

*“Methodism in Auckland
During the Maori
Wars.”*

1860 - 1864



- by -

Frank G. Glen

Dedication . . .

*To the Memory of my Mother, whose undying love, courage and devotion I
can never humanly repay.*

"Blessed are the compassionate, for they shall receive compassion."

—Matthew 5:7 (Weymouth).

Introduction . . .

The main purpose of this work has been to examine previously unpublished material with the view of establishing the various attitudes of the Methodist Church and Mission during the Auckland Wars. There have been general opinions handed down from older Ministers and some small effort made to recapture some thought. This work, however, deals with the political, social, and religious background of the Methodist Church in Auckland during the period of 1860-64. The conclusions reached are general in some ways, but a centre-line of opinion is difficult to draw after so many years have passed.

It might seem that some sections have been inadequately treated. This is due first of all to lack of space, and secondly to the fact that the main effort has been to use as much unpublished material as possible. Material has not, I hope, been excluded at the cost of historical accuracy.

Methodism had much more contact with Imperial Troops in Auckland long before 1860, but space has not permitted the inclusion of earlier work with these men.

I must thank sincerely the Rev. O. E. Burton, M.A., for his kind assistance in the field of structure during the early part of this work. Also to my Principal, the Rev. E. W. Hames, M.A., who has always encouraged me in historical research, to the Rev. G. I. Laurenson, Superintendent of the Home and Maori Mission Department of the Methodist Church, and to the staffs of the Turnbull Library and National Archives in Wellington.

It would have been difficult to have written the work without the Journal of the Rev. J. Rishworth, which was kindly lent to me by his daughter, Miss Rishworth. My special thanks to Mr. Len Wards of the War Histories Dept., Wellington, who has advised me and constantly encouraged me; to Miss Thea Jones, who typed the script, and Mr. Rodney Smith for his sketch of the Papakura Methodist Church.

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CHAPTER ONE.

"The Land – Prelude to War!"

Before the implications of the war in Auckland and the Waikato during 1863 can be understood, we must first examine the various Maori movements which were involved. This requires us to examine the Maori King Movement and the parallel movement called the Land League.

Early in 1854 a meeting of principal chiefs and people from South Taranaki and Wellington, was held at Manawapou. The main aim of this group was to guard against the indiscriminate selling of native lands to the European settlers. Resolutions were passed which forbade the sale of land from Kia Iwi on the south side and a place within a short distance of New Plymouth on the north. European magistrates were to have no jurisdiction within these boundaries, and all disputes would be settled by the Maoris themselves.¹ A further movement of independence was begun about the same time, in the formation of the Maori King Movement, known as "Kingism." Various reasons were in the Maori mind, the most obvious being to unify themselves as a race against growing Colonial development. They saw themselves fighting tribe against tribe, in many cases, while the European looked on. They felt the Government had failed to act justly in certain disputes. The younger chiefs saw, with Colonization, a falling away of their chieftain "mana".² On religious grounds the Maoris were sufficiently aware that the Israelites had at a point in their history created a king, thus they felt equally justified in doing the same. With great insight they sought to overcome these problems by setting up a royal personage who would exercise a welding influence upon the race, and save them from submergence, and who would maintain Maori rights within a changing Colonial situation.³

At the outset of the war it became obvious that these two movements would come close together, and that the real problem would resolve itself about the land question. The Rev. John Whiteley expresses this most clearly—"In short . . . the Land League has been saying for years what the Kingites say now. No land shall be sold to anyone, but at the peril of his life, and if the Government buy, they shall only possess by force of arms."⁴

If war had not occurred in Taranaki, the King Movement might have brought great benefit to the Maori people. Bishop Selwyn had openly supported the movement by requesting the Governor, Colonel Gore Brown, to set apart the Waikato as a self-governing Maori province within the colony.⁵ The Rev. Thomas Buddle, Superintendent of the Methodist Mission, had shown great interest in the movement and was not unsympathetic. Among the natives themselves there was little agreement on the movement. Some chiefs refused to consider the King Movement, preferring to remain within the Treaty of Waitangi. One outstanding Maori opponent was Wiremu

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Neira (William Naylor), a most intelligent and gracious chief, who had been for over 20 years connected with the Methodist Mission. It can be seen that Kingism and the Land League tended to separate the Maoris rather than bring the unity hoped for.



The Rev. Thomas Buddle
President of the Australasian Conference, 1863
Chairman of the Northern District 1856-1864.

At the crux of the Maoris' concern was the fear of having their lands taken from them by a developing process of Colonization. Yet before the outbreak, and even during the formative years of the Land League and King Movement, missionaries had made

strong efforts to conciliate the Maoris in their radical endeavour to prohibit the sales of land. In almost every case they tried to show the Maoris they could not hope to cultivate all the land they possessed, and urged them to maintain only sufficient for their own use. It must be admitted that the Maoris were further confused, because they themselves were at a loss to know who had the right to sell lands, and who was to receive payment. Bishop Selwyn records, "My advice to the natives in all parts of New Zealand has been to sell all the land they were not able to occupy or cultivate."⁶ The Rev. Thomas Buddle of the Methodist Mission relates, "It must be obvious to thoughtful men that the possession of such large tracts of land has long militated against their progress in civilization; has fostered their natural indolence and covetousness; led to constant squabbling, not infrequently to intertribal wars, and has occupied their time both in talk and rungasas that might have been employed in profitable agricultural operations."⁷ These statements show clearly that neither the Church of England nor the Methodist Church and Mission supported the Maoris on the question of prohibiting land sales. When Kingism, as Whiteley says, identified itself with the same doctrine as the Land League, it is obvious that whatever support the movement might have had from the Methodist Mission was lost. It must be remembered in the early part of the Taranaki War, the King Movement would have nothing to do officially with helping the Taranaki tribes to oppose the British. Both Wiremu Tamihana (William Thompson), the originator of the King Movement, and the first King, old senile Potatua, were restraining influences in involving the Waikato in the war. The Methodist Church did see some great value in the King Movement, and Buddle clearly led the Church in acknowledging this fact. In no way was the Church opposed to the legitimate demands of the Maori people, but the Church did see grave danger in the movement and its leadership after the death of the first King, Potatua. It was only after the decline in leadership within the Movement, when methods used by the Maoris were inconsistent with its high ideals, that the Church was forced not to encourage the Maoris.

The Waitara affair was largely a personal feud between Kingi and a minor chief who desired to sell the land. Kingi saw his opportunity for continuing the feud by forcing Teira to rescind his offer of the land to the Government. It must be admitted also that Kingi spoke with the authority of the Land League, but the root of the matter was some former jealousy over a woman which involved both Kingi and Teira.⁸

It is impossible in this work to give a complete survey of the involved Waitara question and all the facts of the Taranaki War, but in giving the contemporary Maori efforts to face growing colonization, it can be seen that the situation was a difficult one. In comparison, the classic example of the European attitude is shown at New Plymouth. Several hundred settlers had built themselves homes in and about the town and endeavoured to set about farming. More settlers arrived, causing a difficult situation in that there was no land available for them. Inland, under Maori dominion,

though not directly under cultivation, lay the rich, unpopulated lands. The settlers and the Government were not unnaturally annoyed at the attitude of the Maori. It was obvious that land would have to be occupied before colonization could progress.⁹

CHAPTER ONE—"THE LAND—PRELUDE TO WAR."

REFERENCES:

1. "The Maori King Movement in New Zealand." Thomas Buddle. Page 5 (1860).
2. "Mana"—power, energy, glory, mighty strength, effective prestige. In cases inherited from the gods by birthright. Or "Mana-tanga"—that which was earned through personal deeds, i.e. battle oratory, etc.
3. Buddle. Op. Cit. Pages 12-21. Also Gudgeon: "Reminiscences of the War in N.Z." gives another interesting facet of the land question and King Movement.
4. Letter from John Whiteley to Thomas Buddle, Superintendent of Wesleyan Mission in New Zealand, 9th May, 1860.
5. "The New Zealand Wars." Page 444. Vol. 1. Cowan.
6. Quot. "England and the Maori Wars." A. J. Harrop (1937).
7. Buddle. Op. Cit.
8. Ibid. Buddle. Page 33. Cowan and Harrop both support the influence of the personal feud.
9. The Rev. Robert Ward expresses this feeling well in his work, "Life among the Maoris of New Zealand." (1872).

