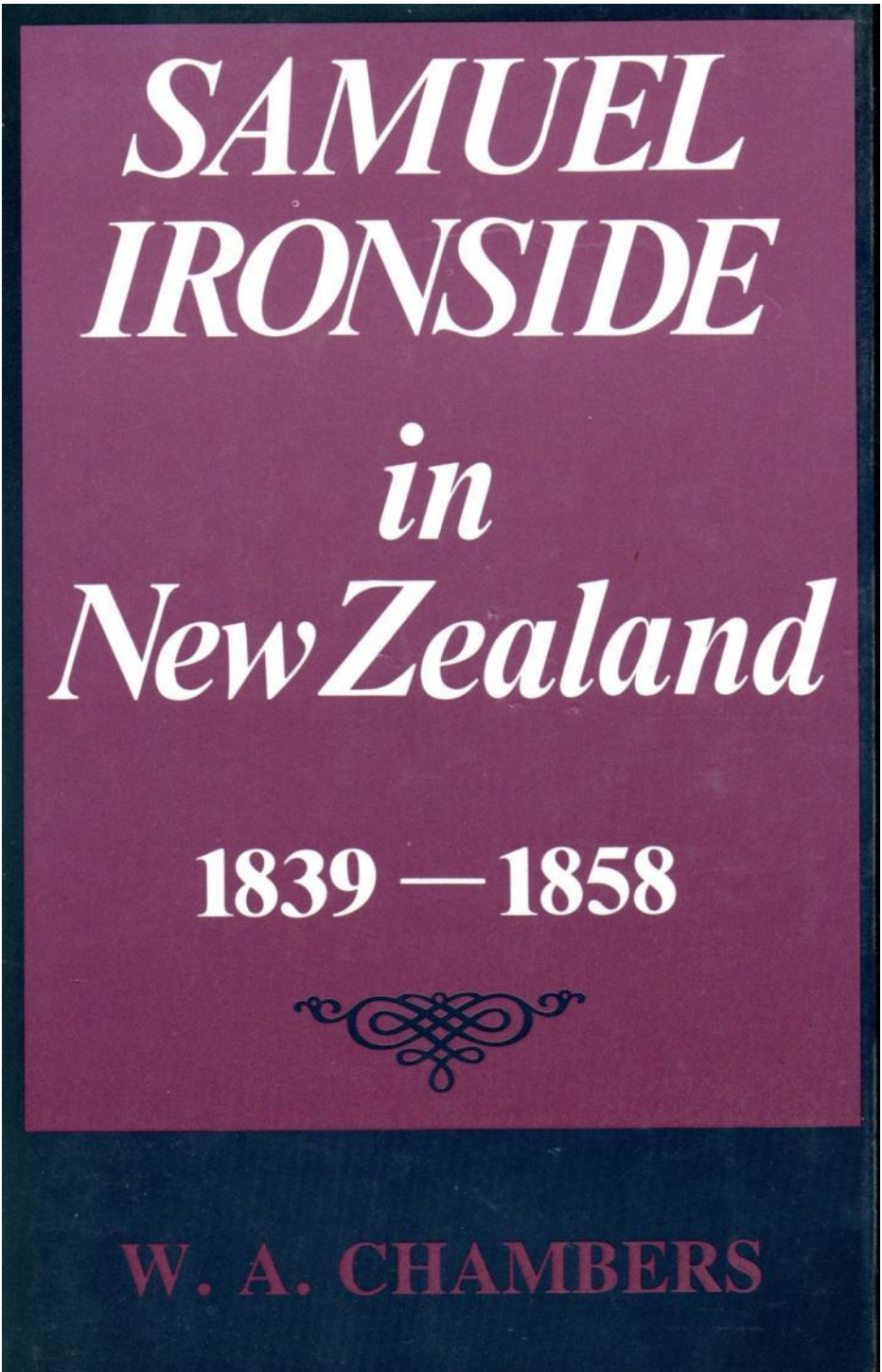
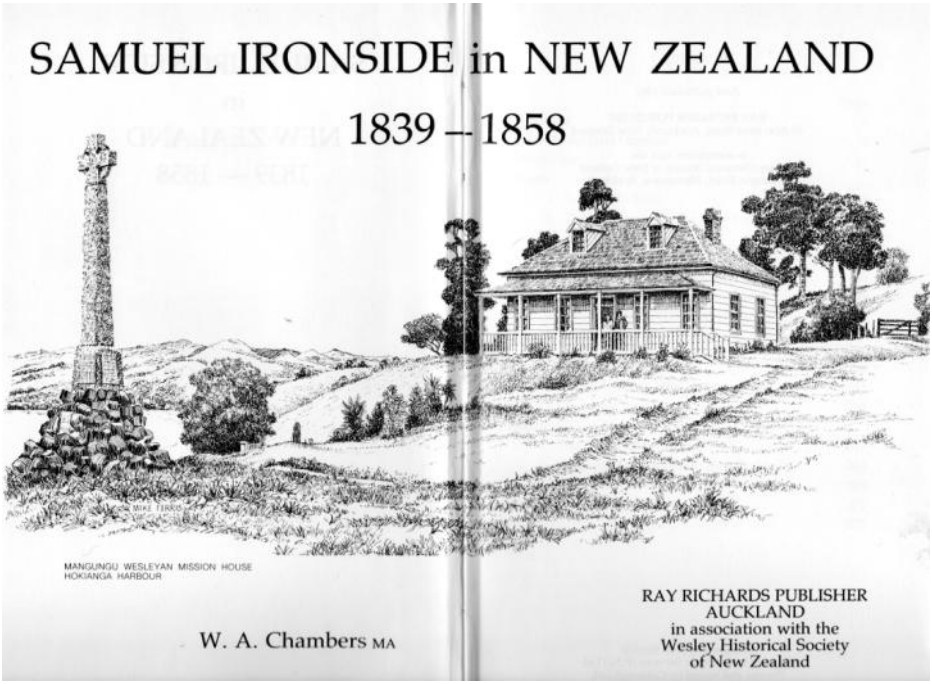

SAMUEL
IRONSIDE
in
New Zealand
1839 — 1858
W. A. CHAMBERS



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DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF FRANK SMITH JP AND M. A. RUGBY PRATT FR HIST Soc

To these two men this book is largely indebted, and gratefully dedicated.

Frank Smith had a lifelong interest in Samuel Ironside. As a boy he looked from the veranda of the family home down the length of Port Underwood where Samuel Ironside lived during the short episode of the Cloudy Bay Mission. His farm homestead view looked up to the hill where the victims of the Wairau affray lie buried. Intrigued by the stories of the past, Frank Smith grew to be the man who was the embodiment of Wairau history. Active in the local historical society, he advocated the establishment of a Marlborough museum and collected priceless articles for it. As an old man he was listened to by hundreds of school children from both sides of Cook Strait, and he fired their imaginations with stories of the past in Marlborough.

This interest was also shared by M. A. Rugby Pratt who, with Frank Smith, more than once shared a common platform when talking about Samuel Ironside. As a lad in Tasmania, Rugby Pratt walked to church arm in arm with the old man who is the subject of this book, and listened to his tales of missionary service among the Maori people and of life in early colonial New Zealand. As Methodist connexional secretary and custodian of early records, Rugby Pratt had access to such archives as the Methodist Church then possessed, and he enriched that collection by bringing to New Zealand all Methodist missionary correspondence relating to New Zealand prior to 1855. Among these were the letters of James Watkin, subject of Pratt's book *Pioneering Days in Southern Maoriland*, and the letters of Samuel Ironside, whose biography he was hoping to prepare. His death terminated the work, but when the present volume was proposed his son, the late Allan Pratt of Diamond Harbour, gladly made his father's material available.

It was Frank Smith's hope that Samuel Ironside would eventually be introduced to a much wider public. To make this dream come true he made available to the Wesley Historical Society of New Zealand, the funds necessary to publish this book. To these gentlemen, Frank Smith and Rugby Pratt— now sharing in the church triumphant with Samuel Ironside, this volume is respectfully dedicated.

Preface

The writing of this book has been a labour of love and love's labour has not, in this case, been lost. The book begins, as all biographies should, with the family and social background of Samuel Ironside. In early nineteenth century England, within the Wesleyan community, there was a missionary urge to go to the ends of the earth to bring the good news of the Gospel to benighted heathen lands. New Zealand was indeed at the end of the earth and its people came within the then definition of "heathen".

This was the challenge which Samuel Ironside, then 24 years of age, and his young wife Sarah, accepted in 1838. After a voyage lasting six months they arrived in March 1839 at the Methodist mission station on the banks of the Hokianga River in North Auckland, and so began a saga of missionary endeavour of heroic proportions.

Samuel Ironside was well named. Samuel with its biblical flavour, Ironside going back to the Saxon kings and with a Cromwellian Puritan connotation, these conjure up the picture of a man of great courage, indomitable in the face of adversity, zealous, devout, always abounding in the work of the Lord — and so he was.

He learned to speak Maori fluently in five months and as quickly absorbed the lore and customs of the Maori people. In less than a year he had become influential enough to be able to encourage the Hokianga Chiefs to sign the Treaty of Waitangi, on which his name appears as a witness.

He then went from the comparative comfort of Hokianga to the more isolated mission station on the Kawhia Harbour, from which he travelled over the bush tracks and along the beaches bringing the good news to the scattered tribes. It is of more than passing interest to read the diary note, "We were struck with the appearance of the sand, there was a large quantity of iron ore mixed with it." Did they imagine that one day that sand would support a great industry? That could well have been, for Samuel Ironside was a son of Sheffield, the city of steel.

In the winter of 1840, with two colleagues, he travelled on foot as far south as Wanganui and back to Kawhia "up precipitous hills, down deep ravines, across nasty swamps", to quote the diary again. But there were pleasanter passages through open country and in hospitable Maori villages where they preached and were well received. They surveyed the opportunities for more mission stations and found that the fields were all sown but the labourers few.

Ironside moved on to Cloudy Bay and the Marlborough Sounds, where European whaling stations had preceded the Christian mission stations, to the detriment of the Maori population, who were already torn asunder by their own tribal wars. There Ironside laboured for three years. The seedbed was ready. The Maoris accepted the Christian message willingly. After only two years he was able to report to the mission

secretaries in London that he had thirty local preachers, 600 church members, 1500 hearers and sixteen chapels. But underneath were the smouldering fires of Maori resentment against the European encroachment on their lands, which suddenly burst into the flames of the Wairau "massacre". The Maoris of the Marlborough Sounds, fearing reprisals, dispersed to safer places. The Cloudy Bay mission died with the victims.

