PART ONE
The First Half Century
1822-1872
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—G.I.L.
Introduction
This story is to record the main features, the personalities, the varied fortunes, the trials, disappointments, aspirations and achievements of the Methodist Maori Mission to the Maori people over three half-centuries 1822 to 1972.

It is a very condensed account, but it aims to provide an overall picture of a significant strand in the history of this country, and it may awaken an interest that should produce in future years further accounts of aspects of the story.

Other Churches shared in this Missionary activity, and they have their recorded volumes. In particular we pay our tribute to the initial pioneering of the Church Missionary Society's workers of the Anglican Church under Samuel Marsden and his colleagues, without whose brotherly co-operation and encouragement, much of this Wesleyan story would never have been told.

The work began in a confused age. The Napoleonic Wars had recently ceased with all the inevitable social and economic confusion that followed. The major nations of Europe were licking their wounds and still viewing every move of their erstwhile adversaries with suspicion.

Britain's conflict with the American Colonies, and the loss of areas for economic expansion, and a place to dispose of her growing surplus population, meant that she was seeking some solution in the face of a disillusioned public who had burned their fingers in their experiments in colonisation in America.

It was a period of intense sectarian rivalry in Britain and on the Continent. Following the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century and the counter-movement of the Anglican Tractarians, there was a polarising of religious thinkers around sharply divergent viewpoints with strong antipathies. Such divisions emerged within, as well as between, the various denominations.

The Napoleonic Wars had resulted in a renewed mutual distrust between Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, and movements of the Roman Catholic Missionaries, often from zealous French Orders, gave rise to fears of fresh French colonial expansion.

The Industrial Revolution had begun. Towns grew around the factories, the birthrate multiplied, social unrest assumed alarming proportions, and the commercial world was looking for new sources of raw materials and markets. There was a boom in ship-building, with a resulting demand for timber, masts, spars and cordage for the sailing...
ships, and there had grown a new demand for whale oil and animal skins. All these factors turned the eyes of the commercial and industrial leaders to the Pacific area. Amidst all this, a growing social conscience nursed in the Evangelical Churches stirred a concern for the unevangelised peoples in the lands now opening up.

This was a day of strong convictions, held with zeal and propagated with vigour. The men and women who were thrust up as leaders in that period were men and women of their time. Not only Church people, but large sections of the general public were living under somewhat limited and puritanical pressures, some of which were good and some not so good, but as the Missionaries went out from such a social situation and made their impact on primitive peoples, their attitudes and standards set before these folk received much unfavourable judgment. To this day this continues from their critics. However in justice it must be said that these early Missionaries, a very varied group of men and women, were prepared for their convictions to travel to the ends of the earth and face privations and live dangerously to a degree that humbles their modern readers. In an age when the anti-hero and the debunker of the great figures of the past are in fashion, one wonders how far modern detractors of Missionary personalities would have been prepared to face such conditions themselves for the sake of their convictions.

It is from the reading of the work of this section of Christian Missions to New Zealand that these pages are recorded. The readers who will make this a beginning of their search will find that it opens a great human story for which as a young nation we should be grateful.
CHAPTER ONE

The Anglican Initiative, the Preparation and The Kaeo Venture 1822-1827

There was a ship in the Bay. She was not a stranger now, but her coming could usually bring some new excitement. This was the Brig 'Active' from Sydney.

As she dropped anchor, almost everyone who could manage it gathered on the beach, excited, jostling and curious to see who and what she had brought this time to lend a new interest to their lives. It was always like this in the early European days in isolated New Zealand.

And when it happened on January 22, 1822, at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands the waiting crowd saw come ashore a young Wesleyan Minister from England, not very robust, and with him his new and brave wife. He was the Rev'd Samuel Leigh; his task to begin a Mission to the Maori people; but like those who were later to join him, he brought to his task an ignorance of Maori ways which led to some tragic misunderstandings as the two cultures clashed, but also a courageous determination to serve and uplift these people. Bearing near incredible hardships and griefs, they spread a good influence long before it ever became apparent, they steered the Maori warrior into the ways of peace, and they mitigated many of the various blows which befell the native race through its contact with the less worthy and the more avaricious among the European arrivals.

What had led to Leigh's coming?

The opening of New South Wales as a convict station had called for the appointment of an official chaplain, and the Rev'd Samuel Marsden had been so appointed as Anglican Chaplain. As time went on a mixed settlement developed in Sydney consisting of the families of the convict settlement staff, a number of general newcomers, traders, immigrants, sailors, whalers, as well as certain of the paroled prisoners seeking employment.

Marsden's work soon extended far beyond the specific work of Chaplain to the convict settlement. Ships touched at the port and began to introduce Maoris and other natives to the settlement and the existence of great communities of these people beyond the existing trade routes brought to Marsden a great concern for their evangelisation and
advancement in the ways of civilisation. There were plenty of evidences of widespread exploitation by unscrupulous sea captains and their crews.

Hence the establishment of the first Anglican Maori Mission in December 1814, at the Bay of Islands, with the preaching of the first Christian sermon in New Zealand by Samuel Marsden on Christmas Day. The story of this, and the part played by Ruatara as interpreter, has been graphically told elsewhere.

The Rev'd Samuel Leigh had also been sent to New South Wales by the Wesleyan Missionary Society of England. He landed in Australia on August 10th, 1815, and soon he and Samuel Marsden had formed a firm friendship. Leigh, a young single man, took up his task with deep commitment, living almost a nomad life, thrusting his way out to the edges of settlement looking for places where groups of people could be gathered for Christian fellowship. He formed the first Wesleyan congregations among some people who had been meeting under lay leaders, whose urgent appeals to British Wesleyan leaders for help had resulted in Leigh's appointment.

![The Rev'd Samuel Leigh, the first Wesleyan Missionary to Australia and New Zealand](image)

This is a story in itself, and his work makes a moving record. He established the first Methodist Circuit in Australia with fourteen preaching places, and this involved him in travelling 140 miles every three weeks. It is a pity that his later succession of collapses in health have overshadowed his splendid pioneering achievements. In 1819 one such collapse occurred under the privations he had suffered. Marsden saw in this an opportunity for two things: one to give Leigh a health recruiting trip, the other to obtain a careful assessment of the present state of affairs in the Mission settlement at
Rangihoua from which place some unsatisfactory reports were emanating. He had confidence in Leigh's judgment as is shown by his comment in a letter to the Wesleyan Mission Authorities a few years later in which he writes: 'He is a worthy man — he has laboured hard in this part of the world, and has been a very faithful Missionary.'

So Leigh had come across on a former voyage on the brig 'Active' and had spent from May 5th to June 17th, 1819, among the Anglican workers. He quickly formed a warm friendship with them, and they corresponded often in later years. While in the Bay of Islands Leigh gave some constructive advice on the organisation of their programme of work with special emphasis on the devotional pattern. As yet there was no Anglican Clergyman among this group of industrial missionaries, and Leigh acted as a faithful pastor to them. He saw the dangers and temptations they were facing, and realised that a stronger religious life was essential for the safeguarding of their characters. On one occasion, in company with Kendall and Gordon, he visited Whangaroa and spent a night there. Much of the primitive and cruel side of the Maori life of those times was revealed as warring parties arrived and departed, and all this made a lasting impression on him. On his return to Australia he made a constructive report to Marsden. Now began a long-drawn-out campaign on Leigh's part to persuade the British Wesleyan Mission Authorities to open a Mission in New Zealand in close cooperation with the Anglicans. At first he was unsuccessful, but he would not be silenced. When in 1820 he again had a serious breakdown, he was compelled to return to England on furlough, and there he resumed his pleading at first hand. In fact, he pestered them with his calls at the Mission Office, and, even though they were carrying a heavy overdraft on their funds and saw no prospect of commencing a new field at such a distance from the homeland, they gave him permission to make a personal drive for funds, and goods for barter. He travelled up and down England pleading the cause and supporting this with the account of his personal observations and experiences in the Bay of Islands. The response was most encouraging and the Mission Secretaries had no option but to agree. They had said that if he raised the wherewithal he could himself pioneer the work.

Leigh, now a married man, was authorised to set sail. It is doubtful if he should have been sent. His constitution was so undermined by the rigours of his experiences in Australia that he was not fit for the more severe conditions of an isolated pioneer situation. However, with his amazingly brave wife he set off to work in a country where the life was being radically changed by the introduction of firearms. Hongi Hika, a Northern chief, after a visit to England, had returned with loads of gifts which in Sydney he had traded for muskets and ammunition. Thus armed, he led his northern tribes in a series of savage, devastating raids through southern districts in settlement of old quarrels and also in an attempt to set himself up as a Maori Napoleon. This new
element of Pakeha weapons threw Maori life into a frenzy. The power of their old karakia (incantations) which had held sway as a restraining force in their old system of warfare, now proved helpless in the face of the firepower of the musket. The mana of a chief and the protection of long-held superstitions were swept away in a moment. A strange feeling of desolation and insecurity awakened widespread fears on every side, and this produced an element of panic which rocked the Maori people to their foundations. It affected victor and vanquished alike, and cannibalism and cruelty on a wholesale scale became the order of the day. These elements had been present before, but they were usually associated with certain specified offences and were largely of a ritualistic significance. Now whole regions were so reduced in numbers that in many tribal areas the pattern of life was completely changed. Great numbers of captives were brought back as slaves and forced to be menials to Hongi and his fellow chiefs. It was into this situation that Leigh came to the Bay of Islands for the second time on January 22nd, 1822, this time to launch a Mission for his own Church.

When the Missionaries arrived and sought to present the Christian faith, it was a direct confrontation of two utterly different ways of life and philosophies and scales of values, and for a long time there was little more than a battle of wits in an atmosphere of mutual ridicule and condemnation.

Leigh was warmly welcomed by his Anglican friends, who had in the meantime been joined by their first clergyman. Leigh and his wife were given the use of a barn at Te Puna, the Anglican Mission settlement, and for sixteen months from January 22nd, they remained, sharing the work, studying the language and making exploratory journeys seeking a new site for the Wesleyans to occupy. After thirteen months they were joined by Luke Wade (an artisan) and James Stack (a lay agent). It turned out that Hongi's raids had so decimated the areas to the south, that proposed sites at Whangarei and Coromandel and the Thames (as the Waitemata area in general was called) had been so depleted that any idea of opening there was, for the time being, out of the question.

William White who was expected to arrive as a companion Missionary did not arrive in the Bay of Islands until May 15th, 1823, after a voyage of nearly five weeks from Sydney. While waiting for him, Leigh hired a fisherman's boat to go prospecting. Walter Lawry, a former colleague in Sydney, en route to Tonga to begin a Mission there, touched at the Bay of Islands, and he accompanied Leigh and five Maoris on this journey. They had intended to go to Whangarei, but storms drove them north and after a wild night at sea they were driven into Whangaroa Harbour, the place where 'The Boyd' had been attacked and her crew murdered. This had been according to the Maori custom of 'Utu' or revenge, for indignities and cruelties perpetrated on local Maori chiefs by the captains of this and other vessels. Even so, though the Maoris felt justified in their action according to Maori standards, they suspected that at any time a punitive expedition might arrive. Every movement of Europeans was watched with
alarm and suspicion. When Leigh and his companions landed, they were greeted aggressively by a horde of armed Maoris, and the whole atmosphere did not present a very favourable prospect, and the little party withdrew and returned to the Bay of Islands. It was a very brief parley with the people of Whangaroa.

Later, in April, 1823, on the suggestion of Hongi, Leigh and the Anglican John Butler made a visit to the Oruru district further north still, but owing to the bad access from the sea to the Oruru Maoris, the idea of starting there was dropped for the meantime.

The arrival of William White now called for a firm decision, and Whangarei was decided on. All the Wesleyan team boarded the 'St. Michael', the ship on which White had arrived. They comprised Samuel and Mrs. Leigh, William White, James Stack and Luke Wade. At Leigh's invitation they were accompanied by the Rev'd John Butler, Messrs Hall and Shepherd and Mrs Shepherd of the Anglican Mission. Captain Beveridge of the 'St. Michael' also had his wife on board. They sailed on May 26th, and after battling against head winds, anchored within Whangarei Heads at 8 p.m. the following evening. For six days the ship lay at anchor and a series of exploratory journeys was made. What was thought to be a most suitable site was found, but it was soon evident that the recent tribal wars had decimated the local population and again the idea had to be dropped. After consulting on the ship with a group of the chiefs of the remnant of the local people, it was decided to head for the notorious Whangaroa instead.

William White   Photo: Auckland City Library
On 5th June, at sunset, the ship anchored outside the Whangaroa Heads. During the night she was warped up into the harbour and in the morning was surrounded by a crowd of excited Maoris in their canoes. The Whangaroa people were of two main tribal groups — the Ngatipu under their leading chief Te Pari around the Harbour entrance, and the Ngatipou further up the harbour and along the Kaeo River under three chiefs, Te Puhi, Te Ara (George), and Ngahuruuru, all brothers.

On June 6th, 1823, Leigh and White, accompanied by Butler, Hall and Shepherd, searched the harbour and its environs and finally settled on Kaeo River as the most suitable spot for a Mission. Te Pari, chief of the outer tribe was away on a war expedition in the south, but Te Ara (George) of the inner tribes was on board when the decision was made, and he and his brother made many promises of co-operation and protection should the Missionaries settle at Kaeo. As yet, the ruling influence in the desire of the Maori chiefs for small groups of Europeans near their Pas was the status it gave the chief, and the access to some of the useful materials of trade and the tools of civilisation.

On Sunday, June 8th, a service was held on the ship, and Leigh preached from the text — 'Then Samuel took a stone and set it beside Mizpah and Shen, and called the name of it Ebenezer, saying, hitherto hath the Lord helped us.' (1 Samuel 7:12). In the evening Mr. Butler, the Anglican preached, and in this way, the fraternal spirit of true unity was demonstrated to the ship's company. This was the mid-winter season, notorious for its frequent heavy rain and flash floods in the district, and some ten days of heavy rain and storms followed. However, undaunted by this, on Tuesday, 10th June, the Mission party landed at a spot on the opposite side of a stream from George's village. White, Hall and Shepherd remained there in a rough hut that had been hurriedly built, and in the evening Leigh and Butler returned to the ship.

Everything was sodden, and White and his companions made a bed on top of two hen-coops. Next day all the men, including some from the ship, worked hard to prepare the site, building a landing place and small wharf on the river bank, and a track to the place where buildings would be erected.

On Thursday, Leigh and Butler came up from Whangaroa to what was now to be known as Wesleydale. Saplings were cut in the saturated bush, and dragged out over the sodden ground and across running streams. A raupo house was built and a large tent — one of the gifts from English friends gathered in 1820 — was set up and equipped with a rough plank floor, and part divided off for a bedroom. Unfortunately, during its three years of travel and storage, the damp from the sea water and mildew had got in, and the tent leaked severely in several places. Yet this had to serve, and on the first night Leigh turned a large cask on its side and slept in that to escape the leaks.
These large casks in which most of their possessions had been packed, proved on arrival to be most useful as places of refuge. A store was also quickly built to hold the goods brought out for barter, the only means at that time of obtaining fresh foods and the services of Maori helpers.

Also came a twelve months' supply of flour, and the essential parts of a dwelling to be erected — an early example of prefabrication. In addition, a cow, goats and some poultry had been provided.

The story is now of these toiling men being surrounded by a crowd of scornful Maoris, few of whom could be persuaded to lend a hand. Whenever the new arrivals were engaged in some heavy task requiring their united efforts, pilfering went on amongst the unattended goods, and this was a serious problem never fully overcome during the whole of their time at Kaeo.

On Saturday afternoon, June 21st, the womenfolk were brought up from the 'St. Michael', and Mrs Leigh settled into her primitive home. On the previous Sunday, White and Shepherd had held short services, including Scripture readings in their camp against a background of uproar in the nearby village where a returning war party was being welcomed back and preparations made for a cannibal feast.

Sunday, June 22nd, 1823, was the real beginning of the Mission services. Captain Beveridge of the 'St. Michael' and the Rev'd Mr Butler of the Anglican Mission were present. The morning service was taken by Mr Butler and the evening by Samuel Leigh and so they staked their claim in the name of their Master.

Butler and his Maori helpers returned to the ship on the Tuesday, and the next day Hall followed, to return to the Bay of Islands after nearly five weeks' absence, having given invaluable help to the Wesleyan party. Mr and Mrs Shepherd stayed for some time longer as Mrs Shepherd was expecting a child. Shepherd was the only man in the party who was fluent in the Maori language, and his presence was of great assistance in contacts with the Maoris. At the beginning of August, Mrs Shepherd gave birth to a son.

On 29th June, after morning service among the Mission party where Mr Shepherd took prayers and White preached, a group consisting of Leigh, Shepherd, Stack and White went to the house of Te Puhi, brother of George, and conducted a service. Mr Shepherd preached, sang and prayed in Maori. As could be expected, the reception was only moderate, and attempts to gather others in the village were met with ridicule.
On Tuesday Leigh was seriously ill, and the Maoris hearing of this said it was because the Missionaries had committed a serious breach of Tapu by having destroyed the remains of an old Maori hut on land purchased for them. This was one of the many unwitting offences against deeply entrenched Maori ideas. Even so, at this time, had they known that the building carried a Tapu, they would probably have ignored or challenged the idea as being a heathen superstition, and in any case they would strongly deny that Leigh's illness had any relation to the incident. This illness recurred again and again, and the burden of the work fell at that time on the shoulders of the other men. Mrs Leigh watched over and nursed her husband under primitive conditions, protecting him from the elements by tending him in his wine-cask refuge. The man on whom most of the heavy work fell was William White. He was a man of tireless energy with a real gift of planning, and was a devoted and committed Missionary who gave promise of a great usefulness.

White was eager to see the Maoris not only evangelised but also given the opportunity of learning the crafts of civilisation, and of rising in their level of physical comfort and sanitation and health. Keeping a balance in all these matters was White's great problem, and in later years was the cause of his losing his place on the Mission staff. As the years went on, he became immersed in the industrial aspects of the Mission, to the neglect of his primary task, and in the tensions that this produced with his brethren, he slipped further from the disciplines necessary in his personal Christian life. Yet now he was the natural leader.

On August 3rd, Marsden arrived in the Bay of Islands in the ship 'Brampton' on his fourth visit to New Zealand, bringing reinforcements and supplies for his own Mission as well as Wesleyan recruits, the Rev'd and Mrs Nathaniel Turner and their infant daughter, a maid Betsy, and John Hobbs who was joining the Mission as a qualified builder and mechanic. Turner and Hobbs set off overland, with two Maori boys from Kerikeri as guides, to Kaeo where they arrived on the afternoon of August 6th, to find a busy scene of building activity — a dwelling house being erected, but Leigh critically ill.

Turner returned to the Bay of Islands with an urgent message from Leigh asking Marsden to come over and visit him, and to help in finalising and securing the purchase of the Wesleydale land from the chief George. This immediately brought Marsden in a small ship, the 'Snapper', thirty tons, with the Turner household and their goods, and they arrived at Whangaroa on 15th August. Marsden was able to confirm the boundaries and obtain the tribal marks of the chiefs, and on the settlement of twice the price in goods asked for, the land was permanently secured for the Mission. This title subsequently stood inspection by Government Commissioners and was declared
unassailable and fully acquired. Marsden was greatly impressed by what had been accomplished in such a short time.

On August 19th, Marsden and the Leighs at Marsden's insistence, left for the Bay of Islands and arrived there that evening. Mr and Mrs Shepherd also returned with them after ten weeks of most helpful co-operation with the Kaeo group. Leigh's health was such that he could no longer face the conditions in New Zealand as he needed to be near expert medical attention, and it was resolved that he should withdraw to Sydney after a brief but arduous eighteen months in the country. He later recovered a fair measure of health, and subsequently gave distinguished service in Australia and England.

With Marsden, the Leighs embarked on the 'Brampton' and headed for sea on 7th September, but she was wrecked on the reef since bearing her name, and the passengers and crew spent three uncomfortable days and nights on Moturoa Island until rescued by a boat from Kerikeri. It was November 14th before passage could be arranged on another ship, and the party reached Sydney on the 'Dragon' on 30th November.

The eighteen months spent by the Leighs with their companions had been full of toil, building the first dwellings and store-houses, clearing land and planting and harvesting wheat and maize and other garden produce. Mrs Leigh had sought to teach the Maori girls elementary hygiene and sewing and cooking. She was also in close touch with Maori mothers in the nearby Pas where she aimed at giving some ideas of infant care, and the removal of the cruelty and infanticide which were prevalent. As a little Christian community, by example and constant effort they had tried to win a favourable reception for the Christian message and its standards among a people seething with strife and rumours of war. All the marks of a people whose traditional way of life and basic philosophy had been challenged and shaken to its roots, were evident at every turn. Above all was the previously mentioned frenzy that always accompanies such a disruption, and there was yet to come the sullen disheartened period where the heavy task of replacing much of the old had to be undertaken.

The Maoris were awake to the value of some of the material advantages of iron and steel tools and European weapons, but as yet only a few showed any inclination to accept Christian beliefs and standards of behaviour. Several years had to pass for both Anglican and Wesleyan Missions before the first convert was baptised. It was a task calling for courage and patience and faith of the highest order.

Now it was left to the newcomers, Turner and Hobbs, to pick up the threads with James Stack and Luke Wade. William White had decided to make a journey to Sydney
to seek a wife, and he was away for fifteen weeks. His trip was unsuccessful as the young lady concerned would only agree to marry him if he would stay in New South Wales. Reporting on this to the Secretaries, White wrote of his determination to continue in the Maori Mission, and he added: 'My intention is to go without shoes and wear New Zealand mats rather than the Committee shall be at expense of my passage there and back again.' He returned on Sunday, 22\textsuperscript{nd} February, 1824.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{images/persons.png}
\caption*{The Rev'd John Hobbs (in later life) \hspace{1cm} The Rev'd Nathaniel Turner (in later life)}
\end{figure}

Turner, in helping to drag a log on to the saw frame at the saw pit in early November, injured his back when the log slipped.

It was one of the hazards of this pioneering life, with inexperienced men, untrained in some of the necessary rough physical labour.

Frequently the men who had to face this as a completely new experience, found it frustrating when, they had a vision of a task of pastoral and teaching and preaching ministry. The initial physical demands on them in establishing a Mission Station in any part of the land at that time, became reflected in their reports and letters back to the home land. At Kaeo the men were busy erecting an extra building as a school room, using wooden frames, with raupo and flax for roof and walls. This was the standard structure for most of the pioneering period.
On 29th March, 1824, Mrs. Turner gave birth to a son, and, again the Anglican Mission provided wonderful help. The Rev'd Henry Williams with Mr and Mrs Fairburn walked over from the Bay of Islands. It was a time for mutual help, and shortly afterwards the Wesleyans were able to assist in another way.

All this time the problem of communications and supplies plagued both Missions. In August a boat arrived at Kaeo with Henry Williams from the Bay of Islands seeking urgently needed supplies, as a long-awaited ship with supplies for them had failed to arrive. Many a time such emergencies were met by mutual assistance and this illustrated the wisdom of Samuel Marsden who, when he received word that the Wesleyans were considering opening a Mission in New Zealand, commented to his own authorities in England: 'We wish to show them every degree of kindness in carrying their design into effect; but you will probably concur with us in opinion, that harmony between the two Societies and their respective Missions will best be maintained by keeping the stations of the two Societies so far apart as not to interfere with each others' operations, yet not so distant as to preclude them from being assistant to each other in time of need.'

White and Turner jointly reported their activities to London on 2nd April, 1824, and they pleaded for the appointment of a Superintendent for the Mission, with the emphatic note: ‘Not a single man.' The bad example of the European casual visitors and sailors in the country was one of the chief obstacles to both Missions, and the Maoris were quick to use any such incidents as a reason for resisting the efforts of the Missionaries, saying: 'Are not these your people?' At the same time, the example of the Missionaries themselves was not going unnoticed. Turner in one note in his journal spoke of a visit of a chief from the Hauraki to the local tribe, and recounts overhearing a conversation between them. The local chiefs were telling of their opposition to the coming of the Mission to Whangaroa, and their reasons for it, and they spoke in admiring terms of ‘Te Iwi Toa', that is ‘The courageous Tribe' of Missionaries.

This was surely a fair comment. These were young men — Turner was 30, White 29, Hobbs 25, and Stack 22. As the years went on, similar groups of young men arrived to serve, some in extreme isolation, all facing a life which tested their reserves of character. They were all very human, and none was perfect, but surely all credit must be given to a Church and a Faith that could produce such people to meet the challenge of awfully difficult conditions, and some of them are great names of the pioneering period.

Similarly with the womenfolk. Mrs Turner and her maid and little daughter were the only females of the group. So often this was the pattern, and the women shared all the dangers and hardships of their menfolk, often spending long periods alone among
restless primitive communities, while the men were absent on long dangerous journeys at the call of the work. This alone is a story in itself, and it deserves a larger volume than has yet appeared. Glimpses of this can be found in this book, but imagination will provide many a hint of what was involved for them.

The Missionaries plodded on in the face of constant opposition, from George (Te Ara) in particular. While a few listened and sought elementary instruction in European ways, the majority maintained their tactics of threats and sometimes actual violence, ridicule, and efforts to shock the Missionaries by obscenities and atrocities in their presence.

Violence against European vessels visiting Whangaroa, in particular the schooner 'Endeavour' in 1824 and the brig 'Mercury' 1825, showed the spirit of the Maori people, and in each instance the Missionaries played a conspicuous part in intervening or by subsequent assistance to the victims who survived.

Luke Wade left Whangaroa in December, 1824 to seek a wife in England, and he returned after 20 months, on 6th April, 1826. Betsy, the maid, had returned on the 'St. Michael' to Sydney on 30th December, 1824, so Mrs Turner had been left without any European female companion.

The Missionaries persisted in their study of the Maori language and did much to put it into written form. John Hobbs in particular had a gift for this, and became an expert in idiomatic Maori, composing hymns, some of which are sung to this day by all Maori congregations. In later years he took a significant part in the translation of the Scriptures when the whole Bible in Maori was revised by an inter-Church Committee for the British and Foreign Bible Society.

In 1824 John Hobbs was received as an Assistant Missionary (Probationer Minister) after serving as a lay Missionary.

Early in 1825, White made a journey to Waitemata and the borders of the Waikato District, exploring possible locations for later development, a fact which he strongly used in the 1830's to justify the Wesleyan move into the Waikato.

However, the tensions in Whangaroa were becoming more acute, and the following two years were marked by increasing alarms and excursions that tried the patience and courage of the Mission party to the limit. Hongi at the Bay of Islands was threatening the Whangaroa tribes with annihilation, and there were rumblings from the Hokianga chiefs who had old scores to settle with the Whangaroa chiefs. With Maori life in a ferment, the Whangaroa Maoris became more restive under the threats from their
traditional foes, and the Wesleyan Mission was in the thick of it all. Experiences of later years showed that better success had attended their efforts than appeared on the surface but it was a very discouraging picture.

As the tension mounted, Mrs Turner was sent to the Anglican Station at Kerikeri on March 18th, 1825, and while she was there she gave birth to a son. There was a lull in the storm, and after consultation with the Anglican friends, the Wesleyans decided to continue for the time being at Kaeo, so the Turner family returned there. Things looked more hopeful. On the strength of this, White, in a footnote to one of his reports to London, asked permission to proceed to England on another matrimonial venture.

Both he and Hobbs expressed their concern about this and consulted with Turner who wrote a long letter to the Secretaries on 13th September, 1825, expressing his support for several reasons. One was the desperate need of Mrs Turner for congenial female companionship, and another was his deep concern at the heavy temptations facing young single men in such a situation. He added significantly: 'I have often trembled for their future.'

White took the letters with him to England as a passenger on a returning whaling ship, but Hobbs decided to remain and use another method to solve his difficulty. Evidently his mother had indicated to him that a certain Miss Jane Broggreff, who was favourably known to Hobbs, would be very likely to look with encouragement on an advance from him, so Hobbs asked the approval of the Committee to do this. Being employed as a single man, he had to be sure that the Committee would continue to employ him if he should marry. All these negotiations worked out satisfactorily, and Miss Broggreff ventured on her way to Sydney, where she was married to Hobbs in 1827 when the Mission party was there. Such were some of the difficulties of matrimony in those days.

To assist in the teaching of the elements of the Christian Faith, some written copies of a translation of the Wesleyan Conference Catechism into Maori were prepared. These, with some hymns and selections of Scripture passages, served as a basis for some elementary education and worship services. Some progress was made. The chiefs agreed to a few of the young people living in the Mission area as helpers and learners. However, it was hard going. There was little parental discipline in Maori life, and the young people largely followed their own inclinations.

At times they would all walk out, or a few might remain reluctantly and restlessly, to be joined by a fresh group persuaded to give things a trial. These young folk were expected to attend all family devotions each day, and their attendance was often anything but a blessing. However it was among these young folk that some lasting impressions were made that bore fruit, some-times in much later years in other
localities. In 1825 Hobbs took into the Mission household a 15-year-old boy named Ika or Hika.

It was this lad who several years later was the first Maori to be baptised by the Wesleyans.

There was constant friction over the questions of native custom. Mana and tapu played a dominating part in Maori thought, and these were for a long time not understood in depth by the Missionaries. To them they were all part of a system of primitive life that they had come to replace. As a result many bitter misunderstandings arose from quite well-intentioned actions on the part of the Missionaries, and the Maoris reacted with horror and disgust, and sometimes with violence at these breaches of their deeply rooted standards. The tapu nature of the head, especially of a chief, and the use of cooked food in the rituals for the removal of tapu were unknown or misunderstood by the first European arrivals, and some of their innocent actions were read as an affront to Maori dignity. For a Missionary to pat the head of a little boy in friendly approval would be enough to rouse the fierce resentment of the father. The boiling of clothing in a vessel that at any time had been used for cooking food was another frequent cause of shocked anger. Some of these breaches of tapu were in Maori life sufficient for hasty retribution. In one instance at Wesleydale, a chief saw this taking place, and in his anger he violently smashed the cooking pot to smithereens, to the great annoyance of the Missionary's wife to whom such cooking vessels were precious owing to the difficulty of replacement.

The efforts of the Missionary's wife to teach the children personal habits of hygiene and sanitation while they were sharing the home life of the Mission group also precipitated many reactions of annoyance on the part of the visiting parents who saw their children subjected to what they considered a degrading disregard of their own parents' mana. There were, as a result, many frightening experiences for the womenfolk.

In October, 1825, Hobbs told in his journal of the encouragement that had been felt by all when they received word of the baptism of the first Maori convert at the Anglican Mission at the Bay of Islands, a young man baptised as 'Christian Rangi', and also of the first sign of a break in the attitudes of others.

In December of that year as Mrs Turner was again ill, an Anglican group consisting of the Rev'd Henry Williams, Mr Clark and a Dr Gilmour, surgeon from the ship 'Francis' came overland while Mrs Fairburn came round by sea. This was a welcome fraternal visit and the medical assistance of Dr Gilmour came at a critical moment. The shadow of his wife's illness hung over Turner's head for some weeks, and his troubled entries in his journal make sad reading. They held an anxious watch-night service on New Year's Eve with Communion. Slowly the danger passed and Mrs Turner made a gradual recovery and once more resumed her duties. In April 1826,
Luke Wade returned with his wife, and this addition to the strength of the Mission was very welcome. However, an added sadness for them all was the death of Turner's youngest child who was buried in the Mission cemetery.

While there were encouraging signs of some progress in the school and a few more attendants at the services in the various villages, there were more signs of growing troubles in the whole northern Maori life. The old warrior Hongi was still restless for further conquests. He made one foray through the Kaipara district and killed and destroyed right and left.

The Hokianga tribes sent war parties to settle old scores against Ngatipou at Whangaroa Heads. The chief George died after a long illness. He had been a troublemaker for most of the time the Missionaries had been at Wesleydale, but had had his moments of helpfulness to support his claim that he was their protector. His death brought visiting chiefs and armed parties from far and near. The air was explosive, and both in the Anglican and Wesleyan settlements there was prayerful intercession.

Then came Hongi's move to deal with Whangaroa once and for all. He came truculently to the Mission station with a fellow chief, bent on mischief, but he was urged to cease his evil plans.

At first it appeared as if the storm had blown over. However, in January, 1827 he took up his plan once more, and with a fleet of canoes and a large party of warriors he arrived at Whangaroa.

The Missionaries had made plans to leave. Turner had sent James Stack to the Bay of Islands to seek advice. Before Stack's return Hongi made his attack on the Mission property while at the same time promising to spare the lives of the Missionaries. There was a tangled web of claim and counter claim according to Maori custom, as to the reasons for his seeking 'Utu' (payment) and 'Muru' (punitive plunder) from the Mission settlement. At the same time the situation was made more complex by the impending arrival of plundering parties from the Hokianga, seeking their share in the 'doings'. To add to it all was the intention of some of the local Maoris who had always felt antipathy to the presence of the Mission among them, to get their share of anything that was going. In this complex situation the lives of the Missionaries were in obvious danger, and there was no alternative but to leave immediately, so in heavy rain on 10th January, 1827, they set off at six o'clock in the morning on their 20 mile tramp with only the clothes they were wearing and a very little food for the children.

The party consisted of Turner and his wife and three children (the youngest a boy of only five weeks), Luke Wade and his wife (who fainted twice on the journey), John Hobbs, Miss Davis (an Anglican friend from the Bay of Islands), five Maori lads who had offered to help carry the children, and two Maori girls. All these young Maoris
had been part of the Mission household, and had strongly urged them to leave before violence developed too far. They had with deep concern overheard discussions among the threatening Maori groups planning their strategy.

On the way out, they met first an advance party of a few Hokianga Maoris who told them of a large army of 1,000 warriors who were heading for Whangaroa in fighting trim. This army under Patuone soon appeared armed with muskets and bayonets and long-handled tomahawks, and they were spoiling for a fight.

As soon as he caught sight of the Mission party, the Chief Patuone made his army halt, which some were reluctant to do, and he made the Mission group draw aside and kneel down, where they expected at any moment to be shot. However, Patuone placed a guard around them and commanded his forces to proceed. When the majority had passed, he personally escorted the Missionaries some distance on their journey until the rest of the forces had passed, and he left them with a strong plea not to let this be the end of their effort, but to return and to start again in his district of Hokianga.

About seven miles from Kaeo they were greatly relieved to meet James Stack returning in haste with Mr Clarke and a dozen Maoris from Kerikeri, and with this assistance they pressed on with more hope. Next was their great joy to meet nearer Kerikeri another strong Anglican group hurrying to meet them. This party consisted of the Rev'd Henry Williams from Paihia, with Messrs. Richard Davis, William Puckey, Hamlin and about twenty Maoris. The message taken by James Stack telling of the crisis at Kaeo had greatly alarmed them all and had drawn this immediate response.

When they reached Kerikeri, they spent the night there, and next day went on to Paihia where they were accommodated with every care by the brethren of the Anglican Mission who themselves were making emergency plans to evacuate their own Mission and return to Sydney.

The Anglicans loaded most of their own movable goods on a vessel called 'The Sisters', and on this the Wesleyan party was embarked. They found shortly afterwards that Hongi had been dangerously wounded near Mangamuka in a running fight with some of the Whangaroa natives whom he had pursued that far, and not long afterwards he died, unrepentant and defiant to the last. This meant an end for the time being of the menace to the Bay of Islands, although it left a tangle of problems among the tribes which were to be the cause of repeated wrangling and strife for long years to follow. Reassured to some degree, the Anglicans resolved to continue their struggle.

As they learned that the Mission buildings at Kaeo had been completely destroyed and plundered, it was decided by all that the Wesleyans should proceed to Sydney, so on January 27th, 1827, they set sail and on February 10th they were welcomed there by an equally troubled Samuel Leigh.
So ended the first offer of the Gospel by the Wesleyan Missionaries, but they were determined it was not to be the end of their efforts.

"Wesleydale' Mission at Kaeo, Whangaroa. Morley's History."
CHAPTER TWO

A new start in the Hokianga 1827-1834

The New Zealand team held a District Meeting in Sydney to review the changed situation. John Hobbs was received into full connexion as a Missionary. The Methodist Conference in 1826 had decided to constitute New Zealand a separate Mission District to include Tonga within its jurisdiction, and they appointed William White, who was in England at the time, the new Chairman. The New Zealand workers hearing of this, resolved to wait in Sydney until White arrived to lead the new advance. However they became impatient at White's long delay in arriving, and having heard from the Anglicans of the changed situation among the tribes and that the way was open to recommence, they decided to act, and to make for the Hokianga.

James Stack went on ahead to the Bay of Islands to make fresh contacts and to travel overland to Hokianga where the rest of the party would travel direct by ship. The main group consisting of the Rev'd John Hobbs and his new wife, Luke Wade and his wife as servants of the Mission, and a Miss Bedford, sailed on the 'Governor Macquarie' on Monday, 20th October, 1827, and they reached the Hokianga on the 31st and anchored near Pakanae. Now the new phase began.
Small settlements of Europeans had been formed at Herd’s Point (Rawene), and at Horeke where timber milling and small trading establishments stood. A group of Scotsmen were working a little further up the river. Horeke was known as the Deptford Dockyard. All this brought trading vessels with a very mixed lot of Europeans, some of whom did everything possible to retain a decent Christian way of life; others on the other hand by their behaviour brought discredit on their race, and created perennial problems and disappointments for the Missionaries.

Into this situation the Wesleyan Missionaries moved. Nathaniel Turner had been sent to Tonga to handle a tangled situation there, and he remained some nine years before being able to rejoin the New Zealand work.

The main task of pioneering the new field now fell upon John Hobbs, James Stack and Luke Wade. Stack having gone on ahead to the Bay of Islands was able to get a small party of Anglican friends to come across with him by land. They were the Rev’d Henry Williams, Messrs. Richard and Charles Davis and William Puckey who camped in a tent they brought with them. They had travelled over a clearly defined route from the Bay, but it was a typical track of those times. Having no knowledge of the wheel, and also not having as yet any horses, all Māori travelling was on foot or by canoe. Hence their tracks followed the line of least resistance, and no effort was made to remove fallen trees or other obstructions. It was an arduous, unformed track, mountainous, much through heavy bush, and with numerous crossings of rivers and swampy areas.

As soon as possible after the arrival of the ‘Governor Macquarie’ in the Hokianga, Hobbs went with Luke Wade to seek out Patuone, who had repeated his urgent invitation to the Wesleyans to restart in his territory. They found him in his village of Tarawauaua near where the Waihou River joins the Hokianga. Patuone immediately raised the question of trading in firearms. Hobbs made it clear that while the Missionaries could not prevent this, they would in no circumstances have any part in it. Patuone accepted this because he knew what had been the rule in the Whangaroa.

After searching for a suitable piece of land, it was decided to settle at a place called Te Toke, not far from the present town-ship of Rangiahua. This was because of Patuone’s urging, as he was keen to have the status of the close proximity of a Mission under his patronage, and it was from him that the land was purchased. It was here that Stack and the Anglican friends joined the newcomers.

