THE WESLEYAN MISSIONARIES TO NEW ZEALAND BEFORE 1840

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FOREWORD

New Zealand Methodists are indeed fortunate that so competent an historian as Dr. J.H.R. Owens, of the Department of History at Massey University, Palmerston North, has interested himself very deeply in the early history of the Wesleyan Mission to New Zealand.

The fruits of his extensive research into our early history were embodied in his monumental Doctoral thesis "The Wesleyan Mission to New Zealand, 1819-1840," (as yet unpublished) presented in 1969. Since then, he has published a book entitled "Prophets in the Wilderness" (Auckland/Oxford University Press, 1974), a fascinating study of some of the personalities and achievements of our early missionaries up to 1840.

A convenient summary of the biographical details of these early missionary families, appeared as an article in The Journal of Religious History (Australia), Vol. 7, No. 4, Dec. 1973, pp. 324-341. That article is here re-printed by kind permission of the author and the editor. To the article are added three appendices taken, again by permission, from Dr. Owens's thesis.

We believe this material will be welcomed by a wide circle of people interested in the early days of Methodism in this country.

L.R.M. GILMORE, Secretary,
Wesley Historical Society (New Zealand).
May, 1982.

Note: The following Abbreviations are observed in footnotes:

A.N.L.  Australian National Library
A.T.L.  Alexander Turnbull Library
D.N.Z.B.  Dictionary of New Zealand Biography
M.L.  Mitchell Library
M.M.S.  Methodist Missionary Society, London
T.T.C.  Trinity Theological College, Auckland

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The Wesleyan Missionaries to New Zealand before 1840

The influence of missionaries is notoriously difficult to assess; in New Zealand they have been blamed for far more damage than they could have caused and praised for more than they achieved. Yet if we ask what manner of men they were, we are likely to be astonished that they exerted the influence they did. Before 1840 there were only three missionary bodies in New Zealand, the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyans, and the Marist Mission (from 1838 onwards); and the Wesleyans, whose diffused influence was perhaps the greatest, for it spread into areas no European had visited, amounted to no more than nineteen men, of whom only nine had reached the country before March 1839. To these may be added thirteen wives and a sister who came before 1840.¹

It was a small number—but very representative of English Methodism. It represented many areas of England where Methodism was strong.² It was equally representative of the social structure of early-nineteenth century Methodism which has been described as 'chiefly of the lower middle class and artisan'.³

Several of them were farmers' sons. Nathaniel Turner, born at Wybunbury in Cheshire, was one of the eight children of Thomas and Elizabeth Turner who 'had for many years resided on a small farm on the estate of Sir Robert Hill, of the Hough'.⁴ Another farmer's son was Charles Creed, born at Hembridge Farm, Somersetshire; and John Warren was the son of a Norfolk farmer. Others who came from a rural background were John Aldred of Stutton, near Ipswich in Suffolk; James Buller of Helston, Cornwall; Samuel Leigh of the village of Milton near Hanley. Gideon Smales of Whitby, Yorkshire, later turned to farming and so may well have grown up in that life.

The other occupations were mostly those of skilled artisans. There were two printers—Gideon Smales and William Woon, the latter a Cornishman who had been nine years a printer, some of that time in London. John Hobbs, born at St Peter's in the

¹ This excludes Walter Lawry and Joseph Orton who visited but were not stationed in New Zealand, and also John Waterhouse who had a wider Pacific area as General Superintendent. Lawry was appointed Superintendent of the New Zealand Mission in 1844, after the period covered by this study.
² Five came from Yorkshire, two from Durham and from Cornwall and one from each of Staffordshire, Hampshire, Cheshire, Kent, Nottingham, London, Somerset Norfolk, Lancashire and Suffolk.
Isle of Thanet, Kent, has been described as the son of a coach builder. When putting himself forward for missionary work he described his parents as 'poor, though industrious'. His father, he said, was a carpenter, joiner and agricultural implement maker, with a smith's shop in his yard. After seven years' apprenticeship to his father he devoted himself 'more particularly to joinery'.

William White, of Durham, appears to have been a cabinet maker, as was James Wallis of Blackwall, Poplar, in London. John Whiteley was a miller and baker. James Buller was a teacher, as was John Aldred who was an usher at a boarding school near St Austell. Samuel Ironside, of Sheffield, was a cutler. James Stack has been described as 'an educated man, employed as a government surveyor in Australia'. His own biographical account says that he was in the British navy from the age of nine to fourteen ('being constantly exposed to company of the lowest grade and vilest description'), spending two years at sea in a ship-of-war. Thereafter he spent three and a half years in Ireland with his family. In later life he was to refer to Ireland as 'the degraded land of my forefathers'. It was a large family and his father was in 'pressing pecuniary embarrassment'. Stack therefore emigrated with an elder brother to New South Wales where he was employed as a store-keeper on an up-country farm of John Macarthur's. Escaping from this uncongenial occupation, he spent eleven months at sea on H.M. Sloop 'Bathurst' (Capt. P. King). Nor was he any happier here. The vessel was engaged in an official survey of Torres Strait, Dampier's Archipelago and the coast of New Holland; it was, wrote Stack, 'a very hazardous navigation', involving 'awful danger'. Worse, Stack was 'the butt of ridicule' for not conforming to 'the sinful taste of my corrupt and depraved equals'; even 'a gay young officer' passed his 'wicked jokes' about Stack's reading the Scriptures. He does not give his occupation on his return to Sydney: but a Methodist merchant gave him a free passage to New Zealand where he offered himself for the mission.

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5 Hobbs, John, Wesley Dale, N.Z., 28 June 1824, Typescript ATL
6 Hobbs, J., Journal, 4 August 1831, T.T.C.
7 Morley, W., A History of Methodism in New Zealand, Wellington 1900 p 84
9 Journal extract, 17 June 1826, in Stack, 12 October 1826, Uncat. Mss Set 197 Item 1, Methodist Church Papers, M.L.
10 These details are based on J. Stack, to C.M.S. 3 December 1832, Holborn Bridge microfilmed archives of the C.M.S., London, relating to the Australian and New Zealand Missions, 1808-1884, Reel 67, C.H./057, A.T.L. See also M Stack to W Ascough, 1 December 1819, N.S.W, Col, Sec. In-letters 1819, pp 311-12 ML
Of the others, John Warren was a tailor in London when accepted for mission work.\textsuperscript{11} Samuel Leigh, John Bumby of Thirsk, Yorkshire, and perhaps also Henry H. Turton, who was a minister's son, appear to have gone straight into the Wesleyan ministry. The earlier occupations of Thomas Buddle of Durham, George Buttle of Snaith, and James Watkin, a soldier's son from Manchester, are not known.

As Methodists they had no opportunity of a university education at this time; and if any went beyond elementary schooling, their studies were almost exclusively theological. Samuel Leigh, for example, attended Dr Bogue's Congregational Seminary at Gosport, and although this sounds impressive, his manuscripts indicate a man of very limited education and understanding. Leigh was not long at Gosport, and his biographer, Strachan, suggests that he left for doctrinal reasons. Bogue was a Calvinist, whereas Leigh, we are told, had adopted the views of Richard Baxter, and concluded that 'Arminianism was more agreeable to the word of God than the theology of Calvin'.\textsuperscript{12} He therefore left the seminary and was received into the Wesleyan Society as an assistant to the Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe at Portsmouth.