In July 1843 Samuel and Sarah Ironside repaired to the infant settlement of Wellington. He assisted in the building of the first Wesleyan chapel on the corner of Cuba and Manners Streets, on land still owned by the Church and now the site of a modern shopping mall. He continued to minister to both European and Maori but relationships were strained and the missionaries sat uneasily between the two races. Christian conciliation prevailed in the end but they were anxious times. The story of Wellington in its first decade makes fascinating reading, not least his description of the great earthquake of 1848 which wrecked his home and his church.

From 1849 to 1855 he spent his happiest years in New Zealand in the more peaceful and prosperous community of Nelson. He became involved in education, in the temperance movement, the literary institutions and, believe it or not, politics. He maintained his contact with the Maoris in Cloudy Bay and the adjacent sounds and at the same time ministered to a circuit of several European congregations. This happy time was followed by a successful but turbulent term in New Plymouth with personal dissension within the circuit and dissatisfaction within the community on the Maori land claims. The Maoris were belligerent. British troops garrisoned the town. In this uneasy peace, broken at times by outbreaks of fighting, Ironside got a new church built and a parsonage purchased. But his days of strenuous exertions in New Zealand were numbered. At his own request in 1858 he moved to Australia.

The value of this book is not only in the story of a remarkable man and his devoted wife, but also in the detailed account of aspects of life in the first two decades of colonial New Zealand. As such it has great historical interest, supported by copious references to source material, indicative of meticulous research on the part of the author. For ministers of all denominations who may buy this book it will provide the bonus of many stories for many sermons.

Sir John Marshall

Introduction

This is the story of Samuel Ironside, Wesleyan missionary in New Zealand from 1839 to 1858. It does not aim to be a full biography, for Samuel Ironside spent half of his ministry in New Zealand and the other half in Australia. Nor is it a full biography in the sense of being a study of his character, although it is hoped that something of his character will emerge. It is an endeavour to gather together the fragments of information contained in his writings scattered in church records, museums, libraries and newspaper offices throughout New Zealand, Australia and Great Britain, and to give a connected account of the part he played in early colonial New Zealand.

A cutler by trade and a Wesleyan missionary by vocation, Samuel Ironside is well known for the part he played in burying the victims of the Wairau tragedy, yet his true reputation is based on a much wider reference. He quickly achieved proficiency in the Maori language, being able to read the liturgy in five weeks and to preach extempore in five months — a record for a Wesleyan missionary in New Zealand and only excelled among Wesleyan missionaries by John Hunt of Fiji. Arriving at Mangungu early in 1839, he encouraged,Tamati Waka Nene to make the speech that turned the tide of opinion against Hone Heke's opposition to the Treaty of Waitangi. Ironside was himself a signatory to the treaty and a life-long upholder and defender of it. With two companions he made an overland journey from Kawhia to Wanganui in the winter of 1840 to select sites for Wesleyan mission stations in Taranaki. His pastoral care of the Ngati Toa and Ngati Awa people in the Cloudy Bay mission area made him well known to the leading chiefs of those tribes and therefore placed him in a unique position as missionary in Port Nicholson during the troubled forties. With James Watkin he played an influential part in shaping public opinion and moulding relationships between Maori and Pakeha during those crucial years. In Nelson he ministered to Maoris and Europeans scattered from Wairau to Motueka and beyond, pioneered Methodism in Marlborough, and in Nelson public affairs was the chief advocate for state aid to denominational schools. Confined to the European work in New Plymouth, he played a supportive role to the missionaries H. Hanson Turton and John Whiteley who sought to mediate peace between the factions involved in the Puketapu feud. Transferred to Australia in 1858, he served in some of the most influential Methodist churches, but was well remembered in New Zealand nearly forty years later. At the time of his death obituary tributes appeared in Wellington and Nelson daily newspapers as well as in the newspapers of several Australian states and religious journals.

Putting his story together — in spite of considerable help from the men to whom this volume is dedicated — has required the patience of Job and inspiration of the Spirit to take the dry bones of facts scattered in many libraries and museums and to make them live. In all his research the writer found only one living person who knew Samuel Ironside. All that remains are the scattered remnants of his literary activity. Locating, copying and piecing them together in sequence has been a time-consuming task and a

story in itself. The work of Frank Smith and M. A. Rugby Pratt is gladly acknowledged. Both men made considerable collections of relevant material, and both spoke and published a certain amount, but neither fulfilled his desire to see a larger work in print. But the search for sources did not end there. In the connexional office of the Methodist Church in Christchurch, the writer had access to Samuel Ironside's own corrected series of articles published in the *New Zealand Methodist* from 1890-1892. This was one of Ironside's retirement activities, encouraged by his wife who died while the series was being written. During this time Ironside had before him his wife's and his own journals. Upon his death one of his journals passed into private hands and was for many years unavailable to the public. It is now in the National Library of Australia. His wife's journal, and his for the voyage out to New Zealand in 1839, have disappeared altogether.

Copies of his letters to the missionary secretaries in London and his reports lodged in the minutes of the annual district meeting have been made available by the Methodist connexional office in Christchurch. In addition to this a number of his letters to newspapers have been located in Wellington, Nelson and New Plymouth, while petitions to the Nelson and Taranaki provincial councils have been supplied by the National Archives in Wellington. From the Mitchell Library in Sydney has come a copy of an address he delivered to the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society at Surry Hills in Sydney in 1863, and copies of his translations into Maori of two of John Wesley's sermons. Copies of several of his letters to friends, and short biographies which he published in the *Australasian Methodist Missionary Review*, have also come to hand.

Every courtesy and help has been given to the writer by the archivist of the Uniting Church in Australia, and the librarian of Mitchell Library in Sydney, which houses a microfilm copy of documents relating to the activities of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in the Pacific, together with papers relating to Wesleyan missionary work in New Zealand after the separation of the Australasian Methodist Church from British Methodism. The National Library in Canberra has graciously given permission to quote from Ironside's journal now lodged in the Fergusson Collection, and has made it possible to scan the early newspapers of Sydney and Brisbane for relevant items of information. The Alexander Turnbull Library and the National Archives in Wellington have made available their resources of material and staff with kindness and courtesy, while the editor of the *Taranaki Herald* and the librarian of the Nelson Public Library have given me access to early copies of the *Taranaki Herald* and the *Nelson Examiner* respectively.

Sometimes the search for information has been fruitless even though it was diligent. In this area especial thanks are due to Dr Quentin de Robin of the Scott Polar Institute, himself a descendant of the missionary John Waterhouse, who had the disappointment of finding that the only parts of the Waterhouse journal and the Lady Franklin journal wanted for this project were missing. The Conservateur des Archives de la 3 eme Region Maritime, Toulon, and the Association des amis d'Alexandre

Dumas in Paris were able to make some information available, but searches for possible sketches by Charles Meryon who was on board *Le Rhin* when she called in at Port Underwood in 1843, were unproductive. Most helpful has been the permission given by J. J. G. Barnicoat of Napier to use portions of J. W. Barnicoat's journal to supplement Ironside's record of the Wairau tragedy. The eventual publication of J. W. Barnicoat's journal will be an invaluable source of information on early Nelson. The writer has also had access to the journals of James Watkin and John Aldred which came into his possession many years ago.

Especial thanks are due to Professor B. C. Gowenlock DSc, of Edinburgh, who has freely used his historical interests and skills in locating references to the Ironside family in local church records and newspaper files. These, together with John Salt's writings on Isaac Ironside, have made it possible to piece together something of the family background from which Samuel Ironside sprang. Without Professor Gowenlock's persistent research, and the assistance of the Sheffield City Libraries, the record would have been more sketchy than it is.

Along with all this has been the work of typing from tapes and corrected manuscript to produce final copy. Several people have been involved, but it has been the patient labour of love performed by Mrs Jacquetta Hamilton over many years that has seen the task accomplished.

Many friends have given encouragement. The officers of the Wesley Historical Society of New Zealand have been particularly helpful and patient while the Rev. E. W. Hames has barracked quietly from the sideline, It has been a real joy to meet the descendants of Samuel Ironside in Australia, where their kindness and generosity has enriched the whole experience of research and writing. Thanks are due to them for the photographs of Samuel Ironside's parents and other material.

My indebtedness to Alan Bellamy for attention to the photographic work is gladly acknowledged.

Not least, thanks are given to Maida Chambers who has shared the interest in this work and much of the sacrifice in seeing it accomplished. Without her willingness that so much time be given to it, these pages would never have been written.

Wesley A. Chambers

NOTE: Because so much of the book is based on original documents and the monetary values of the time bear so little resemblance to those of 1982, currency has been expressed in the sterling currency of the time. Similarly, metrication has not been applied to imperial measurements.

[In converting the book for the online edition, the Contents page numbers have been replaced by hyperlinks, the index has been omitted as the whole book can be seardhed with a search engine, and some b&w images have been replaced with colour versions. Alec Utting]