A native house which had been provided had to be put in-order for the womenfolk. Stack and Puckey set to work on this while Hobbs and the other men went down river to the ship which had sailed further up towards them. This house some thirty feet by
nine, was very low, the eaves being three feet from the ground, and the ridge pole only six feet. When they had fixed up beds on top of boxes, they found naturally that they were constantly knocking their heads. On Thursday, November 8th, four canoes loaded with goods, and a boat full of passengers arrived and unloaded at this new home. It was not long before a larger and more convenient house 60 feet long and 15 feet wide was built by the Maoris. It was divided into several rooms, with a wooden floor, and fitted with doors and windows brought from Sydney. The frame was of light timbers, lined and thatched with nikau fronds, and was naturally far from being either wind or water-proof.

First services were held on Sunday, 11th November. The Rev'd Henry Williams preached and administered Holy Communion in the morning. In the afternoon Williams, Hobbs and Puckey with Patuone went up river and met a number of Maoris by a stream, and there they conducted the first Maori service.

The following Sunday, Hobbs and Stack held a service at Horeke where they had in their congregation three leading chiefs, Patuone, his brother Nene, and Taonui, and fifty other Maoris.

Now they sought a site for the Mission. The Anglicans joined them at first in their search, until they had to return to their own work. The Wesleyans had settled on Te Toke so as to be near Patuone, and this site was purchased on December 14th. However they soon found that if they were to develop this as a Mission Station, with the felling of bush and breaking in of the land, they would be completely taken up with heavy manual labour and would never get to their main task. Moreover this land was subject to periodic flooding. Hobbs went across to the Bay of Islands for further consultation, and they all agreed that for two main reasons they should move further down the river about seven miles and purchase a block at Mangungu, about a mile below Horeke. This would be much more central to the main body of the Hokianga Maoris, and it would be near the river which was navigable at all tides, and would provide anchorage for fair sized vessels within a hundred yards. Having made this decision and reached general agreement with the Maoris, on March 20th they all moved down to the new site where, since 29th January, Hobbs and Luke Wade had been busy building semi-native-style houses. Patuone was not happy about the change, and most Maoris refused to work unless paid in muskets and ammunition. Hence the building was delayed, as only a few could be persuaded to work for other forms of barter. However the owners of the land, Ngatumu and Warekaua who were relatives of Patuone, favoured the sale and on 2nd April the purchase of an area of 850 acres was settled.
Thus Mangungu was established and it remained the head of the Mission for many years. Hobbs was a full Missionary, and Stack an Assistant Missionary, both young men in their twenties. Hobbs was a very practical and capable man, but neither he nor Stack was prepared to allow the pressing needs of the Mission households to overshadow their main task of preaching and teaching the Gospel message, and seeking to build a Christian Maori community. They were once more within a day's journey of the Anglicans with whom there was maintained a close fellowship to their mutual advantage, and which greatly strengthened the impact of each Mission on the Maori people. There was a great deal of coming and going among the Maori people of the two districts, and they noticed the pattern of worship and personal devotions in the households of both Missions, and of the converts of each Mission. One early development was the holding of daily devotions in the Christian homes, and these were frequently led by visitors from the other areas.

Hobbs had brought with him equipment for carpentry and joinery, medical requirements of a simple kind, and a quantity of material printed in Maori. This latter, in the main the work of Wesleyan Missionaries, but also including some material developed by the Anglicans and used by both Missions, had been printed by a Mr Robert Howe of Sydney as a gift to the Mission. It was 'The first composition of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in the New Zealand tongue.'

It was 1830 before William White arrived, this time a married man, to take charge of the Mission. He found: 'two large dwelling houses, one 45 feet by 15 feet, the other 31 feet by 12 feet for occupation by White and Hobbs respectively; an outer kitchen 18 feet square; a building 24 feet by 14 feet originally designed as a schoolroom, but a separated portion of which was now Stack's private room; a barter store and carpenter's shop 18 feet square with a loft; a rush house 24 feet by 12 feet for Maori domestics, a store and loft for Maori provisions; a fowl house; a boat house 28 feet by 10 feet; a saw pit where four pairs or sawyers could work at once; and a cultivated garden forty by forty paces, well fenced and having beyond it a considerable area of ground cleared and burnt off.'

This was no mean achievement in itself, but in addition they had established a full pattern of visiting and preaching among both the European communities and the many Maori villages around the harbour, and had drawn a number of young folk into the Mission community as domestics and learners. It was some of these who later became the first band of Maori teachers who with their fellow labourers from the Anglican Mission formed the spearhead of most of the later advances into new areas, until the farthest Maori settlements learned something of the elements of the Christian Faith and the general pattern of a Christian community. The presence of many captured slaves from southern tribes brought back from the war raids of previous years, meant
that later as the Christian Gospel brought a willingness on the part of the converts to
decide to restore these slaves to their homelands, so the Christian message went far
and wide.

Both Hobbs and Stack had pressed on with their study of the language and the
preparation of further materials for instruction in the Maori tongue. They both became
fluent Maori linguists.

One problem constantly embarrassed Hobbs and Stack. When Hongi had attacked
Whangaroa in 1827, two chiefs Te Puhi and Ngahuruuru with their families had fled
to Hokianga, and it was later alleged that some of these people had been the
ringleaders in the actual destruction and plundering of the Mission properties at Kaeo.
They had settled in the Waihou valley, and Te Puhi in particular remained a thorn in
the flesh to Hobbs and company. He was ever a sly and subtle trouble maker.

At Utakura, the chief Muriwai was friendly to the Mission, as was his cousin Te
Taonui. Patuone, in spite of his disappointment at the removal of the Mission, was
responsive, and the Missionaries retained a regular pattern of visits and services at the
Waihou and beyond. Patuone's brother Nene was another warrior chief who early
showed a spirit of enquiry and concern for spiritual things. These two, Patuone and
Nene, had been greatly feared leaders among the northern Maoris who had joined
other tribes in a series of devastating raids to the south with European weapons, as far
as Cook Strait. At this time, the Maori race faced possible extinction. Had the
Missionaries not arrived with their restraining influence, it is quite conceivable that
the inter-tribal wars could have resulted in practically mutual extinction. All the older
restraints had collapsed. The laws of Tapu and Mana had been deeply shaken by the
new forces of European weapons, against which the 'Kara-kia Maori' was powerless.
The inner fears that now expressed themselves in unbridled cruelty and terror and
cannibalism, made a desolate picture.

The coming of the woollen blanket as the main article of barter and clothing apart
from weapons, meant a widespread increase in new diseases. Tuberculosis and
venereal diseases brought by sailors and others under the loose conditions of primitive
life, spread like wildfire, resulting in an increase of sterility and also a tragic increase
in Maori infant mortality. The children who were born appeared doomed. The Maoris
had no knowledge of soap, or of elementary sanitation for their temporary camps
which had largely taken the place of their better and more permanent type of buildings
in their hilltop fortified villages. In the rush for barter, they built mere rough shelters
near the swamps and forests from which they obtained the flax and timber which had
gained a new value in trade.
The letters and reports of the Missionaries at this time were full of concern and alarm at the turn of events, and they could foresee no real hope of the recovery of the race from its decline.

However it was the Missionaries who were in the forefront of efforts for survival. They gave a lead in new methods of food production to improve the diet and the economic stability of the people. Above all they saw that the basic need was a faith and a philosophy of life which could give them a reason for living, and a personal discipline which would resist the destructive tendencies that tempted them at every turn.

Hence the pattern of the Mission work among the Maoris was based on that of the Wesleyan movement in England. No Maori was baptised and made a member of the Christian community unless there was an evidence of a real intention to seek a new way of life and behaviour, and of a willingness to share in the discipline of the Wesleyan Class Meeting. In this system, members were grouped under leaders for regular meetings in which they were taught basic Christian beliefs, shared in prayer and Bible study and were checked and examined in their standards of behaviour. No members could take part in the Holy Communion service unless approved by the Class Leaders who were also under similar discipline among themselves.

It was therefore to be understood that there would be no wholesale baptising of unprepared people, and the task of establishing the Wesleyan pattern of membership was a long haul with much discouragement. However this was the pattern maintained wherever possible in every Wesleyan station, with selected and tested leaders placed in charge of converts, and classes in every place where the Missionaries visited and preached. One of the chief tasks of the Missionaries in their Circuit visiting was the meeting of these leaders and the examination of the classes. The reports of the workers often told of the sadness felt when some member or members had to be suspended or dropped from membership because of some moral or spiritual failure. However this gave significance to the status of a member, and should always be borne in mind when reading the statistical returns of the various Maori circuits.

At Waima, a special opportunity presented itself. James Stack paid several visits there and found the chief Tawhai very responsive, and they were impressed by his obvious powers of leadership. They resolved to make this place a point of advance as soon as the worker could be provided, and from then on, the letters of the Missionaries contained frequent references to this as a strong ground for sending more staff.

In March 1828, Henry Williams and Richard Davis of the Anglican Mission came across from the Bay of Islands with a War party who were seeking further strife with
the Hokianga tribes. The Anglicans had been unable to dissuade them from setting out, so they decided to accompany them and use their efforts to establish peace. After the usual spectacular preliminaries of challenge and response, the parties were persuaded to pause, and the Missionaries of both Missions were relieved that their united appeals were attended to. So at Waima, the first of a series of peacemaking efforts proved successful, and for some years better counsels prevailed in that part of the Island.

Near the Hokianga Heads, the tribes were more in contact with trading vessels, and saw much of the Europeans who did not always bring credit to the White man in the eyes of the Maori.

The contacts of the Missionaries were greatly hindered there, and for long years the people, by and large, resisted attempts to draw them into the Christian community. However the Missionaries persisted and on their visits to the area were able to establish a good foothold at Waimamaku where there were also a number of war captives from the South, especially from Taranaki.

Writing to William White in England in early 1829, Stack had urged him to return to the badly understaffed work of the Mission. It was three years and four months since White had left the team at Whangaroa, and in that time Stack had heard from him only twice. He urged White to seek another recruit, a good scholar who could give some much needed help in translation of the Scriptures, as neither man at Mangungu had the knowledge of the Biblical languages so essential for the task. He spoke in high praise of the work in this regard of the Rev'd Wm Williams and Wm Yate of the Church Mission. Stack ended his letter; 'Brother and Sister Hobbs join me in love to you and Mrs. White — if there be one. I am still single!'

In the meantime Hobbs battled on with the improvements to buildings with the help of Luke Wade, burning bricks for chimneys, cutting shingles for roofing, doing joinery for the fixtures and making urgently needed basic furniture. The conditions were spartan in the extreme. It was urgent that the dwellings be lined and made weatherproof. The native-type houses or store buildings were subject to much pilfering. The Maori domestics were quite unaccustomed to cooking indoors, and the highly inflammable building material meant constant vigilance and anxiety for the womenfolk.

Mrs Hobbs in early 1829 was establishing a useful relationship with a number of girls and women in the neighbouring villages, and she gathered a small group round her in her home. However in April she had a miscarriage and was seriously ill, and her sufferings were intensified by the boisterous rowdiness of visitors to the Mission. One
constant problem was that of sailors from the trading vessels, pestering the girls who were being given instruction in general personal cleanliness and tidiness. As they improved so they became more attractive to these men far from home and from the restraints of ordered society. Every Missionary household faced this problem. The courage and patience of these Missionary women, far from congenial female companionship or skilled medical attention, especially during childbirth, is difficult to imagine and the toll on health and spirit was inevitable. In April Mrs Hobbs was attended in her illness by Mrs Clendon, wife of the Captain of the 'City of Edinburgh'. She had another miscarriage in October but this time Hobbs alone was with her and he later reported that he had feared for her life.

So it was that White came, a married Superintendent, in 1830 into this situation. He commented favourably on what had been achieved in the short time since the establishment of the new unit of work. However he was not long in becoming highly critical and censorious, and the men who had awaited his coming with such pleasure, now had second thoughts.

White landed at the Bay of Islands with his wife, stayed at Paihia with the generous Anglican friends, and then went by boat to Kenkeri with Baker and Stack, the latter having gone across to escort the Whites to Hokianga. After two days at Kerikeri they set out accompanied by a party of 24 Maoris many of whom were Whangaroa folk who had known White at Kaeo On the journey they met Patuone who recounted with some pride his part in the protection of the refugees in the tragic flight in 1827. They reached Waihou, and then by boat and canoe, they reached Mangungu in the evening. On all this journey they had been accompanied by Mr Baker of the Anglican Mission. Mrs White was not in good health as she was expecting her first child, and the whole journey by sea and land had been a great strain.

All concerned found this a difficult year. White entered into his work with his characteristic drive, but evidently with little concern for those who had faced all the privations of the re-establishment at Mangungu. Hobbs did not take kindly to White's attitudes. He had had all the responsibility of deciding the policy of building and planning the pattern of work. Now a new Superintendent came in with strong prejudices and took over with a high hand. In addition Hobbs had the domestic problem of his wife's ill health. After her earlier serious illness in 1829 she gave birth to a healthy daughter in August, 1830. However shortly afterwards she again took dangerously ill. The only available medical help was the Rev'd Wm Williams at Paihia, so Stack set off and walked all night, arriving at Kerikeri at 9 a.m. on the Tuesday. A boat was sent to Paihia for Mr Williams who set off at the first possible moment and reached Mangungu on the Wednesday night. He gave urgent medical attention which appeared to have been successful and Mrs Hobbs responded.
On the Friday of the following week a Mr Penny, surgeon of a ship in the Bay of Islands, made a business trip to Hokianga and providentially was at Mangungu when Mrs Hobbs suffered a severe relapse. Luke Wade and his wife had returned to Sydney because of Mrs Wade's illness late in 1829 and did not return.

Mrs Hobbs had been the only European woman at the Mission Station through most of her pregnancy, and the result was a run-down condition in which she had quickly taken infection.

Her recovery was slow and tedious, and Hobbs took her for an extended trip to the Bay of Islands for more continued medical attention under less arduous conditions, and he paid several visits to see her. White was unnecessarily restive under Hobbs's absences.

For six years White was Superintendent. With his immense energy, as sometimes goes with this, he was impatient, of a quick temper which he sometimes failed badly to control, and he did not have the qualities for team leadership. His colleagues were hurt by his sweeping criticisms and his unfortunate belittling of their painstaking efforts. The clash of temperaments was disastrous in the isolated circumstances. With the close associations of Hobbs and Stack with the Anglicans, evidently their unhappiness was sometimes shared with these good folk, and as a result they gradually built up a picture of White which was responsible for much later tension between him and the Anglican leaders.

White plunged headlong into the programme of stock raising, timber development, and barter trading with both Maoris and merchants, to the great consternation of the men who had been convinced that the basic need was for the development of the Christian life of the Maoris, with their economic development as of relatively secondary importance. It is understandable that tensions developed, but unfortunately this became public, and those Pakehas who had resented the efforts of the Missionaries to suppress some of their evil practices were quick to make capital of it. They used the quarrels to discredit the Missionaries to the Maoris, and those chiefs who had resisted the Gospel were just as quick to use this to justify their continued opposition and their heathen practices.

White at times reached a pitch of passion in which his friends had difficulty in restraining his violence. His wife earned their admiration for her loyalty to him as well as to the work of the Mission. Hers was a difficult task. She was much on her own, and was faced with using primitive equipment for which she was quite unprepared. White in pleading for a good iron stove to be sent out for their house, complained; 'It grieves me to see my wife half roasted two or three times a week in making a large
fire on the hearth in order to bake bread under an iron pot.' White purchased more land round the Mission for a buffer between them and any likely trading and milling developments on their borders, and the ownership of this additional land was a constant source of argument and embarrassment, especially later when White was relieved of his place on the staff.

In spite of his weakness White was a zealous preacher, and during his leadership, many were added to the membership. He travelled widely on his preaching tours, and in seeking new areas of development, and he became a great advocate of a southern probe. He was prepared to support this even if it meant abandoning the work at Mangungu. His colleagues naturally did not support his judgment regarding the Hokianga, but they supported his plea for more staff to open more stations in areas from which they were now receiving many emissaries requesting teachers and Missionaries.

The power of the written word was beginning to be recognised by the Maoris, and as the chief form of this was the Scriptures and religious booklets, they sought with great urgency to become acquainted with this new world. All services of worship were followed by instruction in reading and writing, as well as classes in religious subjects. The Maoris had tenacious memories and displayed a high level of intelligence and the response in these matters began to be most encouraging.

Among them were many who saw the deeper values of the Christian message, and they sought the better ways that were implicit in the Gospel. Others saw naturally only the technical and economic advantages to be gained from this knowledge, and at heart remained still heathen or pagan. The inter-racial and inter-tribal conflicts that later developed over land questions soon tested these people, and there was real thankfulness that so many stood the test and were an ornament to the Christian faith.

Many of the eager young men felt a call to Missionary service among their own people, and space does not permit our giving adequate recognition to the volume of sacrificial service rendered by great numbers of such partially-trained but dedicated young men in the early decades when the tide turned.

In April 1830, Mrs White was delivered of a still-born child, a great disappointment for the young couple.

Both Hobbs and Stack who had looked forward to the arrival of White to strengthen their hands were greatly disappointed at the outcome. They recognised his good qualities, and that at heart much of his great zeal for timber development and industrial training was based on a concern to protect the Maoris from exploitation by
unscrupulous traders, but the Missionaries were themselves driven to such bone weariness that they complained to the Secretaries in England that they were being unfitted physically and nervously to perform their principal duties. In their judgment, teaching, preaching, translation and personal devotions were all being neglected, and the work dragged under the strain. Evidently they had their seasons of staleness, and there were no facilities for adequate furlough periods, and the strain mounted.

In April 1831, a group of Missionaries heading for Tonga, consisting of William Woon, James Watkin and Nathaniel Turner called at Hokianga and were greatly impressed by the work going on, and the progress that had been made. These people were escorted overland to take ship from the Bay of Islands. Hobbs was feeling the strain and he asked to be stationed elsewhere, if possible in Tonga under Turner, with whom he felt he could work more happily. However it was not until 1833 that this request was able to be carried out. One real encouragement at this time however for Hobbs was the baptism of his protege Hika who was given the name John, and a little later Huki and Tungahe were also received into the full membership of the Church. This was the beginning of the move towards more definite Christian discipleship.

At this time certain resisting groups began to rally round some of the very active remaining tohungas. In one of his letters, Stack told how in 1830 he overheard two Mission lads telling of a so-called 'talking canoe' which was drifting downstream. They had seen the excitement among nearby people who had heard strange whistling speech coming from the apparently empty canoe, which the people thought was coming from an 'Atua' or spirit, but there was great annoyance when they discovered a man wrapped in mats hidden in the end of the canoe. This 'Whistling speech' was a trick of ventriloquism passed on within a small group of tohungas, and was the stock-in-trade for many years of 'Te Atua Wera' and his successors in the so-called 'Nakahī' movement which held sway over credulous Maoris for several generations especially in the Hokianga. It had originated in the Bay of Islands. The tohungas concerned claimed to converse with the spirits of the dead chiefs, and from them to receive oracles and advice on land matters in particular. Evidence of this shows up from time to time in the correspondence from different members of the Mission staff.

However several encouraging and marked conversions took place. One was Kotia, a slave who had been allowed to go to the Mission. He was a deceitful youth, but under White's ministry he became a changed character, and on his conversion and later baptism he took the name of George Morley (More) after an honoured Minister in England. Another was a young man of some real ability who was baptised Timothy Orton (Timoti Otene) after the Rev'd J. Orton of New South Wales. The converted Maori always asked for a new name in Baptism to mark his new life. White's journal recorded the following baptisms on December 23rd, 1833:
Matangi named Simon Peter (who later served in Waikato).
Tarapata named David.
Reinga named Nathaniel Turner.
Henake named Samuel.
Tautoto or Tainui named Abraham.
Kahika named Daniel.
Tutu named John Leigh (Hoani Ri).
Rakairi named Morley (More).
Kairangatira named William Barton (Wiremu Patene).
Tahata named Joshua Simon (Hohua Haimona).
Watu named John James (Hone Hemi).

In 1835 the Mission Authorities instructed the Rev'd Joseph Orton in Sydney to visit New Zealand and look into the matters, echoes of which were reaching England. He brought with him the Rev'd and Mrs John Whiteley. Whiteley was to relieve Hobbs so that he could transfer to Tonga, this taking place in June of that year. They arrived at the Bay of Islands by ship from Sydney at a rather awkward time for Williams of the Anglican Church who was naturally somewhat embarrassed by the number of unexpected important arrivals. The difficulty of communications had once more caught up with them.

When Orton and his party reached Hokianga, he analysed the position to the best of his ability and made a candid but courteous report to the Wesleyan authorities on White's administration. He did not lay all the blame at White's door, but he made no bones about the matters in which he felt that White had been in the wrong. White received a full statement from Orton, and this drew from White a long letter in self-justification in which one is drawn to admire the underlying good intentions of the man, and to regret that his actions and attitudes had so seriously discounted his efforts.

Stack was granted permission to visit England. He left, expecting to return after his marriage, but when in England he sought admission to the Anglican Ministry, and when he did return it was a recruit to the Church Missionary Society team with whom he served with distinction. He became a useful man with a good knowledge of Maori language and customs, and he was an earnest advocate of the Christian message.

White was facing difficulties. His wife in January, 1833, had another child which died at childbirth from being strangled by the umbilical cord, and both parents were naturally under great strain because of this fresh disappointment. Shortly afterwards, Mrs Hobbs had a similarly difficult confinement, but fortunately the difficulty was overcome and the child survived. Then Hobbs received word of his transfer to Tonga and the despatch of Whiteley to take his place. The arrival of Orton and Whiteley
added to White's busyness, and he found himself without his two more experienced colleagues, and the task of introducing a newcomer to the work.

White and Whiteley now settled to the task. They continued the pattern of main services at Mangungu, to which many canoes of people came for the weekends. This was the strong heart of the Mission, and the weekend was a centre of preaching, teaching and fellowship which then radiated out to the villages in the rivers and inlets for miles around.

When William Woon reached Tonga as a lay Missionary, his wife's health reacted so unfavourably to the tropical conditions, that he despaired of her life, and without waiting for permission from England, he took ship and touched at the Hokianga en route to Sydney. In the time that he stayed at the Mission Station Mrs Woon so far recovered her normal health in the temperate climate that he reconsidered the matter of his Missionary service. On the urging of his brethren at Mangungu he sent an application to England withdrawing his resignation and asking to be allowed to remain in New Zealand. This was supported by the Mangungu men, and without waiting for the reply, Woon settled in. He was a very acceptable recruit. He was a young man with some useful qualities. He was a huge man in every way, weighing about nineteen stone, with a voice to match his size. He was a trained printer with a good measure of personal discipline and commitment to the work. No man wrote more regularly and faithfully to the Mission authorities, and his letters and diaries are full of interest and sound observations. His printing skill was later to be of immense value to the Mission.
In February 1834, White made a long journey to Waikato to plan further moves. He made a second visit on 4th May to pro-cure land in suitable places. He reported the purchase of land from Haupokia and Waru at Waiharakeke, South Kawhia, and another place from Uira at Waipa. He also planned to open at Whaingaroa (Raglan) and Manukau the following year. His eyes were set on the far fields.

Through this move, White got into a hot controversy with the Anglicans over future locations, and he became determined to claim the southern area of the west coast for Methodism. It was now that the relationships suffered a set-back and for several years there was some strain between White and the Anglicans.

After an initially favourable impression of White, John Whiteley began to have reservations about him, and they had a very sharp difference of opinion in January of that year.

While White was away on his February journey south. Whiteley had also made a trip from Mangungu past Waimamaku and the Waipoua Forest to Kaihu in the Northern Wairoa and to Kaipara Harbour. He was struck by the evidences of Missionary influence. Although no European Missionary had ever been closer than 30 or 40 miles to Kaihu, the Maoris had extended the work in the district and had built a chapel. They were using a few precious printed materials and holding regular services. Whiteley also visited Whangape, a small harbour to the north of Hokianga, on an eight days visit up the coast, as well as Waima and Omanaia.
During this period, both White and Whiteley had been travelling with some inner strain in relationships, and matters did not settle down while they were parted on their long journeys.

However, the work at Mangungu, in spite of this, had shown new encouragement with a number of Hokianga Chiefs including Patuone and Nene indicating that they wished to embrace Christ-ianity. There had been one particularly good day at Mangungu with many signs of an encouraging response. The Missionaries felt that the tide was turning, and with this encouragement spurring them on, they agreed that a southern move should be made, and that Woon should go to the Waikato. There was still unity between the two Missions on basic matters of faith. The following quotation from 'A History of the English Church in New Zealand' by the late Canon H. T. Purchas is illustrative of this unity demonstrated at the time: 'So anxious were the leaders on both sides to spare the Maoris the spectacle of Christian disunion, and to emphasise the fact that they baptised not in their own name but in that of their common Master, that on the occasion of the reception into the fold of the great chief Waka Nene and his brother, Patuone, they arranged that Patuone, who belonged to the Methodists, should be baptised by the Church clergy, while Waka, who was an adherent of the Church Mission, should receive the sacred ordinance at the hands of the Wesleyans.”
CHAPTER THREE

The first southward move  1834-1838

On 12th November 1834, White engaged a vessel to take him with Woon and his wife, and they arrived at Kawhia on 16th November, four days from Hokianga: 'after a painfully distressing voyage of seasickness'.

Their arrival was greeted with great enthusiasm by the Maoris who had sent repeated groups of emissaries to Hokianga seeking the appointment of a Missionary. At Papakarewa, above the present village of Karewa, not far from Maketu Pa, on the North side of the Kawhia Harbour, they were allotted a site for their work. It was near the historic Pohutukawa tree to which the ancestral Tainui canoe was moored on its arrival there in the 14th century. Behind this spot was a large Maori Pa.

Woon was at this time still an admirer of White and of his tremendous energy, and he reported: 'He will shorten his life unless he slackens in labour'. At this stage plans were made to open on the Waipa River as the next step, to be followed by Waiharakeke in South Kawhia, and then Whaingaroa (Raglan).

Woon at once began a review of the district. At Kawhia itself lived a Pakeha named John Cowell who married a local chieftainess, and whose descendants became prominent families in the Kawhia district. Woon reported a visit to Cowell on November 19th, 1834. He also visited the coast in South Kawhia where he noticed at Taharoa — 'the heavy black sand which must contain some mineral which is sure to be worked in years to come!' He also made useful contacts with Aotea and Whaingaroa chiefs, and everywhere received encouragement and requests for Mission-ary appointments. He had with him several Maori teachers who were most helpful and were placed at strategic points. The word of his appointment soon spread and he was constantly receiving requests from neighbouring chiefs for work to be commenced in their areas.

White returned to Mangungu and continued with Whiteley the work in the Hokianga. The next arrival was James Wallis in December, 1834. He was of a different nature from any of his colleagues, a smaller built man with a gentle side to his outward appearance which belied the firmer qualities within. His record of physical endurance in the arduous years of his long ministry is of a high order. His arrival followed some months of strain between White and Whiteley. The two younger men, Whiteley and Wallis, fretted together under the drive of White, and under their sense of frustration at the difficulty of getting on with learning the language and preaching. Instead they
felt themselves to be manual workers under the whip of White's almost irrational zeal for the material developments, and this could not go on indefinitely. They held a meeting to discuss their divergent views as to the next move, and as a result it was decided that Whiteley and Wallis should go together to Waipa on the river of that name as White had been urging. It was a strategic matter for him in his controversy with Wm Williams of the Anglican Mission. He wanted urgency because he had heard from Woon that Williams had decided to appoint James Stack to Waipa, and that he was already in the district.

So White set off again with the Whiteleys and the Wallises and reached Kawhia by sea on Sunday, April 17th 1835, from Hokianga. Also a Native Teacher named Simon Peter came with them and proved of great help. Woon repeatedly spoke of his helpfulness, and also of another helper named Noah. Here at Papakarewa, a District Meeting was held, but in view of the appointment of Stack, and the pressure of the chiefs in the two districts, it was decided that Wallis should take up the appointment at Whaingaroa, and Whiteley should open the second Kawhia Station at Waiharakeke across the harbour as the head-quarters of the Kawhia work. The Waipa decision was held over for the time being.
Wallis left his wife and child with the Woons, and set off for his new location overland. Whiteley went to Waiharakeke on April 29th, 1835, and it was felt that a new era had begun.

White urged that he himself should have twelve months' leave of absence, that Nathaniel Turner who had left Tonga and was now living in Tasmania should be reappointed to New Zealand, and that Hobbs should return to New Zealand to the Hokianga, in view of his knowledge of Maori and his capacity for composing hymns and other material to be used in worship in the Maori language.

Wallis's first site was at Waiomu, Te Horea, just inside the harbour entrance on the north side, 26 miles from any other Mission. He also began on 29th April. For the time being he lived in a rush hut eight feet by five, by five feet high, while his house was being built. He had a large group of local Maoris to help, but about one-third at a time did the work, while the others sat round and offered advice. As soon as the house was habitable, Mrs Wallis was brought across from Kawhia in a sedan chair built by the Maoris.

Next a large Chapel of native materials was built to hold several hundred people, the number usually present. The usual Mission programme developed with some rapid response from the Maoris, and it was here that several important chiefs became converted. One was Te Awaitaia, baptised William Naylor (Wiremu Nera); another was baptised William Barton (Wiremu Patene); another was baptised John Beecham (Hoani Pihama) after the famous Dr. Beecham, one of the Mission Secretaries in England, and another, Te Rangitahua Ngamuka from Manukau was baptised Jabez Bunting (Epiha Putini) after another of the Mission Secretaries.
Whiteley, after a brief period at Waiharakeke, decided that he should plan to move over to Ahuahu, a much more suitable place, later named Te Waitere (the Maori form of Whiteley's name), or Lemon Point. He also had some rapid response from the people. At the time of his arrival at Waiharakeke, he described the place prepared for him and his wife and family there by the local Maoris under Haupokia: 'A rush hut native built, 39 by 29 feet, no floor, no partitions, no fireplace, no windows, and worst of all built in a hole at the foot of a hill, getting all the drainage, and the floor like a mudhole'. It was at the head of a river inlet not able to be served by ships of any size, so he commenced the preparation of new buildings on the more accessible site. The leading chief there was Haupokia, described by Whiteley as 'wanting to be the Hongi of these parts.' At the moment, evidently Haupokia's chief thought was that of having a Pakeha under his patronage.

The Mission Chairman had been pleading for years for a printing press and at last word came that one was on its way. Unfortunately it was not consigned direct, but at Sydney it was trans-shipped on a vessel bound for New Zealand on board which was a brother of William White, Mr Francis White with his wife and six children. When this vessel, the Schooner 'The Friendship' became four months overdue, it was feared that she had been lost with all hands, but to their great relief news was much later received that she had become a total wreck on Norfolk Island, and all the passengers and crew were saved with most of the cargo including the printing press. Fortunately Mr Francis
White had immediately opened up the packages and cleaned and greased and oiled the press and type as far as possible after its partial immersion in sea water. All returned to Sydney by another ship with the salvaged goods.

The correspondence of those years was full of comments about the terrible delays in meeting orders for urgently needed supplies. Letters would reach London from six months to more than a year after despatch from New Zealand. Recommendations regarding the appointment and stationing of the staff would reach London long after the Conference at which such matters needed attention. It was frustrating in the extreme. The Missionaries faced embarrassment and hardships in the lack of ordinary clothing and household goods. Much mail failed to reach its proper destination in both directions, and both the Mission authorities in London and the workers in New Zealand were never sure that questions had been received, or orders despatched and duly received.

The lack of medical equipment, or of the training of the womenfolk in midwifery and child care before leaving, was a constant cause of troubled comment. Mrs Woon was the only one who had had such a course in a London Hospital for a short term before leaving England, and her services were called on frequently. This usually meant a long journey to assist some sister in need.

With Whiteley established at Kawhia South, it was now decided that Woon should be moved from the temporary site at Papakarewa, to a more northern appointment where his printing experience would be invaluable on the arrival of the press. The first suggestion was to Mangungu again, but after he began his preparations, we read that a month later Manukau had been decided on as a mid-way staging place between Hokianga and Waikato, and as a new Station. In addition it was hoped that the appointment at Manukau of a Missionary would help to settle a serious dispute between certain tribes in that area, as to the owner-ship of the land.

In November 1835, the Mission goods were taken over to Whiteley's station at Ahuahu. Then ensued a series of domestic crises. Woon's youngest child took very ill, as did also Mrs Woon who was too ill to travel any distance. Then Mrs Wallis gave birth to a daughter at Whaingaroa, with no European woman at hand to assist. Mrs Whiteley went urgently to Whaingaroa to stand by and help there. In December Woon's child steadily declined and he died on 15th December, 1835. At this time, the Woon's were camped at the Waiharakeke site. Three days later the sad parents took the body in a canoe with a very bad crossing, over to Ahuahu for burial. This was the first of the children buried in that cemetery: Charles Wesley Woon, born 28th June, 1835, died 15th December, 1835. It is sad to realise that Mrs Woon had been troubled with inflamed breasts, and with no suitable alternative food supplies for the sick child, they had had to watch him fade away before their eyes.
Back at Papakarewa in the New Year, Woon wrote of various inter-tribal arguments and skirmishes in which the Missionaries were helpful in restraining the passions of the Maoris. The news of his impending removal to Manukau had upset the Maoris at Kawhia and Aotea, and he spoke of his fears of plundering and even violence to their persons as a result. With the assistance of the Maori Teachers, they were able to ease the situation and persuade them to listen to better counsels. At this time supplies were running low and Woon spoke of himself and his children being barefooted. It was a restless and disturbed community, — large groups of visitors from surrounding districts going through all the usual Maori procedures in preparation for conflict. Waipa people sent 150 Maoris to try to settle a quarrel with a Kawhia tribe, and their presence resulted in a long series of alarms. By accident the chapel at Papakarewa was burned and the Mission buildings narrowly escaped.

On January 12th, 1836, White arrived in a small ship to take the Woon household to Manukau. After a few days they sailed, and after a bad trip, arrived in the Manukau Harbour on January 23rd. They set up camp at Orua Bay inside the South Head, and this was to be their home until a successor could take over. They would then have gone to Mangungu to take charge of the printing press which had arrived, and which White and his brother Francis had set up. A young Maori Teacher, Hoani Ri (John Leigh) was designated as Woon's successor at Manukau.

Woon complained bitterly of the delay in forwarding certain urgently needed supplies which he had ordered in October 1834, and which he learned had arrived at the Hokianga in July 1835, but owing to the uncertainty as to his permanent location, had ' still not reached him. While he was at Orua Bay the Maoris themselves were having a bad time over food supplies, being dependent mainly on fish and fernroot. Also a number of people from Pouto in the Kawhia had moved up to Orua to be near Woon and to have his ministrations. He was becoming impatient to get at the printing because his experience so far had convinced him of the imperative need of printed materials for every Mission Station, and he felt this to be his special Mission calling.

About this time, matters affecting White began to come to a head. Very serious moral charges were being reported against him by some of his loyal native assistants, and these could not be left unexamined. Evidently he had come to a crisis in his relationships both with his colleagues and with the public. Charges and counter charges reached the authorities in England. Woon went overland from Manukau and arrived at Mangungu on 17th March, leaving his wife and children to be brought on by Maori helpers in a few days. He himself had a very narrow escape from drowning in the Waimamaku river. Moetara, the chief at Pakanae, was very persistent in his requests for a Missionary and he tried to hold Woon there, but he hurried on. He found
a great deal of encouragement in the work at Mangungu, in spite of the unsatisfactory nature of White's general demeanour. It was evident that the lay helpers at the Mission, and the Maori teachers had held things together very well during White's excursions, and there were solid evidences of real progress among the people. A group of 62 adults were baptised at Mangungu on 28th February 1836, and Woon was greatly impressed by the deepening of the work in the 18 months that he had been away in the South.

The Mission authorities in England now faced some difficult decisions. White's controversies, as well as his behaviour, had prompted the Anglicans to report unfavourably on the Waikato opening, and they claimed that these stations had been opened in Anglican territory. Without getting the full picture which was complicated for them by the fact that they felt it necessary to take disciplinary action against White, the Mission authorities decided upon two firm actions. One was to order the immediate withdrawal from the Waikato, and the other was to dismiss White from the Mission employment, and to replace him by the appointment of Nathaniel Turner as Mission Superintendent.

White was on his way on another trip to the Waikato, when his vessel met an incoming ship outside the Heads at Hokianga. He turned back to find that this ship carried the man sent to replace him. So it was that on 28th April, 1836, Turner arrived and took over. White shifted to land near the Mission where his brother and family were living. Arrangements were made to withdraw immediately from the Waikato Stations, and to appoint Whiteley to Pakanae at the Hokianga Heads, and Wallis to a new station in the Kaipara district, on the Northern Wairoa River at Tangiteroria. This came as a bomb-shell to these Missionaries and their Maori people who could not believe their ears. It is a long story, but it is evident that White’s personal weaknesses had given such ground for open criticism, that the Mission authorities were determined that there should be no ground for public charges against the Mission in general.

Reluctantly the moves were made. Mrs Woon and family went overland from the Manukau and reached Mangungu on 26th April after a long and tedious journey in the care of a lay worker, Mr Stephenson, and a group of Maoris.

Wallis went overland from Whaingaroa to Kaipara, leaving his family to come by ship with the Whiteleys. These two men never agreed with the withdrawal but orders were orders. They had only four days to pack and leave. Wallis arrived at Tangiteroria on the Northern Wairoa on June 10th at the place chosen for the new Station. At that time, considerable numbers of Maoris lived thereabouts, under the general leadership of the chief Tirarau, whose wife was a close relative of the great Hongi Hika. Later the development of the Kauri timber trade caused a migration of the Maoris to the lower reaches of the river and elsewhere, making difficulties for the Missionaries. At this
time however, Wallis found a promising field of work, and he commenced in his characteristic vigorous style.

As the Captain of the vessel engaged to bring the Mission families north from the Waikato was new to the New Zealand coast. Turner had felt it wise to arrange for White to go with him as his guide. This ship landed Mrs. Wallis and family at the Kaipara and then brought the Whiteleys to the Hokianga. White went to Australia hoping to seek some backing there, and then went on to London, returning to Hokianga as a layman after some two years.

Whiteley took up his task at Pakanae near the Heads, among Moetara's people, and he named the new Station Newark, after the Circuit in England from which he had offered as a candidate for the Ministry. Hence this Station became known in the Mission records variously as Newark, Nuhaka or Pakanae.

Just then, James Wallis received word of a double bereavement. A brother, William, came from Sydney hoping to see his brother and family, but in the Hokianga Harbour he was drowned in falling from a raft of timber alongside the ship he had arrived in. With the news of this, James Wallis also received word of the death of another brother shortly before in England. It was sorrow upon sorrow for him and his family, and it was in this frame of mind, after the annoyance of the enforced removal from his promising station at Whaingaroa, that he had to settle to his fresh pioneering.

