

FIRST YEARS AT HOKIANGA 1827 – 1836

In a previous brochure, entitled "*Toil and Adversity at Whangaroa*," the story of the Methodist Mission to New Zealand is told from its initiation in 1823 to its disruption and the enforced flight of the missionaries in 1827. After a brief stay with members of the Anglican Mission at the Bay of Islands the Methodist party sailed for Sydney in the whaler "Sisters" on January 28th, 1827, arriving at their destination on February 9th. It consisted of Nathaniel Turner and Mrs. Turner, with their three children, John Hobbs, James Stack and Mr. and Mrs. Luke Wade, and they took with them a Maori girl and two native lads. William White had left Whangaroa for England on September 19th, 1825, and at the time of the flight had not returned. The catastrophe to the Mission was complete. The buildings had been burned to the ground, the live stock killed; books and records destroyed, and the property of the Mission now consisted only of a few articles in store in Sydney which had not been forwarded to New Zealand.

Chapter I

The departure of the Mission party for Sydney is seen, as we look back upon it, to have been the right course. Sydney was their headquarters, they were a large party and could not expect to stay indefinitely with their Anglican friends, and it could not be foreseen when they would be able to re-establish the work. On their arrival in Australia they at once issued a Statement setting forth the whole story of the tragedy that had occurred and making clear their determination to return. "We beg it to be distinctly understood," they said, "that our Mission in New Zealand, though suspended, is by no means abandoned." This important record of events appears in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1827, pages 554-589 and 773-775, and also in Dr. J. R. Elder's *"The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden,"* pages 430-440. On receiving this Statement the British Wesleyan authorities approved the action of the missionaries and urged the re-commencement of the Mission as soon as possible.

Meanwhile the New Zealand missionaries were taking counsel with their brethren in New South Wales as to their future action. In February, shortly after their arrival in Sydney, a meeting was held, at which Samuel Leigh was present, to discuss the situation. Two facts influenced the decision. First, the British Wesleyan authorities, having been informed some time before that, owing to the widespread and continued unrest among the natives, the Mission at Whangaroa might have to be abandoned, had strongly advised that, should such a withdrawal become necessary, the Mission should be established elsewhere.

And, further, the British Wesleyan Conference of 1826 had constituted a New Zealand District, separate from New South Wales, including the Missions in New Zealand and Tonga, and had appointed William White as its Chairman. He was at that time in England, and it was decided that the New Zealand Mission party should remain in New South Wales till he arrived.

(Prior to 1826 the New Zealand Mission was part of the New South Wales District of the British Wesleyan Methodist Conference. In that year New Zealand and Tonga were constituted a District separate from New South Wales and entitled "The New Zealand District." This arrangement continued until 1830, when Tonga was separated from New Zealand and constituted "The Friendly Islands District," with Nathaniel Turner as Chairman, William White then becoming- Chairman of the New Zealand District. White's name appears in the "Minutes" of the British Conference as Chairman of the united District in 1826. From, 1827 .to 1830 Turner, resident in Tonga, is Chairman. White returned to New Zealand in 1830 and was Chairman of that District till his retirement from the Mission in 1836.)

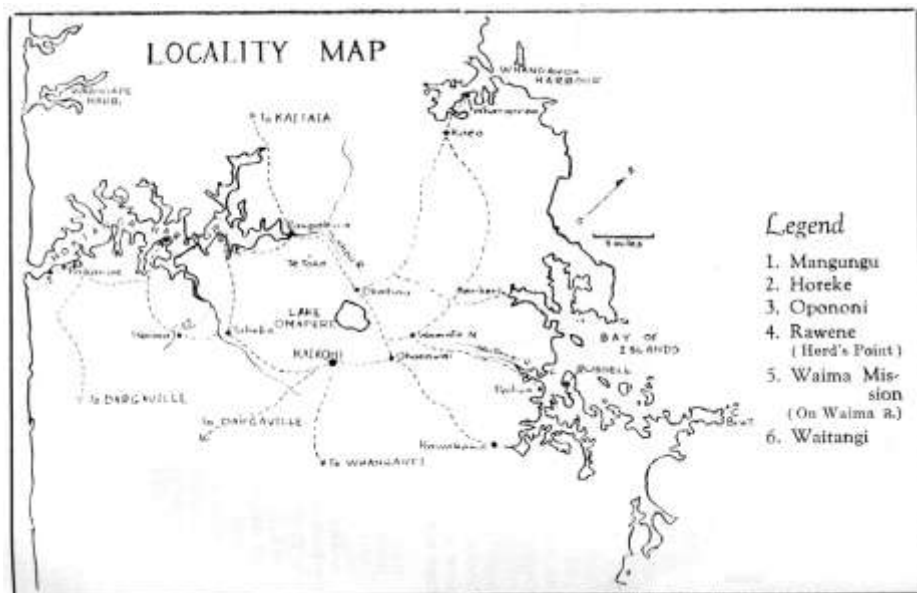
The delay was prolonged and it was unwelcome to eager men; and, unhappily, as we shall see, it led to the loss of Nathaniel Turner from the New Zealand Mission. They waited patiently for over six months, during which time, as Turner records, they were

daily expecting White's arrival, but on August 3rd the Rev. William Cross, who had been designated by the British authorities for the New Zealand work, arrived from England with the unexpected news that the Missionary Committee did not now propose to send William White back to New Zealand. A new situation was thus created and it was possible to take immediate action. At a meeting held on August 23rd it was decided that the Mission should be re-commenced at Hokianga and that preparations should be at once made for an early departure. No other place came into their discussions. As early as 1824 White records in his journal that chiefs from Hokianga, visiting Whangaroa, had strongly desired that missionaries should settle among their people, and the most recent information available assured them that a welcome awaited them in that locality. Accordingly, on September 17th, Turner, with Hobbs and Cross, entered into an agreement with Captain Kent, of the brig "Governor Macquarie," a vessel of 140 tons, to convey the Mission party and their equipment to New Zealand, and to provide for them on board at Hokianga for three weeks until suitable accommodation should be arranged ashore.

See the next page for a Locality Map.

Chapter II.

Nathaniel Turner was not a member of the party that returned to New Zealand. When they set sail he was already on his way to Tonga. The Statement issued by the missionaries on their arrival in Sydney was drafted by him and it expressed a firm resolve to return and renew the Mission. While they awaited White's arrival Turner had been "Provisional Chairman, and his status and experience well qualified him for the place of leadership in the approaching venture. But circumstances detached him, at the last moment, from the staff of the New Zealand Mission.



The determining factor was the state of the recently established Mission in Tonga. There were two missionaries in that field, John Thomas and John Hutchinson, who had landed in 1826. In the following year Mr. John V.M. Weiss had been appointed as a lay assistant and had proceeded to Tonga. He returned, however, in the vessel that had conveyed him thither, without having landed. He reported that the two missionaries, oppressed by adverse circumstances and in view of the serious ill-health of Hutchinson, were preparing to abandon the station. They had, indeed, prevented his landing and had instructed him, on reaching Sydney, to send out a larger vessel by which then-withdrawal might be effected. On the return of Weiss with this distressful news a special District Meeting was held on September 25-27. Its findings were highly critical of the missionaries concerned and it was resolved that Nathaniel Turner, with William Cross and John Weiss, should at once proceed to Tonga in order

to encourage the brethren and to retrieve the situation. They set sail on October 8th, twelve days before the New Zealand party embarked.

There is ample evidence that Turner's mind had been frequently inclined towards Tonga during the long delay in Sydney, and that the crisis referred to provided an opportunity which he would not find it difficult to embrace. In April, less than three months after the return from New Zealand, Hobbs records in his journal— "Mr. Turner still thinks we shall do well to go to Tonga," the implication being that even at that early date the possibility had for some time been under consideration.

In June the question is still open, for Turner, writing to the Missionary Secretaries, says— "From all I can hear there appears to me a far greater prospect of success in the Friendly Islands and those adjacent than in New Zealand." We are therefore the less surprised when we find that, in his communication to the British authorities informing them of his change of plans, and written only two days before he set out for Tonga, he should say that in his opinion Tonga is much more important than New Zealand and that some of the New Zealand staff must go there at once. Indeed, he adds, it would be better "for the whole of us to go to Tonga and suspend New Zealand for the present." In considering these discussions, the fact must not be lost sight of that New Zealand and Tonga were at that time one ecclesiastical District under the direction, of one Chair-man. And we recall, without implying that it had influence in the matter, Samuel Marsden's suggestion, contained in his correspondence with Joseph Butterworth, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, that the three Missionary Societies concerned should accept certain definite fields for their Missions in the Pacific, and that the Church Missionary Society should work in New Zealand, the London Missionary Society in the Society Islands, while the Wesleyan Missionary Society should take charge in Tonga.