North Island
Whangaroa Harbour
Kaeo
Wesleydale
Bay of Islands
Waitangi
Paihia
Waimate Nth
Mangungu
Waima
Newark
Hokianga Har
Waima R
Great Barrier Island
Kaipara Har
AUCKLAND
Manukau Harbour
Raglan Har
†Whaingaroa Mission
†Beechamdale Mission
Aotea Har
Kawhia Har
Mahoe
Ahuahu
†Te Kopua Mission
Harihari
Kiritehere
Pukemapau
Waitomo
Paripari
Te Kuiti
Tihiru
Nukuhakare
Waikauau
Mokau
Mokau Mission
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Ngatoko R
Tangahoe
Patea R
Waitotara
Turakina River
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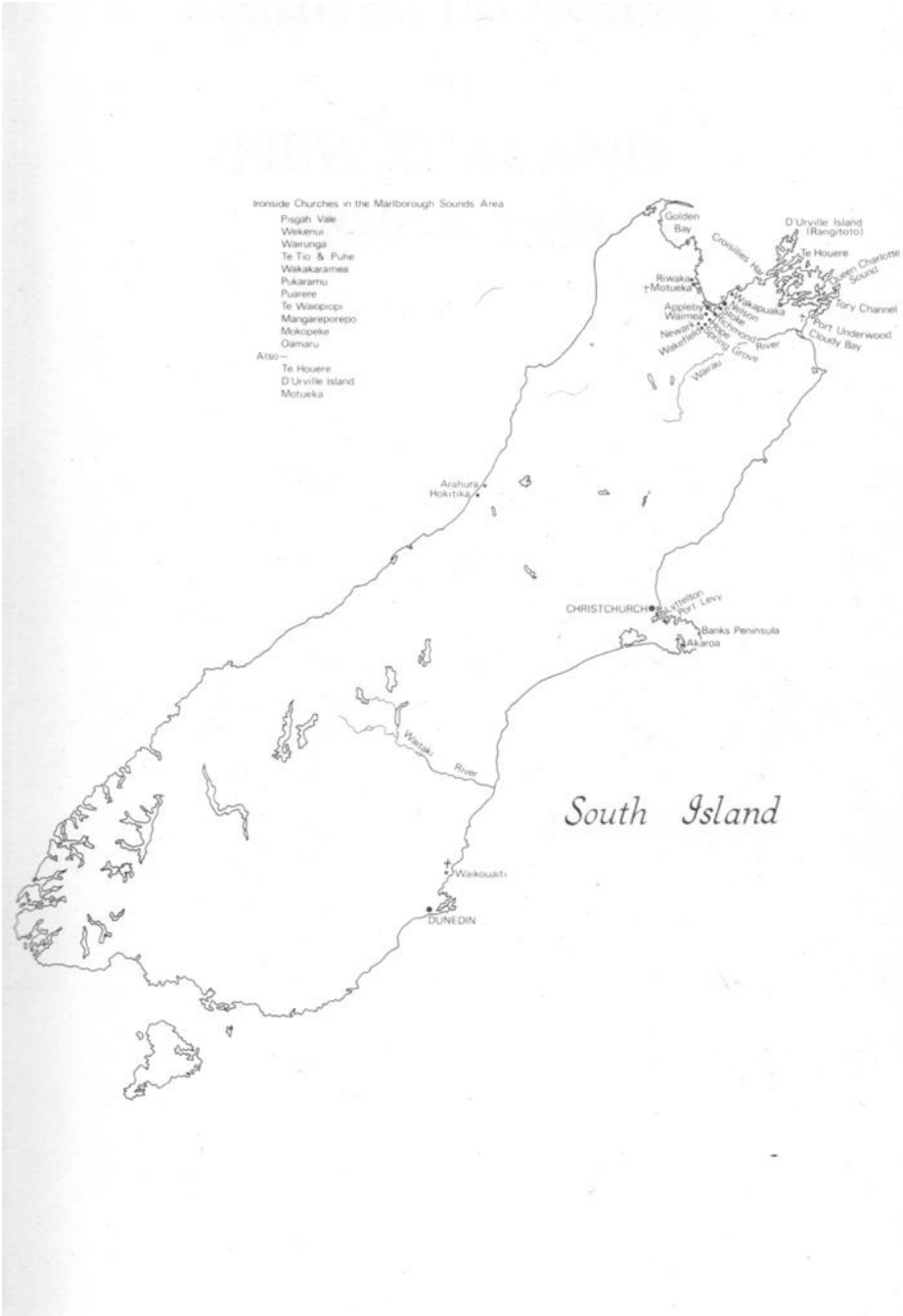
Rangitikei River
Ohingaiti
Manawatu River
†Mr Duncan's Mission
Kapiti Island
Waikanae
Horokiwi Valley
Mana Is
Porirua
Pauatahanui
Johnsonville
Wairarapa
Karori
Boulcott's Farm
Hutt
Port Nicholson
Maori villages around Port Nicholson
Te Aro
Pipitea
Kaiwarrawarra
Ngauranga
Pitone (Modern Petone)
Waiwetu
Takapuahia

Samuel Ironside in New Zealand



SAMUEL and SARAH IRONSIDE

1

Sons of Sheffield

Sometime in the early nineteenth century, Samuel Ironside's parents, Samuel Ironside senior, his wife Mary and the first of their children, Isaac and Sarah, moved from Masboro to Sheffield. Fifty years earlier Samuel senior's parents had moved from Aberdeen to Masboro, Yorkshire, where his father, who claimed lineage back to Edmund Ironside, the last of the Saxon kings, took up a position as gardener. The kind of impact that London had upon England by drawing into itself people from all over the country, was now being exercised by the rising towns of the future. Sheffield was such a town. In the eighteenth century its population was no more than 10,000 people. By the turn of the century the four original manors — Grimesthorpe, Hallam, Attercliffe and Sheffield had trebled in population and the communities of Eccleshall-Byerlow and Brightside Byerlow had become suburbs. By 1811 the six towns contained 53,231 people of whom 47,308 lived in Sheffield, Eccleshall and Brightside Byerlow.

Situated on the hilly ground to the extreme south of Yorkshire, Sheffield lay at the junction of several streams with the river Don. Right at the centre of the town on an elevated site stood Trinity Church, erected in 1110 by William de Lovetot and appropriated to Worksop priory. Originally called the Church of Saints Peter and Paul, it was now the parish church. A rectangular Gothic structure, surrounded by a spacious burial ground, it was 240 feet from west to east and 130 feet from north to south, with a tower and lofty spire rising from the centre and dominating the landscape. Not far away were the Shambles, for Sheffield had long been the market town for south Yorkshire. By act of parliament in 1784 the Shambles had been enlarged. In 1827 they were extensive and convenient, being 100 yards in length, and 40 yards in breadth, with covered walks in front of the rows of butchers' stalls. At the lower end was a spacious market for butter, eggs and poultry, and round its exterior were shops for the sale of fruit and vegetables. Several gateways opened into it. One opened into the market for shoes, tinware, etc; another to the fruit and vegetable market on the side opposite King Street. Then there was the Corn Exchange — an elegant building in the park between the Sheaf and Canal Bridges. Behind the Corn Exchange was the cheese, poultry and fish market, and in the area in front, enclosed within neat iron railings, was the market for corn sacks. Opposite this enclosure was a large open space for hay, wholesale vegetable and fruit markets and where fairs were held. Cattle, horses and cheese were sold at two fairs held annually on Tuesday or Wednesday of Trinity week and on 28 and 29 November. On these occasions the town was filled with people from the surrounding country and a gala atmosphere prevailed. Merchandise of all kinds was displayed and amusements had as much variety as the crowds of visitors coming into the town.

Sheffield also boasted a new town hall. In May 1808 the old hall had been demolished and a new one erected at the foot of the hay market. It was a large, plain, square building made of stone and surmounted by a cupola and clock. The ground floor consisted of a large entrance hall, used as a watch house by the police commissioners. Above were the courtrooms for the quarter petty sessions and the manor courts. Behind was the jailer's house and under it were the cells. Not least among the public buildings was the Cutlers' Hall. The Incorporated Cutlers of Hallamshire had been stripped of nearly all their municipal authority, and were ashamed of the plain humble appearance of the old hall in Church Street which had been built in 1726. A new hall was being planned — one that would be an ornament to the town and convey to illustrious guests who often graced the cutlers' annual festival, a better idea of the magnitude and importance of the great staple trade which it represented. Further, it was hoped that the new Cutlers' Hall might once again be the great seat of municipal authority it had been in the past. On the first Thursday in September the culters' feast was held. At this the nobility and principal gentry of the neighbourhood were entertained with feasting and splendid entertainment, for which two hundred pounds was allowed from the corporation's funds.

All the world knew that this city was the centre of the metal industry and that the men of Sheffield were the sons of Vulcan. The major industrial establishments abutted the river Don, while smaller industries were to be found scattered among the houses. While Joseph Rogers and Son, cutlers to His Majesty, employed between four and five hundred men, the usual factory size was more like that of J. Marsh and Co. who, in 1818, employed thirty-two men. It was in multitudes of such factories that table and spring-knives, razors, scissors, files, saws, and edge tools of all kinds were manufactured, and shipped to all parts of the world. Silver and gold plating provided employment for a few, while many more cast fenders and stove grates, or made agricultural machinery and other metal implements. In the late 1820s as many as 12,000 out of 15,000 were metal workers. Small factories used water to power the grinding wheels while the larger factories — and by 1823 there were twenty of these — used steam engines for the purpose. This innovation was good for trade but bad for the health of grinders. Of 2500 grinders there were not thirty-five who reached fifty years of age: perhaps not more than twice that number who reached forty-five; and of eighty fork grinders (excluding boys) no one was older than thirty-six years of age. Grinder's asthma had increased as a result of men being employed for the task of grinding only and by the use of steam rather than river water for power. [1]

Living conditions were poor. Houses were close together, channels ran down the middle of the rough paved streets of the town and manure lay in heaps in the streets for weeks on end. Once a quarter water was let out of the ancient reservoir at the top

[1] 1 When the river water ran low the water-driven mills either ceased operation or operated only four or five hours a day. This gave the grinders a break from the confines of the mills.

of the town (after notice from the bellman), in order to clean down the more favoured sheets. As the water gushed downhill folk raked and mopped the sheets, washed their houses and windows and even their pigs to the excited yelling of children, the barking of dogs and the swirling of water. Over everything hung the pall of smoke from the foundries and furnaces which burned coal from the nearby coalfields day and night. The streets, if lit at all, were poorly lit. In many places the top storeys of houses almost met above the street, shutting out light. Taverns were numerous and intemperance common. Two thirds of the working class children grew up in comparative ignorance. Drinking and sexual intercourse began at an early age and the language of women was reputed to be twice as foul as that of the men. While in earlier years many working men had small gardens, by the 1820s the rapid growth of the town had destroyed many garden plots, and the younger generation became city dwellers. They spent their Sundays tossing coins, dog-fighting and drinking in the beer shops and London-type gin shops where they sat with their sweethearts until late at night. Working from daylight to dark, six days a week, they sought some of the pleasures of life which the gentry and professional people might enjoy over an average lifespan of forty-seven years, but for those employed in Sheffield factories it was not likely to exceed twenty. The mortality of children was appalling. Of the 11,944 deaths in the period 1837 to 1842, 6710 had been of children under nine years of age, and 8068 had died under the age of thirty. Add to this the horrifying lack of hygiene in the town, and its occasional outbreaks of cholera. The town survived mainly by the continual recruitment of workers from the adjacent countryside.[2]

But Sheffield was on the move. Its people were inventive and innovative. Between 1811 and 1825 George Kitchen was granted a patent for making portable sconces or branches, John Sorby invented a new way of making shears, John Stead was granted a patent for improvements to stage coaches and carriages, and Francis Cluley received from the Society of Arts their gold vulcan medal for his improved lithographic forceps.

In social facilities the town was taking itself in hand. 1816 saw the first sod of the Canal Basin turned. This would assist trade. Two years later a general improvement followed the passing of the Police Act and the incorporation of the Gas Light Company. The want of regular and efficient policing had long been evidenced in the town. Now the main streets were lit by gaslight but the back streets still had flickering oil lamps at great distance apart, so that the traveller had to grope his way in the dark winter night over unpaved roads abounding in stagnant waters. Gradually the streets were improved and in 1826 the main roads were macadamised. But it was the Police Act which brought about the greatest improvement. A rate was levied on all occupiers of houses and it was directed that on each Wednesday and Saturday every occupier

[2] E. R. Wickham. *Church and People in an Industrial Community*, p. 90ff. Lutterworth Press, 1957.

should sweep and cleanse the footway and channels in front of his dwelling before l0am and the dirt was to be put out of the way of carriages for removal by the "public scavenger"[3]. Fines were imposed for non-compliance, and for persons found guilty of emptying privies between 10am and midnight. It was also enacted that owners and occupiers of steam engines should "consume their own smoke".[4] This was never enforced. Under the same Act the public authorities were empowered to name streets and number the doors of the houses. Dogs roamed everywhere. In 1819 a small sum of money was given for every dog brought dead or alive to the pinfold and many thousands were slaughtered. It was held that the same thing should be done in Sheffield every five years. In 1827 the water supply to the town was upgraded and extended, and a new market replaced the old Shambles.

