Toil and Adversity at Whangaroa by Dr. C.H.Laws
TOIL AND ADVERSITY AT WHANGAROA.

It has often been pointed out that the remarkable missionary movement of modern times was one of the immediate fruits of the Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century. John Wesley died in 1791. In the following year the Baptist Missionary Society began its work, in 1795 the London Missionary Society sent out its first agents, in 1799 the Church Missionary Society commenced its activities, and in 1804 the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded. The facts speak for themselves. And on the broad current of this new-born zeal Methodism itself was borne to far lands, and among them to New Zealand and the South Seas. Her agents were the first, early in the nineteenth century, to establish the Christian faith in Tonga and Fiji, and, in later years, to bring the light of the Gospel to New Britain, to the populous islands off the Papuan coast, and to the Western Solomons. In New Zealand the Anglican Mission preceded the arrival of the Methodists by less than a decade.

The early history of the Methodist Mission is of interest to all students of the Maori people and of the development of the Dominion in its first formative years. It played a part, second only to that of the Anglican Mission, as a civilising force, familiarising the native people with Christian ideals, preparing them for the acceptance of British rule, and, at a critical hour, when the acceptance of the Treaty of Waitangi was in doubt, casting its full weight on the side of the Crown.

The favourable influence of the two Missions in the important quarter of a century preceding the arrival of Captain Hobson is placed beyond doubt by Hobson's own testimony. He said, when addressing the Legislative Council in 1841—"Whatever difference of opinion may be entertained as to the value and extent of the labours of the Missionary Body, there can be no doubt that they have rendered important service to the country or that but for them a British colony would not at this moment be established in New Zealand." And to this testimony may be added that of William Gisborne, who in his "The Colony of New Zealand," is still more outspoken. He records his judgement in the following words—"Had it not been for the preliminary work of the missionaries I feel sure that the British colonisation of New Zealand . . . would have been retarded for at least a generation, and I am inclined to think that prolonged scenes of bloodshed, if not the extermination of the Maoris, would have preceded colonisation."
Chapter I

The sources of information regarding the establishment and progress of the Methodist Mission are various and far from being of equal value. Through the foresight of the Connexional {Secretary of the Church, the Rev. M. A. R. Pratt, F.R.Hist.S., we have now in New Zealand triplicate copies of the extensive correspondence between the missionaries on the field and the Missionary Committee in London, including also extracts from their journals and other valuable matter. These documents range from 1817 to 1853. Further, the originals of various journals which have escaped the ravages of time are preserved in the library of Trinity Theological College and include the diary of William White, contemporaneous with the beginning of the Mission at Whangaroa; several journals of John Hobbs, who joined the Mission within a few weeks of its initiation and successfully led its re-establishment at Hokianga; also journals of Thomas Buddle and George Buttle, and the most interesting journal which Mrs. White kept at Hokianga during her husband's residence there.

Valuable information is found in the biographies of Samuel Leigh by Alexander Strachan, of Nathaniel Turner by J. G. Turner, of J. H. Bumby by Alfred Barrett, and in James Butler's "Forty Years in New Zealand." The two volumes of Dr. J. R. Elder— "The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden" and "Marsden's Lieutenants"—afford important sidelights upon the beginnings of the Methodist work. Dr. G. H. Scholefield's "Dictionary of New Zealand Biography" contains many biographical sketches of notable Maori and European figures of the early missionary days. Three incisive letters to Bishop Selwyn by the Rev. H. H. Turton and bearing upon controversial matters are found in the appendix to William Brown's "New Zealand and its Aborigines." Dr. William Morley devotes a third of his comprehensive "History of Methodism in New Zealand" to the Maori Mission, nearly one half of the Rev. W. J. Williams' "Centenary Sketches of New Zealand Methodism" covers the same ground, and the Rev. M. A. R. Pratt's "The Pioneering Days of Southern Maoriland" gives a realistic account of the Methodist Mission in the South Island. A thesis written by Mr. T. G. M. Spooner on "Missionary Enterprise in New Zealand before 1870" contains an able summary of the facts, with some interesting comments thereupon.

Almost all who attempt the story of the establishment of the Methodist Mission rely upon Strachan's "Life of Samuel Leigh" for their purpose. Students, however, should be on their guard against the errors of his often confused narrative. Even such an authority as James Buller, as well as Morley and Williams, are led astray on important points. Strachan dates the arrival of Samuel Leigh in 1822 as being in February instead of January. He places the Native Institution established at Three Kings, adjacent to Auckland, on the Three Kings Islands to the far north. He locates the wreck of the Brampton, on which Marsden and Leigh were returning to Sydney in 1823, and which took place on the Brampton Reef within the Bay of Islands, on a
"desolate island" off the New Zealand coast, stating that the captain and others, seeking assistance, "sailed in an open boat to New Zealand," and speaking of their fear lest they should lose their way thither. And there is a further amazing statement. The Mission at Whangaroa was established in June. Strachan gives an account of the missionaries cultivating their ground and of the natives being encouraged to follow their example. He then describes the chiefs approaching the Mission house with the sheaves of their first harvest and Leigh's delight at "the first crop reaped by aborigines from the virgin soil of Wesleydale." But Samuel Leigh arrived at Whangaroa in June and left in the following August never to return, and it may safely be said that not even the magic soil of Wesleydale could produce a harvest in those few winter months.
Chapter II

The establishment of the Methodist Mission was due in large measure to the intimate friendship between Samuel Marsden and Samuel Leigh. Marsden was a clergyman of broad and catholic sympathies. He was a man of Yorkshire, born in 1765, and was, says Dr. Elder, "in common with many others in Yorkshire in the latter part of the eighteenth century dominated by the spirit of piety born of the new evangelical movement originating in the work of John Wesley, and the mind of the growing boy was thus from his earliest years directed to spiritual things." His parents were Methodists, and Strachan tells us that Marsden himself was, in early life, a member of the Wesleyan Society in Leeds, and that "by a peculiar train of events he was led to connect himself with the Church of England and had assigned to him the chaplaincy of New South Wales." Those were days when many of the Methodist people, while meeting in their own societies, retained their connection with the Established Church, the movement being regarded by them as one within that Communion. "This apostolic man," says Strachan, "finding that his own Church was not prepared to respond to his numerous applications for missionaries, encouraged by every means in his power the agents of the London Missionary Society on the one hand, and opened the way to New Zealand for the Wesleyans on the other."