But though his eyes had often been turned towards Tonga during the prolonged stay in Sydney, Turner would certainly have led the return to New Zealand had it not been for the threatened collapse of the Mission in the Friendly Islands. For, as we have seen, he had on September 17th shared in the engagement by which the "Governor Macquarie" was secured to convey the Mission party to New Zealand and preparations were in progress when, on the 21st, news reached them that Weiss had returned from Tonga. And, further, writing on the eve of his departure from Sydney, Turner assures the Missionary Committee in London that they had fully made up their minds to re-establish the New Zealand Mission when the grave news from Tonga demanded a modification of their plans. The modification was that both Turner and Cross were transferred to the Tonga Mission and that New Zealand lost, for eight important years, the leadership of the former, while William Cross, one of the ablest missionaries in the history of the Pacific, found his life work in Tonga and Fiji. Men of such calibre were greatly missed amid the difficulties that disturbed the early years at Hokianga. On

these important developments Hobbs makes entry in his journal that Turner has sailed for Tonga, and adds—"As his mind has long been set on the Friendly Islands, I do not expect him to return to New Zealand, though I should hail it with the greatest pleasure." Turner, on his part, records, in strangely restrained words that Hobbs and Stack are "to attempt something in New Zealand."

Chapter III.

The New Zealand party left Sydney for Hokianga in the "*Governor Macquarie*" on October 20th, 1827, the stay in New South Wales having extended over eight months. Its members were the Rev. John Hobbs and Mrs. Hobbs, Miss Bedford and Mr. and Mrs. Luke Wade. Hobbs had been married on August 15th to Miss Jane Brogriff, of Ramsgate, who, with Miss Bedford, had arrived from England in the vessel by which William Cross had travelled. The Wades had been loyal servants of the Mission at Whangaroa, but they were less happy in the work at Hokianga and, Mrs. Wade's health having failed, they returned to Sydney in 1830, where she passed away soon after their arrival. Miss Bedford was a lady gifted as a teacher, who had come to assist Mrs. Turner in the native schools in fulfilment of an engagement made while the Mission was still in operation at Whangaroa. She came of good family. Her father was an officer in the Indian Army, and one was a niece of Lord Heathfield, who was Governor of Gibraltar, and whose brilliant defence of the Rock in 1779-1783 was rewarded with a peerage. After a comparatively brief period at Hokianga, Miss Bedford returned to Australia and there married Mr. Launcelot Iredale. Their home became for many years a place of welcome and hospitality for missionaries and their families who were passing through Sydney. The daughters of the Iredale family settled in New Zealand, both in Christchurch, Mrs. William Lane and Mrs. Charles Wesley Turner. The former was an active supporter of the Anglican Church; the latter, whose husband was a son of Nathaniel Turner, a prominent layman of the Methodist Communion, and a chief mover in the erection of the Durham Street Church, loyally supported her husband in his church activities,

James Stack, though a member of the Mission staff, did not travel in the "*Governor Macquarie*." Mr. Richard Davis, of the New Zealand Anglican Mission, had arrived in Sydney in the Mission schooner "*Herald*." He brought an invitation from Patuone to the Methodist Mission to settle at Hokianga and favoured its acceptance. He also offered Stack a free passage to New Zealand in the "*Herald*." It may thus be taken that the Anglican brethren were, to some extent, interesting themselves in the re-establishment of the sister Mission. With the approval of his co-workers Stack accepted the invitation extended to him, and, leaving Sydney on September 20th, he arrived at the Bay of Islands on October 8th, some three weeks before Hobbs reached Hokianga, and was welcomed by the Anglican friends at Paihia. It was, no doubt, his desire to prepare in any way that might be possible for the arrival of the main party. Dr. J. R. Elder goes so far as to say that his Mission was "to enter into negotiations with the Maoris." Hobbs, however, makes no mention of this, merely recording that Stack's departure in the "*Herald*" was in accordance with his own wishes. Nor is there any evidence that, in the time at his disposal, he was able to render any preparatory service or that he attempted to do so. He did not leave the Bay of Islands and there exists no record of any contact with the Hokianga natives, nor is any evidence of such

contact revealed when Hobbs arrived and the re-establishment of the Mission began. We know, however, that from some source the news of the coming of the Methodist party preceded their arrival and that their appearance did not take the natives by surprise. And, further, the interest of the Anglican brethren, already made evident by Davis' actions and by Stack's welcome at Paihia, was intensified and the way was opened for the important assistance which they rendered immediately on Hobbs' arrival.

Chapter IV.

The "*Governor Macquarie*," after a good passage, entered the Hokianga Heads on October 31st. She had been delayed by morning fog, but the day cleared and she came in on the after-noon tide and anchored off Pakanae. She brought as a passenger Augustus Earle, the author of "*A Narrative of a Nine Months' Stay in New Zealand in 1827*," whose vivid pen provides some realistic touches denied us in the more prosaic journals of the missionaries. He describes the swift approach of numerous canoes, the loud discharge of muskets answered by the ship's "swivels," the swarming of the natives on board the vessel "by chains and bows where there was no other way," their good humour and animated salutations, and the vociferous "dance of welcome" that shook the deck and sent the ladies in alarm to their cabins. Here was the savagery of the land at its best. But the next day Earle saw a more abhorrent side of native life. He was ashore with a party from the ship and, wandering alone, came across the remains of a cannibal meal. A lad, set to guard the chief's kumara ground from the intrusion of hogs, had been so attracted by the arrival of the vessel as to neglect his task. With a single stroke of the hatchet his master had taken his life and the body had been consumed. Little did one of the ladies of the party, who on the completion of the visit was being carried across the mudflat to the ship's boat suspect that her gallant bearer was the cannibal himself!

With characteristic zeal Hobbs lost no time in seeking contact with Patuone. The natives of Pakanae used every pressure to prevail on him to settle in their parts, but he was not to be delayed, and on the afternoon of November 1st, wind and tide being favourable, he took the boat which he had brought from Sydney, and with Luke Wade went up the Hokianga River.

(We use the term "river," though "harbour" is often employed. The waterway is long and narrow and it is fed by numerous tributary streams, and "river" was the term in general use)

There were two settlements of Europeans toward the head of the river whither Hobbs was travelling, both of which have frequent mention in the missionary journals. At the Horeke, 25 miles from the Heads, was the establishment of Brown and Raine, dealers in timber and builders of small craft. Here twenty Europeans resided, and there were dwelling houses, store-rooms and workshops. It was a busy centre of industry and trade, and Earle styles it "a snug little colony of our own countrymen." A few miles beyond Horeke was a settlement of Scotsmen, five in number, living under the favour and protection of Patuone. They had arrived at Hokianga early in 1827 in the first New Zealand Company's vessel "*Rosanna*," under Captain Herd. Attempts to form a settlement had failed, largely, it is said, through the inexperience of the leader. The last hopes of success were now abandoned and the "*Rosanna*" returned to Sydney, the

five Scotsmen alone remaining in New Zealand. Earle found them busily employed "cutting timber, sawing planks and making oars for the Sydney market."



REV. JOHN HOBBS
Photo from the late Mrs. S. J. Garlick,
per Mr. C. J. Freeman, Wellington
An early photograph; the date is uncertain

On his arrival at the Horeke, Hobbs learned that Patuone was living seven miles beyond on the Waihou River, the water of which was navigable only at full tide. The following morning he proceeded on his quest, guided by a native refugee from Whangaroa, and found the chief. It was the first time they had met since the memorable incident during the flight from Wesleydale, ten months before. Patuone, whose settlement Earle describes as "a splendid village," welcomed the newcomer and at once raised the burning question of firearms, wishing to know whether the missionaries would oppose the sale of muskets and powder to the natives by Europeans. Hobbs made it clear that, while they could not prevent such trading, they themselves would take no part in it; but, he said, they would pay in "trade" for what they might require. "I am satisfied," replied Patuone, "that is what you used to do at Whangaroa."

The important question of the location of the Mission now arose and, while various sites were being visited, Stack arrived from the Bay of Islands, and with him, in prompt response to Hobbs' invitation, came the Rev. Henry Williams and Messrs. Richard Davis, Charles Davis and William Puckey, of the Anglican Mission. They arrived on the evening of November 6th and slept that night in the canvas tent which they had brought with them. They had crossed by the familiar track so often to be used in the future for intercourse between the Missions. It was a native path, narrow and

confined, some forty miles in length. Much of the way lay through a dense forest, whose great trees, in Felton Mathew's description, were inter-laced with parasites and cane-brake, while the thick underwood, with its enormous ferns, rose high above the horses' heads. Fallen trees at times lay across the track and impeded the traveller, and despite the speedier travel that was possible in the open country, a whole long day might be taken in the journey, especially when ladies were of the party or goods had to be carried.