It is difficult to obtain details of the educational qualifications of the missionaries, largely because this was not stressed in their selection. A typical entry, recording a candidate's interview in 1836, reads:

\begin{quote}
John Warren, of the Second London Circuit; aged 22 years. He has experienced the pardon of his sins through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, nearly five years. His health is good, he is free from debt, has no matrimonial engagement. His preaching is plain, pointed and heart-searching. He offers himself for the missionary work; he is willing to go to any part of the world, but prefers a warm climate. He has read our standard works and cordially approves of the Doctrines and Discipline of Methodism. He was unanimously recommended by the March Quarterly Meeting.

Signed John Waterhouse.\textsuperscript{13}
\end{quote}

An ability to read and write, an acquaintance with the works of Methodism, but in most cases little more: of Charles Creed, for example, it was recorded: 'His learning plain English, his profession a farmer.'\textsuperscript{14} The standard Methodist histories make only brief references to education; thus Morley of Buddle: 'He had not the advantage of college training, but read widely in divinity', or Findlay and Holdsworth of Hobbs:

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{11} List of Missionary Candidates 1836 in Box B, Candidates 2, M.M.S.
\textsuperscript{12} Strachan, Alexander, op. cit., p. 11; Minutes of the Methodist Conference, 1852, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{13} Minutes in Box B, Candidates 2, M.M.S.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
\end{flushleft}
'Little favoured in point of education, he was a born linguist.' Buddle, indeed, became something of a Maori linguist, had charge of the first Methodist Native Training Institution, helped revise the Maori translation of Scriptures and served on the Senate of the University of New Zealand.

Many were men of natural talent who continued their education during their career. If Nathaniel Turner was largely self-educated, mainly through devotional works lent him by visiting ministers, and much of his later difficulty in learning Maori may have been due to gaps in his education, he is a good example of one who continued to learn. Most of the missionaries were aware of their inadequate education and would contrast their own educational resources—particularly in knowledge of languages—with those of the C.M.S. They might not have fully accepted Octavius Hadfield's dictum that it was 'impossible to make a bold stand against the infidel if inferior to him in mental acquirements'; there were certainly occasions when Maoris showed a better grasp of their own higher culture than the missionaries had of theirs.

Yet to have read the standard works of Methodism was an indication of a better than average level of education for men of their social background, and some, particularly those who arrived later, were better educated. Turton, who was to engage in theological controversy with Selwyn and who later entered government service as an interpreter, is described by Morley as 'of somewhat scholarly tastes'.

Ironside was one of the first students at the Wesleyan College at Hoxton. He was sent there for two years in September 1836, classes having begun in 1835. Morley attributed his linguistic ability to his education at Hoxton. Charles Creed also attended Hoxton. Bumby attended an academy at Leeds between 1827-9; his biographer describes his knowledge of Greek and Latin as not much more than rudimental; but his acquaintance with history was considerable, and his love of the holy scriptures most ardent. He thirsted for sacred knowledge, yet chiefly knowledge of that kind which ministered to the affections of impassioned piety. James Stack's

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19 Morley, W., op. cit., p. 83. Hadfield referred to him more disparagingly in 1861 as 'a wretched Wesleyan missionary, Turton, who has abandoned his calling, is employed by the Government ostensibly as a Magistrate in this district, but really as a spy'. Macmorran, op. cit., p. 101.
20 Morley, W., op. cit., p. 76. Hoxton is described in Gunson, pp. 94-5. See also article on Ironside by 'W.J.W.' in the New Zealand Methodist, 14 February 1891
21 Moister, W., Missionary Worthies, London, 1885, pp. 306-7
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varied career had made him a good accountant,\textsuperscript{23} a rare gift in a missionary at that time.

From these examples it is clear that in educational and social background these missionaries were not notably different from other European settlers. Most of them had the practical skills necessary to a pioneering life; but the fact that their reading was largely confined to the Bible, works of theology and missionary journals limited their ability to comprehend a strange culture, a difficulty often enhanced by lack of skill with language.

They were not unlike contemporary Wesleyan preachers in England\textsuperscript{24} and were typical of missionaries generally at this time. Max Warren, drawing on Gunson's thesis, has argued that the missionary movement at this time in Britain was 'in part an expression of a far wider development—the social emancipation of the under-privileged classes in this country'; and also that it was 'essentially a movement of the petit-bourgeoisie'.\textsuperscript{25} Perhaps, however, it was not so much social emancipation as a desire for social emancipation. None of the missionaries in New Zealand could have hoped to have played such important roles in England, even within Methodism, as they did on the frontier. They faced toil and danger; but in the end, the well-stocked mission station, with its grazing cattle and retinue of Maori 'domesticks', would not have disgraced a village squire.

Such a reflection, however, gives a false impression if the religious experience of the missionaries is not also taken into account. All of them came of religious parents. Aldred might refer to his parents as 'strangers and enemies of God', yet he was 'brought up to attend the Establishment'.\textsuperscript{26} Several others, such as Turner, Buddle and Creed, had Anglican parents; Buller's father was a deacon in a Baptist church; Whiteley was originally associated with an Independent church.

James Stack had perhaps the most varied background of all. His parents, of Irish background but living at first in England, were born Catholics, but his father renounced Rome and Stack was baptized into the Church of England. However, his mother remained 'Papist in heart'; the Ave Maria was part of her daily devotions; her son was taught to believe the doctrine of Purgatory. On the family's removal to Ireland when James was fourteen, Catholic influence was revived. His relatives gave him books on 'Popery'; 'Sabbath bull-baiting and other sinful amusements' and 'the

\textsuperscript{23} Findlay and Holdsworth, op. cit., vol. III, p. 175

\textsuperscript{24} Gill, F. C., \textit{The Romantic Movement and Methodism}, London, 1937/54, pp 79-95


\textsuperscript{26} Aldred, J., Journal, 1832-64, Typescript, A.T.L.

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unreproving presence of the priest' made popery 'very agreeable to my sinful heart'.
The arrival of his elder brother from England brought him under Methodist influence,
however, and with his father's support a move to have him re-baptized as a Catholic
was resisted.\textsuperscript{27}

The other missionaries were all reared as Methodists. Turton was the son of the Rev.
Isaac Turton, Wesleyan minister; Ironside's father was a local preacher nearly fifty
years;\textsuperscript{28} Hobbs' father was admitted to the Methodist Society by John Wesley himself
and was one of his local preachers. Indeed, as he was to demonstrate in New Zealand,
Hobbs was of old Puritan stock.\textsuperscript{29}

All candidates for mission work had to give an account of their conversion, an
experience they underwent somewhere between the ages of fourteen and eighteen and
which seems to have corresponded to William James’ classic description of
conversion as

   the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self hitherto divided and consciously
   wrong interior and unhappy, becomes unified and consciously right superior and
   happy, in consequence of its firmer hold upon religious realities.\textsuperscript{30}

It is worth stressing that this experience, which they were to try to communicate to
Maoris of all ages and of an alien culture, came to them in adolescence, after a
strongly Christian upbringing. Although it was in most cases to result in a more
disciplined direction of their emotions and conduct, it was a change within the
framework of their culture; it involved no rejection of their heritage; indeed it was
rather a consolidation of their upbringing.\textsuperscript{31}

A follower of John Wesley could be expected to have a clear understanding of
conversion. Missionary evidence, mostly concerned with day to day matters, does not
give a clear indication of the basic theological beliefs of the missionaries, and there is

\textsuperscript{27} Stack, J., 3 December 1832, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{28} New Zealand Methodist, 14 February 1891, art. cit.
\textsuperscript{29} Spooner, T. G. M., 'Brother John, The Life of the Rev. John Hobbs', Wesley Historical
\textsuperscript{30} James, William, The Varieties of Religious Experience, A Study in Human Nature,
\textsuperscript{31} Although all of the cases of conversion here considered took place in adolescence, and
   often under unusual emotional stress, it has been claimed [by S. G. Dimond, The
   163-5] that the ‘records of Methodism indicate clearly that the instantaneous experience
   of "salvation" through religion is not peculiar to the period of adolescence nor to neurotic
   or emotional types'. For another view, see Sargent, William W., Battle for the Mind: a
   physiology of conversion and brain washing, Melbourne, 1957.