All this was the outward evidence of a spirit striving towards a better quality of life. Sheffield was not lacking in philanthropic men, but what was missing was the will to change the economic structure that wittingly or unwittingly oppressed the working class. The fixing of wages, which had operated under the Tudors, had long been in abeyance. In 1810 the cutlers and other workmen of Sheffield combined for the advancement of wages. To meet this threat the principal merchants and manufacturers formed, themselves into a union to resist the demands of the workmen. In May 1813, thirteen grinders were each sentenced to three months' imprisonment for combining to raise wages. In retaliation against employers who paid labourers less than the union wage, workers broke into such factories and destroyed the tools of those men who refused to join their union. In August 1815 several men were imprisoned for up to two years for such offences.[5] Outside circumstances often precipitated a depression of trade. When, in 1812, the American Congress prohibited the importation of British manufactures much distress resulted. Several riots broke out in April and riot mobs, composed mainly of women, destroyed thirty stands of arms of the local militia before the Dragoons could disperse them. In 1824 trade was again depressed. Of 1800 spring-knife workers only 800 were employed and from their earnings they had to support those who were out of work.

High prices, fluctuations in trade, and job insecurity led to a familiar vicious cycle. Eating houses and flour shops were attacked, public demonstrations were held, the Riot Act was read, the militia was called out and a public subscription was raised to relieve the poor. Yet among Sheffield's leading citizens were such men as Thomas Rawson who championed the poor against the rich. "A man of true patriotism; never flinching nor refusing his aid when he thought truth and justice required it, though it

[3] William White. *History, Guide and Description of the Borough of Sheffield,* Sheffield, 1833, pp, 70-76.

[4] ibid. p. 73ff. The enforced use of electricity has recently made Sheffield the fifth cleanest city in Britain.

[5] ibid. p.71.

was to vindicate the poor and weak against the rich and powerful." It was such men who were the true patrons of the poor. Through their exertions the Lancastrian schools were quickly taken up in Sheffield. A boys' school commenced in 1809. The girls' school followed in 1815. Instruction was basic and the charge was sixpence per quarter. Though such education was formal and rudimentary, the thirst for knowledge was avidly slaked. After commencing work tired mechanics and apprentices were able to continue their education through the establishment of the mechanics' library which, by 1824, had upwards of 3000 volumes on its shelves. Unfortunately a mechanics' institute had not been established in conjunction with the mechanics' library, and in this respect Sheffield lagged behind such centres as Huddersfield, Bradford and Chesterfield.[6]

With the acquisition of educational skills, the trade unions became more politically conscious. Between 1792 and 1822 any combination of workmen for political or economic purposes was regarded as seditious.[7] Workmen were therefore unprotected in hours and conditions of work and denied the right to protect themselves. This meant liberty for masters and repression for workers. Meanwhile such men as Robert Owen were establishing new patterns of industrial relations in the new Lanarch mills, working men were pressing for the trade unions to become legal, the Chartists were demanding parliamentary reform, thirteen hundred pauper families were a continuing burden on the taxpayer and such men as John Blackler, "king of the gallery", were committed to trial in York on the charge of collecting mobs of unemployed workmen and endeavouring to incite them to acts of outrage.[8] Sheffield was anxious for change. In 1818 the Sheffield reform petition was signed by 21,500 people and presented to the House of Commons by Sir Henry Burdett on 2 February. It was soon followed by a loyal address from the clergy, the gentry, part of the Cutlers' Company, and the Wesleyan ministers — who were reputed to be Tory voters to a man. That was the Sheffield to which Samuel and Mary Ironside came and in which their family grew up.

On both sides of their family there were roots in the Independent Church in Masboro which was also an early centre of the Industrial Revolution and known for its radicalism. Indeed Mary Ironside's grandfather, Isaac Bradbury, was well known as an "old Jacobin", and in this Mary's eldest son later gloried! Yet both Samuel and Mary had found their way into the Wesleyan Church. For Samuel the change of heart had come during an illness in the Sheffield Royal Infirmary in the mid 1790s. While there he fervently resolved to lead a Christian life in practice as well as in profession. He was a kind and affectionate man with an inflexible love of justice, — upright and conscientious in all his dealings, and bent on being useful by doing all the good that he

[6] ibid. p. 78.

[7] G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History*, Longman Green 1945, p. 479.

[8] William White. *History, Guide and Description of the Borough of Sheffield,* 1833, p. 76. This occurred in 1820.

could. Shortly after this illness, around 1796, he joined the Wesleyan Society, and began to preach about 1801. For Mary the change had been more prolonged but no less profound. In 1800 she was brought to a sense of sin under the powerful ministry of the Reverend Mr Groves at the Independent Chapel at Masboro. For more than two years she found no peace. In this state of mind she began to move in Wesleyan circles where her friends gently led her to find peace with God. This was about 1802. Mary was an intelligent and devoted woman who faced facts squarely, a capable organiser, possessed of a great capacity to endure pain and a willingness to put others' interests before her own. Thus, in the Masboro Society, Samuel and Mary met and their new-found faith became a strong bond binding their new interest in each other. They were married on 24 June 1804, at Rotherham in the West Riding. Their first child Isaac was born in 1808, and Sarah in 1811.

Employment opportunities in the new industrial cities were luring people away from the more rural areas, and before long the Ironsides were caught up in this trend. James and William Ironside of Rotherham took up apprenticeships in Sheffield in 1791 and 1792 respectively, and another William, Samuel Ironside's brother, moved into Sheffield early in the new century. For some time he led the singing in the Garden Street (Congregational) Chapel and later at the Nether Chapel. He was a stout and ponderous man whose musical ability was widely appreciated, as he led the old style non-conformist Psalmody from one of the side pulpits used for the purpose. It was at the Nether Chapel that his three children were baptised — John (1810), Lydia (1813) and Sarah (1819).

Samuel and Mary Ironside and their two children joined the family migration to Sheffield. Near the beginning of 1811, Samuel took a position as clerk in Longden and Walkers' Phoenix Foundry and soon he and Mary were active in the Wesleyan Church which, in Sheffield, had a romantic history. It was in Paradise Square on Thursday 15 July 1779 that John Wesley had preached to the largest weekday congregation of his career.[9] It was here also that Charles Wesley had been preaching with his back against the wall of Barkers' Pool when a soldier walked through the crowd, and pointed his sword at Charles' chest. Charles opened his waistcoat to receive the thrust, the soldier laid down his sword and cried out for mercy, a converted man! Such incidents had passed into local folklore.[10] Converts were grouped into classes, classes into societies and societies into the Sheffield circuit comprised in 1825, of four large chapels — Carver Street, Norfolk Street, Ebenezer and Bridgewater — with more than thirty preaching places in the surrounding villages. Most of these services were held at least twice on Sunday. Samuel was soon in the pulpit. For two quarters, February to April, and May to July, in 1811, the newcomer was put "on trial" until his acceptability was

[9] Nehemiah Curnoch (ed). *Journal of Rev. John Wesley,* Entry for 15 July 1779

[10] James Willis. *The Contrast; Or the Improvements of Sheffield* (poem) published in Sheffield by I. Blackwell, *Sheffield Iris* 1827.

proven. He was then placed on "full plan". In the first quarter he took eight double appointments (sixteen church services) in thirteen Sundays! Throughout 1812 he took three double appointments every four Sundays, and in the next three quarters he was taking ten, eight, nine, and for the period 1812-1814 inclusive he was averaging three double appointments every four Sundays.[11] It was during this time that James (1813) and Samuel (1814) were born. Samuel and Mary Ironside were utterly devoted to each other and to the Church. Samuel, affectionate and disciplined, was seeking to discharge the duties of husband, father, friend, citizen, and churchman. Mary, also devoted to the Church, organised her time within the family and accepted the constraints which her husband's preaching engagements constantly placed upon her. She attended class meetings to cultivate her own spiritual life, attended to the needs of her growing family, and only once a month in those early years was able to sit in the family pew with her husband. Family devotions were held regularly and such religious education as the children received was met in attending worship with their parents, or through the instruction of the Lancastrian school and the associated Sunday school.

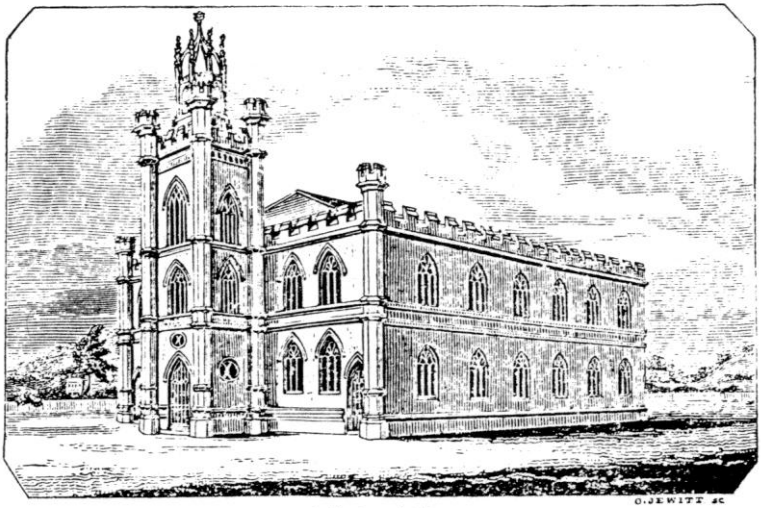
The coming of the Lancastrian school was a boon to Sheffield and to the Ironsides, who belonged to that rising section of the community too well off to qualify for the charity school but not well enough bred to be acceptable in the grammar school. Within six months of the visit of Mr Joseph Lancaster in 1809 the concerned Wesleyans and the Quakers of the community — the people who would support the mechanics' library — established the first Lancastrian school in a deserted rolling mill. By 1812 there were 718 pupils on the roll. Here Isaac Ironside received his early education and no doubt the other children followed in their elder brother's footsteps.