Samuel Leigh arrived in New South Wales on August 10th 1815, having been appointed there by the British Wesleyan Conference at the urgent request of Messrs. Bowden and Hawkins, two London schoolmasters then in charge of charity schools in Sydney. On his arrival he found four chaplains of the Church of England in residence, of whom the senior was Samuel Marsden, who had arrived on March 10th 1794, over twenty years before. Their friendship began immediately and was maintained throughout the following years.
Chapter III

The Anglican Mission to New Zealand, the second to be established by the Church Missionary Society, was begun in 1814, Marsden preaching the first sermon on Christmas Day of that year. The view then widely obtained that a certain degree of civilisation among a native people must precede their evangelisation. This was the method adopted by the London Missionary Society in their abortive attempt to establish their work in Tonga, and Marsden's views are clearly expressed in his words quoted in Stock's "History of the Church Missionary Society." He says—"Nothing in my opinion can pave the way for the introduction of the Gospel but civilisation … The arts and religion should go together. The attention of the heathen can be gained and their vagrant habits corrected only by the arts. Till their attention is gained and moral and industrious habits are induced little or no progress can be made in teaching them the Gospel. To preach the Gospel without the arts will never succeed among the heathen for any time." It thus came about that the Anglican Mission was a lay one, no clergyman being a member of it, and that its first aim was to prepare the way for ordained missionaries by initiating the natives into the elements of civilisation and, in the process, displaying to them the Christian life and character by the intercourse between them and the lay missionary agents. "The Mission was to take the form of a settlement," says Purchase, "and the missionaries were to be settlers as well as catechists."

This is no place to discuss the initial difficulties of the Anglican Mission or to describe the unhappy dissensions that disturbed its members. But within a few years Marsden had become profoundly uneasy and he suggested to Samuel Leigh, whose health was much impaired, that he should visit New Zealand, take counsel with the members of the Mission, and, no doubt, report to him on its state and prospects. This Leigh did, arriving at the Bay of Islands in the Active on May 5th 1819 and leaving on June 17th. It is interesting to note that during his stay he made, with the Anglicans Kendall and Gordon, his first visit to Whangaroa and spent a night there. These weeks of contact with New Zealand and its people kindled in Leigh's heart the desire that a Mission should be undertaken by his own Church, which should work in harmony with that of the Church of England.

There was however some delay before he could accomplish this. His health became worse and in 1820 he was compelled to visit England. He there urged the missionary authorities of the Wesleyan Church to facilitate his commencing work in New Zealand and also to open a Mission in Tonga. Their liabilities were too heavy to allow of their accepting these fresh responsibilities but they gave Leigh permission to solicit gifts in kind throughout England. The appeal which he at once made was conspicuously successful and he collected a miscellaneous assortment, ranging from hardware and textiles to fishhooks and wedding rings, sufficient in value, we are told, to maintain…
the young Mission for almost five years. All hesitancy was thus removed and Leigh himself was appointed to begin the work. He returned to New South Wales and, leaving Sydney, again in the Active, on the last day of 1821 he arrived at the Bay of Islands on January 22nd. 1822, receiving a warm welcome from the Church of England people, who now included the Rev. John Butler, their first ordained clergyman. It is interesting to note that, as he states in his volume "Journal of a Deputation to the Southern World," the Rev. Robert Young, who visited Australia and New Zealand in 1853 in preparation for the setting up of an Australasian Conference, had been selected as Leigh's colleague but was transferred to the West Indies.
Chapter IV

Sixteen long months were to pass before the Mission was begun and during that time every form of friendly assistance was rendered by the Anglican missionaries. The Leighs resided with William Hall, one of their number, and for the last three months James Stack and Luke Wade, who were to be employed as helpers, were also accommodated in the same home. "We have sat at one table and been as one family," records Hall in his journal. It had been intended to commence the work in the Thames and Mercury Bay district, where Hinaki, who had in Sydney promised Leigh his support, was the paramount chief. This district covered a wide area, stretching from the Waitemata southward and included the site of the present city of Auckland. But fierce inter-tribal wars had broken out- Hongi, the invincible warrior of the north, had left the Bay of Islands in September of the year preceding Leigh's arrival, with fifty canoes carrying two thousand fighting men armed with muskets, and had decimated the people among whom the Mission was to be established. In a great battle, which raged about the Tamaki, Hinaki had been slain and his people scattered or enslaved. So complete was the destruction that even in 1833 Henry Williams found the countryside covered with fern, in which here and there an axe-cloven skull was found, but there was, he says, not a sign of an inhabitant in any direction.

It therefore became necessary to find another location for the Mission. Where should this be? The Waikato was open but it was largely a terra incognita. Hokianga and the Kaipara were available, but it was agreed that the Mission should be established so that there might be communication by water with the Anglicans and these places involved arduous journeys by land. From the first Leigh seems to have had his eye on Whangarei. Strachan tells us that he "hired a fisher's boat and five natives" and, without European companions, set out to visit that district, but was driven northwards and after a perilous night at sea entered Whangaroa harbour a second time. There he met with no favourable reception. Hustled by the natives he flung a handful of fishhooks among them and, making good his escape to the boat, safely returned to the Bay of Islands. Later, Hongi having expressed a wish that the Mission should be established at Oruru, some seventy miles north of the Bay of Islands, where one of his sisters resided, Leigh and Butler explored that locality early in April, 1823. According to his companion Leigh had made up his mind to commence his work there had the conditions been favourable, but, says Butler, "there is no harbour for any ship to go into and a very deep and dangerous bay to the very bottom of which every vessel must go in order to reach the inlet to Oruru." The project was therefore abandoned.

