

FORWARD

It is fitting that the photo of Wesley Church Taranaki Street, should be on the front cover because this year the emphasis in the Journal is upon various chapters in the life of the Methodist Church in the Wellington area. This has not been achieved through deliberate planning, but by virtue of the fact that we have received two very fine articles centred on Wellington, one being the account of the Wesleyan Mission at Te Aro by John Roberts and the other by Arthur Olsson, encouraging us all in the art of compiling a District History. We thank them for their contributions, as indeed we thank all who contributed to the Journal. Please remember that next year is not far away and we will be looking for further stimulating and informative articles. Now is the time to begin. Members will also note that the publications are now being printed in Browns Bay by J G Associates. We are glad to receive the helpful advice and the professional skill offered by John Grant. He makes the task of publishing so much easier.

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GEORGE GILMOUR CARTER

On the 3rd of October George Carter died, having battled growing weakness for many months.

The funeral service was held at the Mangere Church and a large congregation gathered to give thanks for the life and ministry of one of its most honoured and able servants. The Society expresses to Nancy and family its sincere sympathy and love at the passing of a loved husband and father. It honours the shared family faith which has given so much, particularly to the Pacific and prays that George's ministry will continue through the vision he has inspired, his writings, and the faith he has kindled in others.



Nancy and George Carter

Conference record of George's life and ministry. George Carter was born in Invercargill in 1922. He was brought up in a Christian family with his mother in particular coming from a long line of Wesleyan Methodism. The family moved north and George spent his teen years in Northcote. After attending Teachers' Training College in 1940-41 he was called up for military service. He opted for the medical corp and spent from 1943 to 1946 in the Solomon Islands. Thus began a 46 year love affair with the Solomon Islands and its people.

After the war George returned to New Zealand and completed his studies, graduating with a Masters degree in 1948. By this time he had met Nancy and they both had a missionary call to the Solomon Islands. Nancy and George were married in January 1949 and a month later they were on their way to Bougainville in Papua New Guinea. George went as a teacher but a year later decided to offer himself as a candidate for the ministry.

In 1954 he was received into full connexion and a year later was ordained. In February 1959 he was appointed Chairman of the Solomon Island District and moved down to Munda in the Roviana Lagoon.

He remained Chairman until he was asked to be General Secretary of the Overseas Mission Department in 1965. So the Carter family returned to New Zealand with their four children, Ian, Judith, Ann and Donald. An adopted daughter, Elizabeth they left behind with her own people. For ten years George was General Secretary of the Overseas Mission Board which in 1973 became the Overseas Division. Toward the end of his term he started the negotiations with the Presbyterian Committee for Mission and Ecumenical Co-operation.

Thus began a period of Parish ministry and return visits to the Solomon Islands in order to continue research for his writing. From 1980 to 1983 George and Nancy concluded their official ministry with the Methodist Church with a very successful term at Glen Eden and George proved to himself and to others that he could handle Parish ministry in New Zealand.

George always maintained other interests such as 25 years involvement in the Girls' Brigade, long service with the Bible Society and a keen interest in the Wesley Historical Society and Archives of the Church.

The book that George wrote on the history of the Methodist Church's Missionary work overseas was titled [*A Family Affair*](#). The Carter family has embodied that title in their own journey. George wrote, before he died, "What I have been able to achieve in the last forty plus years has been because of the real partnership between Nancy and myself. We have shared our work and our experiences always and spiritually we have journeyed together". At one time in 1979 George, Nancy, Ian, Judith and Ann were all working in the United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands.

The record of George's Involvement with the Wesley Historical Society Is well summarised by the Secretary, Dave Roberts when he writes:-

George has been a prominent and valued member of the Society for a long period of time, both as writer and administrator. He first joined in 1947 or 48 shortly before his departure for the Solomon Islands. He had become interested in Rev. John Whiteley and had written a short biography which our minutes of 1950 record as being in the Society's possession, though it wasn't published as one of our proceedings until 1952 under the title of [*John Whiteley - Martyr*](#). Working in the mission field didn't allow him to pursue any further activity other than keeping up his membership. In 1965 he was back in New Zealand as General Secretary of the Overseas Mission Department and with enough experience and knowledge to embark on a writing career that has lasted for the rest of his life. For the Society his 'magnum opus' was the volume [*A Family Affair*](#), one of the four books making up the Church's 150th Anniversary set. This told the whole story of all New Zealand Methodism's overseas missions from

1822 to 1972 and was issued in 1973. He had also published privately 2 books which then became available to us as proceedings. They were [David Voeta - Pioneer Missionary](#) (1974) and [Misakaram](#) (1975), a biography of Rev. John Crump. His last for us was [Valuable-Beyond-Price: Sister Lina Jones](#) (1985). Copies of all of these are now available online.

On the administration side, he became a member of the executive in Auckland in 1973 and from 1975 has been a very active Vice-President. After the death of secretary Les Gilmore in 1982, the executive had to be restructured to some extent and he acted as Chairman from 1982 to 1986. His presence at executive meetings, his enthusiasm, knowledge, dedication and guidance will be greatly missed.

Stan Andrews, long time friend and colleague remembers George in this way.

When I first met George in 1952 he was both missionary on furlough and theological student. I learned that it was wartime experiences in Vanuatu and Guadalcanal with the medical arm of the RNZAF that motivated him towards service as a missionary teacher. When I met them first, George and Nancy had already served three years at Buin, Bougainville. There George had a school roll of 400, some responsibility for teacher training and oversight of Methodist educational work throughout Bougainville. In 1950, he had responded to claims of the ordained ministry, hence his year of special training in 1952. His missionary programme had probationary services now added to it. On his next succeeding furlough, I was privileged to be one minister called to share in the laying on of hands when George was ordained at a service held in Knox Church, Dunedin, as part of the 1955 Church Conference.

His first ministerial post was at Kekesu, Teop, Bougainville, where George and Nancy joined a team of young New Zealanders. On one of my visits, the New Zealand staff included Sister Rewa Williamson and the late Sister Thelma Duthie.

Several years later, George was transferred to Roviana Circuit and appointed Chairman of the Solomon Island District. These were years when I served as General Secretary of Overseas Missions for the New Zealand Church. George and I had weekly contact by letter. It was a time of both division and union for the Solomon Islands Church. The movement led by Silas Eto caused a schism. This was a distressing experience calling for both patience and strength. But this was also the time when the four Methodist Districts in Melanesia were drawing together. George became the first Chairman of the united synod. Moves that might have led to conference status were pre-empted by the plan to unite with the Churches in Papua that had grown from the work of the London Missionary Society. George was involved in the first steps towards the formation of the United Church of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands.

Before that union took place, George had succeeded me in the General Secretary's chair at Auckland. He held that post for the next decade. Apart from the occasional

contacts, my main impressions of him through those years were appreciation of his literary ability. Among George's literary works, those I consider the more valuable are those recording the lives and service of Melanesian workers. David Voeta was treated separately. *Tie Varane* (Courageous men) deals with a number of Solomon Islands leaders. During his final illness, George brought to a conclusion the book he had promised to the family about the late Belshazzar Gina. His appreciation of his fellow New Zealander whose service was deemed valuable-beyond-price is the theme of his book about the late Sister Lina Jones.

Alan Leadley, Secretary of the Council for Mission and Ecumenical Co-operation writes of George:-

No one I know excelled George Carter's knowledge of the history of the churches of the South West Pacific. He did have a real love affair with the churches of the Solomons and North Solomons - his heart remained abroad even after he and Nancy returned to live in New Zealand. George's books, and other publications on Bougainville's oral history, missionary women and Christian Melanesian leaders, represent an invaluable legacy of that profound affection he and Nancy held for the church of the Solomons.

George was very supportive of the Council for Mission, and nurtured its life through some difficult times when he was the Conference representative on the Co-ordinating Committee.

George was passionate about the purpose of God's mission in the world and matters of justice and peace were of great moment to him. He always had a real and deep trust in God's love and faithfulness and in the face of death he expressed a spirit of assurance and real courage. It was a sign of God's grace comforting and challenging us to the very end of life.

There will be real sorrow at his passing throughout the churches which George loved so much. To Nancy, Ian, Judith, Ann, Donald, Elizabeth, their spouses and families our Council extends its love and sympathy. The family members, who each in their own way, have contributed to the life of the United Church in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands is an unique offering. We honour you George, as parent, thinker, writer, historian, friend, missionary and a true child of God. Thanks be to God for his inestimable grace.

Vema Mossong, Chairperson of the Wesley Historical Society Executive pays this tribute

George as Archivist

When the Administration Division moved from a room in Hames House to the basement area at 1 Turner Street a section was set up to meet the needs of an embryo archives repository with George Carter as its archivist. It was provided with

compacto shelving and the committee room became, on volunteers' day, the working area for the group working with George. With his specialised knowledge George, with his wife and work partner Nancy, and others, set about sorting, arranging and listing the Overseas Mission office paper and files. George encouraged ex-missionaries to deposit their diaries and photograph albums to allow copying for deposit. With the co-operation of the two families he used the diaries when writing the two Wesley Historical Society publications - [*Misikaram*](#) -Rev. John A. Crump and [*Valuable Beyond Price - Sister Lina Jones*](#).

It was his trained skill in history and a remarkable memory which were to be the gifts George offered to the Methodist Church during his retirement years throughout the 1980's.

Through the Archives and Records Association he made contact, which he valued very highly, with others working also in other church archives, including his training college class-mate Ernie - Father Ernest Simmons - Auckland Catholic Diocese Archivist.

The archives was also to receive many Auckland area Parish records and those of the Home and Maori Mission Department. Three Wesley Historical Society council members were among the varying numbers of archives volunteers. All came to admire and respect his depth and understanding of all church missionary history, and despite the long years overseas out of sight of New Zealand Church, the Church had never been out of his mind or prayers and he had a wide knowledge of people, places and facets of the New Zealand church.

His understanding of the archives and its holdings, his care for the enquirer, -academic or family historian, will be sadly missed, as will the tea breaks and lunch times when we explored with him varied depths of church history, the world and our faith together.

Wesley Historical Society members who would like to honour George in some way might consider carefully the gifting of their own personal but church related records, papers, memoirs or photographs to Archives for safe keeping and future study.



NOTES FROM THE SECRETARY

I take this opportunity of bringing to your notice some matters that can be explained at greater length than is usually possible within the limits of a rather crowded Newsletter.

(A) OTHER HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

We regularly receive the publications and proceedings of several other Historical Societies, either by reciprocal exchange or by paying their annual subscription for membership. What happens to them? I usually glance through them, perhaps even find time to read an occasional article, and they eventually finish up on the shelves of our library at the Turner St. Office in Auckland where, mostly, they are never looked at again. This has set me wondering whether any of our members may be interested in borrowing any of these from time to time. To give you an idea of what is available, here is a list of these Societies and a brief description of the type of publication they issue. Anyone wishing to borrow any should enclose a 60c stamp with their request as most can be posted for that under current postal rates.

1) N.Z. PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Usually one a year, Annual Lecture. The two most recent issues are - *Mission and Oecumene: 1969-1988* dealing with the overseas missions of the N.Z. Church: and Rev. *John Gibson Smith* dealing with his heresy trial in 1908.

2) WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY in Great Britain

Three issues a year, each containing a variety of articles which are too numerous to list here but the ones in recent issues are - *The Fetter Lane Society 1739-73* - *Charles Wesley in the Rude Populous North* - *Communion in Early Primitive Methodism* - *The Training of the Methodist Ministry 1923-73* - *Good Red Herring* - *Methodism's Relations With Dissent* - *John Wesley's Studies as an Undergraduate* and so on along with book reviews, etc.

3) WORLD METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY (based in U.S.A.)

Issues a quarterly *Historical Bulletin* containing news of meetings and publications of Methodist historical societies round the world, information of regional conferences being planned and also printing papers and lectures delivered at different conferences. Some recent titles of these are - *Radical Reform and Living Piety: Creative Tension or Inevitable Exclusion?* - *Max Weber's Theory of the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism as Applied to the History of Japan Through a Case Study of a Local Methodist Church Of ghinamura* (What a mouthful!) - *The Arminian Factor in the Christmas Conference of 1784 in U.S.A.* (Some titles alone seem to be quite an achievement.)

4) THE UNITING CHURCH OF AUSTRALIA

Has historical societies in at least 3 states though the history embraces Presbyterian and Congregational as well as Methodist.

We keep contact with -

- (a) **NEW SOUTH WALES** which produces a 6-monthly journal – *Church Heritage* with 70-80 pages. The latest issue has articles on – *The Changing Face of the Soviet Union - Presbyterian Records for the Family Historian - A Dreadful but Absolute Necessary: The Boer War According to 'The Methodist' - Photographs in the Historical Society Collection* as well as book reviews.
- (b) **VICTORIA** issues one or two a year, usually lectures and therefore on one topic. Some we have are - *Men With a Mission: Sir Irving Benson and Arthur Preston at Central Methodist Mission. Melbourne – John Bunyan - A Tribute to Charles Wesley - Faulty Spires: The Church and Historical Conservation - Distance Lends Enchantment: The Church and The Australian Outback - The Heyday of the Churches in Victoria 1860-1890 - Oswald Barnett Housing Reform and the Christian Social Order.*
- (c) **SOUTH AUSTRALIA** does a quarterly *Newsletter* of about 8 pages with a variety of small articles. There are occasional extra small books and the three we have are - *Bible Christians in South Australia – Hugh Gilmore and Primitive Methodism - Popular Revivalism in S.A. From the 1870's to the 1920's.*

The ex-Methodists have played a prominent role in the Australian societies. Well, there it is, dear friends, and it is over to you if you want to make any use of all this material even if it is just to dip into it. I often wish I had time to read it all as it arrived, as most of it looks most interesting.

(B) THE GILMORE-SMITH FUND

Two years ago your executive set a target of \$10,000 as a minimum useful capital base to provide from its earnings the money needed to carry out the aims of this fund. At the time we had reached about \$6,000 and the target looked quite distant. However, since we have had some unexpected 'windfalls' and have transferred some earnings to capital, which has now reached \$17,000. At our last meeting we decided to increase our target to \$20,000 which will provide a much better base upon which to provide usable income - 'only' \$3,000 to go.

To put newer members in the picture as well as refresh the memories of others, this is how the fund started. The GILMORE and SMITH parts were originally separate but as we realised they were to provide money for the same purpose, they were combined into one. The SMITH part was in memory of Mr. F.W. Smith of Marlborough whose will provided a legacy which enabled the publishing of Wesley Chamber's *Samuel Ironside in N.Z.* to go ahead, so it was decided that all profits from the sale of this

book would form the Smith Memorial Fund. This was in 1982. That same year, Rev. Les. Gilmore, who had been secretary for 35 years, died suddenly and the following year the executive adopted a suggestion from one of our members that the Gilmore Memorial Fund be set up. This was started by asking for donations from our members and many will remember contributing to what became a very good initial response. At this stage we would welcome further donations to help us reach the final \$3.000 a bit more quickly. We appeal especially to the many new members who have joined since that first appeal or to others who didn't get around to doing it the first time. I finish by thanking you in anticipation.

THE WESLEYAN MAORI MISSION AT TE ARO 1839 - 1877

The Annual Lecture of the Wesley Historical Society presented at the Methodist Church Conference 1989, by the Rev. John H. Roberts, Tumuaki-a-Rohe of the Poneke Circuit.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work could not have reached its present stage without the assistance of a number of people. Many thanks are due to Marcia Baker and the staff of Methodist Archives, Christchurch, to Rev. George Carter of Methodist Archives, Auckland, and staff of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Rev. Ruawai Rakena, Tumuaki of the Methodist Maori Division provided much encouragement and support. The Division itself provided some financial assistance in the research phase for which I was most grateful. Peter Glensor and Manuka Henare provided helpful comment on the original manuscript. The Methodist Education Division provided computer assistance with special thanks due to Beth Ohison. Appreciation is also due to the Wesley Historical Society for seeing the manuscript through its publication phase.

Finally, acknowledgement is due to my family for their tolerance and forbearance during the research stages which required travel away from home, and in the sifting of data and writing stages which took up considerable amounts of time. Diana is a helpful critic when it comes to written presentation, and to her I owe a considerable debt for attention to the written text. So to all who have helped bring this work to its present stage, I express my grateful thanks.

PREFACE

June 1989 marked the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the beginnings of Methodism in Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington). Te Aro Pa was the base of a Wesleyan Maori Mission (established in 1839) where Minarapa Rangihatuake was the minister. The annual Methodist Conference was held in Wellington in 1989 and I was invited to present the annual lecture to the Wesley Historical Society focusing on that anniversary.

In 1987 I had been asked by the Maori Division of the Methodist Church if I would take a position as their resident ordained minister in Wellington. I accepted with much trepidation. As well as applying myself to the contemporary situation, I wanted to find out more about the beginnings of our Church in this city. The only histories I could find were distinctly monocultural in their presentation. It seemed to me that there was a good deal more to the early history of the Methodist Church in Wellington than had so far been revealed. As I began delving into the history I was delighted to locate the

Minarapa manuscripts in the Alexander Turnbull Library. I was also pleasantly surprised by the amount of useful material in Methodist Archives that shed light on the development of the Wesleyan Mission amongst the Maori of this area. The invitation to present the annual lecture to the Wesley Historical Society was the spur to delve deeper into the history. An edited version of this script formed the basis of that lecture.

It is my hope that this expanded version will be of some assistance in our Methodist bicultural journey by encouraging us to look at our history afresh and to learn from it so that we may work more earnestly for a Church where there is genuine power sharing between Maori and Tuiwi, and where tino rangatiratanga will prevail. It has been my experience that it is necessary to know one's history in order to understand the present and work for a new future. The great challenge to the Methodist Church in Aotearoa today is to change the course of its history. If this little publication is a further encouragement to work to that end, then it will have achieved its purpose.

INTRODUCTION

Ko Tangi te Keo
Ko Matairangi te Maunga
Ko Te Whanganui-a-Tara te Moana
Ko Te Aro Te Pa
Ko Te Weteriana te Hahi
Ko Minarapa Rangihatuake te Kaikauhau



Members of the Maori Division contemplate the Kohatu (Stone) commemorating the beginning of the Mission

He honore, he kororia ki te Atua, te kaihangā o te ao me nga tangata whānui. E mihi aroha ana ki nga tipuna o Te Aro, nga tipuna o te Pa nei, nga tipuna o te Hahi whakapono nei. Ka nui te mihi ki a ratou mo to ratou whakapumautanga me to ratou kaha ki te pupuri i nga taonga tuku iho. Tena koutou nga iwi o tenei ao. Nga mihi o tenei wa ki nga mema o te ropu hitori o Te Hahi Weteriana. Tena koutou mo to reo karanga ki tenei e tu nei. Tena koutou i homai atu au ki te whiu i nga korero aroha. Whakamuri tatou ki te hitori o tatou Hahi i te rohe nei, kia kaha to tatou haere whakamua a te ao hau.