The curriculum was of the most elementary kind and the average length of time spent at school was nine-and-a-half months. From this experience the Ironside pupils had several advantages. The teaching in the school reinforced what they learnt at home and at Sunday school, for instruction was biblical but not sectarian and aimed to give civil as well as religious instruction. Elementary though the level of instruction was it came as rain on the desert. Every drop was absorbed. At the age of twelve Isaac began work as a stove grate fitter but his thirst for knowledge remained. After a hard day's work at Longden and Walker's Phoenix Foundry (where his father worked as clerk) Isaac pursued his education by attending Eadon's night classes and by joining the mechanics' library. In the former he was so diligent that he took the prize for mathematics offered by the *Edinburgh Review;* in the latter he read avidly, particularly on social issues, for the "old Jacobin" ancestry was stirring in his bones.

During this period Sheffield was growing in the direction of Shalesmore. There were still open fields and gardens in the area between the outspread fingers of arterial,

[11] Attendance at local preachers meetings was obligatory and took place on Wednesdays at 9am. Every local preacher with more than six miles to travel on a Sunday was at liberty to hire a horse at the circuit's expense.

industrial and housing development. Through the enterprise and generosity of Thomas Holly, who gave the site and contributed five hundred pounds towards the cost of the building, the Wesleyans built a chapel called Ebenezer to serve the rapidly growing area. The foundation stone was laid on 21 October 1822, and the building duly opened on 27 July 1823, at a cost of four thousand and sixty-nine pounds. It was a handsome stone building in Gothic style with an elegant tower surmounted by a wooden steeple above its entrance. The interior was extremely well fitted. A painted window was set in the rear wall above the communion table,[12] while galleries on three sides provided seating for 1599 people — including a special gallery for children. The best description of the interior is found in James Wills's poem *The Contrast.*



Ebenezer Wesleyan Chapel, Sheffield, built in 1823 in the new suburb of Shalesmoor where the Ironside family moved to about 1830. It was the church in which the Ironside family worshipped. It suffered severely during the agitation for Methodist reform in the middle of the century, and was eventually demolished in the 1960's as the district became increasingly industrialised.
Sheffield City Libraries.

As Samuel set up a pillar of stone
In mem'ry of what the Almighty had done,
So the Wesleyan Methodists now have set up
A beautiful chapel of wondrous scope
Called Ebenezer, the name doth imply
'Hitherto the Lord helped me, and still He is nigh.'
The altar piece window of beauteous hue

[12] Picture of Sheffield 1824.

Has paintings of crimson, red, yellow and blue.
Above, is a fine arched loft for the choir
With a body of singers who join in the quire;
In front of the altar the pulpit doth stand,
And beautiful vestries, one on each hand,
But what best of all, is the Ancient of Days,
Hath here shown His Presence in glorious rays.
Near it, a large school for the goodwill of man
Is taught on the best Lancastrian plan,
Where hundreds of children are fitted for life,
To become useful members for husband and wife. [13]

The opening sermons, part of the conference proceedings, were preached by three notable Wesleyans of the day, Dr Adam Clarke (morning), Rev. Jabez Bunting (afternoon) and Rev. Richard Watson (evening). While Dr Clarke was preaching, a form in the gallery is said to have broken, and the noise gave rise to the cry that the chapel roof was falling. Panic ensued. The greater part of the congregation stampeded, breaking 700 small panes of glass in their efforts to force an exit through the windows. Many people were injured but none was killed. This alarm seems to have been quickly forgotten, as crowded congregations assembled in the chapel week by week and no further untoward incidents occurred — except that Dr Clarke gave up opening chapels as this was the third such incident that he had experienced.[14] The congregation was a lively one. It had all the joy and vigour of a good new residential area and many of its members belonged to the rising middle class. In 1826 Samuel moved to "Queen's Foundry" and a year or two later established himself in his own business as a collector of debts. This was later extended to include real estate and accounting when Isaac, after a breakdown in health, was taken into the business. (This was about 1830.) The business acumen and integrity that lay behind Samuel's new venture soon meant that business prospered, and with this change in his circumstances the family moved to a house in Green Lane, just around the corner from Ebenezer Chapel. By this time James was working with an auctioneer, Sarah had been apprenticed as a milliner and young Samuel had just been apprenticed to a cutler.

It was a diverse yet closely knit household, kept in happy control by Samuel's affectionate yet inflexible sense of justice which had brought him the respect and trust of both his former employers and fellow workmen. Mary was a well-organised mother who supported her husband in all that he did. Living near the church, she was able to attend the monthly missionary prayer meetings held in the minister's vestry on the second Friday evening of the month and every Monday morning she set out on her

[13] James Willis. *The Contrast; Or the Improvements of Sheffield* p. 15.
[14] J. W. Etheridge. *The Life of Rev. Adam Clarke, LLD.* London 1858, p.346.

rounds to collect the pence or the shillings for the missionary society.[15] Isaac was studying all hours of the night even after attending Eadon's night school. He was showing great aptitude in solving problems in mathematics and was developing a thirst for knowledge that could help to change the lot of the poor. He was nimble minded and behind his quick answers usually lay an unsuspected awareness of social changes going on in the community. James was the harum-scarum of the family and always backed up Isaac who was considered the brains of the two. Sarah conducted herself with the decorum expected by her parents. Samuel, who was close to his mother, followed in the trade of her side of the family as a cutler. Diverse as they all were, the father's immense emotional calm and strength of personality enabled individual differences to emerge within the family and he encouraged them as a united family to participate in the activities of Ebenezer Chapel.

Every year the claims of missionary endeavour were placed before the congregations of the Sheffield Circuit. The recent visit of Rev. Samuel Leigh had shocked Sheffield as he canvassed the industrial towns for goods to commence the Wesleyan mission in New Zealand, whose inhabitants ". . . these beasts of prey in human shape, do Europeans cut and slay."[16]

Such gatherings introduced ordinary English people to countries and cultures vastly different from their own. They were exciting meetings and young Samuel Ironside accompanied his parents to hear men like Robert Young urge the cause of missions upon the liberality of the Ebenezer congregation. In later life he recalled how he:

> ". . . stood at the back of the densely crowded congregation and had rapturously listened to histories from the platform, of Gospel triumphs among the poor, downtrodden Negro slaves of the West Indies: as we listened we could readily make a mental picture of the scenes he described. The many thousands of dusky sons and daughters of Africa . . . who were in hopeless slavery, the mere chattels of the estates on which they lived, of less consideration in many cases than the valuable horses and cattle about them. These men — oppressed, but God loved — crowded out the churches, swarming up the window sills, and on the bare rafters of the roof, their big black faces, the tears running down their cheeks, the joyous shouts of glory to God — Hallelujah! as the preacher proclaimed God's universal love to man, even the despised Negro." [17]

Apart from the excitement of the foreign missionary meeting, the heathen at home were confronted with the claims of Jesus Christ. Revivalism was common in nineteenth century Wesleyanism, and Carver Street, the principal church in the circuit,

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[15] Mary Ironside commenced in 1826 and finished in 1848, during which time she collected £221-8-1. She also introduced others to the collectors' task.

[16] *The Contrast,* (above) p. 16.

[17] *NZ Methodist*, 7 November 1891.

had a tradition of it. In fact it was dubbed "a converting furnace", for in the purifying fires of revival, sinners were converted into saints just as the furnaces of Sheffield converted iron into steel.[18] It was at one of these gatherings that Samuel Ironside, as a lad of seventeen, found peace with God. In his journal for October 1842 he recalls his conversion:

> "The 2nd of October, 1831. God was pleased to convert my soul, and make me his happy child. After a faithful sermon by Brother Timothy Hayward, I stayed to the prayer meeting, and along with five or six others went to the penitent form and whilst kneeling before God and confessing my sins to Him with sorrow of heart, and endeavouring to exercise faith in the atonement, Jesus made hirnself known to my weeping soul and all my sin was gone. . . " [19]

It was a time young Samuel never forgot. It was the spiritual spring of his subsequent career. The change of heart that had begun in October 1831 left in him an insatiable longing for the sanctification of his whole life. A new seriousness pervaded his attitude and a quest for Christian perfection as a second blessing — to love God above all things and with all one's heart and mind and soul and strength — became the goal of his life.

For Isaac, also, events were taking a new turn. His interests in social justice had been widened by his work in the foundries. The mechanics' library, which aimed primarily at encouraging mechanics in the sciences that would keep Britain in a position of world leadership in the industrial field, also introduced him to the work of Robert Owen, whose philosophy and action were based upon the conviction that problems of the industrial age could be resolved by the application of reason. Owen's experiments at the new Lanarch mills were ample proof that, given the will to change the physical circumstances of a man's life, much could be done to change his whole attitude to life. Further, the universalist tendencies of his Wesleyan background found a secular humanitarianism in Jeremy Bentham's dictum of seeking the greatest good of the greatest number, and from his ancestral radicalism he believed, with Tom Paine, that all men are free and equal in respect of their God-given rights.

Jesus Christ, Robert Owen, Tom Paine, and Jeremy Bentham became the guiding stars in his educational heaven! Not all were approved by the patrons of the mechanics' library, but Isaac Ironside had a passionate feeling for the poor and oppressed, and as their champion he applied his problem-solving abilities to the improvement of their plight. His desire to do good — learned from his Wesleyan background — was given

[18] Such outbreaks occurred in 1801, 1818 and the Liverpool Conference of 1820 laid this matter upon every preacher and congregation.

[19] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 8 October 1842. At the dedication of the Ironside memorial at the Tuamarina church on 20 May 1953, M. A. R. Pratt said that this took place under the ministry of Rev. John McLean. Samuel Ironside's journal now reveals otherwise.

clear definition by Bentham's philosophical basis, from Tom Paine's practical hope, and from Robert Owen's proven methods.

By 1825 the trade unions had been legalised and agitation for parliamentary reform was in the air. The local Whigs had called a meeting in Paradise Square to consider a petition for an extension of the suffrage, the shortening of parliaments and an alteration to the mode of taking votes at elections. Recent travels in Ireland, where Isaac had seen the misery of 500 human beings scarcely protected from the weather and suffering from hunger, had confirmed his belief in the inability of a parliament that had given the Duke of Wellington £93,000 a year and reduced the wages of Kentish labourers to eighteen pence a day, to reform itself! He "longed for a voice as thunder and as powerful as lightning" to raise on behalf of the working classes.[20] Under the inspiration of Jeremy Bentham he moved an amendment for a full, fair and free representation of the people. Warnings that in pressing for too much the amendment might lead to no reform at all, and an appeal for unity in support of the petition, led to a defeat of Ironside's amendment by a proportion of two to one.

But Isaac, just 22 years old, had emerged as the recognized leader of a group of young radicals, lacking in political wisdom, but articulate, informed and with an intense love of justice and an ability to mobilise support. The immediate response of the Sheffield moderates was to bring him within the framework of the Sheffield Political Union which had been established in 1831. In this way it was thought to restrain his radical leanings. The following year was to be crucial for reform.