The day following their arrival Stack and Puckey set themselves to prepare a native house, which had been placed at the disposal of the party, for the reception of the ladies from the ship, while the others accompanied Hobbs to the "Governor Macquarie," which had now come up to within a few miles of their locality. On Thursday, November 8th, four canoes laden with goods arrived, the members of the Mission party travelling in the boat. The house was ready for them. It was some thirty feet long by nine feet wide, but the eaves were only three feet, and the ridgepole six feet, from the ground. It had been lined with "plaited green stuff" and a small piece of ground had been enclosed as a yard to secure some privacy. The goods were brought ashore "in boxes and casks" and the women set to work to make the house habitable—parts were curtained off with blankets, boxes of even height served as bedsteads, and thus they settled into their first home. "It being so low is some-what uncomfortable," gently complains John Hobbs, "and we have begun already to knock our heads."

Soon this temporary home was vacated in favour of another built for them by native labour. It was sixty feet long and fifteen feet wide, and it contained a living room, several bedrooms and a store. The place was lightly constructed, thatched with nikau, floored with boards and provided with doors and windows brought from Sydney. This better house, which was occupied on November 29th, though more comfort-able and convenient, had also its defects. "It is far from being either windproof or watertight," comments Hobbs.



Mrs. JOHN HOBBS
Photo from late Mrs. S.
J. Garlick, per Mr. C.
J. Freeman, Wellington

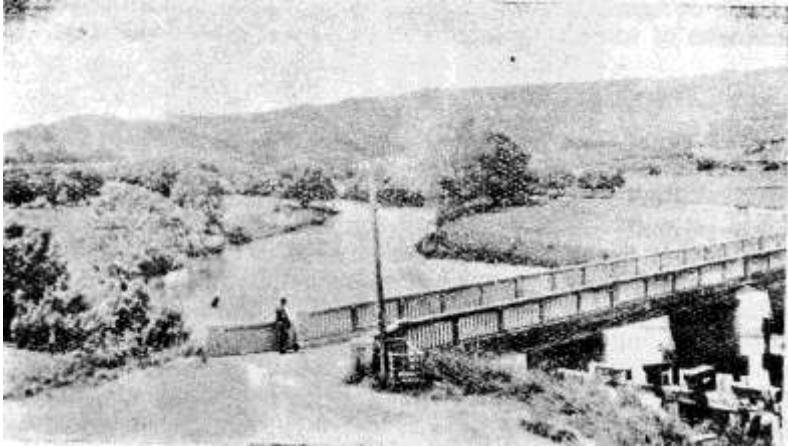
By November 10th almost all the property of the Mission had been brought ashore from the ship, and on Sunday the 11th the first services were held. In the morning Henry Williams preached and Holy Communion was observed, and in the afternoon Williams, Hobbs and Puckey, accompanied by Patuone, who entered the boat on the way, proceeded up the river. They found a considerable number of natives "sitting on a bank" by the stream, and there the first native service was held. "They were very attentive," is Hobbs' comment and, he adds, "Patuone was very respectful." At the close of the day Hobbs records with some natural elation—"I feel as one restored to his proper element," and looking forward in faith he anticipates the conversion of many of "these superstitious, obstinate and ferocious men." The following Sunday Hobbs and Stack had Patuone, Nene and Te Taonui, all great chiefs, together with fifty natives, in their congregation at the Horeke. "They manifested much nobleness of mind," says Hobbs in his entry for the day.

Chapter V.

he selection of a permanent site for the Mission presented many difficulties. It was highly desirable that contact should be maintained with Patuone and his people, and also that there should be convenient access to the native population generally. And, further, it was of first importance, in such a locality, that they should be able to launch their boats and get about their business at any time of the day. The main Hokianga River affords, throughout most of its length, deep water accessible to the shore, but its extreme readies and the many streams that enter it are subject to great tidal variations and are navigable only at high water. Many localities were visited under Patuone's guidance and, while their stay continued, in company with the Anglicans. Patuone's first suggestion was Tarauaua, on the south bank of the Waihou, where the trees had been already felled to provide a space for a potato ground. But the land here was alluvial and subject to floods. A more eligible site was found at Te Toke. It had attracted Hobbs' attention within a week of their arrival and, though not favoured by Patuone, was finally decided upon.

On December 14th a site there was purchased, consisting of "a certain piece of land along the river, from a stream, of water called Arawata Kowai to two puriri trees standing close to the river's mouth." The strip was some 120 fathoms wide, and the area, with the two puriri trees, is clearly indicated in the early survey map of the district preserved by the Lands and Survey Department. It, included a hill with an attractive out-look on which the Mission house might stand, a good launching place for boats on the river eight minutes distant, and the land was thickly wooded. The price paid was ten pairs of blankets and ten of each of the following articles; Felling axes, hoes, hatchets, plane irons, chisels, shut knives, small-tooth combs, files and scissors. Hobbs surveys the bargain and says—"The above articles are more than any other place has cost in New Zealand, but, when it is remembered that the ships have come and given them double-barrelled guns for a small piece of ground, the above will not appear unreasonable." The adjacent natives were jealous of these dealings with Patuone and they bade Hobbs "Carry your worship to the person to whom you have given your other good things." But the transaction stood, and a fortnight later the ground on which their dwelling house was built, adjoining the site already purchased, was also bought.

No mention is made of the price of this additional land, but the persons who received payment and gave acknowledgement were Nene and Matangi.



RIVER WAIHOU at RANGIAHUA; Te Toke hills in background
Rev. C. B. Oldfield, photo

But after all it was not at Te Toke that the Mission was finally established. Even while the purchase of that site was under consideration they seem to have had grave doubts as to its suitability. Although as early as November 15th Hobbs speaks of Te Toke as "the place where we have determined to fix our establishment," other sites were visited during the following weeks, and as we have seen, it was not till December 14th that the question was settled. Then, to our astonishment, within ten days we find Hobbs and Stack in close conversation about the merits of the site they had so recently acquired, and the former raising the question of settling near the Horeke "If we go to Te Toke," he enters in his journal, "we shall be buried for some time in work." He is referring to the felling of the heavy bush on the property to clear the way for building and for a sufficient pathway to the river, eight minutes away. And he further adds—"We shall have but few natives anywhere near us and shall not be able to hold anything like a constant intercourse with the natives down the river." Yet, notwithstanding these drawbacks, they astonish us by purchasing, two days later, the additional land at Te Toke.

Finally Stack records in his journal on January 14th, 1828, that, in view of the disadvantages of Te Toke, they have decided to consult the Anglican brethren concerning "a place called Mangungu," about eight miles down the river and a mile from Brown and Raine's establishment, where as many as twenty Europeans reside. He recites the advantages of the new site— its central location, there being access to all the Hokianga tribes, its open and healthy situation, there being sufficient land already cleared to allow of building being immediately begun, the rich quality of the soil, and its convenience for transport by water—"A ship of 500 tons may lie within a hundred yards of the dwelling-place." We are therefore prepared to learn that on

January 28th Hobbs, having visited the Bay of Islands to consult the Anglican friends, they engaged to purchase the Mangungu site from Ngatumu and Warekaua, relations of Patuone, who, however, constantly protested against the change, and the following day Hobbs and Luke Wade began the erection of the house. The work proceeded, despite many difficulties, arising in part from the unwillingness of the natives to assist unless rewarded by payment in weapons and ammunition, and on March 20th Stack is able to record—"To-day at 4 p.m. we all moved down to Mangungu, where, though our places of abode are purely of a makeshift kind, yet the air is so grateful when compared with the noxious exhalations of Waihou, that we have abundant cause for thankfulness." On April 2nd the purchase was completed, the price for an area of 850 acres being articles of trade to the value of £190. It was a fair bargain at a time when, as Dr. Morley says, five hundred acres might be bought for a barrel of powder or a couple of muskets.

Eight years later, on a "clear autumnal day" in 1836 James Buller arrived at Mangungu. He pictures, in his "Forty Years in New Zealand," the wide and winding river up which he came, deep enough in mid-channel for the largest ships, its many tributary streams, the native villages on the surrounding hills, the fertile dales opening on either side, the abounding forest in its virgin glory, the stalwart Maoris, clad in rough mats or blankets, whose canoes approached the vessel. At nearly every bend v,- as a rude and lonely hut, built of slabs, the house of some white man and his Maori wife and half-caste progeny. There were, he says, two hundred such men living on the river. In the late afternoon they came to anchor off the mission settlement. It was situated on a small promontory extending into the river, and was flanked by steep hills covered with dense forest, several acres of which had been cleared. The surface was uneven, and Mangungu, which means "broken to pieces," seemed an appropriate name. He describes the buildings as they then existed—the Mission church in the centre, the capacious dwelling-house and other erections for the staff, the low huts for natives living at the station, the prosperous orchard, the little cemetery with its drooping willows, the boat-house by the river, the uncompleted wharf. His apt words re-create the scene, but many strenuous years were to pass before the picture, as he saw it, was completed.