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a risk in assuming that they followed Wesley's beliefs totally; nevertheless it is hard to
detect any significant variation. One of Wesley's most important ideas (which of
course he did not originate) was that man is justified by faith. Justification was a term
taken from the law courts and meant 'to acquit', or 'to pronounce guiltless'. In
contrast to the Calvinists who held that Christ had died for none but the elect, Wesley
believed in universal redemption: that the benefits of Christ's atonement were
available for all who would claim them by an act of faith. Redemption was the gift of
God, not something man won by good works. A man could still be selfish, weak and
mean; but if he believed in Christ, his sins were forgiven and he had the power to
overcome them.

For Wesley, therefore, conversion was

God's own act in which a man is turned away from his former self, made to pass
from darkness into light, delivered from the power of Satan unto God, made over
in mind and spirit.

His own experience of conversion at Aldersgate Street Chapel on 24 May 1738 was
instantaneous.

I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for
salvation; and an assurance was given me, that He had taken away my sins, even
mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.

This faith was the gift of God's grace freely available to all men who would believe in
Christ. As Cannon puts it: 'Faith, for Wesley, is really nothing more than grace made
conscious in the individual, or grace transformed from its latent stage into one of
power and effectiveness.' At this point Wesley is near to Calvinism, for if God can
confer faith as well as grace it would appear that human liberty and choice are denied.
Yet both liberty and grace are stressed by Wesley: repentance and works are the
outward manifestations of an inward disposition which has made the gift of faith
possible.

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33 Findlay and Holdsworth, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 31-2, stress that the doctrines of universal
redemption and entire sanctification (mentioned later) are crucial in the Wesleyan
missionary impulse.
92.
Many writers have questioned the significance of this episode, however. See Knox R. A op.
cit., pp. 436-41.
36 Cannon, W. R., op. cit., p. 103.
A few examples will show that conversion was a profound experience, the first clear step in a missionary career; and yet it is difficult to interpret the experience as it is described in conventional terms.

Nathaniel Turner, for example, wrote that at the age of nine his father, mother and a sister all died within a year, leaving seven remaining children who were scattered among farming friends. Having been trained to read the Scriptures and believe in the happiness of the righteous and the misery of the wicked after death, he felt 'great concern lest any of the departed ones, thus near to me, should have been plunged into endless misery'. Often he would go out into the fields to weep and pray for them. In June 1811 he heard a local preacher on the parable of the rich man and Lazarus; the torment of the rich man in hell and Lazarus afar off in Abraham's bosom. Turner 'clearly saw, and keenly felt' that unless he changed his ways he was destined to be with the rich man, lifting up his eyes in hell. He left the service resolved to turn to God and journeyed home a mile and a half along a dreary road, fearing that the wicked one would come to take him body and soul to the place of torment. On arrival home his cousin anxiously asked if he were ill, but he could not explain to them as none of them had undergone the experience.

There followed a period of penitence and reformation of life; but having no one to guide him,

in my ignorance sought in earnest to wash my Ethiop nature white, by tears and prayers. . . . After a season I began to cry 'Peace, Peace' to my soul while God had not by forgiving mercy spoken peace.

He mixed with more religious companions and, as he put it, 'began to feel complacency in my own pitiful performance — Still unsaved'. Caught between the rival attractions of Wesleyan and Calvinist doctrines, he was given Fletcher's *Scripture Scales* and urged to seek the forgiving love of Christ through faith. Finally, while attending a Wesleyan class meeting for the second or third time

on the fifth of February 1812 I was enabled to 'Believe with my heart unto righteousness, and with my mouth to make confession unto Salvation.' The circumstances of that memorable hour will never be forgotten by me—so clear to me was the removal of my guilt and so satisfactory the evidence of my acceptance in the beloved, that I have never doubted to this day that I was there passed from death unto life, that I was then made a 'New Creature in Christ Jesus'.

Hobbs' account of his conversion begins with 'the pious care' of his father, through whom he was 'brought to listen to the lifegiving word of God, in the days of my

37 *Personal narrative, vol. I.*
infancy'. Often he was 'greatly alarmed by the thunders of the divine law' and affected by 'representations of a Saviour's dying Love', yet it was not until he was sixteen that he resolved to forsake his sins.

The Word of God then pierced my soul, and laid open the thoughts and intents of my depraved heart. During the lapse of four months I seldom experienced a gleam of Hope; but lived in a fearful looking for of Judgment, and fiery indignation.

Finally, one evening, 'ruminating on my miserable condition, I felt resolved if I must perish it should be at the foot of my dying Saviour's cross'. By close attention to Scriptures he decided it was not God's will
to contend forever; neither to be always wroth, lest the spirit should fail before him. . . . And though I received no instantaneous Gusts of Divine Love, yet my Faith and Love increased, until I was enabled to embrace Christ as my Saviour,
and steadfastly believe I had redemption in His Blood, the forgiveness of all my sins.\footnote{Hobbs, J., 28 June 1824, Typescript, A.T.L.}

These recollections are obviously influenced by standard accounts of religious conversion, and it is impossible to discover the actual experience that lay behind the familiar phraseology. It seems certain that the emotional crises of puberty were played out in the religious terms to which they had been conditioned. Often the normal crisis was intensified in some way—in Turner's case by bereavement, in Creed's case by a long and severe affliction, during which he was much influenced by the 'godly counsels and earnest prayers of a female Methodist class leader' who visited him. Female influence appears often in these accounts. John Aldred's conversion experience began as a result of a chance attendance at a Wesleyan chapel while the parish church was being repaired. However, he did not completely abandon 'his former course of sin' and one Saturday night, having 'committed a sin to which he was much addicted', he was chastised by his mother and sent to bed: 'but no rest could he take hell with its horrors appeared and he wept and humbled lest he should be its eternal prey' until finally he fell asleep. In the morning he felt the condemnation removed and eventually he applied for Wesleyan membership. In this period his mother remarried, to a man 'in whose esteem my sister but not myself lived, by him my mother had two children whom I dearly loved'. \footnote{Aldred, J., Journal, op. cit.} The combination of a mother's influence (which had been so crucial in John Wesley's own development) and a preacher's exhortation is also seen in the case of Samuel Ironside. On his conversion under the influence of the Rev. John McLean, a well-known revivalist preacher, we
are told: 'My prayers are answered, Samuel will be a missionary.' Of Watkin it was said: 'He had a godly mother, to whose training and example he attributed his early decision for Christ.'

In the case of James Stack, the family influences were more complex. His mother's residual Catholicism (and that of other relatives) influenced him; but against this was put his father's Anglicanism and his brother's influence. It was his brother who introduced him to 'a poor but pious Methodist female a peasant's wife' in Ireland, who 'seemed to breathe the spirit of the Gospel'. Yet this apparent female influence can be overstressed.

From acquaintance with her I soon perceived that to be a real Christian a divine change of heart is necessary but this was to me more a speculative than a practical conviction though it was not altogether without its use to me.

From this we may infer that Stack did not at this stage (or perhaps at any stage) undergo a conversion experience; and it seems likely that the conflict of religious influences in his earlier background remained with him all his life and may have had some influence on his subsequent transfer to the C.M.S.