On Sunday 10 June 1989 at 8.30 am on a cold, wet winter morning, seventy people gathered around a memorial stone in central Wellington, for a Maori church service. They assembled on the one piece of open ground that remains of the former Te Aro Pa, that was the home to members of the Te Atiawa and Ngati Ruanui iwi or tribes of Taranaki. There is no acknowledgement that this place was once the base of a thriving Maori community. The only indication of any history associated with the site, is a memorial stone. The inscription on that stone reads:

"Close to this spot at the Te Aro Pa on Sunday 9 June 1839 a Christian service was conducted by the Rev. S H Bumby and Rev. J Hobbs missionaries of the Methodist Church"

That wording is misleading. In the first instance Bumby's initials are incorrect. But more significant is the failure to recognise the role of a Maori lay preacher, Minarapa Rangihatuake, who accompanied the missionaries to Te Aro, who was appointed minister to the people of that Pa. and who built the first Church in Wellington.

IN THE BEGINNING

The Wesleyan mission headquarters was at Mangungu in the Hokianga. Living close by was a party of Maori from Taranaki, who had been prisoners of the Ngāpuhi. When missionary influence led to the liberation of Ngāpuhi captives, a number of them who had adopted Christianity went to reside at the mission stations. Among them was Minarapa Rangihatuake who was trained by Bumby, and who was appointed a lay preacher amongst the Ngāpuhi. He was of the Nga Mahanga hapu of the Taranaki iwi.

In 1839 when the Mission was seeking a further southward extension of its activities, Minarapa, anxious to return to his own people, expressed his wish to take the Gospel to those living in the vicinity of Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington Harbour). So on 18 May 1839 the Reverends John Bumby and John Hobbs, accompanied by Minarapa Rangihatuake and a party of some twenty Taranaki Maori sailed from Kororareka (Russell) in the vessel 'Hokianga'. The party entered Te Whanganui-a-Tara on 7 June.

At that time Te Aro was a large Pa inhabited by many Maori who were mainly of the Te Atiawa iwi who had penetrated Te Whanganui-a-Tara in the 1820's and 1830's. The site was well selected, being on the beach and adjacent to the Waimāpīhi (Te Aro)

Stream. There was plenty of fresh water, and ample land nearby for cultivation. Their canoes could also be pulled up in safety.

There are three extant records of what happened during the nine days Bumby and Hobbs were at Te Whanganui-a-Tara. Bumby, Hobbs and Minarapa have each left us with an account of events. Each of these records is distinctive and worthy of attention in its own right.

JOHN HOBBS'S ACCOUNT

This is recorded in his Journal.¹ It tells how the missionaries and the Maori went ashore, and erected their tents on the beach before being welcomed by the local people and holding a service with them on Friday 7 June. On the following day the local rangatira, Te Wharepouri, was taken aboard the whaleboat to assist in a navigation of places of interest around the harbour. They visited the River Heretaunga (Hutt) and Waiwhetu where they met a Pakeha building a boat. Reference is made to land 'tabooed' at Port Nicholson after negotiations with Tawa-rahi of Te Aro Pa and Ngatata of Kumutoto Pa. On the Sunday morning it is stated, *"We went ashore at a Pa called Te Aro, and addressed a company of about 100 persons in the simplest manner possible, on the first principles of the Gospel of our Redeemer, while they listened to the first whiteman that ever preached to them the Gospel of Christ."*



Rev. John Hobbs

Monday and Tuesday were days of very rough weather and little activity. On Wednesday Hobbs and Bumby again visited the Heretaunga, sleeping at Waiwhetu, where Hobbs got into a dispute with Te Wharepouri. Hobbs questioned Te Wharepouri's powers as a tohunga. Te Wharepouri's response was one of indignation. On Friday it is recorded, *"We made our final arrangements with the teachers to remain, and got under weigh at noon, and at night got out of Port."*

Hobb's account tells us nothing of the process by which the land was acquired for the Wesleyan cause. It tells us little about the church services that were held. It does not mention the role those he calls 'the teachers' had in the whole visit. Indeed they are only named at the end of his account. *"We left More and Minarapa from Mangungu, and a party from the Waimate, ulz Relhana and his wife and children and Hemi and wife, and Ngaroto and Maka."*

Those from Waimate had been Church Missionary Society trained.

JOHN BUMBY'S ACCOUNT

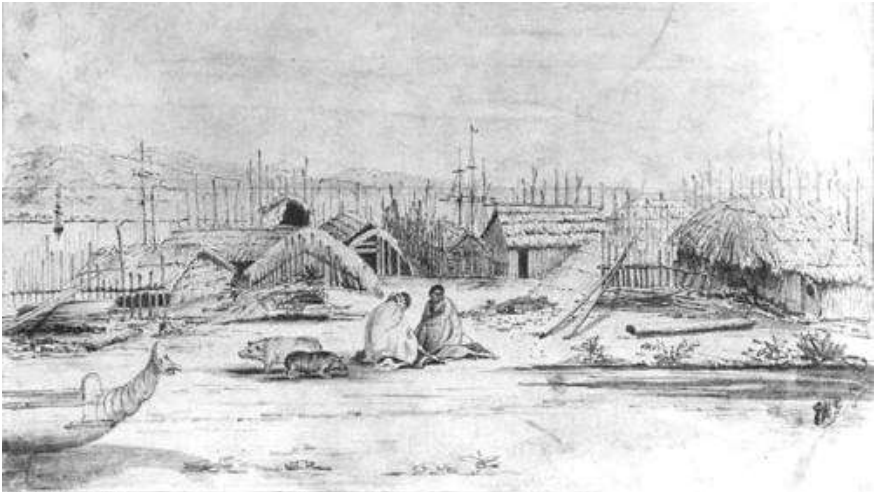
This is similarly recorded in his Diary.² On first going ashore, he tells of being met by a *"grotesque party of natives"*, who welcomed them. The tents were then erected and a meal eaten. There was an incident in which some of the party drank from a 'tapued' stream. Once that was remedied, Evening Service was held at Pipitea Pa. Many speeches followed, with a willingness to accept the Gospel being expressed. Those who accompanied Bumby and Hobbs were *"occupied all night in talking and crying with their relations and friends"*, such that in the morning they had *"hoarse voices and bloodshot eyes, in a pitiable plight"*. Bumby describes a tour of the Pa around the harbour. He describes the harbour, the land surrounding it, and Te Wharepouri, whom he met on his travels. On Sunday a service was held at Te Aro where the sanctuary was the beach, and the sail of the whaleboat acted as a windbreak for the preacher. Almost the entire population of the Pa was present. *"Mr. Hobbs had not proceeded far with the service before the rain came down in such torrents as to have dispersed any English audience, but the poor New Zealanders, unmoved by the pelting of the pitiful shower seemed only Intent upon hearing the word of truth, the gospel of our salvation."*



Rev. John Bumby

On Wednesday the visit to Heretaunga is described and the overnight stay at Waiwhetu Pa, where Bumby and Hobbs were offered a hut for the night, but declined its use. Bumby states, "*The only one offered to us was 'tapued' and encumbered with so many frivolous and vexatious prohibitions and restrictions, such as that no food was to be taken onto the premises etc etc etc, that we were indignant and resolved to make use of our tent, thankful that we could be Independent of a people so foolishly ridiculous in those notions, and so uncivil and unkind to strangers.*"

On the Thursday Bumby tells of the setting aside of land for a Mission and Church. The land he says was 'tapued' for "*some blankets, knives, scissors and fish hooks.*" The extent of the land was from Kumutoto stream to Te Aro stream. On the Friday, the day before departure, Bumby describes a meal provided by the Maori, at which one of the chiefs "*was anxious to rub noses, and I was obliged with as much grace as possible to submit to this disagreeable ceremony.*" Then having left books, slates and pencils with those they brought with them, Bumby and Hobbs departed.



Te Aro Pa (approx 1840) by John Alexander Gilfillan. *Alexander Turnbull Library*

As with Hobbs, Bumby tells us little about the setting aside of the land for church use. He does tell us more about the church services held, especially the Sunday Service at Te Aro. Once again the role of those who accompanied the missionaries is overlooked. In this case they are not even named, simply referred to as "*our lads*", "*our own lads*", or even "*our poor lads*". Then there is Bumby's insensitivity to Maori customs. Only in part can this be excused by his having been in the country a short time. He was with a missionary who had been here sixteen years and could have been expected to be more aware and understanding. Bumby's account is however a good deal more lively and interesting than that of Hobbs, but both record the events very much as a Pakeha missionary story.

MINARAPA RANGIHATUAKE'S ACCOUNT

This is of a different order, being very much in the oral tradition.³ The account we have was recorded by the Rev. T G Hammond, a Wesleyan who was appointed to work amongst the Maori of Taranaki in 1887. There is no indication of the date Hammond recorded this story, but it was probably in the late 1880's or the 1890's when Minarapa was well past his seventieth birthday and living in Rahotu, Taranaki. The account is lively and is almost a verbatim report of what the aged Minarapa would have recounted to Hammond. Hammond has changed it only to the extent of substituting the first person "I" with Minarapa's name. The manuscript is referred to as "Minarapa's account of his visit with Rev. Bumby and Hobbs, to Wellington 1839".

This account of Minarapa's is narrower in its focus than that of Bumby or Hobbs. His concern is only to relate how the Gospel was shared with the people of Pipitea and Te Aro Pa, the content of the message that was brought to those people, and the manner in which land was set aside for a Wesleyan Church and Mission House.

Minarapa tells of his going to Pipitea Pa on arrival in the harbour. He was recognised by a woman of that Pa, Hina Karorama, and welcomed by her with many tears. Minarapa explained his purpose in coming, the bringing of the Christian faith. His message to them was this, *"I am come that you may all turn to the faith and cease from killing men and the eating of them. This is the life for men, the faith in God"*.

Minarapa then returned to the ship and brought Hobbs and Bumby ashore. Bumby greeted the people and urged them to turn to the faith. Speeches followed during which it was decided that Reihana would be a preacher at Pipitea, where many of his relatives lived.

The next day Minarapa visited Te Aro Pa. On arrival he was welcomed and the people wept with him. Minarapa recounted his experiences in the far north declaring that he had been appointed *"to lift up the faith"*, and urged the people *"to turn to the faith"*. Minarapa returned to the Pa the following day, accompanied by Hobbs and Bumby. After the welcome, Bumby spoke about faith in God. Faith, he explained, was about life, so he urged the people to cease killing. The people of Te Aro then accepted the faith. In expressing his joy at this, Minarapa asked that land be set aside for a church. This was agreed to, and the land defined, being about three acres in all. The succeeding day the missionaries returned with goods in exchange for the land. But first there was a great meal. Worship followed, with Bumby, Hobbs and Minarapa participating. Bumby announced that Minarapa would remain at Te Aro Pa. The goods of exchange were subsequently laid out. *"There were blankets, shirts, whiteshirts, coats, ministers coats, there were one hundred more or less of these garments. Blankets, rugs with yellow spots, not to mention tobacco. Two hundred Tobaccos, pipes and a cask of powder."*

Goods were also left with Minarapa, equivalent to one pound per week, as payment for his work.

The rangatira of Te Aro then gave their speeches of farewell. Minarapa recounts the words of their farewells. Those who spoke were, Te Ngahuru, Marangai, Mohi Ngaponga and Hemi Parae. Bumby and Hobbs then departed, to sail out of the harbour. Whereupon the people of Te Aro began to prepare timber and gather nikau for the house of worship. Taranaki Maori from as far away as Waikanae came to assist in the building of the church. Minarapa's account finishes with the words, "*The many workers quickly finished the house.*"

This account of Minarapa's is quite distinctive. It indicates the crucial role Minarapa played. He was an initiator of this event stating that it was his proposal to go and see his relations and take the Gospel to them. On the occasion of the visits to Pipitea and Te Aro, Minarapa went on ahead to make contact with the people, explaining the purpose of the visit, sowing the first seeds of the Gospel, and then returning to bring Hobbs and Bumby to the Pa. It was Minarapa who approached the people of Te Aro with the suggestion they set aside land for a church. It was Minarapa who was responsible for the building of the church, and the commencement of regular services of worship.

The success of this visit was in considerable measure due to Minarapa. Some Te Aro Maori had already had contact with Wesleyan missionaries. Mohi Ngaponga said, "*there is in the vicinity of this area a missionary Mr. Ironside. That missionary has had many arguments with this people in the sea of this area but we did not listen to him.*" To such as Ngaponga, all missionaries were to be treated with considerable caution. So Bumby and Hobbs would be considered in this way. However at Te Aro they were carefully listened to. Ngaponga said this was because Minarapa was their relative. Clearly Minarapa was the decisive fact in the establishment of the Wesleyan Mission at Te Aro.

A matter of note is the way in which Minarapa refers to Bumby and Hobbs. Reference is to "*Minarapa and his Pakehas*", or to "*his Europeans*". In a later manuscript the reference is to "*I and my Pakehas*".⁴ In this later document Minarapa also refers to himself as a minister and preacher. This is in contrast to Bumby's reference to "our lads". Bumby clearly saw Minarapa and the others as subordinate to himself and 'Hobbs, whereas Minarapa uses the language of equality. While Hobbs and Bumby provide us with useful information, theirs is very much the Pakeha missionary perspective. The contribution of Minarapa is significant because it provides the much needed Maori perspective. But this Maori perspective of Minarapa's has seldom been allowed to stand in its own right. Most accounts of this event start from Hobbs or Bumby's material. However the writers of those accounts such as Morley,⁵ Fildes,⁶ and Williment⁷ have found it necessary to draw on Minarapa's account to fill out the story.

So for some of us, 1989 was a year to let Minarapa speak to us on his own account, without reference to Pakeha perspectives. The 150th anniversary of this event was an opportunity to promote the Maori perspective.

The history of the Te Aro Wesleyan Mission is of considerable interest. Firstly because of its establishment by a Maori. Secondly it was established relatively late in the phase of missionary expansion. Only the South Island Missions at Otakou and the Wairau were to follow. Thirdly it was established at a place that within three months was to be the focus of Pakeha settlement. This had the effect that from the time of the first appointment of an ordained minister, the appointee was to work with Maori and Pakeha. The Te Aro Mission was unique in this respect. Hitherto Maori Missions had been, just that, Missions for Maori. At Te Aro we can chart the course of a Mission with a dual focus. We can also examine the impact of Pakeha settlement on the Maori Mission.

Unfortunately there is no surviving Maori perspective on the development of the Te Aro Mission over these years. We can only assess the achievements of the Maori Mission from the reports of the ministers officially stationed in Wellington, together with the District and Circuit reports. Only in the closing years of the mission do we again get a Maori perspective.

ENTER THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY

Three months after Bumby and Hobbs sailed out of Port Nicholson another ship sailed in. It was the 'Tory', a vessel of the New Zealand Company with Colonel William Wakefield, Edward Jerningham Wakefield and sundry others on board. They were intent upon acquiring land for the first settlers of the New Zealand Company who were expected to arrive in January 1840.⁸

It was 20 September 1839 when the *Tory* entered the Harbour. While the ship was still sailing in, Te Wharepouri and Te Puni, another local rangatira, boarded the *Tory*. Upon learning of Col. Wakefield's intentions, they promptly declared their willingness to sell land on a large scale. It was of no account to them that they did not have the authority for a transaction on such a grand scale. A clearly heartened Col. Wakefield immediately set about purchasing the land offered to him.

But not all local rangatira wanted to sell their land. Several objected to Te Wharepouri's proposal. There was much debate. Finally on 25 September, Wakefield laid out the goods for the purchase of all the land around the harbour, including the ranges, a vast area. The goods comprised blankets, axes, guns, cartridges, gunpowder, umbrellas, sticks of sealing wax, all to the value of four hundred pounds. The debate continued. Two days later Te Wharepouri distributed the goods, thus sealing the sale. The Maori of Te Aro Pa were not represented at the discussions on this land transaction. However their land was included in the purchase. Both Te Wharepouri and Te Puni were well aware that Te Aro land was not theirs to sell. Te Wharepouri

rode roughshod over them, dispatching a share of the goods to them, but apologising for it being a smaller share on account of their being of lower status. Wakefield then declared that Te Aro would be at the heart of his Company's new town. For the Colonel, Te Aro was a desirable site, being the best part of the Harbour for mercantile purposes. Here wharves and stores could readily be built.



Te Aro 1857

The Wesleyan Church, the Wesleyan Maori Chapel and Te Aro Pa can be seen.

Wellington Public Library

However the Company surveyor, Captain Mein-Smith, had instructions from the Directors of the Company that were at variance with the wishes of Col. Wakefield. Wakefield's proposal was for two distinct settlements. One for commercial purposes on the south side of the Harbour, and the other for agricultural and general purposes on the north side. Mein-Smith's instructions were to establish one town combining the two purposes. On this basis he selected Pito-one as the site. This was where the first immigrants were to settle. However, flooding of the Heretaunga (Hutt) River was to result in relocation of the town to the south side of the Harbour, to the area stretching from Pipitea to Te Aro.

As a result of this purchase Col. Wakefield claimed that the land set aside at Te Aro for the Wesleyan mission was now the Company's. He was supported in this by Te Wharepouri. The status of the land purchased by the Wesleyans was however subject to dispute. Edward Jerningham Wakefield states that the day after the purchase

Colonel Wakefield and Te Wharepouri visited the various pa. At Te Aro, Te Wharepouri was challenged by a missionary teacher, undoubtedly Minarapa, for not having set apart the land previously purchased by the Wesleyans. Wharepouri is said to have responded by saying "*How can you who are a child reprove me?....If I had sold the land to the white missionaries might they have not sold it again to the Wiwi (French) or Americans?*" Minarapa was opposed to the efforts of Colonel Wakefield, as were other Maori missionary teachers. Edward Jerningham Wakefield stated that.

*"We confessed to ourselves that the apparent hostility of the native missionaries seemed to auger some difficulties; but we persuaded ourselves that they had exceeded their mission and we felt convinced that their hostile aspect was in excess of the Instructions which they might have received from their Christian and civilised teachers."*⁹

Wakefield accused these Maori mission teachers of being jealous of the authority of the chiefs whom they longed to overthrow. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Maori preachers simply stood with their people in the land disputes with Wakefield.

The New Zealand Company's survey ship, the *Cuba* arrived on 3 January 1840 with those who were to map and survey the new town at Port Nicholson for the settlers, the first of whom were only nineteen days out from Harbour.

VISIT OF JAMES BULLER



Rev. James Buller

On 20 January 1840, the Rev. James Buller arrived in Port Nicholson.¹⁰ He had journeyed overland from Mangungu taking eight weeks to get here. The purpose of his

coming was to follow up the visit of Bumby and Hobbs, and to look into the current state of the land set aside for the Wesleyans.

Upon his arrival, Buller first noticed the New Zealand Company vessel *Cuba*, was at anchor in the Harbour. At the first Pa he visited, Buller met Te Wharepouri, and he enquired of him about the land set aside for the Wesleyan Mission the previous year. Buller was informed that it had been sold to the New Zealand Company. Te Wharepouri made various pretexts, "*especially our having been so long without returning*".

The next day Buller visited Te Aro. He examined the land that had been set aside for the church, and "*felt exceedingly sorry it had not been securedthe greater part of the population of Wanganuiatorā (sic) or P. Nicholson residing near here*". He noted that Minarapa and the others, whom he refers to as '*the boys*', had built a large house on the site, and that the people were sorry the land had passed to the New Zealand Company. Buller was heartened to discover that the people of Te Aro "*did neither sell nor consent to the sale*" of their land. In the evening he held service with the people at Te Aro.