Turner made a special trip to the Bay of Islands to consult with the Anglicans, and to urge them that if their protests were in earnest, they should make urgent plans to staff
the places now vacated at Kawhia and Whaingaroa. However this did not eventuate, and nearly three years were to pass before the Wesleyans, in answer to pathetic appeals from their chiefs, resolved to reopen the work which in the meantime had been continued and even extended under the leadership of Christian Maori Teachers and chiefs.

Turner had not long arrived in New Zealand, when once more the physical trouble that had been the cause of his leaving Tonga, recurred and he became dangerously ill. Only the hurried visit of Wm Williams from the Bay of Islands with medical aid saved the situation, and Turner slowly regained his strength. The tropical climate in Tonga had taken great toll of his strength. How-ever, even as a convalescent, he carried out some strenuous journeys, including one to the North and East from Mangamuka to Oruru and across to his former station at Whangaroa (Kaeo) where he recalled in his reports his deep feelings as he stood on the old site and recalled the tragedy of his earlier experiences there.

With this group in the Hokianga and Kaipara at this time, the reports spoke of advances in effectiveness and numbers, with the Sunday services and class meetings being very well attended, and with many satisfying occasions of baptisms of strong groups of converts after training and examination. The Mission families at this time were also growing. On 26th August, 1836, the wife of James Buller, a lay helper and teacher at Mangungu, bore a son. On 29th September Mrs Whiteley had a daughter, and on October 3rd Mrs Woon had another son. It is possible to read in this something of the strain and anxiety of the Mission families in their domestic arrangements during the upheavals of the previous months.

In October, 1836, at a District Meeting at Mangungu, the two Probationers, Whiteley and Wallis were recommended to be received into full connexion. At the same time young James Buller offered himself as a candidate for the Ministry, and with the very cordial endorsement of all the brethren, his nomination as an assistant Missionary was sent on to England. He was a real acquisition to the staff, and he lived to take a very prominent part in the later development of the Church structure in the country. He was a man of some education, and an earnest preacher and Mission helper, and his offer was a significant event in the life of the New Zealand Mission. He was observant and had a very ready pen, and was a man who could face both spiritual and physical hardships in isolation.

At that same Meeting a resolution was passed referring to the harmonious relations among themselves, and with the members of the Anglican Mission Staff: To whom we owe nothing but love, and from whom nothing but kindness is received.' Would that that had been the picture later!
Whiteley and Turner in 1836 at the urgent request of the local chiefs, travelled across to the Bay of Islands with a large group of their people to seek to make peace between two contending groups of tribes in that area, and Turner reported with deep satisfaction the success of their expedition, without siding with either party to the dispute. More and more of this evidence of a desire to discard warfare gave great encouragement to both Missions.

The problem of communications and supplies was always with them. In July, 1837, Turner wrote to London, and his letter reached there on 17th December. In it Turner stated he had not received a line from the Secretaries since his appointment in April 1836, and he still had not received the supplies he had ordered then.

With the development of the timber trade in the Hokianga, it was decided to build a weatherboard chapel at Mangungu in 1836, and this was painted on the outside. It was capable of holding up to 500 people but there were some Sundays when 100 to 200 people stood round outside to listen and share in the services being conducted in the crowded chapel. There were repeated references at this time to such occasions, with responsible leading chiefs joining the Church. Among them were also slaves of war from the south, and, to add to the pressure, frequently groups of visitors from the Waikato and elsewhere who remained for long periods to benefit from the gatherings. Most of these came pressing their requests for replacement of the Mission Staff in their districts.

Woon now had the press in running order, and he concentrated on the printing of urgently needed materials to assist the Native Teachers. There was still a great hunger for Bibles and books and pamphlets. Much was from a desire to learn to read and write, but many instances were given of a deeper understanding of the message, and a desire for growth in Christian living. Religious questions were the order of the day whenever Maori groups gathered and there was a ferment of enquiry and discussion.

A memorable event was the visit of four young men, Wiremu Patene, Matiu, Rihimona and Hohepa Otene from Rotopipiwai, up the Mangamuka River to a village where a notorious chief lived. They had decided to try to break through this man's resistance to the Gospel which had been expressed with fanatical threats of death for any who came to preach. Against the advice of older and more cautious leaders, the party of young men set out one Sunday saying that the Saviour had commanded them in Scripture to preach to all men. Kaitoke, the heathen chief, was as good as his word and the Mission party was fired on as soon as it appeared. Matiu was mortally wounded, and in dying pleaded that no one would avenge his death. Rihimona after several days of agony died praying for his murderers. By older Maori custom, an
obligation rested on the relatives to avenge the deaths, and a great tension developed. Crowds gathered and it seemed that a large scale Maori war would flare up. While the matter was being debated, and the Missionaries and some of the converted Maoris were urging a peaceful settlement, Kaitoke and his followers who had entrenched themselves, opened fire and a Christian Chief Himeona (Simeon) was killed. This set the proceedings in an uproar and an attack was made by the friends of the victim, and the entrenchment was overrun and all in it either killed or captured. One of those captured was Kaitoke himself, badly wounded. For some time afterwards he was attended by the Missionaries who patiently nursed him, and he began to attend the Mission services. At the first of those attendances everyone was deeply moved by Wiremu Patene praying for his would-be murderer. Later Kaitoke and the Tohunga under whose influence he had been held, both made profession of Christianity.

At their Mission Press at Paihia, the Anglicans printed an edition of the New Testament in Maori in 1837. This was eagerly sought after by the people of both Missions, and the knowledge of Bible Teaching was a means of giving them a firm basis for their faith. The Missionaries with their trained Maori Teachers were able to appeal to the Scriptures in the controversies that arose with the arrival of a new element.

In 1838 Bishop Pompallier, the first Roman Catholic Bishop arrived with several Priests in the Hokianga. Unhappily this opened a period of intense sectarian bitterness. Naturally the Anglicans and Wesleyans were concerned to find the newcomers starting a vigorous proselytising movement among the people whom they had struggled for years to influence for the Christian faith. Moreover they made a frontal attack on the teachings and qualifications of the pioneer Missionaries. Using a different type of approach they caught the attention of many who had stood back and refused to align themselves with the earlier Missions. The Roman Catholics sought a rapid response, and they baptised many after a very limited period of instruction. As long as they could repeat certain very elementary affirmations, they were baptised and presented with some token, either a religious medal or a colourful picture, and the other Missionaries felt that insufficient emphasis was being placed on reformation of behaviour.

Also at this time, in the Hokianga there was the first instance of a movement originating in Maori life which was led by a chief named Papahurihia described by Woon as: 'A man who has fallen in with some Jew and learned juggling etc. and on this account is regarded as a wonderful man, and many are led astray by his proceedings.' This man later took the name of Te Atua Wera' and named his movement 'Nakahi', from the word 'Nachash' or serpent, from the Scripture reference: The serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field that the Lord had made.' This
was evidently the background of the incident recorded by James Stack earlier in his story of the Talking Canoe'. In later years, as will be told, John Warren had close touch with Te Atua Wera'.

Yet the work went on with encouragement in the Mission area. Turner reported in 1837 that nearly 600 had been received into Membership or on probation, and so the workers pressed on with more heart.

In February 1837, Marsden and his daughter and the Rev'd Mr Wilkinson and family visited Hokianga aboard the 'Pyramus', and the Wesleyans reported several days of helpful fellowship and shared services. The Maori people gathered in great numbers to honour their old friend. The visitors then went on to the Bay of Islands. When the ship left Hokianga, the Captain, crew, surgeon and passengers all expressed their very favourable impressions of the people at the services.

During the year 1837, both Turner and Whiteley were occupied more than once on peacemaking trips with the Chief Moetara and others to Kaipara and the Bay of Islands. It was a period of growing effectiveness and deepening response of the Maoris who were making real efforts to understand and follow Christian principles in their inter-tribal relationships. Moetara for example declared that he was 'sick of powder and ball'.

Another development that produced difficulties for all concerned was the timber trade. As yet, cash had still not become fully in use among the Maori people. Most trade and wage payments were by barter or goods, but gradually money was being used and there were many reports of unscrupulous traders taking advantage of the inexperienced Maoris. The Missionaries found it essential to bring instruction in arithmetic, and the proper method of estimating the timber content of logs, into their school classes, and this, with reading and writing was felt to be a Christian obligation for the protection of the people.

The discovery that trees and flax were a means of gaining trade articles had meant a revolution in the life of the people. The movement away from the well-built hill-top villages became accelerated, and the primitive unhygienic camps near the work became the rule. Many people completely neglected the usual seasonal planting of essential food supplies, and when winter arrived there was widespread hunger and undernourishment. This left the people physically unprepared to meet the series of devastating epidemics of whooping cough, measles and severe influenza. Particularly among the children, these swept away hundreds of victims and there was a general spirit of depression abroad.
It made for great difficulties for the Missionaries as they travelled among the people on long journeys, staying among them in their camps. With only limited medical supplies, they felt almost helpless, and when the troubled sick people or relatives turned in hope to the Missionaries they often had to disappoint them. Naturally this did not build up their confidence or trust. The wonder is that the work had as much encouragement as it did. Year by year the winter brought reports of these acute seasonal problems, but they kept going, as proof of their commitment and devotion.

In 1837, Wm. Woon who up till then had been a lay Missionary helper was recommended to be received into the Ministry as a Probationer, and he was then able to fulfil more definitely ministerial duties.

Constant requests from Waikato for the re-appointment of Missionaries to the former Stations which the Anglicans had not taken up, at last caused the Wesleyans to resolve that as soon as fresh recruits arrived, they would once more claim the field for Methodism. Notice of this was sent to the Anglican Mission and a meeting was arranged at which the respective boundaries were defined by agreement between the two Missions. It was also decided by the Wesleyans that an appointment should be made to Waima where a strong loyal group of converts was meeting under native teachers and leaders, with visits from the Missionaries to guide them. Mohi (Moses) Tawhau and his people had built a native-style chapel to hold up to 200 people.

Turner reported in October 1837, that there were now 620 members 'Meeting in Class' in the northern district, just twice as many as the previous year, with reports of at least another 300 still meeting under Maori leadership in the vacant Waikato stations.

In November after consultation at Mangungu, it was decided that James Buller should go temporarily to Tangiteroria from Mangungu, to look after the Wallis household and the work there, while Wallis should travel to Waikato with several well-instructed Maoris to survey the position in the Waikato. Turner also repeated his request to be allowed to return to one of the Colonies for health and family reasons, and that Hobbs should be reappointed from Tonga to New Zealand.

At this time Woon spoke of a physical disability developing that was to be a serious handicap to the end of his active ministry. He was a big heavy man, and standing for long hours at the printing had brought on serious varicose veins. This in later years, when he rode on horseback or tramped for days on end through bush or swamps, gave him cruel pain, and the constant dangers of ulcers from injuries. Reading his journals gives the reader a real admiration for the courage and faithfulness of this man, one example only of this characteristic among these men.
The development of native missionary zeal was very marked. Turner made a long journey overland in November 1837, from Mangamuka, over Mount Taniwha to Oruru and Kohumaru and Kaeo, and back to Mangamuka via the Otangaroa River, an arduous trip for a man in poor health. The party had to cross and recross the river sixty times in reaching Mangamuka. However Turner spoke in the highest terms of what he found at Oruru area where the chief Hohepa Otene (Joseph Orton) and a native Teacher Matiu (Matthew) had transformed the people to a marked degree. This place was also visited from time to time by native workers from Mangamuka, and Turner declared he 'was astonished at the change wrought among a people purely through the exertions of their own countrymen.' He found Kaeo almost devoid of Maoris but they still recognised Wesleydale as belonging to the Wesleyan Mission.

Early in 1838 Wallis returned from his southern trip with hopeful reports of the prospect of reopening the southern stations. The Anglicans were now more favourable to the idea. Turner expressed a willingness to remain longer in New Zealand if suitable arrangements could be made for the education of his family. Pressure from the Roman Catholics was building up and causing restlessness among some of the people.

In March 1838, Hobbs arrived at Mangungu from Tonga via the Bay of Islands. He stopped at Waimate North with a very sick youngest child, George, who died while they were there and was buried in the Anglican Mission cemetery. It was a saddened family that arrived at Mangungu, but with deep gratitude for the loving care of their Anglican friends. Actually Hobbs was on his way to Tasmania, but the needs of the New Zealand work were such that he was prevailed upon to drop his plan, and instead to seek consent to resume his Maori work. This was given, and Hobbs and his family who were already improving in health after the tropical conditions, settled in again to the work in which they served for twenty years until their retirement in 1858.

The arrival of 'Baron' De Thierry in the Hokianga with claims of having purchased thousands of acres of Maori land in the north, created great alarm among the local people over land matters, but the Wesleyan chief Nene (Thomas Walker Nene) in pity for him and for all the expense he had been put to, gave him a small area on which to make his home.

In August 1838, in the early hours of a Sunday morning, a serious fire destroyed Turner's parsonage and the adjoining stores, and left the Turners almost destitute. Mission records and Turner's personal library and belongings were destroyed, and Mrs Turner who was seriously ill narrowly escaped with her life. Buller was away at Waima when it happened, but in his report of the events he spoke in glowing terms of the praiseworthy efforts and behaviour of the Maori people. It was estimated that the loss to the Mission and to the Turners was from £600 to £800 — a very large sum in
those days. Temporary arrangements were made for the Bullers to go to Whiteley at Pakanae, and Turner to take over Buller's house while the new Parsonage was built as the head building for the Station. Fortunately the capable Hobbs was there to handle the big task of rebuilding.

Hobbs was just then busy getting logs out for timber for the new house to be built at Waima for the new Missionary to be appointed there, but now he turned his energies to the replacement of the Mangungu house, designed and mainly built by him. A Doctor Ross and his wife had been living at Mangungu for some time, acting as the local district doctor. He died in June, 1838. This was a very serious blow, but his widow opened a school for the English children in the region of Mangungu, which was a blessing for the Mission families while it lasted.

Hobbs had gifts of sawn timber from a number of Europeans on the river and also the assistance of a ship's carpenter. There was also a personal gift from the Anglican Missionaries of £20 to assist in replacing some of the articles destroyed by the fire, a much appreciated gesture.

Turner reported on 21st November 1838, that some 1,000 Maoris had been present at the services on the previous Sunday. 138 adults were baptised, some being chiefs of high rank, and some were Whangaroa people who had attended services at Kaeo in the earlier days. One was Hongi Te Puhi, eldest son of the principal chief of the Whangaroa days, whose opposition had been one of the contributing causes of the plundering and destruction at Kaeo.
CHAPTER FOUR

Once more to Waikato and Southward 1838-1842

Whiteley and Wallis now had to move back to their old district of the Waikato. Whiteley and his wife and family left Newark (Pakanae) on 20th December 1838, overland, but all took ill on the way to Tangiteroria, and they had to stop at the Mission Station there. Unfortunately this was a virulent form of influenza, and all the Wallis household took the sickness. This greatly delayed them all. The Whiteleys finally arrived at Kawhia on 19th January 1839, at their old Station Ahuahu. They had only the supplies they carried with them, or what they could barter from the Maori people, and they suffered great privations.

Three months after they had left the Hokianga, a ship arrived at Kawhia with their supplies on Monday, 25th March 1839, but that day Mrs Whiteley and their infant son John James took seriously ill. Less than a fortnight later, on 6th April, the child died and was buried alongside the grave of Wm Woon's son at Ahuahu.

In the meantime the same ship had brought the Bullers down from Mangungu to replace Wallis at Tangiteroria, Northern Wairoa, and had then brought Wallis and his household down to Whaingaroa (Raglan), afterwards going on to Kawhia with Whiteley's goods and supplies.

Wallis found that in the period since he had left, the people had moved about considerably, and it would not be satisfactory to reopen the original Mission, so he decided to start this time on the South side of the Raglan Harbour at Nihinihi. Hence the Wallises and their goods were landed on the beach near this site, at Takapaunui, on 6th March.

While a new Native Chapel was being built, Wallis arranged a temporary shelter on the beach for his household. This was a four posted kauri bedstead which was roofed over with boards and blankets and it had to answer the double purpose of drawing room and bedroom. With as little delay as possible the Maoris erected a large raupo Church, one end of which they partitioned off as a temporary dwelling while a weatherboard house was being built.

He immediately had crowds at his Sunday services, about 500 twice at Horea, the old Mission site, and about 800 at Takapaunui.
While they were still camping in these conditions, Wallis heard of Whiteley's troubles and he hurried across to assist with comfort, travelling all night the thirty or so miles. There now opened for these two men a long period of new efforts.

On March 19th 1839, there arrived in the Hokianga a new group of recruits from England. They were under the Superintendency of the Rev'd John Waterhouse who had been appointed to live at Hobart as General Superintendent of the South Seas Mission. This party consisted of Mr Waterhouse, The Rev'd J. H. Bumby and his sister, the Rev'd and Mrs Samuel Ironside, the Rev'd and Mrs Charles Creed and the Rev'd and Mrs John Warren, but the Warrens remained for some months in Tasmania, and came on later to Mangungu in January, 1840. Nathaniel Turner who was suffering from Tuberculosis had been given permission to shift to Tasmania, and Bumby had been designated as his successor as Chairman of the New Zealand District. Bumby took over the new Mission House on 21st May, 1839.

In May it was decided that J. H. Bumby and John Hobbs should visit the Cook Strait area to seek a location for a Mission or Missions in that part of the country. With about 20 Maoris, they left the Bay of Islands on a small vessel of 75 tons, 'The Hokianga', to travel down the East Coast. Striking bad weather, they sheltered at Hicks Bay on 25th May, and they were cheered to find a native Catechist named Hemi Taka (James Tucker) who had lived at Mangungu with Hobbs and Stack, but was now serving with the Anglican Mission. They also had graphic evidence of the effects of Hongi's raids, as only a remnant of the inhabitants now lived there. They were unable to leave until June 2nd, and they entered Port Nicholson on 7th June, 1839. They
found only one White man living there, Joe Robinson, busy building a boat in which to get away.

Hobbs and Bumby negotiated with the chiefs of the area to obtain a block of land for the Methodist Mission on Te Aro flat. They made an initial deposit on the price, and left there several teachers to commence Mission work. One was Mina-rapa-te-Atua-Ke, and another was Reihana te Kamo (Richard Davis). These men had been captured by Ngapuhi raiders and taken north where they came into touch with the Missions. They took the opportunity of the visit of Hobbs and Bumby to return with them to their homeland.

Hobbs and Bumby and the Native Teachers conducted worship on Friday, 7th June 1839, at Te Aro, near the site of the present memorial drinking fountain and seats in the reserve between Dixon and Manners Streets. They also held services at Pipitea Pa, and visited Heretaunga, Hutt Valley, and met and conversed with Te Whare Pouri, the chief of Ngauranga and Pitoone (Pito-one).

They left Port Nicholson after a week's stay, during which they had appointed Minarapa as Catechist at Te Aro Pa, and Reihana at Pipitea Pa, and also made arrangements for building a native-style Chapel on the Te Aro site, this building later being named Te Aral Te Uru'.

From there Hobbs and Bumby went on to Cloudy Bay, Queen Charlotte Sound, Mana Island and Kapiti Island. At Cloudy Bay on 16th June, Hobbs preached the first sermon heard in the South Island. At Mana Island they met Te Rauparaha, to whom they presented a copy of the New Testament, and also left with him a teacher named Paora (Paul) to minister among the people of that part of the Straits. The ship made a short stay at Taranaki, and then they sailed to Kawhia to meet Whiteley.

Already Whiteley was proving himself to be a real force among the tribes as a peace maker. When Hobbs and Bumby arrived they found him in the midst of preparations to leave on one of his many expeditions with peace in view. They decided to accompany him on what proved to be a week's journey to the back country of the Waipa and Mokau Rivers, at Paripari where Whiteley was instrumental in bringing the enraged parties to their senses. Returning to Kawhia, Bumby and Hobbs travelled the rest of their homeward journey overland, 250 miles, via Waikato, Manukau and Kaipara, and rejoined their people after an absence of three months. Shortly after this, Whiteley made 'a wet uncomfortable and laborious journey of a fortnight' to Mokau and Ngamotu (Taranaki) on another successful peace-making venture.
Early in 1840, Whiteley sent Edward Meurant, a servant of the Mission, to escort to Ngamotu, Taranaki, a group of released slaves who had been held by Haupokia and others in the Kawhia district but were now, because of Whiteley's influence, permitted to return to their home. Meurant on this journey, on 13th January negotiated for a piece of land for the Wesleyan Mission and this eventually became the site of the Ngamotu Mission Station and the 'Grey Institution'.

In February 1839, Woon was sent temporarily from Mangungu to replace Whiteley at Pakanae, Hokianga Heads, one of a series of short-term appointments which hindered the development of the confidence of that people in the Mission. There were many complaints through the years from the Maoris and the Missionaries concerned, about these frequent changes, and Pakanae never became a strong centre in spite of being strategically placed. It was only one of the unhappy results of the unnecessary upheaval in the Waikato appointments because of the disagreement with the sister Mission. Another effect at Pakanae was the creating of a restlessness which on the one hand gave an opening for the overtures of the Roman Catholics, and on the other hand encouraged the resistance of the Maori opponents of Christianity.

Hobbs remained at Mangungu with Turner. When White returned from England he continued to make trouble. He occupied land next to the Mission, and for a while, knowing the plans of the Mission services, would go ahead and gather some of the people together in the various villages, and try to discredit the Missionaries. It was a sad story. On this land he had living with him a brother, Francis White and his family, and a young couple Thomas Spencer Forsaith and his wife and family. These at first heard only White's side of the story, and they naturally sided with him, until his old habits revealed themselves.

Mrs White was in a very difficult position. She continued her association with all the Mission activities that she possibly could, and in later years was known as one of the greatly respected Class Leaders when she and her husband moved to the young settlement of Auckland. The Forsaiths moved temporarily to the Mission Station, and later took up property in the Kaipara District where for a while he assisted Buller as a lay worker. They were much appreciated, and in later years Forsaith became prominent in Colonial politics. His sister was to become the wife of the Rev'd H. H. Lawry, the son of the Rev'd Walter Lawry.

After having spent some months in Australia because of his wife's condition of health, John Warren and his wife arrived in the Hokianga in February 1840, and it was decided that he should open the new Station at Waima. There was no house ready for them other than a temporary native-style building, and Warren was not willing to take his wife there as she was expecting her first child. Bumby and Hobbs with a group of
Mission lads worked like slaves to hurry the building of the frame and shell of the new Waima house. Warren and his wife took up residence as soon as the place was habitable, but completion took some time longer. The leading Waima chief Moses (Mohi) Tawhai, had become a staunch Christian and he gave loyal support to the Missionary in the face of strong efforts by the Roman Catholics to sway the people of the valley. At Omanaia some inroads were made, but in the main centre of population the Wesleyans developed a solid centre of Missionary activity.

By this time, Buller at Tangiteroria had settled in, and was facing some difficulties. The chief, Tirarau, was a strong leader. He gave a lot of friendly encouragement to Buller, and sought help in medical and educational advantages for his people, but he never fully accepted the Christian Faith. At a later date, when the Northern chiefs threatened to attack Auckland, it was Tirarau who refused them support or free transit through his territory.

Names of well-known Kaipara chiefs such as Parore appear early in Buller's reports. His travels took him across to Whangarei, also up to Kaihu where he had a steady response from the people, and to Pouto at the Kaipara Heads and Kakaraea and Otamatea and other Kaipara centres where the Ngatiwhatua people had been decimated in Hongi’s raids, but a fairly strong remnant remained in occupation.
In October 1839, news reached Mangungu of the departure from England of ships of the New Zealand Company heading for Port Nicholson. It was decided that James Buller should go at once to Port Nicholson to organise the work of the Mission there on a footing that would safeguard the Maoris against the inevitable new problems that would arise from the influx of this large group of newcomers. He set out with a group of helpers to assist with camping and the carrying of necessary supplies, and they made an epic three months' journey south. A District Meeting had been held at Mangungu where several changes of appointments had been decided on. Woon was to go back to Mangungu with special care of the printing work, and Hobbs was to go to Pakanae, Charles Creed was to prepare to go to Port Nicholson when Buller returned. Buller accompanied Whiteley back to Kawhia from the District Meeting and then his party went inland to Taupo. They called at a village at the foot of Titiraupenga, then round the lake to Rotoaira, down the Wanganui River to Wanganui and down the coast to Port Nicholson. Buller was in Port Nicholson when the first immigrant ships arrived, and he conducted the first distinctly Christian European service in Wellington on board the 'Aurora' among the immigrants and crew on Sunday, 26th January, 1840.

Buller found confusion over the Mission land at Te Aro. Colonel Wakefield claimed to have bought the whole of the District including the place 'Tapued' to the Mission when Hobbs and Bumby negotiated with the chiefs in 1839. The Native Teachers who had been stationed there at the time, had erected native style buildings and were conducting regular services in them, on land which now appeared on the town plan of the New Zealand Company as a Market Reserve. This claim of the Company, and their efforts to drive the Mission Maoris off the land, had been resisted by the chiefs who understood and supported the claim of the Mission. Buller saw the necessity for action, and he submitted a claim in protest, and then decided to return North and consult with his Chairman Bumby. The result was a long-drawn-out and famous contention in Wellington which was never settled to the full satisfaction of the Mission. A partial settlement with the allocation of a much smaller area was later negotiated with the Government representatives, and accepted reluctantly by the Missionaries.

Buller returned from Port Nicholson by the small Schooner 'The Atlas' and had a six days' stormy passage to the Bay of Islands where he arrived on a Sunday. He spent a day at Paihia, met Governor Hobson and outlined the situation in Wellington, and then crossed overland to Hokianga and on to his home at Kaipara.

The next major development in the country was the arrival of Captain Hobson to discuss the possibility of a Treaty with the Maori chiefs for the ceding of the sovereignty of the country to Queen Victoria. This was a matter on which the
Missionaries held widely differing views and feelings. They wished for the establishment of ordered Government to control the disorderly elements which were drifting into the country, but they feared any large-scale European immigration as a danger to the moral and social life of the Maori. It was not an easy decision to make, but in balance, they came down on the side of the proposed Treaty, and used their influence to persuade the chiefs under their guidance to go to the Waitangi gathering and express their support.

Samuel Ironside and John Warren travelled with the Hokianga chiefs. Hobbs held a long discussion with Tamati Waka Nene, their leader, before they left, but Hobbs remained at Hokianga. Ironside and Warren were with Nene when the discussions reached their climax. When it looked as though the decision would go against the Treaty, and Nene expressed his concern to the Wesleyan Missionaries at this turn of events, they encouraged him to rise and make the speech which swung the gathering in favour of the signing. Hobson later repeatedly expressed the debt he owed to such support.

As soon as the signatures of those at the Bay of Islands had been obtained, another large gathering was held on February 12th at Mangungu Mission Station where Hobbs
acted as Interpreter, and the result was the obtaining of another large group of signatures. In all this, the Missionaries pledged their word to the Maoris that the Queen and the British authorities would honour their word to safeguard the Maori interest in their land.

Many of the Chiefs stated that in spite of much uneasiness of mind, the assurances of the Missionaries were the deciding factor in their decision to sign. Tamati Waka Nene and other chiefs later travelled through many parts of the country with the official party gathering signatures, and whenever they arrived at a Wesleyan Mission Station, the Missionaries and the chiefs under their guidance were to the fore in expressing their support.

The year 1840 was also memorable for several other events. One was the arrival on the 8th of May of the Mission Ship 'Triton' which had been bought by the Wesleyan Mission Authorities in England as a Mission centennial gift to serve the South Seas work. On her came a party of workers to reinforce the Tongan and Fijian Missions, as well as a group for New Zealand. The Rev'd John Waterhouse was in charge, and their arrival in the Hokianga was a tremendous boost to the morale of the overworked New Zealand staff. They had waited long for an adequate band of helpers to exploit the opportunities opening in so many places. The newcomers for the New Zealand field were three married men with their wives, the Rev'ds Thomas Buddle, John Skevington and Henry Hanson Turton, and three single men, the Rev'ds Gideon Smales, John Aldred and George Buttle.

A Special District Meeting was held on their arrival and the following stationing was proposed:—

- Mangungu, Bumby (Chairman), Woon and Creed.
- Waima, Warren.
- Newark (Pakanae), Hobbs.
- Whangaroa, Smales.
- Kaipara, Buller.
- Whaingaroa (Raglan), Wallis and Buddle.
- Kawhia, Whiteley and Turton.
- Taranaki, Ironside.
- Kapiti, Buttle.
- Port Nicholson, Aldred.
- Otago, Watkin.

Several of these were later altered because of subsequent developments, but they reveal the field of work that they felt they were responsible for. However once these moves were decided on, the 'Triton' sailed southwards with the workers appointed to the various southern districts. Mr Bumby as the District Chairman accompanied them.
to Kawhia, and they spent some ten days there landing and sorting stores for the various Stations, and visiting the places where work was already being carried on. At Kawhia they left the Buddies, John Aldred and the Turtons.

H. H. Turton who was to work with Whiteley was appointed to open a new Station at Aotea, a small harbour a few miles north of Kawhia.

Samuel Ironside was to open southern areas in Taranaki and Wanganui districts, so he was sent with Buttle and Aldred to survey possible openings.

As a result of the Mission work in the Raglan and Kawhia circuits, many Christian chiefs decided that they should not continue to hold former prisoners of war slaves, so they resolved to release them and return them to their homes. These people, escorted by some of their captors, now Christian leaders including the great Wiremu Nera Te Awaitaia, travelled with Ironside and his party. They went by the coastal route via Taharoa, Marokopa, Kiritehere, Waikawau, Awakino, Mokau and Pukearuhe. In South Taranaki at Waimate (near the present town of Hawera) they found a Christian Teacher named Wiremu Nera, who for two years had been working along the southern coast, visiting as far as Wanganui, and had won many people to the Christian Faith and had gathered them into classes. This was a different Wiremu Nera from the one named Te Awaitaia of Whaingaroa, and in records of the Taranaki story there is often confusion between the two. The one they found at Waimate was a native of Manutahi in South Taranaki who had been captured by Ngapuhi raiders under Tawhai of
Waima, and taken prisoner in 1825 to Hokianga, where he became a slave of a chief at Mangamuka. According to T. G. Hammond in his book 'In the Beginning', this man and his master became Christians and he was released. However his master died in debt, and Nera remained in the north until the debt was extinguished, when he and a group of eighteen others set off to preach the Gospel to their own people. A similar story of another such released slave is told by James Buller in his book 'Forty Years in New Zealand'. These released slaves were received with such opposition and derision that all but Nera returned to Hokianga. Having been slaves, they had lost Mana and Tapu, and were therefore treated as 'Taurekareka' or 'Nobodies'. However Nera had remained on and was instru-mental in helping the local people to repel an attack by a Waikato raiding party, and thus gained recognition and acceptance. He later helped to repel a Taupo attack near Waitotara, and this further extended his influence towards Wanganui.

Ironside in June 1840, speaks of this man, and also of the baptism of some nineteen candidates who were recommended by Lazarus, Harrison and Zechariah, three Native Teachers among the party travelling with the Missionaries. There were nearly 300 people at the service on that occasion.

At Wanganui they found the Rev'd Mr Mason, Anglican, newly arrived at the little settlement frequently visited by Nera.

On their return journey they received word at Awakino of the tragic death of John H. Bumby. This was a great shock to the whole Mission staff. Bumby was a young man of great promise. His early appointment to the task of District Chairman indicated the confidence placed in him by the Mission authorities in England. He was making his way back to Mangungu from Kawhia with a band of young Maori men who had made the trip with him. They were a hand-picked group of some of the finest young men from the Head Station at Mangungu.

The story of Bumby's death has been told in detail in other records but sufficient to say that after leaving the Waikato and crossing to Maraetai on the Waitemata side, he had decided not to take the Kaipara route with its dangerous crossing at the Harbour entrance there, but rather to go up the East coast. He hired a large canoe with several crew men who could return the canoe later. As they were making Northwards in the Whangaparaoa passage near Tiritiri Matangi Island, in a sudden squall the canoe was capsized, and out of a complement of twenty all told, only six survived, three of Bumby's men and three of the owners of the canoe. The three young Mission men, one named Karana (Garland), returned to take the sad news to Miss Bumby and the Missionaries at Mangungu. When the news of Bumby's death reached the other Missionaries, Hobbs and Smales from Hokianga, and Whiteley from Kawhia made
hurried trips to the Waitemata to ascertain details of Bumby's death and to endeavour to recover his body, but without success.

Shortly afterwards, Hobbs was appointed as the interim Chairman of the Northern section of the Mission, and he took up a difficult task of restoring the confidence of the whole Mission community.

Meanwhile Smales and Creed had made a surveying pastoral visit up to Oruru and over to Whangaroa to get acquainted with the area that it had been decided should be worked by Creed, and they found good prospects of useful work there.

In May 1840, already some of the Maori converts were ranging far afield from the North Island Stations, and appeals for resident Missionaries were reaching the North even from the South Island. A cairn at Port Levy on Banks Peninsula marks the site of the first Christian service in Canterbury conducted by a Maori Teacher named Taawao, early in 1840.

So ground was broken in earnest, when James Watkin in May arrived at Waikouaiti in Otago. When he was in Sydney returning from Fiji for health and family reasons, he was prevailed upon by Mr John Jones, a merchant of Sydney who owned a whaling establishment at Waikouaiti, to go across and establish a Christian Mission there for the sake of both the Maori people and the whaling community. Mr Jones was deeply concerned about the moral state of all concerned there, and had repeatedly appealed to the Wesleyan Church leaders in Sydney for a Missionary to be allocated for the post.
At that time J. H. Bumby had been in Sydney to confer with the Australian Mission leaders, and in the light of the changing needs it was decided to accept the offer of Mr Jones. This was an offer of land, free passage of supplies in his ships, and free passage for the missionary and his family. After some considerable delay Watkin and his wife and five children were taken across to establish the first Christian Mission in the South Island. When the vessel arrived on the night of May 15th 1840, the site chosen for the Mission was near the present settlement of Karitane, then known as Ohinetemoa Beach, Waikouaiti. Here Watkin was to labour until 1844 when he was succeeded by Charles Creed, and those four years were far more effective than some of his own troubled entries in his journal would at first indicate. His utter isolation from any congenial Christian fellowship at times caught him with great depression, and the repeated illnesses that he and his wife suffered took sad toll of his reserves of strength. However he stayed on with a remarkable dogged loyalty. This story has been well told by the late Rev'ds M. A. R. Pratt and T. A. Pybus.

The Rev'd Chas. Creed

In August, Wallis from Raglan with some helpers went to Kawhia in a small boat to bring the Mission supplies left by the 'Triton' back to his station. They had a very narrow escape from disaster with the heavily laden open boat, and this gave another shock of concern about the hazards of travel on the open seas. A further one was the experience of Mr and Mrs Ironside and Mr and Mrs Buddle and their infant daughter when on 24th September the vessel on which they were to be taken to the Southern Stations was wrecked on the beach just outside the Kawhia Heads as they sailed out.
All were miraculously rescued through the surf, and most of the goods were saved but the ship was later driven high up on the shore and became a total wreck.

The 'Triton' which had proceeded to Fiji and Tonga with their new Mission recruits was long delayed on her return to Kawhia. She was expected to transfer these New Zealand workers who were waiting at Kawhia, but as six months had passed and no word had been received, Whiteley as Chairman of the Southern section of the Mission felt it necessary to get things moving. As a result of the above accident, it was now decided that the Ironsides and Aldred should go south when shipping could be arranged, and that the Buddies should go instead to Whaingaroa overland, and join Wallis, and then open the proposed new station on the Waipa River.

H. H. Turton now left his wife with the Whiteleys at Kawhia, and lived for eight weeks in a tent at Raopaokauere, inside the entrance to the Aotea Harbour while his house was being built. He was the first resident Missionary to live there, and his wife joined him after eight weeks and they moved into their partially finished house. He named the Station Beechamdale. Turton was the son of an ordained Minister and he had a greater measure of education than some of his colleagues. He had a real facility in the use of words, and was an able controversialist. He showed this a little later in a very keen passage of arms with Bishop Selwyn about sacerdotalism.

Whiteley was greatly relieved when the 'Triton' at last arrived back at Kawhia with John Waterhouse, and a District Meeting could be held. This was held in three stages at Kawhia, Whaingaroa and Mangungu, with of course a somewhat different personnel at each stage of the Meeting. Waterhouse found on his arrival that the Ironsides and Aldred had all their goods on a vessel The 'Magnet' and were keen to be at their new appointments, so he agreed to their sailing.
On December 20th, 1840, Samuel Ironside landed at Port Underwood in Cloudy Bay and opened the second South Island Mission there. He chose Ngakuta Bay at the head of the Harbour as being the nearest to the majority of the Maoris, but he also commenced a European service among the people at the Whaling Station where the European men were mostly living with Maori women, and there were many children of such unions. He found an atmosphere of licentiousness and general squalor, and lawlessness.

'The Magnet' went on and landed John Aldred at Port Nicholson on December 23rd to be the first resident Wesleyan Minister there, and his task was the threefold one of continuing and guiding the Maori work until now maintained by the Maori Teachers, of extending this work to further areas, and of establishing ordered Church life among the growing European community. He was a young single man faced with a herculean task, but in spite of ill health he got right into it.

At the District Meeting at Kawhia it had been decided that the District should be formally divided into two areas, Northern and Southern, so Hobbs became the Northern Chairman and Whiteley the Southern Chairman. One very significant decision at this time was the nomination of John Leigh (Hoani Ri Tutu) to be the first Methodist Maori Assistant Missionary.

About this time there emerged a number of claims and counter claims about a so-called East-West agreement between the Anglican and Wesleyan Missions, and a great deal of unhappy feeling was engendered. This is very difficult to clarify, and if it did exist, many factors made it almost impossible of working. Maori tribal relationships and groupings often followed the river systems, and Missionaries working among inland tribes would often find that their natural contacts led them out to the river mouths where others were working. When there was close brotherly contact among the Missionaries of both Churches this was still difficult, but not insurmountable.

Looking back, it is probable that some of the earlier Missionaries had a loose verbal understanding in some localities, but even if this were so, the whole development of stations showed a strange lack of uniformity at the top level. The only official and clear-cut agreement as to regional fields of influence appears to have been the one signed at Mangungu on October 18th, 1838 defining the boundaries in the Waikato and up north in the Mangakahia valley, when Raglan and Kawhia were reopened by Wesleyan appointments after the earlier unhappy withdrawals. Anglican openings at Kaitaia, Manukau, Waikato Heads, Wanganui, Kapiti and Otaki, and the Wesleyan openings at Waikouaiti and Port Underwood suggest that there could not have been any binding East-West agreement at top level.
One event of note in the North at this time was the wedding on 29th December 1840, at Mangungu of the young Gideon Smales to Miss Mary Anna Bumby, the bereaved sister of the late Chairman. Unfortunately some personal strain developed between Hobbs and Smales and Woon over matters of administration and the handling of personal and official correspondence still arriving addressed to Mr Bumby. The generation gap did not help matters. Miss Bumby had continued to live in the meantime in the Parsonage of her late brother, but when the marriage took place, Hobbs as the new Chairman somewhat peremptorily ordered the young couple to move to Pakanae, (another of the fatal short-term appointments there) and to exchange with him, Hobbs. This was a logical step but not carried through in a very good spirit, and it left a strain that reappeared from time to time in later years. These men were human and their whole life was lived under abnormal conditions. The marvel is that people of such diverse natures and ages, thrown closely together, did weather storms that would have wrecked many another community. It was fortunate that they had a mutual sense of responsibility to a Higher Power, and undoubtedly there is this to be thankful for. In spite of these troubles, the work among the Maori people showed a steady and widening influence for good, surely an evidence of growing spiritual maturity on their part.