Stack seems to be an exception. For a Methodist, the experience of conversion was crucial, though it was not the end of the struggle. As Hobbs put it: 'Since that period, my pilgrimage has been a warfare.' It was a warfare which led in many cases to a missionary vocation. Once again, Wesley's theology gives us the theoretical framework of the religious experience of his followers. Conversion was a process of regeneration. God renewing man's fallen nature. Sin no longer had dominion over converted man; but he could still give way to it and evil deeds could strangle the new-found faith. Wesley considered it a grievous error to think that those who had been saved from sin could not lose what they had gained.

Methodism with its eye forever turned on its own navel; asking itself with torturing anxiety of Hope and Fear 'Am I right? Am I wrong? Shall I be saved? Shall I not be damned?'—What is this, at bottom, but a new phasis of Egotism stretched out into the Infinite, and not always the heavenlier for its infinitude.
For the converted man there was still a higher goal, that of sanctification. This would be achieved through the agency of the Holy Spirit. Wesley saw a close bond between faith and works: a man's works were 'the living portrait of God's grace'.\(^{47}\) He believed also a doctrine of assurance: it was possible for the true believer to know through the witness of the Spirit that he was saved. There was perhaps a danger that such a belief would lead to sanctimoniousness; as Bishop Butler said to Wesley: 'Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Ghost is a horrid thing, a very horrid thing.'\(^{48}\) But to one such as John Hobbs, confidence in Christ as his Saviour was 'a blessed and invigorating assurance'.\(^{49}\)

Belief that good works were an indication of a state of grace had profound social consequences. It was reflected not only in the rigorous pattern of life which the convert adopted but in his attitude to society and in his resolve to convey to others the experience he had undergone. 'Why', asked Wesley in one of his sermons, 'is the New Zealander or the Hottentot cut off from the truths of the Gospel?'\(^{50}\) And the question itself was a powerful impulse to missionary activity.

One final aspect of Wesley's teaching can be mentioned for its influence on missionary behaviour: the belief that God is present in all things, all events. Wesley summed it up in a letter to his sister of 2 January 1781:

> An event, the cause of which does not appear, we commonly say, comes by chance. O no: it is guided by an unerring hand; it is the result of infinite wisdom and goodness.\(^{51}\)

Again and again missionaries were to record their belief that they were under the active protection of God. Thus Turner wrote that while sailing over the tempestuous ocean we had many signal displays of our Heavenly Father's peculiar regard for us and repeatedly saw his hand stretched out for our Preservation and care.\(^{52}\)

John Wesley's religious experience has been described as 'the higher use of the will in developing systems of self-control, as his religious sentiment became more perfectly organised'.\(^{53}\) In this it is possible to see a reflection of his mother's discipline, in which the instinct for play and the expansive emotion of joy were suppressed. It was a

\(^{47}\) Cannon, W. R., op. cit., p. 149.  
\(^{49}\) Hobbs, J., 28 June 1824, op. cit.  
\(^{50}\) Sermon LXXIX, pt iii, sec. 1, quoted in Cannon, W. R., op. cit., p. 159.  
\(^{52}\) N. Turner to Rev. J. Etchells, 30 September 1824.  
\(^{53}\) Dimond, S. G., op. cit., pp. 78-80, 84-6.
process in which the harmonizing of the inner life was only achieved after intense strain and mental discord.

One of the clearest examples of the day to day working of a Methodist conscience is seen in an early journal of J. H. Bumby, now held by the Methodist Missionary Society in London.\(^{54}\) It is perhaps not entirely representative as Bumby was then a young man in ill-health; a sensitive soul, he was by no means a typical missionary. But, if in heightened form, his spiritual struggles indicate a practical working out of Wesley's doctrines. He tries to restrain the lively spirits of a young man by self-reproof and abasement: he is a sinful worm, a reptile; he deserves nothing but hell. He seeks to regulate his day by rule, to control his thoughts and inclinations, but being unwatchful in the company of friends he gives way too much to 'lightsomeness'. Despite long hours of prayer he does not retain the evidence of 'sanctification'. His biographer commented on these efforts:

> his spirit became more chastened and serious; his natural impetuosity and impatience, though not destroyed, had evidently given way under a sacred counteracting influence; and his entire demeanour in private was such as to prepare the people for hearing him in public with seriousness and respect.\(^{55}\)

Bumby appears to have had a successful career as a minister in England. Most of the missionaries began as local preachers or as probationary ministers, learning the methods they were to use as missionaries. For example, Nathaniel Turner carried out a mission among the 'benighted' inhabitants of South Cheshire. In most villages he met strong, even violent, opposition from squire and vicar. At one place his preaching was drowned by a band, with drums and fife playing, boys shouting and church bells ringing; at another, money was given out to drink the health of the local parson, success to Church and State and 'Damnation to the Methodists'; at yet another, the parish clerk-cum-schoolmaster came drunk to the service, uttering 'horrid imprecations' and pulling Turner by the ears while squire and parson stood by enjoying the sport. But Turner claimed, after eighteen months of labour, that some seventy people had been gathered into classes under duly appointed leaders and Methodism had obtained a strong hold.\(^{56}\)

Though most missionaries usually had at least three or four years' experience of English work, details are elusive. James Wallis, for example, as well as being a local preacher in London, was a member of an organization known as the 'Christian

\(^{54}\) Journal of J. H. Bumby, 1829-38, M.M.S.

\(^{55}\) Barrett, Alfred, op. cit., p. 35.

\(^{56}\) Most of these details are in Turner's Personal Narrative; a similar version with some additional material is in Turner, J. G., op. cit., pp. 5-8.
Community' which provided preachers for workhouses, lodging houses and gaols.\textsuperscript{57} There must also have been much of interest in Woon's four years as a local preacher in London; in 1835 he wrote back asking to be remembered to old friends at the City Road Local Preachers quarterly meeting.\textsuperscript{58} More information is available about the English ministry of both Bumby and Waterhouse. Waterhouse had been a minister for nearly thirty years before coming out to be General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in Australia and New Zealand, having been in charge of many of the more important circuits, such as Birmingham, where Bumby served under him.\textsuperscript{59}

It seems very likely, as has been suggested, that the South Seas missionaries were very largely influenced by their English experiences; the heathen took the place of 'the poor and the sick, the revilers and the sinners'.\textsuperscript{60} In the same way, one suspects, many attitudes of class distinction in England hardened into racial distinctions in New Zealand. Not only did the missionaries bring English attitudes and techniques, they were under pressure to maintain these; for the directors of mission policy at home, to whom success and failure had to be explained, were almost entirely without personal experience of missionary activity in an alien culture. This reinforced the tendency to stick to the methods tried and tested among the heathen of Britain, particularly as most of the missionaries held the London committee in considerable awe.

A more elusive problem is that of deciding what made these particular men decide on a missionary career. It is much easier to invent possible motives than to determine what these were. A Dutch writer, Johannes Van Den Berg, for example, lists ten possible motives: to promote the commercial wellbeing of Britain, the humanitarian-cultural motive, the ascetic motive, debt (the sense of obligation for blessings received), the romantic motive (love of adventure), the theo-centric motive (to the glory of God), love and compassion (a desire to win souls), the ecclesiastical motive (to the glory of the Church), the eschatological motive, or obedience to Christ's explicit instruction.\textsuperscript{61} Though there is evidence that many of these motives were at

\textsuperscript{58} Minute book in box labelled 'B. Candidates I', M.M.S.; W. Woon, Kawhia, 7 March 1835, M.M.S.  
\textsuperscript{59} Morley, W., op. cit., p. 35. For episodes in Waterhouse's English career, see Gunson's thesis, Chapter XIX, and for Wesleyan home missionary experience, see Chapter VII.  
\textsuperscript{60} Gunson, W. N., op. cit., p. 118.  
work, it is likely that in each case motives were mixed and probably of even greater complexity than even this list suggests. It is possible certain mundane considerations may also have played a part.

