Stoughton in September. N.U.W.S.S. speakers included Helen Ward, Mrs. Maud Bassett, Lady Frances Balfour and Mrs. Katherine Harley (sister of Charlotte Despard of the Women's Freedom League). Katherine Harley spoke at a meeting held in the Bakers' drawing-room at the Warren House.

At the same time constituents were urging their M.P.s to vote for the Women's Suffrage Amendments to the Franchise Bill. Letters were sent to Edgar Horne and Guildford and District branch of the N.U.W.S.S. sent a resolution to him too. A second resolution was sent on 4 November to Horne, the Prime Minister and party Whips pressing for the passage of the Snowden Women's Suffrage Amendment to the Home Rule Bill. In November, the four suffrage societies in the division sent Horne a joint letter describing the progress which had been made since 1910. At the same time, signatures for a memorial urging him to vote for the Women's Suffrage Amendments to the Franchise Bill were collected from forty-four councillors, thirty-two clergy and fifty-seven well-known men and women who were prominent, local Conservatives. When Horne refused to receive members of the deputation who were to give him the memorial, it was sent to him with a strong letter of protest from five of his leading supporters.

During the 1912 campaign, Guildford and District Society members also took part in a procession at Haslemere, attended the huge public gathering in the Albert Hall on 5 November, arranged by the N.U.W.S.S. in support of the Women's Suffrage Amendments, and a meeting convened by the Women's Suffrage Joint Campaign Committee at the London Opera House on 4 December when the inclusion of women in the Franchise Bill "on
broad and democratic line" was demanded.\textsuperscript{71}

The campaign required more and more money. Although the branch's membership increased from 90 to 160 during 1912 and income from subscriptions and donations increased as well this was not enough. The Surrey, Sussex and Hants branches of the N.U.W.S.S. decided to have a "Great Sale of Plants from Famous Gardens of Surrey". They hired a shop at 105 High Street, Guildford, for Saturday, 9 November and plants were donated by Miss Gertrude Jekyll, Mrs. C.W. Earle, Lady Chance, Lady Roberts and others.\textsuperscript{72}

This particular fund-raising scheme had the support of garden-lovers of distinction who resided in the area. Gertrude Jekyll, of Munstead Wood just south of Godalming, was already famous for her garden designs.\textsuperscript{73} Mrs. C.W. Earle, an ally of Gertrude Jekyll and the aunt of the Earl of Lytton and Lady Betty Balfour, had written Pot Pourri from a Surrey Garden (1897).\textsuperscript{74} Lady Roberts, of Henley Park and the president of the Guildford and District W.S.S. was a keen gardener. Noeline's cousin, Lady Chance of Orchards, Goldalming, had a beautiful house and garden designed by Edwin Lutyens and Gertrude Jekyll. Lady Chance was also a sculptor who created pieces for Gertrude Jekyll's garden commissions.\textsuperscript{75} From this distinctly provincial idea, people who loved gardens supported the sale and from the proceeds twenty pounds, six shillings and fourpence were donated to the Federation.\textsuperscript{76}

But a long chapter in the history of the women's movement was soon to end, with the Government's withdrawal of the Franchise Bill. On 27 January 1913 the Speaker of the House of Commons ruled that the women's suffrage amendments, if included, would sufficiently alter the measure to force the withdrawal of the Franchise Bill. The Cabinet met the same day and decided to withdraw it.\textsuperscript{77} As a consequence, women's suffrage became a dead issue in the House of Commons and would remain that way until the next General Election.

In the face of this major setback, the persistence and dedication of the suffragists for their cause never wavered. Their next target was the General Election which they expected
would be held in 1915. Having abandoned all hope of obtaining women's enfranchisement by means of anything less than a Government bill, the N.U.W.S.S. purposely set out, through the Election Fighting Fund, to place more Labour Members of Parliament in the House of Commons. At the same time, they bombarded the British public with an unprecedented level of suffragist propaganda.

Gaining the support of organised labour became a priority. At the May Provincial Council, affiliates were urged to collect resolutions in support of women's suffrage from trade unions.78 Already, at Guildford, there was some goodwill between the unions and the Women's Suffrage Society. Noeline herself had addressed the Independent Labour Party and Social Democratic Party conferences in 1911 and 1912 at Guildford. She was accused of being "anti-male" after her 1911 speech but in 1912, when she said the demand for the vote at that time was because of the position of women in the industrial world, John Elliot, a member of the Typographical Association and a delegate on the Trades Council, offered to help the suffragists.79 At the end of 1913 suffragists at Guildford could report the Guildford Trades Council, the Typographical Association, the Shop Assistants' Union and the Workers' Union had passed strong resolutions demanding a Government measure for women's suffrage.80

Organised labour was not the only target. The working class at large was being wooed by the N.U.W.S.S. During 1913, the Guildford and District branch introduced the Friends of Women's Suffrage scheme and an educational campaign. This latter was also an initiative of the N.U.W.S.S. in an effort to stir the "imagination and consciousness" of the public, particularly members of the working class.81 Regular lectures and debates were held at Guildford. For instance, during November 1913 a Mr. McGregor of the National Committee for Prevention of Destitution spoke. In January 1914, Miss Penrose Philp addressed a meeting on "Children's Courts" and "81,000 Poor Law Children. What shall we do with them?"82
Although it is not possible to gauge the success of the suffragists' efforts to attract the support of the working class, Noeline, anyway, had earned respect. John Elliot's response to her speech to the Independent Labour Party and British Socialist Party conference is an example. Perhaps more telling is a letter Noeline received from Mrs. Minnie Holt of Canada. She wrote,

i feel moor than ever since i have been out hear that if women could only get the Vote that the ladeys of england with plenty of time would shourley thry to make it better for the working classes. Since I have been in this country I can see more than ever how unfair we are treated in England... now the best of her working men dont get a living wage and the other half are more like half starved animals than living souls of the same god and england is so nice and butiful ... but I must not trouble you any longer with all my thoughts but I know you will understand and i just feel that you are the only one that would...83

In 1913, Guildford suffragists opened a "Suffrage Shop". A joint project of the Godalming and Guildford and District Women's Suffrage Societies it was located at 1 Mount Street, Guildford, and had a room upstairs, suitable for meetings. Lady Chance painted the attractive sign for it and Noeline's father put up shelves and polished the floors.84 Philippa Fawcett, the daughter of Millicent Fawcett, who was on a week's speaking tour of nearby towns and villages, officially opened it on 16 May. In her speech, Philippa Fawcett mentioned having heard of the energy of the Guildford and District Society. She commented specifically on the 1910 procession and the work done in connection with the sweated labour problem. She also said she had never spoken at a series of meetings which had been more thoroughly organised than those she addressed that week. "It was a credit to Miss Baker and her helpers".85

Described by the Surrey Weekly Press as a "commodious depot ... for the furtherance of the cause", the Suffrage Shop was open two days a week. Suffragist literature, including the Common Cause, was available plus a variety of goods for sale. After a very successful Christmas gift sale, an irate High
Street trader complained of the "disgraceful competition" from the Suffrage Shop in a letter to the *Surrey Weekly Press*. In a published reply, Noeline wrote that she regretted so much money had to be raised for the women's suffrage cause each year. She mentioned that most suffragists bought fewer clothes, went without pleasures and in some instances, food, to be able to donate more money to the cause.

We believe, rightly or wrongly, that until we get the vote we shall not be able to check the social evil which is such a blot on our civilisation or prevent the sweating of women's labour. She challenged the writer to subscribe to the Society and bring to an end the "unnecessary prolongation of this struggle for freedom".

The most spectacular piece of propaganda undertaken by the N.U.W.S.S. during this period and probably the most impressive demonstration for women's suffrage ever staged in Great Britain, the Women's Pilgrimage took place in July. In this, Noeline Baker and the Guildford and District Society played their part. Proposed to the N.U.W.S.S. Executive Committee by Katherine Harley, the pilgrimage scheme entailed a constitutional campaign throughout all the country, with marches starting from seventeen cities (one from each Federation) and ending in London. There were to be eight main routes across the country: along the Great North Road, Watling Street, the Portsmouth Road and the Brighton Road, from the East Coast, the West Country, the Fen Country and along the Kentish Pilgrim's Way. Some of the participants would follow their route from start to finish over several weeks but most would join the march for a few days at a time. Since it was important to identify the pilgrims to onlookers, a uniform was devised: coats and skirts or dresses in white, grey, black or navy, with blouses the same colour as the skirt or white, and hats in the same colours but with bands and bows in the National Union colours of red, white and green.

"The Pilgrimage of Grace" Maudé Royden called it. Whether the pilgrims were Christian or not, she wrote, their call was
Suffrage Shop, Guildford, officially opened 16 May 1913 by Philippa Fawcett. From left, Miss Drew, Noeline Baker, Philippa Fawcett and Miss Powell.
The N.U.W.S.S. Pilgrimage, 1913.
A scene at Guildford on 22 July when between 5000 and 6000 people assembled for an evening meeting.
Godalming Women's Suffrage Society's banner designed and made by Gertrude Jekyll, displayed in the Lutyens Jekyll Room at the Godalming Museum.
Monks Path, 1987,
19 Warwicks Bench, Guildford.

The neo-Queen Anne style house designed by architect
M. Hugh Baillie Scott and built for John Baker in 1914.

Noeline Baker inherited Monks Path after her father died in 1930
and retained ownership until 1953. Since 1973 the house has been listed a Grade II building
(because of its special architectural interest) by the Department of the Environment, London.
"a moving, living sense of deep spiritual meaning of the Suffrage Movement" - a movement which like Christianity itself, had come "to turn the world upside down". The Suffragists would set out to bring the world to their fellowship "with something of the gaiety of the early Franciscans".88

The first pilgrims began their journey on 18 June. Groups set out then from all over the country, discreetly in some areas, with bands and banners and a civic send-off in other places. Most travelled on foot, although some rode horses or bicycles and sympathisers lent cars, carriages or pony traps for the luggage. The suffragists held innumerable meetings, gathered petitions, sold the Common Cause and other women's suffrage literature and enlisted sympathisers as members or friends of the N.U.W.S.S. The pilgrims were accommodated by fellow suffragists and in small hostels and boarding houses along the routes, paying their own expenses. On Sundays they attended church services.89

The two southeast sections, which started from Portsmouth and Bournemouth, converged at Guildford on 22 July. From then, until the mass meeting at Hyde Park on 26 July, Noeline took charge of arrangements.90 After the pilgrims arrived at Guildford, they were officially welcomed. Then, the 200 women were led by the Stoughton Band into North Street where they listened to speeches by Miss. Geraldine Cook, a former secretary of the N.U.W.S.S., and Mrs. Richardson, a factory worker for twenty years.91

In the evening, between five to six thousand people assembled in North Street for an open-air meeting. Mrs. Dempster, the suffrage organiser for the Surrey, Sussex and Hants Federation was in the chair and Geraldine Cook, Mrs. Richardson and Dorothy Hunter (from the Guildford and District Society) were the speakers. As these women climbed on to a wagonette to address the crowd, there were cheers, cat calls and the lusty singing of "Ch, You Beautiful Doll". When Dorothy Hunter made a reference to militant suffragettes, sections of the crowd surged forward and the wagonette was pushed several metres down a slope. There was a terrible
crush, some women fainted and the Chief Constable advised the speakers to abandon their platform. Fighting broke out between the police and the hooligans but the pilgrims were protected by members of the local Independant Labour Party, and some of the extra police who had come from London. Afterwards, the editor of the *Surrey Weekly Press* condemned the disruptions.

If ever there was an unanswerable argument for taking away the vote from many men, and transferring it to some women, then it was furnished at this meeting. ... We would cheerfully send flowers to decorate the last resting place of this type of male voter.92

Guildford was not the only centre where pilgrims were harassed by male hooligans. The southwest marchers were mobbed at Bath and their luggage van was pushed into the river at Marlborough. Another group from Swindon was pelted with rotten eggs and cabbages at Cheltenham. Most of the routes had similar experiences.93 In fact, as rowdyism became more and more of a problem, the N.U.W.S.S. arranged for a flying corps of speakers to go by train to various places to draw hostile fire before the pilgrims arrived.94 As Brian Harrison observes, non-militant suffragists suffered for the sins of their militant colleagues.95

When the pilgrims left Guildford on 23 July, Noeline and a contingent from the Guildford and District Society joined them. They marched to Esher that day, to Richmond on 24 July and were in Kensington on 25 July for a large evening meeting at the Town Hall. Finally, on 26 July, they joined the Kensington procession. Separate contingents formed up in Kensington, Maida Vale, Bloomsbury and Trafalgar Square to march to a mass meeting in Hyde Park.96 There were bands and banners at the head of each section, two well-known aviators made flights over northwest London, dropping women's suffrage literature from their aeroplanes, and carriages and motor-cars, decorated in the National Union's colours, accompanied the processions. At Hyde Park, the pilgrims wound their way through fifty to seventy thousand spectators to the nineteen platforms where
some eighty speakers were ready to address the crowds. These included Millicent Fawcett, Lady Strachey and her daughter-in-law, Ray Strachey. The next day, the Guildford contingent was among the 1,000 pilgrims attending a special service in St. Paul's Cathedral. Mrs. Fawcett was present and Maude Royden spoke on "The Pilgrim Spirit".

The Pilgrimage benefited both the N.U.W.S.S. and the cause of women's suffrage. It prompted Asquith to receive a deputation from Millicent Fawcett and her constitutional colleagues, although nothing came from this meeting.

Once again, Philippa Strachey wrote to Noeline in her inimitable style to thank her for her help. Philippa concluded,

Alpha and Omega - I can never never tell you what a comfort and assistance you are to this Society ... You know as well as I do the blessed feeling of relief when a competent (sic) person is known to be in charge of something; we all feel as if burdens were removed from our shoulders when you come into our sphere and blessings follow your footsteps.

After four years as honorary secretary of the Guildford and District Society, Noeline resigned in January 1914 because her parents needed her help. The previous year, John Baker had bought a building site at Warwicks Bench, Guildford, which overlooked the water meadows of the river Wey and on the opposite hill, the ruins of the abbey of St. Catherine's. A house, designed by architect M. Hugh Baillie Scott in neo-Queen Anne style, was built for the family. Noeline assisted her parents when they moved from the Warren House to their new home, which they named, Monks Path.

Nevertheless, Noeline's suffragist activities continued. She was a member of the executive committee of the Guildford and District Society and, increasingly, she worked in London. During March, for instance, Kathleen Courtney of the N.U.W.S.S. wrote to invite Noeline to join the exhibition committee for a "women's Kingdom" at Olympia. Then, during July, she received an invitation from Dr. Elsie M. Inglis of the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies to be the organiser of
a Great Demonstration planned for 10 October 1914 in Glasgow. In July also, Noeline was asked to be Active Service Section leader for the Surrey, Sussex and Hants Federation. She continued to receive requests to chair meetings or to speak. But all the National Union's political activities came to an abrupt end on 4 August 1914 when England declared war on Germany. Thereafter, using their well-established network, members of the women's movement threw their energy into the war effort.
1. R. Strachey, The Cause, p.43.
   O. Banks, Faces of Feminism, p.25.

   John Stuart Mill (1806-73).
   Liberal, philosopher.

   The terms of Mill's Women's Suffrage amendment to the 1867 Reform Bill were to omit the word "man" from the enfranchising clause and substitute the word "person".


   The 1884 Reform Act extended the vote to all male householders in the country (those in the towns had been enfranchised in 1867) but women were not included.

3. Women voted in Wyoming from 1869, in Utah from 1870, women property holders on the Isle of Man from 1880 and in Colorado from 1893. In 1893 also New Zealand was the first national state in the world to give women the vote.

   Grimsnaw, Women's Suffrage in New Zealand, Preface, p.v.


5. C. Pankhurst, Unshackled, p.44.

   Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928).
   Militant suffragette leader.
   Christabel Pankhurst (1880- ).
   Sylvia Pankhurst (1882- ).


10. Tickner, Spectacle of Women, p.75.

   Lady Frances Balfour, president of the L.S.W.S.

   Edith Pechey - Phipson, one of the first women in England to qualify in the medical profession.

11. Dominion, 5 July 1941.
11. **Dominion**, 5 July 1941.

   Dr. Dorothy Page to L. Taylor, 2 October 1989.


   H.L., M.I., +619/A.

15. Details on photograph of Warren House, Guildford, R. Sansom, Cromwell.

16. Baker Albums, H.L.

   The Bakers toured Spain, Gibraltar and Tangier in Morocco in 1899; Germany, Austria and Bavaria, including Oberammergau to see the Passion Play in 1900; Italy from November 1901 to June 1902; France 1905; San Sebastian Spain, 1906; France 1907; Greece, Dubrovnik in Dalmatia, the island of Corfu, Cattaro, Montenegro, and Italy in 1908 - Noeline and Lady Chance; Château-d'Oex for skating, December 1908; Switzerland from February to May 1909.


19. Other Vice-presidents -
   Lord Farrer, Mrs. Herringham, Viscountess Midleton, Pike Pease, Sir Owen Roberts.
   Hon. Secretaries -
   Noeline Baker and Miss K. Rowton.
   Hon. Treasurer -
   Miss Seymour.
   Executive Committee -
   John H. Baker, Miss Bray, Miss P. Brockman, Russell Davey, Miss Sylvia Drew, H. Nevill J.P., Miss T. Powell, Miss Todhunter, Miss Stephenson, Mrs. Swinburne.


   Journalist, secretary of the Conciliation Committee.
Brailsford's wife, Jane, a member of the W.S.P.U. and former member of the N.U.W.S.S. was imprisoned for her militant women's suffrage activity.

23. Ibid, p.70, p.73.

1 Every woman possessed of a household qualification, or a ten pound occupation qualification, within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act (1884), shall be entitled to be registered as a voter and when registered to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.

2 For the purposes of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and a wife shall not both be qualified in respect of the same property.


27. Hume, p.34.


29. Ibid.


Member societies of the Surrey, Sussex and Hants Federation of the N.U.W.S.S. taking part were Guildford and District, Godalming, Farnham, Haslemere, Croydon, Reigate, Leith Hill, Oxted, Camberley, Woking and Weybridge. Other N.U.W.S.S. branches were Kingston, Wimbledon, Walton, Esther, Epsom, Sutton, Richmond, Portsmouth, Fleet, Brighton and Petersfield.

Other organisations were Lady graduates of U.K. universities, Liberal women, Croydon C.U.W.F.A., Forward Suffrage Union, Men's League, Church League for Justice to Women, New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage, Redhill and Reigate Co-operative
Women, Suffrage Atelier and W.S.P.U. branches.

Mary Lowndes (1857– ).

Chief instigator of the Artists' Suffrage League, member of the executive committee of the L.S.W.S., stained-glass artist and founder of Lowndes and Drury which became the centre for most of the best British stained-glass artists before 1914.

31. Ibid, p.6a.


32. Hume, National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, p.87.


34. Ibid, p.4a.

35. Hume, National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, p.98.


Elizabeth Robins (1862-1952). An American who helped to organise the Actresses' Franchise League and the Writers' Suffrage League.

40. Ibid.

Agnes Maude Royden (1876-1956). Preacher and feminist. Editor of the Common Cause.

41. Hume, National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, p.103.

42. Ibid, p.105.

43. Pankhurst, Unshackled, p.164.

44. Guildford and District W.S.S. Annual Report 1911.


47. Guildford and District W.S.S. Annual Report 1911.

48. The National Union organised classes for speakers. Maude Royden, a brilliant speaker herself, was in demand as a tutor. It is possible Noeline received some training before her first speaking engagements.


53. Philippa Strachey to N. Baker, 7 March 1911, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

54. Ibid.

"Cousin Minnie" was Mary A. Elton, born Strachey, Noeline Baker's aunt.

In 1907, Sir Richard and Lady Strachey had moved from Lancaster Gate to 67 Belsize Park Gardens, Hampstead.


57. Dr. Dorothy Page to L. Taylor, 2 October 1989.


60. Fletcher, *Maude Royden*, p.92.


In 1895 William Pember Reeves had been appointed New Zealand's Agent-General in London.

65. Under this amendment the municipal register would be used to determine who would vote for the proposed Irish Parliament. As the municipal register included approximately 150,000 women, they would automatically qualify as electors and Brailsford expressed the hope the Irish M.P.'s would "barter enfranchisement in England for the exclusion of women voters at home".


68. Report 1912.

69. First resolution was sent 1 June. Another was sent to Horne and the Prime-Minister on 16 June 1912 in support of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

70. Guildford and District W.S.S. Annual Report 1912.


71. Report 1912.

Joint Campaign Committee, an organisation, with representatives from the principal women's suffrage societies and suffragist M.P.'s, which lobbied for women's suffrage both in the constituencies and in the House of Commons.

72. Notice for "Great Sale of Plants from Famous Gardens of Surrey", H.L., M.I., +619/A.

73. J. Brown, *The English Garden in Our Time*, p.34.


For instance, "Marsh Court".


78. Ibid, p.195.

79. John Elliott to N. Baker, 8 January 1913, H.L., M.I., +619/A.


82. Guildford and District W.S.S. Annual Report 1913. See also N. Baker's diary notes, 16 January 1914 and 23 January 1914.

83. Minnie Holt to N. Baker, 10 December 1913, H.L., M.I., +619/A.


89. Tickner, *Spectacle of Women*, pp.142-43.

90. N. Baker's diary notes, 22 July 1913.


92. Ibid. See also Guildford and District W.S.S. Annual Report 1913.


96. N. Baker's diary notes, 23-26 July 1913.


98. The American women's suffrage leader, Mrs. Chapman Catt was one of the speakers.


See also *Guildford and District W.S.S. Annual Report 1913*.


101. Philippa Strachey to N. Baker, 12 August 1913, H.L., M.I., +619/A.


The Bakers' house was named Monks Path because legend said the old pathway, used by pilgrims to Canterbury, followed the top of the downs and crossed the river below St. Catherine's.

104. Kathleen D. Courtney to N. Baker, 1 March 1914, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

Kathleen D. Courtney (1878-1974). Hon. secretary N.U.W.S.S.

105. Elsie Maud Inglis M.B., C.M., to N. Baker, 8 July 1914, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

106. Margaret O'Shea to N. Baker, 24 July 1914, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

Edith Riddoch to N. Baker, 27 July 1914, H.L., M.I., +619/A.
CHAPTER 5

"WOMEN! YOUR COUNTRY NEEDS YOU!"

On 4 August 1914, Great Britain was plunged into a war, the like and scale of which had never been seen before. Almost immediately, Noeline went to London where she helped the London Society set up a Women's Service Bureau. When hostilities had not ceased by Christmas, as predicted, Noeline returned to Guildford. There her war work focussed on land issues. As labour shortages increased, she organised women for work on farms and in gardens. In Surrey, she was rather ahead of the play. Over a thousand women were already doing agricultural work there when a Women's Land Army was formed in 1917. When women's suffrage became an issue again, appreciation for women's war work helped to soften the Government's resistance.

Diary notes, written by Noeline, convey the anxieties and tensions for the Bakers during the days leading up to the outbreak of war. For instance, on 29 July Noeline noted that relations between the European powers were seriously strained after Austria-Hungary had declared war on Serbia. This meant the obligations of the Great Powers to the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente were drawing Great Britain closer to the conflict.

The prospect of war between England and Germany was specially distressing to the Baker family. Not only had John Baker lived in Germany, but his younger sister, Maude, married a German, Reverend Theodore Zollman. Maude died in 1905, but her ten children and their descendants were German nationals.

Noeline described 3 August as a day of "dreadful tension". By then, Germany had declared war on Russia and France and was demanding the right to move her troops through Belgium. It was Bank Holiday, and while the Bakers waited anxiously for further news of the Government's reaction to Belgium's request for help, they could hear the trains passing regularly through Guildford, all day and through the night, carrying Europeans recalled to their countries. Next morning, the newspapers announced the British Government's ultimatum,
requiring Germany to respect Belgian neutrality. An answer was required by 11pm. that day (midnight in Germany). It was a glorious moonlight evening and Noeline walked for hours on the terrace at Monks Path, awaiting the deadline. By midnight, Great Britain was at war.

The women's suffrage issue, for which Noeline and her fellow suffragists had worked so devotedly, was thrown into disarray by the crisis now facing the country. On 2 and 3 August, members of the Executive Committee of the N.U.W.S.S. sat all day in anxious consultation. They had to decide what guidance to give their 500 affiliated societies and what to do with their paid staff, their organisation and their funds. It was clear to those who met that public suffrage work must be suspended, but they also realised their active and efficient organisation could be used in patriotic work. Their members would want to be used during a national emergency. Mrs. Fawcett, Catherine Marshall and Kathleen Courtney sent a circular to all women's suffrage societies asking what the National Union should do if war was declared. The overwhelming majority replied that they were in favour of suspending suffrage agitation and devoting their energies to war relief work. Within hours of the Government's declaration of war, this became the official N.U.W.S.S. policy. Headlines on the front page of the 14 August issue of Common Cause carried a message from Mrs. Fawcett, "Women! Your Country Needs You! Let us show ourselves worthy of Citizenship whether our claim is to be recognised or not".

The militant suffrage campaign was abandoned too. The Home Secretary released imprisoned W.S.P.U. members, unconditionally, on 10 August. In response, the Pankhursts sent out a circular to all their members advising that the activities of the W.S.P.U. were temporarily suspended. Mrs. Pankhurst urged suffragettes to place their energies at the service of their country.

The first phase of Noeline's war work centred in London, at the office of the London Society. When she learned of the
N.U.W.S.S. decision, she wrote to Philippa Strachey immediately to offer her help to the L.S.W.S. The branch secretaries and other members had met on Saturday, 8 August, and decided to use the entire organisation of over sixty branches throughout London, for the immediate requirements of the national crisis. She telegraphed Noeline that same day. She invited Noeline to come to London and help to co-ordinate this new work. Noeline started work in the London Society's central office on 10 August.

After the London Society suspended its ordinary political work, it opened a Women's Service Bureau at 58 Victoria Street, South West London. At first it was envisaged that this Bureau would be a clearing house, an information and labour exchange where women could enrol for voluntary war work. The L.S.W.S. hoped to organise voluntary workers, in conjunction with the central authority and societies already engaged in relief work. It was envisaged that such a centre would not only be of assistance to the individual, but would relieve pressure, caused by large numbers of inquiries, at the offices of organisations already overwhelmed with practical work. But as overseas trade was suspended and luxury production ceased there was a dramatic increase in unemployment. In the time-honoured tradition, women were the first to lose their jobs. This caused considerable distress, especially in working-class districts. As a consequence, the role of the London Society's Women's Service Bureau changed from the proposed organisation of voluntary workers to placing unemployed women in paid work. A growing shortage of male workers eventually enabled the Women's Service Bureau to place thousands of women into new work of the most varied kind. It also provided short courses for women who went to work in aircraft and munition factories, set up workshops to train them in oxy-acetylene welding and elementary engineering, offered loans and scholarships to study for professional and trade qualifications and operated a special fund to equip and maintain hospital units in France and Serbia.
Noeline helped to set up the L.S.W.S. Women's Service Bureau. She took charge of the register of voluntary workers for three months. Then, in November, she was co-opted to the Executive Committee of the London Society and at the Annual Meeting, 10 December 1914, she was duly elected a member of the Executive Committee.