At the District Meeting at Kawhia in November 1840, Aldred and Ironside, both Probationers, were examined for their year's status before they were sent south. Then Waterhouse and Whiteley went overland to Aotea where Buddle joined them and travelled on with Turton to Raglan, holding services and gatherings with the Maori
people wherever possible. They continued there the adjourned meeting with Wallis present. The 'Triton' now came up from Kawhia and took all the men up to Mangungu for the Northern stage of the Meeting, and the ship had a very narrow escape from disaster as she entered Hokianga Heads.

There was thus a large attendance of the staff of the Waikato and Northern sections at Mangungu for this meeting again under the Chairmanship of Waterhouse. While in the Hokianga, Waterhouse, Whiteley, Hobbs and Wallis took the opportunity of visiting the Waima Station and they were all impressed with the encouraging prospects and the development that had taken place since earlier visits.

It was decided that instead of his remaining to work the inner area at Oruru and Whangaroa, Creed should go to the Taranaki District to open work there. In fulfilment of this, after the Meet-ing, Waterhouse set off in the 'Triton', a slow lumbering vessel, with Whiteley, Wallis, Creed and Mrs Creed. They had intended to land the Creeds at Patea, to open a Station in South Taranaki, but on arriving there, the wind and surf were so unfavourable that they resolved to try round the Cape at Ngamotu in the comparative shelter of the Sugar Loaves. Here they arrived a week after leaving Hokianga, and amidst great rejoicing of a crowd of Maoris they landed the Creeds and their belongings on January 14th 1841, the first resident European Missionary in the Taranaki District.

Having landed, the Creeds set to work on land purchased for the Mission the previous year by Whiteley after negotiations by Edward Meurant, this being the 100 acres at Ngamotu. The 'Triton' then headed north with Whiteley and Wallis to their homes. A temporary native-style house had already been built at Ngamotu by the Maoris in anticipation of the arrival of a Missionary. Whiteley urged that another man should be sent overland to South Taranaki to make a start there, as the place had proved so promising when Ironside and his companions had visited there the previous year.

As soon as he arrived back at Kawhia, Whiteley had to make an urgent journey to the Waipa to reach finality about the location of the Station to be occupied by Buddle. He went to Whaingaroa and took Wallis and Buddle with him over to Waipa for consultation with the Maori people. After due consultation they settled upon Honipaka, further up the river from the site earlier thought of at Te Kowhai, as the latter was felt to be too near the Anglican work under Morgan. Whiteley felt that the matter was now clear, and plans were made for the Buddies to prepare to move across to Honipaka. Unfortunately in April, while Wallis was away on a long trip to Port Nicholson, Whiteley received an urgent message from Buddle to the effect that the place chosen at Honipaka was a wahi-tapu or sacred spot belonging to Te Wherowhero who was strongly opposed to the Mission being placed there. This meant
another long tedious journey for Whiteley, and finally on May 5th a decision was reached to procure a block at Te Kopua. The people agreed that Buddle should remain in his temporary home at Honipaka until the new house was built at Te Kopua. While that was being negotiated, Wiremu Nera Te Awaitaia arrived from Whaingaroa to assist in any negotiations with Te Wherowhero, and he expressed full endorsement of the decision that had been reached.

Reference is made above to Wallis's absence. This is a matter that has not had much prominence in Mission publications, but the journal story and a later account by Wallis for his grandson make fascinating reading. It was another epic journey. This is how it came about. When Aldred reached Wellington as a young inexperienced Probationer, he found much confusion still over the Mission land question. He went ahead with his work on the advice of the Police Magistrate Mr Murphy, living in a native-style house on the Mission land, and visiting the nearby Maori settlements and organising European services wherever possible. However he reported to his Chairman the confused land problem, and asked for guidance from a more experienced man.

In March 1841, it was decided that James Wallis should go down to report and advise on the situation, so he set off overland on the 24th. George Buttle who was helping Whiteley and was appointed to open a new Station at Mokau, accompanied Wallis as far as there. He did not stay long because of the very primitive arrangements that had been made for his reception by the Maori people, so he turned back to Kawhia for further consultation with his Superintendent, Whiteley.
Wallis continued along the coast to Ngamotu, having a narrow escape at Whitecliffs. Here the tide comes right up to the cliffs, and travellers can go along the coast only at certain stages of the tides. There have been many near tragedies there through the years. The cliffs cannot be climbed, being sheer precipices of somewhat unstable rock, and the only way if the tide is in, is to clamber up or down certain defined places with ropes, and travel along the top of the cliffs. Again at Waitara he and his Maori companions had to make a raft of driftwood to cross the river. At Ngamotu (New Plymouth) Wallis found the Creeds 'living in a small native-built house without either floor or fireplace, and in many other respects uncomfortable, but they were happy in their work and seemed to lose sight of their many privations in their endeavours to improve the conditions of the natives among whom they live.' Creed had already made useful contacts with the Maoris and the first European settlers, and while he was there Wallis conducted services among them.

Still on foot, Wallis pressed on with his companions. He learned as he travelled that Te Heu Heu from Taupo was heading towards Waitotara to attack the Pa at Te Ihupuku, a place which Wallis would have to pass. After passing this Pa, Wallis and his party were suddenly confronted on the beach by a furious band of warriors who had at first taken them for an attacking party from the Pa. Hearing that Wallis's companions were Waikatos with whom Te Heu Heu was allied, this chief beat down the pointed muskets of his men, and took Wallis and his men to their camp and fed them. He also asked Wallis to write a message to the Chief at Te Ihupuku explaining
that he, Te Heu Heu, wished to gather the bodies of the dead from an attack he had made on the Pa on the previous day. Whether the message was not delivered, or the chiefs did not trust Te Heu Heu is not clear, but on his return journey Wallis learned that the defenders had renewed hostilities, and as a result the Taupo Maoris had attacked and destroyed the Pa. However the defenders had escaped.

Wallis and his companions went on via the Wanganui and Rangitikei and Manawatu River Mouths and to Wellington. Near Kapiti they were hospitably received by a European in one small cottage: 'who made us a refreshing pannican of tea by scalding a bunch of manuka in an iron pot, sweetening the liquid with molasses, and adding a good supply of goat's milk.' Wallis observes: 'I enjoyed it exceedingly.' However he did not enjoy exceedingly what he found at Wanganui and Otaki, where the Anglican Missionaries were objecting to the presence and activities of Wesleyan Maori agents who had been placed in those localities by earlier visiting Wesleyan Missionaries. Of course it has to be recognised that by their training, to Hadfield and his fellow Anglicans these Wesleyans had no Ministerial status whatever, and were an intrusion in the way of the Anglican plans. So this rift was broadened, and Wallis was one of the older men who claimed that the presence of these Anglican workers was a blatant breach of the East-West agreement which he believed to be a fact. It did not sweeten his spirit to find that the young Aldred was facing the same discrediting of his efforts in Wellington by the very High-Church Hadfield.

Wallis found that the position regarding the Mission land in Wellington could be resolved only by submitting full information to the Government Commission shortly to sit in that place, to investigate all claims to titles, so he gathered all the information he could, to report to the Mission authorities for this purpose. After commending Aldred for his work, and encouraging him in his task, he turned homewards, and reached his anxious wife and family after more than nine weeks' absence.

Probably the loneliest man on the staff at this time was Watkin at Waikouaiti. His journal from March 1841, reflects this. Isolation of that nature among a completely uncongenial community is always wearing. He had no other European male companion, and although he was winning the confidence and trust of several Maori chiefs and leaders at Otakou and Moeraki, they were as yet unable to share his personal spiritual testing. The European and other non-Maori whalers were a constant irritation to him, and their destructive effect upon the young Maoris among whom he had some influence for good, was a constant heartbreak. His attempts to establish a pattern of worship and Christian study on a basis of Sunday observance, were met by ridicule and noisy interruption. 'Give me heathens before these Christians so-called' he cried, and went on to comment: 'Indeed any person careful either for character or comfort ought to avoid this part of New Zealand. Nothing but a stem sense of my duty...
to obey the Committee keeps me here.' He had one son of fourteen years in his growing family and he bore a heavy burden of concern for them in their need of education, and in the dangers of their environment. Their later development into good citizens speaks volumes for the basic goodness of the home life of that Mission family — an island of Christian integrity in an ocean of pagan licentiousness.

Watkin told of receiving a letter from England two years and one month after date of writing, with news of his father's death, and stating the provisions of his father's will. These required Watkin's presence back in England at a specified date, failing which his share of the estate was to be divided among the other beneficiaries. That time had already passed by one month when Watkin received the letter at the other side of the world — 'a loss which as a poor Methodist preacher with a large family I can ill bear, and certainly did not expect.' For five months he did not hear from Sydney. For three years he did not receive a single letter from the Secretaries in London. He waited for over a year for answers to some enquiries he sent to the North Island. His mail to his Superintendent, the Chairman of the Southern District at Kawhia, had to go first to Sydney and then hope for some vessel to one of the North Island ports, and then usually overland or by some casual trading vessel to Kawhia, and the answers would come by similar hazardous means, perhaps a round trip of 3,000 miles.

His despondency revealed in his reports and journals caused him to discount much of his work. He was too close to it to be able to assess its true value, but only the fresh view of his successor after four years of his service gave a truer picture of some sterling work and very permanent results.

As Ironside got to work at Port Underwood he immediately found that the little community of Christian people at the Mission Station formed a rallying spot for those who looked for something better than the general run of life around them. Among the Maoris he found a thirst for teaching, and some readiness to settle to lessons in reading and writing, but his main problem was a short-age of adequate printed materials, a common problem at all the Stations. The printing press at Mangungu, under Woon's direction and management, was working but was often handicapped by the irregular supply of printing materials from England and Australia. About this time, the gift of a consignment of New Testaments in Maori from the British and Foreign Bible Society meant a wave of interest wherever the parcels reached the Missionaries. All the men in their reports spoke of the excitement as the New Testaments were made available to the Maori converts. One story, often told, was the experience of Ironside at his Ebenezer Chapel when the people brought quantities of gifts as a 'Paremata' or love offering for the Testaments.

Among the whalers. Ironside found some of the men who wished to have their marriages to Maori women regularised by a Christian ceremony, and their children
baptised. This in a rather unpromising situation gave him a starting point for teaching and encouraging better things, and he spoke of the marked improvement in the standards of many of such people in their personal habits and their dwellings. This was in spite of much opposition from others. A side effect was a very angry reaction on the part of some of the crews of the whaling ships who found the Maori people less willing to provide access to the womenfolk at what had been until then a popular port of call.

At Port Nicholson Aldred was battling on. Here also was a reaction of annoyance from the rougher elements as they saw the influence of the Missionary and his Maori helpers among the Maori tribes. On the first Anniversary of the settlement a regatta was organised. Aldred quickly saw that most of it was centred around a drinking spree with prizes in keeping. He drew from the organisers of the regatta heavy disapproval when he quietly advised the Maori chiefs of what was happening, and as a result they refused to enter the proposed Maori War Canoe races, to the great disappointment of the organisers who had hoped to use these as a drawcard. Aldred wrote in disgust of the drunkenness among the oarsmen at the end of the day; a full confirmation of his fears. It was fortunate that he had by then at his back a small but faithful group of Christian Europeans, and some more experienced Maori converts who gave him encouragement as he plodded on in his frontier life.

Creed at New Plymouth was winning a good response among both Maoris and Europeans, and at the same time was receiving constant requests from South Taranaki where many of the released prisoners of war were re-establishing their villages. He travelled extensively throughout the district and found a growing hunger for instruction. His helper, John Leigh, proved a tower of strength to him, and this young Maori Assistant Missionary made a deep and favourable impression on both races. On returning from one of those long journeys, Creed found that in his absence his wife had taken dangerously ill and had given premature birth to a son who lived for only three weeks. The Creeds were dogged with misfortune in the matter of their family hopes.

George Buttle tried again to get his Mission really working at Mokau. He had a loyal helper named Pumipi (Bumby) who in his absence acted as 'Monitor' for the Mission property. The dwelling that had been prepared for Buttle was near a Maori village. Unfortunately a neglected fire spread and destroyed the house and possessions, so he returned once more to Kawhia. To get to and from Kawhia, he had to travel either the heavy inland route, or the coastal route. The inland route was up the Mokau River to Motukaramu, then across to Whakatutumutumu, and over the hills to the Waipa Valley and out to the Coast. The Coastal route was a matter of heavy plodding along the ironsand beach, and if the tides were unfavourable they had to trudge in the loose
heavy sand above the water line. When the tide was out, it was a splendid surface for walking on.

With no other European for company, this young single man felt his isolation, and he began to seek permission to visit Australia to search for a wife.

Turton at Aotea, sharing the Kawhia District with Whiteley, travelled widely and also found that his own centre was responding. He had problems with some of the chiefs. Turton was a man of strong convictions, and was not a very good team man, and he was fortunate in having a man of some real judgment in Whiteley to consult in times of difficulty. Like others of the pioneers, one of his most trying experiences was in assisting his wife, unaided, at the birth of their first child, owing to the inability of either Mrs Whiteley or Mrs Wallis to travel at the time. He reported with obvious relief that this had been successful, but with equal concern that such conditions were their lot. Such reports often appeared in their journals, and there was a deep feeling of concern and common need among these workers.

Hobbs and Woon at Mangungu were finding a good deal of encouragement as the steady work there was showing results, but again ill health struck Mrs Hobbs and she had to go to the Bay of Islands to seek aid. Fortunately she responded to the treatment, and it was a greatly relieved Hobbs who recounted the events in his reports. Together with Warren at Waima, they were seeing strong chiefs turning to the Christian Faith in the various pas. One convert of note at this time was Arama Karaka Pi, (Adam Clarke Pi) who was for long years a staunch supporter and trusted leader in the Kaipara and Hokianga districts.

In August 1841, James Buller at Tangiteroria learned that a ship ‘The Sophia Pate’ carrying a party of immigrants had been wrecked at the entrance to the Kaipara Harbour with a severe loss of life. All the passengers except for one young boy had been drowned but all the crew had survived. He set out on his one hundred miles journey to render assistance and came upon a large party of survivors including the Captain. Buller had caught up with two young men, Messrs Stannard and Stuart, who were planning to go to the wreck to try to find the bodies of their friends, but the crew were heading for Auckland. The two young men had travelled as far as Australia with the immigrants, but had come independently to the Bay of Islands. They were crossing overland from the Bay when they learned of the wreck. When Buller and his party reached the scene of the wreck, they found ample evidence that the cargo and the boxes of the personal effects of the passengers had been pillaged. Also they noticed with suspicion, that such articles were in the possession of the Captain and crew. The discovery led Buller to set out urgently for Auckland. First burying the bodies of the victims, and making careful enquiries from the people who told him the facts, he
followed the Captain and crew who had hurried on. He found on his arrival in Auckland that the Captain had given a very partial and inaccurate report to the Magistrates, but when Buller's report was handed in, the Captain and crew were arrested and charged in the Supreme Court on several grave charges.

Buller was detained in Auckland over this matter, and he used the time to good advantage. On the Sundays he preached as frequently as possible amongst both Maoris and Europeans. On the first of the Sundays, 19th September 1841, he preached in the morning to a Maori congregation of about eighty people, about two miles outside the town limits, probably on the northern slopes of One Tree Hill where seasonal planting was taking place. In the afternoons he preached to European congregations 'under a large shed', believed to have been a roofed area under which logs were pit sawn in Mechanics Bay. On the first Sunday evening he preached in an auction room, and on the other two Sunday mornings in a large store room. In the evenings he preached in a temporary Church used by the Anglicans. He formed a small Methodist Class Meeting and commenced a building fund for a Methodist Chapel. He paid a further visit in July, 1842.

*Tangiteroria Mission Station. From Buller's 'Forty Years in New Zealand'.*
CHAPTER FIVE

The third decade 1842-1852
In early 1842 a Southern District Meeting was held at Kawhia. Again Watkin was unable to attend through lack of suitable transport, and also Aldred was ill in Wellington. At this meeting Buttle obtained his long-sought permission to visit Australia, and Whiteley sent him off with his blessing. Then Whiteley received word from John Waterhouse to make an urgent visit to Hokianga to chair a special District Meeting there, to try to clarify the problem of relationships between Hobbs and Smales. Tensions were such that an independent arbiter was needed. This meeting was held on January 28th, 1842. Whiteley found that there were faults on both sides, but the open discussion was helpful and in his wise way he tried to set the work on an even keel. These tensions were always embarrassing to Whiteley, but he never evaded the painful duty of giving frank comment and counsel which was not always accepted with the same grace as it was given.

In his own district Whiteley was consolidating his work with steady progress, as far as his frequent calls to distant places permitted. His reports showed a far reaching concern for the whole of the Mission. There was a statesmanlike quality about his mind that drew leaders, both Maori and Pakeha, to him for advice, and some of his letters and reports are models of research and judicial assessment. He would not easily drop any matter of deep concern to him, and for this reason some of those who disagreed with him were often critical and restless under his persistence.

In the Hokianga, the growth of the timber trade meant an increase in the number of casual or semi-permanent European residents, and Woon reported the necessity of having extra services in English for the numbers attending worship at Mangungu. Apart from family worship among the members of the Missionaries' households, services were all conducted in Maori, with some addresses by visiting preachers interpreted into Maori. This was not adequate for the growing number of Pakehas, so the English-language services at such places as Mangungu, Rawene and Rangiahua became an added feature in an already crowded week-end programme. Also School classes in English and Arithmetic became the usual aftermath of almost all worship services, with old men and women sitting with little children, all eagerly learn-ing the secrets of this new world. John Warren in September, 1841 spoke of such schools in every village of his Waima area, and that most of seven or eight year old children could read the word of God. On the Sundays, frequently at the Sunday Schools, older people sat in groups learning from the brighter children and youths who had the advantage of more frequent classes during the week days.

This thirst for learning made great demands for writing material and reading matter. To meet the demand, the printing press was a Godsend and Woon reported having run off 5,000 twelve-page booklets for Watkin at Waikouaiti and forwarding them to Sydney for trans-shipment, one example of the demand. This booklet, ‘A Compendium
of Practical Divinity’, was widely used throughout the Mission, and was part of a constant supply of tracts and leaflets as well as Hymn and Service Books with selected passages of Scripture for daily devotions.

With the clearing of the land and selling of timber, the Maoris began to realise that, in their eagerness to obtain trade articles, they had been losing their main possession — the land itself — a matter of which they had been constantly warned by the Missionaries. The Wesleyan Missionaries were under strict instructions to purchase land only for the actual needs of the Mission for establishing Mission Stations or educational institutions and not for themselves or their families.

The growing sensitiveness of the Maoris to land problems caused a large gathering of some 1,600 people under their leading chiefs, led by Mohi Tawhai at Waima, to stop further sales of land. This was in September, 1841 and was one of many such gatherings.

Gradually the question of the value of the Treaty of Waitangi in safeguarding the real title of Maori owners to their land began to emerge as a matter of deep concern and uneasiness. For long years the Missionaries were drawn into consultation and controversy, as pronouncements by both the British and Colonial authorities raised doubts in the minds of both Missionaries and Maoris.

The year 1842 saw a great development as the new men settled into their stations and developed some pattern of work with the help of the trained Maori staff. The Wesleyan system of Class Meetings was the heart of the Mission work, and Church Members were expected to avail themselves of this pattern of group encouragement and discipline if they were to remain counted within the fellowship. The growing contacts with Europeans in the townships did not always help. The Maori people were in some districts becoming the food providers for the towns. Large areas of land were being sown in various food crops. Grain was being harvested and milled into flour. In place after place the Missionaries assisted in the erection of water-driven flour mills. A fleet of trading canoes and other small vessels began plying the river routes with pigs and grain and other produce where the Maori settlements were near the growing towns. This all had its problems and soon the Mission work had to be extended into or close to the towns so as to minister to the constantly moving groups of Maoris engaged in such trading. It was well that the Mission was on the spot to steady many of those who now increasingly came into contact with the non-Mission Pakehas, and James Wallis, speaking of his visit to Port Nicholson the previous year commented: 'Hundreds seem to live as though they had succeeded in finding a place where they might sin with impunity.' Buttle told of a service where a European intruded into the
Maori service and kept up a running fire of ridicule, and made every effort to dissuade the Maori congregation from taking any notice of Buttle's preaching.

When Buttle left for Australia, Whiteley in April, 1842 engaged a young man Cort H. Schnackenberg to live at Mokau as a lay agent of the Mission. This was the beginning of a long and helpful association with the Mission. Schnackenberg was a native of Hanover who knew little English but had become proficient in Maori, and he had gained Whiteley's confidence by his devotion and intelligence. Coming to New Zealand as a young agent of a Sydney trader, he had been appointed to represent his employer in purchasing flax from the Maoris. He himself was an upholsterer by trade. He joined up with the Mission household at Ahuahu and became a member of the Wesleyan Church. His heart later turned to Maori Mission work as a full-time calling when he was saved by a young Maori from almost certain drowning when he was swept from the Brig 'The Nymph' which was wrecked entering Raglan Harbour on December 12th, 1842.

Governor Hobson at this time was having much difficulty with the agents of the New Zealand Company over Land matters in Wellington. His health was deteriorating, and to get away from the pressures of administration he took a journey with a small official party to the Waikato. In April 1842, Buddle at Te Kopua received word that the Governor would be in his District for the weekend of the 17th. Morgan, the Anglican at Te Awamutu, invited Buddle to join with them in receiving the Governor at Otawhao and to preach at the English and Maori services that would be held on the Sunday. Hobson took a great interest in the day's doings, and took the opportunity to deal with some local problems among the chiefs.

Hobson then discussed with the Anglican and Wesleyan Missionaries several matters dealing with recent and forthcoming legislation bearing on Marriages conducted by Maori or 'Dissenting' Ministers. Jabez Bunting from Manukau was in the Governor's party, and evidently made a fine impression on him. After a short visit to Te Kopua Wesleyan Station where the Governor was given hospitality in Buddle's house and shared in worship services, he and his party visited Aotea and Whaingaroa. As a result of these consultations Hobson invited the Wesleyans to submit to him a petition covering exceptions or suggestions to be included in a new Marriage Act of the Colonial Council in Auckland, validating the marriages which had been under question in some quarters.

Wallis at Raglan shared the visit of the Governor after his visit to Aotea, and he had the opportunity of discussing many land matters with him. Wallis was anxious that power should be given to Maoris to enter into leasehold arrangements with Europeans when they did not wish to sell. Wallis saw the need of safeguarding the rights of the
Maori owners against unscrupulous would-be tenants. Here as elsewhere the Missionaries saw dangers looming up unless great care was taken to ensure absolute fairness to the inexperienced Maori owners.

In May, Ironside writing from 'Pisgah Vale', the name he had given to the Ngakuta Bay Station, reported the death of a young leader and local preacher named Rawiri Waitere (David Whiteley). This young man had been converted at Kawhia in 1835 or 1836 under Whiteley's ministry, and had then gone to Port Underwood to preach to his relatives. In June, 1840 he had returned to Kawhia to urge the appointment of a resident Missionary, and this had resulted in Ironside's appointment. Under Ironside's guidance and training, Rawiri had been given Local Preacher's status, and his early death had been a blow to the people.

Aldred at Wellington had a very serious illness of Typhus late in 1841, which had kept him off work until January 1842, but even in his weak state of convalescence he made a visit to Palliser Bay, the first ever by a Missionary, and again in April visited Porirua and baptised a group of candidates who had been converted and trained by local Maori Pastor-Teachers. He also reported an offer of a Mr William Swainson of a sub-lease for 14 years of a piece of land in the Hutt Valley rent-free for house, garden and chapel.

In late 1841 a new arrival in Wellington was John Skevington. He had come as far as Australia with the 'Triton' party, but had remained there for a while before coming to Wellington. After a short stay in Wellington, Mr and Mrs Skevington were picked up by the 'Triton' once more and taken via Cloudy Bay to Ngamotu, Taranaki, where Mrs Skevington was landed with their stores and goods, to stay with the Creed household, and the ship went on to Kawhia where the Southern District Meeting was being held. Skevington stayed there for some seven weeks at Ahuahu with Whiteley, and there he gained further valuable experience and advice. He then went on to Ngamotu where he rejoined his wife on February 27th, 1842. For nearly three weeks he worked with Creed at New Plymouth, ministering to the English settlers, and gaining further experience for the Maori work. It had been intended that he should remain with Creed for twelve months before setting out to open the new South Taranaki Station. However this was not to be. Hearing that the new Missionary had arrived at New Plymouth, intending for their District, a large contingent of Maoris arrived from the South and demanded that they should personally escort him at once to his new home. Thus on April 12th, 1842, this cavalcade set off. Skevington was escorted by Joseph Waterhouse (the most influential Chief in the district), John Leigh the young Maori Assistant Missionary, and some twenty people in all, to make a further Missionary trip which took them round the coast as far as Wanganui. From Waimate onwards, they were accompanied by Wiremu Nera who had been holding the fort so faithfully. At
Waimate Skevington held a busy series of services on the Sunday including the baptism of about 100 people among whom were thirty children who had been prepared and trained by Wiremu Nera. After his long trip south, he returned to New Plymouth to find that Whiteley approved of his choice of Heretoa (Waimate) as the new site. Nearly 100 Maoris then shared the trip when Skevington and his wife with all their goods set off and reached Heretoa on 30th May, 1842. Their home was a very dilapidated Maori-style building which they felt could serve until a better place was finished. It was on land Tapued for the Mission but not sold outright, a matter which later proved an embarrassment. Here they settled in for a brief but heroic few years as the pioneer European Missionaries of South Taranaki.

In late April, Whiteley reported to the Secretaries in London that he was concerned for his young and inexperienced brother in Wellington, John Aldred, facing great difficulties in safeguarding the rights of the Maoris in clarifying the position regarding the Mission property there. He therefore planned as Chairman to make a brief but urgent visit by a small trading vessel. So much for his good intentions! The plan of the Captain of the vessel was to take a load of pigs and sawn timber to New Plymouth and then to go on to Port Nicholson. Instead, when he reached New Plymouth he was unsuccessful in selling his cargo. There was only an open roadstead there, and he lost his main anchor, so felt he should not endanger his ship by remaining. Whiteley considered leaving the ship and going overland, but as the Captain spoke of visiting Nelson, Whiteley felt that it would be an opportunity for him as Chairman to investigate the Nelson area for Ironside. They therefore set off and after beating about in the Bay, finally reached Nelson Harbour where Whiteley had a most frustrating delay. The Captain dallied round trying to re-equip his ship and sell his cargo.

Now Whiteley used this delay to good purpose. He visited Motueka to encourage the Maori people who were struggling along under a Maori Teacher, and Whiteley was thus the first European Missionary to visit there. While he was at Nelson another small trading vessel arrived direct from Kawhia with the news that immediately after he had left home, his wife had become dangerously ill and there was fear for her survival. She had not known of his change of plans for visiting Nelson, and as Whiteley had no means of turning back, he had to go on.

While in Nelson, Whiteley preached several times to a group of people meeting under the name of 'United Christians'. These people asked him to lay the foundation stone of their new small Chapel. In these various contacts Whiteley met Mr Tuckett, a Quaker who was Surveyor-General, and an English Wesleyan Local Preacher named Green, and at Motueka he met a Bernard Salter, son of a British Wesleyan Minister. An English Wesleyan named Andrews was leader of the 'United Christians'.
When he reached Wellington, Whiteley found that Aldred was away taking a party of Maori Teachers to the Chatham Islands to open a Mission there, a typical example of their concern for the unevangelised fields. During the night as the little vessel approached Wellington with Whiteley on board they passed very close in the dark to another vessel in Cook Strait and when Whiteley arrived next morning he found that he must have passed very close to Ironside returning to his Station after an urgent visit to Wellington. So he missed both men. However Whiteley got right down to business with Commissioner Spain who was hearing evidence on land claims of the New Zealand Company and others, and he submitted a full official claim for justice for the Wesleyans. The fact that the whole purchase price had not been paid by Hobbs and Bumby, but only the deposit, weakened the claim for the whole original block, and eventually after negotiation, a much smaller area was granted. This included the area on which the Native Chapel and Missionary's house had been built. But Whiteley felt that the negotiations should now proceed with more security.

Having done his best in the circumstances, Whiteley set off homewards overland up the West Coast with a heavy heart, not knowing what he would find on his return, in view of the alarming news which had reached him in Nelson. It was a three weeks' journey, and he carried the additional sorrow of learning in Wellington of the death of their much-beloved General Superintendent John Waterhouse in Australia.

His journal of the homeward journey makes stirring reading. One great event was his arrival unannounced at a settlement in South Taranaki where the Maoris had the previous year been saved from a punitive expedition which had set out to decimate them. Whiteley had travelled with the warriors to use his influence for peace. He was persuaded to remain for the Sunday services of worship, so his Maori companions were sent on to Skevington's with the request that he send a messenger immediately to Kawhia to inform the Mission families of his progress and plans. At Manawapou he rejoiced in meeting Wiremu Nera whom he had known at Mangungu in the Hokianga, and he spoke in great admiration of his work and influence.

At Waimate he spent some time with Skevington and describes the location of the Mission: 'There are three Pas on three remarkable precipices or cliffs called Waimate, Orangitua-peka and Warawaranui, and the general name for all is "Ngateko".'

When he came near to Ngamotu, he fell in with two of his domestics from Kawhia who had come in search of him because of Mrs Whiteley's concern, and this greatly refreshed his spirit, and the last few days of his homeward journey were marked by a different note. As he neared Kawhia he was further greatly cheered to be met by Turton and a party who had set out to accompany him on the final stage of the long
trip. He found his wife considerably improved in health and equally relieved at his safe return.

As recounted above, in June 1842, Aldred went to the Chathams and in his report for July he gives some details of the trip. He left Wellington on a small vessel with three Maori adults and a little boy on 15th June and reached the Chathams on the 21st. They found that most of the Maori residents were refugees from Taranaki who had been driven out by the Waikatos. His story is one of laborious travelling, much of it having been on bare feet with painful lameness. This was the result of their ship having been driven ashore and he had had to set off overland to another village to await a vessel to bring him back to New Zealand. He set up the early pattern of Mission work there under the leadership of the Maori Teacher-pastor, residing at Haruharu. Seventeen years later, in 1859 a Maori Minister Te Koti Te Rato was sent over and he served for seven years, then in 1865 Hetaraka Warihi took his place but in 1872 he was returned to the main-land, and the work there in the Chathams became absorbed into the work of the German Lutheran Missionary, Baucke.

About the time that Aldred was away in the Chathams, Ironside reported on his visit. He had been to Wellington to seek medical advice for his wife who accompanied him, and also to have a short break. He preached in Wellington in the absence of Aldred, during his three weeks' stay. He left Mrs Ironside in Wellington, and embarked on a small schooner for Nelson to carry out the inspection decided upon at the previous District Meeting, not knowing that Whiteley had been there so recently. Unfortunately, as noted above he passed Whiteley in Cook Strait at night, and on his arrival at Nelson found that Whiteley had already been there and completed the full investigation. He endorsed Whiteley's judgment that the place should be immediately occupied. Ironside returned fifty miles by native canoe to D'Urville's Island where he had earlier left his own boat, and in this he travelled another sixty miles. He spent the Sunday at Horea on D'Utville's Island where he baptised 40 Maoris who had been meeting for a long time in class under Noah, a Native Teacher. At Ngakuta Bay he found that his wife had reached home three days earlier, much improved in health.

On August 5th, 1842 his new Chapel 'Ebenezer' at Cloudy Bay was far enough advanced to be opened, and on 7th August he had a baptism service for 63 adults and some 30 children, and married 40 couples. This opening day had been long looked for as an opportunity to bring much of the preparatory work of the Mission to a dramatic climax.

Other men in other districts touched on aspects of the work in their periodic reports. Woon at Mangungu stated that White was still making difficulties by his actions, in blatant opposition to the work of the Missionaries there. However he spoke again in
much appreciation of the faithfulness of Mrs White and of her steady attachment to the Mission.

In the Waikato, Buddle was keeping up his contacts with the inner area of his circuit. In one of his journeys to Whakatumutumu near the Mokau and Mangapehi Rivers, he met a considerable population, and in travelling there he came across some very strange old fortifications at Pa Nikau and Warekakaho. One such trip had meant walking 150 miles in the ten days.

At the Southern District Meeting held at Raglan on September 14th, 1842, it was decided to recommend that the four Probationers in the District, Skevington, Buttle, Turton and Aldred, should become full Missionaries.

The Meeting was hardly finished when Smales turned up, having come away from the Northern District Meeting which had recently concluded at Mangungu. At that meeting, the continuing friction between Smales and Hobbs had flared up, and the meeting, according to Smales, had passed a resolution condemning himself, and resolving that owing to his not having become proficient in the Maori language, he should not be passed in his year of studies. Further, he stated that they had resolved that as he (Smales) had repeatedly wished to be moved to another district, he should be permitted to move on condition that one of the men from the Southern District should replace him in the Hokianga. Whiteley was in a real quandary. The recent death of Waterhouse had left the two New Zealand Districts without an independent Superintendent. Whiteley had earlier in the year at Waterhouse's request chaired the Special Northern Meeting at which it had been hoped that the difficulties had been resolved. He felt that there was sufficient truth in Smales's story to justify his taking some action, so he re-convened the Southern District Meeting as a Special Meeting on September 30th at Kawhia and decided to co-opt Smales into it. Having read the Northern District resolutions on Smales's case that he had brought down with him, and hearing his account of the events, Whiteley felt sure that an injustice had been committed, and the meeting resolved: (1) to set aside the Northern Resolution, (2) having tested Smales's facility in the Maori language to recommend that he pass in his year and be received into full connexion and (3) that he should be removed to a southern appointment but that they could not agree to transfer one of their men owing to the urgent claims for new workers on every hand. It was an unfortunate situation all round. These two districts led by heavily burdened men were separated by long distances. When these resolutions were duly conveyed to John Hobbs, a spate of correspondence developed, and there was naturally some unhappy feeling.

Whiteley was still anxious about the Wellington land problem, and he wanted to submit a strong claim to the Commissioner for the whole of the original area, or for
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compensation for any reduction in it. His local brethren agreed with him, and he decided to send an urgent request to Hobbs who had been a party with Bumby to the original transaction, to come to Kawhia and join him on a special visit to Wellington to support the representations. Hobbs started out, but, hearing that the Commissioners were shortly to visit Hokianga to hear local claims there, he felt he should return home. In informing Whiteley of this, to the latter's great disappointment Hobbs expressed grave doubts as to the usefulness of proceeding with such a comprehensive claim, and that he had decided to remain in the North.

The Kawhia Special Meeting had resolved that if Smales were to leave Pakanae, he should be appointed to open a new Station either at Kapiti on the Island, or at Porirua on the mainland. In spite of protests from Hobbs, Smales was determined to make the break from the situation which had become intolerable for his wife and himself, so he sought a suitable opportunity for shipping his goods and necessary materials and equipment for a new Station in the South. Mrs Smales was expecting a baby and they wished to have their move completed before the Winter. Hobbs refused to allow drafts to be drawn by Smales on the Northern District Fund, but Whiteley saw that the position had to be resolved and he gave permission for the drafts to be drawn against the Southern District for urgent expenses.

For both Hobbs and Whiteley, two senior men in positions of responsibility, this whole matter was a painful irritation. It drew attention to the need for the appointment of a Mission Chair-man or General Superintendent, and both men began to appeal for such an appointment as soon as possible.

In November, 1842 Whiteley reported that George Buttle had arrived at Port Nicholson after his unsuccessful expedition to Australia in search of a wife, and was temporarily there, so as Chairman, Whiteley directed Aldred to proceed to Nelson and take over both the European and the Maori work in that area, letting Buddle handle the Wellington work until more permanent decisions could be made.

During 1842, Watkin at Waikouaiti managed a long and comprehensive report with extracts from his journals, showing a dogged persistence at his task, including several extensive journeys. He had been encouraged by some tangible signs of response among the Maori Chiefs of the different localities. His fellow Europeans continued to give him painful concern. He reported on July 4th (United States Independence Day) the burial of a Christian Maori woman in the Christian burial ground near the grave of a Pakeha woman buried a few days earlier. Great offence had been taken by the White folk who were highly indignant at such a blow at White superiority. Watkin observed: 'Some of the protesters are Americans who, with their vaunted declaration of rights
staring them in the face — All men are free and equal — I have found the most virulent enemies of the natives in the countries I have lived in.'

On a visit to Otakou in October he found many Maoris from Foveaux Strait led by their chief Tuhawaiki, urging the appointment of a Missionary for their District. So the need spread!

In November, Watkin had heard that plans were afoot for him to be moved to Port Nicholson, but his first reaction was not favourable as he had been asking to be moved back to Australia or England. However the actual move did not take place for some time because of Northern developments.

In December, Turton gave a very interesting section from his journal, of a trip to Mokau and Waipa of nearly six weeks. He took his wife and child to Raglan, then by boat up the Waitetuna River and a long tramp through swamp and bush to the banks of the Waipa River. After a night's camp, they proceeded by canoe up the Waipa River and were met in the after-noon at a camp where Buddle and his family were awaiting them. On to Te Kopua by canoe, and there he left his wife and child with the Buddle family until his return. A couple of days later, Turton and Buddle went across country from the Mission Station at Te Kopua and climbed the prominent peak Kakepuku, so that Buddle could point out the landmarks for Turton to steer by on the rest of his journey. They spent the Sunday at Te Kopua with an attendance of 200 at the services. With a party of Maori companions, Thomas Buddle accompanied Turton for two days to Tihitu and Paraniwaniwa where they spent the nights with the local folk in fellowship.
On 23rd November at 7 a.m. they set off for 1½ hours to Ohinetemaire where Buddle turned off on his planned visit to Pukemapou, and Turton with his five Maori companions went on to Tututawa and to Mania for the night and next day to Whakatutumutumumu where an urgent appeal was made for a resident Missionary. Instead of going down the Mokau River, Turton set off directly across country for the coast, crossing some heavy mountainous country to the Awakino River which they had to cross some thirteen times, up to the waist or up to the neck in water. Where they reached the mouth of the Awakino River they still had a four-mile walk along the beach to Mokau where they found the monitor Pumipi very ill. Turton tried to select a more suitable site for the Mokau Mission, and a tentative choice was made. He then made his way up the coast via Waikawau and Marokopa and Taharoa Lake to Kawhia where he shared a full day of services. On the Monday he was taken by boat up the Kauri stream and then had a seven hour tramp to Te Kopua where he spent a day with the Buddle household. Setting off next day for home with his wife and child, accompanied by their Maori companions, and Buddle and a party of helpers, they went in two canoes down to Pirongia where Buddle left them, and the Turtons and party continued on until they met a group of Aotea Maoris who had come to meet them and accompany them home. After another night's rest in the bush, they reached the Waitetuna River about 10 a.m. wet through. Here they had canoes to take them further downstream to Whaingaroa (Raglan). En route they were met by Wallis in his Mission boat, and soon got into more comfortable conditions at the Mission Station. Next day after six hours hard travelling through the bush they arrived back at Aotea, Turton estimating that he and his companion had travelled about 600 miles. His comments on his findings revealed a widespread influence of Christianity among the Maoris through a sharing of their knowledge among themselves. He was amazed at the great extent of the Kawhia Circuit and the need for more workers at key places. This was an ever present concern among the staff.