So the months passed and no decision was reached. In further explanation of the delay it should be said that Leigh was waiting for the arrival of William White, and probably also for Nathaniel Turner, who had been appointed by the British Conference as his assistants. Writing from New Zealand to the Missionary Secretaries in London on
November 16th, 1822 he said—"We shall remain at the Bay of Islands until Brother White or someone arrives to assist in the Mission, inasmuch as it would be presumptuous to go to any place in this land by myself." He regrets the delay and its cost to the Missionary Society, but assures the authorities that he is acting in accordance with the mind of those who know better than himself.
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Chapter V

On May 15th, 1823 William White arrived at the Bay of Islands after a tedious passage of nearly four weeks from Sydney. He found Leigh anxiously awaiting him and ready to proceed to Whangarei, which White describes as "the place fixed upon for our missionary situation and scene of our future labours." No time was lost. The goods and effects of the Mission were got on board the St. Michael, in which White had crossed from Sydney, generous assistance from the Church of England missionnaires was forthcoming, and, all arrangements being completed, the vessel left the Bay at noon on May 26th, the natives "saluting with their muskets." With a fair breeze and a smooth sea she passed Cape Brett at 3 p.m. and by daylight was off Whangarei Heads. Wind and tide prevented her anchoring within the harbour until eight o'clock that night. The Methodist Mission party on board consisted of Samuel Leigh and his wife, William White, James Stack (a lay agent) and Luke Wade (an artizan). They were accompanied, on Leigh's invitation, by the Rev. John Butler and Messrs William Hall and James Shepherd of the Anglican Mission. Butler and Shepherd had accompanied Marsden on his brief visit to the Whangarei district in 1820 and thus knew something of those parts. Mrs. Shepherd and Mrs. Beveridge, the captain's wife, were also on the St. Michael.

From May 28th to June 3rd the vessel lay at anchor within the Heads, while frequent journeys were made in the ship's boat in various directions in search of a suitable location for the Mission. On the third day, being then some twenty miles from the ship, they discovered a most eligible spot, "about six miles up a fine river," with several hundred acres of level, fertile land contiguous to the stream, and abundance of timber. But here, as elsewhere, the settlements had been plundered and burnt and the people slain or driven to flight in the fierce wars of a few years before. Thus it was that after discussing the situation with a number of native chiefs, who had been brought on board the vessel, a conference was held on June 2nd, over which Captain Beveridge presided, and it was unanimously agreed to abandon the project of a Mission at Whangarei and to proceed to Whangaroa. The St. Michael weighed anchor on the following morning, and after some delay, occasioned by her grounding on a sandbank, proceeded northwards on the afternoon of the 4th. She passed the entrance of the Bay of Islands during the forenoon of the 5th and at sunset anchored outside the Heads of Whangaroa Harbour.

During the night the vessel was warped up into the harbour and on the morning of Friday, June 6th at daylight they found themselves surrounded by an excited throng of natives in their canoes. As the early mist dispersed and their view extended they were enraptured by the great, land-locked expanse in which they found themselves, and by the beautiful valley that extended inland from its shores. They were eager at once to explore the district and to determine where the Mission should be established. There
were broadly speaking two localities. They might settle among the Ngati-Pou, the tribe adjacent to the harbour, whose canoes were already about the vessel and whose powerful chief was Te Part. Or they might proceed up the valley and locate themselves at Kaeo among the Ngati-Huruhuru, whose chiefs were Te Puhi, Te Ara (George), and Nga-Huruhuru, three brothers.

They were not long in setting about their explorations. After breakfast on the day of their arrival a boat was manned with Butler, Leigh, Hall, Shepherd and White on board. They passed over the remains of the Boyd and "could see the logs of cedar in her hold, not more than three feet under water." They examined various bays and inlets in the lower harbour. They then proceeded up the river to the large native settlement at the head of the valley. The chief, George, apprised of their approach, met them and entered the boat. His first words revealed the temper of the man— "I am glad to see you and you are free to come and live at my place, but you cannot have pigs or trees for anything but muskets and powder." It was mid-afternoon when they arrived and excited crowds received them. They were welcomed, given refreshment and bidden to come and settle. And when at seven o'clock that day they had returned to the St. Michael, accompanied by George, they felt that the arguments in favour of their settlement at Kaeo were forceful and numerous. "The native village," records William Hall, "is a very inviting situation for missionary labours as there are great numbers of natives, with plenty of land and both wood and water convenient." And White, who had an eye for situation and practical advantages, says—"There are plenty of people, under three powerful chiefs, plenty of excellent timber to answer all the purposes for which we may want it, plenty of excellent fresh water and good land which may very soon be brought into good cultivation."

On Saturday, the 7th, despite rough north-easterly weather, they further explored the lower harbour and found many populous villages and, says Butler, "a wide field for missionary operations." But Te Pari, the chief of the Ngati-Pou was absent at war and the claims of his people suffered. And on the other hand George was on board the St. Michael and was accompanied by one of his brothers. There were long discussions with them and they were full of promises to welcome the missionaries and to protect them. Thus the advantages of the site at Kaeo out-weighed all other considerations, and it was that day decided to settle there and to determine on a location for the Mission buildings early the following week. Then came their first Sunday at Whangaroa. It was a stormy day and the services were held on board the St. Michael. In the morning Leigh preached what has sometimes been regarded as the first sermon of the Mission. It was delivered to the ship's company on the text—"Then Samuel took a stone and set it between Mizpeh and Shen and called the name of it Ebenezer, saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." (I Sam. 7:12) In the evening Mr. Butler preached on the passage—"Know ye not that ye are the temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you ?" (I Cor. 3:16)
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After the lapse of years it is of small profit to raise the question as to how far the decision to settle at Kaeo was a wise one or to ask what the story of the Mission might have been had the work been commenced among the Ngati-Pou. But it is significant that within seven months Nathaniel Turner was advocating the establishment among these people of a second station. He had by then become intensely critical of the Kaeo natives and of their treatment of the Mission. He finds the long journey up the river, which is navigable only at high tide, and by which all stores have to be brought up from the harbour, costly and wasteful of time. He commends Te Pari's people, who, he says, are "more numerous and more favourable to the missionaries." But, he adds, if a new station is begun it must be additional to that at Kaeo, for the two tribes involved are "none too friendly" and there would be serious trouble if the station begun there were transferred to the Heads. No second station was established and in less than four years, as we shall see, the missionaries fled from Kaeo.
Chapter VI

The decision to settle at Kaeo having been taken there followed ten days of the most strenuous labour amid tempestuous weather. On Tuesday, June 10th, after a day spent in coming to a decision, the site of the Mission buildings was determined upon. It lay across the river from George's village and is now marked by the Memorial Cairn dedicated during the Centenary Celebrations. In the evening Leigh and Butler returned to the ship, while White, Hall and Shepherd remained, sleeping in a rough shed hastily erected. The ground was sodden with the heavy rains and they "put two hen-coops together and made a bed upon them." The next day the men toiled incessantly, clearing the site, levelling the ground, bridging a rivulet which lay between them and the village, making a slender wharf for landing goods and a path thence to the Mission site. The workers included men from the ship. On the first night two axes disappeared, the prelude to many acts of thievery.