One of Noeline's closest colleagues in the London office of the L.S.W.S. these months was Ida O'Malley, with whom she stayed for a time. Ida had been educated at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, and was a former member of the N.U.W.S.S. Executive Committee from 1911 to 1913.

Noeline does not seem to have had her own address in London. She also stayed with Philippa and Lady Strachey at 67 Belsize Gardens, Hampstead. It must have been a lively household. Lady Strachey, at 74 years, continued to be a vehement feminist, vigorous in conversation and argument. She still drew as friends some of the most intelligent and interesting people of the day. In 1914, these included members of the brilliant Bloomsbury group, which centred around her son Lytton and included her nephew, painter Duncan Grant, Virginia and Leonard Woolf, Clive and Vanessa Bell and John Maynard Keynes.

Later Noeline stayed at her club when she came to London for visits throughout the war years. It is not known which club she belonged to but clubs for women were first founded in the 1890s. In spite of their greater freedom, "respectable" women did not eat alone in a public place nor could they be seen wandering in the streets during the evening. Clubs for upper-middle class women offered rooms for short stays, better than average food, a smoking-room and formal evening entertainment. Lady Strachey herself was a past president of the Lyceum Club, founded in 1904, which attracted women artists, writers and journalists.

At the same time as the L.S.W.S. was expanding its war work, there was growing concern among members of the Executive Committee about the rift developing within the National Union on attitudes to the war. At the beginning of December, Ray
Strachey, in a letter to her mother, wrote that the suffrage world was "heaving and tossing".\textsuperscript{22}

Within the National Union's Executive Committee, its national officers and rank and file there was a group who were deeply concerned about its priorities. These suffragists believed it was their duty to work for a righteous peace and for a better system of international relations. Some, like Helena Swanwick, joined the Union of Democratic Control and others, including Isabella Ford, a Quaker, and Maude Royden, editor of the \textit{Common Cause}, opposed the war on religious grounds.\textsuperscript{23} Margaret Ashton, from the Manchester and District Federation of suffragists, was keen for her branch to take a lead in discussing how peace negotiations could begin.\textsuperscript{24} When an international conference for women was proposed to discuss the war and to give expression to women's detestation of it, members of this concerned group were enthusiastic. On the other hand, Millicent Fawcett and members of the London Society's Executive Committee were outraged. Mrs. Fawcett said it was "akin to treason to talk of peace" at this time and Ray Strachey, a member of the L.S.W.S., wrote of the need "to defeat the intriguers of the peace party".\textsuperscript{25}

It was no coincidence, that Professor Gilbert Murray, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, was invited to speak at the London Society's Women's Service meeting, on 16 December, at Queen's Hall. Gilbert Murray had been an influential leader of liberal and anti-war opinion but had changed his stance.\textsuperscript{26} Now, he was sure this war was a righteous one and it could not have been avoided.

It is likely Noeline already knew Murray's views. At Cambridge in early October, she had talked at length with his friend and collaborator, Jane Harrison, who also attended the Queen's Hall meeting.\textsuperscript{27}

By the end of December, the L.S.W.S. had decided to try and unseat some of the dissidents on the National Union's Executive Committee. A Council Meeting, the first to be held by the N.U.W.S.S. since war began, was planned for early February 1915. Millicent Fawcett was apprehensive. Among the
dissidents were most of the chief officers of the National Union, the editor of its paper and a majority of the Executive Committee members. For the most part, these women were well known and deservedly popular throughout the women's suffrage societies. There was a real danger they would sway the Council meeting. The L.S.W.S. nominated seven candidates, including Noeline, for the N.U.W.S.S. Executive. All were members of the L.S.W.S. who supported Millicent Fawcett's policy.

A covering letter, signed by Philippa Strachey for the L.S.W.S., was sent to all branch societies of the N.U.W.S.S. along with a description of the London Society's nominees for the Executive Committee. In this letter, Philippa explained that the L.S.W.S. believed the future of the National Union's credibility depended on the policy of its Executive Committee during the ensuing year. For the first time, the members of the Executive Committee planned to make important decisions on subjects other than women's suffrage. The L.S.W.S. therefore, urged delegates to give weight to the important issues facing them and to take into consideration the views of all candidates, in addition to whatever service they had rendered to the cause. Delegates were asked to support the London Society's candidates for the Executive Committee who all stood "in support of the resolutions on policy which appear on the Agenda in the name of the Society and are opposed to any propaganda on the subject of war and peace". Only Oliver Strachey, Philippa's brother and Ray Strachey's husband, was elected to the National Union's Executive Committee. Nevertheless, Millicent Fawcett, supported by the London Society and Eleanor Rathbone, succeeded in achieving "a mitigated triumph". Nothing emerged quite clearly. The decision "to sustain the vital forces of the nation" was enthusiastically endorsed. On the other hand, delegates were called upon "to take every means open to them for promoting mutual understanding and goodwill between nations and for resisting any tendency towards a spirit of hatred and revenge". A resolution, urging the National Union to
undertake work on international lines to promote the "right sort of peace" at the end of the war, was defeated but another, based on Asquith's statement of the general lines which should determine any settlement, was adopted. Educational courses on the causes and consequences of war and the methods for preventing future wars were approved as an activity of the N.U.W.S.S. These decisions left an uneasy sense of compromise.

The London Society saw this Council meeting as being only the beginning of the struggle between the two factions within the N.U.W.S.S. Ray Strachey hoped her husband, Oliver, would keep the opposition on the National Union's Executive Committee from "extremes of folly". Ida O'Malley, in a letter to Noeline, dated 20 February 1915, wrote about a meeting the Executive Committee of the London Society was planning for their members. She expressed concern that the Executive of the L.S.W.S. was acting without full consultation.

If as I fear this last council is only the beginning of a struggle between two schools of thought in the National Union, of which one side will be led by the National Union Executive and one by the London Society ... The London Society should not simply act through its Ctee. without the members even realizing what is going on.

The struggle between the two factions ended, due to outside and quite unforeseen events. The N.U.W.S.S. in early March received Maude Royden's resignation as Editor of the Common Cause. This was followed by the resignations of Kathleen Courtney, the Hon. secretary, and Catherine Marshall the Hon. parliamentary secretary. In March also the N.U.W.S.S. received an invitation from a group of women at the Hague inviting it to send official representatives to an International Congress to discuss the basis of a permanent peace settlement. When this invitation was declined by the National Union's Executive Committee, ten of its members resigned. Thus, all members of the pacifist group went and Millicent Fawcett was left to carry on without the help of her chief advisers.
These resignations caused a great commotion within the societies of the National Union and a special Council Meeting was at once summoned. This was held at Birmingham in June 1915. Noeline attended as a delegate. She must have been relieved when Millicent Fawcett's view was overwhelmingly supported by those present at this meeting. At Birmingham, Ray Strachey was elected Hon. parliamentary secretary and the other vacancies on the Executive Committee were filled.

The Hague Congress took place during April 1915. Because the British Government closed the North Sea to all shipping, only Chrystal Macmillan, Secretary of the International Suffrage Alliance, Kathleen Courtney and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence attended from Great Britain. From the Hague meeting, the Women's International League for Peace and Women's Suffrage was born. A British branch, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, was formed in October 1915.

By 1915, Noeline was again living in Guildford. Few had foretold the war would last longer than six months, but by 1915 both sides had reached a stalemate (which neither could break until 1918). Great Britain mobilized more and more of its resources of production and manpower for the struggle ahead. While living in London, Noeline received a letter from the Guildford and District Women's Suffrage Society inviting her to be branch secretary again. The committee had been informed by "responsible people" that the greatest suffering caused by this war was yet to come. They wanted Noeline to lead them "so that our Society may carry out all the work that may present itself". Noeline switched her wartime activities back to Surrey.

From February until August 1915, Noeline resumed her role as honorary secretary of the Guildford and District Women's Suffrage Society. She still travelled to London for L.S.W.S. Executive Committee meetings and sometimes helped in the London office but from now on her war work was to be centred in Surrey.

The war came to Guildford on 13 October 1915 when a German
Zeppelin bombed the abbey of St. Catherine. Probably, the target was meant to be the Chilworth gunpowder factory, situated about two miles from Guildford and at the foot of St. Martha's hill. Near Guildford, there are two isolated chapels, the ruins of the abbey of St. Catherine and St. Martha's on St. Martha's hill. The Zeppelin dropped its bombs in the St. Catherine's region, killing seventeen fowls and a swan. Although it hovered over the area for some time and dropped flares, the store of gunpowder near St. Martha's remained safe. After this incident, each day's output at the gunpowder factory was sent away immediately and a black out was observed in Guildford. On 18 October, Noeline noted she had measured the windows at Monks Path for black-out curtains.

In 1915, after the N.U.W.S.S. had decided to promote educational courses, Noeline led a study circle at the Guildford suffrage shop on Tuesday evenings. On 3 June she helped to organise a public lecture on the Balkan States. But by June, Federation work took up more and more of her time.

On 23 March 1915, at a meeting of the Surrey, Sussex and Hants Federation of the N.U.W.S.S. Noeline was elected the Federation's secretary for Surrey. At this time, the Federation was actively involved with fund-raising for relief work. During 1915, over 1000 pounds was raised for the Scottish Women's Hospitals. Backed by the N.U.W.S.S., Dr. Elsie Inglis, honorary secretary of the Scottish Federation of the National Union, had formed hospital units after the War Office refused to engage experienced women doctors for work in British Army military hospitals. She arranged for these medical units, staffed by women, to be used by Britain's allies and Scottish Women's Hospitals served with the Belgian, French, Russian and Serbian armies. The Surrey, Sussex and Hants Federation of the N.U.W.S.S. paid for one of the tents, which accommodated the wounded at Troyes in France, from the 1000 pounds it had raised. Present and past students at Girton and Newnham Colleges paid for the unit's equipment.

Nevertheless, Noeline's main war work would be involved
with placing women on the land. After her election as Federation secretary for Surrey, she became very aware of the growing problem of labour shortages on farms and in gardens. In May 1915, she attended a meeting at Reigate where the issue of using women for farm work was discussed. Two days later, Noeline spoke with Miss La Mothe, the head of the Women's Branch of the Board of Trade and with Colonel Cubitt, Lord Lieutenant of Surrey, on the subject. On 10 July, the Surrey section of the Federation organised a Surrey Invasion and Agricultural Meeting at Guildford. Invitations were sent to the Women Guardians, Co-operative Guilds, Suffrage Societies, headmistresses of large schools and matrons of hospitals. At this meeting, the "duties that would devolve on women in case of invasion" and schemes for training women for agriculture work were discussed. Ray Strachey, now the Parliamentary Secretary of the N.U.W.S.S., addressed the meeting on the invasion issue. A small representative committee was elected to approach the Lord Lieutenant of Surrey and ask him to appoint women to work with the men's Surrey Invasion Committee.

Miss Gardner, senior organising officer for women's work in the South Eastern division of England (Board of Labour Exchange), described schemes for training women for agriculture and garden work. It was agreed, that a Surrey Committee for Women and Farm Labour should be appointed with the object of finding out how many county women were available for farm and garden work and what training could be arranged for them. Noeline was appointed to both the Invasion and Women and Farm Labour committees.

On 3 September 1915, Ray Strachey, Pippa Strachey, Miss Allen and Noeline had a meeting with Colonel Cubitt. As a consequence several women, including some members of the Guildford and District Women's Suffrage Society were appointed to Surrey Defence committees.

It was the employment of women in agricultural work, that was to become the priority issue. Because Britain was predominantly an industrial country, her economy was more vulnerable to the world-wide war than that of any other nation.
For many years she had imported more goods than she exported, including enormous supplies of food at a cost of nearly 300,000,000 pounds per annum. The balance of trade had been tilted in her favour by "invisible imports" which included the earnings of her large merchant navy (39 per cent of the world's total in 1913). But the war had imperilled merchant shipping. Not only were Britain's ships directly attacked by the Germans, first by surface-raiders and then by a ruthless submarine campaign, but large numbers were requisitioned to transport the combat forces and carry supplies and munitions to the British army bases. An increase in Britain's agriculture production, therefore, was seen as being a necessary means to sustain food supplies and help the national economy.

At the same time, agricultural producers were facing an acute labour shortage as more and more men joined the army. Five hundred thousand had volunteered during the first month of the war. For the next eighteen months around 100,000 per month enlisted. Of these, about 300,000 had been agriculture labourers and gardeners.

To wrestle with the problem of increasing production when farmers were hampered by an acute labour shortage, a Board of Agriculture Departmental Committee, chaired by Viscount Milner, was set up by the government. In its final report, this committee recommended that more use would have to be made of women workers on the land if the labour shortage was to be overcome and an increase in production achieved.

Women were already being employed for farm and garden work in some counties during 1915. In Surrey, Noeline was interviewing female applicants for the Committee for Women and Farm Labour. On 4 October, she worked at the Guildford Labour Exchange for the first time. She also interviewed applicants at Woking, Reigate, Purley and Croydon and at the Kingston Labour Exchange.

Noeline attended a number of conferences and meetings for the Women and Farm Labour Committee. She met Miss La Mothe again at an agricultural conference held in Alton on 19 October, 1915. She had an interview with Miss McQueen, at
the Ministry of Agriculture in London. On 11 December she travelled to Winchester, to attend a conference between representatives of county committees and the Right Hon. the Earl of Selborne, president of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, on "Women's Labour on the Land." 

In his opening speech, Lord Selborne said that Britain's economic difficulties would be overcome if a satisfactory solution to the problem of persuading farmers to employ women could be found. If farmers adapted and if women took the opportunity to serve their country in this way, Britain would be able to avert an agriculture crisis, but many farmers were "reluctant, shy or sceptical" about employing women. On the other hand, country women saw such work as "demeaning". They did not like other women seeing them at work in the fields, because it would be thought that they had "come down in the world". War volunteers from the towns and cities needed training, accommodation and maintenance. Then there was the question of wages. All women should be offered a "fair wage for fair work". A "crusade" was required throughout the country. Women could serve their King and Country by working on the land.

Early in 1916 the Board of Agriculture in conjunction with the Board of Trade arranged for the formation of Women's Committees in all counties, except in the few districts, like Surrey, where a committee was already functioning. It was recommended that counties be divided into rural districts with a member of the Committee acting as the District Representative. She would be responsible for the general supervision of the work in all the villages of her rural district. As well, each village should have a Village Registrar who would visit farmers to learn about their labour requirements and keep a register with the names of village women willing to work full or part-time on the land. The Village Registrar would also ascertain which women required training for permanent positions on farms or in gardens.
By September 1916, the Surrey Committee for Women's Farm Labour had registered 1858 women for farm work of whom 904 had been placed. In addition, fifty-nine had been trained and placed directly by the Central Committee, although the cost of training had been paid for by the Surrey Education Committee. Over fifty meetings had been held in the county to stress to farmers and women alike the need for maintaining and, if possible, increasing the supply of home-grown foodstuffs. Classes were held in hoeing and other farm work with Miss Vaughan Williams instructing. For example, at South Nutfield fifty women were taught hoeing and on Sir Jeremiah Coleman's farm they hoed seven and a half acres of mustard, a valuable crop which would otherwise have been lost.

Up to this point, the work of the Surrey Committee for Women's Farm Labour, District Representatives and Village Registrars had been voluntary. The Board of Trade lent a room at the Guildford Labour Exchange, 20 and 21 North Street, but otherwise all expenses had been paid for by members of the committee. With a balance of only one pound four shillings and tenpence in hand, there was an appeal to the public and especially to the farmers, who had benefited from the scheme, for subscriptions. The Surrey Advertiser, in supporting this appeal, described the record of the Surrey Committee for Women's Farm labour as being "something attempted, something done" and in the face of a "good deal of difficulty".

For Noeline, 1916 was a frantically busy year. She was an active member of the Committee for Women's Farm labour and from the end of May, its honorary secretary and treasurer. She continued to interview candidates at the Guildford Labour Exchange, met with the Village Registrars in Surrey's rural districts of Guildford, Farnham, Dorking, Epsom, Hambleton, Chertsey and Reigate and spoke at many meetings throughout the county. After a meeting at Mitchum, convened by the Women's League of Service, a newspaper report described Noeline's address as being "fluent and well-informed". In her speech, on the employment of women on the land, Noeline said there must not be one single, idle woman in England. They had to see that
the "sacrifices the brave men at the front were making were not wasted". By producing more of the country's foodstuffs, women would be helping the national economy.

In 1916, as Noeline's work for the Committee for Women's Farm Labour increased, she had less time to spend on women's suffrage activities. She continued as a member of the Guildford and District branch's Executive Committee but resigned as treasurer in January 1916 and as secretary for Surrey of the Surrey, Sussex and Hants Federation of the N.U.W.S.S. during May. She was, however, re-elected to the Executive Committee of the London Society at its Annual Meeting on 28 November.

The suffrage issue was again coming to the fore. In May 1916, when a strong group of Members of Parliament began to press for a new register of voters based on war service, the N.U.W.S.S. felt bound to intervene. In a letter to the Prime Minister, the National Union pointed out that women also were doing war work and their claims would be pressed if any such plan was adopted. Mr Asquith admitted the justice of the request and agreed that the nation was grateful to the women for their efforts. Even the recalcitrant Member for Surrey, W. Edgar Horne, met with members of a deputation from the Guildford and District, Godalming, Haslemere and Farnham Women's Suffrage Societies. Although he did not promise his support to any Bill which would give women the vote, he admitted the work of women during the war had "profoundly impressed the Nation" and his attitude towards the question was more favourable. The Regisration Bill did not survive, but the whole matter was referred to a Speaker's Conference which began its deliberations in October 1916.

In December 1916, Ray Strachey approached Noeline to ask if she would become Hon. secretary of the N.U.W.S.S. Although Ray was confident women would get the vote, "National Union or no National Union", it would be "a comfort to have you there". Noeline declined. Even after Ray sent Pippa Strachey to Guildford to see if Pippa could take over Noeline's Farm Labour Committee work, Noeline did not change her mind.
She believed her war relief work was more important at the time.

Up until this stage of the war, the emphasis on increasing local food production was mainly economic. In a note appended to his report, Lord Milner and some members of his committee claimed increased food production would be to the economic advantage of the country. Lord Selborne believed, if a solution could be found to farmer hostility towards employing women on the land, Britain would be helped to "rise victoriously out of her economic slough".

Already, the cost of the war was immense and financing it a major problem for the government. The importance of individual thrift therefore was being stressed. This was the theme at a large public meeting held at the Theatre Royal Guildford on 5 March 1916, which Noeline organised on behalf of local bankers. It was also the theme at an Educational Exhibition, held during September. At this, Lady Chance, for the National Food Economy League, and Noeline, for Women's Farm Labour, helped to set up display stands. Noeline's featured samples of vegetables, which had been grown on waste plots of land and other items, usually discarded, which could be used for food or fuel. From the end of 1916, however, the country faced an actual food shortage.

By December 1916 an indifferent harvest and the growing German submarine menace had caused serious shortages in both homegrown, agriculture produce and imported foodstuffs. At one stage, there was less than a month's supply of wheat left in England. A worried President of the Board of Agriculture, Roland Prothero (later Lord Ernle) said,

It is my sincere conviction that the victory or defeat in this Great War may be brought about on the cornfields and potato lands of Great Britain.

There was a renewed appeal for women's help to increase the nation's food production and a new organisation, the Women's Land Army, was created by Roland Prothero under the directorship of Meriel Talbot (later Dame). Noeline attended
a meeting on 2 February 1917 at the new Women's Department, Board of Agriculture, London, when the scheme was outlined. Ten days later, when she met Miss Franklin at the Board of Agriculture, Noeline was urged to work for the Women's Land Army. The Surrey Women's Farm Labour Committee recommended her also and on 26 February 1917 she became the salaried, organising secretary for Surrey of the Women's Land Army.

Under this new scheme, the Women's Farm Labour Committee was renamed the Women's Agricultural Committee. Mr. J. Hutchinson Driver continued as president and Mrs W.E. Horne replaced Noeline as honorary secretary. The committee now worked directly under the Women's Branch of the Board of Agriculture. There were also Selection and Allocation committees at Croydon, Kingston, Sutton, Redhill and Guildford. A sixth, for part of Surrey and part of Hants, sat at the Aldershot Labour Exchange. Members of these committees interviewed candidates and checked their references. Suitable applicants were required to obtain medical certificates before being passed on to the Instruction and Hostel Committee which met each week at Guildford. Members of this committee arranged training for the successful applicants at one of the five training centres which were set up in Surrey. These were at Puttenham; Harker's farm, Nutfield; Lewis's farm, Sutton Green; Titsey Place estate and Maxse's farm, Dunley Hill. Instruction was given in general farm, horse and garden work and in milking. Trainees were accommodated in the Rectory at Puttenham (rented by the Board of Agriculture) and in farm cottages. A voluntary supervisor and a cook were at the Puttenham Rectory and matrons or working housekeepers were employed for the cottages. A depot was opened in Guildford where recruits could be outfitted and a boots' club was founded, to sell boots to village women who also worked on the land. In the first six months 164 recruits received training. Of these, nine gave up because of ill health, one was dismissed because of bad behaviour and twenty-seven left after they discovered they did not have "sufficient grit to stand the hard work".
Noeline Baker's Papers, Hocken.

Women's Land Army workers feeding calves.
Noeline Baker's Papers, Hocken.

Women's Land Army workers with work horses.
Noeline Baker's Papers, Hocken.

Women's Land Army worker in dairy.
Noeline's duties as organising-secretary for the county were numerous and varied. As well as running an office in Guildford, she attended Women's Agricultural Committee meetings and helped to set up the various Selection and Allocation Committees and the Hostel and Training Committee. She chose some of the training centres and helped to scrub, white-wash and equip a cottage at Sutton Green where recruits were to live. There were meetings in London to attend and she continued to have numerous speaking engagements throughout the county. She interviewed candidates at the Guildford Labour Exchange and kept in touch with the farmers by going to Guildford's market every Tuesday. She was the only woman member of the Surrey War Agricultural Committee and on its Labour, Machinery and Supplies sub-committee. She had to deal with innumerable problems. Some girls would not take the posts offered to them. At Oakham Park, she was called in to settle difficulties which had arisen with girls living together in a "bothy". Then, at Wimbleton, she interviewed farm hands who had been "getting into trouble".

On 18 April 1917, Noeline helped to organise a Women's Farm Labour Demonstration and Competitions at W. Edgar Horne's Cross Farm, Shackleford, near Godalming. Sponsored by the Surrey War Agricultural Committee and the Surrey Women's Agricultural Committee this demonstration and competition, for women workers on the land, was the first of its kind in the country. About 120 competitors, from farms all over the county, took part in milking, management of calves, management of horses, ploughing, harrowing, hoeing, hand-weeding, cleaning wurzle and killing, plucking and trussing fowls. Motor-lorries met them at Guildford Railway Station and took the "milkmaids in sun-bonnets and snowy aprons, ploughmaids in top boots, breeches and khaki-linen coats" and the other competitors the twelve miles to Cross Farm. Many farmers were there to act as judges and to watch the women from their own farms competing.

According to the Times report the ploughing was the great feature of the day. Ten "strong and sturdy" women including
Lady Kenyon of Godstone and an Australian lady, took part. Lots were drawn for horses and ploughs. Unlike men's ploughing competitions, where each competitor brought their own plough and horses, these women had to use ploughs which were different from the ones they were accustomed to and they had never seen the teams of horses before. But, according to the Times, "the women said nothing but got ready". As the women fixed their ploughs "there was a screwing of bolts and gentle, quaint calls to the horses". Although one competitor started late and her horses ran away suddenly to catch up with the others and Lady Kenyon injured her knee and had to withdraw there was "hardly one whose work was not good". The prizewinner, a Miss Gabrielle Heath, had been trained on the Duke of Northumberland's estate.

Of the 58 entrants in the milking competition, the first prize was awarded to Miss Soutar, aged ten and a half. She beat her mother in the same event. Another competitor, was the mother of six sons who were all in the army.

The Times account concluded that this event "reflected the greatest credit on Miss Noeline Baker, the organising secretary of the Surrey Women's War Agricultural Committee".

Noeline also organised a successful rally for Land Army Workers. On 25 October 1917, 110 young women, dressed in their long drill coats, corduroy breeches with gaiters or leggings, strong serviceable boots and wearing wide-brimmed felt hats, marched from the Guildford Railway Station to the County and Borough Hall. They were led by four pipers from a Canadian regiment, stationed at Witley. Mr J. Hutchinson Driver, chairman of the Surrey Women's War Agricultural Committee, presided at the meeting of welcome. He said the future of England depended on the harvest of 1918 and compared the work the Land Army women were doing with the work of "their boys" in the trenches. The Hon. Mrs. Lyttelton, assistant director of the Women's Branch, of the Board of Agriculture, said she felt tremendously proud that women had come to the rescue of the country in this way. She also distributed new badges and presented stripes to those who had worked on the
land for a year or more. When she had finished, three cheers were given for her and then a Land Army recruit at the back of the hall sprang up and called for three cheers for "Good old Miss Baker".122

On 9 November 1917 Noeline accompanied 12 girls to London to take part in the Lord Mayor's Show.123 They went first, to the Drapers' Hall where about 100 Women's Land Army members had assembled from several counties. After breakfast and a photographic session the girls formed up into marching order. Along with detachments of colonial troops, the Royal Marines, Royal Flying Corps, various auxiliary services, the Boy Scouts, bands, representatives of City Guilds, officers of the Corporation and the Lord Mayor in his State Chariot drawn by eight horses, the Women's Land Army members marched through the streets of London. One girl wrote,

I have never seen such crowds and crowds of people before ... and there was round after round of cheering as we passed through the streets. It did us girls lots of good and made us feel glad we were doing our bit.124

As the workload increased, more staff were engaged by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to help Noeline. A Miss Livingstone came to work in the Guildford office on 10 April 1917 and Miss Sutherland was appointed assistant secretary-organiser on 23 April.125 But Noeline continued to be extremely busy and constantly worked under pressure. Her day often included an early morning train journey to other county centres, where she visited farms and training centres, attended committee meetings, had interviews and speaking engagements. After a day away, she often worked late at the office for several hours. In May, following a particularly busy period which included meetings throughout the county, a trip to Horsley to find lodgings for farm workers and a visit to Oakham Park to sort out difficulties with trainees, Noeline "took to smoking".126 On 15 June, she resigned because she was so tired from overwork. Miss Franklin, from the Women's Division of the Board of Agriculture, begged her to reconsider and Meriel Talbot, the Director, advised that extra help would be
Women's Land Army members in Army motor-lorries transporting them from Guildford Railway Station to a Demonstration and Competitions at Cross Farm, Shackleford, on 18 April 1917.
Women's Land Army members having breakfast at Drapers' Hall Throgmorton Street, London, before marching in the Lord Mayor's procession, 9 November 1917.
Noeline Baker's Papers, Hocken.