CHAPTER TWO.

“Events Prior to the Auckland War.”

Now to return to the effect of the war in Taranaki on the Auckland Church and Mission.

Within the King Movement there were a few chiefs who sought to use it for their own ends. They were radicals, desiring the Europeans to be pushed back to the sea, and the land returned to Maori possession. The group consisted mainly of a small number who had refused to sign the Treaty of Waitangi. A few of them had supported Wiremu Kingi in Taranaki by sending a token force against the Imperial Forces. This action was not officially supported by the Maori King or the Movement itself, while some of the chiefs had already threatened traders and missionaries in Northern Waikato. The first threat to our Mission came in late April 1860, when the Rev. Alexander Reid was warned of an attack intended on his station at Waipa. The threat was even more alarming when the chiefs told him "look toward Auckland."¹

It is a point of speculation if this warning to Reid and others was not the origin of the first rumour of a Maori invasion of Auckland. Colonel Gore Brown, the Governor, wrote on April 24th, 1860:

"Reports of an intended attack upon Auckland by the powerful tribes of the Waikato, has caused a panic as general and extreme as it is groundless." This rumour resulted in friendly natives about Auckland being insulted by the population, while in one instance a group of Maoris just missed being fired on as they passed a Fencible village in their canoe. This mistreatment of friendly Maoris brought condemnation both from the Church and the Governor. The "Auckland Examiner" of April 25th reported, "How dare he (the Governor) publish a request to the inhabitants of Auckland . . . that they should endeavour to conciliate brown-skinned ruffians whose recent conduct is a standing menace to the peaceable and well-disposed traders of this city."²

These "peaceable and well-disposed traders" gave little thought to the concern of the Maoris, who led by Wiremu Tamihana (William Thompson), early in 1860 asked the Government to assist them in the suppression of liquor smuggling in the Waikato. These same traders had failed to observe the Colonial regulations in a selfish effort to increase their profits, but at a cost to the Maori culture. This matter, and the growing Maori-European tension, caused the Governor to send Mr. John Gorst as a Magistrate to the Waikato.³ On his arrival, Gorst found the Kingites refused to allow him to exercise his authority as a Magistrate. They were obeying their own laws which forbade Colonial magistrates to function in Kingite country. The situation was confusing. The Maoris had a real grievance, and a genuine mistrust of the Governor as they felt their security was in danger from increasing European Colonization. Gorst

was able to remain in the Waikato for some time, spending his time as a valuable Government agent within Maori country.

The situation about Auckland did not improve with the cessation of hostilities in Taranaki, early in May 1861—rather the reverse. Some of the detachments which had been sent from the Waikato sympathizers had suffered bitter defeat and were in no two minds about the efficiency of the British soldier. On their return, after the proclamation of the truce, they were bitter and endeavoured to stir up further feeling within the Waikato for war against Auckland.⁴ The point was fast coming when the Governor would need to take a strong hand in the Kingite country.

At the opening of the third Parliament in Auckland on June 4th 1861, Gore Brown made the following statement, which was to bring a wordy and strong protest from the Methodist Church. Gore Brown said, "The declaration I have made to the Waikato tribes . . . requires submission without reserve to the Queen's sovereignty and to the authority of the law, whilst those who have arms, I have insisted upon the restitution of plunder, and for compensation for losses sustained at their hands by Her Majesty's subjects, native or European." There followed a debate during which Donald Maclean and T. H. Smith objected, but they were over-ruled. The text of this speech was delivered to Tamihana, who valiantly replied, "I do not desire to cast the Queen from this Island, but from my piece of land. I am to be the person to over-rule my piece. Enough."⁵

As Gore Brown saw it, the Maoris could not have a crown of their own. He could not support Bishop Selwyn's theory of a Maori self-governing province. To him this was a hindrance to colonization, and there could be no separationist party within the Colony. If the Maoris were refusing to recognise the rights of the Queen, they were openly defiant of the treaty of Waitangi. While the Kingites continued to refuse submission to the Government, they were a constant danger to the town of Auckland and its inhabitants. It was becoming painfully obvious that Gore Brown was advocating armed action in the South Auckland and Waikato. As Buller so aptly puts it,

"The Waikato natives having persisted in the appointment of a king, having interfered with the conflict of Taranaki, and having given some reason to suspect a design upon Auckland, he resolved now to take the war into the heart of their territory. Had he done so (although supported by a large majority of the Assembly) he would perhaps have opened the way to fearful disasters."⁶

To this intention of advancing the war further, so soon after a treaty in Taranaki, the Methodist Church objected in the strongest terms. The Church had vital interests in the Waikato and South Auckland, and was resolved by all means to conciliate as long as possible in an honest endeavour to bring peaceful settlement to the whole affair. A Memorial was drawn up and forwarded to the Assembly, then sitting in Auckland. A precis of the Memorial states—

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"It was the opinion of the Wesleyan Church, from confidential sources, that any armed action in the Waikato at that time would promote a general uprising of natives, both in the Waikato and South Auckland. This could be ill afforded by the Government as the Church considered there were insufficient troops necessary for the defence of the town and isolated areas."

Thus they said, the danger to civilians and settlers would be too great a risk. The Church further suggested, "that conciliation be continued and the matter brought before the Home Government, and while this was continuing, every effort be made to establish a good relationship between both races." The Memorial further added, "that from private information from an influential Wesleyan Maori missionary, who was not sympathetic to the King movement, there was a strong possibility of the Movement declining in future years, and there was dissension concerning the use of the Maori King flag." Obviously the Church was suggesting the Government be patient and bide its time.⁷

This was the only petition objecting to the proposed Government action. A secret meeting of the Assembly a few weeks later (July 5th, 1861), passed the following resolution: "That the employment of a force adequate to put down speedily and effectively all resistance to Her Majesty's authority, would be the most humane, the most beneficial to both races, and by far the least costly to the Imperial Government."⁸ Orders were then issued to Commanding Officers in the south to be sufficiently reinforced to meet any attack, and in sufficient strength to maintain present military situations. The question has remained unanswered: "Why was the petition ignored?" Gore Brown seems to have been determined to quell all opposition, firstly to Colonization, and secondly to the Queen. He was supported by a large number of influential people, as well as numbers of settlers. All these people had important interests in the Colonization of the country, and it seems Gore Brown was convinced of the rightness of his proposed action.

The Methodist Church, at this stage, had every reason to believe that conciliation was still possible. But after the policy of the Governor had been made clear, it produced a hostile reaction in the Maori mind and the position rapidly deteriorated to a point beyond mutual understanding.

Fortunately for Auckland, the Governor was unable to enforce his proposed plans. There was a change of policy in England, and the Home Government would not consent to such action. The Imperial Government was heartily sick of the inconclusive war in New Zealand which was already employing 6,000 Imperial troops. With the change of policy came the recall of Colonel Gore Brown, and the appointment for the second time of Sir George Grey as Governor. Grey was looked upon as a man of character with such experience and understanding of the Maoris as would enable a peaceable settlement of affairs in New Zealand.

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During the intervening months, prior to Grey's arrival, the Church determined to support its petition by visiting the Waikato in an earnest effort to point out to the Maoris the hopeless position they would be placed in if war finally broke out. Three men were chosen to represent the Church on this matter—Revs. Thomas Buddle, James Wallis and Alexander Reid.⁹ It was now quite clear that the Methodist Church was opposed to the King Movement, not on the ground that the Church agreed altogether with submission to the Queen, but rather on the ground that a resulting war would adversely affect the Maori race, and the effects of Christianization would be largely lost if such a conflict arose. With this policy in mind, the Church had to act quickly in its designs to protect the Maoris from their own pride. The deputation set off for the Waikato in the early weeks of July, 1861, when the news of Grey's appointment had just been announced. This was a further issue by which they hoped to win them over, because the Maoris had known Grey from his previous term as Governor as a man who understood their problems.