Another element was now introduced into inter-church relationships by the arrival of Bishop Selwyn and a group of selected young men in 1842. Selwyn was a strong energetic scholar with firm convictions on Church Order. He was a typical High Church thinker of his day, and his appointment to lead the work of men of his Church who at first were of the Evangelical School of Churchmen, created stresses both within his own team, and between them and the Wesleyans. Many tributes to his great ability and zeal, as well as to his large heartedness, appear in the journals of the Wesleyan men, but always with sadness at his constant attacks on their ministerial standing. He was firmly convinced that his own men were the only people qualified to conduct the Sacraments, and many of his native workers were quick to take his lead and express extreme opposition to the Wesleyan workers. The Maoris were born debaters, and religion became the new fashionable subject, with disastrous results. The evidence of strong differences of emphasis and teaching among Christian Churches
was a new feature to the Maori converts and this disturbance of confidence was never completely restored. It had begun with the arrival of Pompallier, but the unity of Anglican and Wesleyan witness up to this time had been a steadying influence, and now the field was wide open. Selwyn and some of the new men brought by him, fed this argumentative tendency among the Maori workers, claiming that Wesleyans were merely teachers, and certainly not Ministers, but the irony was that exactly the same thing was being said about Anglican orders by Pompallier and his staff.

These religious divisions which are always a scandal, poisoned the streams of Missionary life, and left the Maori people perplexed beyond measure. A further result was to cause some of the chiefs who resisted the Gospel to justify continuing their heathen ways and to harden their opposition. At the same time, if any question of Church discipline arose over the behaviour of Church members, it was an easy way of escape to try to play one Mission against another, and to swing to another Church of their choice, or else to abandon the Faith altogether. All Churches should hang their heads in shame as this stage is recalled, but it is well to remember that these were men of their day, and there were few glimmers, if any, of the Ecumenical movement with which we are familiar.

The year 1843 saw a number of new developments. On February 7th Smales obtained passage for his wife and two children and two Maori helpers and their possessions on a small brig 'The Guide', via Taranaki and Nelson. They landed at Ngamotu, New Plymouth and met the Creeds on the 13th. They left next day and reached Nelson on the 18th. Smales preached on the Sunday to a large Maori congregation on the shore, and again on the vessel to the crew and passengers. From Nelson he went on a smaller vessel direct to Porirua. Aldred and Buttle were at Port Nicholson, the intention at that time being that Buttle should go to Waikouaiti and exchange with Watkin.

In March, Woon reported from the North that an unfortunate outbreak of violence had taken place between two chiefs and their people over land ownership. This was one carry-over from the wars of Hongi. By agreement certain land had been re-occupied in the Oruru Valley by a tribe who had earlier been driven out. Now under the Wesleyan Chief, Joseph Orton (Hohepa Otene), they were cultivating the land and living in a Christian community whose development had greatly impressed the Missionaries. Another chief to the North, Nopera (Noble) belonging to the Anglican Church had been given some undue status as a leading chief by the Governor, and this had evidently gone to his head. The restraining influence of his own Missionaries was to their great sorrow quite unavailing and Nopera began to attack in an effort to drive Otene and his people out. The departure of Smales, and the absence of Hobbs who had after all decided to set off for Wellington on the Mission land question, left Warren and Woon struggling to steady matters in the Hokianga. Because of the outbreak of
violence, all the tribes were upset and in a ferment. The position was greatly aggravated by Papahurihia known as Te Atua Wera. Once again Woon describes this man as: ‘A sort of ventriloquist and sorcerer who pretends to raise the spirits of the dead, and relates what he has heard from departed chiefs, and this hoax has been carried on now for several years. A comet of extraordinary magnitude having made its appearance in this hemisphere, and has been seen here for the past fortnight, has excited the attention of this deceiver who is giving his opinion on it, its design in appearing at this time, and further that it is under his control!’

Mr. Warren went over to Oruru to offer his assistance. Tamati Waka Nene and other leading Hokianga chiefs tried to use their influence but in spite of their efforts some lives were lost.

At this time it was evident that Selwyn's arrival was causing concern even among his own older Missionaries. While at Oruru, Warren stayed at Otene's Pa and Selwyn at Nopera's Pa. Otene was a brother of Tawhai of Waima, one of the most influential chiefs there. Bishop Selwyn ignored an introduction to Warren and had the bell rung for worship. With Warren sitting in the congregation with a large group of the Wesleyan Maoris, Selwyn preached from St. Paul's letter to Timothy. He claimed that Timothy was appointed Bishop of Ephesus by Paul; that Paul left him there for the purpose of making Ministers; that it was the province of Bishops to make Ministers, and that none but Bishops could do it etc. Warren was surprised at the Bishop's facility in the Maori language and also at the warmth and animation with which he delivered his sentiments. Sadly enough, in the tense atmosphere of the occasion, it did nothing to ease the problem, but rather to deepen the rift that had developed; in fact it was a most untimely utterance. His own senior Missionaries privately expressed to the Wesleyans their regret that their Bishop had not consulted with them about the issues before expressing such confident opinions in the circumstances. He had oversimplified the matter as being a question of Denominational argument, instead of a question of ‘Tikanga Maori' or correctness of Maori behaviour. Dr Day who was dwelling with Hobbs in the Hokianga at this time, and being of great help in medical matters in the district, accompanied Warren on this expedition.

Otene volunteered to abandon half the valley to Nopera, a gesture that was quite uncalled for in the Maori way of thinking, but when Warren took the offer to Nopera it was treated with derision, and the demand that the area be completely evacuated by Ngapuhi. Warren returned to Mangungu, and met on the way Mohi Tawhai going with 400 followers to protect Otene's person. Tawhai promised Warren not to fight unless absolutely necessary for the protection of the lives of Otene and his people. The arrival of this group so overawed the Rarawa people under Nopera that they withdrew, but in so doing, attacked a small Pa of Ngapuhi containing about 50 people. These
Ngapuhi put up a stiff resistance, killing 13 and mortally wounding others. This brought other Ngapuhi tribesmen to their rescue, and had not Tawhai at the risk of his life restrained his followers under a hail of bullets, the retreating Rarawas could not have escaped without heavy loss of life. In the circumstances the Oruru Ngapuhi under Otene knew that on the return of their supporters to Hokianga, they would be still faced with molestation, so in the interests of peace they migrated to other areas, and it was the end of a very promising field of Missionary work that had greatly encouraged previous visitors. Otene was given permission to use the Mission land at Kaeo and he lived on it for many years, recognising that it was Wesleyan Mission land.

In late September, 1842 there was a slump in the timber trade which greatly handicapped the Maori people. While the demand for timber and logs had provided them with opportunities for barter, they had neglected to plant their gardens. It gave many difficulties to the Missionaries as well, and as at that time Commissioner Richmond was publicly examining land claims the Maori folk became very restive and sensitive to all questions of land.

There were many occasions when either at the request of the Authorities or the Maori owners, the Missionaries were called in to assist as interpreters. Their working knowledge of Maori language and Maori understanding of land questions made them valuable at such times, but like all interpreters they stood the knocks from both sides. At Port Underwood an incident which created a long-standing difficulty for Ironside was the murder by a White man of a young Maori woman, Kuika and her infant son. A suspected murderer Richard Cook was arrested and committed for trial at Wellington, and Ironside was pressed to go across and act as interpreter at the trial. The people were greatly disturbed, and in older times would have themselves dealt out summary justice. Ironside was detained in Wellington from April 13th to 24th over the case, and his wife was on her own at Port Underwood among a people seething with annoyance. Ironside reported: ‘The White man was acquitted for want of clear evidence, but the day after his liberation he was on the beach at Wellington with a loaded gun, assisting six convicts sentenced to ten years' deportation, in an attempt to escape. He is now in custody for the above offence, and also for a robbery committed twelve months since. This is providential as there is scarcely a doubt in the minds of all here that he is the murderer, tho' the evidence was not sufficient to convict him.'

Not long before, a Maori in the North had been arrested for murder, and with the full consent of the Maori people, had been tried, condemned and executed. Now a White man who to the Maoris was just as patently guilty was allowed to be acquitted, and this naturally caused the Maori people to feel that there was one law for the Maori and another for the White man.
Ironside stood between the two races as an apparent accomplice in the situation, and it left a lingering resentment against him among the Maoris who had so far resisted his efforts to evangelise them.

In spite of this, Ironside reported after two years of work, 18 places where he held regular services, and he had up to 1,500 hearers at his services, more than 600 members on trial or in full membership, and some 30 Local Preachers. It was a circuit requiring long and arduous travelling by land and sea, and he was able to report marked improvement in morals and general honesty. He conducted services among Europeans wherever possible, and on one occasion visited an American whaling ship refitting in a small bay, and at the service on board found several members of the American Methodist Church who were subject to a deal of ridicule from their ungodly shipmates.

He was shortly to face a different prospect when the land problem flared up in his locality, to result in many years of bitter warfare. The work had reached a stage of real confidence, and there was every prospect of an outstanding mission being consolidated there. This was a period of much consolidation throughout the Mission as far as the impact on the Maori people was concerned.

Buddle in the Waikato was continuing his wide-ranging ministry to the interior, encouraging the groups of people visited on other trips, and where the Maoris had commenced Christian observances under Maori Teachers. In January and February, 1843 he visited much of the Taupo region, and noticed the links with the tribes right down to Wanganui. He visited Te Heu Heu at his village, and also another Pa near the thermal springs where a chief named David lived, who had been baptised by Whiteley on a former visit. Here after a careful examination he baptised 27 who were presented by David for baptism. On his rounds he left further young men in various places as Teachers, and so the network of Mission activity was extended.

In January and early February, 1843 Turton made a special visit to Auckland from Aotea by horseback, canoe and on foot. He went via Raglan, Waikato Heads (calling at Maunsell's Sta-tion); swam his horse across the Waikato River, and rode on to Orua at the Manukau Heads where Mr Hamlin had established a Station for the Anglicans; then across the Manukau to Onehunga and overland to Auckland. His visit to Auckland was for the purpose of establishing a bank account for the Southern District, so as to facilitate transactions for allowance and trade goods. He visited and conducted worship at Wesleyan Services being held at the Court House. He was disturbed to be shown by one man a letter from the Government in which this man had been offered a job (which he had rejected) as a purchaser of land from the Maoris. In this letter these agents were instructed that all future purchases must be in blocks of not less than
30,000 or 40,000 acres each, and for not more than threepence an acre. He felt some uneasiness as to the sincerity of the attitude of the Colonial Government.

On his return, Turton held in March a six-day gathering to celebrate the anniversary of the founding of the Aotea Mission, and he reported a Sunday congregation of 2,000 people including many visitors from surrounding tribes. There had been 200 people at the Communion Service in the Chapel, and 60 candidates for baptism. These were examined, and all had been prepared by their Maori Teachers and Pastors in the preceding weeks and months.

In his travels, Turton reported that he had heard from the Anglican Missionaries whom he had visited, criticism of the teachings of the young men who had been brought out by Selwyn, their new Bishop, and their concern that Hadfield at Otaki and Welling-ton was demanding rebaptism of Wesleyan Maoris before permitting them to partake of Communion — a new situation in great contrast with earlier relationships within the Mission family.

Whiteley was still struggling with the Wellington land problem. In May, 1843 Hobbs arrived at Kawhia intending to go on to Wellington for the sittings of the Land Commission but after a local discussion with Whiteley and Wallis and Turton, he decided to return home and leave the matter to be settled by a letter to the Commission accepting one acre — the Market Reserve. Whiteley was disappointed that 'our chief witness had decided against pressing the claim' and he felt that the sting had been taken out of the Wesleyan case. Mrs Whiteley was again very ill, and in addition the Smales case had undoubtedly affected the relationships of the men. Whiteley recorded his disappointment that the experienced man Hobbs who knew and understood Maori attitudes to land matters, had not more wisely guided his young Superintendent Bumby on procedures when the matter had been first negotiated.

Within a fortnight Whiteley had a further problem when he received word of an unhappy situation at Ngamotu, New Plymouth, where by an indiscretion Creed had disturbed the confidence of the people and of his young colleague Hoani Ri Tutu and as a result Whiteley sent Wallis and Turton to hear the story and assess the facts. It was a story of stress and strain on Creed's part from the Hokianga days, accentuated by Mrs Creed's illnesses and the continued losses of their infants either by premature births or shortly afterwards. Creed was charged with being seen showing affection towards a young Maori woman in his household that suggested a greater intimacy between them. However careful enquiries by his brethren established to their complete satisfaction that this was not so. They all agreed that he had been indiscreet and had been in danger of a serious lapse. They reported that no evidence was produced to condemn Creed of wrongful moral actions, but his affections had led him close to this
and the matter had been checked in time. The brethren all agreed that it would be wise if he were to be placed in a new appointment.

In the South, Watkin at Otakou reported the arrival of an Anglican agent in Otago, appointing Native teachers specially instructed to undermine the work of the Wesleyan counterparts. It is difficult to believe that such could be the case, but it reflects the general rivalry that was being engendered throughout the country at the time. In spite of this, however, Watkin reported the baptism of a number of converts which gave him fresh heart. He was greatly handicapped by the lack of books and he had to rely on his own handwritten materials which were eagerly sought after. His problems with the whalers continued, but he was greatly surprised to receive a visit from one Bremen whaleship whose surgeon gave him some urgent surgery, and he learned with pleasure that this particular ship carried a Chaplain, evidently very unusual in such vessels.

In April, 1843 to his delight he received some books which gave him fresh interest and encouragement, but again he reported that it was now nearly three years since he had seen the face of a brother Missionary. In June he told of the visit of a group of Ironside's Maoris from Cloudy Bay under a young leader Hohaia (Josiah) whose preaching was a credit to himself and to his teacher Ironside. There were at the services a party also from Ruapuke Island, Foveaux Strait, who had returned with a large group of local Otago Maoris who had been away at their annual visit to the Mutton Bird Islands. These southerners had come to enquire further about the Christian Faith of which they had heard from their Otago friends and relatives, and also to press their claims for a Missionary. Again he poured out his distress at the activities of the High Church Maori Deacons, which he described as: 'Putting dangerous weapons into the hands of children. It appears to me the doing of harm to Christianity in order to subserve the interests of a particular Church.'

Further north in the Waikato, Buddle held a great rally in May at Waipa where he was joined by Morgan (Anglican) who shared the services. Also Wallis was present with a Maori leader named Jacob and a contingent from Whaingaroa. On the Sunday there were over 1,000 people present and 100 at the Communion Service. This is in refreshing contrast with the run of reports about the relationships of the two Missions at the time.

So the work went on. It was a period of development and consolidation which gave much promise for the future, but then there occurred the event that set the fire in the fern, and things were never quite the same again.
At Wairau in Marlborough on 17th June, 1843 a party of Europeans led by Captain Wakefield of the New Zealand Company came from Nelson to force the survey of the Wairau Plains, and to compel the Maori leaders Te Rauparaha and his son-in-law Rangihaeata to agree to its sale. The Maoris had already refused to sell and had resisted the survey by pulling up the survey pegs, and after carefully removing the personal possessions of the surveyors, had burned the shelters and the survey pegs at the surveyors' camp. These surveyors were given shelter as refugees by Ironside, and this was another source of criticism against him by some of the offended Maoris. The Nelson party who comprised some armed civilians, a qualified surveyor and a Police Magistrate came through to arrest the Maoris for arson, a charge which they indignantly denied, as they claimed that the only materials they had destroyed were their own native property.

The two groups came face to face on opposite sides of the Tua Marina stream. After much argument, which included an appeal by a fine Christian Maori chief named Puaha with an open New Testament in his hand, for the visitors to await the arrival of Ironside to act as mediator, an ultimatum was issued by the Pakeha leaders. A shot was fired — whether deliberately or by the accidental dropping of his weapon by a nervous armed civilian will never be clear — but the bullet shot Ronga, the wife of Rangihaeata. This shot started a general outbreak of firing. In the melee some of the Pakehas scattered. It soon became evident that the Pakehas were outnumbered and unable to continue, and the survivors were called on to surrender. This a group did, but as they were standing together, Rangihaeata went along the line behind them and tomahawked them all — an act of 'Utu' or revenge, according to Maori custom. It was a greatly distressed Rawiri Puaha, with the New Testament in his hand, who saw the tragic result of the failure to meet his appeal for delay in the whole matter. Ironside was twenty miles away from the scene but he had been sent for.

Knowing that the incident was almost certain to bring some form of retaliation or punitive action from the European authorities, the Maori people decided to move across to the North Island among related tribes, and there was a general evacuation. When Ironside arrived at Tua Marina from Port Underwood with several of his people, he had the sad task of burying the bodies of the victims, and he was broken-hearted at the turn of events. Only a handful of his people remained and the place was in a ferment. Only gradually did a small number return but in one sudden blow one of the most promising Mission Stations was practically destroyed, and it was found necessary for Mr and Mrs Ironside to abandon the place and arrange transport for themselves and their Mission property to Port Nicholson.

On January 29th, Ironside left Cloudy Bay in the Government Brig 'Victoria' for Nelson, where Aldred who had again been very ill, joined him and travelled to
Wellington so that they could both go to the proposed District Meeting at New Plymouth. These two men and Gideon Smales shared opening services for the small Wesleyan Chapel for the European work in Wellington, and they found great antagonism against the Missionaries from both races. In their intense feeling over any Pakeha aggression, the Maoris naturally found it difficult to separate in their minds the Missionary from his national character, and similarly the frustrated European settlers could not look on the Missionary who tried to understand and interpret the viewpoint of the Maori as anything but a hindrance to their hunger for land. One instance of this was the mischief caused in Wellington when just as the news of the Wairau incident reached there, a Pakeha saw among some goods being delivered to Mr Smales's place at the Mission a small quantity of gunpowder which he had purchased at an auction of the N.Z. Company's stores, and the accusation was spread abroad that the Missionaries were obtaining and supplying arms to the Maoris. In spite of clear explanations as to the rule strictly observed by the Missionaries, given by senior men, this took a long time to live down.

In October, 1845 George Stannard, a lay helper and Local Preacher in the Hokianga was recommended to be received as an Assistant Missionary. Hobbs made another pastoral journey through the Oruru, Mangonui and Whangaroa areas, and found Hohepa Otene living quietly at the old Mission site at Kaeo.

At the Southern District Meeting duly held at Ngamotu, New Plymouth on September 4th and adjourned to Waipa on the 22nd, appointments for the following year were recommended to the Conference. These were Smales to Aotea, Turton to North Taranaki, Watkin to Port Nicholson, Creed to Waikouaiti, and the others to remain in their present locations. Ironside was to con-tinue in charge of the Port Underwood remnant, but to oversee it from Wellington. Mr Jenkins a Catechist was sent to the Port Underwood property to continue as much work as possible in the north of the South Island. Catechists were also appointed at Mokau (Cort H. Schnackenberg), at Whakatumutumu (Frederick Miller), and one was also being sought at Buddle's urgent request for the Taupo-Wanganui interior.

Word was given at this District Meeting of the appointment by the British Conference of the Rev'd Walter Lawry, an experienced Minister with earlier Missionary service, to be General Superintendent of the New Zealand Mission, and to have oversight of the work in Tonga and Fiji, and that he was on his way out. This cheered the New Zealand staff who were feeling the need of some unifying leadership. In the light of this it was decided that George Buttle should go at once to Auckland and prepare the way for the new Superintendent, who would be making that place his headquarters.
From this same District Meeting a resolution was passed to forward a strong letter to Bishop Selwyn expressing disagreement with the position he was taking over inter-Mission relationships. The hand of Turton is very evident in the wording of this letter, but it was warmly supported by all the men, who were greatly distressed by the effect of the campaign. At the same time Buller wrote from Tangiteroria to the Wesleyan authorities in England illustrating the problem, and as an example gave details of Selwyn's prohibition of Wesleyan Maoris conducting family prayers when visiting the homes of Church of England relatives, and of the sorrow and embarrassment this was causing to all concerned, when this long-standing Christian courtesy was blocked on the one side.

From both the Northern and Southern Districts a request was sent to Great Britain, that on his arrival in New Zealand, Mr Lawry should hold a special service for 'Laying on of Hands' for all the Missionaries who on completion of their course of Study and term of Probation, had been received into full connexion, but had not thus far received ordination. The Southern District Meeting also noted in its resolutions the need for appointments at Ruapuke Island (Foveaux Strait), Port Levy, Chatham Islands and Nelson.

Meanwhile Smales was still at Porirua, serving the Wellington area. In December he reported that he was suffering from a severe attack of ophthalmia, that his youngest child had died, and that Mrs Smales and the older child were both seriously ill. He was living in a small native-style house. In his recent visits to the Maori settlements along the West Coast of Wellington he had been seeking to steady a number of people who had been unsettled by visiting Roman Catholic agents. Later he found that Hadfield had moved in and availed himself of the new interest that created, and as some of the Maoris said to Smales, 'We sow the seed and he reaps the harvest.'

Watkin at Waikouaiti was still experiencing encouragement and more real satisfaction in his work. The summer weather in December was bringing better health to both his wife and himself, and there was a note of lift in his reports. A good supply of New Testaments had at long last reached him and brought new strength and impact to his efforts. He was still facing difficulties from the activities of Selwyn and his agents whose methods were mostly aimed at the discrediting of the Wesleyan staff. He says regretfully: 'We have to say something in our own defence of course, but these things injure religion, feuds are created and perpetuated, and the New Zealanders' bad passions are called into play by that which ought to allay, nay remove them — the Christian Religion.' Selwyn had visited Watkin and the latter told of lending Selwyn several books on the Wesleyan Movement as he found in conversation with him that he was completely unread in such matters. Watkin visited Wellington at his own expense at the date that had been decided upon for the Annual Meeting of the
Southern District, but found that owing to the perennial problem of poor communications, he had not received word of a change of date, and the fruitless visit was time-consuming and frustrating.

The men now moved to their new Stations. It was in the midst of great unsettlement from the Wairau incident, and in every district the Maori people were expressing alarm about European intentions regarding land. Also many Pakehas who were not aware of the real depth of the Maori feelings were restive under the conciliatory actions of the Governor.

With the removal of Smales from Pakanae, the work of that section of the Hokianga had been placed under the supervision of John Warren at Waima, and as a result Warren had to plan his movements over a much larger district than hitherto. However he was now able to use a horse for much of his travelling, whereas for the Mangungu team it would have meant almost entirely depending on boats on the river. In January he took Stannard with him on an extended trip first across from Pakanae to the North, visiting Whangape, Rotokakahi and Waireia where he found a most discouraging picture of a decline in population, as well as in health and interest. They next visited Waimamaku on the south side, and found a much healthier position in almost every way. At Whirinaki and Omania the Roman Catholics had made considerable inroads among a people who had been discouraged by the all too frequent changes in appointments.

In his journal Buller gave another typical record of one of his big journeys. He took the Mission Boat with a crew of Maoris from Tangiteroria with his second son Walter — five years old — and set off down river. This was typical of Buffer's efforts to give his family a wider education and to awaken their powers of observation. This young lad became the famous naturalist and ornithologist. They visited the various chiefs and Maori Teachers, and it was a pastoral contact of great value.

The party visited Mangawhare, Okaro, Poutu, Omokoiti and Waikuku where their boat became badly holed on a stake in the river. Then leaving the boat to be repaired on the return trip, they had a long walk and reached Auckland late at night on Friday, 8th December. George Buttle was now in Auckland, engaged to Miss Newman. He welcomed the arrival of Buller who shared the Sunday services on the 10th. Next day they crossed to Manukau, and went by boat to visit Okahu at Manukau Heads where they met Jabez Bunting. On the 20th they set off homewards. First at Waikuku they had to repair their boat, and then because of atrocious weather they had a series of delays and did not reach Tangiteroria until January 1st, when they were welcomed home by an anxious household.
Later in January, taking his eldest son James Martin, he went to the Otamatea District, and his boat was accompanied by Tirarau in a large canoe with 40 people, and Waiata in another smaller canoe with 20 people. Then again at the end of January he made another trip to Kaihu where the work was steadily consolidating.

On his return from this trip, Buller had a visit from Bishop Pompallier who had expressed a desire to meet him for discussions. The Bishop had sent emissaries to Buller inviting him to meet him at a place some distance away, but Buller replied

1. that if he met the Bishop incidentally when on his rounds he would meet him in discussion,
2. that if the Bishop wished to meet him his house was on a hill and could not be hid, and the Bishop was welcome to come if he desired.

Pompallier duly arrived and Buller gathered some of his people to form an audience for the Bishop and his companions. They then engaged in a public controversy the substance of which was later embodied in a pamphlet for the guidance of the Maori staff.

Next day, Pompallier held a service not far away at a gathering where he (the Bishop) had provided a number of pigs for a feast, but Buller reported with evident satisfaction that his congregation contained his usual folk as well as a number of non-Mission folk who he quite expected might have been attracted to the other gathering. Buller was greatly refreshed a few days later by a visit from the Anglican Colenso, returning from a long visit of nearly five months to the Anglican communities in the south and southeast of the Island, and they found that they had much in common to discuss. Colenso was prevailed upon to remain and to preach at the Mission Sunday evening service, before leaving for his home, and on the Monday Buller sent him on his way up river on the Mission Boat.

In February, Ironside reported a visit to Wellington from Governor Fitzroy, who laid the foundation stone of the new Wesleyan brick chapel there, in very bad weather. Also, in April, Ironside reported the opening in Wellington of a new two-storeyed Mission house for £180, a seven-roomed house 32 x 24ft. Such were the costs in those days.

At Kawhia, Whiteley had a visit in March from Te Whero Whero, the leading Waikato Chief, at a large gathering called by Whiteley for the annual examination of classes, and for the sale and distribution of the New Testaments, his share of which had now come to hand.
On the 17th March, Walter Lawry arrived in Auckland and joined George Buttle who was faithfully holding the fort with the English congregation. Lawry found some difficulty in obtaining adequate accommodation for his family. Being a man of some private means, he purchased a large half-finished house which was on the market opposite the Government House, because the owner had been caught by the severe slump then being experienced. Later Lawry sold the house to the Church at cost price plus the cost of the improvements he subsequently made, and it was evidently a very wise transaction all round. Within two months Lawry had called a public meeting to establish a Native Institution in Auckland for the training of selected Maori converts.

In April and early May, a large gathering was held in Auckland at the invitation of the local chiefs to discuss land questions. This was held in the Remuera District. Tribes came from great distances, and with them came their Missionaries to guide them in spiritual affairs. Not knowing that the others had set out, each of the men was delighted to find his brethren there, and at the same time they were able individually and unitedly to meet their new Superintendent. Hobbs and Buller came from the North, Whiteley and Wallis and Buddle from the Waikato. Lawry observed in his next despatch to London: 'From what I saw of these excellent and devoted men, I feel compelled to congratulate the Society in having such men as their Missionaries in New Zealand.'

The Sunday was a great day. The Mission Chapel in Auckland was filled three times. In the afternoon at the Communion Service many members of different tribes took Communion together, and most had never met in such circumstances before. Some indeed were from previously bitterly antagonistic tribes which had been hereditary enemies. Lawry observed again: 'While the validity of the Wesleyan Ministry is being denied by two Bishops in New Zealand, here were the seals of their ministry shining in hundreds of happy faces, epistles known and read of all men.'

On the Monday the public meeting was held regarding the Native Institution, and the visiting Missionaries gave it their enthusiastic endorsement. Subsequent developments showed the wisdom of their decisions.

On March 4th, Creed left Taranaki for the South by ship. He stayed three weeks at Nelson, and expressed his concern at the distances the Missionary there was compelled to travel to minister to Maori and Pakeha, it being 40 miles by land to Motueka where the majority of the Maoris then lived. He next touched at Wellington and spent one night with the Ironsides, thence to Port Cooper (Lyttelton), and direct from there to Waikouaiti where he received a cordial welcome from Watkin. Unfortunately when they left New Plymouth Mrs Creed was again in an advanced state of pregnancy, and their long sea voyage in rough seas on small ships was a great
strain for her. At Nelson the doc-tor urged that they should remain for some time to help her health, but Creed could not agree as their ship was chartered at considerable expense, and was afterwards to bring Watkin to Wellington with his family, on the return trip from Waikouaiti. The further sea-sickness on the rest of the journey was too much, and four days after arriving at Waikouaiti, Mrs Creed gave birth to a premature child which died, and for over three weeks Mrs Creed's life hung in the balance. Eventually she made a slow recovery, but it was once more a disappointment to the Creeds who longed for a family.

Creed gave a very commendatory report on the state of the Mission work that he took over from Watkin: 'The knowledge of the Natives is more than could have been expected considering the disadvantageous circumstances under which this isolated station has hitherto been labouring. The Natives may be classed with those of the older Stations; they would do no discredit to those in the Northern Island either in Scriptural knowledge or general information. The unweaired exertions of Bro. Watkin are truly praiseworthy.' — Surely a generous tribute which must have enheartened the faithful Watkin!

The Northern men reported at this time that the collapse of the timber trade in the Hokianga had caused the departure of many Europeans for Auckland, and this had meant great economic hardship for the Maoris who had begun to base their lives on a completely new pattern. Warren sought to persuade the Maoris at Waima to grow grain for trade. One problem to face there now was a great increase in periodic heavy flooding of the flats because of the opening up of the forest hillsides, and the inevitable increase in the run-off of the rains. Further, no vessel had visited Hokianga from Sydney for 18 months which was in great contrast to the number that had usually been there during the timber boom.

In June, Turton writing from New Plymouth reported having read a copy of Dieffenbach's book on New Zealand in which very severe criticism was made of Missionaries in general. Such visitors with no local responsibility, or real knowledge of the local situation, were frequently tempted to write sweeping statements which when read in the older countries, could destroy the confidence of the Mission supporters in those lands. Turton with his usual directness jumped in. He spoke of the behaviour he himself had witnessed of Dieffenbach while at Ngamotu, and he was very outspoken in his judgment of the author's unfitness to set himself up as a protector of the Natives.

On 13th July, Lawry reported from Auckland: 'I am now setting off for a 1,000 miles journey through flood and field, but no roads here. I walk!' He was a man in late middle life, possibly too old to have to adjust himself to the pioneer conditions that
still existed in this country, but he made a good effort. He was setting off for the Northern District Meeting which commenced at Mangungu on 31st July. At this Meeting on August 4th, Lawry ordained John Hobbs and James Duller. In August when back in Auckland, Lawry and Buddle ordained Aldred in the Auckland Chapel before his return to Nelson. In September at Kawhia Lawry ordained Turton, Skevington and Buttle.

At the Northern Meeting Henry H. Lawry, son of the new General Superintendent, was recommended to be received as a Probationer for the Ministry. Several changes were recommended to the Conference in the Stations of the men. It was evident that Mr. Lawry needed an experienced man as his assistant at headquarters in Auckland to deputise for him in matters of urgency at any time in his absence. Hence Thomas Buddle was to move to Auckland, and George Buttle (somewhat handicapped by serious deafness) was to replace him at Waipa. There he faced the added difficulty in that both the names 'Buddle' and 'Buttle' were transliterated in Maori into 'Patara' and the Maoris had to distinguish between the two men by the addition of descriptions, e.g. Te Patara the deaf one. H. H. Lawry was in the meantime to work under Thomas Buddle at the new Native Institution at Grafton.

Walter Lawry reported grants from Governor Fitzroy, of land at Grafton for the proposed Native Institution, and a property alongside the dwelling that had been purchased by Lawry as the Mission Parsonage; also a section for the erection of a Mission Store and Jetty.

At this time, Smales reported four months after his arrival at Aotea where he had taken over from Turton, that Mrs Smales was suffering a continuous severe illness brought on by the successive journeys in heavy rough seas in small ships. Who can estimate the cost in human suffering borne by these womenfolk?

In July war broke out in the North when Hone Heke cut down the flagstaff at Kororareka. Bishop Selwyn did all he could to prevent hostilities, and the Missionaries of all the Churches saw grave destructive results looming up. It is never possible to analyse completely the factors operating in the groupings of Maori tribes in such tensions. Ancient tribal rivalries are some-times more operative than the outward protestations of the leaders. The recent conflicts during Hongi's campaigns had left deep enmities, and even earlier memories contained explosive material. In the developments of the groupings caused by Heke's action in challenge to the Government, Heke and his people in the Bay of Islands were supported by some people near Hokianga Heads under the influence of Te Atua Wera the Tohunga who main-tained steady opposition to the Christian Missionaries. The rest of the Hokianga under Patuone and Nene and Tawhai opted for the Government side. Pomare of the
Bay of Islands and Kawiti of Waiomio (who still remained opposed to the Christian Faith) linked with Heke, and the whole of the North was roused. It was a sad and serious disruption of the pattern of the Mission work, and the long period of association with camp life and hostilities, together with the regrettable behaviour and example of many of the Military, resulted in an unsettlement especially of the impressionable youth. This new generation had been for some time under the influence of the Missionaries, and they knew little of earlier Maori ways except from hearsay.

The Missionaries did their best to visit and advise the Maori leaders, and the noble restraint of many of them as a result, is clear in the available records. Nene and Patuone and Tawhai gave steady support to the Missionaries and endeavoured to maintain Christian observances in their camps in the various campaigns. Maori life was seriously disorganised. Planting and harvesting were neglected. The Missionaries kept on with their work, caught between the movements of the tribes during the campaign which continued through to the end of 1845 with the fall of Ruapekapeka Pa. Their private relationship to the conflict was a strained one. Their natural concern for the maintenance of a rightful authority was in conflict with their sympathy and concern for those Maoris who were alarmed at the loss of their lands, and the inroads of many European influences which their leaders felt to be harmful.

One report from the Hokianga Circuit is revealing: 'Nearly the whole of our people have taken up arms against the rebels and in defence of the Europeans and the Government, and this circumstance has involved the necessity of their being almost continually absent from their own places of abode. Their absence from home, and being huddled together under arms in different temporary fortifications, their foraging for food, their various skirmishes with the rebels, together with the great novelty of their association with the British troops, have given rise to vast excitement and irregularity, the contemplation of which must be most painful to every well-regulated mind. The very slight observation of the Sabbath by the troops and the practice of taking spirits have caused many of our people to throw off nearly all religious restraint, and when spoken to on the subject their general reply has been: "Do the soldiers observe any Sabbath?" The very slight observance of the Lord's Day which is now induced opens the way for almost every other irregularity. And it is distressing to observe that when once they throw off the restraints of Christianity they seem to be frantic and glory therein. Many who have retained their religious character cannot be induced to meet in Class while they are under arms. They say fighting is not consistent with Class Meeting . . . Many do not distinguish between old quarrels before the country was colonised, and the present one with the Government.' Similar comments appeared in the reports of each section of the Northern Circuit.
Reporting on the sequel to the Wairau affair, the Cloudy Bay report stated: 'Half the people have scattered — 100 to the Nelson Circuit under Aldred, 100 in the Wellington District and the rest have gone to the neighbourhood of Taranaki.' Ironside had many appeals to go to Taranaki to minister to those refugees who had been his people in the good days at Port Underwood.

Walter Lawry sought to visit each District. After the Northern visit in July and early August he set out on August 19th for Waikato. He visited Pukaki Pa near the present Auckland International Airport, and broke his journey there. On the 25th he spent the Sunday at Whatawhata, Monday at Te Kopua, and by the 28th he reached Ahu Ahu at Kawhia. After ten days there which included holding the Southern District Meeting, he opened at Kawhia (Papakarewa) on Sunday, 8th September a neat little chapel. Turton and Smales accompanied him from there to Aotea and on the 9th he went on to Waingaroa. As he travelled home-wards, he was greatly pleased on that section of the journey to be met by a group of Maoris who had brought two good horses with saddles and bridles sent by Epiha Putini (Jabez Bunting) of Manukau who was anxious to have a Wesleyan Missionary, and who himself hoped to attend the new Native Institution. With this added help, Lawry went on to Waingaroa and then to Pehiakura to Putini's Pa and home to Auckland. His comment was: 'The Missionaries look old for their years!' and no wonder!

At this time the men were all trying hard to adjust their finances to a new stringent allocation of funds which was instituted under instructions from the English authorities who were them-selves under great strain. All the letters revealed the hardship under which they were now working, but they were all loyally trying to work within this tight budget.

Whiteley who had already, the previous year, initiated a move for special care as they changed from 'Supplies for Barter' to a cash allowance to the District, wrote unhappily in reply to a rather abrupt letter he had received from the Secretaries. In this reply he gave a masterly survey of the peculiar nature of the Mission structure and area as compared with ordinary Circuit work in England, and he specially emphasised the costs caused by great distances for transport of goods and passengers. Mr and Mrs Schnackenberg had been brought from Sydney where Mr Schnackenberg had found a lady of his choice prepared to serve with him in the Mission field; Mr Miller had been moved to Whakatumutumu from his home in Wellington; Mr Hough from Nelson to Patea and Mr Jenkins from Port Nicholson to Cloudy Bay. All were married men engaged as salaried teachers, and although the travelling costs 'would have to be paid out of their £60 annual allowance' the initial charge fell on the District Fund now so drastically reduced. One can read between the lines that Whiteley probably rightly felt that the Secretaries had not a clue about the real situation in a Mission Field like New Zealand, and there is a touch of sharpness in his letter which is very understand-able.
In December, Watkin reported his visit to the District Meeting in Kawhia, his first since 1839. He had not seen the face of a brother Missionary until Creed arrived at Waikouaiti to relieve him in June. He had travelled to Auckland by boat from Wellington, as the only means of transport available, but had taken ill in Auckland and this had delayed him. He then travelled overland to Manukau and down the coast to Raglan and Kawhia. After the meeting he had another week's hard travelling to New Plymouth where his illness recurred. As a result he was detained there for eight weeks, during which time he helped Turton as much as possible. He then took passage on a small cutter for Wellington, but after three days at sea was driven back to New Plymouth and very nearly wrecked there, but eventually he reached Wellington. He added in his letter some details of the last stages of his appointment at Waikouaiti, including a long visit to the far South and Ruapuke Island.