Chapter VI.

It was thus John Hobbs and James Stack who, after much hesitation, selected the ideal site on the main waterway and planned the settlement to which, with Luke Wade, they laboured to give form. They were young men, still in their twenties. Hobbs was a third-year probationer for the ministry and Stack, who never received Wesleyan ordination, appears on the official list as an "Assistant Missionary." They were eager and devoted men, intimates in friendship, gifted with many practical aptitudes, and they put to good use the experience gained at a high price at Whangaroa. They laid secure and abiding foundations upon which their successors built, and for long years Mangungu remained the headquarters of the Mission and a centre of far-reaching and beneficent influence among the Maori people.

A glance at the map will show that, with all the land before them, the Anglican and Methodist Missions were again established in close proximity to each other. They were on opposite sides of the island, but each was located in the Far North; the tribes to which they ministered were closely related to each other, and Mangungu was scarcely fifty miles from Paihia. This arrangement, to which the Anglicans were freely consenting parties, had evident advantages from which the Methodist Mission especially benefited. In times of danger or perplexity they could share each other's counsels, in sickness or mishap aid was the more readily at hand, and social intercourse between the Mission families was possible. But many things might have been different had the Methodist Mission been established in the coastal districts about Kawhia, where it later took up ground, and had thence penetrated into the Waikato or gone to the populous tribes of Taranaki. There were good reasons why Hokianga was chosen, where friendly tribes awaited the missionaries and communication with Sydney and the outer world was not infrequent. But it was not all gain that the two Missions were established almost side by side. In the end friction developed about fields of enterprise, which was good for neither of them. But that belongs to a later story.

The sound and practical ideals with which John Hobbs set himself to work are seen in the equipment he brought with him from Sydney, and in the applications for assistance which he pressed upon the attention of the Missionary Committee in London. He brought a new and well-equipped boat which, as we have seen, he put to use within a few hours of his arrival and which continued to provide means of access to every part of that country of inlets and streams. And, ever a man skilful with his hands, he brought a well-filled tool chest to replace that lost at Whangaroa. There were also doors and windows and flooring boards ready at hand when they began to build, and they had sufficient "trade" to pay for the sites they bought and for whatever necessaries the country could supply. And much equipment followed which had been left in Sydney until the attitude of the natives was well assured.

But, further, Hobbs brought with him copies of translations of various hymns and parts of the Catechism, and also five hundred "alphabets" and "orthographical exercises." These had been printed gratis by Mr. Robert •Howe, of Sydney, and, with some legitimate pride, Hobbs speaks of them as "the first compositions of the "Wesleyan Missionary Society in the New-Zealand tongue." He was thus preparing for the beginning of educational work in which, no doubt, Miss Bedford was to take a leading part. It had apparently been suggested that a printer should accompany the Mission party, and the name of Mr. Bourne, of the London Missionary Society, had been mentioned. But both Turner and Hobbs held that all the members of the Mission should be Methodists and the proposal was abandoned.

In anticipation of medical work Hobbs urged the appointment of a doctor and suggested that Mr. Thomas Young, a surgeon of Margate, should be approached. And, finally, with his eye on the translation of the Scriptures, he sought the appointment of a man with gifts of scholarship. Possibly, he suggests, a young man from either Kingswood or Woodhouse Grove School might be willing to join the Mission with the status of a candidate for the ministry. These two requests were often renewed, and they were not finally declined by the Committee till 1829.

The three men, with such native labour as they could procure without payment in firearms, at once set themselves to the strenuous work of erecting the permanent buildings of the Mission. Timber had to be procured and made ready for use, and, owing to the refusal of the natives to saw, much of it had to be brought from twenty-five miles down the river. Bricks had to be made, and at one stage Hobbs records that they have 1800 well-made bricks ready for use. It is sufficient proof of their industry that when William White arrived in 1830 and took charge of the Mission, [here were two large dwelling-houses, one 45 by 15 feet, the other 31 by 32 feet, for occupation by White and Hobbs respectively, an outer kitchen 18 feet square: a building 24 by 14 feet originally designed as a school room, but a separated portion of which was no\ Stack's private room; a barter store and carpenter's shop 18 feet square, with a loft; a rush house, 24 by 12 feet for me native domestics; a store and loft for native provisions: a fowl house; a boat house 28 by 10 feet; a saw-pit in which four pairs of sawyers could work at once; and a cultivated garden 40 by 40 paces, well fenced and having beyond in, a considerable area of ground cleared and burnt off. William White's experienced eye immediately surveyed with approval the site selected, and he gave generous commendation to the labours of his brethren.

While they were engaged in these tasks the two missionaries yet found time to extend the spiritual influence of the Mission. Five lads, who had been under their influence at Whangaroa, were taken into their household to receive instruction and to render service. From their central position at Mangungu they could travel on each flowing tide up many tributary streams, each as navigable as that at Kaeo. They preached,

mostly on sober and awakening themes, up and down the river—on shore, to the natives, on shipboard to the seamen. The visible results, tried by the highest standards, were meagre and discouraging, and are so spoken of in the missionaries' journals, but in the end the faith and toil of earnest men surmounted impediment and delay, and the bread cast upon the waters by these earliest workers was found after many days. It was greatly to the advantage of both Hobbs and Stack that, from the beginning at Hokianga, they had the native language at their command. They both spoke it fluently and well, and Hobbs in later years stood foremost among his brethren as a master of Maori speech. James Buller tells us that for colloquial purposes the native language is not difficult to learn, but that to speak it in its idiomatic purity, as John Hobbs did, was a rare accomplishment. The speech of the Ngapuhi, among whom they laboured, is a rich and euphonious dialect. "Not a harsh sound ever strikes the ear," says Yate. When William Gittos came from the North on his first visit to the Maoris of Taranaki, he held them spellbound by the music of his speech. It was this fair and beautiful tongue that John Hobbs spoke almost as one born to it.

Note: There was no Chapter VII in the book.

Chapter VIII.

It will not be regarded as a digression if something be said about several of the chiefs whose names occur in the missionary journals of the time.

On their arrival Hobbs and Stack found, at the Waihou, Te Puhi and Ngahuruhuru, the brothers of Te Ara (George), of Whangaroa, and were thus reminded of the indignities suffered at that place. Te Puhi, with several of his children and his "worthless wife," at once claimed acquaintance. But the leopard had not changed its spots and he showed himself as impudent, intrusive and disobliging as ever—"more like a swine than a man," says Hobbs, with exceptional acerbity. Neither of these men had any influence in that locality that could serve the Mission.

But we hear of chiefs of finer calibre, who kept their eyes upon what was going forward and coveted the prize of the Mission establishment, with its considerable "trade" and the prestige it would bring. Among these was Muriwai, whose village was adjacent to the Horeke. Hobbs was inclined to place him and his cousin Te Taonui above Patuone in influence on the river. Muriwai at once pressed for a missionary to reside among his people and Hobbs supported the request in a letter to the Committee. Unfortunately the chief was wounded in conflict at the Bay of Islands and died within a few months of the settlement at Mangungu.

The names of Patuone and Nene are writ large in the story of the Mission, and, indeed, in the early history of New Zealand. They were warrior chiefs of high descent, sons of Tapua, whose canoe had led those which met Captain Cook off Cape Brett in 1769. The brothers shared in many campaigns. They led the Ngapuhi in the expedition of 1819-1820, when, having been joined by the Ngatitooa under Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, the great taua swept through Taranaki and Wanganui to Cook Strait. Patuone himself told Marsden that he had crossed to the South Island. A few years later, in 1825, when Henry Williams and William White were returning by sea from the Bay of Islands to Whangaroa, they fell in with a large war party under Patuone and Nene and were detained lest they should give the alarm to the enemy. They were well treated and soon allowed to proceed, and White, in recording the detention, comments on "the noble and manly behaviour of these warriors."

It is no part of this narrative to follow in detail the exploits of these brave men, but rather to indicate the wide influence in affairs which they attained and which they exerted for the good of the Missions. They were favourable to European settlement and, long before they became converts to Christianity, they gave support and protection to the missionaries. Dr. Morley tells the story of their baptism and evidence of the good feeling between the Anglican and Methodist Missions. Patuone, who had welcomed Hobbs and Stack to Hokianga, received baptism from the Rev. Henry Williams and took the name of Ernera Maihi Patuone, after Williams' son; while Nene

received the rite at the Methodist Mission and became Tamati Waka Nene, after Thomas Walker, of Stockton-on-Tees, a prominent supporter of that Mission. "This was arranged," says Dr. Mcrley, "expressly so as not to favour one more than the ether, and was so understood by their fellow-tribesmen."