On Thursday Leigh and Butler came up from the St. Michael and during the days that followed timber was cut in the dripping forest, where the crew of the Boyd had been killed, and was brought out through a swamp in which the workmen were up to their knees in mud and water. A raupo house was erected and a large tent was set up and floored with boards and a part divided off to serve as a bedroom. It was in this tent
that Leigh spent his first night at Wesleydale, as the Mission settlement was now called, protected from the drifting rain by a cask into which he had retired. A store also was set up for the goods which were coming up from the vessel. Leigh had brought from Sydney a twelve months' supply of flour and the parts of a permanent dwelling house. Their live stock, consisting of a cow and goats and numerous poultry, were provided for. The natives, except those who were persuaded to render assistance, looked on with amazement and scorn at white men toiling like slaves. They were "teasing and insolent," says White. Cases were broached, goods disappeared, casks were mysteriously spirited away.

Finally, in the afternoon of Saturday, June 21st, the ladies came up from the St. Michael and Mrs. Leigh was introduced to her new home. She was "pleased with the place and the work done," says the contemporary diarist. But little did she foresee the trouble that awaited her or the brevity of her stay. On the preceding Sunday, when, Leigh being absent on the ship, White and Shepherd read the Scriptures and the little company prayed together both morning and evening, their devotions were sadly disturbed by uproar in the village. A war party had returned and preparations were being made for a cannibal feast. But Sunday, June 22nd, was a peaceful day. Captain Beveridge and Mr. Butler had come up to breakfast and the first regular services of the Mission were held. In the morning Mr. Butler preached on "And they remembered His words" (Luke 24:8), and in the evening Samuel Leigh's text was "Unto Thee, 0 Lord, do I lift up my soul (Psalm 25:1). On the 24th Butler returned to the Bay of Islands and Hall left on the day following. They had been absent from their own Mission a full month and had rendered invaluable aid to their Methodist brethren. Shepherd remained some time longer, and with him Mrs. Shepherd.
Chapter VII

The zeal that had marked the opening days of the Mission did not abate with the departure of these friends. They set to work at once with the building of the permanent Mission House for which the parts had been brought from Sydney. They continued to fell trees for timber and brought out the logs with infinite labour. The Mission premises were fenced and the hastily erected buildings were made more convenient and secure. Shepherd alone was proficient in the Maori language. The others, with his help, gave themselves to its study as time permitted. They constantly sought contact with the natives, visiting their villages and speaking with those that came about the Mission settlement. The first native service was held on Sunday, June 29th. There were some fifty present and Shepherd gave the address.

But Samuel Leigh was a sick man and, though his interest and devotion remained undiminished, he could give little leadership. He soon felt that the great task to which he had put his hand was beyond his strength. He had made but meagre progress in mastering the language. He was emotionally over-wrought and on one occasion broke down in conducting family worship. He began to speak of returning to Sydney and his brethren saw that he must do so and were deeply disturbed.

Meanwhile Marsden crossed the Tasman on his fourth visit to New Zealand. He left Sydney in the Brampton on July 22nd, 1823 and arrived at the Bay of Islands on August 3rd. There were with him on board the Rev. Henry Williams and Mr. W. T. Fairburn, with their wives and families, coming to reinforce the Anglican Mission, and the Rev. Nathaniel Turner, with Mrs. Turner and her infant daughter and a maid, and Mr. John Hobbs, whose destination was the Methodist Mission. Immediately on arrival the party received news that the new Mission had been established at Whangaroa. The captain of the Brampton was under engagement to convey Turner and Hobbs to their destination if it were within fifty miles of the Bay of Islands. He refused to take them to Whangaroa. Impatient of delay they proceeded overland on foot to make arrangements for the transport of Mrs. Turner and their belongings. They arrived in the afternoon of August 6th and found their brethren, tools in hand, working at the dwelling house.

Two days later Turner was back at the Bay. He brought a letter, written at the request of Leigh, who was too ill himself to write, begging Marsden to come and see him and to aid him in bringing to completion the purchase of the Mission site, about which the chief George was making difficulties. Turner, laying stress upon Leigh's illness, urged a favourable response. At once Marsden went to the rescue. He engaged the Snapper, a small cutter of thirty tons, and, taking the Turners with him, proceeded to Whangaroa, arriving on August 15th. He found Leigh seriously ill and recommended him to return to Sydney. He inspected the land which had been purchased from the natives. It was seven acres in extent. Leigh had asked them to fix the price and then
had generously given them double the amount. Marsden examined the area, fixed the boundaries, secured the tribal marks of the chiefs and completed the transaction. And when in after years all land titles were subject to Government inspection this title was declared unassailable and the property fairly acquired. The site is still in the possession of the Methodist Church. In the early morning of August 19th Marsden and Leigh left Wesleydale and reached the Bay of Islands the same evening. Leigh never returned to New Zealand. He had been eighteen months in the country and only eight weeks"\(^\text{, at Whangaroa. Mr. and Mrs. Shepherd also left with Marsden after ten weeks of invaluable cooperation with the Mission. White, too, left Wesleydale en route to Sydney, where he hoped to marry. The lady however declined to come to New Zealand and he returned alone after some six weeks."

It was Marsden's intention to return to Sydney in the Brampton and to take Leigh with him. But unfortunately the vessel, in leaving the Bay of Islands on September 7th, came to grief. She twice missed stays in working out against a strong easterly wind and found herself in but three fathoms of water at high tide, "with a rocky bottom and a shoal of rocks on her lea." The anchor was let go, but as the tide fell the ship began to strike and in the end became a total wreck. She lay some two miles off Moturoa Island and Leigh was taken ashore in a rough sea, and spent two uncomfortable days and nights on the island before aid came from Kerikeri. It was not till November 14th that the voyage could be resumed in the Dragon, which reached Sydney on the 30th.