The first is that for all his sacrifices, the missionary had a certain security and status. He might have to erect a mission station from nothing but unlike most settlers he could count on continual financial support, with provision for his food, furniture, farm animals and land. Most mission stations were well stocked; when that at Whangaroa was destroyed the property loss was nearly £2,000.\(^{62}\) A reasonably thrifty missionary could live comfortably with a large family and save; Waterhouse, for example, commented that Turner, 'a thoroughly good man', had saved 'many hundreds if not a higher figure'.\(^{63}\) Missionaries were paid an annual allowance for servants; but Turner had been able to keep twenty or thirty 'lazy lads' who lived on mission food and were paid out of barter; his family was kept 'with abundance of everything from the store' and their only expense was clothing.\(^{64}\) Many were poor men when they offered themselves for missionary work—both Buller and Hobbs, for example, were in debt.\(^{65}\) However, men in that position had reasonable prospects anyway in Australia and New Zealand, and missionaries were forbidden to follow a trade, buy land or engage in commerce; all of which suggests that while nobody would become a missionary for predominantly financial motives there was no financial discouragement.

In some cases there is evidence that a reading of missionary publications—or the more general religious literature which usually included missionary news—awakened a desire for a missionary career. Nathaniel Turner attributed his interest to the monthly missionary magazines lent him by visiting ministers.\(^{66}\) Aldred recorded that he was delighted with missionary intelligence, although he also wrote that he had hoped to go to Van Diemen's Land because 'I had decidedly a preference for the English work believing that with the Europeans I should be most useful'.\(^{67}\) Ironside is said to have been influenced by a celebrated paper, 'Pity Poor Fiji', written by Watkin in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine of February 1838—a work which is also said to have inspired J. F. H. Wohlers, the German missionary who worked on Ruapuke Island.\(^{68}\)

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\(^{63}\) John Waterhouse to M.M.S., 30 September 1841.

\(^{64}\) John Waterhouse to M.M.S., 7 January 1841.

\(^{65}\) James Buller to Rev. N. Turner, 20 October 1836, duplicate to Secretary, W.MS-Minutes of the (Sydney?) Committee (for the South Sea Missions?), 30 June 1823, transcript in J. A. Ferguson, W.M.S. Records, 1819-26, A.N.L.

\(^{66}\) Personal Narrative I.

\(^{67}\) Aldred, J., Journal, 1832-64, op. cit.

Apparently, none of them specifically sought New Zealand. The general pattern was
to offer for foreign work and then to go where sent. Creed expressed a preference for
the South Seas, Warren said he preferred a warm climate, and Wallis said he would go
anywhere in the world except Sierra Leone (perhaps influenced by the fact that in
1823 the C.M.S. had sent twelve missionaries there and within eighteen months ten
were dead of fever).\(^\text{69}\)

New Zealand, however, probably had as bad a reputation as anywhere. Quoting
extracts from Leigh's journal, a Wesleyan missionary journal commented in 1822:

\begin{quote}
The wretched state of the inhabitants presents a deeply affecting picture of the
effects of human corruption, and the necessity of the Gospel. In no place are its
pacific influences more pathetically invoked by the groans and sufferings of the
victims of barbarous cruelty and infuriate passions: and in no part of the earth
will its triumph, as the gospel of \emph{peace} and \emph{salvation}, be more strongly marked,
or appeal with more powerful and delightful effect to the feelings of our common
humanity.\(^\text{70}\)
\end{quote}

After the sacking of the mission station at Whangaroa, the Earl of Mount Cashel
confessed at the annual meeting of the Society that he anxiously looked forward from
one issue of \textit{Missionary Notices} to the next, fearing to hear that the missionaries had
'furnished a horrid meal to these cannibals whom they were endeavouring to
instruct'.\(^\text{71}\) In its annual report for 1830, the Society commented on the Maoris that 'the
perverse levity and awful depravity of these savages appear to be unequalled in the
history of man'.\(^\text{72}\)

The desire to become a missionary might also be awakened by hearing lectures by
returned missionaries. Leigh, a singularly inactive missionary in the field, was a
singularly active propagandist at home: in one three and a half month period, for
example, he claimed to have attended fifty missionary meetings, preached thirty
sermons and travelled 1,500 miles.\(^\text{73}\) If Leigh's notebook for use in missionary talks in
England is any indication, his information on Maori life must have been highly

\(^{70}\) \textit{Missionary Notices}, no. 81, September 1822, pp. 324-6.
\(^{71}\) \textit{Missionary Notices}, no. 162, June 1829, p. 84.
\(^{72}\) \textit{Annual Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Year ending December
1830}, p. 39.
\(^{73}\) Samuel Leigh to Rev. Elijah Hoole, 5 February 1849; xeroxed copy supplied by
Methodist Archives and Research Centre, London.
misleading. There can be little doubt that the continual propaganda for missions was effective. The

cynic might argue that it was an easy way of salving consciences and enabling the
faithful to ignore the unhygienic poor on their doorstep, or that it was a device to
glamorize religion; but it is clear that the missionaries themselves were only the active
part of a movement with ramifications in many directions. It is instructive to read in
the back pages of Missionary Notices acknowledgements of the unending flow of
supporters' gifts. Leigh in fact launched the New Zealand mission at a time of
financial stringency by touring the provinces and appealing for goods, amassing a
motley collection of pots and pans, kettles, knives and forks, prints, calicoes and
'curiosities', axes, saws, pins, buttons, fish-hooks, clothes, articles in copper, iron and
brass, even a large tent. Much, we may suspect, was unusable; but by such means the
allegiance of thousands of the humble and obscure was enlisted in the contest between
'the vices and unrestrained passions of savages, and the mild yet powerfully
controlling influence of evangelical truth'. On the mites of widows, great missionary
empires rose.

Not all women confined themselves to making pincushions and work-bags for the
missions. Some came out as wives. Miss Bumby came with her bachelor brother,
marrying Gideon Smales when Bumby was drowned; Miss Kezia Bedford was sent
out in the barely concealed hope of the missionary fathers in London that she would
satisfy Mr Stack's conjugal needs. He and she had other ideas, and after upsetting the
bachelors of the Church Missionary Society Miss Bedford returned to Sydney and an
apparently wealthy marriage. These were the only single women in the mission. Of the
missionaries themselves, seven out of nineteen were single on arrival: Aldred, Bumby,
Buttle, Hobbs, Smales, Stack, and White. Of these, only Bumby, who was drowned
shortly after his arrival, failed to marry, and he had been accompanied by his sister
Mary Anna. It was not thought safe to leave a missionary unmarried.

S. Leigh, Notebook for use at missionary meetings, M.L,


Such items as 6 nightcaps from Mrs Abbotts of Lindenthorp, 4 dozen pocket
handkerchiefs from Mrs Gardner of Chipping Norton and from the Rev. Thomas
Keyworth of Faversham, a copy of his Introduction to the Hebrew Language. See
Missionary Notices, no. 120, December 1825. Among Young Ladies' Establishments it was
at times as if a competitive fever arose to produce the most pincushions and workbags for
the heathen: Miss D. Woods' Establishment 514; Miss Sherratt's 536; Miss Collingson's
684; with admirable Miss Twigg's Establishment romping home with 880 pincushions and
workbags. See Missionary Notices, no. 117, September 1825.

Strachan, Alexander, op. cit., p. 122.