Both these chiefs were present at Waitangi when the Treaty was signed and their names appear on the document. It was indeed the intervention of Nene that determined the issue. Samuel Ironside and John Warren, of the Methodist Mission, had crossed from Hokianga with a party of natives and had arrived while the critical debate was in process on the marae. Hone Heke had strenuously opposed the Treaty and Ironside, who later signed the Treaty as a witness, tells how Nene came up to him and said that his heart was grieved at Heke's violence. "If you think so, say so," replied the missionary. Whereupon Nene sprang forward and delivered a speech of surpassing and persuasive power. Among those who heard it was Mr. Felton Mathew, the first surveyor-general of New Zealand, who records in his journal—"Nene spoke in a strain of fervid and impassioned eloquence such as I never heard before, and which immediately turned the tide in our favour."

There is another, and widely different, entry in Mathew's journal concerning that eventful day. At its close the official party returned to the "Herald," bringing with them Patuone, "one of the most powerful chiefs," who handed to Captain Hobson "a splendid green talc hatchet or mere" for presentation to Queen Victoria. The story proceeds—"Patuone sat down to dinner with us and you never saw an English gentleman conduct himself at table with greater grace, dignity or propriety. ... He handled his silver fork with ease, took wine with everyone, attentively listening to the conversation, much of which he evidently understood although he can speak only a few words of English." Thus it was that the two brothers, long famous in war, were that day distinguished in peace, the one by a wisdom and foresight that advantageously influenced the course of affairs; the other by his personal bearing in refined company.

Of the two it is no disparagement of Patuone to say that Nene was the greater man. George Clarke, in his "Notes on Early Life in New Zealand," sets him among the four pre-eminent chiefs of the Maori people in his day, the others being Te Wherowhero, of the Waikato, Te Heuheu, of Taupo, and Te Rauparaha, of the Ngatitao. Patuone and Nene were equally loyal to the British Crown, equally trusted by successive Governments as advisers in native affairs, equally consistent in their protection of the missionaries. But Nene had a pre-eminence in statecraft and in public influence, and it was of him that Lord Bledisloe, speaking at Waitangi in reference to the Treaty, said—"There was among the Maori chief's one man who thought with the mind of a sage, who saw with the eye of a seer, and who spoke with the voice of a prophet"—a

high commendation, which the foremost European who was present that day might well have coveted.

Both Patuone and Nene lived to an advanced age and both were honoured by the State. Patuone spent his last days on the North Shore of the Waitemata upon a reserve of some 110 acres granted to him in recognition of his services to the Crown. The grant, which bears the signature of Sir George Grey and is dated July 13th, 1852, extended from the Takapuna Beach across what is now the borough of Takapuna to Shoal Bay on the Waitemata. Its main frontage was to the beach, and there were 72 acres on that side, while towards Shoal Bay the area was 38 acres. In those days Patuone was a well-known figure in the streets of Auckland, where he might be seen "dressed in a grenadier's uniform and Inverness cape." He died on September 14th, 1872, and was buried with military honours at the foot of Flagstaff Hill, Devonport, where the grave may be seen to-day. As he lay dying he was visited by the Revs. H. H. Lawry and J. J. Lewis, who brought to him the comfort of the Gospel and an assurance of the grateful remembrance of his long services to the Methodist Mission. Nene died on August 4th, 1871, and was buried in the little graveyard at Russell. Over his resting place the Government raised a memorial bearing a record of his great services to his people and to the State.

To these illustrious names must be added another worthy to hold rank with them, that of Mohi Tawhai, of Waima. He was one of the most influential chiefs of the Ngapuhi in those first days and took part in the great southern expedition of 1819-1820. He early became a convert of the Mission and was baptised at Mangungu by John Whiteley in 1836. His life was exemplary, and he became a lay preacher and one of the most prominent servants of his Church. He favoured the Treaty of Waitangi and attached his signature thereto, and his counsel was often sought in native affairs, especially by Sir George Grey, who held him in high esteem. He was killed by a fall from his horse in 1875 when returning from worship. His son Hone Mohi Tawhai (1834-1894) represented the Northern Maori Electorate in Parliament from 1879 to 1885. And his grandson, Kereama (Graham) Tawhai, passed through the Three Kings College and the Auckland Grammar School and was later articled to a leading firm of solicitors in the city. The present writer knew him well and bears testimony to his choice and cultivated spirit and his devotion to his Church. His death, at the early age of twenty-one, was accelerated by an accident on the football field.



KEREAMA TAWHAI

Chapter IX.

William White, who had left Whangaroa in 1825, returned to New Zealand in 1830. He had been employed in the interval in several English circuits, but having married, he left England in the "Sisters" on September 16th and arrived at the Bay of Islands on January 31st, 1830. There he made a brief stay at Paihia, where he met Stack, and on February 16th crossed to Hokianga. His party numbered twenty-four, twelve to carry luggage, etc., and "twelve stout men to carry Mrs. White." It was an exceptionally hot day and they set out at 4 a.m., thus reaching the shelter of the forest in good time. During the journey Patuone met them with a company of his people and thus escorted they reached the Waihou at 5 p.m. and came on thence by boat, arriving at Mangungu in the evening. "Our dear friends Brother and Sister Hobbs had prepared for our accommodation to the best of their ability, making a division of the furniture which they had in their own home," records White.

The new Superintendent thus took charge of the Mission in 1830 and he remained at its head until his supersession in 1836—a period of over six years. He was an able and experienced man, of shrewd and practical mind, and though, as we shall see, his faults were many, none ever questioned his tireless industry in pursuit of the ends he set before himself and his brethren. Nathaniel Turner at Whangaroa spoke of the "superior talent" which he brought to the service of the Mission. James Stack, who knew him well, pressed him to return to New Zealand and upbraided him for his delay. And John Hobbs, looking back upon White's arrival at Mangungu, testified to the lofty intentions and high expectations with which he then assumed his charge.

Thus the circumstances under which the new Superintendent took control of the Mission and began to give it direction were not unfavourable to success.

It became White's policy to extend the Mission into new fields and he allowed nothing to deflect him from this aim. There were populous districts to the south, white unto harvest and calling for missionaries, which he coveted for the activities of his Church. His zeal brought him into some controversy with the Anglicans, but he secured the occupation of Kawhia and Waingaroa (Raglan) on the western sea-border and, though for a brief term his agents were withdrawn at the bidding of the British Missionary Committee, in later years the Methodist Mission did some of its most fruitful work in those areas. It was also White's purpose to extend northwards and to place a missionary at Whangape, but shortage of agents prevented this being done. The staff for these important developments was provided by the arrival, during 1833-1834 of John Whiteley and James Wallis from England and William Woon from Tonga. These new stations were shepherded with much solicitude by White, who paid them many visits involving exacting journeys by land or sea.

During the years of White's superintendency signs of spiritual progress were not wanting. It is estimated that there were at that time some 28,000 natives between the Bay of Islands and the North Cape—"scarcely one over fifty years of age, and one fighting man for every four of the population," says Yate. At Mangungu the missionaries were in touch with tribes numbering not less than 4000. In the first years of their work Hobbs and Stack saw little reward of their labours. "We cannot say that anything we have said has had much effect," is Hobbs' despondent estimate. But, as so often on the Mission field, more was going forward than the eye could see, and a reaping time was at hand. Within a few weeks of Hobbs' unpromising words it became clear that initial difficulties were disappearing and a new spirit began to manifest itself. We hear of the Mission church being crowded with eager congregations from eight in the morning till six at night. Men are found willing to labour for two months that they might be able to purchase a small book containing twenty-three chapters of the Holy Scriptures. Woon, on his arrival from another Mission Held in 1834, was deeply impressed by what he saw and tells of "a blessed day" when the Station was crowded with natives and "two great chiefs" with their wives were received into the Church by baptism. On another Sunday, White preached to two hundred at Mangungu, and there were "thirty-five baptisms and five couples were married." John Whiteley's first impressions of those years are notable. He says—"The general character of the natives and their disposition of mind surpasses my most sanguine expectations." Here then was a Mission reaching out in every direction and already beginning to gather a wealth of first-fruits.

And there is further evidence of courage and leadership in the attitude which White took up towards the trade in spirits that prevailed on the river. James Buller, on the

witness of von Stunner, states that, in 1869, £10,000 worth of ardent spirits were in that one year imported into Hokianga and that two-thirds of this was consumed by the natives. What the amount may have been which was consumed in White's day we do not know, but the prevalent evils alarmed the chiefs and White set himself to bring about the abolition of the trade. Mrs. White tells us in her Journal that it was his aim to persuade the chiefs to make a law prohibiting the landing of spirits and that they were willing to do this. But her husband foresaw that such a prohibition could be effective only with the consent and co-operation of the Europeans, and this he sought to secure. To this end he allied himself with Captain McDonnell, the Additional Resident for New Zealand, residing at the Horeke. Meetings were held there and at Mangungu, at which McDonnell presided and White and others spoke, and pledges were taken. But bitter opposition was aroused and the country buzzed with challenge and scandal, directed chiefly against the missionary. In the end the movement died out, but it is to White's credit that so resolute an attempt was made to protect the natives.