Other reports for that period covered the work of Buddle who moved in December to Auckland from Te Kopua (Waipa). He gave a long assessment of the work at Te Kopua and through-out the Mission in general. A large party of Maoris from his old Station accompanied them partly by canoe and partly overland the 160 miles which took a week in travelling. Also in October, H. H. Lawry moved down from Mangungu to Auckland. Walter Lawry was sending a flow of letters to England by every available ship, and they revealed a growing understanding of the work and its needs. He pleaded that goods for the various Stations be packed not in large heavy cases as they mostly had to be landed at the Mission Station from Ships' boats and manhandled along distances in many instances.
The year 1845 was one in which the effects of the War in the North were widely felt. Maoris from many other tribes in other districts joined the opposing forces in the North, and the coming and going of such people, singly or in groups, meant a widespread discussion and questioning of the likely outcome in terms of land. There were those who prophesied that the Government would seek to punish the so-called Rebels either by rewarding the friendly tribes and chiefs with gifts of land confiscated from the losers, or by making such land available for sale to Pakehas, or by doing both. It is greatly to the credit of Tamati Waka Nene and his brother Patuone that they both tried to persuade the authorities to be generous to the defeated tribes, and Nene gave a remarkable lead himself. When on the termination of hostilities, Nene was given by the Governor a pension of £100 a year, he obtained for Heke, his longstanding rival, a flour mill as a gift, and for three years transferred the whole of his pension for the payment of the bill, an action which caused Governor Grey in admiration to exclaim: 'And they call him a savage!'

The development of the war with the earlier humiliating defeats of the British troops raised serious alarm among the European settlers, and in Auckland steps were taken to evacuate the families of some of the Missionaries with other Europeans. The fluctuations in the fortunes of the combatants meant much unsettlement in the home Pas of the Maori forces, and this added great strain to the work of the Missionaries who tried to maintain their contacts in both the Camps and the Pas. All the Missionaries remained at their posts and some of the women and families elected to remain with their menfolk and not to accept the offer of passage to Auckland.

When Heke, Pomare and Kawiti at the height of the conflict sought to go through the Kaipara and Wairoa Districts calling for allies among the tribes there, Tirarau the leading Kaipara Chief, though he had not accepted Christianity, had a great respect for Buller, and firmly rejected these advances, refusing to have anything to do with the proposed attack on Auckland.

Turton the previous year had moved from Aotea to New Plymouth as arranged. His report of the move is a graphic story.

He sent his main goods by a small cutter direct to New Plymouth and then, with a party of helpers, he and his family took the inland route with suitable rests at the various Mission Stations on the way. It meant camping a number of times in the bush and on the banks of streams and rivers, but they made stops at Kawhia, Waipa, Whakatutumutumu, Motukaramu and Mokau. The Whitecliffs section of the trip proved most hazardous because of the stage of the tide. At Urenui they were met by Skevington with three horses, and this greatly assisted their progress; they went by
way of Onairo and Waitara, finally arriving at Ngamotu sixteen days after leaving Aotea. Ministerial removals were no picnic in those days.

Not long afterwards Whiteley joined him, and they made a long journey to South Taranaki. Turton gave a picture of the confusion and division all along the coast because of the instructions given to Anglican teachers and families, much to the annoyance of many of the chiefs who recognised the debt they owed to the Wesleyan Missionaries in assisting the return of the captives from the north and their subsequent ministrations to them.

In many districts, especially in Taranaki, the atmosphere was tense and the people were unsure of themselves and divided in their sympathies. There was a great deal of simmering restlessness as an echo of the Wairau affair, and now the Northern war added fresh fuel to the smouldering fires. 'Bush telegraph' was very active but the work of the Mission went on. Some earlier rivalries and antagonisms were awakened among some of the tribes. Te Heu Heu and his Tuwharetoa people were still seeking to make trouble with their hereditary enemies at Te Ihupuku, Waitotara, where Wallis had been involved in 1841. This flared up again in January 1845, when, being joined by some non-Christian allies from Waikato, Te Heu Heu set off to avenge the death of one of the leaders in the recent wars. The North Taranaki Maoris decided to go through to help to defend their relatives at Te Ihupuku. They wished for peace, but decided to be present to use their numbers in seeking to prevent hostilities. Turton decided to travel with them. They spent a useful weekend at Waimate with Skevington and his people, and then almost 1,000 set off for South. Skevington went on with one section, and when they reached Wanganui they met Te Heu Heu and made overtures for a peaceful settlement. The invaders who had sent emissaries to Te Raupaharara at Kapiti were in fighting mood, and some were making foraging raids on the homes and gardens of the local Europeans and Maoris. It was a dangerous time for Wanganui. Bishop Selwyn also arrived on his annual visit to Cook Strait and he tried to persuade Te Heu Heu to return home. The Taupo leader was annoyed that his son had been converted and baptised at the Mission at Mangungu, and this young man on his return to Taupo had persuaded many of the people not to accompany Te Heu Heu on this warlike expedition. The latter complained that the Missionaries had 'taken away his strength by cutting off his right arm.' Hearing of the trouble, Major Richmond as Superintendent of the Cook Strait area came to Wanganui with an armed force on H.M.S Hazard and after hearing the accounts of the settlers and Te Heu Heu, he issued an ultimatum to the latter that recompense must be made and the party should then return home or else military action would be taken. Te Heu Heu was in a mood to fight it out, but the Missionaries all sought to restrain him. Finally they persuaded him to proceed to a point halfway between Waitotara and Wanganui beyond which the Taranaki people would draw up. Then accompanied by Major Richmond and the
Missionaries the Waikato and Taupo forces stopped at the agreed spot, and all fired off their guns as a token of peace and reconciliation, all parties returning home in quietness.

Turton told of a difficulty he had in settling one tense situation in Wanganui. Evidently in rebuking one Maori chief who was very belligerent, Selwyn, speaking in Maori, unwittingly used the form of a Maori curse, and for several days it was felt wise for him to make himself inconspicuous until the bad feeling subsided. Fortunately this had settled down before the final negotiations, and all the tribes returned home satisfied except the Taupo folk. Te Heu Heu was greatly chagrined at their loss of Mana.

In reporting on affairs at Whaingaroa at this time, Wallis paid a tribute to the steadying influence of Te Awaitaia during the general unrest. Wallis pointed out that it was William White with all his faults who had been in the first place influential in winning Te Awaitaia to Christianity.

In August, Ironside reported holding a very successful Mission 'Hui' at Porirua. This had not been appreciated by many of the settlers who saw it as a menace to their security, and Watkin and Ironside both reported receiving much disfavour from these settlers.

The loss of the ship 'The Tyne' at this time with much special cargo consigned to the Mission was a severe blow, as it caused great hardship.

Henry H. Lawry suffered a very debilitating illness during this year, and it caused him to pass through a time of severe introspection and self-commiseration from which he had great difficulty in recovering, but on his return to health he was able to take an active part both in the general Mission and in the work at the new Institution. Buddle reported in September that there were ten young men in the Native Institution making very good progress, and Walter Lawry sent an urgent request to England for a special grant of £200 above the Mission allocation for the year, so as to enable them to house and train at least twenty such young men. Substantial weatherboard buildings had been put up from local resources. Many of the Native Teachers in the villages had to spend so much time growing their own food or earning some livelihood, that they had little time to develop their rather limited education, and all the Missionaries were feeling the need for better training for such men.

In 1845 a German Lutheran Minister named J. C. Riemenschneider who had come to New Zealand to establish a Mission to the Maoris for his own Church, set out for Taupo area via Mokau where he stayed with Schnackenberg for a short while before
proceeding up the Mokau River. When he reached Motukaramu where the Wesleyans had frequently visited during their inland journeys, he decided to stay to establish his Mission there, a day's journey at that time from Miller at Whakatumutumutu. In September he went overland to Kawhia to consult with Whiteley and to seek some instruction in the Maori language. Whiteley had expressed some concern at the establishing of another Mission on this line of communications, but after discussion it was agreed that Riemenschneider should continue in co-operation with the Wesleyans, which he did for two years at Motukaramu. The gradual dispersion of the population seeking employment at the coastal towns caused Riemenschneider to withdraw to Warea on the Taranaki Coast, where in September, 1846 he again opened a mission at one of the recognised staging points on the coastal route from New Plymouth to the South. Here in close consultation with Turton he took some oversight of the Wesleyan Maori community along a coastal strip of some 40 miles, and he served there until 1860 when the land wars caused the disruption of so much of the Mission work.

The District Meeting for 1845 was held in the High Street Church in Auckland, commencing on September 17th. At this meeting there appears among the names of paid Teachers that of Taimona, the Maori helper of Buller in the Kaipara, the first Maori to be so recognised. His main centre was Kaihu in the Northern Wairoa, and frequent references to his reliable service appear in Buller's reports.

This District Meeting was not a large one as the Northern men in the Hokianga were detained by the Northern War, and all the men below Taranaki were prevented from coming by distance. Turton and Skevington planned to travel from Taranaki together overland with a contingent of Maori helpers. Skevington who had been ill was delayed, and after waiting for him beyond the appointed time Turton, who had sent his main party ahead, set off in haste as time was getting on. He reached Auckland before Skevington, who finally arrived after a strenuous 20 days' journey from South Taranaki. Skevington preached at the Wednesday week-night service of the gathering, to the great satisfaction of all the Missionaries. On the Sunday evening in the High Street Church, while the sermon was being preached, Skevington in the congregation suddenly collapsed and died immediately. Among his party was a young man named Titokowaru, baptised Hohepa, who came into great prominence in later years in the land struggle in Taranaki.

The death of Skevington was a great shock, and native runners were sent off immediately to take the sad news to Mrs Skevington and to Hough at Patea. This catechist was a great strength to Mrs Skevington in her sudden bereavement, and the Maori people responded in wonderful sympathy and support. Skevington, a young man of 30 years, had won a high place in the esteem of Pakeha and Maori alike, but had worn himself out under the rigorous conditions. His recent arduous journeys under
pressure after his frequent illnesses had been too much for him. He had served for six full and effective years.

The first reaction was to suggest that Ironside should be transferred to South Taranaki because of his links with so many of the people who had moved there from the Cook Strait area. However the decision was delayed in the meantime. One of Skevington's last letters was a very moving one to Ironside in Wellington written in August from Heretoa (Waimate). In it he spoke of a very heavy day's work from which he had been nearly exhausted, but he was planning to go to the District Meeting. He told of the great assistance of Schnackenberg at the Mission Hui where some 130 people including 20 children had been baptised, and they had held a Communion Service of about 350 communicants. Among those baptised was Haupokia, the great chief from Kawhia, who had at last accepted Christianity, and had obtained Whiteley's consent to travel to South Taranaki to be baptised at the same time as many of his former slaves who had returned home.

Schnackenberg had settled into the Mokau appointment with his young wife, and very soon established himself as a very effective Missionary. His wife proved a great helpmeet and she established most useful relationships with the girls and women-folk around her.

From Wellington the men reported Maori work as far afield as the Rangitikei River, as well as European services in six congregations.

In Kawhia, the Maori Chapel at Papakarewa was made available to the Pakeha settlers for a day school, and a committee under Whiteley's chairmanship employed a day school teacher. Some promising Maori and half-caste children were also given the opportunity of attending.

Writing from Auckland in November 1845, Buddle paid a tribute to the departing Governor Fitzroy, in which he observed: 'He appears to have been sacrificed to please the N.Z. Company who appear to have had strong prejudice against him ever since his decision on the Wairau affair — a decision the justice of which must be evident to every right-minded man.'

At Waikouaiti, Creed was now beginning to visit the more distant parts of his wide southern circuit. In a two-months' journey northwards, he told of a four days' journey by ship to Akaroa which he reached on 26th September, then overland to Pigeon Bay, Port Levy and Port Cooper, and thence along the coast back to Waikouaiti, a walk of about 270 miles. While he was at Port Levy he learned of a community of some 200 people living on the West Coast opposite Banks Peninsula. These people had accepted
the Christian Faith from visiting Maoris, and when he examined a young man from there, Creed was glad to baptise him and send him home with some Testaments. Maoris travelled extensively from the remotest settlements and they knew all the passes on the Southern Alps and Northern ranges. The coming of the Missionaries to the South Island had immediately awakened an enquiring spirit among them. When Brunner the explorer, the first White man to visit the West Coast with Maori companions in 1846, made his long pioneering journeys, he told of his surprise at finding every Maori community observing the seven-day week with a Christian Sunday, and holding in most places daily prayers. On enquiry he found that among them were people who had been baptised by John Aldred the Wesleyan, or C. L. Reay the Anglican at Nelson. So the work spread!

The new General Superintendent was kept busy visiting the various Maori Circuits and districts, as well as the European congregations at the coastal settlements. He visited the Bay of Islands in the Government Brig — a two-days' journey from Auckland — and from there round the North Cape down to Taranaki, where each Sunday Turton was conducting 'Four services in two languages, with hands full of work on the week days.' On November 13th, three days after leaving New Plymouth, they reached Wellington in a gale. Speaking of the Maoris there Mr. Lawry said: 'These natives which live in the towns far surpassed my expectations, and are less contaminated than I had feared, considering the evil with which they are surrounded.' Whiteley had travelled to Wellington to meet Lawry for consultation, but there they decided it would not be suitable to remove Ironside to replace Skevington at Heretoa, as the work in Wellington, both Maori and European, required urgently the continuance of the encouraging work that Ironside and Watkin were doing there. For the meantime it was decided that Heretoa should be visited once a quarter by the New Plymouth and Wellington preachers and Mr Hough from Patea, thus providing a monthly contact at least.

From Wellington the Brig went on to Nelson where Lawry was concerned to find the extent of young Aldred's illness during the previous winter, but nevertheless he was very commendatory of the work being done there. They arrived back in Auckland on December 10th after a journey of nearly 3,000 miles. He found Epiha Putini engaged in a very unfortunate strife with another chief 'Katepa' over boundaries on the peninsula, in which he found that both Maoris and Europeans agreed that the right of the case lay with Putini. On his return, Lawry called on the new Governor Grey, and they walked over to see the new Native Institution at Grafton, with which Grey was agreeably impressed. It was the beginning of his close personal association with this work and its developments.
Speaking of the journey on the Brig to Nelson, Lawry reported: 'Among my fellow-voyagers were the Lord Bishop of New Zealand and a Roman Catholic Priest. Of course there was nothing but civility among the parties, who, in other respects were so opposite to each other's ecclesiastical views and operations.'

With the cut in the grant for operations in New Zealand, Lawry and his colleagues felt that Wellington, Nelson and Otago should be a separate District or sub-District with James Watkin as Chairman, and this was made an interim working arrangement. Because of the distances involved, some of the men never got to a District Meeting, and those who did during the previous year had been absent from home for four months.

Lawry began at this time a long battle with the Secretaries in London to have the Mission vessel the 'Triton' replaced by a more suitable one. Its clumsy characteristics and slow speed had meant a number of most agonising delays in urgent supplies, and in the transport of the Missionaries and their families. This need for constant maintenance and overhauls in the stormy tropical conditions made a heavy demand on the funds. He spoke impatiently of 'this most unsuitable and vexatious craft'. He also pleaded urgently for at least three additional new Missionaries for New Zealand for the areas calling for appointments.

The year 1846 opened with the Northern War reaching a climax. Most of the able-bodied Maori men of the Hokianga were away with Nene at the Bay of Islands. Warren at Waima with his wife, the Stannards and John Hobbs were doing all possible to encourage the people left in the Maori villages. The Woons who were being transferred south, and Mrs Hobbs and family had travelled in the Government vessel 'Victoria' via the Bay of Islands to Auckland. Woon told of the great abuse being suffered by Archdeacon Henry Williams from many settlers because of his wise ministrations and efforts among the hostile Maoris. Woon felt that Williams was being shamefully misrepresented by his critics.

It was intended that the Woons should go to Pehiakura on the Manukau to look after Putini's people, but the conflict with Katepa, who also had thrown off Christianity made such a move impossible for the present. Katepa was trying to dispossess Putini and his people of their land. With a desire to settle the problem, Putini’s people were considering crossing the Manukau from Pehiakura to Ihumatao, and if this were to take place, it was felt that they should be ministered to from Auckland. It was therefore decided that the Woons should go to South Taranaki to replace the late Mr Skevington, whose widow and family were being brought to Auckland to be returned to England. All this movement, with the visiting of Maori acquaintances of the Missionaries, was a great tax on the homes of Lawry and Buddle, and Lawry wrote of
'twenty Mission folk arriving at the front gate, and shoals of armed but friendly natives at the back gate!'

On January 22nd, Tamati Waka Nene and a supporting group arrived in Auckland with an offer of peace from Kawiti and Heke to submit to the Governor. These Maoris brought details of the war in the North, and in his letters home, Woon told of the 'astonishment and dismay of the Maoris at Ruapekapeka who had found their fortifications occupied by soldiers who got possession on the Sunday while the Maori defenders were outside at Prayers, and who made a desperate struggle to repossess it, but were repulsed with considerable loss.'

Wallis at Whaingaroa saw great problems from the contacts of the Maoris with the growing numbers of Europeans whose presence was now a feature in all the coastal regions. Many Maoris were sincere converts to Christianity but it was always evident that many joined the Missionaries for material advantages. When these Maoris found that they could get these material things from others, without the restraints of Missionary standards, they cast off the outward forms of the Faith with resulting wildness of behaviour. Wallis had been journeying some 150 miles through the southern parts of Buttle's Circuit on the Waipa, where by the river routes the Maoris had established considerable trading contacts with Auckland, and he found many evidences of this drift. Further inland, especially at Miller's station of Whakatumutumu he had been much more encouraged. The general effects of the Northern struggles, and the upsets of these trading contacts presented serious challenges to the effectiveness of the Missionary appeal.

In February, Mrs Hobbs and family returned to the Bay of Islands and with Dr Day went overland to Hokianga once more. Mohi Tawhai and Arama Karaka with about 200 Waima Maoris had returned home on January 17th and were making preparations to take a large company to the Bay of Islands for a peace-making ceremony with Kawiti and Heke, which gave evidence of a real Christian concern for their former enemies. On February 4th, Arama Karaka and most of the Hokianga Maoris were back home, but Tawhai and a few Waima folk remained at Kororareka with Nene and his people.

In March, Lawry arranged for Woon and family to proceed South and for H. H. Lawry to go in the meantime to Pehiakura to minister to Putini's people. A strongly built Mission store was erected on the Mission property near Lawry's parsonage in Auckland, and this became the depot for the Mission supplies con-signed to the Tongan and Fijian Missions which were under Lawry's supervision. There was considerable responsibility for Lawry, and in his absence for Buddle.
Buddle became a recognised leader as the financial secretary for the District and Walter Lawry's right hand man. With his preaching duties and his oversight of the Native Institution, Buddle was under great pressure.

At Pehiakura, because of the strife about the land, the Maoris had been unable to harvest a good crop of wheat on three acres of land for fear it would be stolen and destroyed by their enemies, so the crop was offered to the Native Institution. H. H. Lawry and three boys from the Institution were sent over with rather primitive equipment and camping gear, and they managed to harvest about 100 bushels of good wheat and transport this the 30 miles to Auckland — a very welcome addition to the winter stores. H. H. Lawry at this time was struggling free from his weakness, and the experience gave a good boost to his confidence.

Woon was delayed in Auckland as his wife was expecting another baby. This child was born but lived only a week, and its body was buried in Skevington's grave in Auckland. This was the Woons' third son to be buried in New Zealand. While in Auckland, Woon was kept busy preaching to both Maori and Pakeha congregations. He and his wife and family left the Manukau by sea on 24th April, calling at Kawhia after a stormy trip. They received there a warm welcome from the Ngatihikairo people who had held aloof from him on his former residence there, but had subsequently responded to Whiteley's ministrations. Whiteley gave them a brotherly welcome. They left Kawhia on 27th May and with a fair wind, reached New Plymouth on the 28th. Being a Cornishman, Woon found many friends among the New Plymouth settlers, and he had a refreshment of spirit there in meeting them and preaching at the Sunday School Anniversary services and the week-night gathering. His arrival had been unexpected but the local people welcomed the advent of this visitor. Their preparations had been for their local man to speak from the temporary platform built for the occasion, but when they saw the bulk of Woon, they felt that discretion ordered otherwise, and he was placed firmly on the floor.

After three weeks in New Plymouth, Woon was accompanied by a large party of escorts to Heretoa, where he was recognised and welcomed by many former friends among the people who had returned as released prisoners of war from the Bay of Islands, Hokianga and Waikato.

When he settled in at Heretoa, Woon was greatly impressed by the quality and effectiveness of Hough at Patea, but was distressed to find that he had an advanced stage of lung trouble, and would be compelled to resign from the work at the next District Meeting. Woon was relieved to find that the threats to the peace of the Southern part of the district from the Taupo tribes had been abated by the death of Iwikau Te Heu Heu in a disastrous land slide at Taupo.
In North Auckland, the settling down after the War was a slow business. Warren made a special trip at Lawry's request to Kororareka to visit Nene's people. As a large contingent of Hokianga Wesleyan Maoris was still there, there was some serious thought being given to the possibility of appointing a Wesleyan Missionary there to minister to them. They had their Native Teachers among them. Then on his return, Warren spent a week-end at Mangungu to allow Hobbs also to make a visit of inspection of the Korarareka situation. Warren held services and class meetings among the older people, but he noted with great concern the severe damage of the War among the younger men who were now patterning their behaviour upon that of the soldiers.

Stannard at Newark (Pakanana) battled on bravely. The people there were not cordial. They had had too frequent changes, and they were still under the influence of a group of families who had resisted the Mission and were led by Te Nakahi or Papahurihia. Stannard in his reports paid a tribute to Hobbs's influence in holding the loyalty of the Hokianga Maoris. As a result of the War they had a lot of leeway to overcome. The people were still anxious to learn to read and write, but many were quite unresponsive to the Gospel.

In July 1846, Aldred at Nelson, a lonely single man, wrote to the Secretaries asking permission to visit England, to see his mother and to seek a wife.

About this time, there appeared in New Zealand the two-volume work by Edward Jerningham Wakefield 'Adventure in New Zealand', in which some scathing comment is made about Missions and Missionaries. At once Woon and Turton sprang to the defence of their work and fellow workers, and in their turn they were unsparing in their assessment of the author's own character and activities. Woon observed: 'I heard much of that monster of iniquity, the young Wakefield who has recently published a work on New Zealand and whose proceedings in Wanganui, Taupo and elsewhere baffle description. Deeply it is to be regretted that he ever set his feet on these shores, as his example among the natives has made an indelible impression and his name will go down to posterity a disgrace to the country which gave him birth'. There was not much love lost there! Turton reported: 'I wrote a letter to the "Wellington Independent" in reference to Mr. Jerningham Wakefield's new work. We apprehend no great harm from these volumes in this colony where the author's character is so well known and so extremely despised: but in England the case will be different, and the influence of such a production more hurtful than we can estimate. However, though every part of my letter be true, I confess it but the hundredth part of the whole truth.'
Buddle writing in September spoke of a great deepening of interest in spiritual things at the Native Institution as a result of the sudden death of Skevington. This movement became known in later years as a memorable revival.

Hobbs found a new difficulty among the Hokianga Maoris. As Nene had been fighting, others were using this as a reason for abandoning or refusing Christianity, but on the other hand he found that with the settling down after the hostilities, there were some wholesome renewals among those who had drifted.

At the Annual Meeting of the Northern and the Middle Districts it was decided to ask the British and Foreign Bible Society to consider sponsoring the printing of a standard edition of the whole Bible in Maori as a united effort of the Missions. Both Anglican and Wesleyan Missions were publishing versions of portions of the Scriptures and it was felt to be undesirable that one Mission should produce a sectional version through its press. As a result of this, later a special joint committee was appointed to perform this task.

A strange incident took place at Mokau, which was a great inconvenience to travellers. A Taranaki Maori uttered a Maori curse in a family argument with another family. In revenge a couple of Roman Catholic men, father and son from the interior, placed a ‘Tapu' on the country between Mokau and Waitara, to prohibit travelling over the area until satisfaction had been given. This was strictly applied, and even one prominent Government servant, the Attorney-General with his party was stopped and compelled to return. Schnackenberg was instrumental eventually, with the help of some Kawhia chiefs, in arranging a large Maori gathering at which — 'the two haughty chiefs were confronted, the road was traversed, and the Popish spell was broken', the two chiefs being compelled to lift the Tapu. Mrs. Woon spoke of the whole act of the two chiefs as a 'cruel imposition'.

In October, Lawry found that Nene and his people were leaving their armed camp at Kororareka and returning to Hokianga, so the idea was dropped of pressing the Mission Authorities to appoint a Wesleyan Missionary there in the Bay.

George Buttle at Waipa was establishing himself steadily but was faced with the big task of rebuilding the main chapel at Te Kopua where the old native-style building was decaying. It had become more difficult to obtain the assistance of the Maori people in such matters, as the commercial world had given them a greater dependence upon money. They lived among the Pakeha people to whom the gaining and spending of money appeared to be the main purpose in life, and this same spirit became evident among the Maori people everywhere. This was in marked contrast to the earlier generosity and co-operation of the people in every aspect of Mission life. They were
quick to learn from the Pakehas who in the pioneering situation were watching their expenditure very closely, and the general economic hardship of the time left this mark of carefulness about money matters.

In November, 1846 a long-standing problem of the education of the families of the Missionaries began to become more acute. Added to the New Zealand situation, there was the group of families in Fiji and Tonga. All ordained Ministers were expected to contribute to the Ministers' Education Fund in Eng-land, but in the nature of things they could not take advantage of the schooling facilities back in the home land. Lawry was aware that the number of children being born to the Mission families meant that a problem was rapidly looming up. Already the Missionaries in all three Districts had growing children who, had they been in Australia or England, would long since have been attending school. It also faced Lawry personally, and he lived with the problem in every contact he made with the homes of the Staff. Writing to England justifying the price he had had to ask from the Secretaries for the Parsonage he had privately purchased on his arrival in Auckland, he wrote that he had had to add two rooms for hordes of visitors, and had had to accommodate five whole families for several weeks together.

The Native Institution was growing in acceptance. Hobbs who visited Auckland with Nene to bring the peace offer from Kawiti and Heke and Pomare, was greatly pleased with the work being done, as also was Governor Grey, who sponsored Nene's son as a pupil there.

The year ended with a feeling of great relief that the War in the North had ended, and they entered 1847 in a mood to plan ahead.

At first the Missionaries, especially Buller, sought to solve the Education problem by planning the establishment of schools at the Mission Stations staffed with people capable of giving adequate tuition to both Maori and Pakeha children. They all lived with this pressing need, and at every meeting of the Staff the problem was examined.

Walter Lawry had the satisfaction of completing the sale of the Mission Vessel, The Triton', and in April, 1847 the new ship The 'John Wesley' arrived with new recruits for all the Mission Districts. Among them was young William Kirk for New Zealand. Lawry planned to accompany the new men on the new vessel to their Island appointments as General Superintendent. It was decided that Buddle should act on financial and administrative matters during his absence of nearly three months, and Kirk would in the meantime remain in Auckland to assist him. Buddle reported cheerfully that in spite of the volume of his responsibilities, he had never been happier.
in his work, and he added his strong support to the plea for a school for the Missionaries' children.

Writing from New Plymouth, Turton reported the visit of Governor Grey on ‘H.M.S. Inflexible’, the first steamer ever seen there. Turton tried to assess the attitude of Grey to the land question, and while he expressed his confidence in the new Governor, nevertheless his comments revealed some underlying uneasiness as he could see deeper implications in the problem than appeared on the surface. Wiremu Kingi appeared in the picture and it was obvious that the seeds of later strife were already sprouting.

Woon who was always a prolific writer with an eye for anything of news value, and who evidently wrote with the reading public in mind, gave many details of the work in South Taranaki and Wanganui. The rivalry with Taylor continued with some curious results. Some Wesleyan and Anglican Maoris at Te Ihupuku, Waitotara, combined to build a Church during Skevington's ministry, and the latter on behalf of the Wesleyan Mission contributed some materials and joinery. The work of Hough at Patea was of a solid, faithful nature, and he set a high standard of behaviour before his Maori helpers. When several of these were disciplined by Hough with the withdrawal of some of their rights because of some misdemeanours, unfortunately they were picked up by Taylor and appointed as Anglican Teachers in Patea where Hough lived. In addition there was constant pressure applied to prominent Wesleyans to change over, and the reason was always given that the Wesleyan men had no Ministerial status and that the Wesleyan work was irregular in every particular. It was a long-sustained and discreditable feature of the relationships of some good men, but again it was a reflection of some of the controversies raging then on the other side of the world.

At Te Ihupuku this tension increased, and Taylor refused the Wesleyans the use of the Chapel which belonged to both Missions. Taylor claimed to be acting under his Bishop's orders, and he proposed stripping the Chapel of all materials and equipment donated by Skevington and replacing them with his own. This very naturally deeply hurt the people who were still mourning the death of their beloved Missionary, and gave a general unsettlement and insecurity to the people. One reaction was an almost hysterical and emotional outbreak among the Maori people in some quarters, and one such example was noted by Turton on a visit to Warea at this time. It gave evidence of the deeply disturbed state of the Maori spirit as they found that their older ways no longer held any authority in religious matters, while among the Churches there was this discrediting of each other's work.

In Wellington, Watkin settled back into his programme after his protracted absence the previous year, and he opened a new Chapel at a rising village on the Porirua Road.
about five miles from Wellington — probably Johnsonville. His visits to the Hutt Valley included services for the Maori folk at Ngauranga, and both Maori and English services in the Valley. At the English service he was encouraged by the attendance of a detachment of soldiers from 'Fort Richmond' with the permission of their commanding officer Captain O'Connell, a Roman Catholic.

In the South at Waikouaiti, Creed reported the development of an element of rough, rowdy Maori youth: 'whom the rougher Europeans delight in deliberately making worse than themselves', and he saw the inevitability of their becoming very troublesome members of the community. Creed was feeling the loneliness that had been such a burden to Watkin and his family. Yet, like his predecessor he travelled widely and gave faithful pastoral care to the groups of people, Maori and Pakeha. The planning of Dunedin, the New Edinburgh, was going on, and Creed made several visits to Port Chalmers and Dunedin, to minister to the advance parties and the few early settlers who had come independently to the area. He gradually drew around him some of the leading chiefs who became staunch Christians.

Comment was made by Watkin in Wellington of the appreciation felt by those who knew the facts, as to the influence of Whiteley in persuading the Waikatos to refrain from joining Rangihaeata in attacks against the settlements.

In May, 1847 Walter Lawry began a long journey on the 'John Wesley' through the Islands, and the journal of his voyage was later published as a Missionary document of great interest. It was specially valuable as he was able to make comparisons with Tonga in particular, as to the impressions of his first visit 24 years earlier.

Word reached New Zealand in the middle of 1847 that Earl Grey in England had forwarded instructions to the Colonial Governor and Government, to take over all surplus unoccupied Maori land and to offer it for sale to the prospective settlers, so as to provide funds for development and Government expenses. Immediately the Missionaries, especially Buddle and Whiteley, sprang to the support of the Maori people, and there began a long correspondence with the British Wesleyan Missionary Society seeking their help in bringing the true facts to the notice of the Imperial authorities. Whiteley and Chief Justice Martin in New Zealand conducted a very significant correspondence, and as a result the Wesleyan Mission Authorities presented a historic letter of protest. They pointed out that the integrity of the Missionaries was at stake as they had urged the Maoris to sign the Treaty of Waitangi, with their personal assurances of the trustworthiness of the promises of the representatives of the Queen. A further point made most strongly was that in a land where tribal ownership of land was governed by a long-established code of procedures, there was no part of a country that did not belong to one or other tribe, and
the fact that forest land was not cultivated did not mean that it was not vital to the economy of the people as a source of their traditional food supplies. Moreover their system of cropping of the land, and the moving to new areas to rest the worked out soil, meant that large areas were left to lie fallow to recover. There was no such thing as surplus or unoccupied waste land.

This correspondence drew a defensive reassuring reply to the Mission Authorities in London from Earl Grey. Without checking with the Missionaries in New Zealand, the Mission Secretaries in London replied expressing their satisfaction with the reply. Whiteley in particular was very uneasy when he read the text of the answer of Earl Grey, and with Chief Justice Martin strongly supporting his contentions in a confidential letter, he maintained a long-sustained effort to have the matter clarified. All his brethren did not share his uneasiness, and there was some restiveness among some of them against his dogged persistence. Later events were to give only too tragic proof of the real grounds of his fears, and it was a sad irony that his own life was to be forfeit a few years later. In addition, the Anglican authorities in New Zealand, especially Selwyn, found that when they submitted protests against the Imperial instructions, they were put off by the British Government authorities with the statement that the Wesleyans were completely satisfied with the attitude of the British Government.

In June, Wallis sent an urgent letter to London expressing his fears about the so-called waste-lands proposals, and indicated that the Maori chiefs were liable to line up for or against the Government, along the lines of the groupings of earlier tribal animosities, and that this would deeply divide the people. This is a factor not always realised by later historians as they have tried to interpret the land wars and the operating influences in the decisions of the tribes. The Missionaries were particularly conscious of this and of the serious results that could follow any hasty action.

Buddle reported that the general opinion of the Maoris was that the Treaty of Waitangi was to be got rid of, this opinion being held right through the disturbed country.

Hobbs in August, expressed alarm at the serious depopulation that was continuing through the utter disregard of elementary principles of health and hygiene, and he feared that if this continued, in two generations there would be very few natives left. This was markedly so in the Hokianga where the timber trade had completely disorganised the Maori agricultural pursuits. Tuberculosis was rampant, and the spread of this was accentuated by the Maori misuse of woollen blankets, and the crowded conditions under which the people would camp and sleep.
Woon at Heretoa, had found some real fellowship in visits from Riemenschneider the Lutheran Missionary, who by agreement with Turton had become established at Warea. Later, out of this was to come the marriage of Riemenschneider to the eldest daughter of Woon, and their home at Warea was to become more than ever a stopping place on the journeys to and from New Plymouth. A whooping cough epidemic was creating havoc and misery among both Pakeha and Maori throughout Taranaki. On a recent visit to Wanganui (on 27th October, 1847) Woon had conducted the first Wesleyan English language services there. Five of his children were now away for their education. Woon found Wanganui still unsettled by the general restlessness among the Maori people with the settlers living in constant fear, only slightly assuaged by the presence of the troops. Woon added his word of concern about the effects of the presence of the troops and their behaviour, on the Maori people in particular.

In October Watkin recorded his concern at the reports he was receiving of the loneliness of Creed at Waikouaiti, where now for three years he had been alone. In addition Watkin had received word that Hough at Patea had broken down in health, and in addition on one day had lost two of his children — one from whooping cough and the other from 'general decay'.

The year 1848 saw the pressure really being applied for the establishment of a school for Missionaries’ children. Walter Lawry had found as he travelled on the 'John Wesley' a general restlessness over this matter among the Missionaries in the Islands, and an indication that unless some help was forthcoming very soon, there would be a wave of withdrawals from the work. He expected that on the next trip of the Mission vessel she would bring from 12 to 20 children to Auckland, and he (Lawry) would have these on his hands, quite apart from the many children of the New Zealand families. He asked urgently for a grant to assist in setting up a school for upwards of 80 children — and asked the Mission Secretaries to select and send out a well-equipped Master and Mistress, as well as books and school apparatus, and, if possible, bedding, for such a number. He was obviously finding that urgent steps had to be taken, even if it meant direct action on the spot. It is difficult to realise the evident unconcern with which such a situation had been viewed by the Secretaries once the Missionaries had been sent out.

In desperation the Missionaries decided to act. They consulted together and formed a company with the Missionaries themselves as the sole proprietors. They gathered support from the men in the Islands, and with the money thus raised they commenced the erection of a building on land purchased in Queen Street. They acted in faith, and for some years this organisation served to tide things over, but later they found themselves in financial difficulty and the Conference had to take it over as a
connexional project. It began as Wesley College, but later became Prince Albert College.

In February, Lawry reported receiving from the Colonial Government grants for Maori Education of £2,000 to the Anglicans, £1,600 to the Wesleyans and £1,200 to the Roman Catholics. The Government required only that each party should show that the money was beneficially applied, but in no other way would the Government interfere. This resulted in a further request by Lawry that the Secretaries in London should choose a suitable Master for the Native Institution as a matter of urgency, to relieve the Missionaries for their field work, and that this should be a properly trained teacher acquainted with the latest methods of teaching.

In his letter of 12th February, 1848 Lawry reported the death in Tonga of Mrs Miller, the wife of the Wesleyan Missionary there, and in the same letter he reported the sad death of Mr Miller, the Catechist at Whakatumutumu in the Waikato. The widow of the latter, with four children, was in Auckland at Lawry's home. He adds: 'I believe the two Millers are not unlikely to form a partnership. The negotiation is in my hands!' This was the first of Lawry's efforts to steady the unsettled members of the staff. He was distressed to find Aldred in his loneliness pressing, with the support of Watkin and Ironside, for permission to go to England to seek marriage. In March, Lawry reported the imminent sailing of the 'John Wesley' for Tonga with Mr and Mrs Adams and 'a wife for Mr Miller'. Evidently his negotiations had been successful! Hobbs at this time was away in Tasmania for six months, settling a son in that country.

In Auckland the Education work was taking shape. Lawry reported the starting of a Wesleyan Seminary in Queen Street Auckland, to cost $2,000 and a School at Three Kings for the Native Institution to cost £700. Governor Grey laid the foundation stone of the Three Kings building on 6th April 1848, the Government providing the money.

Warren at Waima reported on the work of the Mission School. Many of the children lived seven or eight miles from the school, yet walked each way daily, having to cross the river several times up to their necks on their journey. Some of the children lived at the Mission, and were fed by the Missionary. At the weekends Warren held for three hours on each Saturday and Monday morning an adult school for 25 men learning Scriptures, catechism, reading and arithmetic, and also learning a little English.

At Newark (Pakanae) Kirk reported that the school work was forming a nucleus for the Sunday Services where now many of the non-Christians were beginning to attend.

From Tangiteroria, Buller told of one of his annual Missionary rallies at the Maori village of Okaro near the Kaipara Heads. He spoke with pleasure of the developments
among the people and the type of buildings they were erecting, including a cottage for
the visiting preacher on his journeyings, and a neat Chapel. Many of the visitors from
distant parts of the Circuit brought tents in which to camp, and one tribe from Kaihu
met him en route at Mangawhare with 'several bags of wheat which they had brought
on their shoulders some miles across land in order that they might sell it to me for cash
for the purpose of contributing the same to the Missionary collection'. His account of
the programme at the gathering reflected a most encouraging stage of the work in the
Circuit in every way. He concluded: 'I was never more happy as a Missionary and
never had more ground for believing efforts in my Circuit than at present!'