Missionary Notices, no. 119, November 1825.
It is easy to underestimate the influence of missionary wives. Few of their letters or journals survive and in their husbands' writings they figure rarely, except when being wooed, or when sick or having babies. Yet their influence on the mission was considerable. At a time when 'culture contact' on the European side was almost exclusively male, the influence of missionary wives must have been out of all proportion to their number. They influenced directly, by participating as teachers and organizers; indirectly they shaped the whole ethos of the mission. The basic encounter in the missionary situation was between two family systems, the extended Polynesian family and the small European family. These had different patterns of child-rearing and produced different personalities, and thus a different approach to religion. The fact that missionaries came as family units placed firm limitations on the possible adaptations that Christianity might make. The fact that missionary wives had family responsibilities and duties connected with mission hospitality strongly limited their direct missionary role. The missionaries bemoaned their lack of influence on Maori diet, clothing, housing child-rearing and sanitation, and this was indeed disastrous for Maori health. But since these were areas where the influence of women might have been crucial, the inadequate number of women missionaries may explain much of the failure. On balance, the missionary family was probably more of a barrier than a bridge.

Yet the missionary's marriage was powerfully influenced by mission needs. For women, marriage was virtually the only way to enter on a missionary career. Many missionaries married only on the eve of departure, acquiring a wife at the same time as they gathered other necessary items of equipment. Thus, Samuel Leigh's biographer tells us that 'experience and observation' had convinced him that no single man should be appointed to labour amongst a barbarous people; so before leaving England, in 'the hope of promoting his own comfort and extending his usefulness among the natives of New Zealand he went down to Staffordshire and married a lady of the name of Clewes'. Yet the combination of marriage and career seems to have been effective; the marriages appear to have been as stable as they were prolific. Most surviving portraits of missionary wives show them in old age: grim Victorian grandmothers, tight lipped and buttoned up, survivors of a lifetime of pioneer perils. But when they arrived they were mostly in their twenties. Eliza White and Sarah Ironside, for example were not yet twenty-one, and both were bright and attractive young women. Miss Bumby was described by Felton Mathew as 'a very plump and a very nice, good tempered girl, rejoicing in the unfortunate name of “Bumby”' and by one of John Hobbs' daughters as ‘a vision of delight’.

79 Strachan, Alexander, op. cit., p. 130.
80 Rutherford, J. (ed.), The Founding of New Zealand, Auckland, 1940 p 50
81 Mrs Gittos, 'Three Missionary Heroines', New Zealand Methodist, 2 May 1891 p 4
Some appear to have come from a social background superior to that of their husbands. Hobbs' 'beloved Jane', for example was an actuary's daughter.\textsuperscript{82} Jane Woon had kept a Seminary for Young Ladies at Penzance;\textsuperscript{83} and Hannah Watkin was the niece of a leading Methodist minister in England, the Rev. J. Entwistle.\textsuperscript{84} In many cases there was parental opposition to the marriage: having brought up their daughters as pious young females, it must have been a terrifying thought that godly nurture had produced nothing better than a cooking-pot destination in the darkest South Seas. Mrs Woon and Mrs Hobbs encountered severe family opposition; Mrs Turner's father would not consent (until the last minute) to her going to cannibal New Zealand- yet Mrs Woon was able to report that in their 'conjugal union' they were most happy—"The Lord has given us five little ones within six years— and Mrs Turner was to have eight boys and six girls and live to be ninety-six."\textsuperscript{85}

Where we have evidence, the religious experience of missionary wives is very similar to that of their husbands. Thus Mrs Ironside, born Sarah Eades, the eldest of live, was converted at sixteen by 'the well known Squire Brooks of Huddersfield' and became an earnest and successful Sunday school teacher.\textsuperscript{86} Mrs Turner is described as being reared in the fear of God. She had two uncles Methodist preachers; she experienced a change of heart and was confirmed at the age of eighteen.\textsuperscript{87} Mrs Woon wrote the Rev. John Waterhouse that

\begin{quote}
the Lord wrought His Salvation in my heart by the instrumentality of your preaching in Penzance ... I never suffered terrors or horrors, but used almost to weep my life away for having grieved my God, and for the feeling since of His willingness to save.\textsuperscript{88}
\end{quote}

Missionaries were above all a people under stress. At the beginning was the sense of guilt and desolation which led to the conversion experience, which in turn produced a successful integration in some cases, in others men whose basic temperament continued in powerful conflict with their religious values. To this was added the strain

\textsuperscript{82} Gunson thesis, p. 514
\textsuperscript{83} Mrs Jane Woon to Rev. John Waterhouse, 4 March 1837; typescript, Methodist Connexional Office, Christchurch.
\textsuperscript{85} White's letter, n.d., in his Journal, T.T.C. See also Hobbs' Journal, T.T.C., 12 February 1827, for reference to opposition to his wife's coming. Details of Mrs 'Woon are from her letter of 4 March 1837; of Mrs Turner from Turner's Personal Narrative and, for date of her death, Australasian Missionary Review, 4 November 1893.
\textsuperscript{86} The New Zealand Methodist, 24 January 1891.
\textsuperscript{87} Australasian Missionary Review, 4 December 1893.
\textsuperscript{88} Mrs Jane Woon to Rev. John Waterhouse, 4 March 1837.
of the missionary situation: the existence of a culture, not without attraction, which seemed capable of successfully ignoring the missionary message; the absence of the institutional supports of church and community and of the reminders of inherited tradition; in many cases considerable sexual tension; the strain of the infighting characteristic of small closed communities under pressure.

In the light of this it is hardly surprising that there is evidence of mental disorder. Samuel Leigh and William White were both said by their colleagues to have been mentally unbalanced; and although colleagues are not always charitable in their judgments, it is hard to believe they were wrong in these two cases. White, for example, was given to extreme alternations of mood, veering between excessive self-confidence and utter self-abasement, a man of unpredictable, violent tempers. Stack, in later life, while serving with the C.M.S. suffered a mental breakdown and spent two years in hospital in England.\textsuperscript{89} McLintock's impression of Watkin's journal at Waikouaiti was of 'despair and disillusionment, tinged with deep depression which became more acute as the years went by'.\textsuperscript{90} Wallis is described by Morley as 'Quiet in manner and at times greatly depressed in spirit'.\textsuperscript{91}

Given the stress inherent in a missionary situation, it is difficult to decide what part the missionary's beliefs played in easing or increasing his problems. Mrs Binney has said of Thomas Kendall of the Church Missionary Society that he 'was predestined to be the victim of the fearful tension that Calvinism can create in a soul'.\textsuperscript{92} With the Wesleyans it is impossible to come to any such general conclusion about the psychological consequences of belief. The belief in justification by faith appears to have produced tranquillity in many cases; but the fear of losing what had been gained could produce anxiety and melancholy. A lack of desire to do good works, to persevere in missionary tasks—very natural in the face of opposition or indifference—could be interpreted as loss of faith, leading to damnation. Similarly, the belief that God was present in all things and all events, that saints were under the protection of God, while it could lead to tranquillity under danger, and there were many examples of this, could be devastating if a missionary began to interpret misfortune as evidence of God's wrath. Misfortune easily befell a missionary: his wife or his children could fall sick or die, his house could burn down, Maoris could be violent. What did such things mean? Perhaps the missionary was damned; perhaps he was being punished for his misdeeds; perhaps an ever-loving Heavenly Father was chastening and purifying those whom He loved. Given this range of explanations,
much depended on the missionary's temperament and physical condition, so that belief could make him stoical, tranquil or utterly despondent in the face of troubles.