A decade later, when disputes arose between the two Missions regarding the occupation of new territory. Henry Williams, writing to White, who was then in charge of the Methodist work, spoke of Whangaroa as "a place specially nominated by Mr. Marsden for myself," and criticised the Methodist occupation on the ground that it was a contravention of the understanding that the two Missions should not operate within a hundred miles of each other. He also reminds his Methodist brethren that Hokianga, which they had by that time occupied, was nearer to the Anglican stations than Whangaroa, and that it was a place with which the Church of England Mission had frequent communication, the natives of the two localities being closely related to each other. Williams however, somewhat weakens his case by adding..."True, your movements were made with the consent and approval of the Church Mission." White's reply is that when the Methodist Mission was opened at Whangaroa they did not know of Marsden's intention to station Henry Williams there. The statement must be accepted, for Leigh, who was Marsden's intimate friend, would never have been guilty of forestalling his plans, had he known them. At the same time it is to be noted that Marsden, in his journal, states that he had already written to Mr. Shepherd, who accompanied the Methodist party to Whangaroa, informing him that he was to proceed with Williams to the proposed new station.
If Shepherd had received this information he must have observed a strict silence to his Methodist friends, as also must other of Leigh's Anglican helpers, unless Shepherd had also concealed the matter from them. Marsden's own words, however, clearly indicate that he had no sense of grievance and that he approved of what had been done. He records in his journal—"The station the Rev. Samuel Leigh has chosen is a very important one and I hope the Mission will succeed in that very spot where so many of our countrymen were sacrificed and eaten by the natives ... It appeared to me very providential that the Rev. Samuel Leigh had fixed upon this spot for their missionary labours, as they might keep up a communication with the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society by land and be of mutual advantage to each other." So Henry Williams went to Paihia and initiated the work there, to the lasting good of the Anglican Mission, and work was found for Shepherd elsewhere.
Chapter VIII

We may here pause a while to survey the prospects of the Mission. Its agents were Nathaniel Turner, William White, John Hobbs, James Stack and Luke Wade. "They are all young men," said Marsden as he boarded the Snapper and left them. Turner was 30, White was 29, Hobbs was 23, Stack was 22, and Wade was unmarried. Mrs. Turner with her maid and infant daughter were the only females of the party.

Nathaniel Turner was trained in an Anglican home and converted among the Wesleyans. He offered himself to the British Conference for missionary work in 1820. He was ordained to the ministry in 1822, with William White, who had been received by the Conference a year previously. He and White were fellow-passengers in the Deveron, which arrived in Tasmania in June 1822. Hearing that war had delayed the establishment of the New Zealand Mission, Turner remained in Hobart while his companion went on to Sydney. In April 1823 Turner arrived in Sydney to find that White had recently left to join Leigh in New Zealand. John Hobbs had arrived in Tasmania early in 1823 and through Turner had become interested in the New Zealand Mission. He accompanied Turner to Sydney and with him crossed to New Zealand, arriving on August 3rd. After the catastrophe of 1827 Turner, with the other members of the Mission, returned to Sydney. Thence he went to Tonga and after a term in that Mission was appointed to Hobart, where he remained for four years. He then removed to Sydney and after a brief term there came back to New Zealand, at the special request of the Missionary Committee, as Chairman of the District. In 1839 he was succeeded by the Rev. John H. Bumby. After terms in Tasmania and New South Wales he passed away at Brisbane in 1864. He was a man of ability and power, beloved of his brethren, wise in counsel, strong in administration, and of him it may be said that "all were swift to follow whom all loved." It was unfortunate that his connection with the New Zealand Mission lasted only eight years and that it was not continuous. Many difficulties might have been obviated had he been in charge during the years he was absent in Tonga.

William White belonged to a vastly different type. He was, says one still living, who in youth often saw him, a tall, well-seeming man. He had force and initiative and was, on John Whiteley's testimony, "a man of indefatigible industry." We have Turner's estimate in the words—"Mr. White's talents are certainly of a superior kind for this Mission." It was White who, within eighteen months of the arrival at Whangaroa, set off on an extensive journey southwards to the Thames district to explore the possibility of work there. It was a notable venture in those days and no other Methodist got so far for many years. White and Turner knelt side by side to receive ordination and were together appointed to the New Zealand Mission. Both at Whangaroa, after Leigh's departure, and at Hokianga White was the senior missionary and he was for some time Chairman of the District. But his journals show him to
have been deficient in some of the essential qualities of leadership. They give the impression of a central instability, of one fighting a battle with himself and not always with success. He was a man of moods, now almost overwhelmed in the trough of the seas, now borne upon their high crests. At critical moments he lacked a proper self-control. He could not well abide the tests of status and authority and lost the confidence of his brethren. His sincerity and faithfulness in the first days of the Mission none could deny. But he suffered from the slow invasion of a worldly spirit and became increasingly a man of business and affairs. The secular interests of the Mission absorbed him until, as one of his brethren said, he became "a kind of missionary merchant." Strong differences developed between him and Hobbs and Stack. It was in part at least a collision of temperaments, but by no means solely that, and it led to Hobbs going to Tonga and to Stack retiring from the Mission. There were other and graver faults, and in the end White ceased to be a missionary and entered wholly into business.