Noeline Baker (right) and her staff outside the new office for the Women's Land Army, Commercial Road, Guildford, 12 July 1918.
One of the tests for Womens Land Army members at a Field Day held at Albury Farm, 22 May 1919.
forthcoming. 127 Meriel Talbot also wrote, "We mustn't lose your help whatever happens". Davey Ludley joined Noeline's staff as a clerk. 128

Noeline's Land Army work always had priority. For instance, it prevented her from helping their old, family friend, Maud Pember Reeves. In March 1917, because of Maud's "expert knowledge of domestic economies", she had been appointed a Director of Women's Service in the Ministry of Food. 129 Maud invited Noeline to become one of her panel of speakers for an autumn and winter campaign to appeal for a voluntary rationing of food. 130 But Noeline declined because of her work.

In 1917, Noeline was less involved with women's suffrage work. In January she was re-elected a member of the Guildford and District Suffrage Society's executive committee. 131 On 30 January, she attended a N.U.W.S.S. luncheon in London, given for the New Zealand Premier, Sir Joseph Ward. 132 She also went to the L.S.W.S. executive meetings during January and February and the N.U.W.S.S. annual Council Meeting, held in London, 21 and 22 February. 133 But after her appointment, by the Board of Agriculture, as secretary-organiser of the Women's Land Army for Surrey, there are no further references to suffrage activities, in the diary notes she wrote for 1917.

Nevertheless, 1917 was an auspicious year for the women's movement. The Speaker's Conference recommended all adult men should be enfranchised and women householders and the wives of male householders over thirty or thirty-five. 134 During May 1917, the initial stages of the Representation of the People Bill were passed in Parliament. Then, on 19 June, the critical debate on the Women's Suffrage Clause began. By a majority of 7 to 1 the House of Commons put women's suffrage into the Bill. 135 During the interval of six months which elapsed between the passing of the clause in the Commons and its discussion in the Lords, a Memorial sub-committee was set up by the N.U.W.S.S. 136 Signatures from 500 prominent female war-workers were sought, particularly from women who were engaged in Red Cross and agricultural work. Noeline and her assistant,
Miss Sutherland, were invited to sign this Memorial, which was presented to the House of Lords before the debate on the Representation of the People Bill.\textsuperscript{137} The debate in the Upper House lasted three full days but the Bill was finally passed on 10 January 1918 with a majority of 63.\textsuperscript{138} The Bill became an Act in February but the women's vote was limited by both age and occupancy.\textsuperscript{139} Noeline, for example, did not qualify because she was living at home.

Although success was marred for many suffragists by the limitations of the Act, and it had come at a particularly desperate stage in the war, it was agreed a public celebration should be held. On 13 March 1918, Noeline went up to London to a great meeting in the Queen's Hall. Millicent Fawcett presided, members of the Artists' Suffrage League decorated the hall with the beautiful banners which had been a feature of the National Union's processions, and the London Symphony Orchestra with members of the Bach Choir and conducted by Sir Hubert Parry provided the music.\textsuperscript{140} The evening's programme opened with Beethoven's triumphant "Leonora Overture, No.111". Speakers were Millicent Fawcett, the Earl of Lytton, Major Rt. Hon. Sir John Simon, Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson and Maude Royden.\textsuperscript{141} To conclude, the Bach Choir sang the "suffrage hymn", Blake's poem, Jerusalem set to Sir Hubert Parry's splendid music which he had composed for the occasion.\textsuperscript{142} Noeline's souvenir programme for this evening, now in the Hocken Library, was signed by Millicent Fawcett. She wrote, "Things Done are won Joy's soul lies in the Doing".\textsuperscript{143}

Noeline's Land Army work increased, although food shortages were not as critical as in the spring of 1917.\textsuperscript{144} By June 1918 she was searching for larger office premises because the Women's Land Army administration had outgrown the three rooms they used at the Guildford Labour Exchange.\textsuperscript{145} Recruiting was still being actively pursued, a new hostel opened at Farnham and a training centre proposed at Shirley.\textsuperscript{146}

Women's work on the land was attracting American interest. Mr. Keeley, the proprietor of the Chicago Herald came to see
the Women's Land Army activities in Surrey. Mrs. Horne and Noeline took him around the county, including a visit to the Tractor School at Perrysfield.\textsuperscript{147}

Nevertheless, Noeline was exhausted. Her notes for 1918 contain frequent references to working late and of being "very tired", "dead tired" or "tired afterwards".\textsuperscript{148} In January, Isabel Baker described Noeline as being "knocked up" after having worked until 5am. two days before. Isabel kept Noeline in bed for a day.\textsuperscript{149}

In the pressures of war work, Noeline's personal life took second place. Nevertheless, her parents offered hospitality to a number of young relatives from different parts of the world, some of whom became firm friends. During 1916 Charlie Douglas came to England from California to serve with the Royal Engineers.\textsuperscript{150} Born in New Plymouth, New Zealand, he was the son of Isabel's friend Katharine, who had married Charles Douglas. After his father's death in 1899, his mother sold their New Plymouth home and took her family to California to be near her sister, Charlotte Douglas.\textsuperscript{151} Charlie became a mining engineer.

When Charlie Douglas joined the Royal Engineers, the Bakers provided a home for him at Monks Path. Noeline, although seven years older, became his firm friend. It was the Bakers who received the telegram from the War Office, to advise he had been wounded.\textsuperscript{152} Noeline, in spite of her busy schedule, visited him at the London hospital he was in and afterwards at Rohampton when he was transferred there.\textsuperscript{153} After he returned to the fighting in France, Isabel and Noeline wrote to him, sent him gift parcels and continually worried about his safety. They were very proud when he was awarded the Military Cross and gained promotion.\textsuperscript{154}

New Zealanders Ewan Strachey (Isabel's great-nephew) and Norman Brodrick also stayed with the Bakers.\textsuperscript{155} Norman had been at Gallipoli before coming to England.\textsuperscript{156}

Isabel and John Baker were especially concerned for Dick Strachey, another of Isabel's great-nephews, the only son of
Sonia Douglas Wales, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Legh Manor, Cuckfield, Sussex, c1931.
Late Tudor manor house, with alterations by Sir Edwin Lutyens, R.A.
Clive Strachey, who had died tragically in India in 1903. Dick was only nineteen when wounded in 1916. Isabel was relieved, therefore, when Dick was sent to Ireland until early in 1918. On the other hand, after he returned to France she was very proud of "dear Dick" when he became an army captain at 21 years and was awarded the Military Cross. Such was the paradox of war.

The Bakers not only provided hospitality for family members and sons of friends but for other soldiers too. On Christmas Day 1917 two very young Canadians came for tea and stayed for Christmas dinner. Although they had been quartered near Guildford for eighteen months, this was the first time they had been invited to a private home. They were invited back. A Belgian soldier stayed at Monks Path in April 1918.

During 1918 Isabel Baker's health caused concern. Early in the year she was not well. With the approach of winter at its end, the problem of getting enough fuel to heat Monks Path was a worry. The war had caused shortages, although Charlie Douglas had tried to obtain an adequate supply of wood when on leave during September 1918. As the weather got colder, the family could only use the drawing room, as a sitting room, during the day because Isabel needed the fuel for a fire in her room at night. Any coal they could buy was kept for the kitchen range. They spent more and more time in the kitchen to keep warm. To save more fuel, Noeline considered getting a smaller kitchen range.

All anxiety, however, was thrown aside when the Armistice was signed on 11 November 1918. At Monks Path, cook came running in to say a flag was flying in the town and then the bells began to ring. John Baker went to his club and Isabel hurried to Noeline's office. Together, mother and daughter went to listen to the mayor read the proclamation at the Guildhall. At noon, he came onto the balcony with his aldermen and the Bishop of Guildford. After the bishop spoke, the mayor read from the telegram he had received and declared the Peace. There were cheers from the assembled crowd and "God
Save the King" was sung. Although Noeline had given her staff the day off, she returned to the Land Army office and worked until 11pm. When she left the office to go home, there was no blackout, the streets of Guildford were "brilliantly lit". "Then I realized" she wrote "that the years of war were really over."166
2. Triple Alliance comprised Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. The Triple Entente included Russia, Great Britain and France.
4. N. Baker's diary notes, 3 August 1914.
5. Strachey, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, p.274.
8. A. Wiltsher, Most Dangerous Women, p.38.
10. N. Baker's diary notes, 8 August 1914.
11. Ibid, 10 August 1914.
13. Strachey, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, p.277. See also Wiltsher, Most Dangerous Women, p.28.
15. N. Baker's diary notes, 10 August 1914. See also L.S.W.S. list of persons proposed for election to the Executive Committee, Annual Meeting, 10 December 1914, H.L., M.I., +619/A.
17. Ibid, 10 August 1914.
18. "Obituaries", Fawcett Library Cutting Book. See also L.S.W.S. list of persons proposed for election to the Executive Committee.

Ida Beatrice O'Malley (c1874-1939). A writer of some distinction. Her biography of Florence Nightingale was published in 1931.

Bloomsbury began with a small number of friends living in or around the Bloomsbury district of London. Most of the men had been undergraduates at Trinity or King's College, Cambridge, all were outstanding intellectually, and a number had belonged to the secret Cambridge intellectual society called "The Apostles". They shared or came to share attitudes to life, thought and artistic creation.

J. Lehmann, Virginia Woolf and Her World, p.5.


22. As quoted in Alberti, Beyond Suffrage, p.44.

23. Wiltshire, Most Dangerous Women, p.28.

The Union of Democratic Control was formed in August 1914 by Philip Morrel M.P., Ramsay Macdonald, Bertrand Russell, Arnold Rowntree, Charles Trevelyan, Arthur Ponsonby, Norman Angell and E.D. Morel.

It was not a "stop the war movement" but its members were anxious that eventual peace terms should ensure a world war could not happen again.


See also Alberti, Beyond Suffrage, p.44.


27. N. Baker's diary notes, 22 November 1914.

See also Vicinus, Independent Women, p.152.

Jane Ellen Harrison (1850-1928).

28. Strachey, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, p.287.


Nominees were Ida O'Malley, Edith Dimock, Mary Lowndes (also the president of the Artists' Suffrage League), Rosamund Smith, M. Tuke, Oliver Strachey and Noeline Baker.

30. Ibid.

32. Strachey, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, p.287.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid, p.288.
35. Alberti, Beyond Suffrage, p.44.
36. I.B. O'Malley to Noeline Baker, 20 February 1915, H.L., M.I., +619/A.
38. Ibid.
39. Emily Leaf, the Hon. Press-secretary; Maude Royden; Margaret Ashton; Isabella Ford; Miss Clark; Miss Tanner; Helena Swanwick; Mrs. Harley; Mrs. Schuster and Mrs. Stanbury.
40. Strachey, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, p.292.
41. N. Baker's diary notes, 16, 17 and 18 June 1915.
42. N.U.W.S.S. Annual Report 1915, p.13. Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Thena Clough, Helen Fraser, Miss Merrifield, Ida O'Malley, Eleanor Rathbone, Mrs. Alys Russell, Frances Sterling, Mrs. Mary Stocks, Mrs Coombe Tennant and Dr. Florence Willey.
45. Alberti, Beyond Suffrage, p.55.

Chaired by Helen Swanwick, vice-chairmen Maude Royden and Kathleen Courtney, honorary secretary Catherine Marshall. All were former office-bearers or members of the N.U.W.S.S. Executive Committee.

47. Sylvia L.H. Drew to Noeline Baker, 9 October 1914, H.L., M.I., +619/A.
See also A. Strachey,
St. Loë Strachey His Life and His Paper, pp.271-273.

49. N. Baker's diary notes, 18 October 1915.

See also N.U.W.S.S. Annual Report 1915, pp.16-17.
Noeline was also invited to become honorary secretary of the N.U.W.S.S. Educational Courses Sub-Committee.
Olive A. Jetley to Noeline Baker, 4 March 1915.

51. N. Baker's diary notes, 3 June 1915.

See also N. Baker's diary notes, 23 March 1915.

Federations consisted of affiliated women's suffrage societies within defined areas.


54. Strachey, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, p.278.
Elinor Rendel (Lady Strachey's granddaughter) served as a doctor with the Scottish Women's Hospital units in Roumania and the Balkans.
Alberti, Beyond Suffrage, p.59.

The tent cost 400 pounds.
This hospital unit was particularly mobile because of the tents. When the Balkan campaign developed, French authorities ordered it to Gheugeli and later to Salonika. Mrs. Katherine Harley, distinguished sister of Charlotte Despard and Sir John French, was the unit's administrator at Troyes and Salonika. She was killed by an enemy shell in Serbia on 7 March 1917.

See also The Call of Our Allies and the Response of the Scottish Women's Hospitals for Foreign Service, June 1915, p.39, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

57. N. Baker's diary notes, 26 May 1915.

58. Ibid, 28 May 1915.

See also newspaper article, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

60. Ibid.

62. The Daily Telegraph, 28 October 1915, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

63. C.P. Hill, British Economy and Social History 1700-1975, p.236.


67. N. Baker's diary notes, 4, 12, 14, 15 October 1915.

68. Ibid, 19 October 1915.

69. Ibid, 20 October 1915.

70. Ibid, 11 December 1915.


72. Ibid, p.4.

73. Ibid, p.18.

74. Ibid, p.4.

75. Board of Trade and Board of Agriculture, "War Agricultural Service for Women", scheme for village registration, N/D., H.L., M.I., +619/A.

76. Ibid.

Women gardeners were in great demand but the training was a long one, extending usually for 2 or 3 years. Usborne, Women's Work in War Time, p.34.

77. Surrey Advertiser, 9 September 1916, H.L., M.I., +619/A. Letter from J. Hutchinson Driver and Noeline Baker, Hon. Chairman and Hon. secretary-treasurer respectively of the Surrey Committee for Women's Farm Labour, to the Editor of the Surrey Advertiser.

78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.  
See also N. Baker's diary notes, 25 May 1916.

80. Surrey Advertiser, 9 September 1916.

81. Ibid.

82. N. Baker's diary notes, 8 January to 28 December 1916.

83. Newspaper clipping, 10 April 1916.  
"Women and Farm Labour" (source unknown),  
H.L., M.I., +619/A.

84. N. Baker's diary notes, 28 January 1916, 22 May 1916.

85. Ibid, 28 November 1916.

86. Strachey, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, p.304.

87. The Daily Telegraph, 16 August 1916, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

88. Guildford and District Branch N.U.W.S.S.,  

89. Strachey, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, p.308.  
When this conference was sitting, Asquith's Cabinet  
fell and Lloyd George became Prime Minister.

90. N. Baker's diary notes, 13 December 1916.  
Ray Strachey to Noeline Baker, 29 December 1916,  
H.L., M.I., +619/A.

When, in the autumn of 1916, the whole suffrage question  
was revived Ray Strachey admitted the suffragists  
were a "horribly feeble lot".  
As quoted in Harrison, Prudent Revolutionaries, p.164.

91. N. Baker's diary notes, 28 December 1916,  
29 December 1916.  
Philippa Strachey had not worked at the office of the  
L.S.W.S. during 1916 because of illness.  

92. The Daily Telegraph, 28 October 1915.

93. Newspaper clipping "Women and Farm Labour".

94. The Surrey Advertiser, 11 March 1916, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

95. Ibid, 30 September 1916, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

96. Usborne, Women's Work in War Time, p.118.

Taylor wrote that jam-making was forbidden after a ship laden with sugar for Great Britain was sunk.

98. As quoted in Usborne, *Women's Work in War Time*, p.117.


100. N. Baker's diary notes, 2 February 1917.


103. *Surrey Advertiser*, 1 September 1917.

104. The Executive of the Women's Agricultural Committee was appointed 24 March 1917.

Mrs Margery Mary Horne was married to W. Edgar Horne M.P. of Hall Place, Shackleford, Surrey.

105. *Surrey Advertiser*, 1 September 1917.

106. N. Baker's diary notes, 26 February to 13 November 1917.


110. Surrey War Agricultural Committee and Surrey Women's Agricultural Committee, Catalogue of a Demonstration and Competition by Women, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

111 *The Times*, 19 April 1917, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

112. *Ibid*.

113 *Ibid*.

114. *Surrey Advertiser*, 21 April 1917, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

115. *Ibid*.


See also Surrey Times, 26 October 1917, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

119. Women's Land Army Magazine, November 1917, p.3., 
H.L., M.I., +619/A.

120. Surrey Times, 26 October 1917.

121. Ibid.


123. N. Baker's diary notes, 9 November 1917. 
See also Official Programme of the Lord Mayor's 
Procession, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

124. The Landsownan, January 1918, p.10., H.L., M.I., +619/A.

125. N. Baker's diary notes, 10 April, 23 April 1917.

126. Ibid, 17 May 1917.

Meriel Talbot to Noeline Baker, 28 June 1917, 
H.L., M.I., +619/A.


129. Sinclair, William Pember Reeves New Zealand Fabian, 
p.333.

130. Maud S. Pember Reeves to Noeline Baker, 
13 August, 17 August 1917, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

131. Guildford and District branch N.U.W.S.S., 
Annual Report 1917, H.L., M.I., +619/A.


133. Ibid, 30 January 1917, 16 February, 21 February, 
22 February 1917.

134. Harrison, Prudent Revolutionaries, p.27. 
See also Alberti, Beyond Suffrage, p.63.

135. Strachey, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, p.316.

136. Mrs. Mary Stocks, Hon. Secretary N.U.W.S.S. to the 
Countess of Onslow, Clandow Park Hospital, Surrey, 
23 June 1917, Guildford Muniment Room archive, 
173/149/1-4.
The Guildford and District branch recommended Lady Onslow, Mrs. Rowcliffe, Mrs. St. Loe Strachey, the matron of the County Hospital and Miss Sutherland and Noeline from the Women's Land Army for the N.U.W.S.S. Memorial for the House of Lords.

The 1918 Act enfranchised all adult men over the age of 21 years. Women who had reached the age of 30 could vote if they (or their husband) occupied a dwelling house, or other land or premises "with at least £5 a year". Women over 30 without a vote included daughters living at home, resident servants or unmarried women in furnished rooms.

This celebration coincided with Lady Strachey's 78th birthday (born 13 March 1840).

Noeline and staff moved to larger office premises at 4 Commercial Road, Guildford, in July 1918.

Recruiting Rally, Guildhall, Guildford, 12 March. Recruiting procession, Croydon, 20 April. Recruiting meeting, Sutton, 22 June. Recruiting in Guildford by Mrs. Grant and Lady Denman, 2 July 1918.

Mrs. Horne and Noeline met Keeley again in London, when they dined with him at the House of Commons on 17 July 1918.
148. N. Baker's diary notes, 27 February, 12 March, 15 April, 24 April, 23 May 1918.

149. Isabel Baker to Katharine Douglas 23 January 1918, Douglas Family archives, Bruce McVey, Pacific Palisades, California.


152. N. Baker's diary notes, 12 June 1916.


154. Isabel Baker to Katharine Douglas, 5 December (no year), 24 January 1919, Douglas family archives.

155. Isabel Baker to Katharine Douglas, 8 January (no year), Douglas family archives.

156. N. Baker's diary notes, 6 February 1917.


158. Isabel Baker to Katharine Douglas, 8 January (no year).

159. Isabel Baker to Katharine Douglas, 13 October (no year), 4 November (no year), Douglas family archives.

160. Isabel Baker to Katharine Douglas, 8 January (no year).

161. N. Baker's diary notes, 4 April 1918.

162. Isabel Baker to Katharine Douglas, 23 January (no year), Douglas family archives.

163. Isabel Baker to Katharine Douglas, 13 October (no year).

164. Taylor, First World War, p.249.


166. N. Baker's diary notes, 11 November 1918.
CHAPTER 6
THE POSTWAR DECADE

After the stirring times of the previous decade, the period between 1919 and 1930 was one of anti-climax for Noeline. There is a scarcity of sources for these years and her diary notes ended. Nevertheless, the refocussing of her life on her parents, after the challenge and responsibility of her war work, must have been difficult for forty year old Noeline, especially at a time when barriers, customs and conventions had been broken down by the war and women were left "curiously free".1

The Women's Land Army was not disbanded until 30 November 1919, thus for a year Noeline's work at Guildford for the Board of Agriculture continued. In Surrey training for Women's Land Army recruits was still available at twelve training centres and on fifty-seven farms.2 In 1919, however, there was an unemployment problem. Women's Land Army workers without jobs were permitted to stay at training centres and, when available, itinerant work was organised for them. For instance, during winter, gangs of Women's Land Army workers planted trees and did road work in the Guildford area. Gangs were employed on farms and in gardens for the spring planting and eight farmers employed them again for potato lifting in autumn.

Efficiency tests continued to be held in Surrey. High standards were certainly maintained during 1919 because Surrey-trained women were placed first, second and third in an open milking competition at the Dairy Show in London.3

For Noeline and other women war-workers, 1919 was a time of celebration and of recognition. During May, Noeline went to a special Board of Agriculture dinner, held in London, for county organisers of the Women's Land Army.4 On 19 July, with Miss Sutherland, she travelled to London to see the Peace Procession and the firework display which followed.5 On 26 July she was a guest at Buckingham Palace, when she attended the garden party for war workers, hosted by King George V and Queen Mary.6 Before the Women's Land Army disbanded, she
attended a final rally at the Drapers' Hall, London. Women and girls from throughout Britain came to this; the recruits wearing their white smocks with a red carnation pinned on for the occasion. Princess Mary, the guest of honour, assured the assembled Women's Land Army members, that the war work of the women and girls of Great Britain would never be forgotten by their King or their Country. Lord Ernle, Minister of Agriculture and Lord Lee of Fareham, head of the Food Production Department, also spoke about the women's work on the land. Altogether, 300,000 had helped on farms and in gardens during the war years. Not only had these women overcome the prejudice that was shown to them, but they had been prepared to accept the lowest pay of all the war workers.7

Princess Mary presented Distinguished Service bars to members for their acts of bravery and devotion in service. One girl received her award for rescuing a farm hand from an attacking bull. Another stopped a runaway horse from dragging a hay-cutting machine into a group of children. A Cornwall woman started Land Army work in the face of intense local opposition but, eventually, was able to recruit over 100 girls. Two sisters from Warwick who had entirely managed their brothers' farm after the men enlisted and a former ribbon-counter assistant from Birmingham, who reared prize bulls, were also award winners.8

On Saturday, 29 November 1919, the day before the Women's Land Army was demobilised, the remaining members of the Surrey section assembled outside the Congregational Hall, Guildford at 5pm.9 Dressed in their uniform and each carrying a Chinese lantern the women marched in procession through the town. Afterwards, everyone attended a function which included a musical programme and special farewell supper.10 Miss Franklin, from the Women's Branch of the Board of Agriculture, presented forty-five good service badges. Women's Land Army members gave Noeline and her assistants farewell gifts. One woman wrote,
I think we have a lot to be thankful for the way Miss Baker, Miss Sutherland and Miss Reynolds have been interested in us girls getting as much comfort and good treatment as possible.\textsuperscript{11}

Further recognition of Noeline's war work came from the government. Meriel Talbot, Director of the Women's Branch of the Board of Agriculture and Commander-in-Chief of the Women's Land Army, expressed the appreciation of the Board of Agriculture.\textsuperscript{12} In particular, Meriel Talbot mentioned Noeline's loyalty to the Department, her zeal and her efficiency. Then, for her services to Great Britain during the war years, Noeline was awarded the M.B.E. in the 1920 New Year's honours. The Badge and Warrant of Appointment were posted to her because by March 1920 Isabel Baker was gravely ill.\textsuperscript{13}

The success of the Women's Land Army prompted an attempt to make it an ongoing institution with the founding of the National Association of Landswomen in 1919. Noeline herself had prepared a paper with suggestions for the supply and organisation of agricultural labour after the war.\textsuperscript{14} In spite of the unemployment problem, very few Women's Land Army members wanted to return to their former occupations. In Surrey, for instance, 212 out of the 299 remaining Women's Land Army members, hoped to continue working on farms or in gardens and another ten asked for small holdings.\textsuperscript{15} These women and their employers could join the new organisation, which was to be a self-governing body, constituted upon a national basis and with a branch in each county.\textsuperscript{16} The National Association of Landswomen was to be managed by a central committee, elected by and representative of all members. Objectives included maintaining and developing the status of women who worked on the land, creating a pool of workers of approved character and ability, providing information to farmers about the availability of workers and to the girls concerning employment opportunities, obtaining discounts on work clothes and encouraging educational and social recreation among young women employed on the land. Membership would cost four shillings a
year or one penny per week. During the first year, 408 joined the Surrey branch of the National Association of Landswomen.\textsuperscript{17}

From the new organisation's inception Noeline was involved at a local and national level. She was elected to the Surrey committee at the inaugural meeting, held at Guildford on 29 November 1919, became a member of the national executive and was appointed its honorary secretary.\textsuperscript{18}

Writing to Noeline from Mexico, Charlie Douglas enthused about Noeline's National Association of Landswomen appointments. He thought these were "thoroughly earned" and must have "brightened and broadened" her outlook for the coming year.\textsuperscript{19}

Noeline and Charlie had by this time cemented a very special friendship (which some of the family thought went further). After his discharge from the British Army, Charlie Douglas returned to Mexico to work as a mining engineer at silver mines. During April, he spent his final leave with the Bakers. This was to be a happy carefree time for Noeline. She took a day off work to show Charlie and his friend, a Captain Steel, some of the attractions of London.\textsuperscript{20} They visited the Roman Bath, Temple Church, St. Bartholomew's, St. Paul's and the National Gallery before returning to Guildford on the 6.40pm train. Another day, Mrs. Gibb, a member of the Surrey Women's Agricultural Committee took Noeline, Charlie and Captain Steel for a "joy ride" in her car. They visited Titsey Place, the estate of another Agricultural Committee member and a Women's Land Army training centre; Park Farm, Lingfield; shared a picnic lunch on a common before going on to see Sir William and Lady Chance, Noeline's cousin who now lived at Legh Manor, a charming late Tudor manor house, near Cuckfield in Sussex.\textsuperscript{21} Already, Charlie Douglas had accepted a job offer from Amparo Mining in Etzatlán, Jalisco, Mexico. He travelled there in May.\textsuperscript{22}

Noeline and Charlie Douglas remained special friends for the remainder of Noeline's life. Although one of Noeline's New Zealand cousins, Horace Baker, believed Noeline had suffered from a broken romance during the First World War and Sonia
Douglas Wales (Charlie's daughter) sometimes wonders why her father had not married Noeline, there is no evidence from Charlie Douglas's letters to Noeline to suggest there was any romance. Both had responsibilities at home. Noeline's parents needed her, especially in 1919 when Isabel Baker was having serious health problems. Charlie Douglas, an only son, was helping, financially, to support his widowed mother, Katharine Douglas. Charlie Douglas was seven years younger than Noeline and his daughter suspects her father would never have married anyone he could not dominate. It would have been impossible to dominate Noeline. Nevertheless, their extant correspondence, written over many years, reveals a very special friendship and after Noeline died in 1958 Charlie received, as a bequest, a significant proportion of her estate.