Signs of mental strain are by no means the total picture. The average life span of missionaries was seventy and six reached four score years — White, 83; Stack, 82; Hobbs, 83; Wallis, 86; Ironside, 83; and Watkin, 81. Many of the wives enjoyed as good a life span as Mrs Turner: Eliza White died at 74, Mary Ann Wallis at 86, and Jane Hobbs, 88. Mental stress did not apparently prevent a successful old age. Watkin went on to a distinguished career in Australian Methodism, becoming President of the Australasian Conference at Adelaide in 1862. On his death he was described by Ironside as 'one of the most lovable men I ever knew and unselfish to a fault'. Something of Stack's indomitable quality is suggested by the report that in his old age, back at his native Portsmouth, he 'lived in considerable poverty, bathed in the sea every morning and held open-air services for sailors'. William White died at eighty-three after he rode forty miles on horse-back and then over-exerted himself gardening the next day. Whatever else may be said of early-nineteenth century Methodist belief and of the men who held it, they were both plants that could take root in a pioneering world.

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94 Samuel Ironside in Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, October 1891, pp. 730-7,
96 Obituary in New Zealand Herald, 26 November 1875.
APPENDIX ONE

STATISTICAL OUTLINE OF WIVES AND FAMILIES
ARRIVING IN NEW ZEALAND BY MAY 1840. (ARRANGED
IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF HUSBAND'S ARRIVAL.)

1. CATHERINE LEIGH, nee Clewes; born Staffordshire; married 1820; died 15 May 1831 at Parramatta, New South Wales. (In 1842 (August) Samuel Leigh married Elizabeth, widow of William Kaye, Methodist minister).

2. ELIZA WHITE, nee Leigh; born 11 July 1809 at Earith, Huntingdonshire; married 30 June 1829; aged 20 on arrival in New Zealand; two surviving sons; died 28 February 1883, aged 74.

3. MARY STACK, nee West, born 1814 at Islington?; married 6 October 1833; aged 19 on arrival in New Zealand; one son, one daughter; died 1850, aged 36. (Note: Stack married her after leaving the W.M.S.)

4. ANNE TURNER, nee Sargent, born 1798 at Ipstones, Etruria, Staffordshire, farmer's daughter; married 10 January 1822 at Stoke-on-Trent; aged 25 on arrival in New Zealand; nine sons, 6 daughters; died 10 October 1893, aged 96.

5. JANE HOBBS, nee Brogref or Brogreff, born 1799 at Ramsgate, Kent; an actuary's daughter; married 14 August 1827 in Sydney; aged 28 on arrival in New Zealand; four sons, five daughters; died 16 December 1887, aged 88.

6. MARY ANN WHITELEY, nee Cooke, married 4 September 1832, at South Collingham; one (?) son, three (?) daughters.

7. JANE WOON, nee Garland; born 1804 at Marazion, Cornwall; kept a Seminary for Young Ladies at Penzance; aged 30 on arrival in New Zealand; five (?) sons, one (?) daughter; died 1859, aged 55.

8. MARY ANN WALLIS, nee Reddick, born 26 May 1807; married 16 April 1834; aged 27 on arrival in New Zealand; five sons, four daughters; died 8 February 1893, aged 86.

9. JANE TONKIN BULLER, nee Martin; married 9 August 1835; 11 children; died 23 December 1884.

10. CREED; Not known. Her portrait is on p.75 of Morley's "History of Methodism in New Zealand," op. cit. See also the famous Baxter print of their landing in Taranaki.
11. SARAH IRONSIDE, nee Eades, converted at 16, married 24 August 1838 at Sheffield; died 1890.

12. WARREN; Not known. He was married on arrival in N.Z. - her portrait is on p. 120 of Morley, op. cit.

13. MARY AUSTRALIA ALDRED, nee Lawry; daughter of Walter Lawry, 1 May 1849 at Auckland; 2 sons, 3 daughters.

14. SARAH BUDDLE, nee Dixon, married September 1839 at Barnard Castle; five sons, five daughters; died 1 September 1884.

15. BUTTLE; Buttle was married but details not known.

16. MARY ANNA SMALES, nee Bumby, born 1811 at Thirsk, Yorkshire, married 29 December 1840 at Hokianga, three sons, two daughters; died at sea, 22 March 1862. (Sister of the Rev. J.H. Bumby.) Smales married twice more: MARY ANN SMALES, nee Baxter, born Robin Hood's Bay, Yorkshire February 22, 1845; 3 children all of whom died in infancy; died at Whitby, Yorkshire, 25 September 1869. (Married early 1860's, exact date not known). ELIZABETH TAYLER, whom Smales married in the early 1870's (exact date not known). There were 7 children of this marriage.

17. SUSANNAH TURTON, nee Kirk, married 1839; one son, died 1849.

18. HANNAH WATKIN, nee Entwistle, born 1807 in Manchester, married 1830; three sons; died 1900, aged 93.

N.B. In giving permission for the publication of material contained in Appendices 1 to 3, Dr. Owens acknowledged that some details were incomplete. I have added a few details from records immediately at hand.

L.R.M.G.
APPENDIX TWO

STATISTICAL OUTLINE OF WESLEYAN MISSIONARIES ARRIVING IN NEW ZEALAND BY MAY 1840. ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF ARRIVAL.

(I have added the photos when creating the on line version – Alec Utting)

1. SAMUEL LEIGH. Born 1 September 1785 at Milton, Staffs; converted at about fifteen; pre-missionary occupation, student; Congregationalist, then Wesleyan Probationer; educated at Dr Bogue's Congregational Seminary, Gosport; ordained 30 Sept. 1814, arrived New Zealand 5 May 1819 (stayed 1½ months) then 22 February 1822; age on arrival in New Zealand, 34; served at Bay of Islands (guest of C.M.S.) and at Whangaroa; left New Zealand mission 14 November 1823; later served in Australia and England; retired 1845; died May 2, 1852 at 66.

Samuel Leigh
2. **WILLIAM WHITE.** Born 1792 in Durham; parents Wesleyan?; pre-missionary occupation probably cabinet-maker; ordained 23 January 1822; arrived New Zealand 15 May 1823; age on arrival in New Zealand, 31; served at Whangaroa and Mangungu; left New Zealand mission 1837; later in kauri spar trade in Hokianga and Kaipara; died 25 November 1875, at 83.

![William White](image)

3. **JAMES STACK.** Born 1 September 1801 at Portsmouth; parents Roman Catholic and Church of England; pre-missionary occupation, naval service in England and New South Wales; arrived New Zealand February 1823 aged 22; probationer 1825; served at Whangaroa and Mangungu, left New Zealand mission 2 May 1832; transferred to C.M.S. and returned to New Zealand until 1847 when he returned to England; died 18 April 1883, aged 82,
4. **NATHANIEL TURNER.** Born 1793 at Wybunbury, Cheshire; father a farmer, member of Church of England; pre-missionary occupation probably farming; home missionary in Cheshire; ordained 23 January 1822; arrived New Zealand 3 August 1823 aged 30; served at Whangaroa and Mangungu; left New Zealand mission August 1839; subsequently served in Australia; retired 1850; died 5 September 1864, aged 71.
5. **JOHN HOBBS.** Born 22 February 1800 at Isle of Thanet, Kent; father an agricultural implement maker and Wesleyan local preacher; converted at 16; pre-missionary occupation, carpenter, joiner and blacksmith; Wesleyan local preacher; little formal education; arrived New Zealand 5 August 1823 aged 23; ordained 1827; served at Whangaroa and Mangungu; also served in Tonga 1833-1838; left New Zealand 1858?; died 24 June 1883, aged 83.
6. **JOHN WHITELEY.** Born 20 July 1806 at Kneesall, Nottinghamshire; of pious parents who were at first Independent; pre-missionary occupation, miller and baker; four years local preacher, ordained 27 September 1832; arrived New Zealand 21 May 1833 aged 27; served in Kawhia, Pakanae, Taranaki; shot 13 February 1869, aged 63.
7. **WILLIAM WOON.** Born 18 December 1803 at Truro, Cornwall; pre-missionary occupation, printer; 7 years a Wesleyan member, 4 years a Local Preacher in England, served in Tonga, 1831-4; visited New Zealand 1831 but finally arrived January 1834 aged 30; served at Mangungu, Kawhia, Manukau, Pakanae, Taranaki; retired 1854; died 22 September 1858, aged 54.