Chapter X.

Unhappily, throughout these important years there developed within the Mission a spirit of misunderstanding and contention which was almost fatal to its existence, and to this, however regretful, history demands more than a passing reference. Human nature being what it is, large allowance may be made for the strong differences of opinion that often develop between able men who are thrown into close contact with one another in a narrow environment. The most devout inmates of the monastery fell victims to accidie and its brood of ills, and on many a Mission field the nerves of good men have become frayed by disputation. But it is difficult not to believe that what happened at Mangungu might have been avoided and that the fault lay chiefly with one man.

William White's first impressions of the Mission were altogether favourable. He commended the choice of a site which had been made for the Mission settlement and the "very great" industry of his brethren in what had gone forvva.id. and he spoke well of the cordial reception afforded to him and his wife by Mr. and Mrs. Hobbs. His arrival had long been expected and there is no reason to doubt that his colleagues were prepared to co-operate loyally with him. James Stack had written frequently to White in England urging his return and reproaching him for his delay—"My heart is grieved at your stay in England ... I once thought all the gold of Ophir would not keep you there ... I began to think your love for New Zealand has waxed cold." And a few days after he and Hobbs had arrived at Hokianga, while they were anxiously discussing the location of the Mission, he wrote to the Missionary Secretaries saying, "If Brother White were here he would be a valuable acquisition. He lives in the affection of all in New Zealand." We cannot, however, assume that these somewhat emotional sentiments were shared by John Hobbs. Indeed, writing to the Secretaries a few weeks after White had taken charge of the Mission and when difficulties were already beginning to emerge, he says that others may have urged White's return, but, he adds, "if you will read over my communications you will find nothing of the kind from me." The words are ominous, but they need not be taken to imply that Hobbs had from the beginning taken up a non-co-operative attitude towards his superintendent. Hobbs was now an experienced missionary. He had been longer in the New Zealand work than White. His convictions were strong and he could give reasons for them. His aims and methods were those of an intensely spiritual man, and that they should be subordinated to secular ends was intolerable to him. He could be led but not driven, counselled but not compelled. He welcomed treatment as an equal but would not be "lorded over," to use his own sufficiently suggestive word. But White could tolerate no question. He had zeal and driving force, but he was self-willed, self-important, ill-disciplined and, at critical moments, lacking in a proper self-control. So much was this the case that he soon lost the goodwill of Stack, who had been so eager for his return.

Chapter XI.

These temperamental differences found their opportunity in the discussions that arose concerning the conduct of the Mission. There were three important matters of criticism and complaint. Chief among these was the "trading" that increasingly became a part of the activities of the Mission. This often took the form of "friendly agency," in which the missionary, with a view to protecting the interests of the natives, acted on their behalf in various transactions. Not infrequently this led to interference between Europeans and natives and caused serious friction. There were also commercial dealings with the captains of vessels beyond those necessary to supply the needs of the Mission. And, further, the sawing and export of timber by the Mission became a large commercial enterprise. John Whiteley, writing from Mangungu in 1835, towards the end of White's regime, felt so strongly about all this as to say—"No one, I am sure, who was not informed that this was a Wesleyan Mission establishment would come to that conclusion from passing observation—the number of sawpits, the piles of timber the number of workmen, the assiduous attention and hurrying anxiety of our Superintendent, and the consequent and unavoidable trading intercourse with captains of vessels or their agents, would all tend to impress him with the idea that this was one of the first, if not the first, sawing establishment in the land. I believe that no merchant or business man in New Zealand spends more time and strength, or as much, in mere secular drudgery as we do." These are trenchant words and they open wide a window upon what was going on, and had gone on for years. A policy marked by secularity and departure from the true ends of such a Mission was being developed by William White with settled purpose and in spite of all counsel to the contrary.

Arising out of this trading in timber there were vigorous protests against the excessive demands made upon the Mission staff for manual labour and against the heavy inroads thus made upon time that should have been devoted to a study of the language and to intercourse with the natives. Day after day was spent in the sawpits or at like employ till the weary men had strength for little else.

There was a third matter which occasioned strong remonstrance from White's colleagues. He was a man of choleric temperament, easily provoked and quick to retaliate, and when impassioned he would use physical force against the natives, striking them and sometimes throwing them to the ground. Nathaniel Turner always held, and so affirmed to the Missionary Secretaries, that the fracas at Whangaroa in which he was speared was due to White's "rash temper and proceedings." White refused the counsel of his brethren in this matter and justified his violence, but Stack, writing to the London Committee, declared that he "degrades the missionary character by personal combat with the natives." It need hardly be said that the natives looked on

with amazement at these displays of muscular Christianity, though often perhaps with some admiration for the strength and courage of the missionary.

More than once amid these distressing differences the intervention of the Anglican missionaries was sought, and they came over to Hokianga. White objected to this and maintained that their dissensions should be healed "methodistically," and in pursuance of such a method he is stated to have sent to E'rskine and Turner, both in Sydney, to come to Mangungu and hold a special District Meeting to deal with the matter. There is no record of such a Meeting having been held.

Chapter XII.

The persistent differences concerning these and other matters scarcely less fundamental to the success of the Mission led to intervention by the Missionary authorities, and in 1833 the Rev. Joseph Orton was instructed to visit New Zealand on a mission of enquiry. He was a man of wide experience and reliable judgement, who at that time was Chairman of the New South Wales District of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. He had previously been a missionary in the West Indies and had there suffered imprisonment on a charge that his too liberal doctrine, preached to the slaves, was a disturbing influence among them. With John Whiteley as a fellow-passenger he arrived from Sydney at the Bay of Islands on May 21st, 1833, in the schooner "New Zealander," which was en route to Tonga. Having, on June 6th, seen John Hobbs embarked for Tonga, to which sphere he had been transferred, Orton crossed to Hokianga and arrived at Mangungu on June 8th. After spending some six weeks on his mission of investigation he returned to Sydney on July 27th. His report to the Wesleyan authorities, and a letter, remarkable alike for its candour and its courtesy, which he addressed to William White at Mangungu on the eve of his departure, indicate the chief points of weakness which he found in White's administration and show that the complaints against it were well founded.

His findings may be briefly summarised as follows:

(1) The contentions that had disturbed the Mission had been marked by "imprudences on both sides," but they had been accentuated "particularly by mismanagement on the part of the individual whose province it was to rule," i.e., on the part of White.

(2) The work of the Mission was impeded by lack of system. They were Methodists without proper method. They had no "plan" to direct their work, there were only three out-stations and these were visited irregularly and without notice to the people, and opportunities of increasing their number were neglected. There were, within a distance of twenty miles from Mangungu, fifteen native settlements having a total population of three thousand people, which had not yet been visited although a welcome awaited the missionary. "I am of opinion " says Orton, "that a vigorous effort should be at once made or the entire field should be left to the Church Mission" White's answer to this was that he had a system for the Mission but that it could not be put into operation owing to insufficiency of staff. When Orton arrived at Mangungu White was there alone. He had lost Hobbs and Stack and Whiteley had just come with Orton. And it should be said that, while out-stations were few, the method of the Mission was that the natives came from far and near in their canoes to Mangungu and remained there over the weekend to attend worship and to seek counsel or medical aid from the missionaries. Often a thousand or more would congregate

in this way, and, of course, those who heard carried the good news back to their settlements

(3) Little attention had been paid to the educational side of the Mission work. Schools for girls conducted by Mrs. White were efficient, but a school for boys which had been begun at Mangungu had been abandoned and there was no other in the district. It was imperative that the work should be reorganised and native teachers selected and trained to carry it out under proper supervision.

(4) The business enterprises associated with the Mission are examined and reported upon at length. Orton found twenty native sawyers at work at Mangungu, where there were several saw-pits. He says that the arrangements were that the natives bring their own timber to the spot and White supervises their labour. Half the timber cut is allotted to him (i.e., for the Mission) and the remainder is sold by him to merchants and ship captains on behalf of the natives and accounted for to them. White defends these activities on the ground that he is instructing the natives in the useful art of sawing and protecting them from being imposed upon in their dealings with Europeans, and that at the same time the Mission funds are enlarged, and the claims upon the Missionary Committee are thus lessened. Orton forms the opinion that many of the natives are well able to protect their own interests in disposing of their timber and strongly emphasises the disadvantage to the Mission of being regarded throughout the community as "a mercantile establishment." He takes a similarly strong line in dealing with ether forms of "trading" to which objection had been taken, and is generally highly critical of White's aims and methods.