Isabel Baker died at Monks Path on 14 March 1920. She had been unwell in 1918 and again in 1919. Winter had proved particularly difficult for her. Because of a continuing shortage of fuel it was impossible to heat Monks Path adequately and in the spring of 1920 Isabel's cold turned to bronchitis. Her difficulty with breathing caused a heart attack, followed by a stroke. She never recovered.

Noeline was shattered by her mother's death. In a letter to Katharine Douglas she wrote,

... of what her loss is to me I cannot begin to think. I am trying to put all thoughts from my mind.

To assuage their grief and escape the rigours of another English winter, John Baker decided he and Noeline should visit New Zealand. After twenty-four years, Noeline was to come again to the country where she spent the first years of her life, and where she would spend the last.

The Bakers left England on board the Arawa during November 1920 and arrived in Auckland on Christmas Day, Noeline's forty-second birthday. For four months, they travelled extensively throughout the country visiting familiar places and meeting
Sonia Douglas Wales, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Isabel Baker. A later portrait of Noeline's mother.
with old friends and relations. Newspapers eagerly sought interviews with John Baker, to learn his impressions of the changes he saw within the country and hostesses vied for their company. In Christchurch, for instance, they were welcomed back immediately into the social circle John and Isabel Baker had once been part of. They were guests of Sir Joseph and Lady Kinsey at a garden party held at the Kinseys' Sumner home and at other functions during their stay. At New Plymouth, the birthplace of Charlie Douglas, Noeline painted local scenes to send to him and during a stay at the Hermitage, Mount Cook, they engaged an alpine guide to take them up the Hooker Valley to see the Noeline Glacier and Baker Saddle.

It was during their New Zealand holiday that Noeline made her first visit to Stewart Island. This beautiful, isolated island must have made a lasting impression, because it was to Stewart Island she returned to after her father's death and where she eventually made her home.

When Noeline returned to England, she became involved again with the National Association of Landswomen at a time when they were seeking amalgamation with the National Federation of Women's Institutes. Probably due to her mother's death, Noeline had withdrawn from the national executive committee but in June 1921 she was co-opted to fill a vacancy. By this time, British agriculture had fallen upon lean times. In October 1920 the National Association of Landswomen's Council had adopted a scheme whereby the Association would amalgamate with the National Federation of Women's Institutes, the largest organization for women in Great Britain.

Founded in 1897 at Stoney Creek, Ontario, Canada, as a sister society to the local Farmers' Institute, the Women's Institute movement came to Great Britain during the First World War when the British Agricultural Organization Society invited Canadian, Mrs. Madge Watt, to promote the organization. On 14 July 1915 a Women's Institutes Committee was formed by the Agricultural Organization Society and on 11 September the first of many branches was founded at Llanfairpwll, Wales.
1917, it was decided the movement should be managed and financed by the Board of Agriculture and Lady Denman, the Women's Institutes Chairman, became Assistant Director of the Women's Institute section of the Board of Agriculture.\(^\text{37}\)

Expansion was rapid, due to the help of the County War Agricultural Committees and their propaganda sub-committees.\(^\text{38}\)

The National Association of Landswomen's amalgation scheme included the formation of a "Guild of Landswomen", as an agriculture section within the Federation of Women's Institutes (whose principal aims were care, study and service to home and family). In January 1921, at a meeting of delegates from the County Federations of Women's Institutes the amalgamation scheme was rejected. Nevertheless, in some counties, branches of both organizations continued to consider ways for local amalgamation. When the scheme was considered again, at the annual meeting of the National Federation of Women's Institutes, in May 1921, it was not adopted as it stood, but a resolution was passed approving the principle of amalgamation and County Federations who wished to join with county branches of the National Association of Landswomen were permitted to do so.\(^\text{39}\)

At the same time, the formation of a joint committee was urged to draw up a more practical scheme for amalgamation. Noeline was one of the seven National Association of Landswomen representatives on the joint committee.\(^\text{40}\) They met on five occasions and their revised scheme was accepted by both executive committees. Delegates at the Federation of Women's Institutes annual meeting, in May 1922, went against their Executive's decision and voted against the adoption of the revised scheme for amalgamation.\(^\text{41}\)

Robertson Scott, in his *Story of the Women's Institute Movement* (1925), has written that the rejection of the proposals for amalgamation with the Landswomen seemed summary. On the other hand, members of the Women's Institutes were determined not to be imprudent. According to Robertson Scott, the Landswomen had had an opportunity to join with the Women's Institute movement in the days of their strength and had not availed themselves of the chance. They now wanted to move in
as a group. The Women's Institute movement had little to gain from the amalgamation in 1922. In fact, the National Association of Landswomen closed down soon after.42

It is not known why the National Association of Landswomen closed down, but by 1922 farmers were feeling the effects of a postwar slump. During the First World War, the Corn Production Act of 1917 had guaranteed farmers minimum prices for their corn and farm workers minimum wages. In 1920, the Agriculture Act was passed to encourage home production and it guaranteed minimum prices for wheat and oats and maintained machinery set up to fix fair agricultural wages. Then came a steep drop in world prices for foodstuffs, and in 1921 Parliament repealed the Act, left farmers unprotected against cheaper foreign produce and scrapped the minimum wage. The result was a decline in the amount of land under crops and a fall in the number of labourers on the land. At the same time, there was a swift technical advance in British farming with the introduction of the tractor, the development of milking machinery, improved threshing machines and the coming of the combine harvester.43 Even in 1919, when prices were protected, women agricultural workers were being displaced by returning soldiers. By the summer of 1921, there was chronic depression with over 2,000,000 workers in Great Britain unemployed. It is not surprising therefore that the National Association of Landswomen lost strength and closed down during these difficult times.

Noeline herself retained an interest in the Women's Institute Movement. For instance, in 1941 Mrs Katharine Deans asked her if she would help to form a Women's Institute branch on Stewart Island.44

It was after the demise of the National Association of Landswomen that Noeline and her father began to spend some months of each year abroad, visiting impossibly out of the way and primitive places in the mountain villages of France, Italy, Spain and Majorca.45

In December 1921, Noeline and John Baker left England for the winter and made the first of their many visits to the
Balearic Islands in the Western Mediterranean, when they went to Majorca, the largest of the five islands, for a four month stay. From the moment of their arrival they were enchanted.

In 1921, Palma was still a mysterious and very picturesque city. Dominated from the bay by its lovely cathedral, the old town was a maze of narrow streets and dusty avenues. The Bakers saw the mills of Es Jonquet, admired the Gothic architecture of La Lonja, visited the famous fourteenth century castle of Bellver, went to the churches of the old quarter and the former aristocratic residences with their lovely interior courtyards or patios. They visited the Cloister of San Francisco, from where the missionary Fray Junipero Serra travelled to the New World, discovered California and founded the towns of San Carlos, San Diego, San Luis, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Sacramento.

Travelling by train, in carriages and on mules Noeline and John Baker explored the western and north-western areas of Majorca. They visited many simple, peasant villages including Andraitx, dominated by its castle and church, Alcudia, once a Roman colony and with a Roman theatre nearby, and Pollensa. The British fleet was anchored in Pollensa Bay and the Bakers dined with Admiral Nicholson, on board the Braham. They also travelled to Soller; the small fishing and olive-producing village of Deya; Banalbufar, with its terraced farm lands and beautiful Valldemosa, where Chopin and George Sand had stayed eighty-two years before in an abandoned Carthusian monastery. Everywhere, Noeline and her father saw olive groves. Many of these were planted by the Moors, some 700 years before. The trees were of every imaginable shape, curved, twisted and "hacked-about grotesques". Then, there were the norias (bucket-chains) worked by mules walking blindfold, the village corridas (bull fights) and the twice daily migration of the peasant farmers in their donkey or mule-drawn carts, going to and from the old fortified towns and their plots of land. The Bakers went to Inca in March 1921, to see the region's closely-planted almond trees in flower and to the seventeenth century monastery of Lluch, where the Morenata (the Brown Virgin), the
Eaker Album, Balearic Islands, Focken.

The City of Palma, Majorca, c1921.
Valldemosa, Majorca c1921.
This village is one of the most beautiful and also the most famous in the Balearic Islands.
The village of Pollensa, North East Coast of Majorca.
Roman Bridge at Pollensa, Majorca, c1921. Noeline and John Baker travelled from Lluch to Pollensa on mules.
Baker Album,
Balearic Islands,
Hocken.

Centuries old Olive Tree, Majorca, c1921.
patroness of the Majorcans, was venerated.

After their long first visit, Noeline and John Baker holidayed annually on the Balearics for the next four years. In 1923 they returned to Valldemosa and the lovely north-western side of Majorca. On this visit also they explored the eastern side of the island, visiting Felantix, Santuri, the caves of Manacor, Capdepera and Cala Ratjada. In 1924 and 1925 they returned to the north-west region. In 1925 they also crossed to the island of Minorca to visit Mahon, with its narrow streets and white houses. On Minorca also, they saw the ancient megalithic monuments, the talayots, taulas and navetas and the old port of Cuidadella, a town of arcaded streets and domed churches; a relic of the Turkish occupation of 1558. For their final visit to the Balearics in 1926, they visited Palma and Valldemosa.

There is no evidence of Noeline returning to the Balearic Islands after 1926 but she had many reminders of their visits. There were her many paintings of Majorcan scenes, her father's photograph collection and the poems of Majorcans Miquel Costa Y Llobera, a native of Pollensa, and Joan Alcover, who found inspiration in the western coast of Majorca, beautiful Deya and the fertile valley of Soller. There was also Chopin's music, especially the preludes and other works he composed on his visit to Valldemosa.

On her return to England in 1922, Noeline found a new outlet for her organisational talents when she agreed to become parliamentary candidate Ray Strachey's sub-agent for the polling district of Chiswick in Middlesex. At the time of the first election in which women were eligible to stand, Noeline had been preoccupied with her mother's care. This was the second.

Ray Strachey was a connection by marriage with whom Noeline had worked in the women's suffrage campaign. Ray had joined the N.U.W.S.S. when a student at Newnham College, Cambridge, and by 1907 was organising enjoyable, open-air suffrage meetings during vacations. In 1908 she carried the Joan of Arc banner in the London suffragist procession and
helped to found the youth section of the N.U.W.S.S. She married Oliver Strachey, thirteen years her senior and with a twelve year old daughter, Julia. Noeline and Ray were both members of the executive committee of the L.S.W.S. from 1914 and in 1915 Ray replaced Catherine Marshall as the N.U.W.S.S. Parliamentary Secretary. During the war years she was actively involved with the London Society's Women Service Bureau and became chairman of the Employment Committee in 1916. During this period she became an expert at "pulling wires" in her dealings with the War Office. No doubt this experience helped her when the whole question of women's suffrage was revived. It was Ray who asked Noeline to become the secretary of the N.U.W.S.S. In the 1918 Parliamentary Election, Ray stood as an Independent candidate in the Conservative-held Brentford and Chiswick Division of the County of Middlesex but was defeated; as were all the women who stood in this election. Briefly, in 1919, she acted as Lady Astor's parliamentary secretary; the relationship was to be resumed later. In 1921 Ray also volunteered to help the other woman M.P., Mrs. Wintringham. Then in 1922, backed by Lord Cecil, she stood again as an Independent candidate for the Brentford and Chiswick seat. On this occasion she arranged for a survey to be done,

a detailed study of a group of specimen streets by which we shall find out what the ordinary average voter thinks.  

In 1918, Ray had supported the Lloyd George coalition, the League of Nations and social reform. By 1922 unemployment and foreign-policy questions had left her disenchanted with the coalition. In her 1922 manifesto she wrote, "I do not approve of extremes in politics, I distrust Revolution on the one hand and Reaction on the other". Free trade, social reform and the League of Nations were her favoured causes. In spite of privately anticipating victory, Ray was defeated again. Nevertheless, she increased her vote significantly from 20.2 per cent of the votes cast in 1918 to 43.5 per cent in 1922. Dr. Brian Harrison attributes Ray's better performance in 1922
to the absence of a Labour candidate, which enabled progressives to unite. Noeline's proven organisational skills should not be discounted either.

Although Noeline supported the causes Ray Strachey espoused during the 1922 election campaign, her own political stance was further to the left. It is possible she was a member of the Independent Labour Party, the left-wing ginger group of the British Labour Party. Not only had Noeline addressed their conferences on the women's suffrage issue, but she had attended branch meetings in Guildford. She could also have been drawn to another socialist organisation, the Fabian Society, pre-eminently the creation of Sidney and Beatrice Webb; she subscribed to the New Statesmen for many years. Founded in 1913 by the Webbs, this political and literary weekly publication reflected the Webbs' views. Later, it became politically, an independent socialist forum for serious intellectual discussion, political commentary and criticism. After Noeline settled in New Zealand, she supported the New Zealand Labour Party.

During the 1920s, Noeline like many other suffragists, transferred much of her effort into the League of Nations Union. A League of Nations Society had been constituted in March 1915. This was a propaganda body, working to get public support for the creation of a League of Nations, open to all States, when the First World War ended. Leonard Woolf and Henry N. Brailsford, former secretary of the women's suffrage parliamentary Conciliation Committee, were among those active in starting the organisation. By November 1915 there were 148 members and when the Society organised a public meeting, on 14 May 1917, it could present the Archbishop of Canterbury, General Smuts, Lord Buckmaster, Lord Hugh Cecil and William Massey, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, and other big-name speakers to the audience.

The League of Free Nations Association was formed about the same time as the League of Nations Society and with much the same object. Professor Gilbert Murray and H.G. Wells, the well-known writer, were among the members of this group.
At first there was conflict between the two organisations, but after several weeks of negotiation the League of Nations Society and the League of Free Nations Association co-sponsored a meeting in London, on 10 October 1918, when the two groups amalgamated, to become the League of Nations Union. The new organisation was dedicated "to promote the formation of a World League of Free Peoples for the securing of international justice, mutual defence and permanent peace." Professor Gilbert Murray became the first chairman and by the end of 1918 there were 3841 members.64

At the 1919 Paris Peace Conference a League of Nations was established with an assembly at Geneva and an International Court of Justice at The Hague.65 In Britain, the League of Nations Union did not disband but instead became geared to a policy of promoting, by adherence to the League Covenant, a system of collective security involving the rule of law in the international sphere. By 1928, the League of Nations Union had built up the largest and best organised League movement in the world.66

Noeline was a member of the Guildford branch of the League of Nations Union and in 1930 was its chairman.67 Before she left England in 1931, to travel to New Zealand, Noeline received a letter of appreciation from members of the Guildford branch for "invaluable service" and the "immense amount of time" she had given to the organisation.68

Noeline also continued to be involved with the L.S.W.S. In 1919 this group changed the word "suffrage" to "service" but their aim was still the parliamentary franchise for all women of 21 years or over. The L.S.W.S. membership lists were discontinued until 1921. When subscribers were listed again, Noeline's name was there. She was also listed as being a member of the Executive in the 1923, 1924 and 1925 annual reports.69

Adult suffrage was achieved by all British women in 1928. Mr Baldwin introduced the last Women's Suffrage Bill in March 1928, 61 years after John Stuart Mill's first Bill of 1867. The 1928 Bill passed its second and final readings with
Sonia Douglas Wales, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Noeline Baker alongside her herbaceous border at Monks Path, Warwicks Bench, Guildford.
Sonia Douglas Wales,
Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Another view of Noeline Baker's
garden at Monks Path, Warwicks Bench, Guildford.
substantial majorities and on 2 July this Representation of the People Act was given the Royal Assent. Many joyful ceremonies followed including church services, victory breakfasts, private meetings and on 8 July 1928, a magnificent garden-party given by Lady Astor at Cliveden. It is not known if Noeline participated in any of these celebrations but it seems unlikely because by 1928 John Baker was ill.

After women gained the vote, on equal terms with men, the London Society branched out to become the London and National Society for Women's Service. Noeline remained a member until 1937.

During John Baker's long-drawn out final illness Noeline sought relaxation and a new interest that would come to dominate her life in the future, horticulture. She may well have had the advice and assistance of Hugh Baillie Scott, the architect of Monks Path, who also liked to design the gardens in which his houses sat. Although it is not known if he was commissioned to do this for the Bakers, Monks Path did have a "wild garden" one of his favourite features. When Noeline expanded the garden, the herbaceous borders were more like the flower borders at Munstead Wood, Gertrude Jekyll's famous garden near Godalming. This could have been the period when Noeline learned garden design in Miss Jekyll's own garden at Munstead Wood. Growing in pride of place at Monks Path, was a New Zealand native flax bush (Phormium tenax), evidence of Noeline's interest in the plants of New Zealand.

Noeline cared for her father during the four years of his enervating illness. John Baker died at Monks Path on 5 February 1930. At fifty-one, Noeline was an independent woman, financially secure and subject to neither parental authority nor the imperatives of a dutiful daughter. She was free to return to the country of her birth, and it was to be in New Zealand where she began the next phase of her life.
1. As quoted in Alberti, Beyond Suffrage, p.137.


3. Ibid.


5. Ibid, 19 July 1919.

   See also King George V diary, Royal Archives, as quoted in a letter from Imperial War Museum, London, to L. Taylor, 16 November 1990.

7. N. Baker's diary notes, 27 November 1919.
   See also newspaper article (unidentified), H.L., M.I., +619/A.

8. Ibid.

   See also Surrey Advertiser, J. Baker's press-cuttings, p.10a.

10. Mrs. W.E. Horne arranged the musical programme.
    Artists were Stephen Trevor, Madam Strahle and Miss Goatley with Miss Sinclair accompanist.


    The Daily Telegraph, 1 April 1920, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

14. Report from N. Baker to Meriel Talbot, Women's Branch Food Production, Department of Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, 6 November 1918, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

15. Forty-four wanted to leave and thirty-three applied to emigrate to the Colonies,

17. Newspaper article (unidentified), H.L., M.I., +619/A.

   See also Charlie Douglas to N. Baker, 18 January 1920,  
   Mrs. R.H. McCarter, Weston U.S.A.

19. Ibid.

20. N. Baker's diary notes, 4 April 1919.

   See description of Legh Manor,  
   Country Life, 12 December 1931, p.672.

22. Charlie Douglas to N. Baker, 15 June 1919,  
   Mrs. R.H. McCarter, Weston, U.S.A.


24. Ibid.

25. Last Will and Testament of N. Baker, p.3, p.5,  
   The Courts Division, Justice Department, Invercargill.

26. N. Baker to Katharine Douglas, 14 March 1920, Douglas  
   Archives, Bruce McVey, Pacific Palisades, California.

27. Ibid.


29. The Christchurch Star, 19 February 1921,  

   Other guests included Bishop Julius and Miss Julius  
   and Mrs. Reeves.

31. The Christchurch Star, 19 February 1921,  

32. Ibid.  
   N. Baker to F. Langstone, National Archives,  
   State Forest Service Vol.1, 4/10/7/573.

33. Annual Report, National Association of Landswomen, 1922,  
   p.2, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

34. Harrison, Prudent Revolutionaries, p.8.

35. J.W. Robertson Scott, The Story of the Women's  
   Institute Movement, p.8.

Mrs. Madge Watt, born Robertson, M.A., M.B.E.  
A Canadian of Scottish descent.  
A member of the Metchosin Women's Institute from 1909  
and helped to forward the movement in British Columbia.

President of the Federation of Women's Institutes and a  
pioneer of the birth-control movement.  
Harrison, Prudent Revolutionaries, p.12.

38. Robertson Scott, The Story of the Women's Institute  
Movement, p.89.

Meriel Talbot, Women's Branch of the Board of Agriculture,  
Mrs. Wilkins, secretary of the Farm and Garden Union,  
and Madge Watt, Women's Institutes, had lunch at Monks  
Path on 14 July 1916 before speaking at a meeting held  
at the Theatre Royal, Guildford, and organised by the  
Surrey Committee for Women's Farm Labour.  
N. Baker's diary notes, 14 July 1916.

39. Annual Report and Statement of Accounts of the National  
Association of Landswomen, 1921, H.L., M.I., +619/A.  
See also "Amalgamation between the National Federation  
of Women's Institutes and the National Association of  
Landswomen", December 1922, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

40. Annual Report of the National Association of Landswomen,  
1921, p.4.

41. Robertson Scott, The Story of the Women's Institute  
Movement, p.135.

42. Ibid.

43. Hill, British Economic and Social History p.252.

44. Katharine Deans to N. Baker, 28 January 1941,  
H.L., M.I., +619/C.

45. Baker, A Surveyor in New Zealand, preface, p.3.

46. Baker album, Balearic Islands, H.L.  
Has dates alongside each photograph.


50. Baker album, Balearic Islands.
51. On Majorca there are more than 1000 talayots, which probably served as watchtowers. On Minorca there are talayots; taula, a type of stone table which may have had a religious function, and the naveta, burial chambers for around fifty people.

52. "Mallorca and the Poets", the Times Literary Supplement, 16 February 1922.
"Two Poets of Mallorca", the Times Literary Supplement, 27 May 1926,
Baker album Balearic Islands.

53. Chopin and George Sand lived at Valldemosa from 13 December 1839 to 11 February 1840. At Valldemosa, Chopin composed most of his preludes, made the final version of those he had sketched beforehand, wrote the second Ballade in F major, opus 38, the two Polonaises in A major and in C minor, opus 40, and the Mazurka in E minor, opus 41 no. 2. The Sonata in B flat minor and the two Nocturnes, opus 37, were probably composed there too.

From B. Ferra, Chopin et George Sand à Majorque as quoted in Colas, The Balearics, p. 77.

54. Form of appointment of Sub-Agent, H.L., M.I., +619/A.
Fred Weston was Ray Strachey's Election Agent for the 1922 Parliamentary Election.


56. Alberti, Beyond Suffrage, p. 162.


58. N. Baker's diary notes, 16 January 1914.


60. Ibid.

61. Eleanor Rathbone became a member of the General Council of the League of Nations Union. Margarey Corbett Ashby transferred much of her effort from feminism into the League of Nations Union.
Harrison, Prudent Revolutionaries, p. 193.
See also Banks, Faces of Feminism, p. 174.

See also Woolf, Beginning Again, p. 191.

63. Woolf, Beginning Again, p. 191.


76. Photograph of "herbaceous border" Monks Path. I am grateful to Dr. Helen Leech for drawing my attention to this.

77. John H. Baker's will, Record Keeper's Department, Principal Registry of the Family Division, Somerset House, London.
CHAPTER 7

STEWART ISLAND

At fifty-one, Noeline had reached a watershed in her life. Not only was she free from parental ties, but she no longer had as much commitment toward the causes she had worked for. When she visited New Zealand during 1931-1932, she purchased land at Stewart Island and it was there that she created her novel garden, Moturau Moana. Because garden and conservation history in New Zealand has been largely ignored, the story of Noeline's conservation activities is of special interest.

The direction and preoccupations of the inter-war women's movement had little to offer Noeline. After the vote was granted to many British women in 1918, an ideological crisis occurred within the feminist movement. A "new feminism" emerged within the National Union, renamed the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship (N.U.S.E.C.). Eleanor Rathbone, who had succeeded Millicent Fawcett as president, was its main proponent. Increasingly, N.U.S.E.C. became preoccupied with matters relevant to wives and mothers, with the primary goal of family allowances. The "old feminism" - equal rights feminism - for which Noeline had worked, was also strong, witness Lady Rhondda's Six Point Group, but she did not participate in the debate between it and its new rival. She remained a member of the L.S.W.S. but took no active part in their work, which was concentrated now on the women's employment front.

Noeline's work for the League of Nations Union had become somewhat frustrating too. The Union's impact on the conduct of British foreign affairs was slight. Whitehall gave representatives from the organisation a polite audience but ignored their advice. It is not surprising therefore, that Noeline was looking for new challenges.

After her father died, Noeline had his unfinished memoirs to complete. During their 1921 visit to New Zealand, friends had urged John Baker to write about his years in the colony.
Fortunately, from the time of his arrival in 1857 he had kept a diary. After they returned to Guildford, he began a systematic account of his life in New Zealand. Although John Baker could speak English well, his German education had given him a better knowledge of German than English Grammar. To improve the English style of the memoirs, Noeline helped her father with the writing and added details to the story as incidents were recalled. This collaboration went on for several years but when John Baker became ill the project was abandoned. After his death, Noeline was encouraged to finish the story. She travelled to New Zealand in 1931 to do so.

Noeline approached this task with her usual energy and painstaking thoroughness. First, she checked all the New Zealand Survey Reports from 1860 to 1896, studied relevant newspaper articles and interviewed John Baker's contemporaries, or their descendants. She visited the places her father had described in his diaries, including the areas she went to when she accompanied him on survey inspections. She collected relevant photographs and painted watercolours of some of the scenic places John Baker had visited. Finally, she crossed to Stewart Island and completed the writing at Ferndale House.


There was a very favourable reaction to Noeline's biography of John Baker. The publisher described John Baker as a notable pioneer and civil servant and thought the book had no rival in colonial literature. Acland commended Noeline for her editing, Johannes Anderson at the Alexander Turnbull Library wrote to Noeline to inform her a Nelson review was good and the Otago Daily Times described it as a "valuable book" which could be "unhesitatingly recommended to readers with an interest in the history of the Dominion". The Otago Daily Times review also mentioned the amount of research Noeline had undertaken in
New Zealand, "to expand and verify the material" left by her father.  

During her 1921 visit and again during this longer stay on Stewart Island, Noeline was fascinated with this lovely, lonely place. She must have enjoyed its peace and tranquillity, the glowing skies, the bush, the beaches, the sound of the sea and the birds and the courteous, unhurried Stewart Island people with their close affinity to the sea, shore and forest. In the 1930s, Stewart Island seemed a perfect haven at a time when the world-wide economic depression was deepening and Europe's post-war struggle for civilization was being destroyed by the rise of fascism and nazism. The thought of living permanently at Stewart Island was very attractive indeed. Noeline already owned a five acre section at Port William, a bequest from her father. In November 1932 she purchased a bush-clad headland, overlooking Butterfields Beach, Halfmoon Bay.

Before she settled at Stewart Island, Noeline travelled to North America. Members of the Douglas family remember Noeline's visit to California in 1932. Charlie Douglas's daughters said she met their family at La Jolla, where they were staying while their father had leave from his job as a mining engineer in Mexico. Noeline also renewed her friendship with Katharine Douglas. During the First World War, Katharine had had a distinguished nursing career in France. When she returned to California she accepted a teaching position at San Mateo, San Francisco. Then, at age fifty, she surprised everyone by marrying Thomas Schuring, a widower with a teen-age daughter. Noeline and Katharine explored California together in Katharine's car. They also visited the Schurings' holiday cabin at Pinecrest, a mountain lake resort in the Sierra Nevadas.

From California, Noeline travelled overland across the American continent. She visited the Grand Canyon in northern Arizona, before joining an Indian detour at Sante Fe, New Mexico. This enabled her to visit Santa Clara Pueblo with its ancient Puye cliff dwellings and Taos Pueblo, the 900-year-old settlement of the Taos Indians. By the spring of 1933 she
Baker Album XI, Hocken.

Katharine Douglas Schuring's Holiday Cabin.

This cabin is at Pinecest, a resort in the Sierra Nevada mountains, California.
Baker Album XI, Hocken.