On 22 January. Buller recorded "*In the afternoon the Aurora, a large ship with emigrants from the Company came into the Harbour.*"

The following day he went to meet Col. Wakefield, the New Zealand Company's chief agent in Port Nicholson. Wakefield informed Buller that he had met Bumby while in the Hokianga, and reached an understanding that the land was now the Company's, but a suitable piece of land for a Mission station would be allocated to the Wesleyans. With this explanation, Buller felt relieved of any further responsibility and resolved to return to Mangungu at the first opportunity.

On 24 January, Buller spent the day among Maori of the area. He observed, "*the arrival of such a number of Europeans is perfectly new and astounding to them and calculated to cause concern .*" The next day Buller went on board the 'Aurora' and offered to take a service the following day, a Sunday. While on the ship he was approached with many enquiries about life in this new land. On Sunday, Buller held a service on the 'Aurora', with all the passengers and crew attending. This was the first church service for the settler community in Port Nicholson. On 27 January Buller departed.

Each day he was here Buller held a service with the Maori. However he tells us nothing of those Maori left as preachers by Bumby and Hobbs. Buller's only comment concerning them was, "*I am sorry to find More has been doing badly.*"

Buller's comments foreshadowed the problems that would arise for Maori and missionary with the arrival of the New Zealand Company and its settlers.

THE TREATY OF WAITANGI, GOVERNOR HOBSON AND DISCONTENT AT TE ARO

In April 1840 the Rev. Henry Williams arrived in the Harbour, seeking signatures for the Treaty of Waitangi.¹¹ He did not expect much cooperation from New Zealand Company officials. The Company and its settlers had proclaimed the independence of their settlement. Col. Wakefield frustrated all Williams' efforts to meet with local Maori. Only after several days, when Williams was on the point of departure, did Wakefield relent. His only purpose in relenting was so that the Company might be seen in an improved light and so be in a better position to retain its lands. So on 19 April, thirty one rangatira from around the Harbour signed the Treaty. Williams commented, "*They were much gratified that protection was now afforded to them.*"

Amongst the thirty four rangatira who signed, were some who had been associated with the reception given Minarapa, Bumby and Hobbs in June 1839. Wairarapa who welcomed the Wesleyan party at Pipitea Pa was a signatory, Ropiha Moturoa of Te Aro Pa was also a signatory, At his baptism he took the name Ropiha (a transliteration of Hobbs). He was Wesleyan, a rangatira who challenged the New Zealand Company's purchase and accordingly was disliked by the Company.

Meanwhile New Zealand Company officials had been surveying the town. Te Aro Maori who denied sale of their land, put up every resistance to the surveyors. Wakefield's response was to arm the surveyors. The Maori in turn responded by coming out each evening and pulling up the surveyors' pegs and obliterating as many markings as possible. The surveyors and settlers then resorted to force so they could mark out roads and sections through Te Aro Pa, its cultivations and burial grounds.

Governor Hobson was becoming increasingly concerned at the conduct of the New Zealand Company in Port Nicholson, particularly at its claim to be independent of the Crown, and at its use of a flag of independence. This he regarded as a form of treason. So he issued a proclamation of sovereignty over the whole of the North Island by right of cession. Hobson followed this up by dispatching the Colonial Secretary and Chief Magistrate, Shortland, with troops, to deal with the situation. On 4 June, Shortland hauled down the flag of independence, read Hobson's proclamation of sovereignty and demanded allegiance to the Crown.

Discontent over the loss of their land continued to be expressed by Te Aro Maori. On 26 August a settler proceeded to build a house on a section allocated to him by the New Zealand Company. It was on the site of one of the cultivations of Te Aro Maori. Maori soon gathered to evict him from the land. But word quickly spread to settlers who came armed and surrounded the Maori. Shortland found it necessary to issue a proclamation forbidding any assembly with arms.

Earlier, on 26 June 1840, John Bumby drowned while crossing Whangaparaoa Harbour. Minarapa travelled north to participate in the mourning functions. He remained there for several months before returning to Te Aro. In his absence Minarapa appointed Wi Upo to act as preacher.

THE ARRIVAL OF JOHN ALDRED

The Rev. John Aldred arrived in Wellington on 23 December 1840, to take up an appointment serving both Maori and Pakeha. He found lodgings in a small room for which he paid ten shillings a week and set about acquainting himself with the town.



Rev. John Aldred

He soon became aware of the grievances of Te Aro Maori. Aldred also discovered that the land on which the chapel and house built under Minarapa's supervision I stood, was now designated 'Market Reserve'. Nevertheless, he took possession of them. The house was unfinished, being without walls or floor. So Aldred had them completed and moved in.

In his first report to the Wesleyan Missionary Society,¹² Aldred stated, "*that while a few settlers desired the welfare of the Maori, many think them unworthy of attention, and to use the sentiment of a few, would shoot them as soon as a dog.*" He expressed concern that drunkenness among Maori was widespread, that there were instances of theft, and young Maori women were involved in prostitution. These things he attributed to colonisation and the "*promotion of wickedness*", by "*unholy and wicked*" settlers.

Aldred estimated the number of Maori around the Wellington harbour to be about 1,500 at this time. Concerning his work among them, he noted a good attendance at worship, though he felt he was struggling with the language. He considered the work had fallen away, the teachers left by Bumby and Hobbs having suffered from lack of supervision and the effects of colonisation. As a result Aldred chose to give his attention to "*a few serious natives*". He outlined his Sunday activities in this way: "*About 6 am we have our Native prayer meeting, after which I frequently meet a class. Then the Morning Service. About 1 o'clock the school assembles at which I am not present. At 3pm the English Service, after which the Native Evening Service two week Evening Services I have with the Natives at the Pa.*"¹³

Governor Hobson arrived in Wellington on 19 August 1840. He brought with him the Chief Protector of Aborigines, to sort out the local Maori land grievances. Meanwhile Wakefield had attempted to induce Te Aro Maori to leave their Pa, and settle on reserves he had allocated, in consideration of a payment of fifty pounds to them. But they refused to leave.

In May 1842 Aldred reported a continuing crisis between Maori and Pakeha over land issues.¹⁴ Te Rangihaeata, the notable Ngati Toa rangitira was opposing possession of Porirua by the settlers. It was proposed to apprehend and punish him.

At this time William Spain's Land Commission was in progress. The Commission was assisted by George Clarke, the Chief Protector of Aborigines, who reported at the time that "*there are hundreds of people here, whoexecrate the Maoris as outrageous and savage cannibals, because they will not allow them to trample on their rights.*"¹⁵

A census of the Native population at the time put the number of people at Te Aro as 128.¹⁶ Aldred was feeling more encouraged in his work with the Maori, there having been many baptisms. Minarapa had returned to Taranaki. A messenger from the elders had come seeking his return, that he might serve his people there. Minarapa settled in a house built for him at Rahotu where he married Ripeka Marire. He continued to take services there well into his latter years.¹⁷ He died at Rahotu on 14 November 1893. Minarapa's raupo chapel at Te Aro was blown down in 1842. Services were then held in a dwelling within the Pa.

ENTER SAMUEL IRONSIDE



Rev. Samuel Ironside

The conflict over land in the Wellington area continued into 1843. The Rev. Samuel Ironside who was appointed to Wellington that year reported, "*the Company having portioned out land which the Natives claim, the Natives resist the occupation of the land feuds and quarrels daily arise.*"¹⁸ Clarke the Protector of Aborigines reported, "*I found that the white settlers did just as they liked, pulled down the fences and drove cattle on the potatoes.... it requires my very utmost energies to keep the Europeans in*

check, and the Natives from adopting violent measures in self defence. "19 June saw conflict at the Wairau, when New Zealand Company officials sought forcibly to take disputed land that was occupied by Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata. This conflict led to the death of twenty three of the party seeking to take the land. Government officials were appalled and condemned the actions of the Company and settlers. An official enquiry was launched, with hearings commencing in Wellington. It was established that the Company had no claim to the land and that the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi were binding. The illegality of the settlers' actions was stressed and it was established beyond doubt that the intention of Te Rauparaha in going to the Wairau was peaceful.

However the incident fuelled anti-Maori feeling in Wellington. An armed volunteer corps was formed and it began to drill regularly. Government emissaries were despatched to investigate the situation. They took immediate steps to disband the volunteer corps, which only added to the disgust of local settlers.

Ironside reported that the work amongst the Maori was not in a good state. "They appear sadly to deteriorate in piety and cleanliness. The Pa Te Aro is decidedly one of the dirtiest I have ever seen".²⁰ He also reported having to contend with "*the ignorance, selfishness and superstition of the Native character*".²¹ Aware of the great opposition and suspicion missionaries had to contend with, Ironside reported, "*Great feeling exists at present against Maori and missionaries. The Natives are not willing to give up their land which they have not sold the Company then turns around and charges the missionaries with Influencing the Natives in this determination. Whilst on the other hand, the Natives regard us with jealousy and think we have brought settlers to this/and.*"²²

In the same year, the Rev. George Buttle told of a Maori service in Wellington where a Pakeha intruded into the service and kept up a running fire of ridicule, making every effort to dissuade the congregation from taking any notice of the Preacher.²³

In 1843 William Spain issued his decision concerning the Te Aro land. During the course of the enquiry he had heard numerous Te Aro Maori deny the purchase of their Pa, its cultivations and burial grounds. They declared they would only part with , their land with their lives. Dicky Barrett who had acted as Wakefield's interpreter at the time of the alleged purchase, had sworn that the Maori of Te Aro never agreed to the sale of their land, and that he had informed Col. Wakefield of this before the deed was signed. Spain decided that Te Aro Maori would keep their Pa, cultivations and burial grounds, would receive three hundred pounds compensation, and would have reserve lands set aside for them.²⁴ Te Aro Maori considered this an inadequate response, but were told by the Governor that if they refused to accept it, they would have to settle the issue the best way they could. So though dissatisfied, they accepted.²⁵

The settlers were nervous and the Maori restless. The local newspaper reported that there were 6,260 Maori living around the Harbour who were capable of bearing arms.²⁶ Ironside praised what he called "*the uniformly kind and considerate bearing of the settlers towards the Natives*"²⁷ The settlers were however, in the main, anything but kind and considerate towards the Maori. Ironside however felt they were not responsible for disputes and misunderstandings. These had arisen from circumstances beyond their control, namely non-settlement of the land question. It is clear however, that they had been aggravating the situation, and openly expressing hatred of Maori.

The missionaries reported many opposing influences to their work, "*the absorbing questions of land, whitemen, property etc etc*". With the issuing of the report of Commissioner Spain, Ironside expressed his hope that local Maoris "*were on the mend*". Surprisingly perhaps, Sunday Services at Te Aro Pa were attended by two thirds of the population. But on weekdays the attendance was very small. Ironside had become dissatisfied with the leaders in the Maori congregation, so had commenced a Class Meeting on Fridays. He believed the Mission would prosper when the land problem was finally settled.²⁸

By this time there was a growing Pakeha congregation who desired to build a new Chapel. Ironside resolved to approach Col. Wakefield for financial assistance. Wakefield gave a subscription in acknowledgement of Ironside having taken a burial service for his brother Arthur, who was killed in the Wairau affray. Wakefield also offered to help in memorialising the Directors of the Company. Assistance was also sought from Governor Fitzroy.²⁹

ENTER JAMES WATKIN



Rev. James Watkin

Tension continued into 1845. In March the conflict in the north reached its climax with the sacking of Kororareka by Hone Heke. Close to hand in the Hutt, Maori were held to be illegally occupying land, and were ordered to leave. Soldiers were

requisitioned for the protection of Wellington. Fortifications were erected and militia drilled. There were many rumours of war and much fear of attack.

The Rev. James Watkins had taken up an appointment in Wellington the previous year. He observed that against "*all evidence, the Natives are accused of having thoughts of war.... and if anything be gently denied, or even doubted, you are set down as in league with the savages, and you are denounced as enemies of your countrymen.*" He stated that many Pakeha hated both Maori and missionaries. One was reported to have said, "*I wish all maori and missionaries were collected together upon a pile of wood. I would set fire to it myself*".³⁰ The District Report noted, that year "*had not been friendly to the extension of religion, the Native mind having been in feverish excitement.*" It was also reported that the Wesleyan claim concerning the land set aside for the Maori Mission in June 1839, had been settled. The matter had been put before William Spain's Land Commission. About a quarter of an acre on the corner of Manners and Cuba Streets was granted to the Wesleyans, also another piece of land of about an acre, elsewhere in the town. A brick chapel was being built on the newly acquired land on the Manners and Cuba Streets corner.³¹

In July 1845 Ironside and Watkins called a hui at Porirua. The purpose of the gathering was to bring together Maori of different iwi and so alleviate any tension between them, to build a close relationship between the Maori and missionaries, and to conduct baptisms and catechetical examinations. The hui was held from 11 to 15 July. On the Sunday morning there were thirty baptisms. In the evening there were upwards of one hundred and twenty communicants at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. On Monday some two hundred and fifty took part in the scripture and catechetical examination. However for the settlers in Wellington this gathering was seen to have a sinister political aspect. They saw it as a plot against the settlement, accusing the missionaries of playing a double game. They refused to accept the missionaries' assurances to the contrary.

Worship at Te Aro Pa continued to be held in a Maori dwelling which Watkins described as "*begrimed with filth and festooned with soot, in which touch, sight and smell were all offended*".³² On 14 December a new weatherboard Maori Chapel was opened at Te Aro Pa at a cost of thirty nine pounds.

At the beginning of the year Watkins recorded an interesting account of the Watchnight Service. It was for both Maori and Pakeha. Watkins took the English, Ironside the Maori. Hymns, prayers and sermons were in both languages. On 5 January he reported a large congregation, with many coming from the surrounding areas. At 11 am the sacrament of Holy Communion was observed, then in the afternoon the Covenant Service. At 4.30pm there was a further Maori service. The Native Quarterly Meeting, with good attendance, was held the next day.³³

Te Aro Maori continued to seek redress on the land issue. They wanted adequate reserves for their use. Those which had been set aside were not adequate, either in

quality or quantity. In Porirua Te Rangihaeata had been defying the Government. In February he and three hundred men had entrenched themselves in a pa at Pauatahanui. The Wellington district was placed under martial law and two hundred and fifty soldiers despatched to Porirua. At the same time discontent over land occupation in the Hutt was mounting. Other tribes in the area disputed Te Puni's sale of the area to the New Zealand Company. Ngati Rangatahi under the leadership of Kaparatehau denied sale of their lands. Ngati Toa disputed the sale of land to which they laid prior claim, and continued to cultivate it. Ngati Tama who agreed to leave peacefully, believed their possessions would be protected by the military who were occupying their disputed land. However their canoes were stolen by the settlers, and their houses, chapel and grave fences were all burned by the soldiers. Retaliation was immediate, with martial law being declared. But this could not stop the outbreak of conflict. On 16 May Te Mamaku, a Wanganui rangatira thought to be involved with Te Rangiaeata, attacked a military outpost. Panic followed and the militia was called out, but skirmishes continued. Settlers in both the Hutt and Wellington were greatly disturbed by these events. Families flocked into Wellington and measures were taken to defend the town.

Ironside acknowledged the inadequacy of the reserves for Maori, noting that "*the Natives of the Pa Te Aro are greatly inconvenienced on this score*". He noted that supporters of the New Zealand Company were resisting settlement of the reserves issue. Some wanted nothing less than total extermination of the Maori race. He also reported that Te Aro Maori were very unsettled. They were talking of removing from the Pa. In response to the nearby conflict, they together with their kin at Pipitea and Waiwhetu were issued with arms and placed under the command of a David Scott. They were to be formed into a guerilla corps to fight Rangihaeata.³⁴

At the beginning of the year Ironside reported that the Maori work was in a healthy state with seventy communicants at Te Aro.³⁵ At the District Meeting in July it was reported the "*missionaries have been labouring in the mfdst of much that is discouraging and painful*".³⁶ Watkins also reported that "*In the Native Department of our work, we have received considerable Interruption War. horrid war, the cause of all this*".³⁷

The New Zealand Company attempted to revive its influence in Wellington in 1847. It proposed that Edward Gibbon Wakefield become Governor of the southern section of the colony. Watkins noted, that name "*stinks amongst the Natives, and by others is regarded as a synonym of bad faith*."³⁸

At the beginning of the year Watkin stated that he had preached four times on the Sunday, three of the services being in Maori, a language he found difficult to speak.³⁹ Later in the year he reported that it was quiet in the town, "but some think the volcano only sleeps".⁴⁰

In February the local newspaper reported that Te Puni, Moturoa, and other rangatira were arranging the return of their people to Taranaki. The report went on to state, "*We believe arrangements are also pending for the removal of the native of Te Aro from their pa at the head of the bay. This last arrangement is certainly much to be desired*". The settlers were impatient to be rid of Te Aro Maori and their Pa.

1847 was the year in which Earl Grey in England had forwarded instructions to the Colonial Governor and Government to take over all surplus unoccupied Maori land, and to offer it for sale to prospective settlers. In this way funds were to be generated for development and for Government expenses. Wesleyan missionaries responded to this initiative by supporting Maori. They saw their integrity in terms of the support they had given to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, as being at stake. Their response did little to endear them to the settlers.

Two epidemics hit Wellington in 1848. Influenza affected many, proving fatal in some instances. Whooping cough also raged with deadly effect. Infant mortality was particularly high. Maori suffered disproportionately through both of these epidemics. Watkins reported, "*The poor Natives are the greatest sufferers, a number of them have been carried off.*" He went on to say that their number was yearly becoming less, "*and un/ess they rally I see nothing for them but extinctionthe leaves fall off the tree without being replaced*".⁴¹

The other factor which was contributing to the decrease in the Maori population of the area was migration. Watkins wrote "*the inhabitants of this Circuit generally are not sons of the soil, but fugitives, driven by war from their birthplace*".⁴² Many were desirous of returning to Taranaki. Some five hundred Maori from the Wellington district returned to Taranaki in this year. Governor Grey tried to discourage their return, seeing it as representing further obstacles to obtaining land for settlers in Taranaki.⁴³

Watkins also commented on the evils of colonisation for Maori. He listed disregard of the sanctity of the Lord's Day, only occasional attendance or habitual absence from services of religion, card playing, drinking and delighting in filth, as evils to be mourned.⁴⁴

Nevertheless the Circuit Meeting reported a slight increase in Maori numbers and an improvement in attention to religious duties.⁴⁵ Class Meetings were being better attended too. October's earthquake had damaged the Maori Chapel at Te Aro, but the people continued to gather to worship in it.

An interesting comparison between the Pakeha and Maori work appeared in the Wellington Circuit Report for 1849.⁴⁶ "*The English part of the work is encouraging, and the Native part is not absolutely discouraging.*" The civilising of the Maori was acknowledged to be one of the objects of the Mission. In this regard the Maori of the

town of Wellington were reported as "*certainly making progress.*" Relating to Maori spiritual formation it was stated, "*some are we believe truly Christian*".

In 1850 H. Tracey Kemp filed a statistical return of Maori in the Wellington district.⁴⁷ Commenting on a plan to develop the Te Aro Pa on its existing site he stated, "*Every encouragement was given to the resident Natives to improve their dwellings, and a village laid out by a government surveyor to ensure regularity in the construction of their houses and paths, but there is little hope of so desirable a change taking place. At present the huts with scarcely an exception, are in a state of dilapidation and the general state of the natives far from being healthy.*" Kemp also observed, "*The Natives of Wellington have no cultivations to speak of on the lands in the outskirts of the town - all have hired land from settlers In the Hutt.*" His statistics show that Te Aro was the largest Maori settlement around the Harbour at this time, with a population of one hundred and eighty six. There were thirty six huts in the settlement. The Pa had thirty acres of land under cultivation. They also had twenty horses, eleven pigs and four cows. The religion of Te Aro Maori was stated to be, one hundred and six Wesleyan, seventy eight, Church of England.