George Buttle at Waipa sent one of his rather rare reports in March to the Secretaries,
but he had not been idle. He had been able to add more than 100 to the Church by
Baptism, but even there he was feeling the isolation from brother Missionaries, and
the lack of periodicals and correspondence. The Maoris were suffering from a
shortage of food owing to a long spell of dry weather.

Woon at Heretoa, South Taranaki, was able to report in February on a visit to a Maori
settlement at Taurangarere in the foothill ranges of Mount Egmont. Here a Native
chief Reina (Raynor) was the teacher and leader, and he had been able to prepare 250
people to share in Holy Communion. Woon also reported that two Wesleyan Native
Teachers had been sent to the upper reaches of the Wanganui river at the request of
the chief Pehituroa. He also reported in June that Mrs Woon had had a fall on May
11th and had broken her leg above the ankle. He had set it with splints to the best of
his ability, but as it was so serious a break, he had sent a messenger to Wanganui to
seek the help of a doctor. The surgeon arrived on the 16th and after examination stated
that had he not arrived when he did, mortification would have set in. By June 1st Mrs
Woon was showing some improvement in health but she had a long convalescence.

At Patea, Woon reported the complete breakdown in health of Brother Hough, a great
loss to the Mission because of his devotion and integrity. In his place Thomas Skinner
was appointed. Woon made an extensive visit to that area in April, including
Wangaehu, Rangitikei, Turakina, and Pipiriki on the Wanganui River where he had
visited the two Native Teachers he had sent up previously. Woon spoke of the
hardships of the journey and the dangers from being thrown from his horse. This big
man always had problems finding a large enough horse and strong enough saddle and
this contributed to many a painful fall.

In May, Creed reported his visits to Port Chalmers and Dunedin from Waikouaiti to
welcome the new settlers. He had now been four years at Waikouaiti without one visit
to a District Meeting, and without one visit from one of his Wesleyan brethren. On
April 10th he had gone on board the immigrant ship 'John Wycliffe' at Port Chalmers
and on the 15th he preached at the Immigration Barracks accompanied by two English Wesleyans, with whom he afterwards held a Communion Service and prayer meeting on the land. On the 15th the 'Philip Laing' arrived.

The Rev'd Mr Burns, their Minister, came up to Dunedin and Creed called on him. On the 16th, Burns preached at the morning service and Creed at the evening one. During the week, Captain Cargill, the Company's Agent, told Creed that all arrangements, Church Reserves etc., had exclusive reference to the Free Church only. This was strange news to Creed. Of the 25 Maori chiefs who had signed the agreement, 23 were Wesleyan chiefs who had been won to Christianity by the efforts of the Wesleyan Missionaries. The Ngaitahu people of Otago received a nominal sum of money to cover the purchase but in their understanding of the terms, they believed that they were being assured of the preservation of 'tenths' in all subdivisions, as reserves to provide income for the education of their people. It was to be long years before the intention of this was to be embodied in the 'Ngaitahu Claim' and the establishment of the Ngaitahu Trust Board. Creed was glad to report to the Secretaries that in spite of the statement by Captain Cargill, he (Creed) had been greatly pleased by the gift of a quarter of an acre Town Section by a Mr Edward Lee to the Wesleyan Missionary Society.

Creed also reported three events of note. One was a visit at the end of 1847 of the Rev'd J. F. Wohlers who for three-and-a-half years had been alone at Ruapuke Island in Foveaux Strait. This had been by an agreement between Watkin and Wohlers as Watkin had seen little hope of a Wesleyan Missionary being available for that needy place, and the arrival of Wohlers had appeared to be a happy substitute. Wohlers had come to Waikouaiti in on open boat at Creed's urgent request, and Creed spoke in great admiration of the quality of this Lutheran brother and his work. A second event was the visit of Governor Grey and Lady Grey and party in February 1848, and the third was his own very serious illness which developed on one of his Mission visits to Otakou. He had had to be brought home by boat and he lay seriously ill for some time.

The Northern District Meeting was held in Auckland in July. Henry H. Lawry was recommended to be received into full connexion as a Minister. With the death of Miller at Whakatumu, this station was attached to the Waipa Circuit. Miller's death had been caused by illness caught through cold and exposure during his visits to distant families. The work was continuing under local leaders, and at a recent gathering upwards of 100 adults and children were baptised — a tribute to the work of Miller and his helpers.

At Mokau, Schnackenberg reported that he and his wife had spent one month at Waikawau on the coast conducting a school amongst both adults and children with
good results. They had taught them simple arithmetic to assist them in their trading, as well as religious subjects and some elementary English.

Smales reported the baptism at Aotea during the year of 48 adults and 26 children.

Turton at New Plymouth told of restlessness amongst both Europeans and Maoris because of unsettled land claims. However, with the Taranaki share of the Government Education grant a school building to be known as the Grey Institution was being erected and was to be opened in the spring. The name had been chosen in recognition of the encouragement given to Turton by the Governor on his recent visit, both in general support of the project, and by a personal gift. In addition the general village school and the Sunday School work were encouraging.

In July, the inaugural official meeting of the proprietors of the new Wesleyan Educational Institute was held. Five Trustees were appointed to hold the property on behalf of the shareholders who were all Ministers and Probationers. So they were seeking to solve the problem of the education of their children. H. H. Lawry went temporarily to the Three Kings Institution in July to guide the work pending the arrival of the hoped-for new resident Teacher.

Whiteley reported that in September a serious outbreak of fever occurred at Mokau, where Mrs Schnackenberg was very ill. Whiteley was on the point of setting off for Taupo area to establish the new Mission there.

The Southern District Meeting was held in Wellington in September, and stationing changes for some of the men were recommended. As a result, after some later reconsideration of one in particular, Kirk was appointed to Pipiriki on the Wanganui River. He was married to John Hobbs's daughter at Hokianga before taking up this new task as a pioneer. Stannard was to go to Patea to replace Hough, Woon to Wanganui in retirement, Ironside to Nelson, and Aldred to join Watkin in Wellington. Aldred was engaged to the youngest daughter of Walter Lawry. H. H. Lawry had found a congenial prospective partner in Auckland, and a relieved Walter Lawry was seeing the problem of the unsettled single men clearing up.

Thomas Skinner was to be moved from Patea to Taupo, and Jenkins was placed at Motueka (Blind Bay) for the Maori work in that area, instead of at Cloudy Bay which now had much fewer people since the Wairau tragedy. These two European catechists gave yeoman service in their isolated appointments. In the Wellington area, the Maori work, while giving encouragement, was increasingly interrupted by the movement of the people to Public Works, a forerunner of the later development which became a pattern for a great deal of the reading and railway construction throughout New Zealand.
Zealand. Few people realise what New Zealand owes to the Maori labour force in the developing period of colonisation.

When it came to the time for the Kirks and the Stannards to move South, Hobbs chartered a small vessel the 'Harriet Leatharf' in which he sailed from Hokianga with his daughter and son-in-law — the Kirks — and their furniture and belongings, to accompany them to their new location. They picked up the Stannards and their daughter at the Manukau and proceeded South. This was about the time of the series of earthquakes in the Wellington district from 15th to 19th October. These quakes were accompanied by some peculiar gales and ocean disturbances, and as the vessel was approaching the Wanganui River mouth, she was driven ashore on the coast about 300 yards west of the entrance, and the passengers and crew spent a frightening night. Fortunately in the morning all were safely landed, and the luggage and goods were unharmed. Hobbs took the Kirks up the river to their destination above Pipiriki at Ohinemutu, three days' poling. If and after seeing them set up in their new primitive home, he returned to his home overland to Mangungu.

The Treaty of Waitangi was again to the forefront among the Missionaries when the reply of Earl Grey to the Wesleyan Missionary Society reached New Zealand. Whiteley was at once up in arms, as his fears had been justified. It was apparent to him that the intention of the Authorities was to take over as Crown Land for sale to the settlers, all the seemingly unoccupied Maori land. Reading this as a betrayal of the Treaty, and already the cause of much uneasiness among the Maoris, Whiteley led in the correspondence back to England. He was not averse to the proper purchase of any land that the Maoris were willing to dispose of, but he opposed vehemently any suggestion of confiscation. His word was: 'All the land needed for the thousands of colonists might be obtained peaceably for a comparatively reasonable amount — and that such steps, fair purchase and early colonisation would be for the good of Britain and for the Maori race'. Whiteley exchanged several long and significant letters with Chief Justice Martin who was in a difficult position owing to his official status, and who requested that some of his communications with Whiteley should be confidential. In one of his earlier letters at the time that the Secretaries sent their first submissions to Earl Grey, Martin stated to Whiteley: 'The memorial of your Com-mittee is an admirable production in the highest degree creditable to its authors. I confess I was surprised to find the case of New Zealand so thoroughly understood at home.' He also expressed his concern at the interpretations being placed on the Treaty in public controversy.

Early 1849 saw Walter Lawry greatly embarrassed by the seeming ignoring of the request for suitable staff for the Native Institution at Three Kings and the new Wesleyan Seminary in Auckland. The problem of slow communications was still very present. He reported in February that he had 70 persons to feed, clothe and instruct
there. Then in March, after a visit to Welling-ton and Taranaki, he reported 140 people 'to be fed, clothed and physiced at Three Kings'. He stated also that the Seminary would soon be opened with from 80 to 100 children, and more could be expected on the next return of the Missionary Vessel from the Islands.

Whiteley added his plea in a letter to the Secretaries, and spoke of his concern for his five daughters. Woon added his hopes for the Seminary for his large family. The need was increasingly urgent, but no encouragement seemed to be forthcoming from England.

Then in April, Lawry learned of the imminent arrival of ‘Two excellent brethren' for the schools — and the atmosphere immediately changed. On the 18th of that month, Joseph Horner Fletcher and his wife, and Alexander Reid and his wife arrived in Auckland. These were two young Married Probationers with some professional teaching training. The Reids went at once to Three Kings so that he could make an immediate start on learning the Maori language which would be essential to his work there. The house for the Fletchers was not quite finished so they made temporary arrangements for accommodation, and there was general satisfaction at the arrival of such well-qualified men.

Whiteley told of a visit with his wife to Mokau to assist Mr and Mrs Schnackenberg in the latter's serious illness, and Whiteley commented that his wife was only the third European woman to have taken this arduous and dangerous journey, the first having been Mrs Schnackenberg and daughter.

Warren at Waima was facing a changing pattern of work. With the removal of Kirk from Pakanae, he was spending one week in six in the Pakanae area. Among his folk in both areas there were a number of former Taranaki prisoners of war still living, and early in 1849 many of them decided to return to Taranaki. There also went with them some Ngapuhi men who had married some of the Taranaki women, and these took their families. With this movement and also because of the great mortality among the Waima folk. Warren reported that there were not half the number of people now that there were when he arrived nine years earlier.

At the District Meeting in September Whiteley reported that in the Kawhia area, nearly the whole of the influential chiefs who had been hesitating had come over to Christianity and had been baptised. This was a high spot in the Mission work in general.

In his first report Kirk spoke of the changed circumstances since the decision had been made to open the upper Wanganui area as a European Mission Station. There were not
now the number of unevangelised people that had been reported earlier, but he had gathered the previously baptised Wesleyans with others who were responsive, and in June, 1849 he reported that there were 100 'meeting in class' in the district served from Ohinemutu. He was in touch with Thomas Skinner at Taupo, now established there by Whiteley. This underlines the importance of that inland route from Waikato and Waipa into Taupo and down to Wanganui.

The Northern District Meeting held in Auckland on 29th October 1849 under Lawry's Chairmanship did a lot of stocktaking of the work. A proposal was adopted but later reversed, to exchange H. H. Lawry of Ihumatao (Manukau) and John Whiteley of Kawhia. This did not become possible because of Mrs. Whiteley's health and the exposed position of the Mission buildings at Ihumatao.

The Meeting decided that the printing should be extended and that all the men should press on with translation and revision of sections of the New Testament. Each man was directed to try to prepare a tract or pamphlet in the Maori language to be submitted to the next Annual Meeting in 1850.

The Three Kings Institution reported 22 training as teachers, and 85 boys and 24 girls in the school section. The young men were acting as monitors for the younger school members. During the year H. H. Lawry had concentrated at Three Kings to establish the 'Central School' until the arrival of the new Master.

Fletcher obtained the approval of the Meeting to bring his sister out to be the teacher of the girls' section of the new Seminary in Auckland.

Mrs Turton died in New Plymouth on 21st October, a short time after the birth of her fourth son. On the 29th October, Kate Woon was married by her father to Riemenschneider of Warea. It was decided to move Skinner from Taupo to New Plymouth to assist Turton at the Grey Institution which had been so named as a tribute to Governor Grey. To relieve Whiteley at Kawhia, Mokau was placed under the supervision of Turton in New Plymouth, and Whiteley was to remain at Kawhia for the mean-while owing to the state of his wife's health.

Walter Lawry paid a second visit of eight months on the 'John Wesley' as General Superintendent to Fiji and Tonga during the year 1850. Buddle reported that just as Lawry had left, there arrived from Australia the Rev'd and Mrs Josh Waterhouse who had hoped to travel on the ship to Fiji. Now they would have to remain in Auckland for an indefinite period until other arrangements could be made for their transport — another striking example of the difficulties of communication and shipping.
Before he left in April, Lawry wrote to the Secretaries seeking clarification of the functions and powers of the General Superintendent, and there gradually emerged signs of some differences and tensions among the staff over various matters, especially arising from the restrictions upon the finances demanded by the London authorities, and administered by the General Superintendent. There were wide differences in age, and an almost inevitable grouping of the staff especially with so many urgent claims on the more limited funds available for development work. Some men had some greater private resources than others, and this created misunderstandings. The building programme of timber buildings to replace the almost universal earlier style Raupo houses, had to be proceeded with as funds allowed. Newer members of the staff did not know the earlier pioneer conditions, nor did those who had come to the new townships really have any idea of the rigours of the vast rural Circuits.

At the Annual District Meeting in December 1850, after a simmering discontent about the nature of the responsibilities of the office of General Superintendent, a resolution was passed requesting that the office should be abolished and instead, there should be a Chairman who would also have the normal responsibilities of a Missionary. This caused deep division of opinion. Some of the men, both older and younger, felt the
need of a central point of authority, and they were also a little more aware of the load that lay on Walter Lawry's shoulders because of having the responsibility and cares of the work in Tonga and Fiji as well. Others, both older and younger men, were restive under the restraints, as well as the long absences of Lawry, and were not so aware of the pressures on him from the Mission authorities in England. Unfortunately, private letters from the New Zealand Missionaries — one in particular from Fletcher — to English friends, containing private observations on this matter, were passed without Fletcher's consent to the Editor of a partisan news sheet published at that time in England attacking the Mission Leaders there. It was part of a domestic struggle in England, and was used to embarrass the British Mission leaders. The appearance of this 'Fly Sheet' in New Zealand, with the letter published over a nom-de-plume, created a painful situation with suspicions and recriminations throughout the Mission staff. Eventually the British Conference resolved to make the situation in New Zealand one feature of a general enquiry into the whole work of the Methodist Church in the southern world, and this took place two years later.

Some of the Missionaries reported at this time the development of a 'warmer spirit' among the Maori members. Buller found a good response in the Kaipara with another very successful annual Missionary gathering, this time at Tangiteroria. About 350 people attended from all parts of the Wairoa and Kaipara Circuit, and there were 150 at the Communion Service. His son went to the new Institution in Auckland, and Buller expressed his appreciation of the immediate effectiveness of Fletcher in setting up the programme of work. Similar appreciation of the work of Alexander Reid at Three Kings Native Institution was being expressed on all sides.

At Aotea, Smales struck trouble from some Pakehas bringing and selling liquor, and as a result of his protests the Government appointed a Commissioner to banish the people responsible. There began to develop a more firm stand on personal abstinence on the part of the staff. Prior to this there was not the universal sentiment on the liquor question that later developed. The opposition to the trade, as always happens, gained its thrust from anger at the excesses and degradation caused among both Europeans and Maoris. In the Mission gatherings more and more of the Christian chiefs and leaders began to seek some official restraints on the sale of spirits to the Maoris.

At Mokau the work of Mr and Mrs Schnackenberg was bearing fruit, and much favourable comment was made on the improvement in living conditions noticeable among the people as a result of their quiet labours.

In January, Mrs Woon went to Auckland via New Plymouth to take her three boys to the new College, leaving Woon to maintain the South Taranaki work on his own.
In the far south. Creed reported on the new aspects of the work because of the Otago Settlement, and he urged the appointment of a Minister to serve the European residents of Port Chalmers and Dunedin who formed the growing Methodist community. His own occasional visits, over 30 miles by land, resulted in well attended services held in the Police Court. His friend Wohlers at Ruapuke, on Creed's recommendation, had visited Wellington to woo a widow lady there, Mrs. Elsie Palmer, known to the Creeds. This had proved successful and Watkin, who also knew both parties, conducted the wedding in Wellington. Knowing that the isolation at Ruapuke meant long periods without access to necessary supplies, the newly wedded couple took with them stores for a considerable period. In July, Charles Creed with great distress reported learning that the Wohlers, very shortly after landing at Ruapuke Island and settling in, had suffered a disastrous fire in which they had lost everything they possessed.

Whiteley during the year continued almost single-handed a long correspondence on the Treaty of Waitangi and the 'Surplus Lands' question. He was disappointed to find that the assurances given to the British Government by the Mission Authorities as to the acceptability of Earl Grey's reply, were being used by Earl Grey to silence other protests from Bishop Selwyn and others. Walter Lawry rather discouraged such protests as he felt that Earl Grey had found himself in an embarrassing position and was being harassed by his political opponents. In New Zealand it added to the general unrest among the Mission workers.

Returning from Auckland where he had been placing his daughters in the new Seminary, Whiteley was encamped one evening in the Waikato, when he received a visit from Carl Sylvanus Volkner, the Anglican Missionary who was later to become the victim of the Hauhau outbreak at Opotiki. It was strange that these two men, both of whom should be missionary martyrs, should find their paths crossing so far from their own fields of work.

There was some consolidation in most of the Circuits during 1851. Walter Lawry, suffering from increasing cataracts in both eyes and also grieved by the criticisms which had become public property, took a trip to England to consult the authorities. Thereafter word was sent to New Zealand that Lawry was being re-appointed to his position as General Superintendent. In addition a personal letter was written to each member of the staff by the newly appointed General Secretary expressing understanding and support from the Mission Secretaries. Apart from circular notices and Missionary periodicals, this was the first direct personal communication some of the men had ever received from their Missionary leaders in England, and there were many grateful and warm letters in reply.
Gold discoveries in Australia at this time caused a lot of unsettlement in the economy of New Zealand. The Missionaries had difficulties in meeting the sudden inflationary trends and in cashing drafts on England.

John Hobbs reported that largely as the result of the work of the Maori Leaders from Waima, there had been a great improvement in the lives of the people at Pakanae. Warren endorsed this, but told of the difficulty he had in maintaining an efficient school at Waima, largely owing to the lack of control of the children by their parents. This was a perennial problem for the Missionaries. There was no tradition of an individual pattern of control of the children by the parents among the communal Maoris, and any attempt to enforce obedience was in danger of arousing a violent reaction on the part of the child, some even resorting to self-destruction.

Buller again reported a most successful Missionary weekend rally, this time at Otamatea. He was finding, however, that the movements of the people to the timber milling areas down river were leaving the Tangiteroria Mission Station more and more isolated from the main body of Maori life.

In Auckland Buddle reported a grave illness that he had suffered through a haemorrhage following extraction of some teeth, and his fellow-workers were all alarmed by his weak condition. The Schools were progressing and the College had 44 boarders and 18 day pupils. Of them 36 were children of Missionaries in New Zealand and the Pacific. Fletcher applied for more 'Philosophical apparatus' for the teaching at the College. The day school numbers attached to the boarding section were creating the need for an additional teacher. The Native Institution at Three Kings had 106 acres of ground fenced for school buildings, grazing and crops. They had grown 30 acres of potatoes, 25 acres of wheat, 12 acres of maize and 14 acres of pasture. There were 132 children and monitors in the Institution. Sir George Grey continued his personal interest in the work and expressed his admiration and satisfaction in the development. Observers, however, were expressing concern that Reid by his heavy programme, both on the farm and in the school, was endangering his life and should ease up.

In Wellington, Watkin was feeling the need for an institution like the Three Kings and Grey Institution in New Plymouth for the Wellington area, and he pressed the claims of this at every opportunity.

The Maoris right through the country were expressing concern about the land situation. In Wellington, chiefs who had earlier sold land for 6d. an acre now had to buy back any they needed at £2 an acre, and they asked 'Why?'
In Nelson the settlers attached to the Wesleyan Church resolved to make their local work self-supporting, and to relinquish any claims for support from the Mission Fund. There were reported to be 550 Maoris in the Nelson area, about two-thirds of whom were under the care of the Mission. Ironside spoke of the many opportunities that were facing him in his Nelson appointment.

Creed at Waikouaiti found a new problem in the generation gap existing between the older Maori Christian leaders, who had little ability to read and write, and the younger folk who could read and write and were picking up from whalers and others, ideas and attitudes that greatly offended the older men and shook their confidence in the young potential leadership.

A sign of growing maturity and responsibility among the Maoris of some tribes under Missionary influence was seen when about the end of August a French corvette 'The Alemene' was wrecked about 30 miles north of Kaipara Heads. When the first survivors reached Okaro, the people immediately set off to help. At great personal cost the Maoris used all their season's provisions both there and in escorting the survivors to Auckland. The Governor duly rewarded the Maoris concerned with an issue of replacement supplies, and the whole behaviour of both Maoris and the French drew high commendation on all sides. It was a far cry from earlier incidents of that nature.

Buddle was also able to report the engagement of a trained Teacher and Mistress for the Auckland Seminary to commence in the New Year, and this was a great step forward for the day school attached to the boarding school.

*The Rev'd James Buller.*

*Portrait from Butter's 'Forty years in New Zealand'.*
CHAPTER SIX

The fourth decade 1852-1862

In February 1852, Walter Lawry returned from England, and the problem of his eyesight was becoming more acute. He complained that he now found it difficult to distinguish people whom he met in the street or in the congregations. He was feeling deeply the tensions that had developed over his appointment, and he took every possible step to remove points of misunderstanding and criticism from his brethren. He was an able and dedicated Missionary, and his evident distress touched the hearts of his critics, but the controversy was maintained in letters to and from the Secretaries and the individual Missionaries. It dominated the correspondence of this period, and it did not help the relations when the men met for their periodic gatherings. The air obviously needed clearing, but plans were afoot for this to be done.

Word was received in 1853 that a Deputation consisting of the Rev'd Robert Young from England and the Rev'd Wm B. Boyce of Australia had been appointed to meet all the workers in the southern Mission areas with a view to establishing a system of local government on a basis of greater self-support.

The work proceeded through this year in an air of expectancy, not knowing what the outcome of the visit would be.

Hobbs reported in April the death of a Maori named Taonui who had visited London ten years earlier and had stayed with Dr Beecham. He was a brother of Aperahama Taonui of Utakura who later, under Papahurihia's influence, drifted into a reactionary form of tohungaism. In his letter Hobbs also acknowledged special gifts from the Cork Sunday School, of a bell for the Utakura Church and a set of plough harness for Aperahama Taonui: 'To enable Abraham to commence a better system of agriculture in his beautiful valley.'

Buller again reported on his annual Missionary Hui held this time at Mangawhare (Dargaville) where on the newly purchased property, temporary dwellings and the usual tents were erected for the accommodation of the visitors. He was able to quote fine tributes to the value of the Mission work from Captain Drury of the 'Pandora' who was surveying on the river, and from Mr H Atkins, a timber dealer and trader, who was seeking to ameliorate the effects of the timber trade on Maori life. The people were living on the proceeds of one cash crop from the forests, and were in danger of facing inevitable penury in later years through land sales. The Mangawhare property had been purchased as a better landing place for Mission stores, and as a new
centre for the main Station of the Mission in the Northern Wairoa. This land became known as 'Mount Wesley'.

The Northern District report for 1852 showed that several paid agents of the Mission were being employed. Mr and Mrs Singer in Auckland as teachers, and Mr Palmer at Onehunga in the day school; Taimona Te Ikanui and Paora Tokatea in the Kaipara, Pita Warihi at Kawhia, and Hone Ropiha at Mokau as Native Teachers. Thomas Skinner was now at New Plymouth and C. H. Schnackenberg at Kawhia as Catechists. This latter would be at Mokau in the Kawhia Circuit.

George Buttle was quietly pressing on at Te Kopua on the Waipa. Many of his people had moved to Kawhia to work land for the purpose of having produce to sell to the settlements and this movement for planting and harvesting meant frequent interruptions in the steady work of the Circuit.

Whiteley told of a flare-up over land ownership at Kawhia, rising from the growing sensitiveness of the Maoris. At Kawhia itself two tribes, Ngatimahuta and Ngatihikairo were disputing possession, but under Missionary restrain had refrained from violence. News of this dispute spread further afield, and great alarm was caused by the arrival in Kawhia of a heavily armed war party from Waikato who sided with Ngatimahuta against Ngatihikairo. Whiteley intervened to restrain the possible violence and after many threats, hakas etc, and some symbolic concessions, the Waikato contingent returned home feeling that honour had been satisfied. Whiteley described how the visitors had been received with respectful speeches by the local contending parties and a feast had been provided and land indicated for the visitors' encampment. Ngatihikairo had agreed to remain inconspicuously in their houses. From Monday until Thursday the confrontation continued. Ngatimahuta had consistently protested at the arrival of the war party, while at the same time appreciating their concern. After a long speech making, the matter was concluded by two of the Ngatimahuta chiefs throwing their caps to a chief of another tribe favourable to Ngatihikairo, thus signifying that they thereby gave up the claim to the land for his friends Ngatihikairo. This was the signal, said Whiteley, for the return of the warriors and the peaceful triumph of Ngatihikairo. During the whole of this period, Whiteley had remained at the scene of the argument, and had ministered daily to both groups.

Woon reported the arrival at Waitotara of Stannard, and the great help this was going to mean for him in the lower part of his big circuit. Skinner had come down at Turton's request to seek recruits for the New Plymouth Institution and he had returned with twenty, but in the face of strong opposition from the Anglican leaders among the tribes.
There was a severe Influenza epidemic among the people at this time with many deaths among the leaders. On the other hand there had been an unusually good harvest of wheat in that district, and the Maoris were grinding it in mills that had been built by Pakeha contractors for them, the mills being paid for from the proceeds of the sale of pigs driven on foot to New Plymouth or Wanganui.

Woon's eldest son was married in July 1852, and with Woon's third son they set up in business as Printers in New Plymouth and established the 'Taranaki Herald'. In August, Woon reported that his horse had collapsed and he had no finance to replace it, so he had had to return from New Plymouth and continue his work on foot. His house at Heretoa built native-style by Skevington in 1843 was nearly collapsing. The land was only loaned to the Mission by the Maoris who were firmly refusing to sell the Title to anyone. All land sales were strictly forbidden and no chief would defy the ban. The chiefs said that to make an exception for the Mission would create trouble. Hence his prospects were not bright for the future, and in addition the people were moving into better houses further afield, making more difficulties in maintaining the pattern of regular work. Woon was obviously ageing under the strain of much toil.

The Southern District Meeting was held in Wellington in October. It was a small group. Turton had gone to the Auckland Meeting so as to see his children at School. He was beginning to be a law to himself! Woon had no horse, Creed and his wife were both too ill to travel, and in any case no transport was available, and Stannard was uncertain of his right to attend as a Probationer, so Watkin, Ironside, Aldred and Kirk constituted the meeting. They recommended that for the most effective working of their district, Creed should join Watkin in Wellington, Ironside and another should go to Nelson, Stannard to a more central place in South Taranaki, Woon to Wanganui, Aldred to Canterbury and Kirk to Waikouaiti.

Watkin reported the gift to the Mission of seventy acres of land by the Governor in Wellington for a School, and this would make for new demands on the funds, and on the energies of the staff, but he was greatly encouraged by the prospect. He had already raised over £400 as a fund for establishing the Native educational work in Wellington, and was anxiously awaiting the Title to the land granted by the Governor. An additional problem was the shortage of builders because of the gold rush in Australia. He was also feeling some anxiety about the new Colonial Constitution that had been rumoured, as he feared the result of having six Provincial Governments for fewer than 30,000 inhabitants. The Meeting also stressed the need for appointments at Canterbury (Banks Peninsula) and the Chatham Islands from which they were receiving steady requests for the appointment of Missionaries.
A report from Creed in November showed that the notice of the Wellington Meeting had reached him so late that it had been impossible for him to get there in time. In his report he mentioned that he had spent eight years at Waikouaiti in a situation exposed to every wind. During Creed's illness Watkin had gone down from Wellington to North Canterbury, especially to meet the Maori people, and this had been a great relief and comfort to Creed whose pastoral heart had been troubled by their lack of guidance.

At the Annual Meeting in Auckland in November 1852, as usual the work of the whole District was surveyed and recommendations made. C. H. Schnackenberg was recommended to be received as an Assistant Missionary, that is as a Probationer.

In reporting on his work, Whiteley said: The resident Catechist (C. H. Schnackenberg) prosecutes his labours with a considerable degree of comfort and success. A small boarding school has been established at the Mission Station for steady teaching, and there are 180 Church members in his area.'

The Wesleyan College in Auckland reported the value it had been in steadying the Missionaries in their stations with easier hearts and minds. Sadly it spoke of the death at the College of Buller's eldest son after a severe short illness, and it described him as 'an affectionate son, a diligent pupil and a sincere Christian.'

When the discussion on the General Superintendency took place Walter Lawry took seriously ill, and had to absent himself from the rest of the Meeting under medical care. Hobbs was elected interim-Chairman to continue the business, and it was decided to defer further consideration of this particular item until a Special Meeting when the Deputation arrived, and after receiving the reports on the work in the Circuits, the men returned to their homes to await the convening of this Special Meeting.

In 1853 in Wellington, Aldred had been living at Aglionby (The Hutt) looking after Maori and English work When he received word of his suggested appointment to Canterbury, he wrote to the Secretaries in England expressing his concern for the Hutt Valley work. At the same time he expressed his support for the concern of his father-in-law Walter Lawry that a new Station was being opened in the face of a tight budget. He also said that Creed's removal to Wellington on the grounds of ill health was really intended to provide a leader for the proposed new Institution there. Actually his letter was a minority report privately sent to England, but he stated that if the Secretaries approved of the proposed moves, he would gladly go to Canterbury. The General Superintendency was very much in the minds of all the men, and it was obvious that Aldred's sympathies lay with Walter Lawry and he wanted the Secretaries to know it.
Among the newer men, Alexander Reid caused a flurry by supporting some of the agitation then current in England among a section of the Wesleyans, for lay representation at Synods and Conference, and this caused a note of reservation in the recommendation that he should be received into full Connexion. Evidently to some of the older men at least, he was a bit of an iconoclast.

Woon urged that he be permitted to move to Wanganui as a relief from the burden of the conditions at Heretoa. Some doubt had been expressed as to his ability to handle the development of the English work, but he pressed his claim for consideration. When the change did take place, Stannard took up the South Taranaki work at Waitotara, that previously Woon had worked from Heretoa.

In March, Watkin wrote as Chairman of the Southern District, reporting the arrival of Creed in Wellington already much improved in health. Evidently Aldred was hesitating in Wellington awaiting some reply to his representations to the Secretaries. This meant that Kirk, on his way to Waikouaiti, was intercepted at Lyttelton and prevailed upon to serve there until Aldred's arrival. This left Waikouaiti without a European leader for some months, and it was a serious blow to the confidence of the Maori leaders in the real concern of the Mission Leaders for them in their southern location.

Walter Lawry was heavily burdened and awaited anxiously the arrival of the Deputation who did not eventually reach Auckland until August. This was another example of the difficulties of transport and communications. In the meantime his reports reflected the severe winter of that year, the burden of caring for a band of invalided returning Missionaries with their wives and families, and the heavy costs of supplies involved. In May he had a task of assessing and approving the important series of proposals submitted by Governor Grey for the Education Grants to the various Provincial Governments.

[The main conditions affecting proposed grants to the Wesleyan Mission were:—

- Principles.
  - Religious Education.
  - Industrial Training.
  - Instruction in English.

- Schools may be of three kinds:—
  - Colleges.
  - Central Schools.
  - Primary Schools.]
The most promising Scholars in either lower type of school to be eligible to be received into a higher type.

Maori, half-caste children, or children of inhabitants of Islands in the Pacific, or destitute children of European Parents to be eligible to such schools aided by Government Grants on such conditions as may in each school be determined by the Auckland Wesleyan District Meeting.

Grants would be made for:—
Support of existing Schools,
Education of Scholars to become Teachers in the Primary Schools — (an endeavour to be made to hold this number at 20).
To provide for salaries for those who qualify after passing an Examination and being certificated by the Auckland District Meeting.
An Annual report to be submitted to the Governor by the Auckland District Meeting.]

When the Deputation duly arrived, a Special Northern District Meeting was held, commencing on September 12th. Most of the men eligible to attend did so. The first business dealt with was the controversy about the office of General Superintendent, and the enquiry about the correspondence which had precipitated the disagreements. This was later reported as having cleared the air and fully restored the harmony among the staff.

The Meeting agreed to support the proposition that New Zealand, with the two Mission Districts of Fiji and Tonga should be attached to the proposed new Australian Conference, that in addition the European work should be formed into Circuits on the British system at Auckland, Manukau, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson and Canterbury, and that the Ministers in those Circuits should move every three years.

It was also agreed to accept the Educational proposals of Governor Grey for the Mission.

At the Meeting, Walter Lawry applied to become a Supernumerary and this was supported by the Meeting which also approved the acceptance of Schnackenberg as an Assistant Missionary. It appears that Lawry was not wholeheartedly behind his request to become a Supernumerary, but was rather hoping that there would be a strong rallying of support for his remaining in the active work, and it was somewhat of a blow to find that although there was great regard for his work, there was a general feeling that it would be well for him to step down.
The Leader of the Deputation, Young, went on to visit the Islands and then to return to Sydney where he would later rejoin Boyce who would go south overland, visiting the Southern Stations before returning to Australia. They would then prepare their report together before Young returned to England.

The Meeting, before dispersing, passed a warm resolution of appreciation of the visit of the Deputation, and then the staff returned to their Circuits.

In Australia, the Deputation eventually drew up their full report but before leaving Auckland they gave a message of appreciation and encouragement to the Missionaries. Among a number of specific recommendations about the work and the financial pattern, they made these comments:—

'The Mission has succeeded as no other Mission in modern times has succeeded. All the natives are at least nominally Christian — they are now brought in immediate contact with the benefits and evils of European Civilization.' Speaking of the Educational Institutions they wrote:—'It is only by these Institutions that you have it in your power to prepare them to compete fairly with the Colonists in the employments of civilised life. Do not fancy then that you are but serving tables to the neglect of your purely spiritual duties. You are doing a great work, for you are gathering together the feeble remnants of your population and you are making them ready to become a civilized as well as a Christian people.' In a personal letter to the Treasurer in London, Boyce stated that they had been delighted with the Missionaries generally.

Among the reports presented to the Meeting was the annual report of the Three Kings Native Institution. Attached to it was a report of a Special Visiting Committee consisting of the Chief Justice Martin, the Colonial Secretary (Dr. Sinclair), the Surveyor General (Mr. Ligar) and in their detailed statement they were very highly commendatory of the work being done.

At Kai Iwi near Wanganui, 350 acres of land were purchased by the Missionary Society. Here George Stannard initiated a farm school. Buildings were erected and the work got away to a good start in 1853.

Writing as Secretary of the Special Meeting, Buddle forwarded the resolutions with a covering letter. He pleaded urgently for three trained teachers to be sent out as soon as possible for the Industrial Schools being established. The Maoris in the Waikato were offering tracts of land for schools, provided that such were at once established at Whaingaroa, Aotea, Kawhia and Waipa. Their method was to make a gift of land to
the Government and the Governor would make a Crown Grant for Edu-cational purposes.

Writing to London in November, Warren stated that the Maori population was still on the decrease. Deaths were still fully two to one as compared with births. The present number of children was only a fraction more than one in four. Tuberculosis was very prevalent and most deaths, especially among the young, were from this. Then he added a long comment on Te Atua Wera (Papahurihia):—'He pretends to hold audible communication with the spirits of the dead, and convinces the natives that this is so, by means of ventriloquism of which he has a smattering. Natives have come from a hundred miles around to hold communications through him with their dead. He has sometimes passed through Waima on his way to the Bay of Islands on an expedition of this kind, attended by upwards of 30 horsemen. In general intelligence he is far ahead of most of his countrymen, and by means of jugglery, has managed for a great number of years to live in luxury and to amass a great deal of property in horses and cattle. His business is now greatly on the decline, and to do him justice I do not think he is sorry for it.

'I believe he has often been the subject of very serious thoughts relative to the iniquity of his course, I regard the baptism of so many of his people as an indication that the breaking up of this nest of heathenism and superstition which has for so many years been a curse to the whole of Hokianga is near at hand; and I expect ere long to see Nakahi himself bowing in humility at the Saviour's feet. May God hasten the time. Yesterday I rode over to Rawene about 20 miles distant to see him, and had a long and serious conversation with him. He says that so many of his people have been baptised with his full consent and approval, and that he is only waiting to see whether Christianity makes them less quarrelsome among themselves, and more respectful to him as their chief, and if so he shall quickly follow in their train. I found him living quite alone with the exception of a little boy to cook for him. He knows well that his is a system of vanity and lies, and unless I am greatly mistaken has already made up his mind to embrace Christianity.' James Buller in later years reported that this had eventually happened.

In December, Creed wrote from Wellington giving details of his whole Circuit, Maori and European. Of the Maori work he reported congregations at the Hutt and Porirua (Takapuahia) and several smaller ones over the Wairarapa and Waikanae areas under Native Teachers. There was a very heavy death rate as in other districts and he went on to say; 'There are materials amongst them for an educated and greatly improved race fully prepared to amalgamate with the Anglo-Saxons whom they resemble in many remarkable instances of character. The most casual observer cannot but mark the improved tone of moral feeling amongst them in the last few years.'
Walter Lawry had evidently hoped that his request for superannuation would be set aside, and he spent an unhappy restless year before accepting the position. His ministry had been a distinguished one and his period of General Superintendency had been marked by wise planning and consolidation. His contacts with Governor Grey, in particular in the Educational field, had been harmonious, and there was between them a large degree of mutual respect and trust. Lawry also contributed greatly to the recognition of the rights of the so-called 'Dissenting Group' of non-Episcopal Churches, and his own courteous firmness was a decisive factor in safeguarding religious freedom.

Following the visit of the Deputation, it was agreed to organise the work in Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand and the South Seas as a separate Wesleyan Conference with powers of self-government, but affiliated with the British Conference. This took effect in January 1855, and the New Zealand representatives at this first Australasian Conference held in Sydney were Thomas Buddle and John Whiteley. New Zealand Circuits, Maori and Pakeha, were a Mission District of the Australasian Conference, the representatives having to travel annually to Australia for the gatherings, and this obtained until 1874 when a new constitution with four Annual Conferences with limited administrative powers, was granted, and the New Zealand work, Maori and European, became one of those Conferences. 1854 was a year of preparation for the earliest of these Constitutions.