On 7 May 1825, 18,000 people assembled in Paradise Square to petition the House of Lords not to make any alteration in the ten pounds qualification clause, and an address to the king begged him to take measures for the security of the reform bill. On 8 May, it was learned that the ministers were in a minority in the House of Lords. On 10 May it was learned that Earl Grey and his colleagues had resigned. At six o'clock in the evening 20,000 people gathered in Paradise Square to petition the House of Commons to withhold supplies until grievances had been redressed, and the king was asked to recall his late ministers, create new peers and enable them to secure constitutional reform. Then 18 May saw Earl Grey recalled to office. On June fifth the third reading of the revised reform bill was passed and by 18 June Sheffield was wild with excitement. To celebrate the passing of this important bill nearly 30,000 people assembled in the wicker and on the grounds adjacent to the new cattle market. With bands and flags, the lodges and other societies of the town and neighbourhood, and nearly 5000 members of the political union, moved in a procession almost two miles long. The secret and other societies showed an unusual display of emblems and robes; the arch Druids appeared in their characteristic caps and gowns; John Caxton's successor, the oldest printer in Sheffield, paraded on horseback in a costume of the fourteenth century, leading decorated carriages of the printers' union on which two

[20] *Sheffield Iris,* 4 December 1830.

presses were at work. After this came various classes of workmen carrying specimens of their manufactured goods. They paraded through the streets and the procession then returned to its starting point, formed a hollow square, and after singing one of Ebenezer Elliott's hymns dispersed.

Members of the political union dined at the cricket ground and prepared for the coming election. Isaac Ironside was T. A. Ward's campaign secretary. On 8 May an outbreak of Asiatic cholera brought all political activities to a standstill. Thirteen hundred and forty-seven cases were reported and eventually 402 people died. Interment was enforced within a few hours of death. The dead were thrown together daily into large graves. A general fast day was held on 22 August, and not until November was the pestilence over and normal life resumed. On 12 December 1832, 30,000 people assembled opposite the Corn Exchange for the hustings. The master cutler presided. Four candidates came forward: Messrs Samuel Bailey, Thomas Asline Ward, John Parker and James Silk Buckingham. The show of hands was in favour of Ward and Buckingham, but a poll was demanded for it was impossible to tell which 3,504 people of the 30,000 present, were eligible to vote. John Parker polled 1515 votes, Buckingham 1498, Ward 1210 and Bailey 812 votes. For some reason the result was unpopular with the crowd which then expressed its disappointment by rampaging through the streets, breaking house and shop windows. The Riot Act was read and the military called out. The troops were stoned. The magistrate was injured. The troops fired. Three men and two boys were shot dead and two policemen were wounded, one mortally.

Having failed to get his candidate elected, Isaac Ironside turned his attentions to the newly established Mechanics' Institute which was sponsored by the political union. The system of universal education advocated by T. A. Ward agreed with his own aims. At the first major meeting of the Mechanics' Institute Isaac's speech led to his election to the organising committee and by the end of November 1832, when the first general meeting was held, not only had plans for general management been drawn up, but a comprehensive scheme of education including public lectures and classes had been devised. Through advocating universal education Isaac Ironside hoped to prepare the lower classes for enfranchisement. By his own hard- earned education he had risen financially and was becoming a major political force in the area. He hoped that by the same means franchise would become available to all and would lead to a rise in self respect and social and economic improvement of the people for whom he was concerned. Disillusionment came from two sources. First, the Whigs declared that the great reform bill of 1832 was the end of the reform of parliament. Isaac Ironside publicly declared himself a Chartist. That was in September 1838. Secondly, the body controlling the Mechanics' Institute (that is the philanthropic and religious Whigs of Sheffield) disapproved of his introducing books thought to be "subversive to the Christian religion" and his encouragement of discussions of controversial subjects. By the formal adoption of a hitherto unwritten rule, Isaac Ironside was dismissed from a

position as honorary secretary to the library. This was a bitter pill, but it gave him his head to explore new ways of achieving his goa1'free from the restrictions placed upon him by the political union. He now became the champion of the unfranchised working community in whose interests he spent considerable sums of his own money derived from his prosperous land and estate business. His first enterprise was to establish the Sheffield Hall of Science in March 1839. Later he became interested in agrarian communities — he was one of the promoters of the Queenswood community — and expressed his opposition to the iniquitous Corn Laws. On the latter question he made his position perfectly clear at a mass meeting in 1839. He was against the Corn Laws in principle — the principle being Bentham's greatest happiness of the greatest number — not the reasons of the landowners and capitalist who were manufacturing for profit, and who had the power of making the laws. He opposed the Corn Laws for what they did to people and would not be put off by anything less than a share in the suffrage for all working men. He appealed to working men to accept no palliatives, but always to say "We'll have the suffrage." [21] In the interests of the working people who were denied the vote Isaac moved an amendment pressing for an extension of the franchise as the only way to protect those unrepresented in parliament from the policies of those in power. James Ironside, supporting Isaac, also spoke with effect on the meeting, but the amendment was lost.

Isaac was now twenty-four years of age. He believed ardently in the necessity of education. His heart was as compassionate as his voice was loud against injustice. He was dedicated to the restructuring of society in such a way that all men's rights were recognized, for upon those rights each person's happiness depended. He was not anti-religious at this stage. He could still talk about doing good — a phrase to which Wesleyans gave special heed — because it was the way in which Jesus' public ministry was described, and it was the way John Wesley described the active involvement of his followers in doing good of every possible sort and as far as possible to all men,[22] whether they felt like it or not. Further, he could use biblical imagery when he spoke about the "redemption" of the poor by exerting moral and political pressure on the holders of power. He was seeking a practical expression of the Christian faith, taking into account the power of education to inform and free, and the effect of environment to fashion and ennoble individual lives. He had the ability to detach himself from a situation, assess it critically, and to ask pertinent, if disquieting questions. Indeed the impact of Isaac, and to a lesser extent James, upon Sheffield led an opponent to comment that "Sheffield had been a peaceful, stagnant bog until it had been invaded by a species of 'Ironsided Toad' that disturbed by its persistent croaking!" [23] This radical came from a loyally Wesleyan family whose father was a

[21] ibid. 29 January 1839.

[22] General Rules of the United Societies.

[23] Letter from John Salt, 22 August 1977.

lay preacher, whose mother collected for missions, whose youngest member had thoughts of becoming a minister, and whose leading church ministers were believed to have strong Tory sympathies.

The Waterhouse memorial window in Wesley Chapel, London shows John Wesley "ministering to the world". The portrait at the top is of John Waterhouse.

2

The Outworking of the Inner Force

When Isaac became more and more involved in politics, Samuel was becoming increasingly involved in the Church. For Isaac it was the outward journey to effect changes in the conditions under which working men lived: for Samuel it was the inward journey, the quest for Christian perfection that began to fascinate him for, as the Wesleyans taught, to do good you must be good. Therein lay the difference between the two brothers. It was in their philosophy of change. Both wanted change. Both inherited the Methodist obligation of doing good to all men. Isaac saw the evidence of remarkable changes in the lives of people brought about by changes in their working conditions.[1] For Samuel the reality of the change in his own life was similar to the changes he heard of in other people's lives, both in the class meeting he attended and when missionaries testified to the power of the Gospel in foreign lands. But for Samuel there was more. The Wesleyans were always talking about Christian perfection, for the spreading of which God had raised them up. Conversion and salvation were but the preliminary steps in the Christian pilgrimage. The Lord who saved them could also save them to the uttermost by renewing a right spirit within them. Nor was that to be attained in heaven: it was attainable in this life. The same faith by which the believer was justified before God was also the means to his sanctification, and every believer was urged to press on to that perfection of love to God and for all his fellow human beings. Furthermore, it was expected that every Methodist would be a propagandist for the new quality of life available through divine grace, and that from within the congregation would emerge men of gifts marked to carry yet further forward the work of renewal on the face of the earth for which God had raised up John and Charles Wesley. Nor would that work of renewal abate until the face of the whole earth was renewed in righteousness.[2]

By 1833 young Samuel Ironside was recognised as an "exhorter". Not having the right to preach, he was permitted to testify to the change that acceptance of Christ had made in his life and so to exhort others to take the same faltering steps of faith and commitment. His abilities were developing. Shortly afterwards he was teaching in the newly formed Wesleyan Sunday school where he made a closer acquaintance with Sarah, the sixteen-year-old daughter of William Eades, one of the cutlers in the congregation. Sarah had just been converted and was putting some of her energies into the Sunday school. They found a growing interest in each other as well as in their new-found faith. In September 1834 Samuel was received as a local preacher 'on trial'

[1] John Salt, "Isaac Ironside and the Hollow Meadows Farm Experiment," *Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research,* March 1960, vol. 12, no. 1.
[2] Sermons of John Wesley, "General Spread of the Gospel."

and six months later was placed on 'full plan'. That was no honorary position. In the Sheffield circuit all 'trial services' for local preachers were held at 6am on a weekday and all accredited local preachers in the circuit were expected to be present to assess the aspirant to their ranks. For young Samuel Ironside, just twenty years old, it meant preaching to a congregation containing over fifty preachers into whose ranks he would be accepted as a fellow labourer to service the twenty-six congregations in the Sheffield West circuit. There were forty-eight services to be taken every Sunday, so that any local preacher could be preaching almost every Sunday of the year.

Nor was the inward journey an easy quest. The seeker was obliged to meet in class, but was also encouraged to meet in smaller groups called 'bands' for more intimate fellowship and diligent quest.[3] Sometime between 1831 and 1836 Samuel Ironside experienced a unification of his whole being and such a love from God and for God that he was prepared to go anywhere and do anything for his Maker. To such a receptive and open spirit the call to the Wesleyan ministry came. How or when it came we do not know, but he was completely open to go where he was needed in the great cause of world evangelisation. Samuel realised that he owed everything he was to the undeserved grace of God — his time, property, influence — indeed his all was the property of Another whose steward he was, and Scripture plainly taught that stewardship should be exercised first, by giving himself to Christ, then by giving himself to the Church, and then, as a part of the Church, by carrying out God's gracious purposes in establishing His Church in every part of the globe for the salvation of the world.[4] When Samuel broke the news of his resolve to offer for the ministry, Mary Ironside burst forth into her own Magnificat, for when Samuel was born she and her husband had dedicated him to Christian missions if that should be the Lord's will. "My prayers are coming true!" she exclaimed to a puzzled son who had been kept in ignorance of his parents' baptismal prayer.