Returning from their visit to the Ngatimaniapoto tribe and others in late August, the party was deeply depressed. Buddle found a determination by the Maoris to stand or fall by their resolutions. The party found most of the Maoris in the Waikato, and further north, determined on war if the Government provoked them much further by threats and requests for submission. Despite the news of Grey's succeeding Gore Brown, there was practically no difference in attitude, save temporarily to hold their hand, for they knew Grey to be an honest man. Alexander Reid commented: "We found a dogged determination to hold on."¹⁰ The Church was clearly confronted by a deadlock, and was unable to influence the Maoris, with the exception of the minority who were friendly and had more to gain by Colonization. It was obvious that any move to overcome the problem would have to be a less belligerent policy by the Government.

When Grey arrived in the colony during September 1861, he made it quite plain to the Maoris that he did not desire war, but they must be rid of their King. If they would not, then he would dig about the foundation of their Kingdom until it fell.¹¹ The Governor set up an administration in the Waikato, each district being divided into a Hundred, with a paid magistrate appointed. The Maoris could not understand his policy at first, and his remark at the great Ngaruawahia meeting in December, 1861, about "digging round their movement" annoyed them. They felt the measures he had adopted to enforce British rule were quiet, underhand ways of bringing in further land stealing. His policy, the Maoris said, was not like Gore Brown's, who made his movements plain. Grey's was like a rat¹² which worked underground, and they were never clear where it would burrow up again.

Writing to the Colonial Office in April, 1862, through an Anglican missionary, one of the Methodist teachers, Mr. T. Skinner, at Aotea, comments on this attitude: "Native affairs in these parts are anything but satisfactory. All the Governor does is eyed with

suspicion, and as far as my observation extends, has had the opposite effect from that intended. I feel we are far from a peaceful settlement of the vexing question of superiority or supremacy."¹³ Two things seem evident in this letter. The first is that Skinner saw the question as two opposites. There was no shade of compromise. The second is had the Magistrates been sent to the Waikato earlier, perhaps at the outset of the King Movement, the threats of war might have been averted.

The Governor instructed Mr. John Gorst, who was still in the Waikato, to set up a training school for young Maoris. The Anglican Mission supplied the land, and through this venture the Governor . hoped to win over the younger generation to a more reasonable compromise.¹⁴ This action, as was seen later, did nothing but further aggravate the Waikatos.

After a year of trying to persuade the Maoris to give up their King and accept British rule, Grey, disappointed as he was, saw that war might be the only outcome. He was being questioned by the Home Government, while the Colony was growing impatient with the stalemate. He recalled General Cameron from Taranaki with three regiments to Auckland in the hope that the action might call the Kingites to submission.

Late in 1862 the Governor determined again to see the situation in the south for himself. While visiting Te Kopua he met the Rev. Alexander Reid, the Methodist Missionary from Waipa. Reid records the discussion he had with the Governor and comments he saw a great change in his outlook, and "when Sir George Grey arrived in the country he could see no wrong in the Maoris. Now, after a year of ceaseless parley, he can see very little merit in them." He cautioned Reid, "No fighting is the watch-word." Grey went on to add concerning the expected arrival of the warships, "If the poor wretches will throw their heads against my iron steamers, who will be to blame for that?"¹⁵

On his return to Auckland, Grey immediately set about constructing a sound defence. Four regiments were placed with their front line beginning at Drury and extending in depth down to Pokeno, near the banks of the Mangatawhiri creek. This defence required sound roads over which artillery and ordnance supplies could be transported, so Grey instructed General Cameron to begin road construction. The 12th and 14th regiments began from the Pokeno end working towards Drury, and the 65th and 70th worked from Drury south. A large detachment of the Royal Engineers was directed to supervise the construction. The 40th regiment remained encamped at Rodes Clearing, a few miles south of Bombay, as a unit on constant frontier duty.¹⁶

The Maoris looked upon the construction of these roads as a preparation for the invasion of their territory. They warned the Governor that if troops crossed the Mangatawhiri stream they would consider this a move to war, and would act accordingly. Tamihana by this time had come to the end of his patience with the Government, and it was known he had a scheme afoot for the invasion of Auckland.



**Rodes Clearing about late 1863, the tents are accommodation for troops of the 40th Regiment.
(Turnbull Photographic Library, 4638).**

From the commencement of the road building in South Auckland in late 1862, the Maoris began to evict all magistrates and literally threw into the river the Maoris who were attending John Gorst's Industrial School.¹⁷

The road building and troop movements made a great difference to our established Maori work in South Auckland at this time. Buddle, in company with another official of the Methodist Mission, discovered this to their regret when beginning their second tour of the Waikato in March, 1863.¹⁸ He records that at Oinia, a small settlement on the Auckland side of Queens Redoubt, only six Maoris attended their Saturday afternoon service, while the resident Maori Methodist teacher had disappeared with a great number of people. Both Buddle and his companion were quick to note the added military preparations, and the unsettled warlike state of the Maoris. Continuing the same day, March 14th, 1863, they both arrived at the army strong point at Queens Redoubt. There Buddle made enquiries of the Commandant, Colonel Mould, if he could conduct services the following day, but he was informed that a clergyman was expected. On the following day they continued their journey to the Waikato after offering services to a detachment of troops under Major Murdoch, but were informed a Church of England clergyman had been appointed as chaplain. They arrived at their destination disturbed at the war preparations of the British, and unhappy about the immediate prospects.

On the morning of April 18th, 1863, Buddle received alarming news from Rev. Alexander Reid at Waipa. Reid had sent a message from the Mission station with the accounts and intelligence of the Maori movements. It was not unusual for missionaries, both Methodist and Church of England, to send weekly intelligence

reports to the Defence Minister on Maori affairs in the south.¹⁹ Reid made it clear that things had gone too far, and the Maoris were likely to send him packing at any moment, adding "the natives are very rebellious."²⁰ Mr. Buddle immediately saw the Colonial Defence Minister, Mr. Thomas Russell, showed him the letter, and conveyed to him the information which Reid had passed on.

By this time it had been discovered that Teira's claim on the Waitara land was a valid one, and Governor Grey decided to give the land claim up. Unfortunately the Maoris were not informed of the Government's decision to return the Waitara lands, for in giving up the Waitara the Governor decided to occupy a piece of land at Tataraimaka,²¹ which had been honestly purchased some years before. During the Taranaki struggle, the Maoris had taken possession of this particular section of land, and when they heard of troops arriving to retake it, and being uninformed of the Government withdrawal from Waitara, they asked Tamihana what they should do. He replied, "Begin your shooting,"²² thinking this was aggression by Imperial forces. A battle ensued, resulting in loss of life, and Buddle records, "Sad news from Taranaki, eight soldiers killed by an ambush. This ends our expectation of peace." The Rev. Dr. William Morley, commenting on this incident, calls it "this unaccountable blunder,"²³ for it was this misunderstanding that resulted in the outbreak of war in Auckland. The Maoris in the Auckland district quite naturally considered the occupation of Tataraimaka an act of aggression by the Governor. Commenting on the failure to inform the Maoris of the intended occupation of the land, Buddle records "Great excitement over the native question, war and rumours of war, troops moving to the seat of war, and many voices lifted up on the side of a thrashing for the natives. What an opportunity they have lost . . . while Sir George Grey has shown much forbearance."