Watkins recorded his concern for Te Aro Maori and their land in his report of 1851,⁴⁸ He stated, "*some of our Natives have to go fifteen miles to cultivate potatoes on land rented from the white men.*" He went on to say, "*one thing affects me a good deal, some of the Maoris are saving money to buy back some of the land of which a few years ago they were the unquestioned masters.*" He then observed the discrepancy between what they received for their land, and what they were now having to pay for it. "*I don't think they got sixpence an acre, what must they give to get it back, at least two pounds.*"

The Maori death rate continued to be disproportionately high in 1853. Land for Maori cultivation was still scarce. Migration of the Maori out of the town was continuing. Aldred, who had been stationed in the Hutt since 1849, reported, "the Natives have generally speaking, left town through scarcity of land".⁴⁹ Many were living in the Hutt, some on rented ground, others on land they had purchased. Watkins reported that '*many Maori were contemplating leaving the locality for their ancestral seats*'. He also commented on the Maori death rate, "*I wish something could be done to stem the tide of mortality among them, if not, then extinction will be their lot at no very distant date. The numbers of them I have buried!*"⁵⁰ Rev. Charles Creed who was appointed to the Hutt in 1853, also thought extinction of the Maori a possibility. He saw their future as amalgamation with the Pakeha.⁵¹ "*They are a fine race of people, and one seems unwilling to admit the thought of their probable extinction. There are materials amongst them for an educated and greatly Improved race, fully prepared to amalgamate with the Anglo Saxons.*" The District Report indicated that this had been a most painful year, but with, "*much to encourage us in the spirit of piety which pervades, and their generally upright life.*"⁵² The two principal Maori congregations in the Wellington District at this time were at Takapuwhia (Porlrua) and the Hutt.

The Wellington Circuit report of 1853 stated. "The Native congregation is not so good now as it used to be, accounted for to some extent by numerous deaths and migrations." ⁵³ It was noted that most were now living at the Hutt, "*for the purpose of raising food, which many of them do on land which they rent from Europeans.*"

In 1854 it was reported, "*We have had a most painful year. Our loss by death has been still greater. Sickness may be said to have been universal, and in many cases it has proved fatal, especially among our Native charge*"⁵⁴

ENTER JAMES BULLER

In April 1855 the Rev. James Buller was appointed to the Wellington Circuit. At this time there were increasing demands on the Pakeha work and that was to be his priority. The District Report made this observation concerning Te Aro,

*"A small remnant of a once considerable tribe occupy a few miserable huts not far from the Mission House. To them we preach twice every Sunday in a dilapidated chapel shattered by the earthquake. [The earthquake of January 1855]. The usual attendance is from 15-20. They support themselves by working for the merchants and shopkeepers in the town. Most of them are fond of strong drink, and we see no fruit of our labour".*⁵⁵

The response was to focus increasingly on the Pakeha work.

"It is more important to occupy the ground on which the Anglo-Saxon race are laying the foundation of future populous and wealthy settlements."

Buller saw the solution to the Maori work in the appointment of two or three able young men from the Three Kings theological institution, to work under him as assistant ministers.⁵⁶ He considered that the work amongst the Maori would make an excellent form of probation. At this time Buller was also of the mind that a sinequa non of being admitted into Full Connexion should be acquisition of the Maori language. What was needed he said was "*men who would adapt themselves to the peculiar circumstances of this country.*"

Later in the year Buller reported his work amongst Te Aro Maori, "*I have been glad to notice a renewed attention to the ordinances of religion, more self reliance, and a gradual increase of contribution to our Circuit fund*".⁵⁷ The Wellington Circuit stated that "*the Native Department has afforded some encouragement by a renewal of their interest in religious duties. We cannot speak of a deep spirituality among them, but there is reason to believe that there are many who are the subjects of a sincere, though not very exalted piety*".⁵⁸ Buller did not see the future of the Maori work as very promising. In fact he openly acknowledged its demise, "*What we do for the Natives here, we do for the present generation. Our prospects in this locality, at least for the future are melancholy. I refer to the certain diminution of their numbers*".⁵⁹

In 1857 Buller stated that this was a most critical time in the history of the Maori tribes. The objective was to have Maori assimilate into the Pakeha world. To assist this, Buller saw the need for "*an adequate missionary agency, in order to prepare them for the right to discharge their social and spiritual duties*".⁶⁰ The Wellington Circuit Report said that the Maori work was very encouraging, considering that the people were exposed to "*manifold temptations from their proximity to evil examples*".⁶¹ Services continued to be regularly held. It was reported that the chapel at Te Aro had been blown down and rebuilt at an expense of seventy pounds, all of which was contributed by Maori. Buller declared that no candidate for the ministry in the Wellington District would be recommended, who did not acquit himself in the Maori language.⁶²

In April Buller presented a lecture to the Wellington Athenaeum and Mechanics Institute.⁶³ Discussing the Maori he asked, "*What will become of the New Zealanders? The general opinion is that they will become extinct.*" Buller's view was that they would become extinct, but not in the sense of dying out. Rather it would be achieved through assimilation with the Pakeha. The task of a Christian education and progressive civilisation was to prepare Maori for this assimilation. Buller also expressed the view that colonisation was a boon to Maori, and he was persuaded that it was in accordance with Divine Providence. He went on to say, "*the aborigines of New Zealand have received nothing at the hands of the British Government but that paternal regard which is ever due from the stronger to the weaker.*"

In another of his reports of that year, Buller commented on Maori traditions and mythology, stating they were rapidly fading from the Maori mind, "*and are now very generally regarded with as much contempt as they deserve*".⁶⁴ Here Buller gives a clear indication of the Eurocentric Christian thinking of the time whereby Christian theology was regarded as superior, while Maori beliefs were seen as superstitions. The task of the missionary was to evangelise Maori and so replace their traditional beliefs with Christian teaching from the other side of the world. This would not only make them Christian, it would also aid their civilisation.

The Circuit Report for 1857 stated that the Maori membership was steady and that, "*considering their proximity to toiu, we have reason to be thankful that they are what they are*".⁶⁵

Serious concern was expressed about funding of the Maori work in 1858. Mission headquarters in Sydney felt that the Maori should be contributing more. For the missionaries this had always been a sensitive issue. They were aware of the restlessness of Maori over matters affecting their land and culture. But as far as the Secretary of Missions was concerned, "*Either a plain Christian duty has not been taught, or after all the labour bestowed, they have not religion enough to fulfil the duty, and it will be a subject for serious consideration how long such a state of things is to be continued*".⁶⁶ Ultimately this would further hasten the demise of the Te Aro Mission.

The Wellington Circuit Report of 1859 stated that regular services were being held for Maori, and influence was being brought to bear on a considerable number.⁶⁷ What was termed 'excitement', had arisen from the formation of the Maori King Movement. Many, it was said were, "*preparing for an exodus to their former homes at Taranaki where they will enjoy their paternal Inheritance, and we therefore anticipate the loss of our most steady members.*" However there was to be little enjoyment in Taranaki. In the following year the Pakeha would invade Taranaki to forcibly acquire Maori land. A build up to this conflict was already taking place and Te Aro Maori being of the iwi of Taranaki and having lost their land in Wellington, were preparing to return in an effort to secure their ancestral land.

March 1860 saw the beginning of the military invasion of Taranaki at Waitara. Buller reported that following the outbreak of conflict there was great excitement in Wellington.⁶⁸ The local militia was called out and a volunteer corps enrolled. All manner of rumours were flying about with many of the settlers in a great state of apprehension. Buller's fear was that local Maori would be goaded into conflict with the Pakeha because of irritation caused by the latter's "*martial display and braggadocio.*"

The stand of the ministers in the Wellington District was expressed in this way⁶⁹ They said they would stay out of the politics of the war, but involve themselves in the exercise of moral influence. This moral influence would be directed at seeking the '*loyal submission*' of Maori to '*righteous laws*', and allaying the resentment of the settlers. Apparently they were quite oblivious to the fact that theirs was a decidedly political stand. It would hardly have escaped the notice of local Maori.

Amongst local Maori there was sympathy for the Maori King Movement. "*Emissaries of the King Movement and the Hauhau religion visited Wellington tribes.*"⁷⁰ The Wellington Circuit Report stated that sympathy to the King Movement and disaffection to the Government had scattered the Maori. Local Maori lived in a state of constant apprehension and uncertainty that was considered disastrous to their spiritual interests.⁷¹ It is hardly surprising that drunkenness was reported as being prevalent among them, for it represented one way of seeking to cope with a very tense situation.

The Rev. John Warren replaced Buller in 1860.

THE DECLINE OF THE MISSION

By 1861 there was clear recognition by the ministers in the Wellington District that the Pakeha side of the work was predominant.⁷² They reported there were 1,200 Maori attenders at the Wesleyan services while there were 8,190 Pakeha. It was stated that the Maori work had been injuriously affected by the land wars, but "*the Natives of this neighbourhood who were much unsettled during the time of the Taranaki war are now turning their attention to more profitable subjects.*" The Circuit Report of the same year expressed the hope that "*the popular delusion relative to a Maori King*"

was losing its hold on the mind of Maori in the Wellington area.⁷³ Local Maori were reported to be "*considerably overawed by the present attitude of Government and its evident determination to make the Queen's authority permanent.*" Furthermore, it was stated that till that happened, there would be little beneficial result of the work of the Church. Again drunkenness was highlighted as a problem '*painfully common*' amongst the Maori.

In 1862 Aldred returned to the Wellington Circuit appointment. The Circuit Report for that year expressed "*unfeigned sorrow*" that the work amongst the Maori was still unfavourable.⁷⁴ The political state of affairs and the wars were continuing to have a disastrous effect on the minds of many of them. Once again drunkenness was commented on. While the ministers devoted time to the Maori on Sundays, they stated that they had been called to "*sow in tears*". The District Report of the same year stated the need for additional staff who could speak Maori.⁷⁵ This was seen to be "*a subject of vital importance in the present painful circumstances of the Native tribes.*"

According to the Circuit Report of 1865 the Rev. William J Watkin, stationed in the Hutt, was being assisted by four unnamed 'Native teachers'.⁷⁶ the Report stated that the "*distracting Influence of the war, the demoralising effects of drunkenness, and the concomitant evils which have followed in the wake of colonisation have told their fearful tale here.*" There was little encouragement in the Maori work, "*but while a Maori speaking minister is appointed to the Circuit, we shall continue 'to sow beside all waters.'*"

It was in this year that the Australasian Conference decided that the New Zealand Church should be self supporting in its Maori Mission work. It was announced that over a five year period grants for Maori Mission would be phased out. The local Church was asked to accept that responsibility. This decision came at a time when there was considerable feeling against Maori in New Zealand, and was to have a negative impact upon Maori Mission, especially in areas where ministers had responsibility for both Maori and Pakeha work, as at Te Aro. Pakeha church members provided the financial support for 'their' minister. The Pakeha work was in the ascendancy. The ministers were acutely aware of this and of the tension involved in serving two peoples. The inevitable result was that Maori work suffered and this became evident throughout the Wellington District. Five years later when grants had ceased, the following comment was made, "*The Native work in New Zealand is now depending on local resources. The parent society having nursed the child for half a century, has decided that the time has come when the child should support himself, and henceforth the Maori work in New Zealand will depend on the New Zealand churches. The duty and obligation resting upon the churches will not be questioned; to allow It to further decline, and at length die out, would be a gross dereliction of duty, and a direct denial of the traditional zeal of the Methodist Church. Such an idea is not to be entertained. If the Native race be fast declining, as we fear It Is, the necessity for*

exertion is the more urgent still".⁷⁷ Considerable effort had to be expended on gathering Pakeha support for the Maori Missions.

Te Aro Pa was the subject of a plan of subdivision in 1866.⁷⁸ The plan prepared by George Swainson laid the site out in twenty eight sections ranging in size from three to twenty seven perches. These sections were allocated to the Maori of the Pa. Among those listed on the plan was Mohi Ngaponga who was present at the setting apart of the land for the Wesleyans at Te Aro in June 1839, also descendants of Hemi Parae who took part in that same event. Also listed is a Henare Pumipi. Pumipi is a transliteration of the name Bumby, indicating that the name of John Bumby had been adopted at the Pa, making a link with events of June 1839.

Isaac Harding replaced Aldred as minister of the Wellington Circuit in 1867.



Rev. Isaac Harding

Harding was the first minister appointed to the Circuit who had no knowledge of the Maori language. "*I am here among Natives upon whom our Society has spent vast sums of money, and I cannot speak to them,*" he stated.⁷⁹ Harding saw his ministry as being to the Pakeha of the Circuit, and in this he was quite content. "*For myself I am as happy as a little king in my own little Circuit.*" He regretted that no-one had been appointed to work amongst the Maori, observed that they ought to have attention and should not be lightly forsaken. However he did not see that he had any responsibility in this regard for Maori work. "*The Native men [the missionaries] who laid their lives upon the altar, are now devoted to the English work.*" Harding's appointment marked the effective end of any meaningful involvement of ministers of the Wellington Circuit in Maori work at Te Aro Pa. From 1871 responsibility for all Maori work in the Wellington District rested with Hetaraka Warihi.

ENTER HETARAKA WARIHI

Warihi was born at Te Kuiti about 1826. I have not yet found any clear statement as to his iwi. He received theological training at Three Kings College. The 1864 meeting of ministers of the Wellington District noted that, "*Hetaraka Warlhi ioho was educated at Three Kings Theological Institute and who Is now employed under the direction of the Chairman, at the Chathams, could not get to the meeting. He is well known to the Maori speaking brethren in his District as a converted, qualified and tried man. We cordially recommend him to be received on trial as a Native Assistant Missionary.*" Warihi remained in the Chathams till 1870 when it was reported that, "*as the Chatham Islands Natives are emigrating to Taranaki, and there is a number of Natives in this District without a teacher, It is recommended that Hetaraka Warihi be stationed In the Wellington Circuit to labour under the direction of the Chairman*".⁸⁰ In 1871 it was reported, "*Hetaraka Warihi, Native Minister, has not been able to leave the Chatham Islands for want of a vessel*".⁸¹

Warihi commenced his duties in the Wellington District in 1872 and was present at the District Ministers' meeting of that year when he reported on his plans for the future. It was noted that. "*he proposes taking a wider circuit of work next year*".⁸² Warihi was unable to attend a Missionary Meeting in 1873, but later submitted the text of his proposed address.⁸³ At Te Kohunui (Wairarapa) the Native Teacher was Raniera Te Iho-o-te-rangi. While at this place Raniera had asked Warihi about his activities. Warihi says, "*I told him that it was to preach the Gospel, and that I held service at Te Aro Pa, Wellington on Sundays.*"

At the District Ministers' Meeting of the same year, Warihi was listed as Native Minister attached to the Wellington Circuit, "*who shall itinerate among the Maoris of the Wellington Province and pay a half yearly visit to Wairau*".⁸⁴ Maori work was at this time on the decline throughout the Wellington District. Pakeha Circuit Ministers were unable to meet the demands of the situation. So Hetaraka was brought in, in an effort to deal with it on a Maori to Maori basis. However it was late in time and the odds were stacked against even his success.

In his report to the Meeting in 1873 Warihi stated, "*Every Sabbath I visit and hold services at Waiwhetu and Te Aro, and visit the sick of these places*".⁸³ He told of visiting the sick and telling them, "*not to be cast down, but to be mindful of God and to seek His help I prayed with them that God would heal them*". On the evening of Sunday 6 April he had visited Te Aro and been informed that a woman named Hera, a sister of the rangatira Wi Tako, was very ill. "*I visited her and asked her, 'Hera, do you know that Christ is the Saviour of those in health and those who are sick?' I then kneeled down and prayed with her. Two sabbaths after, I buried her.*"

At this time a comment on Maori Mission in the Wesleyan paper reported that the Native Missionaries in Wellington were '*well received by their countrymen and have a*

*fair measure of successbut the greater number of English congregations know little of the present character, or spiritual need of the Natives".*⁸⁶

In 1874 Warihi reported that he visited Te Aro and Pipitea in Wellington, Taita, Awhekaihe, Waiwhetu, Pito-one and Awamutu in the Hutt, Tauanganui and Kohunui in the Wairarapa, Porirua, and Waikawa, Ruaranakana, Kaituna, and Tautuku in the South Island.⁸⁷ The weekly collections towards the support of his ministry had been replaced by a quarterly collection at the suggestion of Ihaia Pirutu in whose house Warihi held service. Ihaia was an Anglican of whom Warihi said, "*he is a good man, steadfast in his religious profession and very kind to me.*" Commenting on his work Warihi stated, "*we strive to turn wicked man from their sins to the faith and to a prayerful life. We have hope that the people who have left the right way will turn to the way of truth.*"

A notable rangatira of Te Aro died in this year. Ropiha Moturoa had been baptised a Wesleyan and become a most respected leader of his people. He had signed the Treaty of Waitangi. He had adopted the name Ropiha at his baptism, this being a transliteration of the name Hobb, so that again there was the link back to 1839 and the establishment of the Mission.⁸⁸ The tangi of the rangatira was held at Te Aro Pa. Presumably Warihi officiated at the ceremony. Moturoa's obituary acknowledged him to be a Wesleyan. Maori from Pito-one, Taita and the Hutt attended the tangi. Several mere were laid beside the body, denoting the high esteem in which Moturoa was held. Moturoa was laid to rest in the Bolton Street Cemetery. His kohatu read, "*Ko te Ropiha Moturoa. He kaumatua pai, He rangatira no tona hapu. No Te Matehou, Ngatiawa. No te 11 o nga ra o Tihema 1874 i mate al.*"

In 1874 Warihi reported that, "*the principal kainga where I held services, expounded the scriptures and taught the catechism on regular Sundays to both old and young have been Taita, Te Awhekaihe, Te Aro and Pipitea*".⁸⁹ A number of other places he had visited from time to time. "*There is one thing that concerns me a good deal,*" he said, "*and that is the want of a proper place or places of worship in which to hold Sunday Services. I have urged upon the people of my tribe to erect a church In order that we may be known as a God fearing people.*" Warihi had instituted regular collections for the support of his ministry and the erection of churches and schools. Asked by someone, 'What churches do you want to build?', he had responded, "*The house of God, schools and ministers are necessary everywhere to promote the Lord's work.*" Warihi went on to observe, "*I am afraid the people have been somewhat backwards in this respect, but may God soften their hard hearts and lead them in the right way.*"

In February 1875 sections referred to as forming part of the Te Aro Pa Reserve were being offered for sale, fourteen sections in all. They were described as being on the left hand side of Manners Street, "*close to a somewhat ancient dilapidated building, the Maori church*".⁹⁰ These sections were stated to have been recently acquired from the Maori and "*their sale will probably result in commodious houses and shops being*

built thereon, much to the Improvement of an excellent business locality." The price of the sections was three pound to six pounds per foot. In November the Town Council resolved to extend Taranaki Street through the Pa to the sea. By 1877 there was virtually nothing of Te Aro Pa remaining. The morgue, a sheep dip, a pound, a stable, the Police Station and the Corporation Yard were all located on this piece of land. (see Figure 1).