Noeline Baker near Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1932.
Baker Album XI, Hocken.

Indian Cliff Dwellings
near Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1932.
had reached Washington D.C., in time to see the Oriental flowering cherry trees in bloom around the capital's Tidal Basin.18

The historic east coast of North American was of special interest to Noeline because of the many links it had with her Strachey ancestors. She was directly descended from William Strachey, the first secretary of the Virginia Company's colony at nearby Jamestown and the author of The historie of travell into Virginia Britania.19 Noeline was also the great-granddaughter of Henry (later Sir Henry) Strachey who spent from 1776 until 1778 in America as secretary to the brothers Admiral Richard Lord Howe and General Sir William Howe. At the time, the colony of America was at war with the British and it was Henry Strachey who helped to draft a letter to George Washington proposing peace.20 Noeline visited Mount Vernon, the plantation home of George Washington from 1754 until his death in 1799, and lovely Christ Church at nearby Alexandria, where Washington had been a pew owner.21 Henry Strachey also owned an indigo plantation near St. Augustine, but there is no evidence of Noeline having visited Florida.22

From Washington D.C. Noeline went north to New York, Boston and Portland in Maine. A highlight of her visit to Boston was a tour of the home of poet Henry Longfellow. She also visited Harvard University.23

After a two-year absence, Noeline returned to her home in Guildford but almost immediately began to make arrangements to emigrate to New Zealand. She negotiated the long-term lease of Monks Path, settled her business affairs and arranged her passage.24

Noeline's planned destination was Stewart Island. In spite of its isolation, the crossing of wind-worried Foveaux Strait (already in 1931 she had been storm-bound on Ruapuke Island for four days) and the concern expressed by her close friend, Mary Acton-Adams, Noeline was determined to build a house on her bush-clad land.25

John Baker's godson, Invercargill architect Cuthbert John Brodrick, of Brodrick and Royds, prepared drawings of a house
for Noeline. This was to have eight rooms and gables, in the style of the old, colonial homesteads of the Cape of Good Hope, which in turn were modelled on Netherlandic types.\textsuperscript{26} The perspective of Noeline's house was not unlike the great homestead of the Cape, "Groot Constantia", built in the seventeenth century for a governor of the colony and gabled in the manner of farm houses on the island of Walcheren, in the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{27} The building contract was signed in 1934 and a permit granted by the Stewart Island County Council.\textsuperscript{28}

While her house was being constructed, Noeline returned to England to select furniture and furnishings. She brought back antiques to furnish the rooms; Persian rugs for the polished, wooden floors; old maps, engravings and paintings to hang on the white-plastered interior walls; family silver and other mementoes the Bakers had collected.\textsuperscript{29} These all helped to complement the architectural style of the house and were evidence of Noeline's consummate taste. One observer wrote that the living-room "breathed an air of homely comfort" with its blend of the antique and the modern.\textsuperscript{30}

The hallway contained Noeline's large, terrestrial globe; one of the few items from the house which has survived. She bought this at an Ipswich antique shop. Mounted on a mahogany stand and dated 1816 the globe has a map of the world based on the discoveries of Captains Cook and Vancouver. Stewart Island is shown as part of mainland New Zealand and Banks Peninsula as Banks Island. This globe and a notebook, written by Noeline and containing the story of the purchase, are at the Rakiura Museum, Stewart Island.\textsuperscript{31}

Many Stewart Islanders helped with Noeline's new house. Some cut the timber for it, most of it at a small mill near Thule, Patersons Inlet.\textsuperscript{32} Others carted materials, prepared the site for the house and garden and helped the builders. On 21 March 1935, after the house was finished, Noeline gave a party for everyone who had helped.\textsuperscript{33}

At this party Noeline's Maori friend, Ema Umurau Karetaï (Mrs. Waltsgott) blessed the house and gave it its Maori name. Ema was the granddaughter of the southern chief Karetaï (one of
the signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi) and Te Koara. Her father, also named Karetai, and Noeline's father had met in 1867 when they had visited Stewart Island as members of Governor Sir George Grey's party on board H.M.S. Brisk. To lift the tapu on Noeline's new house, Ema and Gretchen Traill of Stewart Island entered it carrying food. At the same time Ema recited a *karakia*. Translated this reads,

> Bind, bind all together that it may be firm and steadfast so that into thee O Tane may enter not the cold and stormy elements, the frost wind, the great rain, the long rain, the cold sleety rain, the hailstones; that thou mayst stand against the assault of the mighty wind, the long prevailing wind, the tempests of the Wind God Tawhirimatea. May all be warm and safe within thy walls. Warmth, heaped up warmth and glowing heat, joy and gladness these are the people who shall dwell within thee Tane standing here before me. Now 'tis done! Our work is o'er!

These words, pictures of the house and the view of Halfmoon Bay from the site, were printed on Noeline's Christmas card for 1935.

At Noeline's request, Ema also gave the property its Maori name. She chose "Moturau Moana" because it meant "a hundred islands and the sea" or "a leafy grove by the sea".

Moturau Moana, with its white walls and black painted roof excited interest and admiration from visitors. Sir Clough Williams-Ellis, a celebrated Welsh architect, described it as being the most beautiful country house he had seen during his visit to New Zealand. Nevertheless, Noeline lived very simply. She had no electricity and no telephone.

After the completion of the house, Noeline's next challenge was the garden. Influenced by Gertrude Jekyll, the beautiful gardens she had seen all over the world and her intense love of New Zealand flora, Noeline used her considerable skill and resources to create a garden at Moturau Moana which is still considered to be unique.

Noeline had learned garden design from Gertrude Jekyll, one of England's foremost designers who "looms over English gardening in this century rather in the way that John Maynard
Baker Album VII, Hocken.

Groot Constantia,
Famous homestead of the Cape, South Africa.
Elaine Hamilton, Stewart Island.

Moturai Moana, Stewart Island.
Dorothy Menzies, Menzies Bay.

Noeline Baker's Sitting Room at Moturau Moana.
Noeline Baker's Party at Moturau Moana.
At this function the house was blessed and named by Ema Umurau Karetai Waltsgott.

Top photograph, Noeline Baker on step.
Middle photograph, Ema Umurau Karetai Waltsgott and Adam Hamilton.
Bottom photograph, Noeline Baker with her guests.
Keynes looms over economics". Motura Moana had some of the features of Gertrude Jekyll's legendary Munstead Wood, especially an "abundant naturalness".

During her travels, Noeline had visited many of the world's most famous gardens and her photograph albums reflect the interest she took in these. In India, for instance, she saw Agra's great garden mausoleum, the Taj Mahal, where the paleness of the architecture is "balanced and reined to the earth by dark greenery". She visited beautiful water gardens in Japan, including Kinkakuji (the Golden Pavilion), Kyoto, and Shiba Park, Tokyo. Water was a sacred element in gardens in Spain. She went to the Alhambra and the beautiful summer palace of the Generalife, Granada. In Italy she saw Renaissance gardens at the Boboli, Florence, the Vatican, Rome and the Villa d'Este, Tivoli. The Renaissance influence was also apparent at Raixa, on the island of Majorca. In France, she had been to Versailles, the Chateau of Fontainebleu and La Malmaison. More recently, during her visit to the United States, she had seen the gardens George Washington designed at Mount Vernon.

When Noeline prepared the plans for her garden at Motura Moana, she already had an appreciation of the requirements for good landscape design. She believed a garden should suit the lie of the land and not be forced to conform to some preconceived arrangement. At Motura Moana, therefore, the site dictated the treatment she gave it and, later, garden architect, Mary Lysaght, described Noeline's house and garden as being "essentially related to the site and not imposed on it".

The native bush formed the background to the lawn and garden areas. Natural rock outcrops near the house were used for an alpine garden, and in another area, ferns were retained to form the nucleus of a fernery. There was a kitchen garden and the herbaceous borders, beautiful in high summer, were positioned to provide a foreground to views of the sea. One of the garden's more successful features, was a lawn which sloped away from the back of the house. This in turn led to a circular
lower lawn and Noeline's Spring Garden. Rhododendrons, favourites also of Gertrude Jekyll, flourished in the acid soil. A mile and a half of tracks were cut and 500 steps laid to provide easy access to all parts and, at the highest point, a look-out, over-shadowed by two ancient rimu trees, had a wide view of Halfmoon Bay. Combined with the exotics, was Noeline's large collection of endemic plants and these made the garden at Moturau Moana unique.

A number of New Zealand gardeners already had an interest in growing endemic plants. George Simpson and John Scott Thomson, botanists of Dunedin, did much to popularise New Zealand's native plants by cultivating them in their own gardens. William Alexander Thomson, also of Dunedin, grew over 1,200 species, representing the flora of both South and North Islands, in his Halfway Bush garden (this also contained his famous "Ferntree House"). Others with well-known collections included A. Wastney of Nelson, James Speden of Gore and Elizabeth (later Dame Elizabeth) Gilmer, at "Te Marua" near Wellington.

Nevertheless, Stewart Island was of special interest to botanists because of its geographical position, isolation, climatic conditions and geological history. More importantly, in marked contrast to mainland New Zealand, it is relatively unmodified by human activity. For the most part, therefore, it has remained a natural wilderness, a primeval land, with meadow and forest exactly as nature planted.

Although comparatively small in size (1720 sq.km.) Stewart Island has a varied land surface of hills and valleys, rivers, streams, lakes, plains, dunes and a long intricate coastline. This has enabled botanists to study under simpler conditions than elsewhere. Interesting problems they have encountered include the limited distribution of many plants, the occurrence of numerous alpine species growing at sea-level, the variation of certain species according to surroundings and the relationship between the Stewart Island flora and that of the neighbouring mainland on the one hand and of the subantarctic islands on the other.
In her fascination with the flora of Stewart Island, Noeline followed in a long line of botanists. One of the earliest to become interested in Stewart Island plants was Dr. Lyall, the surgeon on the survey ship H.M.S. Acheron. In 1850 Dr. Lyall collected a small selection of species to send to Dr. (later Sir) Joseph Hooker, a medical graduate turned botanist and the son of Sir William Hooker, the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, England. Dr. Hooker included Lyall's selection in his book, Flora Novae-Zelandiae (1853-1855).50

The first "modern" botanical expedition to Stewart Island was made by the Hon. G.M. Thomson in 1875. While Thomson was wind-bound at Wilson Bay in the south of the island he found Suttonia chathamica, a Chatham Island tree which had not been discovered on the mainland of New Zealand. Then, in January 1880, when he returned with D. Petrie they discovered numerous alpine plants growing at sea-level.51

Other botanists followed Thomson and Petrie. Dr. T. Kirk made several trips to Stewart Island. In 1884, accompanied by Stewart Islanders Arthur Traill, Von Tunzelman and two others, Kirk collected a number of plants from Mount Anglem. It was on this occasion that Traill and Von Tunzelman made the first ascent of the peak. Then, in the 1890s Kirk was assisted by Gretchen Traill, who procured a number of species for him from Ruapuke Island. Kirk's son, Professor H.B. Kirk and Charles Traill collected for him too.52 Charles Traill, the brother of Arthur, lived on Ulva Island, Paterson Inlet, where he had established an interesting garden. With the aid of local Maoris, Charles obtained numerous species for Dr. Kirk and these were recorded in Kirk's Students' Flora of New Zealand and the Outlying Islands (1899).53

Noeline was especially interested in the research of Dr. Leonard Cockayne, New Zealand's foremost botanist and one of its leading scientists, whose field trips to Stewart Island began in 1903. Born in 1855, near Sheffield in Yorkshire, Cockayne taught in Australia and Otago before pursuing his interest in horticulture, first at his Canterbury farm "Dilcoosha" and then at "Tarata", his experimental garden near
He went on botanical expeditions to various parts of New Zealand, the Antarctic and the Chatham Islands. From 1906 he was engaged by the Lands Department to make reports on the reclamation of sand dunes, Kapiti Island, the Waipoua Forest, Tongariro National Park and Stewart Island. He came to Stewart Island in 1907 to study the vegetation for his New Zealand part of A. Engler's Die Vegetation der Erde. His party ascended Mount Anglem, went to Mason Bay and into the Rakiahua Valley. During September and October 1908 he worked on Stewart Island again and his report for the Minister of Lands was finished the following year. Appended to it was a long list of indigenous plants found on Stewart Island.

It was Noeline's aim to grow in her garden at Moturau Moana, all the plants listed by Leonard Cockayne. This was a considerable challenge, nevertheless, over a fourteen year period she succeeded in collecting and growing a very large number of the species he had named. As a result, her garden became a centre of especial interest to visiting botanists.

Without a doubt, Noeline's fascination with New Zealand native plants began during her childhood years. Frequent references can be found in A Surveyor in New Zealand 1857-1896. For instance, as an eleven year old on her first riding tour with her father, she saw "magnificent tree ferns" in the bush at Waikerikeri Bay, Banks Peninsula. She wrote about the "deep stillness" of a New Zealand forest and described the wonderful stretch of bush they saw on another riding tour, near Taumarunui. There, under the enormous trees, ferns ranged from the most delicate and feathery to giant tree ferns. They saw ferns, shrubs and creeping plants on the banks of the Wanganui River and in the Buller Gorge "stupendous bush-clad cliffs". Then from Cassidy's coach, as it wound its way up to Arthurs Pass from the Otira Gorge, she saw manukas, veronicas, fuchsias and the mountain-ribbonwood in flower. In Fiordland, wreaths of moss hung from great forest trees at Dusky Sound and at Milford Sound she observed the dramatic contrast of red rata blossoms against dark evergreens.

Noeline's interest in New Zealand botany was revived at
Stewart Island. She loved the bush with its fine forest trees, principally rimu, rata and kamahi, and its wealth of mosses, liverworts, fungi, lichens, submosses and ferns. She was fascinated with the small alpine plants which grew on the acres of natural rock garden, found on the open tops. Then, there were the shrubs and the Island's many orchid species, ranging from the small, inconspicuous, single varieties, colonies of spider orchids and the perfumed autumn-flowering Easter orchid, found perched on trees or rocky banks and with long pendent branches with flower sprays.58

Like her father, Noeline was also a keen conservationist. Reservations in the Mount Cook area, made in 1885 and 1887 for recreation purposes and to provide protection to the Hooker and Tasman Valleys (almost two-thirds of the present Mount Cook National Park), can be attributed to John Baker's foresight. As Commissioner of Crown Lands in Canterbury, he had pleaded successfully for the government of the day "to conserve for all time a place whose beauties it would not be easy to exaggerate and which will undoubtedly be one of the attractions of the globe".59 Noeline's conservation activities included the creation of her botanical garden and the preservation of over 30 acres of bush, containing a fine stand of rimu. In June 1934 she added another 19 acres to her original land purchase.60 Now known as Baker Park, in memory of John Holland Baker, this bush section was designated a Scenic Reserve in 1941.61 Like her father, Noeline had foresight. According to Ron Tindal, the Department of Conservation's retired District Conservator at Stewart Island, she saw the need for "green areas many years before these became required".62

A number of Stewart Islanders helped Noeline with her project. Roy Traill, a second generation Islander, had a special interest in the native flora. Since 1925, he had been employed jointly by the Departments of Land and Survey, Forest Service and Internal Affairs as Stewart Island ranger. He organised the field trips to collect plants for Noeline's garden. These included expeditions to the Rakeahua Valley, Table Hill and Mount Anglem.63
Later, Roy Traill's daughter, Sheila (now Sheila Natusch), joined these field trips. For instance, Sheila was with her father when he took Noeline, Dr. Averil Lysaght and two others to the Rakeahua River, in the southwest arm of Paterson Inlet. This was a replenishing trip, although they were also looking for *Ourisia modesta*, a creeping herb with tiny white flowers. On the return trip, they ran into a gale in the Inlet. Roy Traill's launch was rather small with lowish sides. When caught in the very rough seas, he turned *Polar Star* broadside to the waves then made a run into the calmer waters of Abraham's Bay. There the party waited for the gale to abate. As the oldest on board, Noeline was given the only bunk in the small cabin. The others spent the night lying on its floor. The continuous rocking motion of the anchored launch made sleep impossible and, at daybreak, they were relieved to find the weather had improved. They returned safely to Golden Bay wharf and were just in time to prevent a rescue party from setting out.  

After completing a M.A. at the University of Otago, Sheila Traill spent a summer working with Noeline in the garden at Moturau Moana. She recalls it was a "nerve-testing" job. A plant that was a weed in one part of the rockery (the common native cudweed, *Graphalium audax*, for instance) was a treasured specimen in another place. Some years later, at the behest of Dr. Averil Lysaght, Sheila published an illustrated pamphlet on Moturau Moana, when it was in danger of being closed as a research centre. 

Others to help Noeline at Moturau Moana, were J. Carstensen and Norman Jensen. The former worked in the garden from its inception. He cut the tracks and laid the steps. Norman Jensen was gardener and handyman from about 1935 until 1943. He and his wife also lived at Moturau Moana for some time while Noeline was there and remained as caretakers during her absences. Norman remembers Noeline purchasing a "Leask dingy", which she kept in a boatshed at Golden Bay. He would row her and sometimes her house guests to places of interest in
Orchards, Godalming.

Built for Sir William and Lady Chance in 1898, the house was designed by architect Sir Edwin Luytens and the gardens by Gertrude Jekyll. Lady Chance was Noeline Baker's cousin and she visited Orchards frequently prior to the Chances' move to Sussex.
L.B. Russell, Nelson.

Moturau Moana.
A view of Noeline Baker's house from the garden.
Elaine Hamilton, Stewart Island.

Two views of Halfmoon Bay from the garden at Moturau Moana.
L.B. Russell, Nelson.

Noeline Baker at Moturau Moana.
Paterson Inlet. On some of these trips they searched for plants but more often it was for enjoyment. Noeline loved the beauty of the Inlet. Norman also drove her Austin car, when she brought this back from England in 1940.68

Norman Jensen's sister, Olga Sansom, shared Noeline's passionate interest in Stewart Island botany. They became good friends and made tentative plans to write a book together about Stewart Island's pioneer settlers. Although Noeline recorded some anecdotes from descendants, nothing further was done until many years after her death when Olga Sansom wrote The Stewart Islanders and In the Grip of an Island.69

Noeline's other Stewart Island friends included Rob Hicks, proprietor of Ferndale House, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis, who owned an imposing house on the opposite side of Halfmoon Bay and English-born George Turner. He had been severely wounded in France during the First World War. When he visited Stewart Island in 1925 he found there the peace he sought and, like Noeline, decided to stay. Photography was his special interest but he also bought a large section of virgin forest overlooking Paterson Inlet which he designated a private scenic reserve, with free access for the public at all times.70 Others were Neta Rawle, the Sloans and the Russells. The Russells lived in Invercargill but spent a lot of time staying at their holiday home on Stewart Island. Noeline coached their daughter, Cadia, for the London University's matriculation examination.71

Noeline is remembered as a strong, physically vigorous yet petite woman.72 She had a large head, short-cropped "pepper and salt" springy dark hair and big expressive brown eyes. She usually wore "sensible" tweed coats and skirts in brown, beige or grey colours, "stout" shoes and a hat. The effect was rather masculine, although this could have reflected the trend of interwar women when dress was one of the ways they were able to express their individuality.73 On the other hand, Sonia Douglas Wales was impressed by Noeline's "elegance" when she saw her dressed for dinner during a visit to London.74 Noeline is also remembered as a perfectionist. She wrote neatly and spoke correctly. She had an attractive personality although
her "English reserve" was sometimes interpreted as snobbery.75 Noeline loved natural beauty, music, books, the outdoors, travel but valued silence and privacy too. She was very creative. For instance, she made soft, leather gloves for her friends. In fact she tried, unsuccessfully, to persuade the Stewart Island women to set up a cottage industry hand crafting gloves from deerskin.76 Noeline made furniture and in the hallway at Moturau Moana were two of her chests, painted red. Much to their delight, she also made small, low chairs for one of the Menzies boys at Menzies Bay, Banks Peninsula, and little Elizabeth Jensen, Norman Jensen's daughter. One was painted green with sea shells decorating it and the other had flowers.77

Noeline was a generous hostess and enjoyed entertaining at Moturau Moana. Her house guests included relations, friends, botanists, politicians and visitors from overseas. She gave parties for the Island children and enjoyed visits from local friends. In 1951 the Governor-General and his wife, Sir Bernard and Lady Freyberg (Gertrude Jekyll's niece) were taken by car to Moturau Moana to have afternoon tea. Sir Bernard and Lady Freyberg had already met Noeline in Christchurch the previous year. After she had been to Moturau Moana, Lady Freyberg wrote in her diary,

Then we went to tea with Miss Baker at the charming place she has given to the Internal Affairs Dept ... It was a beautiful still warm evening, and the place is full of magic ... When we got back (the Oban Hotel), we had a crayfish feast, for the kind manager cooked them and we ate them hot with Miss Baker, who is a delightful woman.78

When Noeline returned from a visit to England in 1935, her cousin, Julia, Lady Chance of Legh Manor, Sussex, accompanied her.79 Noeline and Lady Chance shared many interests including art, architecture and gardening. Unfortunately, it is not known what Lady Chance thought about Stewart Island, but she would certainly have been interested in Noeline's house. Lady Chance's mother, the former Hannie Cloete, came from Newlands, South Africa, an area famed for its Cape-colonial
architecture. Sir Edwin Lutyens had designed Orchards, Godalming, for the Chances and, later, he planned the alterations at Legh Manor. Gertrude Jekyll designed both gardens. Lady Chance also worked with Lutyens and Gertrude Jekyll when commissioned to model sculpture for their gardens. Her fountain sculpture was especially delightful, including the four " hippocampus " used on the outer margins of a rectangular tank at Marsh Court, Stockbridge, Hampshire.

Noeline and Lady Chance also shared the Strachey love for travel and adventure. They had been on several holidays together, including a spring trip in 1908 when they had explored the Austro-Hungarian province of Dalmatia on the Adriatic coast, Greece and the Ionian island of Corfu. At Stewart Island they decided to circumnavigate the Island. Captain Bill Thomson of "Vaila" was hired to take them in his ketch and in a leisurely fashion they explored the intricate coast. There were few comforts on board but these intrepid women were not deterred. They were impressed with the wild, rugged beauty they saw, took opportunities to botanise and to observe the many birds of bush and shore. Historically, Port Pegasus in the south was one of their more interesting landings. The first white men had landed there in 1804, under the command of an American sealer, O.F. Smith. In 1826, Captain Stewart brought shipbuilders to Port Pegasus and, on 5 June 1840, the proclamation of Her Majesty's Sovereignty was made in the South Arm by Major Thomas Bunbury.

Noeline returned to England again in 1937 and 1939. She loved to travel and would take a passage in a Port Line ship with accommodation for approximately twelve people. Were there other reasons for her apparent restlessness? Although she was happy living at Stewart Island, "the little paradise ... without any disturbing Adam", she was never fully accepted by all sections of that small community. Some Islanders were in awe of her. She was also caught between two countries, England and New Zealand. Her dilemma was not unique to people of her generation. It was a recurring theme among New Zealand authors. Ursula Bethell spent two thirds of her life in New
Zealand but England was always "home", Charles Brasch had a struggle to find his identity in both the "old" and "new" worlds and Maurice Shadbolt said that members of his generation did not quite know whether they were New Zealanders or colonial English.  

After one of her visits to England, Noeline brought back Capers, her beloved tortoiseshell cat, who had been left with a friend until her Stewart Island house was built. Capers occupied the other berth in Noeline's cabin during the voyage and settled happily at Moturau Moana for the remainder of his life. When he died, he was buried in the garden and Noeline carved a headstone for the grave.

Only a year after Noeline moved into her new home, she began considering a future use for the property. She discussed the possibility of bequeathing Moturau Moana to the University of Otago with Dr. W.N. Benson, professor of geology and mineralogy at the university, and his wife, Helen (born Rawson) who had been the professor of home science. In a letter dated 7 May 1936, Dr. Benson reported that he had held discussions with the Departments of Biology and Botany who thought a research station near Halfmoon Bay could be a very useful centre for scientific work. There was a rich and varied marine life, great areas of virgin forest and the "current interest" in the island's geology. The "legacy of a property" on Stewart Island, where students, university teachers and visiting specialists would have the necessary facilities for research, was welcomed. Dr. Benson did warn Noeline that the University of Otago was barely paying its way. A property requiring expensive upkeep would not be acceptable. On the other hand, a suitable research centre often attracted its own funds. He continued,

We do appreciate very much your thought of the possible value that your beautiful Stewart Island home might be to the University in the future and hope that you may find pleasure in so arranging matters as to ensure that it can ultimately become a well known centre of scientific research on the natural history of the Island.
Noeline replied that a codicil would be added to her will bequeathing Moturau Moana to the University of Otago, but with the proviso the property be passed to the Stewart Island County Council should the university not be able to use it for a centre for scientific research. She also made it clear that the offer was not necessarily binding. If her financial circumstances were to change, she could be forced to sell Moturau Moana.

In 1936, at a time of economic depression in New Zealand, Noeline was very conscious of her financial vulnerability. In 1931 and 1932 she had lent money on mortgage to several Southland farmers. Farming had had a particularly difficult time and in one instance, Noeline had to exercise the power of sale on a Merrivale property.

Noeline's botanical garden and her interest in conservation were becoming widely known. In 1937, she was invited to Parliament House, to a Dominion Conference on Bush Conservation and Amenity Planting, by the Hon. W.E. Parry "in view of the great interest you take in these matters". Held on Friday 2 April and chaired by the Governor-General, Viscount Galway, the Conference discussed the future of Arbor Day in New Zealand, a proposed amendment to the Public Works Act, the classification of all land in New Zealand covered with standing bush, the encouragement of private scenic reserves, future memorial plantings for the Coronation of King George VI and the New Zealand Centenary, the powers of local authorities and public bodies in respect to tree planting, the beautification of cemeteries, hoardings and advertisements and the setting up of a National Council of Conservation and Amenity Planting by the Government. Government Departments and Boards, the Maori people, national organisations, District Boards, Local Bodies and organisations were represented. Noeline was one of six women who attended.

Noeline seems to have been interested in the remit which dealt with private scenic reserves. The conference delegates agreed that land owners were to be encouraged to preserve and protect patches of native bush and to dedicate corners of waste
land for natural regeneration or for beautifying and planting.

During 1939, Noeline became preoccupied again with making arrangements for the future use of Moturau Moana. First, she offered to give it to the University of Otago. No information about this offer, or its rejection, has been traced in the University's archives but in a letter to Professor Percival of the Department of Biology, Canterbury University College, dated 10 April 1939, Noeline wrote that the University of Otago's Council members had decided to decline her gift in the meantime. She then offered to give Moturau Moana to Canterbury University College for a scientific research station, but with the proviso she could use it for as long as she needed it. Professor Percival referred this letter to the College Council. He thought the principle of a Research Station on Stewart Island was good but the supervision and upkeep of such an institution would need investigation. Members of the Council deferred their decision. A year later, in a letter dated 16 May, the Registrar of Canterbury University College informed Noeline her gift could not be accepted unless the property carried an endowment with it, "sufficiently large to cover the costs of upkeep and maintenance".