8. **JAMES WALLIS.** Born 18 April 1809 at Blackwall, Poplar near London; parents Wesleyan; pre-missionary occupation cabinet-maker; Local Preacher, then Minister at Ely; ordained 1 April 1834; arrived New Zealand 1 December 1834, aged 25; served at Mangungu, Whanearoa, Tangiteroria; left mission 1863; thereafter worked among Europeans in Auckland; retired 1868; died 5 July 1895, aged 86.
9. **JAMES BULLER.** Born 6 December 1812 at Helston, Cornwall; father a Baptist deacon, Buller himself a converted Wesleyan; converted at 20; pre-missionary occupation, teacher; arrived New Zealand 27 April 1836, aged 24; served at Mangungu, Tangiteroria; left mission 1854; thereafter worked among Europeans and re-visited England; died 6 November 1884, aged 72.

10. **CHARLES CREED.** Born 8 October 1812 at Hembridge Farm, Somerset; parents Church of England, Creed himself a converted Wesleyan; converted at 18; pre-missionary occupation farmer; educated Hoxton Theological Institution, ordained 1837; arrived New Zealand 18 March 1839, aged 27; served 20 years in Hokianga, Kaipara, Taranaki and Waikouaiti; left New Zealand Mission 1852; served in Australia; retired 1867; died February, 1879, aged 67.
11  JOHN H. BUMBY. Born 17 November 1808 at Thirsk, Yorkshire; parents Wesleyan; converted at 15; educated at an Academy at Leeds; four years a Probationer, then an ordained minister from 1834; arrived New Zealand 18 March 1839, aged 31; based on Mangungu, toured North Island and northern part of the South Island; drowned 26 June, 1840, aged 32.

12. SAMUEL IRONSLIDE. Born 9 September 1814 at West Sheffield, Yorkshire; father 50 years a Wesleyan Local Preacher; converted at 17; pre-missionary occupation, cutler; educated two years at Hoxton Theological Institution; arrived New Zealand 18 March 1839, aged 25; served in Hokianga, Cloudy Bay, Wellington, Nelson, New Plymouth; left mission 1858?; later served in Australia; retired 1878; died 24 April 1897, aged 83.
13. **JOHN WARREN.** Born 1814 in Norfolk; father a farmer; converted at 17; pre-missionary occupation, tailor; Wesleyan Local Preacher, Probationer 2 years; ordained 14 September 1838?; arrived New Zealand January 1840, aged 26; served at Waima and Newark; then 15 years European work at Wellington, Nelson, Auckland, Manukau; retired 1869; died 24 November 1883, aged 69.

14. **JOHN ALDRED.** Born 12 February 1818 at Stutton, near Ipswich, Suffolk; converted at 14; pre-missionary occupation, school teacher; converted from Church of England; 3 years education as articled pupil with a clergyman; ordained 4 September 1839, arrived New Zealand 7 May 1840 aged 22; served at Ahuahu, Wellington, Nelson, Christchurch etc.; left mission 1843? organised a succession of European circuits in New Zealand; died 14 January 1894, aged 76.
15. **THOMAS BUDDLE.** Born 1812 in Durham; parents Church of England from which Buddle himself converted at 17; Wesleyan Local Preacher, then 4 years Probationer; ordained 1839; arrived New Zealand 7 May 1840, aged 28; served at Whaingaroa, Te Kopua; then served 22 years in Auckland (also on Senate of New Zealand University); retired 1882; died June 1883, aged 71.

16. **GEORGE BUTTLE.** Born 1810 at Snaith, Yorkshire; converted at 17; ordained 1838; arrived New Zealand 7 May 1840 aged 30; served at Waipa; 1858 returned to England, 1863 back to New Zealand; retired 1863; died 10 July 1874, aged 64.
17. **GIDEON SMALES.** Born 1818 at Whitby, Yorkshire; pre-missionary occupation, printer; ordained 1839; arrived New Zealand 7 May 1840, aged 22; served until 1856 after which he retired and farmed 300 acres at East Tamaki; died 5 October 1894, aged 76.

18. **HENRY H. TURTON.** Born 1818 at Bradford, Yorkshire, son of a Wesleyan minister; ordained 1839; arrived New Zealand 7 May 1840 aged 22 years; served at Mangungu, Aotea, Ngamotu, Kawhia, Manukau; after retirement in 1858 was in business in New Plymouth; died 18 September 1887, aged 69.
19. JAMES WATKIN. Born 1805 at Manchester; father a soldier; two years a Wesleyan Local Preacher, also served in Tonga, 1831-7, then New South Wales; arrived New Zealand in May 1840, aged 35; served at Waikouaiti; left New Zealand mission 1855; served in New South Wales; retired 1869, died 14 May 1886, aged 81.
# APPENDIX THREE

## CHILDREN OF EARLY N.Z. WESLEYAN MISSIONARIES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARENTS NAME</th>
<th>DATE MARRIED</th>
<th>NAME OF CHILD</th>
<th>DATE OF BIRTH</th>
<th>PLACE OF BIRTH</th>
<th>LATER CAREER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(daughter) John Ebenezer T. L.</td>
<td>23 Feb 1831</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Died 20 mins. after born</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TURNER, Nathaniel</strong></td>
<td>15 Jan 1822</td>
<td>Thomas Nathaniel (miscarriage)</td>
<td>21 Jan 1833</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(miscarriage) John Sargent</td>
<td>1 Aug 1834</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Martha Nathaniel Jonah George Charles Wesley</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mary Emma Bloor Sarah Eliza Hopkins</td>
<td>21 July 1835</td>
<td>Hobart</td>
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</table>
| | | | | | Shipmaster at Canterbury
| | | | | | M. drt of L. Iredale. |

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>DATE MARRIED</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TURNER, Nathaniel (cont.)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hannah Jane Louisa Elizabeth Nathaniel Emily George Edwin</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hangungu</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>1 Dec 1838</td>
<td>Hangungu</td>
<td>Hobart</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15 Aug 1840</td>
<td>Hangungu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BOISS, John</strong></td>
<td>13 Aug 1827</td>
<td>Emma</td>
<td>2 Aug 1828</td>
<td>Hangungu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(miscarriage) (miscarriage) Marianne Margaretta Richard Foebe George Edward Giles Eliza William</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hangungu</td>
<td>Hangungu</td>
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Page 37
### The Wesleyan Missionaries to New Zealand before 1840 — J M R Owens 1982

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<th>LATER CAREER</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>WHITELEY</strong> William (contd)</td>
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<td>16 April 1834</td>
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<td>Mary Fletcher John James</td>
<td>29 Sep 1836</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Died 17 April 1839</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth Reddick</td>
<td>23 Nov 1835</td>
<td>Te Horo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Married Rev. Mr. Fletcher. Died 11 December 1894.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>William Henry Sarah Lydia</td>
<td>29 Apr 1837</td>
<td>Tangiteroria</td>
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