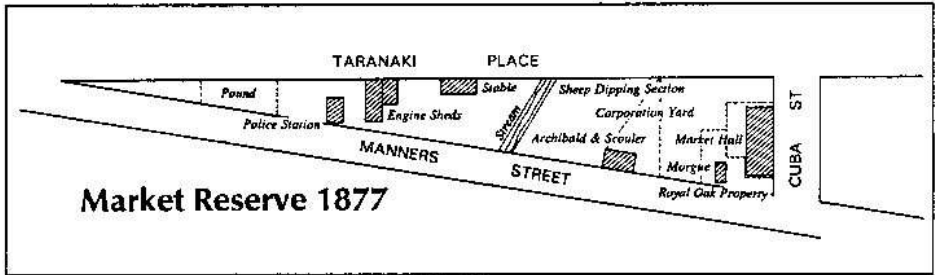


Figure 1 – Land Use Te Aro Pa Site 1877

This effectively marked the end of Te Aro Pa and so of the Wesleyan Mission to that place. This was recognised at the 1877 Australasian Conference. In response to the question relating to alterations of Circuit names and boundaries, it was agreed that the words 'Maori Mission' under the Wellington Circuit be omitted.⁹¹

In 1877 Warihi laboured in the Wanganui River area, but he saw no future in the work there. So in 1878 he returned to Wellington, to work in the remaining Maori areas. He continued to preach at Maori Services in the Wellington Circuit till 1885, when he moved to Wairau to work amongst the Maori of that area. Warihi died in Blenheim Hospital on 10 July 1898. The Church paper reported, "*By the death of Hetaraka Warihi.... we have lost our oldest Native Minister.... While never looked on as brilliant, he did in a quiet way a great deal of useful work and commanded the respect of his people by his Christian conduct*".⁹² This condescending comment reveals a monocultural perception of Warihi's ministry. The editor went on to state his regret that little was known about Warihi's life and ministry, hence the obituary was exceptionally brief. This is a reflection of the lack of significance attached to the work of Maori ministers by Pakeha in the Church.

It seems appropriate that a Mission whose beginnings owed so much to the influence and activity of a Maori, Minarapa Rangihatuake, was also being served at its close by a Maori, Hetaraka Warihi. These two men of faith did much to encourage their people in the way of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

REFLECTIONS

There were profound theological shifts of missionary thinking over the years of the Te Aro mission. It began as Maori Mission on the basis of Maori evangelising Maori. The creation of a Maori Church was apriority. Energy went to the formation of Maori

Christian leaders. The task of Missionaries was to facilitate this. However it all changed within the space of a few years. Mission was now to settlers. The creation of Pakeha churches became the priority. Energy was directed to the formation of Pakeha church leaders. The shift of focus was profound and impacted entirely negatively on the Maori Christian cause.

Other factors contributing to the demise of the Wesleyan Maori Mission at Te Aro were the loss of land, epidemics that resulted in many deaths, and migrations out of the town.

There were many Pakeha in the new town who were decidedly opposed to Maori and wanted them out of the way so they could have their land. To them Te Aro Maori were an obstacle to the development of the town. While there was Missionary concern about Maori loss of land, the general attitude was one of sympathy for Pakeha in their desire for land. While the missionaries were critical of the actions of the New Zealand Company, their sympathies were with the settlers in the land disputes.

This was reflected in a decided shift in the work from Maori to Pakeha. To begin with the work of the ministers in the Wellington Circuit was predominantly Maori. But by the mid 1850's it was predominantly Pakeha and by 1867 was solely Pakeha.

Initially colonisation was seen as an evil to be resisted, but by 1857 it was seen as God's will for the benefit of Maori. This was accompanied by negative attitudes towards Maori character and traditions, and the open profession that assimilation of Maori into the Pakeha social order was a primary objective of the missionary cause. This shift reflected an increasing recognition of their role as agents in civilising the Maori. The missionaries were unable to see their own values as culturally determined, as a reflection of Victorian, middle class, British attitudes. Their monocultural thinking was a result of their commitment to an evangelism that was little more than an extension of Christian civilisation.

The settlers also brought with them attitudes that reflected a racism that was not only widespread, but also respectable in Britain. While some had sympathy for philanthropic evangelical thinking, more were inclined to the view that native people should be repressed. The average settler assumed Maori to be an inferior and savage people. The New Zealand Company actively fostered this view by proclaiming its colonisation as a way of civilising a barbarous people.

The missionaries frequently commented on the low moral state of Te Aro Maori, highlighting the incidence of prostitution, drunkenness, their dirty state and their lack of piety. What they saw as prostitution may have been little more than a reflection of the fact that chastity before marriage was not highly valued in traditional Maori society. Missionaries who expressed concern at this may simply have been reflecting the greater rigidity of their own moral code. Similarly, references to Maori as 'dirty', which were to become a stereotype, probably had their origin in the different life style

of the Maori. The floors of their houses were the earth. The houses were built of perishable materials that deteriorated and so became home to various pests. The people usually did not possess more than one blanket or one set of European clothes. By whose standard then, was Te Aro Pa dirty and disordered? Also, may not reports of dirtiness, disordiliness and drunkenness have reflected the oppressed state of the people as victims of racism. For they had lost that which was most valued and essential to them, their land. Because the missionaries could not see this, they were unable to explain the difficulties under which they laboured and why it was that the Mission was not more successful. E. W. Hames' statement that, "*the sickness of the Maori Mission was due not to the parsimony of the Missionary Society but to the greed for land on the part of the Pakeha*", is particularly true of Te Aro.⁹³

The following observation of Virgilio Elizondo is also pertinent. "*Sometimes members of 'superior' groups wonder why conquered or defeated groups appear to be lifeless and without motivation. It is too easily assumed that they **gave up** something, when in fact it was **taken from** them. Another group deeply wounded them and tried to destroy the life-giving spirit given to them by the Creator who moulded them out of their own particular earth*".⁹⁴ (**bold** in originals) Failure to recognise this truth contributed to the demise of the Te Aro Mission.

Given all the attitudes and all the obstacles, it is perhaps surprising that the Wesleyan Mission at Te Aro survived as long as it did. That it did continue till 1877 is in no small measure due to the fortitude and resolve of faith of the Wesleyan Maori at Te Aro and the highly significant contribution of people such as Minarapa Rangihatuake and Hetaraka Warihi.

The missionaries can be seen as a product of their day, reflecting theological attitudes, values and beliefs that came with them from the other side of the world. These did not help the development of an indigenous Christianity amongst the Maori. With the development of colonisation, missionaries increasingly chose to identify with the settlers, to the detriment of the Maori Church. The efforts of Maori Christian leaders like Minarapa Rangihatuake and Hetaraka Warihi who attempted to develop a Maori Christian Church, was not helped by any of this. All of which still merits reflection at this time. The question needs to be asked, "are we still perpetuating history?"

Kia mahara tatou ki te whakapono me te manawa u o te iwi Maori o tenet rohe i nga ra o mua. Kia whakamatou tatou i nga kupu o Ihowa ki nga tangata e pehi ana, "*Ka whakahokia atu hoki e ahau te ora a koe, ka rongoatia e ahau ou marutanga*." (Heremaia 30:17) Me whakatinana e tatou enei kupu.

Hei whakarapopotu i enei korero, "*Hinga atu he tetekura, ara mal ano he tetekura*."

THE WESLEYAN MAORI MISSION AT TE ARO 1839 - 1877

A TIME LINE

Arrival of Te Atiawa	1820's	
Arrival of NZ Company	1839	Hobbs, Bumby
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	1840	Minarapa
Land Commission Hearings begin	1840	Visit of Buller
	1842	Aldred
	1842	Raupo Chapel blown down
Wairau affray	1843	
Land Commission findings	1843	Ironside
	1844	A growing Pakeha Church
Land disputes in Hutt	1844	Watkin
The Town is fortified	1844	New Maori Chapel opened
Land disputes in Porirua	1844	
Epidemics: influenza/whooping cough	1848	
High Maori mortality	1848	
Maori migration	1849	
	1851	
Land for Maori cultivation scarce	1851	
Remnant Maori population in Te Aro	1855	Maori Chapel shattered in earthquake
	1855	Pakeha Church demands increasing
	1857	
Maori will become extinct	1857	Buller
Maori King Movement	1859	Maori Chapel rebuilt
Military invasion of Taranaki	1860	
Consternation in Wellington	1860	Warren
	1861	
	1862	Pakeha work predominant
Land Wars continue	1862	
	1864	Aldred
	1864	Maori work to be self supporting
	1867	Harding
	1872	
Te Aro Pa sections sold	1875	Hetaraka Warahi
Te Aro Pa has virtually disappeared	1877	Maori Mission in Wellington ceases

FOOTNOTES

Abbreviations

A T Library	-	Alexander Turnbull Library
Meth Arch Ak	-	Methodist Church Archives, Auckland
Meth Arch Ch	-	Methodist Church Archives, Christchurch

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37. Watkin to W.M.S. 20.8.1846 Meth Arch Ak
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KO TE KOTAHI RAU E RIMA TEKAU TAU O TE UNGA MAI O TE WHAKAPONO O TE HAAHI WETERIANA KI TE WHANGANUI-A-TARA, HUNE 1839.

This piece was prepared by Minita-a-Iwi Rameka Cope of the Ponoke Maori Circuit of the Methodist Church. It is based on the narrative of Minarapa Rangihatuaki (Statement 1839, MS 385 Alexander Turnbull Library). The narrative was recorded by Rev. T.G. Hammond in the 1880's or 1890's when he was working amongst the Maori in Taranaki. The narrative was put into the form of a drama and used as a play reading at the 150th Anniversary celebrations of the arrival of John Bumby, John Hobbs, Minarapa and other Maori, on the weekend of 10-11 June 1989. Rameka Cope translated much of the original manuscript into Maori using the Taranaki dialect. It was well received when used as a play reading. It represents a significant retelling of the story.

NARRATOR Tena koutou kua hul mat nei i tenet ahiahi, ki te whakanut, ki te whakamahara hoki ki te unga mai o te whakapono me te Haahi Weteriana ki te Whanganui-a-Tara.

Tena koutou me nga ahuatanga kei runga kei tena, kei tena o tatou. Ko nga mate huhua, na koutou, na matou i tangi, i mihi, i whakahoki atu ki roto o Papatuanuku, na tatou katoa. Ki nga mate, haere, haere, haere. Kia tatou, te hunga ora, kia ora tatou katoa.

The story which is about to unfold tells of the beginnings of the Methodist Church in the Wellington area. Though the historical account of the church gives credit to the Reverends John Bumby and John Hobbs, it was really a Taranaki Maori by the name of Minarapa Rangihatuake, who brought and fostered Weterianatanga in the Ponoke area.

This then, is the story of Minarapa and the very early days of Te Haahi Weteriana.

(A synopsis of Minarapa's background and his being taken captive and his later conversion to Christianity and his subsequent training as a Lay Preacher and friendship with John Bumby is given here).

In June 1839, Minarapa, in the company of John Bumby and John Hobbs, arrived in Wellington Harbour, off Pipitea Pa. Minarapa goes ashore to Pipitea, with a small group of Maori people. He is formally welcomed, and is recognised by one Hine Kororaina.

MINARAPA 'E mi 'inare karaitiana au. Kua roa au e no'o ana i waenganui i te iwi o Ngapu'i. Kua 'uri katoa ratou ki raro i te wakapono. 'E mea ataa'ua te

wakapono ki te Atua. 'E inoi tenel kia wakaae mai kia tukuna aku 'oa pake'a kia 'acre mai.

NARRATOR Minarapa tells that he is a missionary and that he was converted whilst living amongst the Ngapuhi. He asks permission to bring his Pakeha companions ashore.

PIPITEA GROUP Ael Ae! 'Aria mai!

MINARAPA Kei 'ea taku iwi o Te Ati Awa?

PIPITEA GROUP Ara, kei Te Aro!

MINARAPA Ko toku tumanako kia kota'i taku iwi ki roto te wakapono. A'akoa i riro 'ere'eretia au ki Waikato, a, ki Ngapu'i, no te taenga ki reira ka 'uri au, pera i te katoa o nga rangatira tae atu ki nga pononga, 'ei karaitiana. 'E Minita-a-iwi maua tahi ko Rei'ana.

NARRATOR Minarapa told that he wanted his people all united in the faith. Though he was taken captive to Waikato and the north, the Ngapuhi people, both chiefs and slaves had turned to Christianity, and he, together with Reihana, had become lay-preachers.

(Congregation then sings the first verse of "E te Atua kua ruia nei")

Minarapa returns to the ship and acquaints Bumby and Hobbs with what has transpired. All three return to Pipitea Pa in the late afternoon, where they are formally welcomed.

BUMBY Tena koutou katoa. I have come to ask you to turn to the faith, to cease from killing and practising cannibalism.

MINARAPA *(acting as interpreter)* "I 'aere mai au ki te inol kia 'uri koutou ki te wakapono, kia wakamutua te patu me te kai tangata."

MINARAPA Ka tika ta Te Pumipi e korero nei. Wakarerea ena a'uatanga, te patu me te kai tangata. Ta'uri tatou ki roto i te wakapono, 'ei oranga mo tatou mo ake tonu atu.

NARRATOR *(acting as interpreter)* What Bumby is saying is true and good. Leave behind killing and cannibalism. Turn to the faith so that we may gain life eternal

NARRATOR Because he had many relatives living at Pipitea, it was decided that Reihana should remain there as a teacher for his Te Ati Awa people. A message was sent to Te Aro Pa to prepare them for the arrival of Minarapa, Hobbs and Bumby. The next morning, Minarapa arrived at Te Aro Pa, where they were formally greeted. Many of the Pipitea people had joined the Te Aro people to listen to the speeches.

MINARAPA I a'au e tu nei i mua i a koutou, e tu ana 'e Minita-a-iwi, 'e kai 'autu. 'e kai wakaatu i te Rongopai. Ko enei, aku 'oa pake'a, i 'aere mai ki te kau'au i te Rongopai. Ko Te Pumipi me te 'Oopi o raua ingoa.

NARRATOR (*acting as interpreter*) Minarapa advises the gathering that he is a lay-preacher and that he has brought his colleagues Revs. Bumby and Hobbs.

BUMBY The message of the Gospel, and the faith in God is a gift for you. I implore you to stop killing people, and cease from cannibalism.

MINAPARA (*acting as interpreter*) Ko te Rongopai a te Atua 'e tako'a ki a koutou. 'E taonga nul te wakapono. 'E tonu tenei ki a koutou kia wakamutua ta koutou patu tangata, me te kai tangata.

HOBBS Ko te ngakau a te tangata e taea ai te hakau ki te hakapono. Ma te hakapono ka hakawhiwhia ki te oranga tinana me te oranga wairua. Ko taku inoi ki a koutou - e mau ki tenei taonga nui, te hakapono.

He tokomaha tonu matou nga kai-hapai i te Rongopai e haere ana i waenganui i te iwi Maori puta noa i te whenua, ki te kauhau i te Rongopai, kia mutu ai te mahi pakanga, ki te hakakotahi i nga iwi, kia aroha te tangata ki te tangata, me tena iwi ki tena iwi.

NGAHURU Kei te wakaae matou ki o korero. Ma te iwi e 'apai i te wakapono.

NARRATOR (*acting as interpreter*) Hobbs exhorts the people to cease their warring and cannibalism. He tells them that missionaries are moving through the whole country preaching the Gospel and trying to unite the peoples and tribes. One of the leading chiefs, Te Ngahuru, pledges the support of the Te Aro people.

MINARAPA Kei te tino koa ki te wakaaetanga a Te Ati Awa me Ngati Ruanui kia 'uri ki te wakapono.

Tena, 'omai teta'i wenua 'ei wakatu i teta'i ware-karakia.

NARRATOR (*acting as interpreter*) Minarapa expresses his joy at the acceptance of the Te Aro people of the call to turn to the Faith. He asks them for land upon which to build a church.

NARRATOR The land was given as follows:
"Along this side of the Te Aro River to where it breaks into the sea, along the beach to the broken hills, then inland up to the hills, following the ridges and spurs, and thence to the valley and to the swamp, and back to the Te Aro River."

After they had viewed the land, they returned to the settlement.

- BUMBY** You, Minarapa's people, have given land upon which to build a house of worship. Tomorrow we will compensate you.
- MINAPARA** (*acting as interpreter*) Na koutou, nga wanaunga a Minarapa i tuku mat teta'i wenua 'ei tunga ware-karakla. Apopo ka wakaritea te utu mo taua wenua.
- NARRATOR** The next morning a great feast was prepared, and after Minarapa had given thanks, the food was distributed, and all partook of it. After all had eaten, Bumby and Hobbs led worship.
- HIMENE** "Tenei hoki au e Ihu"
- BUMBY** Take hold of the faith which was handed down to us through the generations.
- MINAPARA** (*acting as interpreter*) E mau ki te wakapono i tukua i'o kia tatou no tuawakarere.
- BUMBY** Your relative Minarapa, taken captive into Ngapuhi, has been trained as a preacher.
The Ngapuhi people have accepted the Gospel,
- MINAPARA** (*acting as interpreter*) ko tenei, to koutou wanaunga i mau'ere'eretfa ki roto ki a Ngapu'i, kua mau ki te wakapono. Kua 'uri te iwl o Ngapu'i ki te Atua.
- BUMBY** It was Minarapa's strong desire to share with you his conviction that has brought him here to turn you all to the Faith.
- MINAPARA** (*acting as interpreter*) Na te manawapa o Minarapa ki te wakapono i 'aere mai ai ia ki te wakaatu ki a koutou te Rongopai.
- BUMBY** Great is my joy at your decision to turn to God. Minarapa shall remain here to minister to you.
- MINAPARA** (*acting as interpreter*) Ko te 'ari nul, 'uri koutou ki te Atua. Ka no'o mai a Minarapa 'el kau'au i waenganui i a koutou).
- NARRATOR** The chiefs then accompanied Bumby and Hobbs to the ship. Goods were taken to the Pa and laid for the people to see.
- BUMBY** These goods are our payment for the land upon which shall be built a house of worship
- MINAPARA** (*acting as interpreter*) Ko enei taonga he utu mo te whenua hei tunga whare-karakia.

VOICES A hundred each of:
Blankets
Rugs with yellow spots
200 twists of tobacco
Pipes
A cask of powder (given by Bumby and Hobbs to Minarapa)

NARRATOR Additional goods represented Minarapa's stipend:
50 blankets
18 white shirts
100 twists of tobacco

BUMBY Do you agree to accept these goods in compensation for the land?

MINARAPA (*acting as interpreter*) Ka wakaae koutou ko enei 'ei utu mo te wenua?

PEOPLE Ae! Ae! Ae!

BUMBY Be firm in the Faith. Though Mr. Hobbs and I return to Ngapuhi, I shall come again to visit you. Meanwhile, Minarapa will remain as your teacher. He will, with your help build a house for worship.

MINARAPA (*acting as interpreter*) Kia mau ki te wakapono. A'akoa ka 'old maua ko te 'Oopi ki roto o Ngapu'i, ka 'oki mai ano au. Ka ma'ue mai a Minarapa 'ei kal-wakaako i a koutou. Mana, me te awina mai e koutou i a 'ei 'anga i teta'i ware-karakia.