To return to the missionary situation. Alexander Reid made every effort to remain as long as possible at Waipa. Many of the King Movement leaders were his personal friends, some ex-pupils, or the fathers of ex-pupils from the Wesleyan Three Kings College.²⁴ The breach came when Tamihana instructed the Maoris to begin fighting. The Maoris at Waipa knew then that Reid must go; he protested, but to no avail. They helped him pack, and by passive means, removed him from the mission house. They escorted him as far as possible toward the Imperial border, and then sent him on his way with God's blessing. Reid arrived in Auckland on May 8th, 1863, just in time to share the news of the renewed fighting in Taranaki with Buddle. The latter records Reid as saying on his return, "My natives at the station adjure the Queen's mana."

The Mission also feared for the life of Cort Schnackenberg, by this time the sole remaining Methodist missionary in the Waikato. The Methodist teachers had taken the opportunity of military protection and were by now withdrawn to the town. The Rev. George Stannard, who was in Auckland over the crucial week of May 10th, 1863, left forthwith, despite the dangers, for the Methodist Mission Station at Raglan, where his

wife and children still remained.²⁵ Buddle, about this time, wrote asking for the Governor's permission for exemption from military duty for the sons of Methodist missionaries. Cowan records all men were enlisted in the Militia, and it is doubtful if this request was granted.

From the middle of 1861 till the outbreak of the Auckland War in July, 1863, it can be clearly seen that the Methodist Mission was powerless to stop the war, or even delay its outbreak. Right up till the last possible moment, our missionaries remained at their stations, our teachers remained in their schools, despite the desertion by their Maori assistants. Our policy as a Church was one of conciliation at all costs, suggesting the Home Government be responsible for taking over the problem. The machine of the State, it appears, could wait no longer. The hope many had shared in Sir George Grey's appointment, including our Church, was not to be realised. Finally, somebody had blundered in Taranaki, by not informing the Maoris of the new Government decision to withdraw from Waitara.

Our Church did not support the King Movement, yet it could not altogether support the Government policy of arms. There was little the Church could do, for it had done all within its power. Our missionaries and teachers had sent intelligence reports of Maori affairs to Buddle, who in turn had informed the Governor, their motive being solely the warning and safety of Europeans. Our Church fully approved of new defence measures for Auckland, but felt helpless to stop the approaching conflict. Fortunately at this stage the Maori still clung to his faith and showed no sign of reverting to his heathen state.

This covers the policy and action of the Church to the outbreak of the war in July, 1863.

CHAPTER TWO—"EVENTS PRIOR TO THE AUCKLAND WAR." REFERENCES:

1. "The Maori King Movement in New Zealand." Thomas Buddle (1860).
2. "England and the Maori Wars." A. J. Harrop. Page 78.
3. "The War in New Zealand." W. Fox. Page 55ff (1866).
"The History of Methodism in New Zealand." Morley. Page 161.
4. Cowan. Vol. 1.
5. Harrop. PP. 142ff.
6. "Forty Years in New Zealand." James Buller. Page 398 (1878).
7. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives.
A-G Section. Ee no. h. (Before June 28th, 1861).
8. Ibid. Harrop. Page 143.
9. Morley records these three names, but Morgan mistakes Wallis for Harding.
See Morley. Page 165.
10. Gore Brown. Letters National Archives, 65-121.
11. Cowan. Vol. 1. Page 233.
12. Ibid. Page 232.
13. Gore Brown Letters (April 2nd, 1862).

14. Ibid. Fox. Page 56ff.
15. Gore Brown Letters (November 26th, 1862).
16. Ibid. Cowan. Ch. 27, Vol. I.
17. Ibid. Fox. Page 58ff.
18. Diary of Thomas Buddle, 1863. (Trinity Methodist College).
19. It seems our missionaries informed the Superintendent, Thomas Buddle, who in turn informed either the Defence Minister or the Governor personally. See Buddle Journal.
20. Ibid. Buddle Diary.
21. Fox. PP. 50ff. Buller, Page 418. Morley, Page 162.
22. Fox. Page 52.
23. Morley. Page 162.
24. Ibid. Pages 165-168. 25. Buddle Diary.

CHAPTER THREE.

“Five Hectic Months”

When war was only a few days away, Buddle received two urgent warnings, one from Cort Schnackenberg, and the other from Hamiora Ngaropi (Samuel Honeybee), the Methodist Maori Missionary Assistant at Watawata. Both warned of increasing Maori military preparations—"the letters warn us to keep a good look out around Auckland." By the 7th of July, 1863, there was hardly a Maori settlement occupied about Auckland, the occupants going south to meet their kinsmen. On the 8th all Auckland was alive with the tale of intended invasion, which caused much panic among the population. One poor fellow in a most distressed condition came to Buddle seeking a place of protection for his wife and family.

On Thursday, July 9th, Buddle records—"Troops sent out to the front, the bugle sounded at 3 a.m., no rest from anxiety as to what may come." In the morning the Governor issued a proclamation stating that all Maoris as far south as the Manukau harbour and the Mangatawhiri stream must submit to the authority of the Queen by renouncing the Maori King and pledging loyalty to the Governor. All arms were to be given up to Militia and Imperial troops. If they failed to do this the Maoris must retire to the Waikato, beyond the British frontier.¹ Late that same day, Buddle was able to bring the Governor the first accurate intelligence reports of the intended invasion. "Two letters from Mr. Barton, our faithful native, and from Hakopa, a local preacher, and Wiremu Neira (William Naylor), the principal chief of Raglan. They contained alarming information of a plot to surprise Auckland, into which the tribes and chiefs of the Waikato, Thames, Kaipara and Ngapuhi are all involved. I took the letters to His Excellency who promised to keep the names of my informers secret."

Three days later as part of the defence measures, units of Militia and the 65th Regiment occupied the village of Papakura. The small Methodist Chapel built in 1855 was taken over by the Imperial Commissariat, and used as a general ordnance store in supplying the needs of the Militia. The troops were soon erecting a wooden stockade about the building, with slots in the timber for rifles; sand was poured between the weather boards and the lining to make the Chapel bullet proof.² The residents were asked to supply billets for the Officers, and to assist in finding accommodation for the troops.

Acute anxiety was felt by the Church in Auckland over the safety of the Rev. Cort Schnackenberg. Buddle wrote to him on the 13th warning him of the danger, and requesting him to come to Auckland before the general conflict broke out.

Two days following the Governor's orders to the Maori population, the military began evicting Maoris from their settlements, and burning their homes. This caused the Church some concern, Buddle remarking, "I have heard that the Pokeno natives have

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been driven away and their houses burnt—pity such burning should be allowed, as the natives will find this a pretext to burn settlers' houses."

The following day, the 15th, came the shocking news of the death of Mr. Michael Meredith and his 14-year-old son. They had been tomahawked by a roving band of Maoris while they were working on fences. The effect of these murders, and several others which were to follow, made the troops anxious to come to blows with the Maoris. The settlers barricaded their homes in the evenings and worked in pairs during daylight. The women folk were taught how to shoot, and men worked anxiously on their farms, always in fear of the distant shot which would announce a raid on his homestead.

In Auckland, a Mr. Haines (Hames?) approached Thomas Buddle with a view to holding Union Prayer meetings in the Wesleyan High Street Church. These were begun on the 15th, hundreds of townspeople and off-duty troops attending. On the same day there came news of another effort by the Church to end hostilities. The Revs. Reid and Wallis had ridden south to Kirikiri, where a group of Maoris were hiding from a battalion of the 65th regiment. 'Both men appealed to the Maoris to lay down their arms, pointing out that it would be useless to fight against modern weapons. 'They appealed in vain, though Bishop Selwyn attempted the same argument the following day.³ Two regiments had crossed the Mangatawhiri stream, the 12th and the 70th, where they engaged strong Maori positions, but forced the Maoris to withdraw. The Maoris replied a few days later by infiltrating through the lines to attack an escort party. Seven men lost their lives.⁴

A significant difference of opinion between the Rev. Thomas Buddle and Bishop Selwyn took place in the presence of the Governor, Sir George Grey. It clearly demonstrated differing opinions personally, and to a degree those of both the Methodist and Anglican Missions. Thomas Buddle went to inform the Governor of information from Taranaki, sent by Rev. John Whiteley. It was suggested that as there was little activity in Taranaki, the Maoris from Taranaki had gone to reinforce the Waikatos. The Governor was about to leave for Drury on a tour of inspection, and was not over impressed by Buddle's argument. Bishop Selwyn happened to be present and added his well-known personal doubts that Auckland was ever in danger of invasion from the Waikato Maoris.