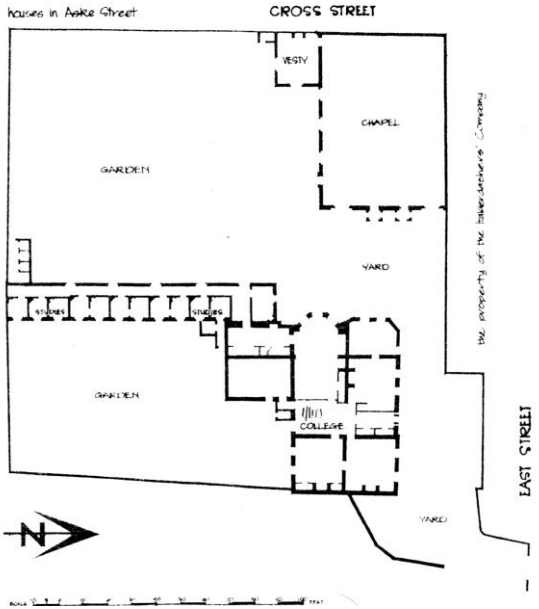
What Samuel now felt as an inner thrust towards holiness of heart and life was how Methodism felt itself to be in relation to the world. It was a world-leavening power. Dr Coke had crossed the Atlantic no less than eighteen times in the course of missionary enterprise and had died on the way to Ceylon to open a mission in the east. By 1813 the Wesleyan Missionary Society had been formed and by 1824 Wesleyan Methodism was not only convinced of its mission but also assured of the appropriateness of its

[3] In Methodism a band is a single sex group of not more than three people seeking Christian perfection.

[4] Allen Birtwhistle, *In His Armour,* Cargate Press, London, 1954, p. 181. Bishop Stephen Neil contends that over the last nineteen centuries, whenever and wherever the Christian movement emphasised disciple making, two things happened: generally new disciples have been made and churches planted, and generally the Christian community has had an influence out of proportion to its size. But, whenever the Christian message neglected disciple making and concentrated on other facets of Christ's work, then neither have disciples been made nor churches planted, nor has the Christian community had much social influence. *Church Growth Bulletin* March 1977.

polity to the missionary situation, for its polity had been formed in the intensive missionary situation of eighteenth century England.[5]

Preachers offering for missionary service were given a course of training in London, but the need was being felt for an adequate theological training for all preachers whether they offered for the foreign mission field or for the home circuits. In many places it was feared that any departure from the existing methods of training might fill young preachers' heads with theological learning, but empty their hearts of holiness and usefulness and thus abort the inner driving force of Methodism. In spite of these fears the conference of 1833 set up a committee of leading preachers and influential gentlemen to report on the proposal, and in the following year the Hoxton Wesleyan Theological Institution was opened. To allay fears concerning any loss of training in holiness, a supernumerary minister, eminent in saintliness and of proven usefulness, was appointed house governor. Nevertheless the institution was not opened without a deep rent in the unity of Wesleyan Methodism.



Ground plan of Hoxton Theological Institution. This was the first Wesleyan seminary in the United Kingdom. Formerly owned by the London Missionary Society for the training of its missionaries, it was opened in 1834 for the training of Wesleyan ministers. Samuel Ironside was admitted with the third group of students to enter. Unfortunately, no print or engraving is known to exist. This ground plan has been supplied by the courtesy of Rev. Kenneth B. Garlick. The chapel was not part of the theological institution.

[5] *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1824 p. 609.

Dr Samuel Warren, a member of the preparatory committee, had concurred in its findings. Discovering that one of his nominations was not accepted and that he had no office in the establishment, Warren suddenly veered around and declared his opposition to the whole scheme. Others who wished to revolutionise the polity of Wesleyan Methodism by giving it a more democratic character, rallied to his ranks. Money was raised, public meetings were held, agents were sent out to agitate in the circuits, and every means employed to bring the authorities into disrepute. Dr Warren was put on trial for a breach of discipline. Appeal to the Court of Chancery was ruled against by both the Vice Chancellor and the Lord Chancellor. It remained to be seen whether the conference of 1835 would yield to the clamour of the agitators.

Sheffield, the hotbed of political reform, was the venue of the conference. One hundred preachers assembled there in July. A large number of trustees of chapels, and gentlemen from all parts of the kingdom met there at the same time to assure conference of their determination to stand by the maintenance of Methodist discipline. A band of "self-styled delegates" demanded a meeting with the conference to come to a settlement on the modification of Wesleyan polity. They were peremptorily dismissed on the ground that they could not claim to represent any circuit. Dr Warren was severed from the connexion and the theological institution proceeded on its way under the vigilant eyes of its disappointed opponents.

How this affected the Ironsides we do not know but suspect that it further weakened Isaac's waning allegiance to the church of his upbringing. Yet Methodism was not unaffected by democratic demands, especially in the demands for education. Isaac Ironside ardently advocated universal education and many Wesleyans were anxious for the provision of educational opportunities for their children. Indeed, Wesleyan Methodism was about to embark upon a programme of encouraging the establishment of schools in connection with all of its principal circuits. Thus, in 1838 Sheffield opened the Wesleyan Proprietary Grammar School to provide a more advanced level of education for those capable of taking it and willing to meet the costs. This was not a cheap desire to meet a popular demand. It was seen as an outworking of the Wesleyan vocation to holiness. Dr Waddy, then superintendent of the Sheffield circuit, argued that ignorance is unfriendly to the wellbeing of nations because appetite replaces reason and principle; it demoralises, leading to the tyranny of jealousy and suspicion, which in turn are opposed to human happiness. Further, he argued that secular knowledge is insufficient to promote the wellbeing of the nation, for education which does not involve religious instruction is defective in principle as it considers man as intellectually fallen only. An enlightening of the understanding does not necessarily control the passions or regulate the affections. He also argued that a student should be taught to draw maxims and principles from the Scriptures so that character and life are moulded on that model. He was critical of the Irish system of non-sectarian religious instruction because it had mutilated part of the Scriptures. Three things — the

Scriptures, catechism and worship — must be present for a full religious education to be effective.[6]

Behind this philosophy of education was John Wesley's longstandmg conviction that knowledge is not necessarily a virtue. To bring the two together was part of Wesley's vocation, and Charles Wesley had phrased the issue in his hymn composed for the opening of Kingswood School in 1748:

> Unite the pair so long disjoined
> Knowledge and vital piety![7]

The same principle applied to all levels of Wesleyan education, and particularly to the theological institution, which was entrusted with training the leaders for spreading scriptural holiness throughout the world. For this reason the key appointment was that of the house governor, to which position Rev. Joseph Entwisle was appointed, partly because he had been called into the itinerancy by John Wesley, partly because he had twice been the president of the conference, but principally because he was revered as a saint. His task was to meet the students in class once a week, stimulate their growth in spiritual maturity, and to have the principal share in the formation of their ministerial character. For piety was essential for usefulness in the ministry.

Entering the institution was itself a prolonged and hazardous experience, for tests were applied in both the quarterly meeting of the circuit[8] and by the district meeting within which the candidate resided. Having gained the support of these two courts of the church, the candidate was then recommended to the conference to be received for theological training. The tests applied were not such as would qualify a man for a profession, but were designed to probe the reality of his vocation. Samuel Ironside came before the March quarterly meeting of the Sheffield West circuit in 1836 and was nominated to the district meeting. That year the district meeting was in Sheffield. Six candidates came forward. They were John Ineson, aged twenty-nine, a farmer from Doncaster currently employed as a hired local preacher in the Barnsley circuit: George Bingham, aged twenty-six, of the Chesterfield circuit: George Green, twenty-four, of the Sheffield West circuit: Francis Taylor, twenty-two years, of the Retford circuit: Samuel Ironside, twenty-one years; and one other. For upwards of three hours the preachers of the district applied themselves to the exacting task of assessing whether each candidate was "truly moved by the Holy Ghost to preach the Gospel." It was an exacting personal examination, for Wesleyans believed that for a minister four things were essential — faith, experience, practice and gifts. One who is to preach the

[6] Samuel D. Waddy, "Religious Education Necessary for National Well-being" *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,* 1838 p. 356ff.

[7] A. G. Ives, *Kingswood School in Wesley's Day and Since,* Epworth Press, London 1970, p. 21.

[8] A circuit is a group of Methodist congregations comprising one administrative unit. A district is a similar group of circuits.

Gospel must first be regenerated himself, gifted for the work of the ministry, and then moved by the Holy Spirit to undertake that work. Nor were these things to be assumed without proof in the form of positive evidence that what a candidate claimed was actually so.[9] Each candidate was invited to recount the story of his conversion, subsequent growth in holiness and sense of vocation. An oral examination in theology followed to assess both the candidate's understanding of Wesleyan doctrine and his ability to think and speak clearly and acceptably. Next, his record as a local preacher was reviewed, especially in regard to his ability to awaken faith in his hearers. Each was asked whether he had read and signed the general minutes of the conference, thereby accepting the polity and discipline of the church to which he was offering himself as a preacher, for it was a fundamental rule of the Wesleyans that the preachers acted as a team. It was further enquired whether the candidate had any matrimonial engagement (for upon acceptance it was the rule that marriage could not take place until the four years of probation had been completed), and whether the accepted candidate was offering for work in England or in the foreign mission field. Richard Treffrey, the chairman of the district, reported that all candidates gave "universal satisfaction" except one who, in former years, had broken a matrimonial engagement and the district meeting was not quite satisfied that the engagement had been honourably terminated. Satisfied on that count, the district meeting would be sending him forward to the conference also.

It is significant of the climate of the times in the Sheffield district, that all candidates were offering for foreign mission work. As John Ineson put it, a candidate was "willing to go to the ends of the earth if you send him."

The report on Samuel Ironside was brief:

> "Samuel Ironside: Sheffield West Circuit — aged 21 — was converted four years ago, professes now to be sanctified. Small in stature, but enjoys good health — a cutler by trade — possesses more than ordinary intellectual capacity — preaching talents acceptable. Has a matrimonial engagement — offers himself for foreign work."

When the London preachers met in July the only additional comments noted on him were "promising. . . of no common capacity . . . accepted. . . [Dr] Hannah's list. . . Home or missions." [10] Thus we catch a glimpse of Samuel Ironside at the age of twenty-one. He was small of stature, fair haired and of robust health. He had trained as a cutler and had advanced sufficiently in his trade to enter into a matrimonial engagement to Sarah Eades, with whom he had served as a Sunday school teacher. He was of undoubted mental capacity, a local preacher of acceptable if comparatively under-developed gifts. Of all the children he was closest to his parents in their goals

[9] William Arthur, *The Tongue of Fire,* London, Charles H. Kelly. 1856, pp. 130, 142.
[10] *Notebook on Candidates* (microfilm). Mitchell Library Sydney.

and aspirations and had not only the mark of the family integrity upon him but had sought and attained some degree of Christian perfection. He was one of fifteen from among eighty-five candidates who were selected for training in the theological institution at Hoxton. As for where he should serve, that was an open question upon which he was prepared to accept the guidance of the conference.