In the mid-winter of 1854 George Buttle reported in the Waipa a serious epidemic of measles followed by dysentery, from which many deaths occurred, and the description of the symptoms causing the rapid deaths reads very much like a form of cholera. For the Maori people it was a devastating experience, and for the Butties it must have been distressing in the extreme. The very wet winter with the widespread sickness and very many painful deaths in a lonely Mission Station did not make for cheerful circumstances. Buttle wrote of one servant who died from this sickness: 'Her agony at that time I shall never forget, but I cannot describe it. She literally writhed with pain, and the cries to which she gave utterance, not absolutely groans, but so strongly indicative of the deep anguish of her feelings were most affecting.' It should be remembered that this is the report of a man almost completely deaf. Buttle also reported that some of his own family had been at the point of death but were once more recovered.

Ironside had been unable to get to the District Meeting because of having been thrown from his horse while visiting people some nine miles from his home in Nelson, and suffering a broken leg. He was carried to a neighbouring farm where he lay for three weeks before being conveyed home. His letter of December, 1854 spoke happily of the generous response of the 60 members of the Church in Nelson, to the challenge to
become self-supporting, while at the same time contributing to the Central Fund of the Mission.

The year 1854 saw Waikouaiti still waiting for Kirk who was also waiting for Aldred to take over the encouraging work that he had started in Lyttelton. The Southern Maoris in their disappointment, wrote to Creed appealing to him to return, but it was not to be so. Eventually Kirk arrived at Waikouaiti in October, but as could be expected, he found the work in disarray. The people had become careless and unsettled, and many had lapsed. Only half the population now attended worship. In addition to the Maori work, he, Kirk, had held services in two places among the Europeans but as yet no 'Society' in either place as the people were either Episcopalians or Presbyterians. It was a disappointing outcome of a long and faithful ministry where continuous shepherding was essential for any permanent results.

The Mission House at Waikouaiti (Otago)

In 1855 several new changes took place in appointments. Whiteley was moved to Auckland. Buddle became Chairman of the Auckland District and with his family moved to Onehunga to the charge of the Manukau Circuit, his parsonage for his large family being a small Pensioners’ Cottage.

John Warren was moved to Nelson from Waima to pick up the English work, and to give such oversight as he could to the Maoris in that District. Buller had to leave the Northern Wairoa for his health in 1854 as he had in the previous year developed an osseous tumour in his face needing surgery. The property at Tangiteroria being now no longer suitably placed for ministering to the changed Maori community, was sold to Mr. Atkins, a trader friend of the Mission, and the new centre developed in
Mangawhare. The Kaipara was now temporarily added to H. H. Lawry's task at Hokianga.

A returned Missionary from Fiji, the Rev'd R. B. Lyth spent some time in Auckland in 1855 and was engaged temporarily at the Wesleyan College. H. H. Lawry was appointed to Waima to replace Warren. The wife of H. H. Lawry was a sister of T. S. Forsaith who had come to New Zealand with a brother of Wm White and had served for some time later in the Northern Wairoa.

In 1856 Hobbs moved to Auckland, first to the College at Three Kings and later to Grafton Road area in retirement, at the old Native Institution site. From there, faced with increasing deafness, he assisted with the Maori Circuit work as far as he was able. In 1857 he went to New Plymouth as a senior man to look into the affairs of H. H. Turton who had caused some questioning among his brethren, mainly because of private stock trading, partly involving the Mission farm land. This was in the first place against Mission regulations, but there appeared to be some irregularities in the actual records associated with the matter. Later the same year, for three months, Hobbs, Buddle and Reid served as Wesleyan representatives on the special committee appointed by the British and Foreign Bible Society to revise the complete Bible in the Maori language. The following year Hobbs definitely retired and lived in Auckland as a Supernumerary until his death in 1883. Smales was made a temporary Supernumerary to live in Auckland, but as his health improved and no man was available to replace him at Aotea and Kawhia, he saw the year out and then went to England in 1857.

An example of the difficulties confronting the senior men was seen in Whiteley's report. The claims of attendance at the Annual Conferences in Australia worried him. In February he wrote; 'We are now daily looking for the return of our brethren from the Conference. They have been absent two months. This is a heavy tax on the time of the New Zealand Missionary who has so much travelling in his regular duties besides. I think that the proposed plan of annual local Conferences and a General Conference once in three years would be better. During my last year at Kawhia I was more than half my time away from my Circuit: a journey to Taranaki on account of the land quarrel; a journey to Auckland to attend the District Meeting; another journey to Auckland to take ship; and a voyage to Sydney to attend Conference; left me but little time to attend to regular Circuit work. And then another month in removing from Kawhia to Auckland, and another in visiting the natives of the Kaipara Circuit, together with travelling in the Circuit, altogether seem to be sufficient of that kind of work, without the extra tax of a two months' visit to a distant country to attend a yearly Conference.' On top of this came the bombshell that after ten months of his appointment in Auckland, he was to be moved by Conference to New Plymouth, and
no wonder he exclaimed: 'This I feel on account of Mrs W. and our family, and I fear whether I shall be at all able to arrange those delicate and critical relations as Brother Turton with his long experience on the spot has been able to manage them.' Sadly, it was that very Brother Turton whose unhappy behaviour was reaching such a stage that the Conference found it necessary to remove Whiteley there to replace him. Both the Government and the Church needed an experienced leader and counsellor in Taranaki to handle just then some of the exceedingly delicate questions regarding land ownership. Turton moved to Kawhia instead of Creed who had been appointed to replace Whiteley there, but Creed had asked to be transferred to Australia on health grounds, and had gone across to that country.

Woon in partial retirement in 'Whanganui' as he usually spelt it, found a task as local Mail Agent and Postmaster to supplement his meagre allowance. Mrs Woon on a visit ot Wellington took ill there, and this added to his worries. He found the Church work in Wanganui not very responsive. Also he was troubled to notice how much the people of his old charge, Ngatiruanui, were leaders in the land troubles in New Plymouth.

The conflict in claims of ownership according to Maori custom, was at the root of the troubles. The Waikatos claimed authority on the right of conquest. The Ngatiruanui, returned prisoners of war, claimed authority to sell on the grounds of ancestral ownership. Among the Taranakis themselves there was disagreement as to who held the right of final say. The story has been fully told elsewhere, but all the Missionaries were at times caught between the Europeans on the one hand, and the contending parties among the Maoris on the other, and it was an anxious and confusing time for everyone.

Aldred had begun to feel at home in Canterbury. He had no assistance from lay preachers, and his big area to cover, prompted appeals for another man to help. He found an added interest in conducting a class in the Maori language which included two Anglican clergymen. He met Bishop Selwyn and travelled part of one day with him. He comments: 'He really is a remarkable man. He possesses the purest suavity of manners. His power of physical endurance is immense. He has a mind great by nature. His scholarship is profound. His Lordship is a walking encyclopaedia. He is in every sense a labourer, and as I looked at him toiling up a rugged mountain under a burning sun, the perspiration dropping from his brow, I could not repress a feeling of high admiration. I thought how different is this Bishop from our English Prelates living among the grandeur and show of their palaces. I esteemed him more highly than I should have done had I seen him sitting in the House of Lords. His Lordship it is said is Tractarian in his views, but as far as my experience goes, he seems to me to wish to be friendly with all.' Selwyn was evidently mellowing. In the light of this, it is good to remember the incident recorded by T. G. Hammond in his booklet 'In the Beginning',

Wesley Historical Society Publication #27 (1&2)
where he states: 'Colonial life did much to emancipate the great man, as one departure from ecclesiastical trammels will exemplify. The last public function performed by Bishop Selwyn before finally leaving for England (in 1868) was to dispense the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in St. Matthew's Church, Auckland. In the congregation were the Rev. John Hobbs and the Rev. James Wallis, two venerable Missionaries connected with the Wesleyan Church. After dispensing the emblems to his own congregation, he took the bread and wine to these two servants of God and said "May we meet again at the Marriage Supper of the Lamb." Some of the remote country churches the Bishop purposely refused to consecrate, so as not to exclude Wesleyan Ministers from using them when they visited these outlying places.'

Buller went to the Annual Conference at Adelaide, leaving Wellington on December 18th, 1856. He was beginning to take his place with Buddle as one of the Conference leaders in New Zealand Church life, and their hands were very much in evidence in the developing pattern of N.Z. Methodism through subsequent years. He returned to Wellington on March 28th, 1857 — another long absence for attending the Conference.

In 1856 two names which appeared in the forefront of the Mission scene for many years came first into the records. William Gittos commenced his probation in a long Ministry in the Kaipara, and Hamiora Ngaropi (Samuel Honeybee) was received as a Probationer for the Maori Ministry. To meet the need of the Minister at Manukau, the Mission House at Mangungu, now no longer needed at the old headquarters in the Hokianga, was moved down to Onehunga as the Circuit Parsonage, where it served until the later Parsonage was built in the ministry of the Rev'd Wm Slade. When this took place, the Mangungu house was moved bodily along Grey Street, and the building which later became known as Kurahuna Maori Girls' Hostel, was erected on a new site on the opposite side of the street. At the time of writing this story, efforts are being exerted to have the old Mangungu House once more taken back to its original district at Mangungu, to be preserved as a historic property under the auspices of the Historic Places Trust and the Friends of Hokianga.

Turton's affairs reached a climax in 1857. He had worked hard and had set the Educational work in Taranaki on a good footing. When Hobbs went to New Plymouth to examine the situation, Turton went first to Kawhia and occupied the house at Te Waitere. When the enquiry revealed some foolish actions on his part, Turton left on leave to England in 1859 and while he was there he resigned from the Mission work and entered business, afterwards returning to New Zealand and becoming a Government Agent and Interpreter. His activities which had caused enquiries had been chiefly in connection with his farming operations on land he himself owned near the Grey Institution, and there was some doubt about the propriety of his carrying on
trading operations and farming, and some doubt also of the degree to which the operations had been at the expense of the Mission.

Hobbs and Whiteley were a Committee to investigate the matter made more difficult by the old tensions between the two men. Disagreements over policy involving the Wellington land, and the handling of the Smales situation in earlier years had hardened their antipathies, and this shows through their journals for the period. They were both good men but of very different moulds, and their human frailties were not helped by the growing tensions around them over race questions and land problems. Facing criticism from both Maoris and Europeans, and differing among themselves in their views as to the right moves to make, they were naturally to some extent on edge, and it would have been remarkable if they had not sometimes revealed this.

In 1857 the Conference appointed a new man, James Hosking, to Mangonui to serve the old North Eastern area including Whangaroa, but it is not clear whether he took up the appointment or not, as the next year Mangonui stands as 'One Wanted' and this had to wait a couple of years before action.

In September, Woon at Wanganui reported that he was expecting a visit from Buller and Kirk, the latter having been appointed to take over from Stannard who had been appointed as the last full-time Missionary to the Maori work in Otago. Stannard had pioneered the Kai Iwi Training farm, and Kirk continued this until the outbreak of the Taranaki War caused its closing.

At this time the movement for the election of a Maori King was being noticed in several districts, and Woon spoke of the rising interest in the question among the Taranaki and Wanganui tribes, with the name of Te Whero Whero of Waikato being mentioned as a possible choice.

Writing to the Secretaries in October, Buller warmly supported a resolution urging the appointment of a strong active group of young recruits for New Zealand, and especially to replace the older men in the Maori work. After outlining the situation facing the Missionaries, he went on: The present is perhaps the most critical period in the history of the Native tribes. They are gradually assimilating to the habits and acquiring all the privileges of European colonists. Ere long many of them will be exercising the election franchise — a considerable number now do — the next step will be a representation of some of themselves in our House of Legislature. Much, very much, depends on adequate Missionary agency in order to prepare them for the right discharge of their social and spiritual duties, as well as in reference to concerns
of eternity. To neglect them now will be virtually to undo what we have done — to leave them a prey to circumstances when they most need direction.'

In 1857 W. J. Watkin, son of the Rev'd James Watkin, was received on Probation and appointed to Nelson, and also two new Maori names appear as Maori Probationers, — Hone Eketone (John Eggleston) and Hohepa Otene (Joseph Orton) and thus a Maori Ministry began to emerge. The name of Philip Hannah appointed to the Chathams the previous year, was not continued on the list of Maori Probationers.

Cort H. Schnackenberg was ordained and became one of the great leaders in the Waikato-King Country area during the troubled years of the Waikato War and its aftermath.

At New Plymouth Whiteley reopened the Grey Institution which had been temporarily closed before Turton left for Kawhia.

William Rowse, a new man who later entered the Maori work, began his probation in 1858, and Te Kote (Scott) Te Ratou was accepted as a Maori Probationer and appointed to the Chathams. With the infrequent and irregular shipping contacts, the Chathams were a lonely group of islands and people, and the man sent there had to have a great heart and a deep sense of commitment to maintain year after year the position of a Christian leader. Te Kote Te Ratou did this through a long and faithful ministry.
Warren and W. J. Watkin were at Nelson, and from there they served the Nelson and Marlborough areas, and were responsible for the Motueka and Wairau areas, including the Maori settlements. A letter at this time from the Secretary of the Missionary Committee in Sydney, the Rev'd John Eggleston, to the Chairman of the Auckland District, contained this comment: 'I have had a letter from Brother Warren — the building of a new Chapel had induced him to visit the natives and he appears surprised at their state and numbers. Two hundred at one place attended his ministry. He was impressed with their piety and devotion, and was deeply affected at the idea that he would not visit them again. He says the people would not let him go before. Is this the doctrine on which you conduct your work in your District, that as soon as your settlers can support a Missionary, he is to coolly abandon hundreds of natives to their fate? What becomes of the claim of twenty years' expenditure on behalf of these natives? This will want serious looking into. Natives in the state he describes have a righteous claim on a share of his Pastoral over-sight. I propose writing him soon on this question!' There was evidently some attempt by the Circuit officials to put the brakes on this old Missionary to the Maoris and it is an illustration of the stress of loyalties for such men drawn into the work of the colonial churches, but it was not a common pattern. This could have been the Marlborough area where isolated settlers as yet had only the infrequent visits from Nelson, but shortly afterwards a Minister was sent there also.

The death of William Woon took place on 22nd September 1858, and this ended another long and faithful ministry, both as lay Missionary and ordained Minister.

The position of the Mission staff was constantly changing. Some older men were dropping out. Walter Lawry died in Australia on 30th March after a distinguished ministry, and his passing was felt in New Zealand as an honoured former leader.

The European Circuit appointments were being made on the set terms of three years. Some of the more experienced of the men in the Maori work were appointed to the English-speaking Circuits, and increasingly a group of younger men were coming in to assist the handful of older experienced men who remained in the Maori field. These men were also being assisted by a small but significant team of dedicated Maori Ministers. These latter were paid a small stipend, and sometimes a modest grant to assist them in building or procuring a house on tribal land. Living in the tribal situation they grew their own food and shared the full life of the tribe. In most of the southern areas the traditional Maori contacts were placed under the supervision of the neighbouring Pakeha Ministers, depending usually on the degree of experience of these men in Maori matters. Some, even new men, did well, but others had no clues as to the special needs of this work, and one man's good work could be destroyed by another's inexperience or neglect. Inevitably this weakened the confidence and trust of
the Maori leaders and members, and the small group of Maori men could not cover the
great distances to give adequate regular pastoral and preaching care to the isolated
Maori communities.

Stannard was moved from Otago to take up the task at Mangonui, but he was
intercepted on the way, to serve at Three Kings Native Institution for a while.

It was always difficult to gather much direct support from the Maori people for the
Mission Circuit funds, and their cash giving was not encouraging. This caused
criticism at Mission Headquarters in Sydney. The Missionaries, close up against
Maori life, and thoroughly aware of the strong currents of Maori thought and
restlessness over so many matters affecting their land and culture, were doing their
best. They knew the problem. They were not helped by such letters as one that
Thomas Buddle received from John Eggleston in Sydney, the Secretary at Mission
Head-quarters. After setting out the amounts received and the number of members
mentioned for each Circuit he said: 'Either a plain Christian duty has not been taught,
or after all the labour bestowed, they have not religion enough to fulfil the duty, and it
will be a subject for serious consideration how long such a state of things is to be
continued.'

Alexander Reid at Waipa also received a critical letter from Sydney in reply to his
request for a grant to assist in some urgently needed repairs to his ageing Mission
dwelling, to make it habitable and to remove a health hazard. The Secretary told him
to 'get the money from the natives', and Reid replied threatening not to return to the
Waipa. He was thoroughly aware of the growing explosive situation over the land
question which so shortly afterwards blew up. In addition the Maoris were suffering
from the serious trade depression at the time, that was partly causing the concern over
finances at Mission Headquarters.

As some of the most experienced Missionaries had also fine qualifications for the
European Circuit life, inevitably they were considered for such appointments, and also
in fairness they and their families deserved consideration in the matter of their
locations for education and some relief from the laborious travelling involved in the
vast Maori Circuits. Thus there hung over the Maori work the constant fear that at any
Conference there could be further changes as certain of their most valuable men were
drawn off for the urban demands. The new seaport towns were now a strong feature of
the Colonial life. This became even more pronounced in the next few years as the
outbreak of hostilities in the North Island caused a withdrawal of many settlers into
towns for safety.
Added to all this was the rising tension from land quarrels. The Maoris were feeling increasingly insecure in the possession of their tribal lands. They blamed the Missionaries for having encouraged their elders of former years to sign the Treaty of Waitangi, and on February 22nd, 1860 the matter reached fever heat with the declaration of Martial Law in Taranaki. To the Maoris this date became remembered as the historic occasion when the Pakeha took steps that eventually resulted in the Maoris finding themselves deprived of most of their best land, a fact which rankled with them into the late years of the following century. (It was a strange insensitiveness on the part of later Europeans who in 1960 thought it would be appropriate to mark this as the centennial of the real founding of the Taranaki Province, by the issuing of a set of commemorative Stamps. This was proposed without consultation with the Maori leaders of the District. Fortunately a smart protest from others prevented this action which would have embittered the older leaders when the significance of the issue became evident to them.)

With the declaration of Martial Law, many of the settlers drew within the safety of the defensive points. The Maoris grouped into factions, some favourable and some bitterly opposed to the Colonial Government. Then followed some nine years of bitter unrest and periods of violent conflict, unhappily described as the 'Maori Wars'. Once more the Missionaries were caught between two worlds, as both Maoris and Europeans misread their actions and motives. The sympathies of many of them lay with the Maoris in their confusion and sense of loss, but they were ministering also to many of the settlers and felt with them in their danger. They moved freely between the two peoples, and inevitably had great stress in their divided loyalties. They did their best to restrain the warlike plans of the Maoris, and in some instances condemned their plans as rebellion. They could not stand idly by and see the settlements attacked by surprise if they knew of the definite mobilisation of Maoris planning such attacks. Thus they were condemned by the Maoris as spies. Some of the Missionaries were more conventional than other in their views about law and order and the rights of Government. They were men of their day and generation, facing new problems and groping towards a new Missionary strategy, and they suffered agonies as they worked on.

In the North in Hokianga and Kaipara the Maori people remained detached from the main centres of conflict. They had their own bitter memories of earlier conflicts and the devastating overthrow of much of their older culture by the onslaught of the Pakeha values and philosophy of life. Inevitably however they were affected by the general upheaval.

Waikato, Taranaki and Wanganui became the focus of the new hostilities led on by the Waitara War. This story has been fully documented elsewhere, and can be mentioned
only in passing in this brief Mission story, but it has left its poison in the main stream of New Zealand Maori-Pakeha relationships. Recall again how these people had seen the havoc caused to their Northern and Southern fellow Maoris by the strife, and the impact of the growing numbers of land-hungry settlers. Their older chiefs had, perhaps naively, visualised a community where each Maori tribe would 'possess' a few Pakehas to give them prestige in the eyes of their fellow Maoris. The communities would, they thought, remain predominantly Maori, but the presence of a few Pakehas would open the way to trade in much desired European equipment, agricultural, domestic, personal and warlike materials.

However the flood of Europeans, highly individualistic, and patronisingly superior in their attitudes, was a shock from which they saw only a future of disaster if it was allowed to continue.

At the same time a lawless element among the Europeans who escaped punishment or even correction, gave the Maoris a doubt as to the real effectiveness of Pakeha Law. They as a communal people, moved their homes and villages according to their system of periods of cultivation and periods of rest for their cultivated areas. They were amazed to find that much of their tribal land not actually being cropped was looked on by the Pakeha, both settlers and Government, as 'Waste Lands' on which they cast hungry eyes. Much forest land was the source of food supplies which were gathered under a strict system of seasonal harvesting, and long-established laws of conservation. Travel over such land was on clearly defined traditional native tracks, and the early Maoris were dismayed to find that sale of land was an 'absolute' process which could mean fences across the equivalent of public highways, and prohibition of entry to, or complete devastation of traditional areas for foraging for food.

Thus sale of land became a new matter for the individual Maori. 'Ownership' took on a new significance, and older Maori conceptions of this, superimposed by the harsh application of the methods of individualistic Pakeha law, made for chaos. According to long standing Maori custom, Maori ownership was decided by many factors rising from inter-tribal warfare, and strongly held claims which could lie dormant for long years could be re-opened with vehemence if some circumstances arose which awakened a sensitive memory. These memories, enshrined in a massive body of oral tradition, and often the subject matter of proudly held tribal lore, would be called on to support a variety of claims which only an expert could unravel. Over-simplification of many of these, and hasty actions based on faulty reading of the situations, left bitter memories and a seething ferment of anger among leaders or would-be leaders of the tribes. When Military action against certain tribes caused some other tribe or tribes to side with the Military as 'Friendlies' it was not always the case that these were necessarily loyal to the Crown as such, or vice versa. Age-long disputes over land or
pre-eminence of one chief over another, lay under many such decisions, and they added to the confusion. It is difficult today to realise the depth and intricacy of the feelings of the Maori people of that period.

Mainly as an effort to stabilise the situation, the Kingite movement arose. It was a tragedy that this was interpreted to the authorities as an act of rebellion against the Crown, and steps were taken to crush it. The result was to harden the resistance of the Maori leaders who wished to prevent the wholesale disposal of their lands, and the resulting destruction of their culture. They were distrustful of the effectiveness of Pakeha Law to restrain evil-doers among both peoples, and they sought to establish an area in which the essential elements of their older culture and community law could be applied as a stabilising force. The Waikato leaders had not signed the Treaty of Waitangi, but they saw many of its provisions melting under the Pakeha drive for land. They and also the Taranaki tribes were dismayed at the widespread confiscation of thousands of acres of Maori land as 'punishment' for having fought to preserve it, and some of this confiscation area was actually the homeland of some tribes and groups who had taken no action against the Government. This left a legacy of bitterness and mistrust that will not be eliminated for a long time to come. The long-delayed enquiries into the facts throughout all the Maori areas, and the belated 'token' compensation paid in recent years, have been only partially effective in restoring the confidence of the tribes in the integrity of the authorities. The continuing groundswell of discontent in our day is as understandable as it is regrettable.

It is well to remember that it was in this atmosphere that for long years the Mission of the Wesleyan Church had to be continued, with a bleak but heroic persistence, by a small team of Europeans and faithful Maori workers meeting criticism from both sides.

It is a fact of history that when conflict over land has taken place in any part of the world, and one race — usually the White race — has come out on top, the victors have found it convenient to seal off history at that point, and subsequently to urge the defeated section to forget their grievances and accept the hard facts of history. This capacity to seal off history is a fatal one to any future real settlement, and it can be productive both of White racism, and counter-racism. The cause of renewed trust and mutual respect is not served by violent counter-measures, but at the same time nothing is gained by disregarding the existence of legitimate grievances.

Within Church circles, through years of economic depression, the European Church has tended to judge the effectiveness of the Mission by the extent of financial response of the Maori people in support of the work. Both in local situations and at Annual Conferences, many decisions on policy were made on this factor. In areas where small communities of Maoris were placed under the pastoral care of neighbouring European
Ministers, meetings of officials more than once decided to discontinue services at neighbouring Maori settlements because 'the offerings did not cover the cost of maintaining them'. One might ask, where else in the world is this the criterion for the effectiveness and worthwhileness of Missionary effort? This writer has been told by older workers, of occasions when the Maori Mission report was being considered at the annual Church Conference, and the Ministers set aside as leaders of the Maori work would get up in sheer frustration and leave the building in tears, exclaiming 'These people do not understand!'

Our own day has seen often enough evidences of the same lack of understanding, and the task of the Mission staff has been difficult enough without it. Standing between the Pakeha and Maori worlds, the task of the interpreter remains a costly ministry. Every effort to seek a greater measure of self-support among the Maori membership has been carried out with the knowledge that in some European circles it will be met by disbelief as to its genuineness, and on the other hand by anger on the part of some Maoris, even members of the staff, that it has been raised at all. Only those who have carried the responsibility of leadership in such a situation are really aware of the extent to which the streams of our national life have been poisoned by past errors. There is still a long road to travel towards real unification, and it will call for a steadily maintained programme of patient persistence and intelligent concern on both sides.

The Conference in 1860 recorded the resignation the previous year of H. H. Turton. It was a great pity that a man whose ministry had opened and continued for so long with great effectiveness, should be lost to the work at a time of such need.

The Mission could ill afford to lose any man just then. Now there were more changes. Kirk was sent north to take over the Mangonui appointment where he served until his removal to Nelson in 1863. Stannard settled in at Three Kings for a couple of years until he moved to Hokianga in 1862. W. J. Watkin went to Wanganui to serve the Wanganui and South Taranaki areas. George Buttle went to England with his large family after the death of his wife at Te Kopua, and he was replaced at Waipa by Alexander Reid who had Ngaropi and Patene to assist him in the Circuit. Isaac Harding became the main Circuit Minister in Auck-land with Buddle at Manukau assisted by John Crump and Hohepa Otene. In the Kaipara, Gittos and Hone Waiti were serving; Wallis was at his old appointment at Raglan; Schnackenberg was at Kawhia; Eketone at Mokau; Whiteley in the Maori side and Fletcher in the English department at New Plymouth; W. J. Watkin at Wanganui; Warren, Aldred and Vickers were in Wellington; J. Innes and J. Moorehouse in Nelson and Motueka; James Buller and William Rowse were in Canterbury and Te Kote Te Ratou in the Chatham Islands.
Te Kote (Scott) Te Ratou and Wiremu Patene (William Burton) were received as Maori Probationers in 1859 and Hamiora Ngaropi (Samuel Honeybee) in 1860.

*The Mangungu Mission House.*  
*Returned from Onehunga to its original site in 1972.*
CHAPTER SEVEN

The fifth decade  1862-1872

Crump, Gittos and W. J. Watkin were ordained in 1861. Rowse was sent up to Auckland to work with Isaac Harding; William Cannell was received as a Probationer and appointed to the English work in New Plymouth; Ngaropi went to Hokianga to assist H. H. Lawry; Otene was working at Mangatawhiri on the edge of the Waikato serving in the outer section of the Manukau Circuit; Patene established his base at Karakariki in the Waikato as part of the Waipa Circuit. This was a year of excitement for the wider community in the discovery of gold in Otago, and it created further restlessness.

In 1862 after a distinguished ministry in the Hokianga, H. H. Lawry was moved down to his old appointment at Three Kings Native Institution and he was replaced by Stannard, but the following year Stannard went to Raglan on the retirement of James Wallis. Ngaropi was moved down to Whatawhata in 1862; Rowse took over in Manukau; Buddle moved to Auckland with John Warren; Gittos continued at Kaipara with both the Maori and the Pakeha work in his care, assisted by Hoani Waiti whose two sons later entered the Maori Ministry. The Albertland Settlement in the Kaipara area was begun in the 1860's by a group of English Nonconformists. William Gittos was to fulfil a very helpful ministry at a critical stage of their arrival, by calling to their assistance in establishing their homes a group of Christian Maoris, and this established a close relationship of appreciation and mutual respect in the district.

The outbreak of hostilities in Taranaki now presented a confusion of loyalties and strain for the whole of the southern workers. The European settlements were in a ferment of anxiety. The withdrawal of the country settlers into the towns meant a cessation of cropping and general farm development. The discovery of gold in Otago and the Thames meant a drawing off of many men from the areas of conflict.

In 1863 the death of John Eketone at Mokau and the retirement of James Wallis from Raglan to Auckland meant changes at a rather critical time. Stannard took over Raglan and Aotea, and Rowse went to Hokianga to begin a long ministry there. Schnackenberg had to hold the whole of the rest of the coastline down to North Taranaki. Whiteley reported some responsiveness among the North Taranaki people where his Mana was high, and he continued to use his influence for peace, but the Oakura outbreak precipitated the second phase of the Taranaki War, with the spread of the conflict into the Auckland and Waikato areas.
In 1864 Alexander Reid was transferred from the Waipa appointment to the English Department of the New Plymouth Circuit, and his work at Waipa was placed under the care of J. S. Rishworth who was developing Church work in the settlements on the Waikato and Waipa Rivers. H. H. Lawry became a Supernumerary, and he and John Hobbs endeavoured to keep the work going at Three Kings with the help of a Maori catechist. Whiteley had a big district to cover, and he worked it by going northwards one week, and southwards the next. He would set off early in the week, visiting, and notifying the people of his plans for the services on the following Sunday, and he would then work back on the Sunday, taking the planned services, finishing up at New Plymouth. He had managed to hold an average of from 40 to 60 pupils at the Grey Institution in spite of the conflict going on, until the flare up of the Hau Hau movement under Te Ua Haumene, known as Horopapera. Also in the Waikato, Government attempts to suppress the King Movement there, resulted in further strife, and with this, the Educational work in almost every District collapsed for the time being. In Auckland the authorities gave an ultimatum to the Maoris around the Franklin area and southward, either to sign an oath of allegiance or to get out. The result was that most quietly 'got out', and joined their fellow tribesmen beyond the Mangatawhiri River. So Three Kings Institution closed down.

Thomas Buddle in Auckland was designated 'in charge of Native affairs', and with his wide experience he tried to give confidence to the disturbed staff. The Maori people around Manukau and Lower Waikato were slipping away, and the Educational work was melting away. At this very time, the Australasian Conference decided that New Zealand should be self-supporting as far as the Maori Mission was concerned, and so they followed the earlier lead of the British Conference. In 1865 it was announced that over a five-year period, these grants would be 'phased out', to cease entirely after that. The Australians did not have a clue as to the situation that existed at that time in New Zealand, and their apparent insensitiveness at this critical period was hard to take. The New Zealand Colonial Church had now to handle the task unaided. It was a heavy task for the loyal Church people who were facing a strong wave of hatred in the general community who found it easy to claim that Missions among the Maori had been a complete failure. The racial and national prejudices now began to predominate, and the Mission task among those who were still responsive was carried by a courageous group of men and women who could see beyond the outward facade, and who had an indomitable faith in the rightness of their efforts.

In 1865, Te Kote Te Ratou was withdrawn from the Chathams and stationed in Canterbury, and another Maori Probationer, Hetaraka Warihi (Shadrach Wallis) was accepted and sent over in his place.

With the declining student roll at Three Kings, and the closing of Kai Iwi and Grey Institutions, some of the properties were leased. In addition the Mission Stations found
it difficult to retain groups of scholars in the Mission day and boarding Schools. The Waipa European appointment was left vacant, with the faithful Maori Ministers carrying on the work to the best of their ability. They travelled with the people in their campaigns and wanderings, trying to maintain some pattern of Mission observances and loyalties. High praise should be recorded for this band of Maori preachers and pastors who plodded on in such an unpromising atmosphere.

In May, 1865 Tamihana surrendered on behalf of the Maori King, but the people withdrew into the confines of the King Country, 'Te Rohe Potae' as it was called, behind the Aukati line, and there began a long time of waiting on both sides, for a new atmosphere of trust to develop.

Warren and Wm Morley were holding the Auckland appointments, Wallis Senior and Rishworth in Manukau, John Smith with Ngaropi and Patene in the Raglan area and Waipa, and J. W. Wallis was in Marlborough. Schnackenberg was ordered by the Government to leave the King Country, so he moved up to Aotea first, and then to Raglan, from which place he supervised the coastal area, and the Maori staff through to the Waipa.

The year 1866 saw further changes, and the application of the 'three years rule' meant that Buddle moved to Christchurch and Buller to Auckland, to serve there with James Wallis and Wm Morley. Warren and Rishworth continued in the Manukau appointment. The goldfields were creating new demands for equipment and supplies, and towns began to develop in places adjacent to the goldfields, with the surrounding country areas, especially in the South Island, producing the food supplies. Meanwhile the North Island was bedevilled by the Land Wars. The Colonial Churches continued to make their claims on the available ministers, and the loss of financial support from the Central Funds of the Australasian Conference severely limited the possibility of engaging qualified staff in the Maori field.

Stannard superannuated this year. W. J. Watkin went to the English department in New Plymouth where Whiteley was struggling with the Maori task.

In 1867, Alexander Reid joined Buddle in Canterbury; Morley went to Wellington to work with Kirk; Joseph Berry was appointed to the Waikato European work; Fitchett and J. W. Wallis were in Dunedin, Crump and Vickers in Nelson; and Buddle, Reid, Richardson and Bavin in Christchurch. This illustrates the competing claims of the two departments of the work, and one can trace the dispersal of the familiar Missionary names. Creed retired that year.
The restlessness associated with the rise of the Ringatu Movement, and the efforts of the Authorities to control Te Kooti caused a succession of alarms.

James Wallis finally retired and moved back to Raglan to live in 1868. His sons had purchased farms in the district and had settled there. As the troubles settled down in later years, Schnackenberg remained at Raglan and from there, with the help of the Maori men re-opened such work as was possible.

J. H. Simmonds was received as a Probationer in 1869, and appointed to Waikato where he gained some experience of Maori affairs which stood him in good stead in later years, in his long service as Principal of Wesley College, Three Kings. However this year, the Conference reported with great regret the closing of Three Kings College after twenty years of operation.

This year, 1869, was the year of the tragedy of John Whiteley's death in the thirty-eighth year of his ministry. It was an unbelievable piece of news for Maori and Pakeha alike. A war party from Waikato resolved to attack New Plymouth and destroy the settlement. They took a Maori oath which involved their sacrificing any opponents who might confront them. Under this blood oath, an advance party went ahead to clear the Blockhouse manned by a small detachment of soldiers at Parininihi near Pukearuhe (Whitecliffs) in North Taranaki. They killed several Europeans at the Gascoyne home near Mt Messenger, and then going on to Pukearuhe, they enticed the sentries to leave their post and go down to the beach, on the pretext that they had pigs for sale. They were thus able to kill the soldiers and occupy the Blockhouse and its southern approaches. Hearing of the threat from the North and the reports of violence, Whiteley rode out hoping to be able to restrain and reason with the Maori forces and their leaders. As he rode up the sunken roadway near the Blockhouse, he was challenged and warned to go back, but replied that he could not do so when his children were doing wrong. At this a shot was fired, by whom is not clear, and his horse fell under him. Realising the crisis, Whiteley dropped to his knees in prayer, when further shots rang out and this fine old servant and friend of the Maoris was killed. The story has been told and retold but full details will never be completely clear. What is clear however, is that the advance party of Maoris returned to report to the main body under Wahanui at Awakino that the road was open. The old leader listened with interest until he heard of the death of Whiteley. He ordered an immediate withdrawal to the inland, and undoubtedly this was the beginning of the end of the hostilities. In disgust, he said; 'Here let it end, for the death of Whiteley is more than the death of many men', and the message went from tribe to tribe: 'Kua patua e ahau te kau momona, kua pania a toto ki Parininihi' — that is 'The fatted calf has been slaughtered and the blood has been sprinkled on Parininihi'. The Apostle of peace who had mediated in so many tribal confrontations had at last become a victim of the
unleashed bitterness rising from the clash of the two peoples, and from the long succession of wrongs and misunderstandings that had led to the flare up. The spread of the news among the Maori communities was met by the shamed and saddened tangi of the women in every settlement.

Hamiora Ngaropi, the Maori Minister at New Plymouth had to pick up the threads in Taranaki and hold the work together among a shamed and shocked community. At this time the Colonial Government carried through the policy of wholesale confiscation of thousands of acres of land in Taranaki and South Auckland, to meet the clamour for suitable lands for settlement. In South Taranaki great areas were opened as Maori leasehold sections for Pakeha occupation, and the long delay in gathering and distributing the rental monies, and rectifying in some measure the terrible injustices of the confiscations, left a residue of sullen hatred and mistrust among the Maori people. One result was the rise in Taranaki of the two Maori 'Prophets', Te Withi and Tohu, as well as the active campaigning of Titokowaru who as a young man had been a friend of Skevington.

Schnackenberg began his long struggle to win back the loyalty and support of the people of the King Country with the help of Wiremu Patene. Thomas Buddle moved to Wellington, Kirk to Christchurch, and Rigg to Auckland. It was resolved that Hetaraka Warihi should now return to the main land and be stationed at Wellington to serve the Maori families around the Cook Strait area in both Islands, and this closed the era of the appointments to the Chatham Islands.

In 1871, the Missionary Committee of the Conference recommended to the General Conference that 'New Zealand be permitted to raise a fund which may be applied to the sustentation of the Mission to the Maoris, it being understood that all Connexional funds be sustained as directed by Conference'. In other words, in building this local Mission Fund, it was not to be to the detriment of the annual appeal for the general Missionary work of the Australasian Church of which New Zealand was a part.

In the report to the Conference there appears this statement: 'From his nearness to the disaffected districts the Rev'd C. H. Schnackenberg has been brought into close contact with the late war and its disastrous effects. He reports that through all the melancholy struggle, some of his natives never swerved from their Christian confession, and have successfully resisted all temptation to rapacity, intemperance and revenge. Such natives are mostly quiet and little known, and are too often overlooked in the sweep-ing condemnation of Mission work and its results which are generally indulged in.'
Wiremu Patene added his report, and said: 'Three times during the year I have been to conduct divine worship among the Hauhaus. When I went with Major Mair, after the Hauhaus had concluded their worship, I stood up and said to them "Have you no more remembrance of God or have you forgotten Him?" They replied, "We have not forgotten Him". So I preached and conducted worship with three hundred. When I went with Mangonui, a chief of Ngapuhi at Tokongamutu, the Hauhaus assembled and had their worship, after which I stood up and said, "Now let us have true worship". Tawhiao was present and five hundred others, and there were no scorners among them.'

So closed the first half Century. After a discouraging start in 1822 and a period of little response, there had come the later encouragement and expansion of the mid-fourties and fifties, and then the shattering set-backs of the Land Wars and their aftermath in the 1860's.

Now there was a lovely garden of rich soil, devastated and full of the seeds of noxious weeds, and in such a field a small ill-supported band of workers had to set to work to restore things — a task to dismay the most sanguine. Now we turn to the second half-Century, — one which was to be largely a period of dogged holding on, and patiently sowing good seed in this weed-infested soil.