The interesting fact of this discussion is that it shows clearly the confused state of the situation. Two missionaries, both leaders of their respective Missions, and with years of experience, saw the situation from two differing points of view. The Bishop always maintained the King Movement was for law and order only, and that there had never been any serious threat to Auckland. The Rev. Thomas Buddle denied the good motives of the King Movement, mainly on the principle of its aggressive nature, and saw it as a threat to both the Maoris themselves and European settlers. The following

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week Archdeacon Brown arrived from Tauranga under safe conduct, and remarked to Buddle that the Maoris had told him of their intended attack upon Auckland.⁵

In early August the troops established at Papakura suggested a canteen be built next to the Methodist Church which had now become a defensive strong-point. This suggestion came to the ears of the District Meeting through the local congregation. The Rev. James Wallis as Superintendent of the circuit requested the District to appeal against such a structure being built on Church property. Thomas Buddle wrote a formal letter stating, "However willing the Society may feel that it should be used for defence purposes, yet to erect a canteen upon it would be utterly inconsistent with the Society's objects."⁶ He signed as Thomas Buddle, President of the Australasian Conference. Two days later, the 7th, Fras. D. Fenton, the Under-Secretary to the Colonial Defence Office, replied that "a canteen shall not be erected."⁷

That same month the District meeting appointed the first Official Methodist Military Chaplain to the Militia and British Forces in and about South Auckland.⁸ The Rev. Alexander Reid was instructed by Buddle to visit military hospitals, the redoubts, and military settlements. This appointment took Reid to the Military Hospital at Otahuhu and as far south as the front line at Queens Redoubt. Within a few weeks it was found impossible for Reid to carry the full weight of the chaplaincy, and the Rev. James Wallis of the Onehunga Circuit was appointed to assist him. Wallis was responsible for the pastoral care of Methodist troops from Papakura south.

The month of September was an eventful one for the Church. On the 14th a large party of Maoris attacked the Militia in the Pukekohe East Presbyterian Church. The same day a band of Maoris attacked the farm home of Mr. James Burt.

The families who first settled in Pukekohe came from both Cornwall and Scotland, which meant both Methodist and Presbyterian representation. Names like E. Roose, J. B. Roose, and Hawke, were all connected with the early Methodist preaching place established in 1859, the time of the original settlement. The East Pukekohe Presbyterian Church had been built just over a year before the battle, and is situated some distance from the main Pukekohe settlement. The Maoris attacked this small redoubt in great force, and after hard fighting had continued for 2½ hours and the ammunition in the stockade was nearly exhausted, a detachment of the 70th arrived from Ramarama to relieve the hard-pressed garrison. News of the fighting had been taken to Drury by two men, Messrs. Comrie and J. Roose, who were returning to the stockade, but noticing the fighting, returned immediately to Drury for reinforcements. Among the defenders of the Church was Mr. Elijah Roose, the brother of his namesake who helped raise the alarm to relieve the stockade. Mr. Elijah Roose was an early local preacher and Trustee of the Methodist Church in Pukekohe till the late 90's,⁹ and to-day his name, with others, is inscribed on a brass plate in the Church, as a tribute to the memory of the men who defended it. As one examines the Church

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today the old stockade position is still visible, and bullet holes still mark the ceiling and weather boarding. The road cuts through where the Maoris took cover in surrounding fallen logs, while in the cemetery a memorial marks the last resting place of six Maoris who lost their lives in the battle.



**A Military Hospital visited by Rev. A Reid at Otahuhu
for the wounded of the 40th and 42nd Imperial Regements.
Photo taken about August 1865. (Turnbull Photographic Library, 3146)**

The battle of Burt's farm will always remain a "romantic" incident in New Zealand frontier history. A strong band of Maoris attacked the home which is situated near the top of a slight rise, and during that time was surrounded by puriri trees. A lad of 14 was mortally wounded, and another farm worker killed. The tenant's wife, Mrs. Watson, who was unwell and resting on her bed at the time the firing commenced, hastily left her bed and crawled under it. The bullet holes around the bedroom door are still visible, and would do justice in size to any modern weapon. Mrs. Watson's two daughters were inside the house at the time. The youngest, Mary Ann, ran from the house during the firing in an effort to free the dog, which was chained nearby. She found she could not do so without the aid of a knife. She returned to the house and took the knife, and once again braved the firing and loosed the dog. Unfortunately it was later killed by the Maoris. It is almost impossible to visualise how this young lady could have escaped Maori bullets, for even to-day the original bush is still close to the house and the Maoris must have had a clear view of any movement about and within the building. Tradition has it that Mary Ann took a rifle on her return to the house, and joined with the menfolk in the defence of the home. Later, she left the home again

under fire, running down hill, to the nearest neighbour for help.¹⁰ Burt's homestead is situated behind the Paerata Bluff, originally part of Wesley College property.

At Waiuku it is interesting to note that the early stockade built in 1863 was situated behind the site of the present Methodist Church, and on the original ground stands the court house and the local constable's home. There were some early Methodist settlers in Waiuku, some being given land as a direct reward for taking part in the war, but little activity of note took place.

These engagements so near Auckland were unnerving to the population. The military seemed unable to hold a line of sufficient depth to stop Maori infiltration. It is interesting to note some of the comments on the arrival of reinforcements, recorded by one of our most revered and experienced missionaries. In a letter to his daughter, the Rev. John Hobbs remarks, "I hope no attempt will be made on this town, now that we have reinforcements and are expecting more. You will see another regiment is to come from Ceylon. I think the 50th and also 2nd Seyk (I think they are called) are to come. So I don't know what the Maoris will think we mean to do; but no one will consent to allow the foolish Maoris to have the Dominion."

It is indeed a strange remark which Hobbs makes with reference to the Maoris. One would expect a man who had spent the largest part of his life establishing the Methodist Mission work would be more sympathetic. Thomas Buddle records in his diary three months previously the context of a discussion on the Maori question with the Auckland Methodist Ministers, including John Hobbs. Buddle had called a meeting to discuss the possibility of approaching the Government to increase safety measures for scattered settlers beyond the Auckland military frontier. Thomas Buddle made mention of his disapproval of a letter written to the "Empire" by the Rev. Samuel Ironside, who had begun our Cloudy Bay Mission in 1840. Ironside had criticised the Government for lax enforcement of regulations in the Taranaki district. He gave the impression that it was high time the Government took action to prevent further killing, looting and burning of settlers' homes. He suggested "hundreds are now in the hostile ranks of the Maori King, who might have been saved from that fate had the 'rulers' been a 'terror to the evil' instead of pampering to it." He concluded by saying that the Government was now reaping its bitter reward for being too lenient.¹²

Thomas Buddle writes of John Hobbs' protest, "Mr. Hobbs was very warm about the Maori matters, he being rather offensive because I expressed disapproval" (of Ironside's publication). We must not harbour the fallacy that our Methodist missionaries were all of the same opinion in their attitude to the wars. Perhaps if they had been we would have a clearer record of their deliberations on the matter.

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Returning to the war situation. Alexander Reid was continuing his work as a Military Chaplain among Methodists serving with Imperial Forces and the local Militia. His appointment by the Northern District Synod marks him as the first full-time Methodist Military Chaplain in New Zealand.¹³

The British Methodist Conference, in its annual address to the Australasian Conference, had commended the pastoral care of all Methodist troops serving in both Colonies, and in particular troops in New Zealand.¹⁴ Of the total 12,000 Imperial troops who served in the New Zealand wars, I estimate about 1,200 were of Methodist heritage.