John Hobbs was a man of Kent. He was converted at the age of sixteen and soon became a local preacher. He was moved to go to Tasmania to seek work among the convict population. There he was offered employment by the Church Missionary Society which he declined. He met Nathaniel Turner and was led to offer himself for the Wesleyan Mission and received appointment as a lay missionary. Later he was received into the ranks of the ministry. In the opening sentences of his journal he speaks of himself as "engaged as a mechanic in the Wesleyan Mission," and so late as February 1826 he records —"My daily employment has been principally that of a mechanic." He is most precise in his record and there are pages in which he seems to enter every nail driven, every board sawn, the employment of every hour. He was a man of the most practical and versatile gifts and John Warren tells us that during his many journeys through the north, in later years, "he was accustomed to tune the pianos of the settlers, to repair their clocks, to adjust their spectacles, to bud and graft their fruit trees, to give plans for their buildings and boats, to attend their sick and occasionally to perform not unimportant operations." But the passion of the true missionary for the souls of men glowed deeply within him and he stands among the foremost servants of the Mission. He mastered the language and spoke it in its most pure and idiomatic form, and in later years took an important part in the translation of the Scriptures. He won the confidence of the native people and became the counsellor of great chiefs. With sound judgement and tireless zeal he led the reestablishment of the Mission at Hokianga. It was under his guidance that the property at Mangungu was acquired, the station planned and the first buildings erected. In 1833 he removed to Tonga but through Turner's influence he re-entered the New Zealand Mission and remained upon its staff till his retirement from active work in 1858. After a long eventide he passed away in 1883. A biography of this devoted man, for which the materials are not lacking, would have power to move our hearts to-day.
James Stack was a native of Portsmouth, born in 1801, and came to Australia with his elder brother. On the eve of his leaving England he experienced a religious quickening which influenced his whole life. In Sydney he united with the Methodist people in fellowship and, feeling a call to missionary work, he consulted Marsden and Leigh. On their advice he offered for service in the New Zealand Methodist Mission which was about to be undertaken. He was one of the original party at Whangaroa and took a part, second only to that of Hobbs, in the re-establishment of the work at Hokianga. He proved himself a faithful and courageous man, he became an able Maori linguist, and until 1831 he rendered invaluable service to the Mission as a lay agent. In that year he visited England and while there, owing to differences with the Missionary Committee, he retired from the Methodist work and entered the ministry of the Church of England. He returned to New Zealand in 1834 and laboured successfully under the Church Missionary Society till 1847, when he suffered a break-down in health. He returned to England and passed away in his native town at the venerable age of 82.

Something of the quality of the man is seen in Hobbs' testimony when the Whangaroa difficulties were at their height—"I should not fear these savages if I remained among them with no other European than brother Stack."

Luke Wade was also a member of the original party and in his own sphere served the Mission well both at Whangaroa and at Hokianga. He was a seafaring man and especially useful in handling the boats when journeys were made by sea to the Bay of Islands. He had been engaged by Leigh as a general servant of the Mission and his services were many and varied. In 1824 he left Whangaroa for England and was there married. He and his wife travelled to New Zealand by different vessels, probably because no accommodation could be found for her on the vessel on which he worked his passage; and she arrived six months before him. They both returned to New Zealand with Hobbs and Stack and assisted in the work at Hokianga until 1830 when they retired and went back to Australia.
Chapter IX

It was this little company of devoted men who, in the winter of 1823, set foot in the Whangaroa valley—a dark and tormented land. They had received none of the preparatory training accessible to the modern missionary. They had to learn as they went, to encounter perils which experience might have avoided, to stumble and rise again. Their supreme qualification was that they knew by personal experience the power of converting grace and believed that the most abject savage might become a man of God. They sought to acquaint themselves with the mind of the people, to master their speech, to understand their habits and customs, to penetrate their prejudice and reserve, to lead them from darkness into light and from the enslavement of Satan unto God.

The high repute of the Maori people, their chivalry, courage, hospitality when not inflamed by the passions of revenge and war, have often been enlarged upon and need no emphasis here. But the Whangaroa natives of that day were dominated by lawless and unscrupulous men. In the record of that inhospitable region the Boyd was destroyed in 1809 and some seventy of its people killed and eaten; the schooner Endeavour was attacked in 1824 and saved only by the intervention of the missionaries; the brig Mercury was plundered and destroyed in 1825. There were, as we have seen, three powerful chiefs, brothers, whose father had been killed in the explosion on the Boyd. They were Te Puhi, Te Ara, commonly known among Europeans by his adopted name of George, and Nga Huruhuru. (In the spelling of these names there are variations in the early records. Te Ara often appears as Tara or Taraia.) Te Puhi was older than George but we have no indication of Nga Huruhuru's age.

Major R. A. Cruise of the Dromedary, which vessel spent a considerable time at Whangaroa in 1820, frequently met these men. He tells us in his "New Zealand One Hundred Years Ago" that Nga Huruhuru "proved himself to be quiet, industrious and well-conducted." On this estimate he would seem to have been a better type of man than Te Puhi or George. In the missionary records he is seldom mentioned. Whatever his personal attitude to the missionaries may have been he does not seem to have had much influence in restraining the violence of others, yet he is not spoken of as one who promoted disturbance. Cruise has, however, no good word to speak for his brothers. He describes the notorious George as "rather under middle size in stature but strong and well made." He was fond of spirits and "a very small quantity made him drunk, in which state he was outrageous." There was, Cruise tells us, "something singularly cautious, mistrustful and uncomfortable in his manner," and at times "his action was so violent that he became unable to articulate and was obliged to pause to recover himself." It was this capricious and passionate man who was the ringleader in most of the trouble that arose between the natives and the missionaries, and White,
who took his measure at once, stigmatised him, within a few weeks, as "one of the most bare-faced villains I have met." His brother, Te Puhi, proved a good second to him in depravity.

"They rule us with a despotic sway," writes Turner. And we hear of constant menaces, of invasions of the Mission premises, of daring thefts by day and night, of contempt and insolence in which the very children join, of hideous dances and obscenities before the missionaries' eyes. Turner is speared and would have been killed had not the weapon broken as it struck him. White is thrown to the ground and threatened with death, and on another occasion is seized by the throat while a tomahawk is brandished over his head. There were days when it seemed as though the whole Mission might be swept away. A chief was overheard to tell his visitor that they had determined to terrify the missionaries, but, he added, "They are a courageous tribe."

The Methodist missionaries suffered many disadvantages. They had no Ruatara to welcome them as the Anglicans had. There was no Hongi at hand to give them protection. There were only the perfidious George and his brothers. And the Methodists had no Marsden. It was he who fathered the Anglican Mission in seven important visits. He was its critic, its adviser, its strong friend in every hour of need. Even in his seventy-second year the Tasman had no terrors for him. It is true that he had regard for the Methodist Mission and its debt to him is great, but he had no responsibility for its progress and in all the toils and troubles of its early years no Methodist Marsden was found.

It would be folly to say that God's word returned unto Him void and that no good was done. There were many signs to the contrary. The native villages in the valley and around the shores of the harbour were visited. The sick were cared for. The slaves were befriended. Wickedness was rebuked outspokenly. The elements of agriculture were taught and habits of industry enjoined by precept and example. The people assembled, often in large numbers, to hear the missionaries preach. Their journals show that they spoke, as best they could, on the Creation of the World, the Punishment of Sin, the Atonement on the Cross, the Resurrection of the Body, the Pains and Penalties of Hell, the Joys of Heaven. It was a message of wide scope but the emphasis lay on judgement and the appeal to fear was strong. There were keen discussions during the sermons or at their close, for the Maori knew what questions to ask and how to press his points home.