In the meantime, Noeline had gone back to England. As the likelihood of hostilities with Germany increased, she realised Great Britain would need women again for war work. She wanted to be there to help if required.
The L.S.W.S. gradually resumed its autonomy from N.U.S.E.C. and in 1929 it became entirely independent.

R.H. Traill wrote that Noeline visited every place mentioned in her father's book with the exception of the Auckland Islands.

The manuscript, photographs, watercolour paintings and relevant correspondence are in two large, leather-bound books now owned by Robert Sansom, Cromwell.


Otago Daily Times, 3 December 1932.

L. Woolf, Downhill All the Way, p.28.

The Port William section Noeline owned was transferred from Thomas Brodrick to John Baker on 13 October 1896, just a few weeks before the Bakers left New Zealand. Invercargill Registry, Deeds Index F.460.


16. Baker Album, No.XI, H.L.


Henry Strachey is said to have introduced the growing of indigo in Florida.

23. Baker Album, No.XI, H.L.


26. Plan of Noeline Baker's Stewart Island house, Department of Conservation, Halfmoon Bay, Stewart Island.

Some Stewart Islanders believe Noeline brought house plans from England with her and these were adapted by Invercargill architect, C.J. Brodrick.

Cuthbert John Brodrick was the brother of Thomas Noel Brodrick the surveyor who had worked under John Baker.
27. "Cape Architecture", p.55,  
"The Story of Groot Constantia", sources unknown,  
Baker Album, No.VII, H.L.

The original owner of Groot Constantia was Simon Van der Stel, governor of Cape Colony from 1680.

28. Stewart Island County Council Minute Book,  
23 August 1934.

See also,  
"Inventory", N.A., State Forest Service, Vol.1,  
4/10/7/573.

The Inventory, prepared in 1949, by government officials includes,

Two water colour paintings by "Mme Bodichamp" - probably Barbara Bodichon, an artist and one of the first of the active feminist organizers in England.

A drawing which had been exhibited in the Royal Academy by "Lady Chayse" - probably Noeline's cousin Lady Chance.

Three engravings by "Piranezi" - Giovanni Battista Piranesi,  
the 18th century Venetian artist who did engravings and etchings, including a number of classical Rome.  
Noeline bequeathed a Piranesi engraving to Lady Freyberg. This is now owned by Colonel the Lord Freyberg Munsteaíd, Godalming.

30. Dempsey, p.27.

31. Noeline Baker's notebook, Rakiura Museum,  
Stewart Island.


35. Miss Magda Wallscott, daughter of Ema Umurau Karetai Waltsgott (the name changed over time to the more easily pronounced Wallscott) interviews, 11 July 1988 and 20 February 1992.

Ema Umurau Karetai Waltsgott also taught Noeline Baker the Maori language.


42. Ibid, p.25. See also Baker Album, No.IX, H.L.


45. Mary Lysaght to N. Baker (no date), N.A., State Forest Service Vol.1, 4/10/7/573.


50. Ibid, p.4.

Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817-1911).
He laid the foundation of New Zealand botany. In 1865 succeeded his father as Director of Kew Gardens. When aged 60, he set out on his last trip to the Rocky Mountains of Colorado and Utah, Hooker was accompanied by General Sir Richard and Lady Strachey, Professor Asa Gray and Mrs. Gray. W. Blunt, In for a Penny, p.158.


52. Ibid, p.5.

Thomas Kirk (1828-1898).
From 1881 Dr. Kirk was a staff member at Lincoln Agricultural College and, from 1885, chief conservator of state forests.

53. Ibid.

See also, A.D. Thomson, "The Life and Correspondence of Leonard Cockayne", National Museum, Wellington.

Leonard Cockayne (1855-1934).

55. Cockayne, "New Zealand Department of Lands Report, pp.45-64.


64. G. Swain, Stewart Island Days, pp.102-105.

Sheila Natusch, born Traill (1926- ).

Author, artist and botanist. Great-granddaughter of Rev. Wohlers, early missionary stationed at Ruapuke Island, Foveaux Strait.

Averil Margaret Lysaght (1905-1981).


75. Maida Barlow to L. Taylor, 7 July 1991. 


77. Dorothy Menzies to L. Taylor, 10 April 1989. 

"Inventory", N.A., State Forest Service, 
Vol.1, 4/10/7/573.

78. Lady Freyberg's diary, 5 January 1951. 
Colonel the Lord Freyberg to L. Taylor, 23 April 1989.

79. N. Baker to Dorothy and Ian Menzies, 18 November 1935, 
D. Menzies, Menzies Bay.


Joanna Charlotte (Hannie) Cloete, of Newlands, 
Cape of Good Hope, married Lieutenant. Colonel Henry 
Strachey on 6 September 1859. 

Groot Constantia and the Constantia Estate, which 
included a famous winery, was acquired by a Cloete, 
c1779. It remained in the family until 1885. There 
is no evidence linking Hannie Cloete with the Groot 
Constantia Cloetes, but it is an interesting coin-
cidence. Noeline Baker visited the Cape area and 
Groot Constantia in 1950.

81. G. Jekyll and L. Weaver, 

82. Baker Album (no number), H.L.

83. Dorothy Menzies to L. Taylor, 10 April 1989. 


85. N. Baker to Sir Norman Angell, 19 February 1940, H.L. 
Baker Album, No.XII, H.L.

86. Johannes C. Anderson to N. Baker, 25 November 1932, 
Manuscript Book 2, p.457.


89. Dr. W.N. Benson to N. Baker, 7 May 1936, University of Otago Correspondence File, No.465, from January 1948 to December 1948.

90. Ibid.

91. N. Baker to Dr. Benson, 19 May 1936, University of Otago Correspondence File, No.465.

92. Invercargill Registry, Certificate of Title, Vol.135, folio 118.


94. Agenda Paper, Conference for Conservation and Amenity Planting, H.L., M.I., 619/B.

95. Miss M. Sutherland, representing the Mental Hospitals Department;  
Mrs. Francis Hutchinson, Omatua, Rissington, Hawkes Bay;  
Mrs. Martin Tweed, Girl Guides Association;  
Miss A.E. Jerome-Spencer, Women's Institutes and Townswomen's Guilds;  
Mrs. Sarah Jones, Hastings and District Progress League;  
Noeline Baker, Moturau Moana, Stewart Island.

96. Agenda Paper, Remit 5.  
Noeline made notes and comments beside this remit which indicate her interest.

97. N. Baker to Professor Percival, Canterbury University College, 10 April 1939, University of Canterbury Archives.

98. Ibid.

99. Registrar, Canterbury University College to N. Baker, 16 May 1940, University of Canterbury Archives.
Patriotism and a concern for lasting peace prompted Noeline's wartime activities both in England and New Zealand. In Surrey, she re-established the county office for the recommissioned Women's Land Army and in New Zealand she became honorary secretary for a club in Christchurch, set up for women in the services. She also promoted the study of post-war reconstruction. Although the W.E.A. had prepared a "World Crisis" discussion course which was widely used and Post-War Reconstruction Societies were formed in Wellington and in Christchurch, Noeline's papers in the Hocken Library and some newspaper accounts have been the only sources for this topic. Official war historians, Nancy Taylor and F.L.W. Wood, do not refer to the subject, although Professor Wood was an active member of the Wellington Post-War Reconstruction Study Group.¹

At Stewart island, Noeline had kept abreast of world affairs. Letters, newspapers and books arriving from England informed her of Hitler's rise to power. German rearmament, the restoration of German's compulsory military service, the Austrian Anschluss and the demands of the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia were all cause for concern. Prime-Minister Chamberlain's meetings with Hitler seemed to offer some hope, but only a slight delay was negotiated before Czechoslovakia was forced to cede its German inhabited territory. The infamous "Kristallnacht" followed and plausible evidence that Hitler, resentful of British interest in peace-keeping in Europe, was considering a pre-emptive strike against Great Britain.² When German troops occupied what remained of the Czech provinces of Czechoslovakia, Noeline could contain herself no longer. She wrote to her friend in Guildford, Miss M.K. Sutherland, and asked if she should come "home".³ At this time of crisis, she belonged in England rather than New Zealand.

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³ At this time of crisis, she belonged in England rather than New Zealand.
Noeline's letter caused her friend to cable immediately and urge her not to come. Shipping would be in grave danger if another war eventuated. Noeline, however, had already arranged a passage and left New Zealand in May 1939, four months before war began.  

When Noeline landed in England, she offered her services to the British Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. Undeceived by Hitler's promises at Munich, the Ministry had decided to recommission the Women's Land Army. Lady Denman, one of the former officials, was appointed Director and Mrs. Jenkins her Assistant-Director. They commenced their work on 1 June 1939. When war began in September, one thousand volunteers, some already trained, were waiting to be sent into employment. By the end of 1939, the Women's Land Army had 4,544 members.  

As from 1917 to 1919, the county organisations had a Chairman, Organising-Secretary, committee, sub-committees, local representatives or village registrars and an office staff. The Organising-Secretary and office staff received wages but all other workers were volunteers.  

On Lady Denman's recommendation, Noeline was reappointed Organising-Secretary of the Surrey Women's Land Army County Committee at a salary of 250 pounds a year. The appointment became official on 15 September 1939 although Noeline had already commenced work at the Guildford office. She stayed with her friend, Miss Sutherland.  

Noeline, now sixty years old, set up the office for the Surrey section of the Women's Land Army, kept in touch with recruits and their employers, organised training, arranged committee and sub-committee meetings, liaised with village registrars and reported to the Ministry. The work was exhausting and she soon realised her health would not stand the strain. On 21 October she asked the Ministry to replace her. A Miss K.C. Hodgson took over as Organising-Secretary on 4 December 1939.
Lady Denman was very sorry to lose Noeline's services, although grateful to have had her valuable assistance during a "very difficult transition period". The Minister of Agriculture, Hon. Robert Hudson, and the Surrey County Chairman, Robert Bray, expressed their appreciation too. Frances Maidlow, who worked in the Guildford office, wrote that she would remember the weeks she worked with Noeline "as a very happy time".

Noeline was profoundly disappointed to give up this war work. Her letter to Dorothy Menzies, Menzies Bay, Banks Peninsula is evidence of a very poignant disappointment. Noeline wrote,

(I) have wished I could be sailing with you on Patterson's (sic) Inlet. I ache for the peace and quiet of the beloved island and long for the sound of the sea and the birds... I hope to return to New Zealand before so very long if only the Gods are kind.

Although Noeline had failed to recreate her Women's Land Army role, she was willing to remain in England if she could help promote the study of post-war reconstruction. As a feminist and a member of the League of Nations Union, Noeline knew that many of the problems which had led to the outbreak of this war were inherent in the Treaty of Versailles. International peace had linked all the interwar feminist groups. In fact, the first public comment on the terms of the treaty had been issued by the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace in 1919. It was strongly critical. The terms would,

create all over Europe discords and animosities which can only lead to future wars...
by the financial and economic proposals a hundred million people of this generation in the heart of Europe are condemned to poverty, disease and despair, which must result in the spread of hatred and anarchy within each nation.
The League of Nations Union had pressed for modifying demands for reparations. Members thought the reparations were "punitive unjust" to the German people and would only encourage a desire for revenge.  

Sir Norman Angell, who had been awarded the Nobel Prize for 1933 and was associated with J. Maynard Keynes in opposing the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, took the cause of peace a further stage in his insistence on the need to plan it. In *For What Do We Fight?* he wrote of the necessity for a special approach to the question of war and peace. The insistent belief that the simple destruction of Hitlerism would of itself free everyone from the evils for which it stood was "an insidious and dangerous fallacy". In 1914, everyone had believed the defeat of Germany and the destruction of Kaiserism would free the world. Kaiserism was destroyed, but the world did not gain something better. Hitlerism was proving more evil and more menacing.

While at Guildford, Noeline read *For What Do We Fight?* and wondered if Sir Norman Angell could offer her war work of a worthwhile but less strenuous nature. In February 1940 she wrote to him and asked if he planned a public education campaign. Although she had arranged to return to New Zealand she offered to stay in England if she could help in any way. It was April before he replied, because of his serious illness. By then, the phoney war had ended and he had no plans for a public campaign. He thought it was a question of maintaining education, as he believed it was "a most desperately necessary thing" to keep two or three outstanding principles of the policy before the public. This, he hoped, would avoid the forsaking of these principles when the excitements or passions of war threatened to overwhelm everyone.

Meanwhile, Noeline had returned to Stewart Island determined to create an awareness in New Zealand of the need to study post-war reconstruction. "To wait until peace is in sight" she wrote "is dangerous because the building of an enduring peace is a task which demands careful and prolonged study."
Although June 1940 was one of the darkest periods of the war, Noeline wrote a letter to the editor of the Southland Times and stressed the necessity for "clear thinking" in deciding what the war aims of the allies really were and what sort of peace was wanted when this war ended. New Zealanders should consider these things calmly and through serious study they could make a "real contribution to the future happiness of the world". She recommended to readers Sir Norman Angell's book, For What Do We Fight?, Our War Aims by Wickham Stead and Why Britain is at War by Harold Nicholson. It was not an auspicious time to be advocating the study of "what sort of peace was wanted", nevertheless Noeline was discouraged when there were no replies to her letter. She remained determined to initiate an education campaign on post-war reconstruction.

Wellington was more politically aware than Invercargill, and on a visit there, later in the year, Noeline had long discussions with her friend, Dr. Averil Lysaght; Stewart Morrison, a lecturer at Victoria University College and Sam Williams. They decided to set up an informal group and were joined by Leicester Webb, chief leader writer for the Christchurch Press; John Moffett, a journalist and later editor of the Otago Daily Times, and K. Cameron, a teacher at Southland Boys' High School. Noeline agreed to act as the group's temporary secretary.

At first, the plan was to send a letter to all the country's newspapers. It was hoped the mayors of the four main centres and about ten well-known New Zealanders would agree to sign this. If there was a good response from the public, a society would be formed to organise study groups, arrange lectures, discussions and debates.

In January 1941, Noeline hosted a house-party at Moturau Moana for members of their group. Although not everyone could be present, further proposals were considered and a public meeting arranged at Stewart Island for 14 January "to test the reaction of a set of people who have not given much consideration to this subject". At this meeting, Noeline asked the audience to consider how matters could be arranged,
so that peace made after the end of the war would be a permanent peace and not merely the starting point for a fresh struggle between the nations of the world seeking advantages such as colonies, markets for their produce, access to raw materials for their factories and so on.  

Members of the audience were also challenged as to how a reduction in poverty and oppression, more fair play and more opportunity for all the world's peoples could be achieved, enabling everyone "to live healthy, happy, useful lives". It is not known how many people attended this meeting or how they reacted but there is no evidence of any study group being formed at Stewart Island.

Noeline and her guests also decided they needed a figurehead for their campaign. They invited politician-lawyer William Downie Stewart to be their leader. He was not enthusiastic. Until it was known how the war was going to end and what nations were yet to be involved he could not see "that discussion at present will get us very far". He thought the issues were so vast and the war so complicated and indefinite in duration that little would be gained by discussing plans for peace at this stage. "Such a movement" he wrote "very easily falls into the hands of the peace at any price people and distracts us from concentration on the war". He apologised for appearing sceptical but urged Noeline and the members of the group to carry on without him "till I can see more daylight".

Downie Stewart also advised Noeline to hand-pick a small group in each centre for post-war reconstruction study. By sending their proposed letter to the newspapers, it would open the door "to every crank in the country and they will hold the floor at your discussions".

When Noeline replied to Downie Stewart, she defended their stance. Peace failed after the First World War because the subject had not been considered enough. The opinions of the public at large were not "educated ones". She wrote that Sir Charles Petrie, in Twenty Years Armistice and After, had described the basic weakness of the Treaty of Versailles as being the lack of readiness by the allied and associated powers
for peace when it came and their lack of agreement on the principle by which peace should be inspired. Noeline also quoted Viscount Samuel, a former British Home Secretary and Leader of the Liberal party, who had written that governments engaged in war have to be very cautious in formulating terms of peace.

Before they speak Allies must be sure that they are in tune; political parties must agree; the effect of world opinion has to be considered. At the right moment precision may help victory; if premature it may hinder. Nor can anyone - Government included - now foresee what will be the military and political situation when hostilities stop; even the alignment of great States may be uncertain. Public opinion on the other hand is not subject to these restraints. A general discussion of future possibility can do no harm and may do much good. No country is committed; no ally perturbed; no party alienated. Out of the discussions there may emerge definite trends of thought, which gradually may focus into some kind of consensus among the leaders of opinion.

Nevertheless, Noeline's group did decide to follow Downie Stewart's advice and no letter was sent to the country's newspapers. This seemed prudent at a time when religious pacifists and the Peace Pledge Union were very unpopular.

Downie Stewart was not the only one to have reservations about the plan to form post-war reconstruction study groups. Two of Noeline's acquaintances, Katharine Deans of Darfield and R. Henderson, manager of J.G. Ward and Co. Ltd., Invercargill, told her it was not the right time to launch a public campaign. Katharine Deans quoted her father, Sir Andrew Russell, who was Inspector-General of New Zealand Military Forces. "No more movements please! We've got to win the war first ...". He believed the Nazis would be pleased if "men" all over the world started controversy which would "deflect our minds or better still cause disension (sic) in our ranks".

These reactions did not deter Noeline and her friends. They went ahead with plans for a campaign. As Noeline was the only member who could devote her full time to the cause, she agreed to tour New Zealand to promote post-war reconstruction. She closed her Stewart Island home, withdrew
300 pounds from her capital for expenses and at the end of March 1941 set off on her mission. For three months she travelled throughout the North Island. She contacted societies already considering the subject of post-war reconstruction and met interested individuals and groups. Her North Island tour culminated in a public meeting, held on Monday 30 June in the Lecture Hall of the Wellington Public Library. Sir Thomas Hunter, principal of Victoria University College was in the chair and Professor F.L.W. Wood, professor of history at Victoria University College, was principal speaker. The meeting proposed the formation of a non-party, non-sectarian society for the study of post-war reconstruction. Plans included co-operating with other groups similarly engaged, forming study circles, arranging lectures and distributing bibliographies and leaflets. Professor Wood emphasised this new society must not interfere with the winning of the war but winning the war was not enough, New Zealanders must also look ahead and the study of post-war reconstruction could help them do this. Other speakers included Dr. Oliver and Robert Parker of Victoria University College; Messrs Campbell, von Haast, Glennie and McCormick; Fan Blunt, Noeline's god-daughter from "Steepdown", Kaikoura; Dr. Sylvia Chapman; Mrs. E. Kelso, former Dominion Organiser for the New Zealand Women's Institutes; Miss M.L. Toulson, Dominion President of the Business and Professional Women's Federation; Miss Watson and Noeline herself.

At the Wellington meeting the Post-War Reconstruction Study Group was formed. Membership was to be open to any interested person or group for a subscription of five shillings per year. Activities would be organised by a Wellington committee which included Mrs. E. Kelso, Miss M.L. Toulson, Professor F.L.W. Wood, Gordon Glennie and Mr. Riske (President of the Wellington District Council of the W.E.A.). Robert Parker was elected secretary.

The formation of this Post-War Reconstruction Study Group in Wellington, created much interest. The Dominion published a report of the inaugural meeting and four days later, another
The latter highlighted Noeline's involvement and contained a description of her past activities, including her work for the British Women's Movement. Then, the *New Zealand Listener* of 18 July 1941, featured an article which described the new organisation set up to "stimulate the study of post-war problems". Sub-titled "New Zealand Woman's Work in Stimulating Study of Post-War Reconstruction", it mentioned Noeline as being the "public spirited woman" behind this new organisation who had given her time and energy to a cause "that she feels is of vital importance". She was quoted as saying the last war had not ensured lasting peace because "we did not understand what was necessary to secure it". This time, she challenged New Zealand women to study post-war reconstruction. "Many of us are unburdened as far as military work goes, but we can give our minds to the problems of peace...".  

There was an immediate and favourable reaction to the new organisation. The Christchurch branch of the Business and Professional Women's Club wrote to Wellington and offered to sponsor a public meeting for Noeline.  

Brian Dunningham, acting director for the Dominion Reconstruction Conference, said he had read of her splendid efforts "with joy and delight". He sent Noeline copies of their recent publications. John Brailsford of the University of Otago, had already sent her two sets of papers for a "World Crisis and Proposed Solutions" course prepared for the W.E.A. by New Zealand academics, including Willis Airey, S. Leatham, Professor Belshaw, John Brailsford, Professor Julius Stone, Professor Leslie Lipson and E.A. Olssen.

Although Noeline had no official position after the Wellington meeting, she spent another two and a half months travelling in the South Island promoting post-war reconstruction. She spoke to staff at primary and secondary schools, addressed a number of meetings and met with members of interested societies and groups.

In Christchurch, Noeline also persuaded Leicester Webb's wife, Caroline, to act as organiser for Canterbury. Caroline had taken a course in International Affairs at London
University followed by study in Geneva. She had been a New Zealand delegate to the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations when it met in Japan and was a member of the Christchurch Committee of the Institute of International Affairs.45

During this South Island tour, Noeline visited libraries and prepared lists of books of each library's holdings on peace, international relations, world trade, economics and other appropriate topics. Not only did her lists include names of authors, titles and publishers but each book was categorised. Groupings included "preliminary study", "more advanced study" and "for reference".46

By the end of 1941 the study of post-war reconstruction had been successfully launched. The Wellington group, in their second newsletter to members, boasted 70 subscribers and Caroline Webb reported from Christchurch that 23 groups of the W.C.T.U. were interested, with some of these taking the W.E.A. discussion course. The Canterbury branch of the Federation of University Women had also formed a discussion group.47

By December 1941, however, the war had taken on a new and more sinister outlook for New Zealand which impacted on the post-war reconstruction study group. When the United States of America's battle-fleet was put out of action at Pearl Harbour, Hawaii, the Japanese became the masters of the West Pacific. They next challenged the British Empire forces, conquering Singapore and Malaya. As a consequence, there were no adequate forces to prevent Japan from seizing other countries in the Pacific. The Dutch East Indies fell, bases in northern Papua were taken and in March 1942, Bougainville and other islands in the Solomons.48

At the end of her tour promoting post-war reconstruction, and as the Japanese menace deepened, Noeline returned to Stewart Island. She would have liked to continue with this work, but was reluctant to withdraw more from her capital to pay for the travel and accommodation expenses.49 Instead, she fretted at Stewart Island during this anxious time.
First, alarmed at the possible threat of Japanese invasion, Noeline made her own emergency preparations. She set up a hideaway at a natural rock outcrop, in the depths of the forest at Baker Park. She equipped this with a bunk, a cache of food and other essential items.

Meanwhile, as a result of the Japanese threat the Wellington Post-War Reconstruction Study Group began to have difficulties. In March 1942, the secretary, Robert Parker, was too pressed to prepare a new bibliography and newsletter for members. He also believed that Wellington's citizens wanted to concentrate on immediate problems during "this imminent emergency". To Noeline he wrote,

I wish I could feel that conditions here in the next few months would permit of people studying what is to come after - instead of how they may save themselves alive now.

Robert Parker received his military call-up in May, although he was to carry on with some university teaching, and by April 1943 the Wellington group had virtually ceased to function.

As the movement faded in Wellington, it took root in Christchurch, again with the help of Noeline Baker. Christchurch had not formed a Post-War Reconstruction Study Group in 1941 but there was a continuing interest in the subject of peace. In a letter to Noeline, dated 5 November 1942, Caroline Webb wrote that the subject of reconstruction was becoming "increasingly important". She wanted to see a Canterbury or South Island organisation founded for the study of peace.

On 7 April 1943 a meeting was held in the Chamber of Commerce Hall, Christchurch, to discuss forming a society. Dr. J. Hight, of Canterbury University College, was chairman and speakers included Minnie Havelaar, Chairman of the committee for the Women's Active Services Club; Edward Hitchcock, General-Manager of the Municipal Electricity Department, Christchurch; H. Winston Rhodes, a leftist lecturer in English at Canterbury University College and John Roberts, President of the Canterbury Trades Council of the Federation of Labour.
Although the majority of those attending this public meeting abstained from voting, preferring to study the problems of reconstruction within existing organisations, a new society, the Canterbury Post-War Reconstruction Society was formed. A provisional committee included Dr. Hight, Edward Hitchcock and Tom K. Ewer. Noeline Baker, now living in Christchurch, became its secretary.

Membership of the Canterbury Post-War Reconstruction Society remained small (20 in May 1944) and few regular meetings were held but this Society maintained an inordinately high profile. For instance, when a Christchurch committee for Famine Relief in Europe was formed the Society was represented. It was also invited to send a delegate to a meeting to form a Regional Council of the Organization for National Development.

Throughout 1944 and to October 1945 the Canterbury Post-War Reconstruction Society produced a monthly newsletter, "Reconstruction". This included reports of international conferences and events, New Zealand's relationship with other countries and comments on government policy. Altogether the newsletters reflected an extraordinary breadth of interest in international and political affairs. Some events featured were the meetings between Roosevelt and Churchill in Quebec; Churchill, Eden, Harriman, Stalin and Molotov in Moscow and Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin in the Crimea. The establishment of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the Dumbarton Oaks proposal for a future post-war international organisation and the subsequent San Francisco conferences were reported, and the refusal of the allies to recognise General de Gaulle's French Provisional Government at Algiers. Affecting New Zealand, was the Canberra Pact and the New Zealand Australian Conference in 1944. There was also a visit to New Zealand by British farmers, with post-war plans for primary production in Great Britain and New Zealand. Another edition of "Reconstruction" had a report on "Education Reconstruction" in New Zealand. The August 1945 edition described the dropping of atomic bombs on Japan
followed by its unconditional surrender and in the following issue "the first month of peace". Altogether a much broader perspective than Noeline herself had of the subject, and indeed it is unlikely that she had any input into the Canterbury Post-War Reconstruction Society's newsletters.

Ill-health necessitated Noeline's return to Stewart Island in 1943 and she was not to go back to Christchurch until 1945, when "Reconstruction" noted that "Miss Noeline Baker - so closely identified with the founding of this Society ... will once again be giving us great help".61

Noeline had first come to Christchurch at the invitation of Minnie Havelaar. In 1942, feeling increasingly frustrated and isolated at Stewart Island, as daily appeals for women volunteers were being broadcast, she wrote offering her services.

I can't cook, I am too old (63) to do active land work, I can't drive a car, I am not a shorthand typist and I have never had nursing or first aid training. The only thing I am trained for is an organiser.62

An organiser was precisely what Minnie Havelaar had needed. She telegraphed Noeline and invited her to take charge of a club planned for servicewomen stationed in Christchurch.63 Although this was to be a full time job, Noeline accepted with alacrity.