Map showing the various military redoubts and other defensive positions in South Auckland during 1863. (From Cowan's "The New Zealand Wars").

As previously mentioned, the Rev. James Wallis was appointed to care for troops south of Onehunga. During the building of the Main South Road by the 40th and 42nd regiments, he was a familiar figure riding through the bush tracks to the troops on construction work. He maintained services for our men in local defence redoubts cared for the sick and took scattered class meetings among the men.¹⁵ In October 1863,

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Wallis made formal application to the Defence Minister for normal Chaplain's allowances, with respect to travel and an additional horse. He explained . . ."on behalf of the troops and other military bodies encamped beyond Otahuhu . . . requires me to use an additional horse to the one I keep for the ordinary work of the circuit."¹⁶ Forage allowance was paid in accordance to Chaplain's regulations, though this was an exceptional case. Methodist Chaplains were not granted status in respect to pay until 1881, though already recognised as officiating chaplains as from 1856.¹⁷



**The Military camp at Otahuhu early in 1864;
tents from left to right are detachments of the 70th, 14th, 40th and 12th Imperial Regiments.
(Turnbull Photographic Library, 4630).**

The imperial forces were further strengthened by the arrival of naval units in the form of gun boats. The Governor intended to invade the Waikato district by sailing up the Waikato River into the very heart of Maori country. The Maoris recognised the fact that a great military mass was building up before them. Tamihana made hasty plans for an attack on Auckland by filtering through the mobile defence units on the southern frontier. The main object was to attack and hold Papatōetoe, and so divide the defending regiments. Word of this intended attack reached Thomas Buddle via the Methodist teacher at Aotea, who was informed by a Maori sympathetic to the Government. The message ran, "The One thing now meditated is to go and kill the Pakehas who reside at Papatōetoe," and was signed by Te Kewene.¹⁸ By the time Buddle had passed this message on, the Imperial Forces were virtually in possession of the Waikato. The message may have come too late, but it shows the obvious Maori intention of continuing by degrees the attacks, with Auckland as their objective.

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November 20th, 1863, will always remain the greatest of days in the Military history of the Maori Wars. At three in the afternoon the largest military and naval forces ever assembled at that time in New Zealand began the attack on the key stronghold of the Waikato Maoris defence. Over 850 men, from the 14th, 65th, 40th, and 12th Imperial Regiments, detachments of Royal Artillery and Engineers and Naval Brigade, began their assault on the Maori positions at Rangiriri. An invasion fleet of four armed gun boats, two steamers, and H.M.S. "Curacoa" supported the operation. The main assault began with the infantry after artillery support. The Maoris fought with much determination and skill, inflicting severe casualties upon the infantry regiments as they endeavoured to storm the entrenchments. During the day over three attempts were made by the Imperial troops to capture the stronghold but the Maoris were strongly entrenched behind their defences. As evening fell, the troops surrounded the position, and the remaining Maoris surrendered next morning. The total casualties were heavy on the British side in comparison with the number taking part in the engagement—47 were killed, and 85 wounded. The Maoris suffered an equal number dead, while 183 were captured. Thus as Buddle records for the final time in his diary—"Friday, 20th November, Battle of Rangiriri, Waikato, which was taken with great loss of life. 200 prisoners taken ..."



Sunset on Rangiriri showing the depth and nature of the strong Maori defences taken at great cost to Imperial Forces, 20th November, 1863

There was no disputing who was master now. The backbone of the aristocratic Maori resistance in the Waikato was broken, and Auckland was no longer in danger of invasion. Yet at what cost! Later the Government was to take the Waikato lands and give them to European military settlers, while the work of the missions was to be set

back at least 50 years. Who today can judge the Government action? As a Church we dare not criticize, for at the time we were not certain what our own policy should have been.

CHAPTER THREE—"FIVE HECTIC MONTHS."

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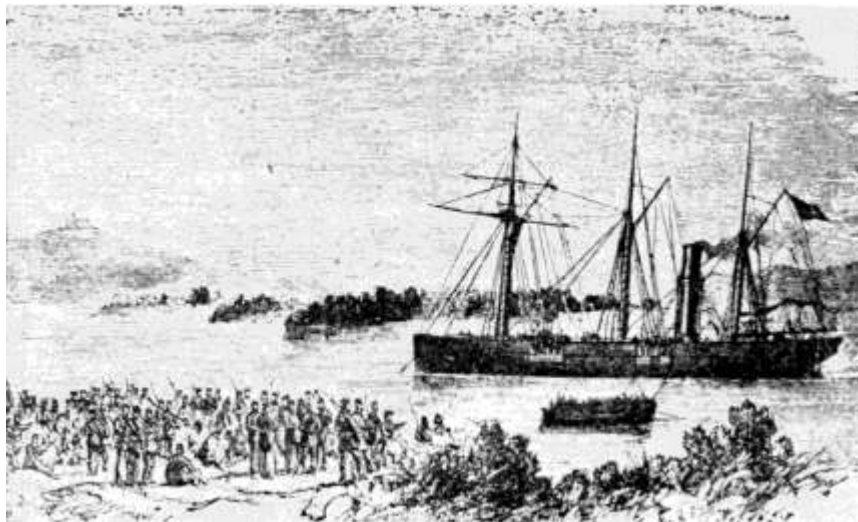
1. "The New Zealand Wars." Cowan. Chapter 28, Vol. I.
2. This is surmised, as it appears to have been the usual measures adopted.
3. Buddle Diary.
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8. North Island District Synod Minutes (November, 1863).
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11. Letter by John Hobbs, September 23rd, 1863. (Trinity Methodist College).
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Chapter Four

“The Aftermath”

The defeat of the Waikato Maoris at Rangariri brought the area about Waipa and most of the Upper Waikato into Imperial hands. This occupation made possible the confiscation policy, whereby the lands of the hostile Maoris were turned over by the Government to Military Settlers as a reward for taking part either in the wars or garrison duties.

It is impossible here to deal with the finer details of the policy, or to dwell at length on the formation of the Waikato Regiments of Military Settlers. It is my main task in this chapter to take a few quotations from the Journal of the Rev. John S. Rishworth, who shortly after the battle of Orakau (April 2nd, 1864) was appointed by the New Zealand Northern District as Chaplain to troops occupying, and still engaged in, minor fighting in the Waikato.



The H.M.S. “Pioneer” taking Maori prisoners aboard after Rangiriri.

John Rishworth had arrived in New Zealand from Halifax during August, 1862. As a local preacher he was "zealous and useful" and of "great acceptance." He was accepted as a candidate for the ministry by the District Meeting in November, 1863, and commissioned to work among the Forces.

At the time Rishworth began his ministry there were a total of 11,335 Imperial troops under arms in New Zealand and supported by 3,600 Colonial reservists. In all, nearly 15,000 men were under arms in the North Island, concentrated primarily around

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Auckland, the Waikato and Taranaki areas.¹ It is evident that the Conference did wisely in setting this young man apart for a ministry to such a large number of men.