Further evidence of an enterprising spirit is seen in Turner's proposal, early in 1824, to establish a second station at the Heads; in the two visits paid towards the end of that year to investigate once more the prospects of work at Oruru; and in White's exploratory journey to the Thames and the borders of the Waikato early in 1825. In that year, too, hymns in Maori, composed by Hobbs were being sung in worship, there were eleven native children living at the Mission station and receiving Christian
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teaching, and we hear of distant chiefs enquiring for missionaries to reside among their people.

But all the time the evil was mounting to its climax. The years from 1825 to 1827 were laden with peril and difficulty. The valley was swept with rumours of approaching war. The chiefs were excited and in the mood for violence. The threats of Hongi against the Whangaroa natives destroyed all sense of security. Turner warned his Committee in London that their lives were in danger. Hobbs admits that he is labouring under "the most alarming apprehensions." Stack records in his journal —"It has become a question whether any of us ought to remain here any longer." The Anglicans send a messenger to offer Mrs. Turner an asylum at the Bay of Islands and on March 18th 1825 the women are sent thither for safety. There is much coming and going between the Church missionaries at Kerikeri and their Methodist friends at Whangaroa. The former meet to consider the situation and agree that the lives of the Methodist brethren are in danger and that they ought to remove and commence a new station elsewhere. "Our judgement approves but not our feelings", says Turner. Yet on the advice of Henry Williams they go so far as to send much of their property to the Bay of Islands. In the midst of it all the death of George throws the people into fresh tumult and Hobbs proposes prayer and the casting of lots to decide what they shall do. And then for a while events take a turn for the better. The immediate danger passes. Mrs. Turner, with her infant son, born while at Kerikeri, comes back to Wesleydale and the work is resumed in hope.
Chapter X

Towards the end of 1826 the storm rose again and at the New Year it broke in concentrated violence. White had left for England a year before and did not return to Whangaroa. After a brief season in circuit work under the British Conference he married, and returning to New Zealand arrived at Hokianga on the last day of January, 1830, over two years after the Mission had been reestablished there. Thus it was Turner, Hobbs and Stack who saw the work laid in ruins.

Unfriendly though the Kaeo natives had been it was not they who committed the last destructive acts. There is general agreement that Hongi had, for various reasons which do not concern us here, determined to leave Kerikeri and settle at Whangaroa among the Ngati-Pou, whose lands were adjacent to the harbour and at some distance from the Mission at the head of the valley. He had requested land for his settlement and this the Ngati-Pou had refused him. He therefore determined to take by force what he required. On January 4th 1827 the missionaries heard that his war canoes had entered the harbour and that hostilities were imminent. The natives about Wesleydale were pressed into Hongi's service and, having removed their women and children to safety, departed for the scene of conflict. Thus it was that the Mission premises were left defenceless and lay at the mercy of any marauding band that might assail them. It was such a band that came up the river on Tuesday, January 9th. They belonged to Hongi's people but were acting without his knowledge. It was about noon when they appeared and, while loud in their threats, they did not that day proceed to extremities, though minor depredations were committed. At ten o'clock at night Stack, accompanied by a native lad, left for Kerikeri to inform the Anglicans of what was afoot and to ask their assistance. At daybreak on Wednesday the marauders, now increased in numbers and in boldness, again appeared and the lawless mob gave itself to plunder and wanton destruction. On the morrow, as it was subsequently learned, their fell work was completed by a second party, who plundered the plunderers and left the place bare and desolate. Between the two bands the outbuildings were broken into and destroyed, the live stock killed, the Mission house pillaged and burnt to the ground, and the body of Turner's little child, disinterred from its recent grave, was left exposed upon the ground.

The Mission party, though not attacked, were in fear of their lives and, homeless and imperilled, there was nothing left for them but flight. They set out at six o'clock on the Wednesday morning. There were sixteen of them—Mr. and Mrs. Turner with their three children, the youngest a babe of five weeks, Miss Davis, a visitor from the Anglican Mission, John Hobbs, Luke Wade and his wife, five native boys and two native girls. Their goal was Kerikeri twenty miles distant. Those who know the narrowing valley up which they fled, with its winding stream and steep surrounding hills, will the more readily picture the hard-ships of the way. The women had
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constantly to be carried across the river. The rugged country was difficult even for strong men. The strain grew with every mile and Mrs. Wade fainted twice on the journey. But the little company toiled forward till, at a sharp bend in the track, they found themselves suddenly face to face with a war party of some hundreds, all armed with muskets, bayonets and hatchets. It seemed as though their hour had come but a merciful deliverance was at hand. It is here that Patuone enters the history of our New Zealand Church. The warriors were from Hokianga and he was one of their most powerful chiefs. It was told him who the fugitives were and whither they were in flight and he immediately became their protector. We have Nathaniel Turner's own vivid words—"On seeing us in the bend of the river he instantly turned round upon his army and commanded them to halt. Never before had I seen in New Zealand such an exhibition of authority and obedience. Some few attempted to press forward but he instantly repressed them with his spear. Others ran into the water to get past him but he was with them in a moment. And having stopped the people he told us to come forward towards him which we did, and he then told us to sit down. He and other chiefs then came and rubbed noses with us in token of their goodwill."

Their safety thus assured the Mission party continued their journey, Patuone accompanying them till danger from stragglers was past. Meanwhile Stack had arrived at Kerikeri at five o'clock that morning and relief was on the way. He and Mr. Clarke of the Anglican Mission, with native helpers, met them, and later, within a few miles from their destination, Henry Williams himself, with Messrs. Davis, Puckey and Hamlin from Paihia, appeared with further aid. The expeditious succour of these friends is never forgotten by the Methodist people. The refugees reached Kerikeri at seven o'clock in the evening and were cared for by the families of the Church Mission until their departure for Sydney in the Sisters on January 27th.