BUMBY Hei konei, e te iwi. Noho iho ra, e Minarapa.

TE NGAHURA 'Aere ra. E 'oki ki roto o Ngapu'i. I riro pononga a Taranaki, a Ngati Ruani, a te Atiawa i roto i a ratou pakanga. 'E matua, 'e teina, 'e tuakana a matou kei Waikato, kei 'Auraki, kei Ngapu'i.

'E mea pai i 'aere mai koutou ki te kawe mai i te rongopai ki a matou. 'E pai 'oki kua no'o a Minarapa. Mei i 'oki koutou katoa, ma wai 'ei 'apai i te wakapono, ma wai e ara'i i nga karakia? Ka 'oki pea au ki te wawai, ki te kai tangata, engari inaianei, ka mutu enei a'uatanga i runga i ta koutou 'ari mai i te wakapono.

'E patai taku kia koe, e Te Pumipi. Me'emea i muri a koe, ka 'aere mai teta'i ope ki te pakanga ki a matou (a matou kua 'uri nei ki te wakapono) me a'a matou?

NARRATOR (*acting as interpreter*) Te Ngahuru, In bidding farewell told that his people had been taken captive by Waikato, Hauraki and Ngapuhi tribes, and that he had relatives still captive In those places. He went on to say that it was as well that Minarapa was staying to lead the Faith. Were it not so, it was possible that he and his people would

return to warring and cannibalism. He hoped that these practices would now cease. He then asked Bumby: "If after you have gone, a war party should attack me and my people, what are we to do?"

BUMBY First, give them the law of God. If they do not heed, then fight. Let your thoughts be towards God, and be firm in the Faith. By faith you will prevail.

MIRAPARA (*acting as interpreter*) Tuata'i, wakaaturia nga ture a te Atua. I te kore ratou e aro mai, 'eoi ano, me wawai. Engari, kia anga tika a koutou wakaaro ki te Atua, kia mau te wakapono. Ma te wakapono ka puta koutou.

BUMBY If your enemies fall on the battlefield, do not eat them, but bury them. Minarapa knows what is right, and will direct you how to act.

MIRAPARA (*acting as interpreter*) I te 'inga te 'oariri, kaua e kalnga, engari tanumia. Kei te mo'io a Minarapa ki te ma'i tika, mana koutou e to'uto'u.

MARANGAI E toru nga mea kua wakaae tatou, te wakapono, te tukunga i te wenua mo nga taonga e takoto nei, me Minarapa 'ei Kai-'autu i a tatou.

Ae. Ka 'anga e matou 'e ware-karakia i korero ake ra e koe.

'E tika nga korero a Te Nga'uru, 'e tika 'oki to wakahoki. Ko nga tangata e kite nei koe no Taranaki. Na ratou i patu te tangata wenua o konei, ka tango'ia e au tenei wenua. E 'oki ki o iwi e mau'ere'ere nei i Ngapu'i, i Waikato.

NARRATOR (*acting as interpreter*) Te Marangai tells that the three things agreed upon have been, the Faith, the land and compensation, and Minarapa as a teacher. He says that he will assist in building the Church. He also relates that the people there were from Taranaki and that they had overcome the original inhabitants.

MOHI NGAPONGA Kaore aku korero i tua atu i Te Nga'uru me Marangai. 'E. kai-o'ourongo korua. Kua wakarongo matou ki a korua, i runga i ta matou wanaungatanga ki a Minarapa pea. Kua kite matou kua rite a ia ki a koutou. Na reira ka mo'io matou 'e tika tonu tana wakapono.

NARRATOR (*acting as interpreter*) Kaponga indicates his support for Te Ngahuru and Marangai, and his trust in Minarapa.

MOHI NGAPONGA He mea nui te wakapono ki roto o Ngapu'i. Tena. Ko te ware-karakia ka 'anga i muri i a koe, i runga i te wenua kua wakawe'ea mai mo te 'aa'i, ko te utu kei mua i a matou.

NARRATOR (*acting as interpreter*) He says that the Church will be completed.

TE NGAHURU Ae. Ko aku wanaunga, atu i konei ki Kapiti me Waikanae ka 'aere mai ki te ma'i, ki te karakia.

NARRATOR (*acting as interpreter*) Te Ngahuru pledges the support of his people to as far away as Kapiti and Waikanae In not only building the Church but also to worship.

HEMI PARAE Kua mau tatou ki tenei wakapono, kua riro mai te utu mo te wenua. Kaore o matou korero mo Minarapa. Ko te mea nui ki a matou ko te paura 'ei pupu'i manu, kaore i te tangata. Engari ina ka 'uri mai te tangata ki te patu i a matou, ka ngau ratou e te paura!

NARRATOR (*acting as interpreter*) Parae says that the great thing was that they had not only got the aforementioned things but also a cask of powder to shoot birds with. Should however men try to kill them. then they stood to be bitten by the powder.

(*LAUGHTER*)

All shake hands with Bumby and Hobbs. To the sound of 'NOW IS THE HOUR' Bumby and Hobbs depart.

NARRATOR The goods were distributed to all the people by the chiefs. This was the first record of a land sale in the Wellington area. It also marked the beginning of the METHODIST Church in the PONEKE district.

Ma te Atua koutou e tiaki e manaaki. Kia ora mai.

KO TE MUTUNGA

COMPILING A DISTRICT HISTORY METHODISM IN WELLINGTON 1839 - 1989

Last year, the Wellington District Synod published Methodism in Wellington -1839-1989 written by Arthur Olsson. Those of you who have seen one will realise that it is a fine effort and an excellent resource book for Methodist history in that District. This type of project has the encouragement of the Wesley Historical Society and we wish to commend the idea to all Districts; in fact, if it is not too much into the realm of fantasy, we envisage that eventually there could be a complete set - one for each District. To further this aim we asked Arthur to write the following article hoping that it will be of assistance to anyone else who decides to try it. If any of our members are members of a Synod and can do anything to influence a decision in this direction, we wish you every success.

Among the dozen or so Methodist entries in the newly-published first volume of the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* is one for Minarapa Rangihatuake. It was Minarapa who invited the Revs. J.H. Bumby and John Hobbs to preach at Te Aro Pa on Sunday 9 June 1839, the first known Christian service on the future site of the city of Wellington. Several years ago it was proposed that the celebration in 1989 of the 150th anniversary of this beginning of Methodist work in the Port Nicholson area should include the preparation and publication of a suitable historical work. It is interesting to note that this anniversary preceded by some months the observance in 1990 of the 150th anniversary of the beginning of European settlement in Wellington.

A number of considerations suggested the kind of history which would be appropriate and useful to mark the occasion. Firstly it was a District anniversary and therefore the work should cover as much as possible of the Wellington Methodist District, with a particular focus on local churches. Then, the two and a half years available before the anniversary was not sufficient time to allow for the necessary research to produce a comprehensive narrative history. This seemed to suggest a documentary history spanning the 150 years, which could serve as the basis for future research and writing, either at the Parish or District level. What geographical area should it cover? The obvious answer was to include all parishes within the present-day boundaries of the Wellington Synodal district which extends as far as Levin and Eketahuna. In the pre-Union period, the Wellington Wesleyan synod covered a wider area including Hawkes Bay, But it was the boundaries of circuits within the District which changed more often. There were changes, too, in the boundaries of Primitive Methodist stations. Without continuity of boundaries it would be difficult to use circuits or parishes as units for the detailed histories. This led to the decision to take as the unit the local church or 'society', defined broadly as a centre of Methodist work based on a Methodist Church or hall.

Comprehensive coverage of the Wellington Methodist District had been attempted once before, by William Morley in *'The History of Methodism in New Zealand'*,

published in 1900. This remains the first source for answering many inquiries relating to the Wesleyan Church up to the end of the century. But the shape of the Church has changed in many ways since Morley's time. The number of churches is considerably reduced, smaller congregations have merged with larger ones, country churches have closed. Many Methodist causes in the Wellington District have become part of Union or Co-operating Parishes - there are no longer any separate Methodist congregations in the whole of the Wairarapa. Of the 35 currently operating churches surveyed, 22 belong to Union or Co-operating Parishes. Because so much of the recent history and present life of Methodist people in the Wellington District is now bound up with Co-operating Parishes, it was decided from the start to include all Union and Co-operating Parishes in which the Methodist Church is a partner. At one time four branches of the Methodist Church were active in New Zealand - Wesleyan, Primitive, Bible Christian and United Free Methodist. It was important, too, to cover the activities of each of these in the Wellington area. (It was not possible in the time available to include congregations belonging to the New Zealand District of the Methodist Church in Samoa). Finally, ninety churches, past and present, were identified including Union and Co-operating parishes.

The success of an undertaking of this kind, focusing on local churches, depends to a large extent on co-operation at the parish level. Following approval of the project by the Wellington Methodist Synod early in 1987, approaches were made to parish and district organisations, inviting them to nominate suitable people willing to work with the Editor in gathering relevant information. The response was a mixed one. Some local people carried out very thorough pieces of research and submitted most valuable outlines. Several of these were more detailed than required for the history and so copies were deposited in the Christchurch Archives. In order to co-ordinate the work 'Bulletins' were issued from time to time to everyone involved. These suggested guidelines for research, listed reference resources, reported on progress and supplied sample entries, each of one or two pages prepared by the Editor. The intention of the draft entries was to give contributors an idea of the likely form of finished sections of the history.

Treatment of each local church and Union/Co-operating parish was divided into four sections - Ministerial Appointments, Chronology, Bibliography and Archives.

Ministerial Appointments

Itinerancy no longer dominates the lives of Methodist presbyters and their families. But for many Methodist people, changes in ministerial appointments still provide the time framework for their recollections of the history of their local church. One of the first tasks of the Editor was to tabulate the record of appointments of ministers and home missionaries for each circuit in the District from the beginning, including supply and exchange ministries. The starting-point was the annual lists of Stations in the Minutes of Conference, which were checked against the various editions of the

Ministerial Indexes, remembering that W.T. Blight's most recent listing does not go beyond 1960. But neither source gives the full story. Appointments which change between Conferences may not be listed. Not all supply ministries are recorded. Presbyterian appointments to Union parishes may not be known when Conference Minutes go to print. Some entries in the Ministerial Indexes need checking. It is not always easy to determine the year when ministries close. In 1950 following the change to November Conferences, the time for the commencement of new ministries moved from April to February. From this date it was assumed for purposes of the listings that changes of appointments took place at the beginning of the calendar year. Quarterly preaching plans sometimes draw attention to changes of ministerial responsibilities among churches in larger circuits, but it is disappointing that so few sets of plans seemed to have been preserved. In the Circuit I know best, there is evidence that the issue of quarterly preaching plans began early in the 1840's, but the most complete set known to have survived, dates from 1928 to 1948 (when they ceased publication) plus earlier issues. Details of deaconess appointments were checked in *Not Self - but Others*. The inclusion of a Christian name was straightforward enough for most ministers and probationers, but the Minutes of Conference usually list home missionaries with initials only. They are omitted altogether from the Ministerial Indexes.

Chronologies

These were expected to make up the heart of the book and to be of widest interest to local people. For each of the ninety churches there would be a different story to tell. How does one begin to chronicle the noteworthy events and developments in the life of each local congregation? This type of history is concerned with facts which must be documented as far as possible. Preparation of the chronologies therefore depended largely on access to original records - minute books of Quarterly Meetings, Leaders' Meetings, Trust and Parish Councils, Circuit Schedule Books, Synod Journals and Minutes. These were supplemented by checking church bulletins and newsletters, preaching plans, newspaper reports and local church and district histories. The circuit reports in the *Methodist Times* and its predecessors and in the *New Zealand Primitive Methodist* provided much useful information. Details of property transactions were checked against lists of property sales, purchases, leases, new buildings and extensions, extracted from the annual reports of the Church Building and Loan Fund in the Minutes of Conference. All these resources helped to piece together a record of congregational life - opening and closing of preaching places, growth in Sunday School, youth and other group activities, celebrations and festivals, property developments, social and community work, relationships with other churches, financial concerns.

For some groups of churches, the chronologies had to be approached in a rather different way. Guy and Potter's *Jubilee History* was a useful starting point for the Primitive Methodist Churches, but it was published in 1893, twenty years before

union with the Wesleyans. Fortunately, some minute books have been preserved. No original records were located for either the Bible Christians or the United Methodist Frees. The latter group had only one cause in the Wellington District, based on a church building occupying "a really splendid position" in Courtenay Place. Today the St. James' Theatre stands on the same site and is subject of a heated campaign over its future preservation. The Pinfold Indexes do not list the Rev. John Crewes' appointment to Wellington in 1890 to form the first Bible Christian congregation in the North Island. Two years later his efforts had failed and he had resigned from the ministry. The Maori work passed through several phases - a very active period in the 1840's and early fifties, the renewal following Hetaraka Warihi's appointment in 1872, and the developments of more recent years which followed the formation of the Poneke Circuit. Some Union Parishes found it difficult to supply detailed information on their beginnings and early history, perhaps an indication that more attention should be given to preserving the records and setting down the history of co-operative causes.

Inevitably some gaps could not be filled. Little is known of the small Wesleyan chapel built by the Maoris at Huangarua near the present site of Martlnborough following Ironside's visit to the area, the chapel at Karori West designed by Charles Tringham which flourished for only three years, or the Bible Christian outpost at Mangaroa. No original records were located for a number of churches - Belvedere, Elsdon, South Featherston, Stokes Valley Primitive and others. It would be interesting to have been able to trace more of the history of the community church at Rangitumau in the Masterton Circuit built by James Stuckey for the joint use of Anglicans and Methodists. Quotations and statistics may help to indicate trends, but a series of chronologies can bring out few of the outstanding contributions of lay people. Some entries may add human interest - reference to the Sunday School Superintendent who retired after 63 years service, the calling of a special Leaders' Meeting 'to discuss the decline in members of the Methodist Church throughout the world', the young minister appointed to a newly constituted circuit 'containing neither church or parsonage', or the pastor's wife who painted her church inside and out. But much of the story of lay people remains for others to tell.

It is worth noting that sometimes minute-books do not tell all the desired information. The Wellington earthquakes of October 1848 destroyed the brick church in Manners Street and severely damaged the mission house next door. Yet at the December 1848 Quarterly Meeting, immediately following, the Rev. Samuel Ironside, as chairman, urged members to 'increased exertion as regards the finances of the Circuit' but the minutes make no mention of the loss of the church.

Bibliographies

This section lists the published sources used in the preparation of the chronologies, mainly historical booklets, bulletins, newsletters and preaching plans. Most of the booklets are in the Connexional Archive collections at Morley House. Little work was

done on one important source - newspaper articles. Local newspapers often give detailed accounts of important events in the life of the church, especially in earlier years.

Archives

From the outset, it was important to consult as many original records as possible. Anyone undertaking serious research into the history of the Methodist Church in New Zealand must use the resources of the Methodist Archives in Christchurch and Auckland. It was encouraging that the work on the history led to the location, gathering together and sorting of so many records, hitherto scattered in local churches, halls and homes. Most of these and the other items listed in this section are now held in Christchurch or Auckland where they are available for consultation.

In order to place the history of Circuits and local churches in context, some reference to District and Connexional development was necessary. This was provided by listing of significant dates in the early history of New Zealand Methodism and similar district chronologies for the four branches of the Church. After the 1913 Union, the chronology was continued in one sequence up to the present. Many of the more recent entries related to the changes in Circuit boundaries and the formation of Union parishes. The preparation of a 'family tree' grew out of this analysis, a chart showing the growth, subdivision and amalgamation of Circuits and parishes, beginning in 1842 with the original Wellington Wesleyan circuit and finishing in many cases with the present-day Union/Co-operating parishes, district Leaders, ministerial and lay, were listed for the Wesleyan Church, and continued after 1913 for the United Church. Perhaps similar lists should have been attempted for the Primitive Methodists.

District organisations and Connexional institutions have always played an important part in the church life of many Methodists in all Districts. A decision had to be made on which ones to include. The answer was determined in part by the availability of records. For instance, the complete minute-books of the Masterton Methodist Children's Home Management committee from 1919 to 1980 and of the Board of the Wellington Methodist Charitable and Educational Endowments from 1858 to date were located and made available. The Wesleyan Day School, which opened in Dixon Street in 1872 and moved to Taranaki Street following the Manners Street fire, was controlled by the Educational Trust throughout its history, and Trust records were used to construct a chronology of the School, together with a list of the senior staff. On the other hand, some institutions were not included because records were too incomplete.

Of the many District Methodist sports groups which flourished at various times, the Wellington District Harrier Club was chosen for inclusion because it remained active for fifty years and because an almost complete set of minute books, annual reports, record books and syllabi was located. Sections on District Women's Groups and on the

Wellington Branch of the New Zealand Methodist lay Preacher's Association helped to emphasise the contribution of lay people.

The history of the Bible Class Movement called for special treatment. The Movement made a notable contribution to Church and community life in Wellington as elsewhere, and although most of the original records of the Wellington Unions appear lost, sufficient information was gleaned from published sources, especially columns of the *Link* to enable a chronology and lists of officers to be prepared. An attempt was made to include details of Easter Camps and Leadership Schools during the Union period. Interestingly enough, after the mid 1930's reports in the *Link* and in the *Methodist Times* are much less detailed and this meant gaps in the coverage of the Unions in their closing years and of the Methodist Youth Movement following the dissolution of the Unions. For the same reason the preparation of detailed lists of Easter Camps and Leadership Schools for the CYMM period was abandoned.

The work is unfinished. There are more records to be found and additional information to be uncovered. For the Compiler this was an exciting and rewarding journey of discovery. For others, it may suggest areas which need further exploration.

PUBLICATION POLICY OF THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY (N.Z.)

This statement was prepared by the Executive in 1989 to guide the Society in future policy, especially in the publication of its proceedings.

The Wesley Historical Society (NZ) was established to promote informed reflection upon the coming of the Christian Gospel and its continuing impact in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It has gathered into its overview also the widening spread of missionary outreach in the Pacific. In particular the Society was given special responsibility with regard to Methodist origins and development and to awaken interest in the continuing story through local pilgrimages, lectures and a diversity of publications.

As the years pass bringing changes in church and society, historical research keeps growing in importance and in relevance to contemporary issues and directions.

No limits are set to the field of related inquiry but indicated here are some of the areas in which information is still being sought and various historical contributions are invited. There are Methodist Archives in which articles of historical interest may be deposited and here they will be catalogued and well looked after. For any material offered for publication the Wesley Historical Society assures contributors that there is always made a sympathetic appraisal and the greatest care shown in editing.

- 1) Within the cultural diversity and awakening in Aotearoa/New Zealand there is need for fresh and informed understanding -
 - (a) of Maori response to the Gospel, historically and in contemporary society:
 - (b) also of the responses of all other ethnic groups, Polynesian, Melanesian, Asian and European.

Written contributions from a Maori perspective are invited for inclusion in a 'Journal' or for larger publications. This applies also to contributions from Pacific and other groups offering a particular viewpoint.