**A section of the road built by troops somewhere south of Pukekohe.
A bullock waggon of the Light Transport Corps visible on the right.
Taken before 1865. (Turnbull Photographic Library, 3184).**

Ngaruawahia had been occupied earlier by General Cameron's forces, and had by April, 1864, been established as the pivot in the strategic occupation of the Waikato. It was to this military strong-point that Rishworth came on the last day of April, 1864. "Visited Ngaruawahia and was kindly received at the camp by the Commanding Officer, Colonel Waddy (later Brigadier Waddy, C.B.). I proposed a voluntary service for Sabbath Afternoon at 2 p.m., to which the Colonel kindly assented. Visited the hospitals and spoke faithfully to the invalids on the momentous subject of their souls' salvation; reading also portions of Scripture and commending them in prayer to God's mercy. Serious attention was manifested by all, while some were affected even to tears; God grant to some it may have been a 'word in season'. One man, just convalescent, came to me as I was going my rounds amongst the sick and asked for a New Testament, telling me how God had made his affliction a means of salvation to his soul. He showed me a written covenant wherein he avouched God to be his portion for this life and that which is to come, proposing in all the future by His grace to live a 'godly, righteous and sober life.' I encouraged him to steadfastness, reminding him of the ability and willingness of Christ to keep him even to the end."²

The following day, May 1st, 1864, found Rishworth riding 12 miles through rain and difficult weather to the camp. He found the going so hard he could not take his horse through a flooded swamp, and continued his journey on foot, arriving wet from the 'thighs down.' He was greeted by the Colonel, and after lunch took the service, his first

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as a Chaplain. Later he visited the hospitals and distributed tracts and magazines, and gave the final words of comfort and assurance to a weary dying soldier.



**Rev. John Rishworth,
the Methodist Chaplain to the Imperial Forces occupying the Waikato 1864.
(Photo: Courtesy Miss Rishworth.)**

This day and the days following were typical to Rishworth. He visited Ramarama, where the 70th was stationed, and was always greeted with respect by both officers and men. On other occasions he was ready to minister the Word at a moment's notice. On more than one occasion he was called to preach to scattered numbers of the Transport Corps, whose duty it was to carry goods from Auckland into the Waikato over rough and difficult country. The whole of the Waikato by the end of May, 1864, was virtually in Imperial hands, but little pockets of Maoris still roamed the dense forests and ambushed individual settlers and groups of patrolling troops.

As today, the preaching of the Word within the military situation is difficult, so in Rishworth's day it was certainly not easy. He arrived at Whatawhata in the company of several officers, and he asked permission to hold a service in the small chapel within the camp. This had been granted and the word went through the camp of a voluntary service that evening. "I arrived at the appointed time and stayed for quite an hour; no one appearing, I left mournful; feeling that they were lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God." But with true humility he adds, "God have mercy upon them and upon me."

The area of Rishworth's military parish was an extensive one, covering from Ramarama south to Whatawhata across to Raglan, then south again to Te Awamutu

and over to Alexander Camp at the base of the Pirongia Mountain, and finally at Kawhia where he visited only once.



Road construction by Royal Engineers in the Waikato, 1864-67.

Late in August, 1864, Rishworth was instructed by the Methodist Mission to proceed to Kawhia, and investigate the state of the abandoned Mission. Kawhia had been one of the three Methodist Missions abandoned on the outbreak of the war. Now the Church had the task of trying to piece together the almost irreparable damage. Waipa had been evacuated in May, 1863, by Alexander Reid, Aotea some months later by Mr. Skinner, and Kawhia, previously occupied by Cort Schnackenberg, during the height of the war in September, 1863.³

Rishworth decided to accomplish two things by this expedition. He had not consolidated his work as a Chaplain further south than Whatawhata, and thought it wise to visit Methodist soldiers at the various military posts on his way to Kawhia. This would be going into the fringe of hostile territory and he knew the possible dangers that lay ahead. Accompanied by the two Methodist native missionary assistants who joined him at Whatawhata, he prepared for the task.

On the morning of August 29th, 1864, Rishworth began his long journey on horseback, arriving at Te Awamutu as their first stopping place about 8 p.m. that evening.

"At some distance from the camp the sentries challenged us, and after the usual reply of 'Friend' to the salute 'Who goes there?' we were treated in a very kindly manner, being directed from sentry to sentry till I reached Dr. Neil's of the 65th Regiment. The brother gave me a hearty welcome, and after supper I was

conducted to the home of the Military Chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Collins, who kindly gave me a night's lodging. I found him free and gentlemanly, but not, I am afraid, spiritually minded."

The Journal continues with this entry for the following day.

"Visited several men for information as to the number who were united to us in Church fellowship and members of the Methodist Church. I found several who were really pious men, and some who were back-sliders, and was assured that many would like to see me quartered among them, as the only Chaplains were Episcopal and Papist, and the men of the Protestant profession were not satisfied with their own Chaplain, one expressing him somewhat as follows: "Although it was not proper to speak about the matter yet, Mr. Collins was not a minister suited for their circumstances, not being an earnest Christian minister." I had a melancholy conversation with Sgt. Short of the 40th Regiment, who was once a member of a class, and truly earnest, but now a miserable backslider. He owned to much unhappiness of mind, to his deep sense of dreadful guilt. . . ."⁴

That same day, August 30th, 1864, he left in the late morning for Alexander Camp at the foot of the Pirongia Mountain. He arrived there about 3 in the afternoon and was kindly met by the Commandant, Colonel Haultian. Rishworth, as usual, enquired if he might take a Protestant service. The Colonel informed him there were no amenities suitable to house all the men for a service, but he would be glad to have Rishworth preach in the evening when the men had finished work. The Colonel added, "You are the first clergyman to visit us and offer to preach in the three months we have been here."

The following day, August 31st, Rishworth and his two Maori companions left on the final stage of their journey to Kawhia. Finally, they crossed some small streams and climbed over the last hills, and there before them lay Kawhia, and what remained of the Methodist Mission. Rishworth now looked upon a deserted home, robbed of furniture, the windows smashed, the roof almost destroyed, while the Chapel stood a silent witness to all that had gone on. There was little doubt the work was ruined, nothing remained, and little could be done. As they were about to leave, a group of 30 armed Maoris came into view eyeing the three men with suspicion. Rishworth was in two minds as to what to do. Should he make a run for it, or remain and speak to the men. Had there been British troops in the vicinity the rebels would certainly not have shown themselves. Rishworth decided to wait, the Maoris slowly approached; the two Maori assistants went down to greet them, explaining "Pakeha minister." This cleared the air at once and the Maoris were pleased to see him. "They were glad to see me and looked at me with a sort of neutral curiosity." The armed men had previously belonged to the Methodist Mission, but had rallied to the patriotic cry to defend their rights. Rishworth decided there was something that could be done, and he instructed

his two Maori assistants to remain and commence the work once again. What a request for two untrained men, and what an almost hopeless task lay ahead of them. Unhappy in the spirit, Rishworth returned to Alexander Camp, and from there he left for Whatawhata to take services for the 12th and 18th on the following day.⁵

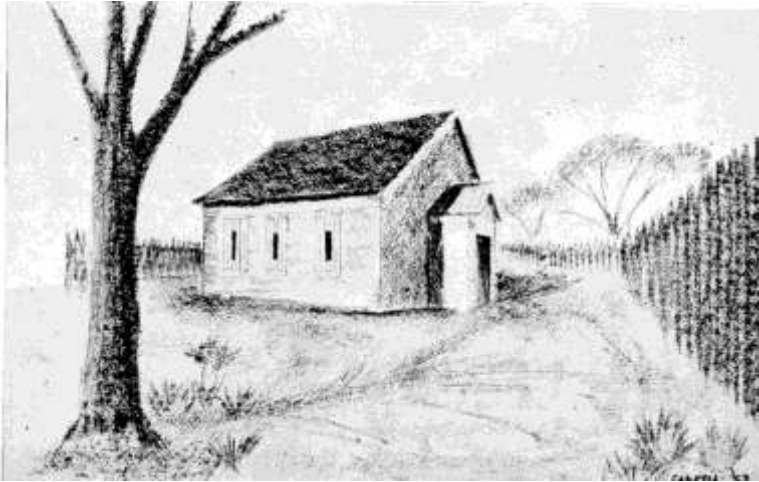
Rishworth remained in the Waikato for several weeks longer, and then returned to Onehunga where he acted as local supply in that area, and Auckland till his next appointment. Leaving the Waikato, we turn our attention to the only incident which affected our Mission in Northland. On the night of September 11th, 1864, about 200 Maori prisoners of war escaped from Kawau Island, where they were held in open custody under the personal supervision of the Governor, Sir George Grey. A large party of these men found their way into the Methodist Mission district at Kaipara, where the Rev. William Gittos was stationed. These escaped prisoners endeavoured to prejudice the minds of the Maoris at the Mission against the pakeha. This was a source of great concern to Gittos, who was in an isolated position miles from any armed settlement. He determined to nip any thoughts of revolution in the bud before such talk became a reality. Meeting the escaped men in their own hiding place, he spoke to them in such a way as to be able to take from them both their arms and ammunition.⁶ We would like to know today just what he said, for he would have been a valuable man in the earlier days in the Waikato.