Lady Newall, the wife of the Governor-General, had suggested setting up clubs for servicewomen in the main centres.64 In Christchurch, the commanding officers at Wigram and Harewood airfields were enthusiastic. Between 300 and 400 women were based at these airfields and needed the facility.65

A committee of prominent Christchurch women was formed, including Minnie Havelaar as chairman; the Mayoress, Miss Cousins; the wives of the Officers Commanding Wigram and Harewood airfields, Mrs. Hodson and Lady Clarke Hall and Mabel Howard M.P., the local President of the Women's War Services Auxiliary.66 With finance provided from the National Patriotic Fund, first floor rooms were obtained at 170 High Street.67 Lady Clarke Hall, Mrs. K. Robinson, representing the
Noeline Baker at the Women's Services Club,  
170 High Street, Christchurch.
Christchurch Old Girls' Associations, and Noeline took charge of the renovation, redecorating and furnishing of these. Lady Newall donated a piano. The Christchurch Women's Active Service Club, the first of its kind in New Zealand, opened on 14 May 1942.

Club facilities included a rest room, a writing room and social room, where members could bring their men friends. Hours were from 10am to 10pm. Morning tea, lunch and an evening meal were served. At first, the cooking was done by voluntary workers, including members of the Canterbury Women's Club, the Travel Club and Women's Home and Economics. In July the committee engaged a full time cook-housekeeper. At the end of the first year, the club had 850 members from the W.A.A.F., A.T.S., Army Nursing Sisters, V.A.D., W.A.A.C., W.R.N.Z.N.S. and St. John's Ambulance. By May 1944 there were 1200 members.

Noeline became absorbed in yet another new challenge. It was due to her efficient organising and hard work that the Women's Active Service Club became an immediate and ongoing success. She was also popular with the young servicewomen. Mary Wigley sums it up in an article on the Club, published in the New Zealand Women's Weekly, 7 January 1943. She wrote, "Noeline Baker - honorary secretary - a lady who combines the maximum of efficiency with the kindest of hearts".

In August 1943, Noeline was admitted to St. George's Hospital, Christchurch. A respiratory infection had caused heart complications. Noeline's doctor advised her to give up her work. The Women's Active Service Club's committee refused to accept her resignation and was prepaired to grant whatever sick leave she required because "we owe you so much". Noeline decided to return to Stewart Island. A farewell party was arranged for her and Minnie Havelaar expressed the thoughts of everyone when she wrote, "You know that you have made the Club ...".

Noeline took almost a year to recover and when she returned to Christchurch in 1945, the war with Germany was nearly over. By 25 April, the Russians surrounded Berlin and
five days later Hitler committed suicide. An unconditional surrender followed in May. 77

By August 1945 the war in the Pacific was over too. 78

Noeline's war work was finished. After exhausting herself in England and endangering her health in Christchurch, Noeline retired again to Stewart Island to begin the restoration of her garden and the expansion of the botanical collection. She wanted to make Moturai Moana a place which would attract eminent scientists and post-graduate university students.
1. **Dominion**, 1 July, 5 July 1941, H.L., M.I., 619/C.


   "Kristallnacht" 9-10 November 1938.


4. N. Baker to Professor Percival, 10 April 1939, University of Canterbury archives.


7. Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries to N. Baker, 12 October 1939, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

   The British declaration of war with Germany was made on 3 September 1939.

8. N. Baker to J.A. Sutherland-Harris, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, 21 October 1939, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

9. J.A. Sutherland-Harris to N. Baker, 1 December 1939, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

10. Lady Denman to N. Baker, 24 October 1939, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

11. J.A. Sutherland-Harris to N. Baker, 1 December 1939.

    Robert Bray to N. Baker, 20 December 1939, H.L., M.I., 619/A.

12. Frances Maidlow to N. Baker, 10 March 1940, H.L., M.I., +619/A.

13. N. Baker to Dorothy Menzies, 12 December 1939, Dorothy Menzies, Menzies Bay, Banks Peninsula.


    See also Woolf, *Downhill All the Way*, p.240.


    Norman Angell (1873-1967).

*For What Do We Fight?* was not available on interloan, but its contents are discussed by Sir Norman Angell in his autobiography, *After All*.

18. N. Baker to Sir Norman Angell, 19 February 1940, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

19. Sir Norman Angell to N. Baker, 12 April 1940, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

20. N. Baker to Mrs. (later Dame) Elizabeth Knox Gilmer, no date, H.L., M.I., 619/C.


22. N. Baker to Sir Norman Angell, 14 August 1940, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

23. N. Baker to Leicester Webb, no date, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

John Moffett's grandmother, a Mathias was John Baker's first cousin.

K. Cameron was Chairman of the Invercargill branch of the League of Nations Union.

24. N. Baker to Hon. W. Downie Stewart, no date, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

25. N. Baker to Leicester Webb, no date, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

26. N. Baker's speech notes, H.L., M.I., 619/C. Other speakers at the Stewart Island public meeting were S. Morrison and F. Cameron.

27. N. Baker to Hon. W. Downie Stewart, no date, H.L., M.I., 619/C.


By January 1941 some Christian pacifists had been sent to prison for "obstruction" and their public meetings disrupted by disorder-makers, usually soldiers looking for excitement.

30. N. Baker to Hon. W. Downie Stewart, 4 March 1941, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

Viscount Samuel had written this as an introduction to a "Chatham House" pamphlet.

31. Gordon H. Mirams, a journalist, was the chairman of the New Zealand Peace Pledge Union. In a letter to Noeline Baker, (no date) he listed names and addresses of some Christchurch people who could be interested in post-war reconstruction, H.L., M.I., 619/C.


34. Dominion, 5 July 1941.


36. Dominion, 1 July 1941.

37. Ibid.


Robert S. Parker, a lecturer at Victoria University College, was appointed Professor of Political Science and Public Administration there from 1948 to 1953 and then Professor of Political Science, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra.

39. Dominion, 1 July, 5 July 1941.

40. New Zealand Listener, 18 July 1941, p.42, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

41. Daphne Chapman, secretary Business and Professional Women's Club, to Robert S. Parker, 28 July 1941, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

42. Brian Dunningham to N. Baker, 12 August 1941, H.L., M.I., 619/C.
43. John A. Brailsford, University of Otago, to N. Baker, 3 June 1941 and 27 June 1941, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

Lecture 1,
Willis Airey, M.A. (Auckland University College), "Crisis in Civilisation".

Lectures 2 and 3,
S. Leathem, M.A., "Changing Economic Modes in the Modern World".
"The Impact of Economic Change on Human Relationships".

Lecture 4,
Professor H. Belshaw (Auckland University College), "Population Changes".

Lecture 5,
John A. Brailsford, B.A., (Otago W.E.A.), "Race".

Lecture 6,
Professor Julius Stone, LL.M., S.J.D., D.C.L., (Auckland University College), "The State and Nationalism".

Lecture 7,
Professor Leslie Lipson (Victoria University College), "The Modern State".

Lecture 8,
E.A. Olssen, B.A. (Auckland W.E.A.) and Professor Julius Stone, "The Rise of Fascism".

Lecture 9,
John A. Brailsford, "The Question of Responsibility".

Lecture 10,
Professor Julius Stone, "The Federalist Approach".

Lecture 11,
Willis Airey, "The Socialist Approach to World Order".

Lecture 12,
"The Liberal Democratic Approach", Part I, Professor Julius Stone, mainly political.
Part II, Professor H. Belshaw, mainly economic.
H.L., M.I., 619/C.

44. Post-War Reconstruction Study Group, Wellington, Newsletter No.2, November 1941, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

45. N. Baker's speech notes, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

46. R. Parker to N. Baker, 22 November 1941. See also book lists, H.L., M.I., 619/C.
About eighty attended this meeting. Twenty voted to form a Post-War Reconstruction Society, five were against and the remainder abstained from voting.

"Reconstruction", February 1944, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

"Reconstruction", March 1945.


"Reconstruction", February 1944, December 1944.

"Reconstruction", January 1945.

"Reconstruction", September 1944.

"Reconstruction", April 1945.

N. Baker to Minnie Havelaar, 9 March 1942, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

M. Havelaar to N. Baker, 17 March 1942, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

Christchurch Star Sun, 13 May 1942, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

66. Ibid.

67. Christchurch Star Sun, 13 May 1942.

68. Press, 27 May 1942.


70. Ibid.

71. Ibid.

72. Women's Active Services Club, Second Annual Report, 9 May 1943 - 6 May 1944, H.L., M.I., 619/C.


74. Women's Active Services Club, Second Annual Report.

75. Minnie Havelaar to N. Baker, 21 September 1943, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

76. Minnie Havelaar to N. Baker, 19 October 1943, H.L., M.I., 619/C.

77. D. Thomson, Europe Since Napoleon, p.787.

78. Ibid, p.804.
CHAPTER 9

MOTURAU MOANA

When Noeline informed Dr. Benson that she would add a codicil to her will bequeathing Moturau Moana to the University of Otago, she had envisaged it becoming a centre for scientific research. By 1940, she wanted a research centre established at Moturau Moana before her death, not afterwards, but the reality of her vision was elusive. First, because the universities of Otago and Canterbury both refused to accept her gift without an endowment and then because of the procrastination of government officials.

After the disappointment of failing to cope with Women's Land Army work in England, Noeline met another disappointment on her return to New Zealand. Moturau Moana, she was told, was unacceptable to Canterbury University College without an endowment, to cover the costs of upkeep and maintenance. Almost immediately, she wrote to the Minister of Internal Affairs, W.E. Parry, and offered to give Moturau Moana to the New Zealand Government for use as a biological station, but with the proviso she could live there for as long as she wished.

Surprised by the offer of this somewhat novel gift, the Government requested reports from its officers, which roused some controversy. The Conservator of Forests, J.F. Field, agreed that the establishment of a "Forest Research Biological Station" was important for New Zealand. Commenting on the Stewart Island location for the station he wrote,

Bird life under natural conditions could be studied in its relation to the almost undisturbed indigenous forest. Pests such as stoats, weasels and owls not having yet been introduced and rabbits and hares absent.

Field also believed the almost primeval state of the forest could be compared to the mainland forest, to determine the effects of grazing and browsing animals on the latter. He
thought Noeline's offer "might be accepted" for the establishment of such a station.

In a second report, however, Field changed his viewpoint completely. He had received more information from Roy Traill, the Department's forest ranger on Stewart Island. Virginia deer were present in considerable numbers and, due to less trapping, oppossum numbers were increasing. Because these introduced animals had modified the island's forest it would not after all be a suitable standard against which mainland forest could be measured. Field mentioned in this report, Noeline retaining the right to occupy the residence. The State would have to maintain the house, but could not use it. He now recommended the offer should be declined.

The Under-Secretary to the Director of Forestry also recommended Noeline's offer should be declined. He believed no really good case "except a sentimental one" could be made for such an establishment. The after-maintenance and administration of a Stewart Island station would become a problem for the Department.

On the other hand, the Under-Secretary for Lands was keen for the larger, bush-covered area, across the road from the residence to be transferred to the Crown. Although he mentioned the "perfect order" of the gardens and the "splendid collection" of native and exotic plants, it was the virgin bush, a particularly fine stand of rimu and some very old second growth which interested him. He recommended the Government should accept only the bush area for a reservation under the Scenery Preservation Act.

For reasons unknown, the Minister of Lands, Hon. Frank Langstone, chose to ignore the advice of his officials. He accepted Noeline's offer in the same spirit as actuated you in making the offer, that is to preserve for all time the beautiful native bush which is growing on this land.

The Minister also suggested the area should be named "Noeline Baker Park", that the larger bush-covered area be designated a
scenic reserve and the house and its section remain Crown Land. This was necessary because no dwelling could remain in a park or reserve whereas such an objection did not arise in relation to Crown Land. These arrangements were subject to Noeline's right to reside at Moturau Moana for as long as she wished. The Deed of Gift was signed on 29 October 1940. It included the land, house, its furniture and accessories. The bush-covered section of 32 acres became a scenic reserve on 21 December 1940 (Baker Park Scenic Reserve).

Because of the disruption of the war, the garden received the minimum amount of maintenance between 1941 and 1944. Gradually, as Noeline's health improved in 1944, she became preoccupied with the garden again. There was a backlog of work and hired help was difficult to obtain. A number of Stewart Island men had joined the Armed Services, including Norman Jensen, Noeline's former gardener-handyman. Others were fully occupied in the local fishing industry. Noeline applied to the District Man-Power Officer at Invercargill for assistance but finding suitable people for work in the garden remained a problem for several years.

In spite of the problems, Noeline continued to add botanical specimens to her collection. For instance, in January 1942 Lloyd Woods, Southland District Officer for the Department of Internal Affairs, collected alpine plants for her from the Routeburn area. These included Ourisia sessilifolia, two Ranunculi (thought to be the rare Traversii and rarer Matthewsii) found growing at 5000 feet, a Raouilia from about 6000 feet, several high altitude Celmisia and a Senecio. During the summer of 1947-48, Olive Allan, Dr. Averil Lysaght, Sheila Traill and Eileen Willa collected on Stewart Island for Noeline. The Rakeahua "storm" outing was partly to search for Ourisia modesta. On this occasion, Noeline, Averil and Sheila found small plants growing on the riverbank but had difficulty distinguishing these from Brachycome thomsonii, variety minima. In 1948, after the Minister of Lands, C.F. Skinner, had stayed as Noeline's guest at Moturau Moana, he sent a gift of kauri trees for the garden.
Even after Noeline handed the house and garden over to the Government in 1948, she continued to work in the garden. Sheila Traill was employed to help with getting the rock garden in order. Noeline also sent an expedition to Mt. Anglem to collect more alpine plants and Roy Traill, Sheila Traill and Cadia Russell collected alpines from Table Hill. After planting, all botanical specimens were labelled with green labels for plants from Stewart Island and green and white ones for New Zealand natives collected elsewhere.

As early as 1942, Noeline had offered to vacate the house if it could be used for sick or injured soldiers. At the time, hospitals in Rotorua and at Hamner Springs were used for this purpose. Her offer was declined. Then, in February 1946 she wrote to the Minister of Lands. She wanted to go to England the following January but due to post-war travel restrictions could only obtain the necessary travel permit if she remained there for two years. Recently, when she was away in Christchurch, plants had been stolen from the garden. It therefore worried her to leave Moturau Moana unoccupied for two years. She thought the time had "almost come" for her to hand the property over to the Government. Her plans were changed when Dr. Averil Lysaght came out from England and stayed with Noeline for the 1947-48 summer. By May 1948, when Skinner visited Moturau Moana, she had decided to hand the property over at the end of the year.

On Tuesday 7 December 1948, in the garden in brilliant sunshine, Noeline formally presented Skinner with the keys to the house. Many Stewart Islanders and Government officials attended this ceremony. After Noeline had thanked all who had helped over many years she said,

Although there is some pain in giving up my home there is also pleasure in the knowledge that the residence will be used for scientific work that will be for the good of New Zealand and the training of young men in the care of our forest and birds.

Referring to her father, John Baker, she said,
I also make the gift proudly in memory of my father, who made the first survey of Stewart Island; for which he had a real love.

In his reply, the Minister of Lands expressed the Government's appreciation of the "great value" of Noeline's gift and gave his assurances that the property should be put to good use. From a botanical point of view alone, he thought it was "ideal for studies of that science".  

The New Zealand National Film Unit had travelled with the Minister to Stewart Island. Their film, released on 7 January 1949 and sub-titled "Gift to Nation", would be seen at picture theatres throughout the country in *Weekly Review* (number 383). It featured Moturau Moana and Noeline. The commentator said the residence would be used by forestry and botany students as a base for their studies of bird and plant life on Stewart Island. He said "The furthering of knowledge of this country's natural history will be greatly assisted by Miss Baker's generous and gracious gift".  

With the help of the Minister of Lands, Noeline booked her passage to England and in May 1949 left from Wellington on the *Mataroa*.  

First, Noeline stayed with Lady Chance at Legh Manor, Cuckfield. It is probable Lady Chance was ill at this time. She died while Noeline was in England.  

For Noeline, one of the highlights of her visit was meeting her American "cousins" in London. Both Katharine Douglas Schuring and Charlie Douglas were visiting England with their respective spouses and Charlie's daughter, Sunny. Sunny Douglas Wales has described a day she spent with Noeline sightseeing in London. First, they went to Westminster Abbey and "walked over Samuel Johnson and a few others", had a "wonderful lunch" at Simpsons in the Strand, then to St. Paul's Cathedral where Sunny climbed the "375 or so" steps up the dome. They also went to St. Bartholemew's the Great because Noeline was trying to "educate" Sunny, a student at Radcliffe, in "the finer things" and wanted her to see the three distinctive styles of architecture used for these churches.
Then, "completely covered with sanctity", they went to see the Wallace Collection and spent most of the time looking at the works of Dutch painters. Finally, they had tea at Debenhan and Freebody's. Sunny described Noeline as being "wonderful fun". Nor had she ever seen "Daddy" in such good spirits. 27 This meeting in London marked the beginning of a warm friendship between the 71 year old Noeline and this young American woman. 28

During her visit to England, Noeline also collected information about her grandfather, Richard Strachey, for Charles R. Sanders, professor of English at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, who was writing a book on the Strachey family. 29 Noeline's research led to the discovery of her grandfather's letters and journals, bound in four volumes. She deposited these for safekeeping with Lord Strachie at Sutton Court, where other family records were kept.

On 24 August 1950, Noeline left Southampton on board R.M.M.V. Winchester Castle, bound for Capetown. 30 There she visited another Strachey cousin, Dorothea St. Leger. While staying in the Cape area, Noeline went to see some of the old, picturesque, colonial homesteads including Groot Constantia. This seventeenth century house, the great homestead of the Cape of Good Hope, had been owned originally by Simon van der Stel, a governor of the colony. With its simple lines, quaint plaster-moulded gables and chimneys it was an excellent example of the beautiful homesteads which are peculiar to the country and the inspiration for the house Noeline had built at Stewart Island. 31

While in England, Noeline learned she had been awarded the Loder Cup, the highest New Zealand recognition for conservation. The cup was offered to lovers of Nature in New Zealand to encourage the protection and cultivation of the incomparable Flora of the Dominion. 32

The Loder Cup had been donated by Gerald W. Loder (later Lord Wakehurst) who visited New Zealand at the end of last
century. He was impressed with the country's "incomparable" flora and became an ardent collector of New Zealand native plants and shrubs for his garden in Sussex. Some years after his visit, he donated a cup, to be awarded annually by a Loder Cup Committee, chaired by The Minister of Agriculture. 33

In 1949, the Council and Professorial Board of the University of Otago, the Otago branch of the Royal Society of New Zealand and the Otago District Council of the Royal New Zealand Institute of Horticulture nominated Noeline for the award. 34 In a statement in support of their nomination the Registrar of the University of Otago wrote,

... she has long been an ardent student of Stewart Island botany, and through her collections and personal enthusiasm has stimulated many others. Secondly, through a gift of a capital value of several thousand pounds she has established a botanical research centre at present unique and undoubtedly destined to become famous. 35

Noeline was the twentieth person or organisation to whom the Loder Cup had been awarded and the third woman. Botanist, Lucy M. Cranwell received the award in 1937, in association with the Auckland Institute and Museum, and Mrs. Knox (later Dame Elizabeth) Gilmer of Wellington the following year. One of the instigators of Arbor Day, she was also, like Noeline, the creator of a fine botanical garden. 36

When Noeline arrived back in 1950, it was too late for her to receive the Loder Cup. Instead a commemorative certificate was presented to her by Professor Baylis, the President of the Otago Branch of the Royal Society at a function held at the Otago Museum on 4 December 1950. Members of the Science Faculty at the University of Otago, the Otago Branch of the Royal Society, the Royal New Zealand Institute of Horticulture and the scientific staff of the Royal Research Ship, Discovery II attended the presentation. 37 In his presentation speech, Professor Baylis explained the Loder Cup was given annually to the person making the greatest contribution to the knowledge of the native flora of New Zealand. He said Noeline's claims to this cup were very strong indeed. At Stewart Island she had
established a large botanic garden and reserve. She had also
given her "Dutch-colonial type" house with its fine library to
the nation. "It was the most unique gift to learning in New
Zealand".38

Professor Baylis recalls Noeline telling him that after
the Minister of Agriculture, Keith (later Sir Keith) Holyoake,
announced she was the Loder Cup Committee's choice for 1949, a
friend sent her a newspaper clipping with the headline,
"Noeline Baker Wins Loder Cup". She thought a horse had been
named after her and it was the winner of an important race.39

When Noeline returned to Stewart Island her first priority
was to build a house for herself. She had brought back plans
for a cottage, drawn by English architect, Clough (later Sir
Clough) Williams-Ellis. This was to be erected on a headland
she owned above Bathing Beach, Halfmoon Bay.40

During 1948 Clough Williams-Ellis and his wife Amabel,
born Strachey, had been Noeline's guests at Moturau Moana.41
An architect, town planner and conservationist, Clough Williams-
Ellis was keenly interested in the pisé de terre (rammed earth)
method of building. At Newlands Corner, near Guildford, he had
built a small holder's house, using earth, to demonstrate its
suitability as a building material, during a time when Great
Britain faced a housing crisis and a chronic shortage of
building materials.42 He had written books on the pisé de
terre method and in 1947, the year before his visit to Stewart
Island, one of these, Building in Cob, Pisé and Stabilized
Earth, was revised and republished.43

Noeline became interested in the pisé de terre method of
building. It is not known if she visited Clough Williams-
Ellis's demonstration house, near Guildford, but she had seen
other houses made from earth during her travels, including the
beautiful old homesteads of the Cape of Good Hope in South
Africa.44 There was also Ray Strachey's Mud House, "Mud" to
the family, a Sussex-thatched Fernhurst cottage on Friday's
Hill. Ray had launched "Women Builders" to construct pisé de
terre houses but the venture foundered on bricklayers'
hostility and a scarcity of suitable clay, leaving Mud as its
memorial. Could this pisé de terre method be used at Stewart Island? Noeline began her experiments in 1949, after the Stewart Island County Council granted her a permit to build a pisé de terre shed on her Bathing Beach land.

Clough Williams-Ellis had drawn plans for a parlour cottage, built in pisé de terre. His design was well-suited for pisé construction, whereby the earth walls were limited to one storey in height, with a second storey incorporated in the roof. Noeline engaged an Invercargill builder, but his attempts to build walls using this rammed earth method failed. The plans for the cottage were revised by an Invercargill architect and wood replaced earth for the exterior walls. It was an expensive experiment for Noeline, her new cottage cost twice as much as originally estimated.

At "The Cottage", Noeline created another beautiful garden. In this she planted native species, exotics and flowers and tended these "with understanding and care".

In 1956 Noeline planted a seedling metasequoia, given to her by Mr. Gilpin, the Director of the Christchurch Botanical Gardens. Related to the redwood of North America, the metasequoia was thought to have been extinct for millions of years and was only known from fossils. Then, a live tree was found in a remote part of North China. Its seed was collected and sent to various botanical gardens around the world, including the Christchurch Botanical Gardens. Seeds from the first crop of metasequoias grown in Christchurch were collected and Noeline's seedling tree had grown from one of these.

When 73 years old, Noeline decided she needed to spend the winters in a warmer place and purchased a large wooden villa at 27 Victoria Road, Nelson. Built around 1904, it was on a hill overlooking the sea and with a wonderful view of Tasman Bay, Hauleshore Island and, beyond the bay, to the mountains. It also had an extensive, terraced, hillside garden containing huge rhododendrons, camellias and native trees. Noeline had the house converted into two self-contained flats. She planned to live in one for the winter months of each year and lease the other. Much to her dismay, alterations and repairs cost four
The Loder Cup Committee,
Royal N.Z. Institute of Horticulture, Lincoln College.

The Loder Cup.
The Cottage,
Noeline Baker's Stewart Island residence from 1953.
Maida Barlow, Invercargill.

Noeline Baker at Stewart Island.
times the original estimate. 52

Perhaps the cost overruns for The Cottage and 27 Victoria Road explain why Noeline sold Monks Path, her Guildford house, in 1953. 53 She was experiencing financial hardship, because in a letter to her friend Dorothy Menzies she explained she could not afford Christmas gifts for Christmas 1952, nor was she able to buy books or new clothes. 54

From 1949, the sorry role of the Government in the administration of Moturau Moana, is one of non-use and misuse. In spite of Skinner's assurances, when he accepted the keys of the house from Noeline, the Government had made no plans for the use of Moturau Moana. In July 1948 the Director of the Cawthron Institute, a Nelson organisation doing scientific research, had recommended a scheme whereby the property could be used for the study of New Zealand plants in association with the Department of Botany at the University of Otago. 55 The Minister of Education, T.H. McCombs, wrote to the Registrar to ask if the Council would be interested in sharing in the use of the property or in taking full responsibility for it "should the Government consider this desirable". Council members were warned, however, they could not expect a special financial grant from Government for the annual care and maintenance expenses. 56

Heads of the University of Otago's Departments of Botany and Zoology were asked by the Registrar to report on the Minister's letter. The Senior Lecturer in botany, Dr. G.T.S. Baylis, recommended careful consideration of the proposal. His twenty to thirty senior and honours students needed to spend two weeks at a suitably placed field station. Research work and collecting botanical specimens for classes could also be carried out from such a station. Dr. Baylis wrote that botanical interest in Stewart Island was "great" and a field station there "must ultimately become a place of real importance". 57 Professor B.J. Marples of the Department of Zoology considered the property was too far from Dunedin, although it would be excellent for occasional visits by students and research workers. He thought Moturau Moana would
be ideal "in every way" for an institution similar to those established in England by the Council for the Promotion of Field Studies. Such an institution would also be useful to the University.58

At their meeting on 23 November 1948, the University of Otago's Council decided

... on the grounds of finance, that it was unable to accept the full liability for the maintenance of this property, but that if it were possible for the Government to acquire it the Council would be interested in using the facilities provided by it, for field work in Botany and Zoology.59

The Minister promised to bear this in mind when a decision was made concerning the disposal of the property. He hoped it would be possible for students to visit Stewart Island for field work.60

Meanwhile, Harold McAuley was appointed the first resident caretaker-gardener of Moturau Moana by the Department of Internal Affairs. He took up the position on 7 April 1949, for a wage of six pounds, seven shillings and sixpence per week.61 One government official described McAuley as a "rare kind of individual" who combined many qualities of both sexes. He was a professional gardener, an excellent cook, a quiet but interesting and efficient host and an artist.62

About a month after McAuley took up residence at Moturau Moana, the Department of Internal Affairs permitted him to open the house and grounds to visitors on Sundays and Wednesdays from 2.15pm to 4pm.63 Gertrude Dempsey, who visited Moturau Moana as a visitor, wrote,

Like worshippers at a Moslem shrine we removed our shoes in the sun-porch and after we admired a collection of sea shells our party, which had grown by twos and threes and now numbered about a dozen people, followed our guide round such rooms of the house as were open for inspection.64

McAuley, in his September report to the Department of Internal Affairs, mentioned these visits were proving "very successful".65 By February 1950, about fifty people a week
were coming. Nevertheless, Stewart Island residents and some
government officials were concerned. This was not the purpose
for which Noeline had given her property to the nation.66

Department of Internal Affairs official, John Williamson,
urged the Department to make an immediate decision about the
use of the property. He reported the growing dissatisfaction
among Stewart Island residents and other interested people.
Noeline was due back from England and he thought it would be a
"cold reception to her generosity". McAuley was also tiring of
being at Moturau Moana on his own. The property had been given
for research and Williamson believed it should be used for this
purpose. He suggested university and teachers' college
students, pupils at secondary schools and scientists could stay
there.67

Two separate parties from the University of Otago did stay
during Easter 1950 and Stewart Island residents with a
knowledge of botany assisted them during their visit.68
Nevertheless, no permanent use was found for the property.