- 2) Local church historical interest provides opportunity both for on-the-spot inspection of particular memorials and sites and also for the collecting of memorabilia, records, photographs, objects of historical concern, etc. for inclusion in the reservoir of archival and research material. Valuable resources are to be found amongst the following -
 - (a) Family histories, letters, photographs, background stories as well as accounts of continuing service. Existing biographies can be listed in an Index of Biography.
 - (b) Church records, minutes, Orders of Service used on special occasions, tributes at memorial services, photographs and scrap-book cuttings.

- 3) The sociological background, developing outlook and thought, the record of controversy and its resolution in Church and Society - all these belong to living history and help to give the context of events. The Wesley Historical Society recognises the importance of a continuing relationship with University Departments of History where there are resources for in-depth study. Much work has been done already but needs to be made known. Thesis and publications dealing with Public Questions, International Affairs and Social Issues, Health and Education, Communication and the Media, the story of Land, Peace and Justice, Work and Employment, Ecumenical ventures together with other related themes need to be catalogued, where they impinge upon the Church's understanding of Her own mission and task. The work of Connexional committees in these areas also makes an important contribution to the story.
- 4) It is people who are the carriers of memory and of continuing values. They help to sift and select the enduring and important details of experience. Oral history as described by Dr. Allan Davidson in *Writing a Parish History* (Copies are available through St John's College, Auckland.) is indispensable. There is urgency in seeking recollections, written or tape, from senior members and leaders in Church and community.
- 5) Publication is dependant upon financial resources. Membership fees, allocations and gifts all contribute. These enable the publication of the present Journal and the various other Proceedings, voluntarily submitted or commissioned.

A minimum capital sum of \$20,000 is being built up in the Gilmore-Smith Memorial Fund, the income from which will be made available for commissioned research and publication. The Society determines annually what should be spent on new publications and whether any contributions should be added to the capital to keep pace with costs and inflation.

The Society would like to hear of historical research in progress or being contemplated. When photographs are sent in for the Archives, it would be appreciated if they could be named and documented. The Society always warmly welcomes new members.

BY A MYSTERIOUS PROVIDENCE

The following article by Ivan Whyte reports the commemoration on 26 June 1990 of the death of the Chairman of the Wesleyan Missionaries, Rev. John H. Bumby, in 1840. The facts differ from the story handed down. The commemorative booklet by the same author brought together the original records.

Who would have imagined that Christian Missions would labour in New Zealand from 1814 to 1840 without the loss of life of a single minister? Who would have imagined that when the first missionary died in the course of his duties, he would be "drowned by the upsetting of a canoe"?

Nearly everyone knows the story of the first preaching of the gospel - by Samuel Marsden. Very few people know the story of the Wesleyan who drowned in 1840.

The Rev. John H. Bumby came to New Zealand as District Chairman at the age of 30. During his first journey from Mangungu, Hokianga, he and John Hobbs preached on the foreshore at Te Aro (of the then Port Nicholson), in 1839, an event marked a century later by a cairn and plaque in Pigeon Park.¹ Now that Auckland City is enlarged by recent amalgamation, much of the setting of the Bumby tragedy lies within the city's area. The only tangible mark is a plaque in Pitt Street Church, removed there after the dosure of the Wesleyan High Street Church.



Rev. John Hewgill Bumby

¹ There is an unfortunate error: the plaque records S.H. instead of J.H.Bumby.
Wesley Historical Society (NZ) Publication #56 1990

As the original story has become increasingly muddled in the retelling,² the first need has been to restore the original record. It soon becomes apparent what the errors are and how they have arisen.

The Wellington connection was commemorated in 1989, when a ceremony was held at Pigeon Park, attended by about 50 people. The Auckland connection is almost forgotten. Eric Laurenson spoke at the Wellington ceremony, as President; he also was strongly supportive of an Auckland Commemoration. After a proposal to the Auckland District of the Church, there were two clear tasks: organising the event and preparing a booklet with the historical record.

The natural method of telling the story is to re-tell it in one's own way. The archival material is so rich that it can well stand alone. The important decision made was simply to let it. The method of grouping extracts, and arranging a sequence, is rather akin to that of the first English novels which told their story in a series of letters. Yet in one sense there is still a re-telling, since it would be easy to tell a different story with a different selection of extracts. The booklet was in the hands of the 65 participants a week beforehand. On the 26th of June 1990, the sesquicentenary, the schooner "*Te Aroha*",³ one of the oldest ships in Auckland, retraced the final stages of Bumby's journey.

From the schooner, at a position south of Motuihe Island, we looked south to Maraetai, where Bumby conferred with Mr Fairburn the Church Missionary Society catechist, and south-east to the coast of Waiheke Island where he procured a canoe. Then on to Home Bay, Motutapu, the Uhi⁴ of the original story, where Bumby's group stayed overnight.

At each point the reading of the appropriate sections of the booklet was a form of public commemoration. The journey north is easily reconstructed: through the Rakino Channel, up the western side of Rakino Island, and out into the broad expanse of open water between Rakino and Tiritiri Matangi, in "the sea of Te Rapu". In the booklet, section headings were taken from the archival text itself as far as possible. "The sea of Te Rapu" was an exception: it is a forgotten name, taken from an old land claim of purchase of Motutapu, Hurakia (Rakino) and adjacent islands in January 1840.

As "*Te Aroha*" approached the approximate site of the overturning, messages were read from the Governor General, the Mayor of Auckland, the President of Conference, and the President of the World Methodist Historical Society.

² One version has eight errors of fact in six lines of text.

³ "*Te Aroha*" was built at Totara North in 1909, by Thomas Major Lane, grandfather of Dorothy Thornley, wife of Rev. Robert Thornley.

⁴ Uhi is not listed in books of place names, nor in the file at the National Library. Mr. D. Simmons confirms that it is Home Bay. Uhi = Uwhi, root-crops Williams's Dictionary)

A service was held at the approximate place, at the approximate hour, on the 150th anniversary: a European service, a Tongan prayer and hymn, a Maori karakia and commemoration. The event was registered with the 1990 Commission and must have been one of the best multi-cultural events of the 1990 year.

There were some happy touches: Eric Laurenson's choice of the Authorised Version (Bumby's version), a selection of hymns referred to in Bumby's and other's writings, and a valiant attempt at the Maori hymn used at Mangungu and probably Kawhia as Bumby's only use of Maori from the pulpit.⁵

A wreath of karaka leaves was cast upon the sea, and from each participant a sprig of rosemary.

"*Te Aroha*" circled slowly, at one stage lurching heavily as it took a wave on the beam. The air was cold, as it had been on the day in 1840, the waters deep and dark, and the islands south and north seemed very distant.

In his address, the District Chairman, Rev. Graham Brazendale, emphasised that the remembrance was not only of John Bumby, but of the 12 companions who drowned with him. They were the Tongan Joel; the Mangungu group with baptismal name Morley, Theophilus, John Beecham, John Turner, Nehemiah; among the three Kawhia Christians a son of the chief Haupokia (under whose protection Whiteley laboured); and three unnamed Waiheke men, probably Ngatipaoa.

There was thanksgiving for faithful service of Christian missionaries of three races on their dangerous journeys.

When the early Wesleyans withdrew from Wesleydale at Whangaroa they feared for their lives. John Bumby first arrived in Mangungu just after the killing of Maori Christians attempting to take the gospel to a resisting village. A martyrdom might be expected, or a fatal illness. But an accidental death was bewildering.

At the commemoration there was not only a sense of tragedy and loss, but a sense of amazement at the story of survival. After the loss of 13 after half an hour, the remaining six struggled on to right the 37 foot canoe, and with only a third of the original paddlers retraced what had already been a three to four hour journey.

The sole named survivor, James Garland (Hemi Karana) returned to Mangungu and drew two sketches (almost identical) of the event.

As we reconstruct the event some obvious questions arise. When did the group leave Home Bay? What was the state of the tide? (This would affect the speed of the canoe).

⁵ The tune recorded as Cranbrook, which was traced in an old hymnal. The tune, no longer used as a hymn tune, was parodied as "On Ilklike Moor". The hymn and tune were favourites among the Mangungu Mission Maoris. The Tongan notation was added in the booklet - a unique version derived from tonic-solfah.

Where were they heading? What was the wind direction when they chose to put up a sail?

There are two irreconcilable versions of the departure time. Whiteley, after his visit and enquiries, says "early, and as soon as prayer and breakfast was ended". Smales records a Waiheke survivor as placing it at "noon before they started for want of a breeze". The former seems more likely with the sea of Te Rapu ahead. Daylight at 7, prayer and breakfast: an 8 a.m. start seems a fair guess, and a capsizing about noon. Smales had probably only as much Maori as Bumby - Hobbs was the experienced Maori speaker - conversing with a Maori survivor "at the long side of the canoe for an hour and a half" somewhere off Waiheke where the Maori was fishing. Perhaps there was a mis-translation; or a confusion with the later start from Waiheke to Uhi, the day before the tragedy.

We do not know the state of the tide, though that might be possible to reconstruct. But Smales places the scene "about six miles from the Uhi, which was nearly half way to Tiritiri Matenga..." That would be nearer to Rakino than to Tiritiri. Smales records the destination as Tiritiri, though there would be far better shelter at Whangaparaoa which is also referred to.

What is stressed is the calmness of the day, necessitating three to four hours' paddling before "the wind sprang up a little and they said 'Let us put up the sail, the wind is fair.'"

A fair wind would need to be close to south for the raupo sail. After the capsizing "there was a strong ripple in the sea, but it shortly became more calm" and "tho' the day was fine the wind was from the frosty South". The answers are clear on wind and weather.

The references to a wave are in separate letters of Woon's (from Mangungu): "when the wave came and separated them", "when a wave came and swept him into eternity". In calm weather a swell would easily sweep Bumby off the upturned stern of the canoe while he was benumbed with the cold after half an hour.

Why did the canoe overturn on a calm day? Whiteley was sure in his own mind after his enquiries: the overbalancing of an already top-heavy canoe. He went to some lengths to describe the loading of the canoe on the occasion: "imprudently (or not thinking that caution was required in such fine weather)... some above deck....completely top-heavy." The other factor was the trim: "In raising the sail it fell a little to one side and several of the natives, being caught off their guard, reached over to the same side to save the sail from going into the sea."

The Pitt Street plaque simply records "the upsetting of a canoe". Why then has a tale of squall or large waves arisen? When James Garland's sketches arrived in London they were adapted as an engraving for a European missionary paper. The Garland sketch has an annotation "before the wave came". The rest was artistic licence, or

rather misdirected imagination. A storm heightens the sense of drama. It was not necessary to invoke a storm: hypothermia is a killer, but that the artist cannot portray.

There is another oddity in the European engraving: the paddlers are reversed, facing the sternpost, and rowing. That too must come from a mis-reading, this time of Whiteley's account. "In deep canoes they had a stage or deck, made by tying small sticks together.... On this stage the rowers sit in order to raise them sufficiently high to row the paddles...." To Whiteley the term rowing covered both the actions of rowing and paddling.

One of the editions of a life of Bumby has the European engraving as a frontispiece: the picture came to dominate the story.

Fairburn blamed the indiscipline of the Wesleyan natives. The crew was certainly something of a scratch crew, composed of three distinct groups. There was a combination of an eagerness to get home, and some bravado about rejecting old beliefs (about the attendant porpoises) and embracing the gospel. Once the canoe overturned there was no indiscipline. The men attended immediately to Bumby ("who it appears could not swim"), pushed him up against the hull, retrieved his knife from his pocket, and cut and tore away his clothes, except for his shirt.⁶

"They then righted the canoe, got him in and commenced pushing it backward and forward to get out the water." This is a difficult task with a 37 foot canoe! Men each side of the canoe propel it forward and suddenly stop it: some water slops out. Then the movement is reversed: more slops out. When there is some freeboard someone can get in and bail.

The water in the canoe was striking the sternpost - the rapa - and not getting away. To "break off the Rapa" would not be difficult: Bumby's knife would be used to cut the lashings and then the tenon would be unseated from its mortice. When Smales and Hobbs sought out the Waiheke survivor they found that the canoe was away on a trip to Coromandel Harbour. It is likely that when "the survivors picked up two or three articles that were floating" one of them would be the valuable rapa. It would be re-attached at the first opportunity, with fresh lashings.

The same Waiheke survivor gave information about attempts to find the bodies. "They went three days after the accident, and spent a whole day without success.... They went again nine days after the accident and sought three days...."

The day of the accident was a Friday. Mr Fairburn got his first news the following Wednesday. Four days later Governor Hobson and his officials, who had arrived off Waiheke in the "*Ranger*" on the Saturday, attended Mr Fairburn's station at Maraetai

⁶ At the time, shirts were worn very long, like a night shirt, and served also as underwear. In the engraving the whiteness of the shirt-clad figure is dramatised.

for divine service. There Hobson (and Clarke) would have heard the news, and Clarke later at Waimate wrote to Woon with condolences for Mary Bumby, John's sister.

Richard Taylor at Waimate had news from Fairburn and assumed that the Wesleyans had also received news. Thus his letter to Mary Bumby "to sympathise with you in the great loss which I have just heard you have experienced in the sudden removal of your dear brother." The Wesleyans wrote of "the consternation into which we were all thrown" and sent in haste to Waimate for details. Fairburn's letter with the details they sought had followed from Waimate a day later than Taylor's in a packet from Clarke.

Clarke referred to the canoe's having 20, whereas Fairburn stated 19. The former figure went into the biography, and subsequently into later Methodist histories. The correct number is almost certainly 19: the dead were Bumby and 12 natives; there were six survivors.⁷

The original name for the Auckland and Gulf areas has misled some writers. The Gulf was the Frith of the Thames or the Firth of the Thames.⁸ The short version was "the Thames". The name endured for many years. In 1862 the deed of land sale of Rakino Island to Sir George Grey had the map of the island located in the Frith of the Thames. The present township of Thames came later.

Whakatiwai, the Wakatiwai of the story, is just north of Kaiiua, still in the A.A. map though no longer A.A. signposted. It lay at the end of Bumby's overland journey from the Waikato, and was a day or more by canoe from Maraetai. Bumby had hoped to borrow Fairburn's boat. His Maoris rushed ahead and asked. They were refused. They told Bumby, who was upset and did not then himself ask.

Fairburn and Bumby discussed the next stage of Bumby's journey, and Fairburn advised the Kaipara route. Bumby had used that route in his 1839 journey from Kawhia to Mangungu and was fearful of the dangerous Kaipara passage. He also had sore feet! Fairburn had also offered some help with a smaller boat for putting Bumby's group across a river. Even when Bumby left for Waiheke, Fairburn thought that the group was going as a whole by the Kaipara route. Thus his surprise when he saw the canoe the next day making for the sea instead of the Tamaki - bearing up the eastern side of Motuihe instead of cutting across the southern.

One of Bumby's Mangungu group had relatives at Waiheke, and once the decision was made to try for another canoe there, Bumby was anxious to move on. Smales later was

⁷ Mangungu: Bumby. 6 Maoris, 1 Tongan : 1 survivor
Kawhia: 5 Maoris : 2 survivors
Waiheke: 6 Maoris : 3 survivors
Total: 19 with 6 survivors.

⁸ Frith is not an error: it is an alternative spelling (and pronunciation) quite displaced now by Firth.

very critical of Fairburn for his refusal of his boat. Fairburn himself wrote that Bumby did not ask. At this distance, Fairburn's reluctance seems understandable and not unreasonable. A boat was a major possession for the missionary and its loss would be grievous.

The touches of Maori in the record are of special interest. Bumby was of course working at the language. On his 1839 journey he recorded that he was without a grammar or dictionary and thus working under great difficulty. He may have meant that to refer only to the journey: in the front cover of the journal he wrote "he" and "te" as singular, and "nga" as plural.⁹

In 1840, he is including an occasional Maori word in letters. The weather is fine: the "rangi" is "pai". He is "almost distracted with the 'raruraru' (confusion) of this strange country". Thrown into the sea, and drowning, he is heard to say "kamate, kamate". That is his word to his companions in their language.

Woon recorded that Bumby gave out a Maori hymn by Nathaniel Turner just before leaving on his last journey. He believed that to be his first and only use of Maori from the pulpit. But Waterhouse records another instance at Kawhia during the last journey. What more natural than to repeat the Mangungu hymn?

Wallis at Waingarua recorded that he received two short letters from Bumby at Waipa. Fairburn later received a pencilled note of thanks from Waiheke and some letters that he requested Fairburn to forward to Capt. Symonds. "I should have left them yesterday but did not think of it." There is a graciousness in Bumby's personal letters: his affection for his fellow Wesleyans is clear, and he sends his thanks and Christian love to the wives.

Would Bumby have been better remembered if he had been present at the Mangungu signing of the Treaty? He was absent in Australia. He gave an account of his Australian trip that concluded with the claim "that no one will attribute idleness to me". Why was he so driven on the last journey? That is not clear but was probably a combination of factors: the rapid changes occurring after the Treaty, the impending settlement (the New Zealand Company already active in Wellington), the moves afoot by the Governor for a new capital (and Bumby yet to wait on the Governor), and "*Triton*" due to return to Mangungu when the circuit of Tonga, Fiji and Sydney was completed.

Bumby was concerned over the best placement of missionaries: who was to go to Waipa (which might be a temporary station), who for Wellington? Whether to place a single man or a married couple. What would be the expense for the Secretaries' funds in London? There was never enough money, bibles, stores, buildings, missionaries.

⁹ Bumby's Journal, held in Turnbull Library.
Wesley Historical Society (NZ) Publication #56 1990

The Mangungu Mission House was not his personal home. "Such was his self-denial, that he slept in a store where the mission property was deposited". His personal effects lay undisturbed for some time, as "He took the key with him". The married missionaries and families occupied the better buildings.

Early in Bumby's Birmingham ministry he had a serious illness, coughing blood. After a time on leave he made an apparently remarkable recovery. There is no indication that he was physically robust but his physical achievements in New Zealand were considerable. After the overland journey from Kawhia to Mangungu in 1839 he intended to travel the country annually. Yet he considered himself no walker and urged as an "indispensable qualification for a New Zealand missionary that he should be a good walker".

How much of the overland journey from Waingaroa to Wakatiwai was by foot? How much by canoe? The details are lost. The basic details of the 1839 journey were recorded in his journal. The notes of the 1840 journey were lost with him. But he **did** have sore feet.

The journey was in a period of exceptionally calm weather. Fairburn was astonished on hearing of the accident. The western group of Wesleyans at Kawhia and Waingaroa commented on the long period of favourable fine weather that augured a safe return to the Hokianga. They too were astonished at the news.

After the initial investigations (Whiteley from Kawhia; Hobbs and Smales from Mangungu) there was a period of some confusion followed by reorganisation, with meetings "held by adjournment at Kawhia, Waingaroa and Mangungu" between 1 December, 1840 and 6 January, 1841. The minutes follow the standard questions of the then law book. "Question 4: What Preachers have died, etc. -" is followed by the brief "Life" of "John H. Bumby, who was born at Thirsk in the North Riding of Yorkshire...." He was 31 at his death.

Within the same minutes is the record of correspondence with the Lieutenant-Governor. In May, Rev. John Waterhouse, the Superintendent from Tasmania, found that Bumby "had not waited on His Excellency the Governor" and "addressed a letter... in which he gave the Governor an assurance of ready and cheerful co-operation... in promoting the benevolent designs of Her Majesty." The Governor's reply, directed to the District Chairman (John Bumby) follows, "which on account of Mr B's death was not seen by him or answered."