Mrs. WILLIAM WHITE

But there is another aspect of Orton's criticism that cannot be overlooked by those who carefully read his reports. Something has gone wrong in the Mission deeper than mere lack of system or over-absorption in business. It becomes increasingly evident to him that William White is endangering the welfare of his spiritual life and losing the ardour of the true missionary. Two quotations will make this sufficiently clear. Writing to the Missionary Secretaries, he says—"I am assured that Mr. White has sustained much spiritual injury from excessive attention to these engagements, his mind has been dissipated and weaned from the most specific object in his Mission. . . . his hours of devotion and study have been unnecessarily encroached upon in a way detrimental to his spiritual welfare." And in his personal letter to White on the eve of his departure from New Zealand he says—"I take the liberty of referring to these points on account of the injury which I really believe your ministerial character, your spiritual concerns and the Mission has sustained thereby . . . the evil will far exceed the good . . . the very persons you have served as an agent and who have tempted you with fulsome cunning and flattery speak evil of you and try to destroy your good fame." That is, in Joseph Orton's view, not only had the work of the Mission suffered by the secularity of the policies that were giving it shape, but at its head there was a man becoming devoid of the very qualities that alone could restore it to its true ideals.

Chapter XIII.

Various changes in the staff of the Mission took place during these contentious years. During their course John Hobbs, who had become increasingly unhappy in the work and had several times sought transfer to another mission field, was removed to Tonga. He left the Bay of Islands in the schooner "New Zealander" on June 6th, 1833, and remained in Tonga till 1838, when he once more resumed his place in the New Zealand work. James Stack had for some time been seeking permission to visit England, hoping to marry there and to be received into the Wesleyan ministry and return to New Zealand with the status of a missionary. He had hitherto been only a lay assistant. Hobbs strongly supported his admission to the ministry, but White opposed it on the ground that, in his view, Stack was inferior as a preacher to Europeans. In the end Stack made the journey but, apparently through differences with the Missionary Committee, he retired from the Mission and joined the Church of England. He returned to New Zealand in 1834 as a member of the staff of the Anglican Mission.

The vacancies thus caused were filled by the arrival of John Whiteley, May 21st, 1833, of William Woon from Tonga in January, 1834, and of James Wallis on December 1st, 1834— Whiteley and Wallis from the British Conference. A few words about each of these will be in place.

John Whiteley was born in 1806, a native of Nottinghamshire. He was accepted for the ministry in 1831, ordained in 1832, and, with Mrs. Whiteley, arrived in New Zealand in 1833. After a brief stay at Mangungu he was appointed to Kawhia, but, when that mission was temporarily closed, he returned to Hokianga. He then established the mission at Pakanae, near the Heads. The mission house stood a stone's cast from a beach where boats and canoes could readily come to shore, and its site is still marked by two Norfolk Island pines, planted when the Mission was begun and bearing every sign of their great age. This station Whiteley named Newark, after the town of that name in his native county. In 1838 he returned to Kawhia, and in 1856 removed to Taranaki. No missionary of the Methodist Church had greater influence among the Maori people, whose confidence he held in a remarkable degree. He knew the country well from Kawhia to New Plymouth, and was trusted among all the tribes of those parts. Strange that such a man should be the one missionary martyr of the Methodist Mission. He fell a victim to Hauhau animosity on February 13th, 1869, while on his way from New Plymouth to Whitecliffs to conduct divine service among the military settlers there.



SITE OF PAKANAE (NEWARK) MISSION
Rev. C. B. Oldfield, photo

William Woon was of Cornish birth. He was born in 180S and served a lengthy apprenticeship to the printing trade. In 1831 he was appointed as a lay agent to the Tonga Mission, and there did faithful work in the translation and printing of the Scriptures. He retired from that Mission in 1833 and, when proceeding to New South Wales, called en route at New Zealand. Here he was detained by White and Whiteley, who urged his appointment as a printer and catechist and gave him employment till the decision of the Missionary Committee should be known. At the same time they urged that a printing press with supplies of type and paper should be sent. "A press we want and a press we must have," were White's insistent words to the Committee. In the end the appointment was made and for ten years Woon was in charge of the press at Mangungu. During that time a "Harmony of the Gospels" was issued, as well as various hymn books, tracts and primers for schools. He was later stationed at Kawhia, and in 1846 was appointed to South Taranaki, where he laboured until 1853. He then retired to Wanganui and died there on November 22nd, 1858. His stature and physical vigour made a powerful impression upon the natives, as did also the strong, deep voice with which he led the service of song in the sanctuary. And for many years a tradition remained in the Hokianga of his journeys up and down the river, when he and his boat's crew made the hills resound with their melody.

James Wallis was born at Blackwell, near London, in 1809. He was received by the British Conference as a missionary and appointed to New Zealand. He arrived at Hokianga in December, 1834. He was appointed to Waingarora (Raglan) and made his way thither on foot. When the temporary withdrawal of the Mission from those parts terminated he returned again to that station and remained there till 1862. Among the high chiefs who were converts under his fruitful ministry were Te Awaitaia (Wiremu Nera), Hamiora Ngaropi and Wiremu Patene. In his later years Wallis entered the

First Years at Hokianga 1827-1836 by Rev.C.H.Laws

European work and served at Onehunga and at Pitt Street, Auckland. He became a supernumerary in 1868 and passed away on July 5th, 1895.

The writer well recalls the venerable figure, the gentle spirit and saintly bearing of the aged missionary as he knew him when a student at Three Kings in 1885.

Chapter XIV.

It does not appear that Joseph Orton's visit or the counsel and protests of his brethren effected any change in the methods of William White in directing the Mission. He remained the same self-willed and dominating personality and his demands upon his co-workers did not lessen nor change their form. Eighteen months after Orton's departure we find James Wallis straining to get away from Mangungu to the Kawhia district that he might escape the physical toil imposed upon him by his superintendent. Writing to the Rev. Jabez Bunting early in 1835, he speaks of the missionaries making sawpits, levelling land, digging wells, while the natives in every direction are pleading for spiritual instruction. When occasionally he has stolen a few minutes to give to the study of the language and White has heard of it "he has sought me out, telling me that I must get to work and obtain the language as others have done before me." In the letter just referred to, there occurs the following illuminating passage—"As a Wesleyan missionary in New Zealand, I expect frequently to be called by necessity to work with my hands, and this I am willing to do so far as I can thereby serve the cause of God, but still ... I should be allowed some time for reading, meditation and other private duties of a devotional kind. But, according to Brother White's system, from morning to night, from week to week, from month to month, the watchword appears to be Work, Work, and what work, sir, do you suppose it to be? One brother is to take a spade and assist a number of strong, healthy young men in digging holes in the mud in order that posts may be erected for the purpose of forming a better landing place than Nature has given. Another has to erect a more substantial fence round an orchard . . . although a carpenter is living on the settlement, or he is to dig and carry away many tons of earth in order that at some future time (nobody has any idea. when) a preacher's house may be built on a more pleasant spot .than where the present one stands." But no remonstrance availed with White. He rejected the protests of his brethren, says Wallis, with "extreme disdain and contempt," claiming to know better how to conduct the Mission than "two inexperienced young men can tell him."

Along with these strained relations within the Mission there began to circulate outside the most damaging scandals about White's private life. Charges of the gravest sexual misconduct were made by the Additional Resident, Captain McDonnell, and these were eagerly accepted and given circulation by others. For White had made many enemies by his ardent advocacy of restrictions upon the trade in spirituous liquors. So serious were the charges that Mr. Busby, the senior Resident at Waitangi, venturing to invade the territory of the Additional Resident, came over to the Waihou to make investigations and summoned both White and McDonnell to attend. The former did so, but McDonnell refused Mr. Busby's jurisdiction. The natives were quick to charge the Additional Resident with cowardice in not facing the man whose character he had assailed. Mr. Busby was, under the circumstances, unable to adjudicate and confined himself to recommending White to lay his case before the Governor of New South

Wales. This the missionary agreed to do, but there is no record of such an appeal on his part.

The gravity and persistence of these scandals, together with the fact that the irregularities brought to light by the Ortcon enquiry, still continued, compelled the missionary authorities to take strong action and they instructed Nathaniel Turner to proceed to New Zealand, to relieve White of his superintendency of the Mission, and to institute a thorough enquiry into the charges against him. Turner, it will be remembered, had gone to Tonga in 1827. He had, however, left that Mission and was now stationed in Sydney. It was an unenviable task, and for various reasons Turner was none too willing to accept it, but, having obtained the services of Mr. James Buller as tutor to his family, he left Sydney in the "*Patriot*" on April 8th, 1836, and came off Hokianga on the 28th. The meeting between Turner and White had something of the dramatic in its circumstances. On April 23rd White had set out from Mangungu in the "*Tui*" to visit the southern stations. They were delayed by bad weather, and as they were leaving the Heads and making southward a larger vessel was seen. It was the "*Patriot*," with Nathaniel Turner as a passenger. The "*Tui*" came alongside and White went on board, and there the first interview between the two men took place, and White learned of his supersession. He came back with Turner to Mangungu, and at 2 a.m. the next day brought to his wife the news of what had happened. It did not take her by surprise, for after White had left in the "*Tui*" a communication had arrived containing information of the action taken by the Missionary authorities. The Whites at once vacated their house, the most commodious on the Station, and placed it at the disposal of Turner and his family, themselves occupying a smaller dwelling which was available.