Meanwhile, McAuley wanted to make changes in the garden.
He asked if he could remove the two upper sets of punga steps
which were set into the lawn that sloped down from the back of
the house. Noeline was horrified to learn this. She believed
it would "destroy the chief charm of the garden".69 She sent
letters from garden architect, Mary Lysaght, and architect,
Clough Williams-Ellis to Harper, Department of Internal
Affairs. Mary Lysaght described the steps as a feature
recurring through the garden plan and giving it "unity".70
Clough Williams-Ellis also emphasised the unity. If the steps
were removed, the unity of the garden would be destroyed, "its
back broken".71

McAuley made no changes, but commenting on Noeline's
reaction to his proposal he wrote,

According to her, all the crowned heads of Europe
uphold her ideas so who am I to pit my puny know­
ledge against theirs.72

By April 1950, McAuley had had enough and resigned.
Although the Department of Internal Affairs offered to increase his salary, he would not change his mind. Harry Farnell was employed as caretaker until a permanent arrangement could be made.

Fred Nicholls and his wife, Pat, replaced McAuley at Moturau Moana. Fred Nicholls had had a varied career. After leaving school at thirteen, he worked in a plant nursery. He had also been a grape-grower, a luxury launch and racehorse owner, a "professional" hypnotist and the guard of Count von Luckner, when the Count was interred in New Zealand.

Noeline had created a unique botanical garden at Moturau Moana, but government officials undervalued its distinctiveness and importance. For instance, neither resident-caretaker appointed had any special knowledge of or an interest in New Zealand botany. McAuley was allowed, to order trees and shrubs to provide more colour. One government official thought a botanist would not mind the lack of colour but the casual visitor missed this. Because Moturau Moana had become "quite a tourist attraction on the Island", it was a good idea to continue the policy of "beautifying the grounds".

During his stay, Nicholls destroyed Noeline's rock garden. This had contained her collection of rare alpine plants, gathered over a fifteen year period from the Island's alpine meadows. Because some of these were not growing, Nicholls dug up the greater part of the rock garden, threw away the plants and replaced these with bedding "gazoneas splendens". When Noeline discovered this, she was heartbroken. In a letter to Charlie Douglas in America she wrote,

I did not know whether to laugh or cry, but felt very like doing the latter. The man is an ex-nursery gardener accustomed to planting things in rows and he is keeping the place spic and span and is well meaning, but oh such a fool.

Fred and Pat Nicholls remained at Moturau Moana for six years. During this period, visitors continued to come. From 1951 they were also provided with afternoon tea for 1/-.

A few people were permitted to stay in the house, including another
party from the University of Otago. The historian Dr. Basil Howard brought visiting Scot and notable writer, Eric Linklater, and eleven geography students came from St. Margaret's College, Christchurch. There were also two vice-regal visits. Sir Bernard and Lady Freyberg met Noeline there in 1951 and Sir Willoughby Norrie and his daughters Patricia, Rosemary and Sarah came in 1954.78

J. Malcolm, in his report to the Department of Internal Affairs, 18 May 1954, mentioned the Nichollses were unhappy. They felt the Government no longer cared about the place; there was "Miss Baker's attitude"; they were concerned the hall floor would collapse under the weight of the visitors; the general failure of the Internal Affairs Department to effect replacements and make improvements and their "feeling of shame" over the shabiness of furnishings and mats.79

Malcolm noted there was "an inescapable feeling of coldness about the rooms" which had nothing to do with temperature. Even Sacred and Profane Love in an upstairs bedroom had a "frigid quality about it".

During Malcolm's visit to Stewart Island, he also visited Noeline at her cottage. In his report, he described her as a woman of great intelligence with "a rapier like mind". She had asked him where the distinguished men of science were. Was her gift of any value? She also made an "attack" on Nicholls and his alleged drinking and mentioned the destruction of the rock garden.

Commenting on Noeline's outburst, Malcolm thought it was never anticipated she would return to Stewart Island to live. Because she lived nearby Moturau Moana, she had become preoccupied with the "abuse of it by the Government and its servants". Malcolm recommended an active effort be made to give it publicity in the right quarters "to what is without a doubt a valuable asset in a part of New Zealand that offers great scope to the scientist".80

Circulars were sent out to members of the Royal Society and other "learned organisations" requesting help in achieving a wider and more purposeful use of the property.81 There was
practically no response and Moturau Moana remained a tourist attraction.

By February 1956, the Under-Secretary and Assistant-Secretary of Internal Affairs had their own agenda for Moturau Moana. First, Harper wrote to Nicholls to ask if he would be interested in the caretakership of Pompallier House, Russell. This letter was followed by a visit to Moturau Moana by the Assistant-Secretary, J. Meech. He reported to Harper that Nicholls and his wife were interested in the position at Pompallier House and recommended they be offered a transfer. Moturau Moana could be returned to Noeline or closed in the meantime.

Although Harper and Meech had engineered the transfer of the Nichollses, they reported the "resignation" of the caretaker to the Minister of Internal Affairs, which had necessitated the closing down of the property for the winter months. They were also investigating the possibility of it being taken over by another government department.

Alarmed about these events, Dr. Averil Lysaght and Sheila Natusch (née Traill) launched their own publicity campaign. A booklet, written and illustrated by Sheila and financed by Averil, was printed. Titled Moturau Moana, it contained descriptions of the botany, zoology and geology of Stewart Island. It also explained the property was in danger of being closed down, because not enough people were using it for scientific purposes. "This is to remind you of its existence and purpose before it is too late. It may be too late now". Copies were sent to government departments, schools, libraries, botanical societies museums, teachers' colleges, universities, artists and interested individuals.

There was a positive response to Moturau Moana. Noeline thought it excellent and was grateful to Sheila and Averil for producing it. The New Zealand Federation of University Women published its contents in their Dominion Executive minutes, which were sent to all branches of the organisation. Letters were sent by readers to the Department of Internal Affairs. For instance Dr. Greta B. Cone, Cawthron Institute, Nelson;
J.G. Pendergast, lecturer in zoology at Auckland University College; and J.L. Cameron, Senior Inspector of Post-Primary Schools. Others wrote to Sheila Natusch. Walter Buckland bemoaned the fact that few of these national possessions were valued and cared for by the public. "When you see how the countryside and national parks are treated you wonder if anyone cares about these things." The Director of the Portobello Marine Biological Station, Dr. Elizabeth Batham, wrote,

Our values have not yet matured to the point where money can be thus spent without obvious and rapid returns. It is a pity, I know, and one hopes better attitudes lie ahead.

Noeline's friends were too late with their publicity campaign. The Department of Internal Affairs had already arranged for the New Zealand Forest Service to take over Moturau Moana and use the house as a residence for a Forest Ranger. The appointee would attend to forest duties, including fire control and forest survey work. Visiting research workers would be able to stay in the house and it was also hoped the Service's own research workers could operate from this centre. Noeline was satisfied with these new arrangements.

By this time Noeline's health was beginning to fail. In 1957 she made her last visit to her relations and friends in England, sailing from Wellington at the end of April. Then, in 1958, she decided to give up The Cottage and live permanently in Nelson. She could not bear to leave Stewart Island without making one more visit. On her way south, from Nelson, she became ill and spent two weeks in an Invercargill hospital. Afterwards, she crossed to Stewart Island as planned, but died at The Cottage on 25 August 1958.

Maida Barlow attended Noeline's funeral service, held at 9am. on 28 August in the chapel of Invercargill Funeral Director, J. Fraser and Sons. She describes this as a "chillingly impersonal service" attended by about a dozen mourners. Maida knew of Noeline's early adventures, when she rode on horseback accompanying John Baker on long New Zealand journeys; her wartime effort with the Women's Land Army in
England, for which she was awarded the M.B.E.; her meticulous work as an amateur botanist; her love of Stewart Island and her gift of Moturau Moana to the New Zealand Government.

Nothing was said of these things at her bitter little service... I have since regretted that I had not the confidence to warm that chilly atmosphere with some tribute to this bright-eyed, interesting little woman.95

Nevertheless, tributes were paid to Noeline. The Minister of Lands, C.F. Skinner, expressed his "sincere regret" and recalled the occasion when Noeline had given him the keys of Morurau Moana. He continued,

I am proud of the fact that I was enabled to officiate on that occasion and to express on behalf of the Government and people of New Zealand our warmest appreciation of the value of Miss Baker's gift...96

The Minister of Forests, Eruera (later Sir Eruera) Tirikatene, was also "saddened" to learn of Noeline's death. He said,

Miss Baker's love for the natural history of the island, its flora and fauna, had been amply expressed in her generous gift of the property "Moturau Moana" to the crown in 1940.97

He believed the Government and people of New Zealand were indebted to Noeline for her gift and for all the hours of study and work she had devoted to the establishment and improvement of the house and garden.

Later, Noeline's closest friends took her ashes back to her "beloved island". These were scattered on the stretch of water which could be seen from Moturau Moana and The Cottage, her two Stewart Island homes.98

The New Zealand Forest Service's Stewart Island ranger, Micheal Macarthur, was living at Moturau Moana when the house caught fire on 23 May 1967. Macarthur, a former rubber planter in Malaya, had occupied the house for several years. Although his wife received severe burns, the Macarthurs escaped to
safety but the house and all its valuable contents were destroyed in the fire.99

The house was never replaced, but the New Zealand Forest Service tried to make amends by developing an arboretum and picnic area which visitors could enjoy. Some of Stewart Island's native flora is grown there in habitat groupings. The western lower lawn has English trees, spring flowers, primroses and holly in memory of Noeline. It is a garden where rangers teach school children who visit Stewart Island, or where adults can learn about the native flora. It is also a social garden; a popular venue for weddings and for overseas tour group lunches.100

Hugh Wilson, who conducted a botanical survey of Stewart Island between 1978 and 1983, describes Moturau Moana as a "very attractive little botanical garden". It does not contain all the plants as listed by Leonard Cockayne. Only a dedicated enthusiast like Noeline would have the resources and the passion to achieve this. Nevertheless, it is important because Stewart Island is special in many ways from a botanical point of view.101

Peter Johnson, a botanist with the D.S.I.R. in Dunedin, has also described Moturau Moana as a significant botanical garden "where native bush and lawns and flowers blend in a uniquely southern mixture". It has retained its shapes and layouts, its planted shrubs and trees "and of course the towering crowns of rimu trees that have been there all along".102

Noeline realised the need for the study and conservation of Stewart Island's flora and fauna. The gifting of Moturau Moana to the Government was evidence of her commitment to these things. Unfortunately, the Government and its officials did not share her vision. In 1957 Dr. Greta Cone of the Cawthron Institute in Nelson told Noeline not to despair, a better time would come for scientific research.103 Noeline did not live to see a "better time" and her house was destroyed before the New Zealand Forest Service and then the Department of Conservation recognised the need for a field station on Stewart Island. Her
vision that Moturai Moana should become a centre for scientific research was never fulfilled. It would not have been much comfort to her that the botanical garden she created has survived in part and is an attraction in its own right as New Zealand's southernmost public garden.
1. See p.159.

2. Registrar, Canterbury University College to N. Baker, 16 May 1940.

3. N. Baker to W.E. Parry 24 May 1940, National Archives (N.A.), F.1, 9/7/30.

4. Memorandum, J.F. Field to the Director of State Forest Service, 13 June 1940, N.A., F.1, 9/7/30.

5. Memorandum, J.F. Field to the Director of State Forest Service, 5 August 1940, N.A., Fl, 9/7/30.

6. Memorandum, Alen R. Entrican, Under-Secretary to the Director of Forestry to the Hon. Commissioner of State Forests, 13 September 1940, N.A., F.1, 9/7/30.


13. Olive Allan lived at Stewart Island during the 1940's and collected spiders for Dr. R. Forster, Otago Museum. Eileen Willa and her husband had helped Dr. L.E. Richdale (ornithologist) when he studied the muttonbird (Puffinus griseus) on Whero. She also had a notable seaweed collection. Leah Taylor, interview 13 November 1989.


27. Sunny Douglas to Thomas C. Wales, 17 June 1950, Sunny Douglas Wales, Cambridge, Massachusetts.


31. Baker Album, No.VII, H.L.

Dorothea Helen was the daughter of Noeline's first cousin, Reginald Clive Strachey and Ann Ellen Gibson. She married Major Charles Douglas St. Leger in 1930.


33. Ibid, p.5.
34. J.W. Hayward, University of Otago, to the Secretary, Loder Cup Committee, 25 November 1949. Telegram from J.B. Mackie, Secretary Otago Branch Royal Society to Loder Cup Committee, 2 December 1949, Robert W. Balch, Hon. Secretary Otago District Council Royal New Zealand Institute of Horticulture, Loder Cup Committee archives, Palmerston North.

35. J.W. Hayward, University of Otago, to the Secretary Loder Cup Committee, 25 November 1949.


37. Robert W. Balch, Hon. Secretary Royal New Zealand Institute of Horticulture to J.H. McIvor, Secretary Loder Cup Committee, 5 December 1950.

Noeline had already seen the Loder Cup when passing through Wellington.

The *R.R.S. Discovery II* was in the course of a Scientific Expedition in the South Pacific Ocean.


Amabel Williams-Ellis, born Strachey (1894- ). Daughter of St. Loe Strachey and Amy Simpson. Author of over forty books, influential Literary Editor of the *Spectator* and like her brother, John Strachey (a Minister in Clement Atlee's post-war Labour Cabinet), she took an active role in left-wing politics.

A. Williams-Ellis, *All Stracheys Are Cousins*, p.19, 82.

42. C. Williams-Ellis, J. and E. Eastwick-Field, *Building in Cob, Pisé and Stabilized Earth*, p.54.

43. For the 1947 edition, Clough Williams-Ellis had the co-operation of John and Elizabeth Eastwick-Field, who were knowledgeable about current experimental building research.
44. Baker Album, No.XI, H.L.


46. Minutes, Stewart Island County Council, 31 March 1949, Rakiura Museum, Stewart Island.

47. Builder, Leslie Lee.

48. N. Baker to Dorothy Menzies, 17 December 1952, Dorothy Menzies, Menzies Bay, Banks Peninsula.
The builders were Bill Armstrong, John Erikson and George New.


52. N. Baker to Dorothy Menzies, 17 December 1952, Dorothy Menzies, Menzies Bay, Banks Peninsula.


54. N. Baker to Dorothy Menzies, 17 December 1952.


57. J.W. Hayward to Dr. G. Baylis, 8 November 1948. Dr G.T.S. Baylis to J.W. Hayward 11 November 1948, File 465, University of Otago Archives.

58. Professor B.J. Marples to J.W. Hayward 15 November 1948, File 465, University of Otago Archives.


60. T.H. McCombs to D.R.S. Aitken, Vice-Chancellor, 16 December 1948, File No.465 University of Otago Archives.
61. A.G. Harper to H.W. McAuley, 1 April 1949, N.A., State Forest Service, Vol.1, 4/10/7/573. J.D. Corboy, State Forest Service's Field Officer at Stewart Island was to be McAuley's supervisor.


64. G. Dempsey, *Isle of Glowing Skies*, p.27.


70. Mary Lysaght to N. Baker, N/D., N.A., State Forest Service, Vol.1, 4/10/7/573.


80. Ibid.


Meech did not recommend returning the property to Noeline in view of her "advanced age" and the "genuine motives behind her gift".

84. Memorandum from J. Meech to the Minister of Internal Affairs, 29 October 1956, N.A., I.A. 158/399/1.

85. S. Natusch, "Moturau Moana".


88. Doreen Grant, New Zealand Federation of University Women, 6 October 1956, Sheila Natusch, Wellington.


91. Dr. Elizabeth J. Batham to Sheila Natusch, N/D, Sheila Natusch, Wellington.


95. Maida Barlow, "John Holland Baker's Invercargill years", unpublished manuscript, Maida Barlow, Invercargill.


CONCLUSION

Noeline Baker's life divides into three clearly marked phases. The first, her girlhood in New Zealand, was an important preliminary to what followed. It included her education, riding tours and cultural experiences. In New Zealand, during her formative years she witnessed the exposure of "sweating" of women workers and, in 1893, the enfranchisement of women on equal terms with male voters.

The second phase of Noeline's life began in 1896 when the Bakers returned to live in England, a reverse migration. Noeline's willingness to work totally for causes she believed in was a feature of this era. From 1907 she was deeply involved with the women's suffrage struggle. This offered her an outlet for her administrative ability and self-discovery through shared activities and friendships. It also led to her work for the Women's Land Army during World War One, the League of Nations Union, and politics when she acted as Ray Strachey's sub-agent in the 1922 Parliamentary Election. It was during this second phase of Noeline's life that she studied art at the Slade School, enjoyed frequent leisurely holidays in Europe and had lessons in garden design from Gertrude Jekyll.

In 1931 Noeline returned to New Zealand. She settled at Stewart Island where she revelled in the natural beauty of the island and the simple, unpretentious way of life. She became an ardent student of the island's botany and, at Moturau Moana, created a unique botanical garden. In New Zealand she continued her interest in public affairs. She accepted an invitation from the Minister of Internal Affairs to attend a Dominion Conference on Bush Conservation and Amenity Planting. She also promoted the study of post-war reconstruction during the Second World War.

Her administrative skills proved useful in wartime when she re-established the Surrey county office for the Women's Land Army in England and became honorary secretary of the Women's Active Service Club in Christchurch, New Zealand.
Moturau Moana was Noeline's greatest passion and perhaps her greatest disappointment. Her goal was to have growing in her garden everything indigenous to Stewart Island. In 1940 she gave her property, including its botanical garden, forest reserve and attractive residence to the New Zealand Government. Described by Professor Baylis of the University of Otago as "the most unique gift to learning in New Zealand", Moturau Moana had the potential to become an important even renowned centre for scientific research. Government officials did not share Noeline's vision for the property. The house with its valuable contents became a tourist attraction and the extensive botanical collection was partially destroyed. Noeline was years ahead of her time. When the Government did see a need for a research facility on Stewart Island, Noeline was dead and her residence destroyed by fire.

More recently her plans have been vindicated. The Department of Conservation (D.O.C.) has been doing work Noeline saw a need for forty years ago. Private scientific projects by universities and students are supported, marine communities for reserve proposals studied, protected species programmes (for instance, the kakapo) managed, the New Zealand dotterel, yellow-eyed penguin and South Island saddleback surveyed and protection for the rare sand plants, Gunnera hamiltonii and pingao provided. D.O.C. has also maintained the botanical garden at Moturau Moana and Baker Park.

As Noeline predicted, famous visitors now travel to Stewart Island to see this conservation work. In 1990 Prince Phillip, representing the World Wide Fund for Nature, visited Mason Bay to talk with D.O.C. staff and meet Piripi a kakapo bound for Maud Island.

Although Noeline loved New Zealand, especially Stewart Island, she retained her strong links with Britain until the end of her life. Her family's roots were there and in Britain she had shared with her suffragist friends a special experience, "the wonderful energy of work in the public sphere".
Noeline Baker was a very talented woman. She had intelligence, immense energy, enthusiasm and the ability to inspire others. Even in old age she retained the quicksilver eagerness of a young person. Experimental, versatile and a little eccentric Noeline was an achiever. She had a wide circle of friends who were involved in a range of public, political, social, scientific and artistic activities, but she liked solitude and chose to live alone. She was a true cosmopolitan, a New Zealander to her British family, a Briton to her New Zealand friends. Her life story is an important one because of her achievements and because she participated in so many major events of the twentieth century.


Gunnera hamiltonii is one of the rarest wild plants in New Zealand and pingao (Desmoschoenus spiralis) is being threatened by the introduced marram grass, a native of Western Europe.

Wilson, Stewart Island Plants, p.174, 368.


4. C. Heilbrun, Writing a Woman's Life, p.11, as quoted in L. Whitelaw, The Life and Rebellious Times of Cicely Hamilton, p.3.
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Michael and Frances Edwards,  
The Gardeners Cottage,  
Orchards,  
Godalming.  

13 April 1989

Lady Elton,  
Clevedon Court, Clevedon,  
England.  

1 February 1991

Robert Erwin,  
The Library,  
University of Canterbury,  
Christchurch.  

10 July 1989

Irene M. Facciolo,  
University of California,  
Berkeley, U.S.A.  

1 April 1989
Jeff Field,
University of Canterbury,
Christchurch.  1 November 1989

Mrs J.Y. Findlay,
The University of Leeds,
Leeds,
England.  31 January 1989

M.K. Fitzgerald,
National Museum of N.Z.,
Wellington.  21 March 1989

Dr. Sheila Fletcher,
Beckhawsted,
England.  19 March 1989

Colonel the Lord Freyberg,
Munstead House,
Godalming,
England.  19 March 1989

Ruth Fry,
Sumner,
Christchurch.  16 December 1988

G.J. Goodwin,
Department of Conservation,
Wellington.  4 July 1991

A.T. Gray,
University of Otago,
Dunedin.  11 May 1989

Richard L.N. Greenaway,
Canterbury Public Library,
Christchurch.  24 April 1990

Elaine Hamilton,
Stewart Island.  20 February 1990

Dianne Harris,
Documents Collection,
University of California,
Berkeley, U.S.A.  1 August 1988

Dr. Brian Harrison,
Corpus Christi College,
Oxford,
England.  26 November 1988

Dr. Sheila Fletcher,
Beckhawsted,
England.  19 March 1989

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Munstead House,
Godalming,
England.  19 March 1989

Ruth Fry,
Sumner,
Christchurch.  16 December 1988

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Dunedin.  11 May 1989

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England.  26 November 1988

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England.  19 March 1989

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Dunedin.  11 May 1989

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England.  26 November 1988

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England.  19 March 1989

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Godalming,
England.  19 March 1989

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Sumner,
Christchurch.  16 December 1988

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Wellington.  4 July 1991

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University of Otago,
Dunedin.  11 May 1989

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Canterbury Public Library,
Christchurch.  24 April 1990

Elaine Hamilton,
Stewart Island.  20 February 1990

Dianne Harris,
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Berkeley, U.S.A.  1 August 1988

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Oxford,
England.  26 November 1988

Dr. Sheila Fletcher,
Beckhawsted,
England.  19 March 1989

Colonel the Lord Freyberg,
Munstead House,
Godalming,
England.  19 March 1989

Ruth Fry,
Sumner,
Christchurch.  16 December 1988

G.J. Goodwin,
Department of Conservation,
Ruth Higman, Godalming Museum, Godalming, England. 2 March 1990


Lloyd Homer, New Zealand Geological Survey, Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, Wellington. 12 August 1988

Margaret Hopkins, Rakiura Museum, Stewart Island. 3 May 1989

Angus F. Hutton, Gympie, Queensland, Australia. 12 July 1990

Vanessa Jenner, NZ Institute of Architects, Head Office, Wellington. 6 December 1988

Derek Kasher, Publicity and Information, University College, London. 8 February 1989

Lillian Kennedy, Nelson. 12 September 1988

Penelope Lawrence, N.Z. Geographic Board, Wellington. 8 August 1991

K.J. Lemmon, Loder Cup Committee, Palmerston North. 12 August 1988

Greg Lind, Department of Conservation, Stewart Island. 24 June 1991

Jill Lord, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch. 28 November 1989
Pipe Lynch,  
Dunedin.  

Mary Mackey,  
Guildford Muniment Room,  
Guildford,  
England.  

Bruce D. McVey,  
Pacific Palisades,  
California, U.S.A.  

Joanna Martin,  
Geraldine.  

Simon Martin,  
Christchurch.  

Dorothy C. Menzies,  
Menzies Bay,  
Banks Peninsula  

Ewan Moore,  
The National Trust,  
London.  

Sheila Natusch,  
Wellington  

P. O'Shea,  
P.Clerk of the Executive Council,  
Wellington.  

Dr. Dorothy Page,  
London.  

Joan V. Poulton,  
Taupo.  

10 January 1988  
23 January 1991  
31 January 1991  
20 February 1991  
9 April 1991  
12 May 1989  
6 August 1989  
18 January 1990  
27 January 1990  
12 April 1990  
26 September 1990  
13 November 1990  
4 November 1991  
6 December 1988  
6 February 1989  
31 July 1989  
10 August 1989  
19 February 1989  
25 January 1988  
27 September 1987  
3 October 1987  
14 November 1987  
21 January 1988  
8 January 1992  
10 February 1992  
18 February 1992  
15 October 1987  
No date 1989  
2 October 1989  
29 September 1988
Michael Purdie, 
Canterbury Museum, 
Christchurch. 

Dr. A. Raspin, 
British Library of 
Political and Economic Science, 
London School of Economics and 
Political Science. 

Philip Reed, 
Department of Documents, 
Imperial War Museum, 
London. 

Major General D.H.G. Rice, 
Central Chancery of the 
Orders of Knighthood, 
St. James's Palace, 
London. 

Ruth Robinson, 
National Archives, 
Wellington. 

E. Rodley, 
Monks Path, 
Guildford, 
England. 

L.B. Russell, 
Nelson. 

J.A. Sandle, 
Pictorial Reference, 
Alexander Turnbull Library. 
Wellington. 

Patricia A. Sargison, 
Alexander Turnbull Library, 
Wellington. 

P. Shanks, 
The Courts Division, 
Justice Department, 
Invercargill. 

Winsome Shepherd, 
Wellington. 

H.G. Slingsby, 
Stewart Island County Council, 
Stewart Island. 

19 August 1988 
26 April 1989 
16 November 1990 
27 October 1987 
2 October 1989 
21 October 1987 
30 November 1987 
7 October 1988 
13 November 1988 
24 November 1988 
6 April 1988 
7 October 1987 
25 November 1988 
8 February 1989 
25 October 1991 
14 February 1989
C. Sowry,
Film Archive,
National Archives,
Wellington.

Kevin L. Stewart,
Manuscripts and Archives,
National Library,
Wellington.

Barbara Strachey Halpern,
Oxford,
England.

Kathleen Stringer,
North Otago Museum,
Oamaru.

Peter Taylor,
Wellington.

Marie Temple,
Geraldine.

Elspeth Tindal,
Stewart Island.

R. Tindel,
Department of Conservation,
Stewart Island.

Sonia D. Wales,
Cambridge, M.A.,
U.S.A.

L.S. Walker,
Library,
Christchurch Star,
Christchurch.

Dr. Charlotte Wallace,
Morrinsville.

Magda Wallscott,
Dunedin.

Hugh Wilson
Christchurch.

Professor F.L.W. Wood,
Wellington.

Joan Woodward,
Canterbury Museum,
Christchurch.
iii Other

Barlow, M. "John Holland Baker's Invercargill Years."
Maida Barlow, Invercargill.

Davison, A. "The children of Joseph Hawdon."
Anne Davison, Christchurch.

Canterbury Museum, Christchurch.

McLay, G. "N.Y.A. Wales."

McVey, B.D. "Katharine Mary Douglas Schuring."
B.D. McVey, Pacific Palisades, California.


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