Just as there is no doubt that John Bumby was a forgotten man, there is also no doubt that the commemoration was a moving experience. A report to Synod the same night said that it made the events seem as though they happened only yesterday.

Three schools were invited to send two representatives each: Wesley College, Auckland Girls' Grammar, and Mt Roskill Grammar. The students were honoured guests and appreciated the way people made them welcome. They each have a letter

now telling them to make sure the Methodist Church does it again in 2040, and to claim a place in that commemoration.

Will John Bumby now be remembered? Much of the effort to interest the media was fruitless. But there was a 30-second TV3 News clip. Radio New Zealand gave five minutes in a Faith and Works programme. The Presbyterian Methodist paper Crosslink gave a third of the front page as a feature article. Waiheke's Gulf News did a page. From an on-board video an edited version can go into circulation and archives.

Much of the technical progress of 150 years has proved of little importance in promoting this historic occasion. What has been advantageous is the computer-setting, and photocopying. Ironically, the lasting impact will be a booklet containing the 150-year-old words, not of scholars, but of earnest missionaries and their people in their daily life; containing a rough sketch of the Gulf before the founding of New Zealand's largest city; and containing a powerful schematic drawing by a Maori survivor.

Note:

Copies of the booklet Rev. John Bumby Commemoration available from:-

Ivan Whyte,
36 Prospect Terrace,
Mt. Eden, Auckland
\$5.00, plus \$1.00 package and postage.

THE ORUAITI CHAPEL

Many New Zealanders will recall seeing a 'funny little octagonal church' on the side of the road near Kamo. Until 1975, the little chapel was something of a tourist attraction and something of a puzzle to the many passing motorists. Where it came from and its history is an interesting story. At present it can be visited in the Whangarei Pioneer Village on the Whangarei - Dargaville road.

This building, which must rank as one of New Zealand's most unusual, can be said to have originated in Brigg, Lincolnshire, with the birth of Thomas Ball in 1809. At the age of 25, Thomas married Jemima Abraham in 1834. Over the next eleven years, Thomas and Jemima had four children.

Sometime between the birth of their youngest child, Arthur Miles, in 1845, and the 1851 Census, Jemima died, and although the family fortunes were not particularly well documented, it has been possible to gather sufficient information to piece together the fact leading to Ball's eventual migration to this country.

Thomas became a chemist, and in the 1851 Census he is shown as a widower living with his sister-in-law, two sons, and two daughters. It appears that he would have been a person of considerable wealth as he owned his own home in Market Place, employed two servants, and, to complete his household, he had another employee, an 'assistant druggist' living with him.

He was a highly respected member of the community, taking an active part in local government and serving as a Protestant Lay-Preacher. He now fades into obscurity until 1859, when he emerges from the shadows, when we read of a 'Farewell Tea-Party' given by him for his friends on the eve of his departure for New Zealand. His popularity is attested to by the fact that over 150 attended the function. The event is fully covered in the *'Barton, Brigg Caistor and Winterton News'* of 17th March, 1859. By this time, several families had left North Lincolnshire and favourable reports and '..... a praiseworthy desire of the working classes to better themselves.....' seem to have decided Thomas to lead a party of some 80 individuals to New Zealand in search of a 'better life'. Ball researched the possibilities carefully before committing himself to this venture. His party was composed of a wide ranging group of occupations. Included were labourers, both agricultural and general, mechanics, woodmen, carpenters, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, bricklayers and even shopkeepers. Ball's intention obviously was to set up a well organised settlement in this country, and for this to be successful, he needed a cross section of the English social structure. It is also of interest to note, particularly in light of present claims that he had '..... sought New Zealand in preference to any other colony because of the equitable manner in which the land had been obtained by our Government; every acre having been bought and paid for from the natives'. He also stated that it gave him great pleasure to know that in entering the colony he was invading no right of the original inhabitants or possessors. Another great cause of satisfaction was the freedom of religious

sentiment.... there were Episcopalians, Wesleyans and other creeds, but no dissenters in New Zealand. Testimonials were given by prominent townspeople, and a 'memorial signed by those present was given to Thomas Ball.'

The settlers travelled in two parties - the first and main group sailed on the '*Matoaka*' in 1859, and the second group on the '*Phoenix*' in 1860. They proved to be a serious minded group who had been well prepared for the conditions that they were about to encounter. Some had bought ready-built houses with them, some, building materials - nails, glass, window catches, hinges, door locks etc.

The group travelled from Auckland to Doubtless Bay on a coastal vessel, '*Dove*' which had been built in Whangaroa by William Jones in 1857. Arriving in Northland, they found that their grants were unroaded tracts of land in dense bush from which they had to hack and hew their farms. Forty acres had been allocated to each adult in the party, with an additional 20 acres to each child over the age of eighteen years. The nearest town to the young settlement was Mangonui, which Ball described as "... a port of entry, which has the benefit of a resident magistrate, a post office, three or four stores and an inn whose supporters are not altogether travellers."

In a letter dated April 18th, 1860, written to his friends back home, Ball states "that of the original party, a considerable number stayed in Auckland to increase their resources, hoping to enter upon their land in a little while,others accompanied me to this place. Of these, several returned to the city here a few have already built themselves temporary habitations."

It appears that the original party of 80, now numbered about 40, and Ball admits that all"... .decisions and attempts to please and consult the interests of all have not been entirely successful."

The religious aspect of the new settlement can best be illustrated by the fact that the chapel had been completed by 1861 and was in full use by this date. There was no clergyman in the party and visiting Anglican and Wesleyan ministers would take services and celebrate communion. For this purpose, the old pewter communion cup that Thomas Ball had bought with him was used. At other times, the close knit community would gather together for worship, bible reading or study.

The chapel itself is 18 feet in diameter, an octagonal shaped building that was originally roofed with rush thatching. Prominently displayed from the roof was a small wooden spire. The timber for the building came from a kauri tree that had grown on Ball's own property. The chapel was the result of a true community effort - each settler contributing what he could. Contributions from the settlers limited and valued bits and pieces made the chapel even more prized by the novice builders. The flashings for the chapel came from lead a settler had bought out for his own house, the catch for the door came from a piece of English heart oak.

In 1866 the thatched roof was replaced by shingles, which were last until being replaced in 1919. The chapel boasted a rather extensive library - the titles of which bear evidence to the serious minded nature of the settlers. Buller's *Forty Years in New Zealand* and Prescott's *History and Letters of Julius* were two of the titles. The titles of the books would also indicate that the group was rather better educated than one might expect such a group to be.

The singing in the chapel was originally led by Mr. Ball with the assistance of a tuning fork. He was eventually replaced by another one of the group who led with his 'cello'. Finally, the White family gifted a harmonium which had been brought from England in 1838 and which is still in the chapel.

Ball was elected to Parliament and his duties caused him to be absent from his companions for much of the time, and eventually he moved, with his family to Auckland. His property was sold in 1892. Thomas died in Onehunga on Christmas Day, 1897, and was buried 'following a Church of England service' in the Purewa Cemetery.

As the years passed, the character of the Oruaiti Settlement changed. Families left the area to live in larger communities or in the cities. Churches were erected in nearby parishes, as were schools and church halls. The Oruaiti Chapel was no longer used, and it appeared that it had outlived its useful life. In 1933 the chapel was moved to the side of the recently constructed road through the settlement. Standing in a paddock and surrounded by long grass, there was a very real fear that a grass fire could destroy the old building. The chapel survived threats of fire and stood in its paddock until its removal in the mid 1940's. Rev. Leslie Gilmore was at that time Methodist Minister at Mangonui. He brought the matter of the risk to the chapel before the North Auckland Sub District Executive of the Auckland Synod. The Executive decided to move the chapel to Whangarei and to place it on a section they had already purchased in Kamo Road for a new church, but which they were unable to build because of wartime restrictions.

Once on its new site, it became a side Sunday School for Whangarei - particularly useful for the younger children as it saved them the walk to Bank Street Church. Eventually it was decided that the chapel had once more served its purpose and again it was moved - this time to its present site.

The shape of the Oruaiti chapel is of interest. Several early Methodist churches in England, particularly in Lincolnshire were built to this same shape - although on a much grander scale. The explanation for this particular shape which was popular in the 18th century is that these buildings were built as preaching houses rather than churches. Wesleyans not wishing to offend the established church would attend conventional services in the recognised churches, then attend the preaching house for a sermon.

Although there is no evidence supporting the claim that Ball belonged to any one branch of the church, it seems likely that he had Methodist connections - this would account for the shape of the chapel that he played such a major part in constructing.

Below is a list of the known settlers who accompanied Ball. While the list may not be complete, it contains the names of all those who are mentioned in available published material.

John Frear and family	J. & G. Seymour	? Frost
Richard Ringrose and family	Thos. Wilkinson	? Bruce
Wm. Whitehead and family (three generations)	Geo. Thomas	? Morton
	? Kitchen	? Sturge
Chas. Thompson and family	? Bradley	? Hewson
George Thompson and family	? Mawer	? Usher
Robert Wyles and wife	? Anderson	? Ellis
Robert Cliffe and wife	? Jerome	? Waddingham
William Garton and wife		

It may be of interest to readers that Neva Clarke McKenna has just had her book, *History of Manoonui* published by Northland Historical Publications Society. It contains many photographs and has a fair amount of information on Thomas Ball.

The above article was written by Grahame S. Watson, a Senior Master at Wesley College, Paerata. He is a descendant of Robert Cliffe, listed above as one who accompanied Thomas Ball.

See also [Oruaiti Chapel in North Auckland](#) by A.J. Johnston
WHS Publication #2(4) 1943



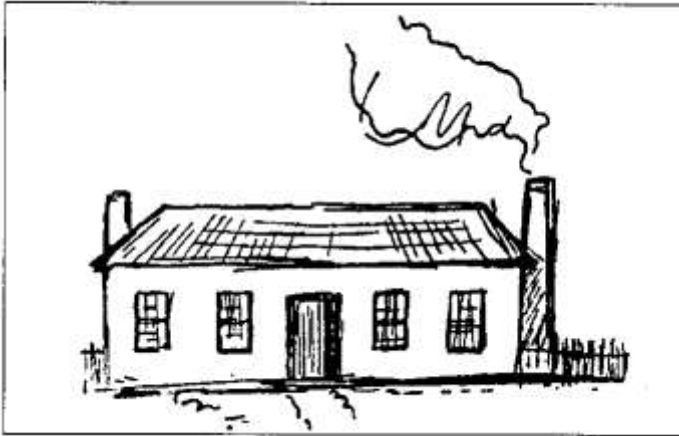
2014 Oruaiti Chapel, now relocated in the Heritage Park, Whangarei. Believed to be the smallest octagonal chapel in New Zealand, and possibly the world, is made from a single kauri log. It was originally situated in Doubtless Bay in the Far North. The Chapel was moved to the Heritage Park in the 1980s and is used for special occasions such as weddings, christenings and seasonal celebrations.

WHEN SPECULATION BECOMES TRADITION WAS THE PORT UNDERWOOD CHURCH MOVED TO MOTUEKA?

In [Journal 1989](#) the article 'A Historic Journey and a Painting -1863-64' tells the story of a party of Maoris visiting Britain. In setting the background to the visit, mention is made of the fact that William Jenkins succeeded the Rev. Samuel Ironside as incumbent of the Cloudy Bay mission after the mission had been sadly depleted by the Wairau affair. William Jenkins remained at Port Underwood until he was moved to Motueka by the District Meeting of 1847. At this point, the writer draws attention to a local tradition that the Port Underwood Church or some other building was removed to Motueka from Port Underwood.

This tradition seems to have arisen from the fact that the Rev. C.B. Jordan speculated that the Wesleyan mission, straitened by financial difficulties, could only have built a Church, a mission house and a school in the one year at Motueka if either the Church or some other Port Underwood building had been brought to Motueka?

But what are the possibilities of this happening?



Mission house, Ngakuta Bay. This sketch was made by Dr. Weekes when the New Zealand Company vessel *William Bryan*, bound for Taranaki, put into Port Underwood in March 1841. The drawing was originally sent to M.A. Rugby Pratt in 1940 and was published in the *Methodist Times*

Samuel Ironside gives a detailed account of both, the building and opening, of the Ebenezer Church at Port Underwood. This is in the *New Zealand Methodist* for 31 January 1843. There is also an account of its dimensions in this Journal and an independent account of the church in J.W. Barnicoat's *Journal* for 1843. These accounts vary somewhat as to the actual dimensions of the building: the smallest being 65 feet by 35 feet.

Ironside records that every post as well as the ridge poles, and all the beams and rafters, were made out of an entire tree. The posts for the walls were 12 feet to the plate, let into the ground 12 inches apart and the spaces between the posts were filled with kareao vines from the bush and plastered over. Barnicoat says it was built in the native fashion i.e. that the posts were let into the ground, and that there was a front porch after the manner of a meeting house.

Now this kind of building would not be easy to move. To salvage anything, every post would have to be cut off at ground level, and transported clay, tree-trunks and all by sea. To move it in its entirety as it stood would have been impossible for Jenkins. To move the timbers would have meant extricating them from the kareao vines and the clay and manhandling whole tree trunks virtually on his own again an impossible task.

What Jordan did not do, was to consult the District Minutes. In the 1950's these may not have been available to him. Had he done so, he would have discovered that the Ebenezer Church had been blown down in a south-easterly gale and virtually nothing was able to be retrieved. (*District Minutes of the Southern Section. July 1846*)

If the church had been of weatherboards it, or some of it, might well have been moved, but in the native style of construction, this was not at all likely. So if the church was not likely to have been removed to Motueka, what other mission buildings might have been?

The only other building mentioned on the mission station is the mission house. This was drawn by Dr. Weekes when the *'William Bryan'* lay at anchor in Port Underwood, on its way to transport settlers to New Plymouth in 1841. In the same District Minutes this building is described as native built with a weatherboard front. It too would have been subject to rot from the posts being let into the ground, but was probably saved from collapse by the re-inforcing provided by the cross-bracing effect of the weatherboards. The only pieces of timber which would have been easy to salvage and worth the effort would have been the weatherboards on the front of the mission house. These could have easily have been transported as deck cargo with the rest of Jenkins goods and chattels.

So what is it reasonable to suppose? In traditions, there is usually an element of truth. In this case the element of truth may be that the weatherboards from the front of the mission house may have been salvaged for building purposes at the Motueka mission.

Nothing more is reasonable. Secondly, it is dangerous to speculate on the solution to a problem and then for others to assume that the speculation is correct. When speculation becomes oral tradition, history is in danger. Oral tradition is valuable in that it might provide clues, but it cannot be assumed that it provides reliable answers. They can only be found when all sources of information have been tapped and carefully assessed.

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Samuel Ironside's *Journal* 1839-43

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Journal of J.W. Barnicoat

The Establishment of the New Plymouth Settlement in New Zealand 1841-43. Compiled and Edited by J. Rutherford and W.H. Skinner.

BOOK REVIEW

WELLINGTON DISTRICT..... a further publication ON OUR WAY

On Our Way (the story of Methodism in the Hutt Valley) published by the Laings Road Methodist Church, Lower Hutt in association with Methodist Publishing, Box 931, Christchurch.

Ten writers have covered the history of 150 years of Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist Churches and their 'circles of influence'. The overall editor was Bob Hancock.

Part II in greater depth deals with the Laings Road church in particular covering work with youth in Sunday schools, scouts, and girls'/boys' Brigades; the work of both women and men in their particular groups - missionary and fellowships; and of sports clubs associated with the church.

There are thirteen appendices listing ministers; wives of ministers; earliest registers; burials in the Wesleyan cemetery; circuit stewards, Sunday school superintendents; organists and choir trailers with finally an essay outlining notable service or achievement of members.

Seventy five illustrations with six maps and charts are included. There are fine endpapers of a composite site plan for Laings Road property. This identifies the various locations of buildings on the High Street-Laings Road and Knights Road block.

Elizabeth Isichei reviewing for the Dominion describes this as. 'a beautifully produced book with outstanding maps and illustrations ...it is a labour of love by enthusiastic volunteers who have preserved much that is worth preserving.'

On Our Way is available from -

The Lower Hutt Parish
c/- 79 Pretoria Street, Lower Hutt

Limited edition of 1000.

Price (about \$30.)

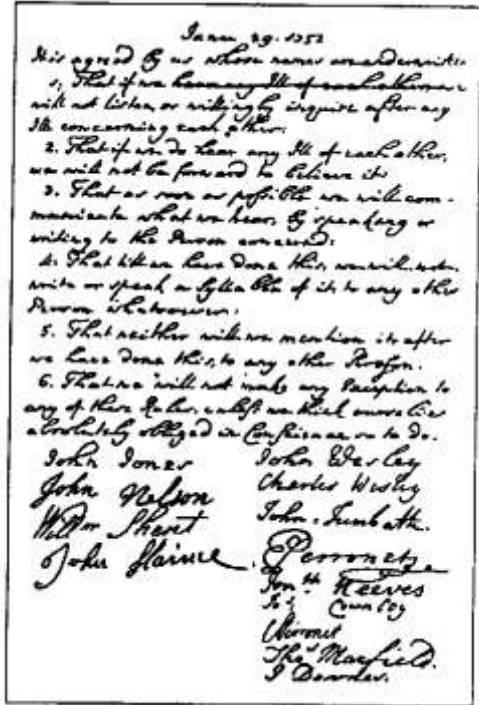
SIX POINTS OF METHODIST BROTHERHOOD

Janu 29. 1752

It is agreed by us whose names are underwritten

1. That if we hearing any ill of each other, we will not listen, or willingly inquire after any ill concerning each other:
2. That if we do hear any ill of each other, we will not be forward to believe it:
3. That as soon as possible we will communicate what we hear, by speaking or writing to the Person concerned:
4. That till we have done this, we will not write or speak a syllable of it to any other Person whatsoever:
5. That neither will we mention it after we have done this, to any other Person:
6. That we will not make any Exception to any of these Rules, unless we think ourselves absolutely obliged in Conscience so to do.

John Jones	John Wesley
John Nelson	Charles Wesley
Willm. Shent	John :Trimbath
John Harvie (or Haime)	Perronetz
	Jonth. Reeves
	Jos. Connley
	C Perronet (?)
	Thos. Maxfield
	J Downer



This famous document was in the hand of John Wesley and signed by the preachers in 1752.

PROCEEDINGS ISSUED SINCE LIST IN "JOURNAL -85"

- Vol. 47 [With Renewed Vigour](#) (Dr. D. Janus) – Connectional Finances 1966-86
- Vol. 48 [Not Self - But Others](#) (W.A. Chambers) - The Deaconess Order
- Vol. 49 [Journal '86](#)
- Vol 50 [Wesley's South Seas Heritage](#) - Report of South Pacific Regional
Conference - Paerata - 1987
- Vol. 51 [Journal '88](#)
- Vol. 52 [Journal '89](#)
- Vol. 53 [An Ordered Faith](#) (Dr. G.D. Pratt) - Faith and Order Committee 1950-84
- Vol. 54 [A Dream to Fulfil](#) (W.J. Morrison) - Prince_Albert College Trust 1979-89
- Vol. 55 [Return to Mangungu](#) (W.A. Chambers, etc.) – commemoration of Waitangi
Treaty signing at Mangungu - March 1990
- Vol. 56 [Journal '90](#)