Thus the curtain falls upon a scene of disaster and defeat and it was to be many years before it rose again in that unhappy valley. In 1830, White, who was then at Hokianga, visited Whangarua and came to the Mission site. The paths were hidden with tangled growth, the fences and landmarks were gone, and no vestige of the buildings remained, save here and there a charred post or a few heaps of brick. The natives, seeing his concern, asked whether the missionaries would ever return. "It is your place," they said, "and you shall have it whenever you have a mind to come and take it." They kept their word but they had long to wait.
Chapter XI

The members of the Mission left New Zealand with no intention of accepting defeat as final. On reaching Sydney they published a full report of what had taken place, in which they expressed their firm resolve to return as soon as circumstances permitted. "We beg it to be distinctly understood," they said, "that our Mission to New Zealand, though suspended, is by no means abandoned. While we are not blind to the difficulties which at present obstruct its progress we are convinced that it may yet be prosecuted with rational hope of extensive and lasting success." Men of the calibre of Turner and Hobbs do not easily yield to adverse circumstance.

There has been some criticism of the action of the missionaries in withdrawing from Whangaroa. Alfred Saunders, in his "History of New Zealand 1642-1861," in a passing disparagement, attributes it to lack of courage and determination. He says—"Perhaps the true reason was that both the men and the women had undertaken a task which required an amount of vigorous health, courage and determination which they did not possess and could not command." Fortunately we know that such was not the opinion of those on the spot at the time, nor will such a reflection bear examination. It is difficult to exaggerate the peril in which the missionaries and those dependent upon them had been for years. On several occasions a terrible catastrophe might easily have occurred. The whole of the North was in a state of unrest. Two years previously the Anglican missionaries had, after deliberation among themselves, counselled withdrawal. The Report of the Methodist Missionaries on their arrival in Sydney occupies some eight pages in Dr. Elder's "Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden" and it provides evidence enough to silence the accusation that the flight was due to panic. The Church Mission itself shipped twenty tons of goods to Sydney, on the vessel that carried the Mission party, as a precautionary measure lest they also might have to retire, and as the ship left the Bay of Islands she fired two six-pounders over the heads of a large party of natives to deter them from approaching. We may therefore conclude that, as after years were so fully to prove, it was not lack of staying power that led to the abandonment of Whangaroa.

The writer has made frequent reference to the authorities mentioned in Section I and to others. To these he expresses his indebtedness. He also gratefully acknowledges suggestions received from the Rev. M. A. R Pratt, F.R.Hist.S., and the Rev. G. I. Laurenson, both of whom read the typescript. The Revs. A. J. Seamer, H. K. Brown and Erurai Te Tuhi have given information on important points.

It is the writer's hope to publish, through the Wesley Historical Society (New Zealand Branch) a brochure dealing with the re-establishment of the Mission at Hokianga and the later developments there and at the Kaipara. With the approval of the Society this may be followed with an account, in brief, of the extension of the work to the Waikato and to Taranaki.
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THE MEMORIAL CHURCH.

The Memorial Church at Kaeo was erected on a site presented by the Messrs Hayes Brothers, in connection with the Celebration of the Centenary of the establishment of the Methodist Mission. The Foundation Stone was laid on March, 8th, 1922, by the writer, as President of the Centenary Conference, and the Services of Dedication were conducted by him on May 28th of that year.

Within the Church are two Memorial Tablets bearing the names of the pioneer Missionaries and Maori Ministers. The inscriptions on these are as follows—

TO THE GLORY OF GOD
AND
IN SACRED AND REVERENT MEMORY
OF THE
UNDERMENTIONED WESLEYAN METHODIST
PIONEER MISSIONARIES TO THE MAORIS
This Tablet was erected in 1922.
The Centenary Year of New Zealand Methodism.
"These all died in Faith" (Heb. 11:13).
Samuel Leigh, Nathaniel Turner, John Hobbs, James Stack,
John Bumby, Samuel Ironside, Charles Creed, James Buller,
William Woon, James Wallis, John Whiteley, James Watkin,
Thomas Buddle, John Warren, George Buttle, John Aldred,
John Skevington, Walter Lawry, George Stannard, Henry H. Lawry,
William Kirk, Alexander Reid, C. H. Schnackenberg, William Gittos,
William Rowse, William J. Watkin
TO THE GLORY OF GOD 
AND 
IN SACRED AND REVERENT MEMORY 
OF THE UNDERMENTIONED PIONEER WESLEYAN METHODIST 
MAORI MINISTERS 
This Tablet is erected on the occasion of the 
Centenary of New Zealand Methodism 1922. 
Eketone, Hone 
Hana, Piripi 
Te Kurl, Hori 
Ngaropi, Hamiora 
Paul, Hauraki 
Patene, Wiremu 
Pewa, Wi Warena 
Te Kote, Te Rato 
Waiti, Hoani 
Waiti, Karawini 
Waiti, Martin L. 
Warihi, Heteraka 

"Fellow-Workers whose names are in the Book of Life" (Phil. 4:3).
The Memorial Cairn at Kaeo, which stands upon the site of the first Mission House, was erected by the Maori members of the Methodist Church under the supervision of the Rev. A. J. Seamer. It is built of water-worn grey marble boulders which were brought from the ocean beach without the Whangaroa Heads and conveyed by pontoon through the harbour and up the Kaeo River to the site, a considerable enterprise, by descendants of the chiefs of Samuel Leigh's day. The boulders were roughly polished by wind and sand and wave and in the construction of the Cairn none was shaped by human hand save those that were faced to bear the inscriptions. The Cairn was dedicated in connection with the Centenary Celebrations on March 8th, 1922, the dedicatory address being given by the Rev. Grainger Hargreaves, the representative of the British Conference to the Centenary.
The inscription is as follows:

**ON THIS SPOT**
THE METHODIST MISSION
TO THE NATIVES OF NEW ZEALAND was established
JUNE 10th, 1823 by the Rev. Samuel Leigh.
"What hath God wrought! Numbers XXIII. 23.
This Cairn was erected by the Maori Members of the Church.

Two adjacent boulders on the Cairn have been faced to bear inscriptions.
That on the left has upon it the above record, and on the other is an exact translation of the inscription into Maori.

It is of interest to note that the main street of the town of Kaeo was on October 29th, 1943 named Leigh Street. The official naming of the street was performed by Mrs. Henry Hayes and the addresses were given by Mr. Henry Hayes, as Chairman of the County Council, by Hemirua Paorepuhi on behalf of the Maori people, and by the resident Minister of the Methodist Church, the Rev. H. Kiltord Brown.