Meanwhile, the war in the Auckland area and the Waikato was virtually over. Daily, Imperial troops were returning to Auckland and shipping elsewhere, while the Militia was increasing in strength to take over the Imperial Army positions. By late 1864, the Government was in the process of forming Regiments of armed settlers to go to the Waikato and take over land, which in time of emergency would form a defensive ring about Auckland. The outlying villages of Howick, Onehunga and Papakura were, at the end of June, 1865, the only places where Imperial troops were resident in great numbers. The situation was now changing from one of intense activity to quiet withdrawal by the Imperials and consolidation by the Colonial forces.

Our Church was caught up in the aftermath of the war. It will be remembered at Papakura the Imperial forces took over the small Methodist Chapel as a stores department in July, 1863. It was unfortunate that this building was the last to be vacated. In July, 1865, after an occupation of two years, the building had fallen into a state of disrepair. This resulted in the Rev. James Wallis writing to the Defence Minister requesting compensation for the damage done, so the Trustees could undertake repairs. After Wallis had written three times on the subject, stating: "I also applied by letter on three different occasions . . . but that gentleman has not thought it proper either to acknowledge my communications or grant me any rightful request," a polite way of putting that he had been ignored three times before, and did not intend to be ignored again! In accordance with age-old red tape, the Imperial authorities replied informing Wallis, "I therefore submit that any rent or compensations considered

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responsible, should be paid by the Colony . . . not the Imperial Government." Wallis wrote next to the Colonial forces informing them that the sum of £178 was required to put the building in good condition. This claim he forwarded as instructed in July, 1865. He received no answer, and applied again in stronger terms: "I am left in a state of utter ignorance as to whom the officer is that I may expect a satisfactory answer to my application." At long last, on October 10th, 1865, a reply came. I venture to suggest Wallis probably went livid with righteous indignation as he read this reply: "Reference to the claim for damage done to the Wesleyan Church property at Papakura, and to state that you had better apply to the Commissariat General, General Jones, C.B. of the Imperial Forces, on the subject. G. Hoult, Captain."⁷



**The Methodist Church at Papakura
used as an Imperial Supply Depot for local Militia, 1863 - 65.
(Sketch by Rodney Smith).**

The mystery remains—who did finally pay compensation, the Colony or the British Government? Probably the Methodist Church was the loser.

This brings to a close the narrative of our Church's part in the South Auckland and Waikato War. There are, however, three striking facts which leave an impression upon the writer.

It has been stated in some previous histories that the Methodist Mission supported the Government throughout the quarrel, or at least gave the appearance of support. This is going too far. The Church sought only to ask the Maoris to submit to the Crown, motivated primarily by concern for their welfare. The Church saw that an unequal conflict with Imperial Troops would undoubtedly retard the progress of the race, both socially and spiritually. Undoubtedly there were differing views among some

individuals in our Church over the land and the war question. Yet the evidence seems clear that the Church was fully aware of the consequences of a war. For this reason they sought to avoid it the best way they thought possible.

Secondly, the Church felt it had a definite obligation to the Military Forces serving in New Zealand. The New Zealand District Meeting had been authorised by the British Conference of 1863 to minister the best it could to Methodist troops serving with the Imperial Regiments. As we have seen, the Rev. Alexander Reid was set apart for work in Auckland in June, 1863, and the Rev. James Wallis commissioned to work in the South Auckland District from September, 1863, till late 1864. The Rev. John Rishworth had been set apart specially for the work in the Waikato from April, 1864, till late October of the same year. Two of the chaplaincies were maintained financially by the District—Reid's in Auckland and Rishworth's in the Waikato. Our record of "results" is brief, but without doubt our Church was strengthened to a considerable degree by these men, some of whom were discharged in New Zealand and took their place in the Church as laymen.

Perhaps had there been a European appointment in the . Waikato for 1865, Methodism would not have been so slow in establishing her place within the newly-created settlement at Hamilton. It is clear from Rishworth's work there was ample scope among the troops, and those discharged would have made a work possible. As it was, the first Methodist Chapel was opened in the settlement as late as 1st November, 1869.⁸ Even five years and a half before Rishworth was preaching to outback timber camps and scattered Europeans. It seems that, had a man been appointed to work among the European Military settlers as they arrived in the Waikato, Methodism might to-day be stronger, which according to the historical background, it has every right to be. During the years of inactivity on our part, both Presbyterian and Anglican causes were begun and were firmly established while we were just struggling.⁹

Finally, the difficult question of the effect of the wars on our Maori Missions must be considered. Three stations were abandoned during 1863—Kawhia, Aotea and Waipa. The situation that Rishworth found at Kawhia was typical of the other two Missions. An indication of the decline after the war can be seen thus. Kawhia was staffed by two Maori Missionary Assistants for the last four months of 1864,¹⁰ after having been deserted for nearly a year. Waipa was left vacant for two years, from May, 1863, till April, 1865, when it was then included in the Raglan Circuit.¹¹ Where Aotea and Kawhia had before the war employed two European agents, the Rev. Cort Schnackenberg alone returned in 1865. The following year, 1866, all these Mission stations were included in one circuit under Schnackenberg and two Maori assistants.¹² By 1868 Waipa had been dropped from the list of stations, and Raglan, Aotea and Kawhia formed into one circuit.¹³ These changes in themselves are sufficient to show the fluctuation and decline of the Maori work in the Waikato. One final example in the form of statistics. Before the outbreak of war in 1863, there was a total of 1,700

"hearers," or Maoris under pastoral care of the Methodist Mission in the Waikato. In 1868 only 300 remained, while one station was completely closed.¹⁴

Secondly, the Maoris had lost confidence in our missionaries. They considered that the Mission had supported the Government. What else could they assume when our men pleaded with them to lay down their arms? Admittedly our Mission did so for the highest motives, the welfare of the Maoris themselves. But the Maoris could hardly view this except as an insult to their national pride, and a lack of appreciation of their position which resulted in a loss of "mana" on the part of our missionaries. The work of our Maori missionaries was then made doubly difficult for they were treated as traitors to the Maori cause.

Thus to-day Methodism still bears the marks of the Auckland and Waikato war. We see it in a decline, or rather a loss of Maoris at that time which, if the war could have been avoided, would have made our position much stronger among them today. Certainly the goodwill through an unbroken work would have been a heritage to our Church, and a meeting place with the Maori of to-day. We are left now with only the ashes, and a dull glow.

Perhaps we can learn from our early Methodist Fathers two things. They never flinched from meeting difficult political situations, and whatever action they took in relation to that problem, they were prepared to stand by and face the results, despite the difficulty.

CHAPTER FOUR—"THE AFTERMATH."

REFERENCES:

1. Harrop. Page 196.
2. Rishworth Journal. Page 2.
3. This date (Schnackenberg) is only a rough approximation. There is no known surviving record.
4. Ibid Rishworth, Page 34.
5. Ibid. Page 40.
6. "New Zealand Herald". (Month unknown, 1909).
7. National Archives; Wallis. April, 1865-October, 1865.
8. "Armed Settlers." D. C. M. Norris. Page 164.
9. This is not an attempt to be partisan, but merely shows the importance of early historical stationing.
10. Minutes of the Australasian Wesleyan Conference, 1864.
11. ditto 1865.
12. ditto 1866.
13. ditto 1868.
14. ditto 1863-1868.