At this date William Woon had come up from the south and was now in charge of the printing press at Mangungu. Whiteley and Wallis were still at Kawhia and Waingaroa respectively. The Missionary Committee, however, had determined that, to avoid conflict with the Anglicans, these stations should be vacated, and it was part of Turner's commission to give effect to this decision. He therefore chartered a vessel at the Bay of Islands, on which White, who knew the southern harbours well, acted as pilot, and the two missionaries were removed. Wallis was placed as the first agent at Kaipara, and Whiteley came up to Hokianga with a view to his opening the new Station at Pakanae, for which Turner had made preliminary arrangements.

It was now possible to constitute a Synod, or District Meeting as that court of the Church was then called, and to proceed with the matters relating to William White. Woon had already been active, previous to Turner's arrival, on White's behalf. He had written to the authorities in his defence and had obtained from various Europeans resident on the river communications favourable to him. These steps, he himself admitted, had been taken in response to White's request for his interest. The records

show with what an open mind Turner began his investigations. Writing to the Missionary Committee, he says that there are good reasons for believing that "never were more false and malicious statements made by any human being" than those of Captain McDonnell, and that he is strongly hopeful that the charges will fail.

A special District Meeting, held in June-July, dealt with the matter. Its members, as provided in the constitution of the Church, were Turner, Whiteley and Wallis. Woon had not the status of a missionary and was therefore not a member, nor was he present. We have no record of the proceedings, but we know that a full report was forwarded to the London Committee. On July 28th, after the District Meeting and no doubt as a result of its findings. White and Mrs. White left for England via Sydney. His farewell, as described by Woon, was marked by scenes of great emotion. At his last service with the natives he made most solemn asseveration of his innocence and was "bathed in tears" all the time he spoke. The natives, too, were swept by strong feelings. But it must be noted that the ordinary District Meeting, held in October, confirmed the findings of the earlier Meeting and held them to be supported by additional evidence of the most direct and incriminating character. And William Woon, who had stood his friend, had, at the last, to admit, in a letter to the Missionary Secretaries, that his loyalty had been mistaken.

In Sydney, White won the support of his brethren, despite the fact that Turner had sent to them a full account of what had taken place in New Zealand. They opened their pulpits to him and even went so far as to recommend the Missionary Committee to re-appoint him to the New Zealand Mission. Turner's reaction, to this was immediate. He wrote to the Committee declining to remain in the New Zealand work ii' White were sent back—"I neither can nor will labour with William White," were his emphatic words. The authorities, however, terminated White's office as a missionary of the Wesleyan Church. It is no part of our duty to follow his later career, but it may be said that he returned to New Zealand and entered into business as a trader and merchant and so con-tinued for many years; while Mrs. White, retaining her close connection with the Church, was for long one of its most honoured class leaders in Auckland.

These distressing events brought to a close the first period of the Mission at Hokianga. The years since William White's arrival had been marked by contention and disunion such that the Mission might well have terminated in failure. But with White's removal the peril was past. A new era of vigorous and successful work began, led by men of the highest integrity and of zeal for the welfare of the Maori people. John Hobbs returned from Tonga. Additional missionaries were sent from England. The southern stations were re-occupied. The Mission extended to Taranaki and to the South Island. Every prospect was hopeful until the shattering stroke of war smote it with irrecoverable injury. But all that remains to be told, maybe, in a further and last brochure.

Chapter XV.

The historic sites to which reference has been made are not difficult of approach. The Horeke is served today by a service car from the railway and the car passes through the Waihou Valley. Mangungu is but twenty minutes' walk from the Horeke. The site of the Waima mission station is little more than three miles from the main road from Rawene to Kaikohe, and the location of the Pakanae Mission can be seen from the road by which the service car travels to Opononi at the Hokianga Heads.

The writer, however, was indebted to the Rev. C. B. Oldfield, of Rawene, for a memorable day's pilgrimage, in October, 1944. It was a fair spring day and the countryside was radiant in the sunlight. We had as our companion Mr. T. G. M. Spooner, M.A., whose university thesis on "*Missionary Enterprise in New Zealand before 1870*" is mentioned in the brochure "*Toil and Adversity at Whangaroa.*" We set out early, taking the main road towards Kaikohe and at Taheke diverged into the hills towards the Hokianga. The road, after about eleven miles, emerged at the Horeke, where there are to-day a few houses, a store and hotel, the remains of a ship-building yard, and, at the rear on the rising ground, the large levelled platform on which stood Captain McDonnell's house and where he mounted his famous guns. The site commanded a far view both up and down the river. Thence we proceeded to the Waihou Valley, passing on the way the location of the Scotsmen, though unable to identify the site. We ran up the valley for several miles and, crossing the river on the far side at Rangiahua, were afforded, from the rising ground, an extensive outlook upon Patuone's country. The wide and open valley stretched far inland. No trace of the ancient forests remained. We were several miles from the mouth of the Waihou, yet, we were told, at full tide a considerable vessel might come up and discharge. Across the valley lay Te Toke, the site of the first land purchased for the Mission, and it did not seem difficult to identify the delectable ascent which caught John Hobbs' observant eye and upon which he thought a mission house might be built. The present holder of the land informed us that he had seen some of the original slabs, bearing the letters "W.M." (Wesleyan Mission), marking the boundaries of the property.

Thence we returned to the Horeke and, passing it, went on a mile further to Mangungu, where the central site of the Mission was located for so many years. It lay sloping to the water, and upon it, visible from afar, stood the Monument, dedicated in 1927 on the occasion of the centenary of the re-establishment of the Mission. It is a fine granite shaft, surmounted by a cross, and based upon a foundation of rock brought from the site of the Pakanae mission. The Mission bell, which had summoned the worshippers in days long past, was set beside the Monument. No sound broke the silence save the cry of birds and the gentle stirring of the breeze. There were few remains of the past, for no building nor any foundation of a building had survived, but some of the gravelled paths, now covered with turf, might still be traced, a few

venerable trees remained, and we came to the little graveyard, sadly invaded with tangled growths, and its surrounding fence in parts broken and insecure. There among the little company of sleepers lay Mrs. McDonnell, the wife of the Additional Resident, William Woon's little child, and William Wallis, who had come in the "Patriot" to visit his brother James, but, falling from a raft of logs, had been drowned in the river before they met. It was on these slopes that the missionary settlement stood, from the adjacent beach the missionaries had put off on many a journey, and by this path to the Horeke William White and the rest of them had gone in conflict or accord.

It was now afternoon, and we took our way back to Taheke and, returning towards Rawene, came to the Waima of today and, a few miles off the main road, to the Mission site. Hither after Heke's war the headquarters of the Mission were removed from Mangungu, and Mohi Tawhai, who had become a convert, was its powerful supporter. It was a charming hour that we spent on the site of the old station. The historic oak, with its enormous spread of over 130 feet and its spacious circumference of some 300 feet, stood by the stream as though it might last another century. The acorn from which it grew had been brought from England by Mrs. John Warren and had first been planted in a pot at Mangungu. Thence it had been brought to Waima when the Mission Station was there established and set where it now stands. On the site of the Mission House were still to be seen the foundations of chimneys and the remains of out-houses, and a few now neglected flowering shrubs still survived. But the house itself had been sold and removed to Rawene, where it is now occupied.

So the long day, one in a thousand, came to its close and we returned to Rawene with a rich store of facts and indelible memories to be treasured through a lifetime.

The original documents mentioned in Section I. of "Toil and Adversity at Whangaroa" have been available to the writer. He has frequently consulted Dr. G. H. Scholefield's "Dictionary of New Zealand Biography." The Rev. M. A. R. Pratt, F.R.Hist.S., has read the typescript and made suggestions contributing to greater accuracy and fulness of statement. The Rev. C. B. Oldfield has rendered much assistance regarding the location of the Mission sites and in photographing points of interest. Mr. C. J. Freeman, of Wellington, has kindly co-operated in the producing of photo-graphic blocks. The writer desires also to acknowledge the courtesy of the officers of the Lands and Survey Department and of the Deeds Office at Auckland and Rawene for their willing assistance rendered, often at cost of much time.

It is the writer's hope to publish, through the Wesley Historical Society (New Zealand Branch) a final brochure dealing with the extension of the work of the Mission southwards to the Waikato and Taranaki and to the South Island.