Among those who entered Hoxton with Samuel Ironside was Charles Creed, a Nottingham farmer who was later to work in the New Zealand missions and for whose linguistic ability Samuel Ironside was to have the highest regard.[11] Those who were a year ahead of him included John Hunt, a farmer from Lincolnshire who was to become the Wesleyan "apostle" to Fiji, John H. James, son of one of the general secretaries,[12] and Francis Tuckfield who was to establish the bush missions to the Australian Aboriginals.[13] And, in the year following his entry were such men as William Arthur, James Calvert and Charles de Wolfe who exercised distinguished ministries in India, Fiji and Canada.

Hoxton differed from the dissenting academies of the day by being founded by the connexion as an integral part of Methodist mission to the world. The students were already accepted preachers of proven ability and their training was to promote a higher degree of knowledge and piety to better equip them for their missionary function. The buildings were over two hundred years old and just prior to the Methodist occupancy had been used by the London Missionary Society. With extensive renovation they were capable of housing up to thirty students in rather "prison-like" quarters, three students to a room, in a "rabbit warren" of a building. The effect of these conditions upon student health was alarming.[14] Nevertheless the aim of training a ministry raised up to win the world for Christ, was zealously pursued.

The course was normally of two years' duration, and was intensive, seeking not only to give theological training, but also to remedy deficiencies in the general education of the students. The day began at 6.30am. Mid-day and evening meals were taken by internal and external students together, and Morning Prayer was said on Wednesdays and Sundays. All three staff members shared in the teaching of English grammar, geography, history, mathematics, natural philosophy, logic and philosophy. Dr Hannah, the theology tutor, taught systematic theology, Christian evidences, Church history, the history of doctrine, Methodist doctrine and polity. Rev. Samuel Jones took classes in biblical criticism, Hebrew, Latin, Greek and Roman history. The house governor, in addition to the general pastoral oversight of the students, taught homiletics and pastoral theology.

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[11] NZ *Methodist,* 26 September 1891.

[12] *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,* October 1891, p. 730.

[13] NZ *Methodist,* 4 July 1891.

[14] W. Bardsley Brash, *The Story of Our Colleges, 1835-1 935,* Epworth Press, 1935, pp. 46,

Teaching methods were compendious rather than selective, and the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures was assumed. Darwin's theory of evolution had not yet challenged the Church but the growth of popular education was already disposing some of the younger preachers towards confused thinking. Hence one of the foundation purposes of the institution was to enable students at the outset of their ministerial careers "to fix their attention on God's inspired Word, as the only source of revealed and saving truth" and to develop the most useful methods of "searching, weighing and applying the sacred contents." [15] All the staff were preachers and were there to train preachers. A later colleague gives us a picture of Dr Hannah at work: "He usually sat to deliver his lectures, but when he stood up he firmly gripped the sides of the rostrum with rigid arms, and bounced his body up and down. His voice was undisciplined by elocution and in the pulpit was an easy target for would-be detractors. He prepared his lectures as he would prepare a sermon — for that was his craft — and delivered them with a passion for righteousness that culminated in an exhortation often lasting ten minutes, that left the students in silent awe of their calling." [16]

The breadth of the course was staggering and taxed both staff and students — but then another object of the institution was to train the students in diligence. Had not John Wesley decreed, "Be diligent. Never be unemployed. Never be triflingly employed?"[17]

If the lecture load was demanding, equal stress was placed upon the development of the students' personal piety.[18] This was achieved in part through the weekly class meetings. The house governor was the class leader and it was his task "to take every opportunity of promoting their personal piety." [19] It was hoped that to this duty Mr Entwisle would give his "assiduous and exclusive attention" and that such a model of "sanctity and pastoral diligence" would inspire the students to emulate his example. In addition to this the students were expected to develop their own devotional life through individual and corporate prayer, and as inwardly impelled, to meet in "bands" in the intensive quest for "entire sanctification". A visit from Rev. John McLean, a well known evangelist in the connexion, intensified the quest among the students. This was in the latter part of 1836. In November John Hunt heard of a love feast (a meal where religious joy was expressed) at Brixton, where eleven or twelve people professed to have enjoyed entire sanctification and added that some in the college also knew of that experience. Samuel Ironside was one. Hunt and Ironside now met in bands. Others in the college were entering daily into this experience. Hunt records: "I

[15] "General View of the Principles and Objects of the Wesleyan Theological Institution". *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,* 1834, p. *861ff.*

[16] *New Zealand Wesleyan.*

[17] *Twelve Rules* of *a Helper,* minutes of several conversations, p. 12.

[18] Alfred Barrett, *Life of the Reverend John Hewgill Bumby,* p. 193, and Allen Birtwhistle, *In His Armour,* p. 269.

[19] *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,* 1834, p. 863b.

do not expect to be happy until I get fully sanctified." On Thursday, 24 November, he received the gift. "As soon as I ventured, I found the Lord faithful to His promise, and the blood of Christ, at that moment, cleansed me from all sin. Since then I have found constant peace and sometimes ecstatic joy. . . I now find daily, what for years I have thought impossible — to live without condemnation. Thank God all is peace and calmness." [20]

As accepted preachers the students were not idle at the weekend. The old Wesley principle of combining theory and practice applied to Hoxton also. London was chosen as the site of the theological institution because there were large areas of the city untouched by the Gospel, and it was expected that the students, if not preaching to a congregation, would be venturing abroad in the courts, lanes and alleys of the metropolis and in the most destitute parts of the surrounding countryside.[21] A preacher must be toughened for his work, and a ready ability to communicate with the ignorant and profligate was as essential as an ability to encourage the mature Christian. As long as weather permitted, the students took their stand out of doors at 7am and again in the afternoon, among the careless, the depraved and the destitute, and sometimes in the neighbourhood of the gin shops. Results were not always as expected. When one student failed to return it was a disturbed house governor who had to secure his release from police custody for breaching the peace!

Those designated for missionary service had additional studies such as basic physiology and medicine, but the expanding horizons of the nineteenth century world were constantly revealing new sights and human needs which were soon gathered up in Hoxton's fervent prayers for missions. Into these meetings came "missionary intelligence" from various parts of the world, and those who were already in the field were regarded as brothers by those who were preparing to join them. Ironside and Hunt expected to go to the South African mission and had already entered into correspondence with Rev. George Green about the necessary outfit, but the "intensely pathetic appeal — 'Pity Poor Feejee' — written by the Rev. James Watkin at the request of the Friendly Islands district meeting . . ." so deeply roused the sympathies of English Methodists, that the missionary committee determined at once to reinforce the little band — David Cargill and William Cross — who had begun work in Fiji a year or two before. John Hunt and James Calvert, another student, accepted the call of the committee, and without delay made preparations, and sailed for Fiji via Sydney, in April 1838. [22]

> "Just at this time a good deal of attention was [also] drawn to the islands of New Zealand. They were thought to be well adapted for English settlements. A large

[20] Allen Birtwhistle, *In His Armour*, p. 50.
[21] *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,* 1834, p. 865.
[22] NZ *Methodist,* 29 November 1890.

scheme of colonization was set on foot by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and a strong and influential company in London. It was anticipated that if the scheme were successfully floated, there would be considerable emigration thither. [The] Missionary Committee feared that complications might arise from the presence of English settlers among the Maoris, who were just awakening from heathenism, and ready to receive the Gospel." [23] In conjunction with the Church Missionary Society the Wesleyans made strong representations to the British Government against the proposed move, but when the scheme seemed certain to proceed, the missionary committee resolved to strengthen the staff of the Wesleyan mission in New Zealand as well. In 1837 there were only five Wesleyan missionaries in New Zealand and they were all stationed in Northland — at Mangungu and Newark on the Hokianga Harbour and at Kaipara.

Samuel Ironside in 1838.
This photograph was given to Bernard Gapper, Nelson.
Through Mr Gapper's *family* it came into the possession of M. A. Rugby Pratt.

[23] ibid.

The missionary committee surveyed its resources and at the annual meeting of the Wesleyan Missionary Society its programme of missionary expansion was launched in conjunction with the massive celebrations planned for the centenary of John Wesley's conversion. Special sermons were preached on the Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Sunday in strategic Methodist churches in London, and on Sunday 29 April, all Wesleyan chapels in London and the surrounding areas held missionary services. All this led to the annual public meeting of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, held in Exeter Hall. No former Sunday missionary services were said to have been of a more hallowed character, or better attended, or more deeply impressed by the sermons, and for the people meeting in Exeter Hall expectations were high. At 11am Rev. Edmund Grindrod, president of the conference, took the chair. After opening worship John Hardy was called to the chair. The senior missionary secretary, Dr Bunting, gave a resumé of the year's work. There were 66,007 communicants on the mission field — an increase of 4,204. There were 49,280 in mission schools. Forty-nine missionaries and their wives had been sent out to widely scattered parts of the globe during the year. Receipts had increased by £5,891 to £73,875, but expenditure greatly exceeded income. Then resolution followed resolution, and speech followed speech. The Reverend John Hawtrey, minister of St John's Chapel, London Road, moved the duty and necessity of more fervent prayer and augmented liberality for the conversion of the whole world to the faith of Jesus Christ. Peter Jones, dressed in his native costume as an Indian chief, told of how the labours of the missionaries in his own country had been blessed by God and pleaded for the Indians between Lake Huron and Hudson Bay. In the absence of Lord Ashley, Mr George Finch moved that "This meeting . . . regards with peculiar interest the mission lately undertaken to the dark and cannibal population of the Feejee Islands." He proposed reinforcement of the important mission in New Zealand, and the measures in progress for the religious instruction of the Indian tribes of British North America.

Nor were public questions and human rights overlooked. Resolutions were passed concerning the abolition of all regulations and usages whereby British officials gave tacit approval to the idolatries and superstitions of the heathen; the government was urged to refuse recognition of any scheme of colonisation in New Zealand that would tend to obstruct or counteract the influence of Christian missionaries among the Maori people; the question of legalising negro marriages was demanded to be authoritatively settled forthwith; the land claims of the Indians in Upper Canada were urged to be secured to them without interruption or molestation. The Reverend Robert Newton announced the offering and was received with "great cheering". He appealed for generosity. Cheers arose from all parts of the building.

> "We cannot stand still," he urged. "Dare we attempt to do so?"
> Someone in that vast hall cried out, "No!"
> "Shall we sound a retreat?" he challenged. "Shall we retrograde a single step? Beat a retreat indeed! God forbid!" Then turning to Mr Waugh, he cried, "Shall

we begin with Ireland Mr Waugh?"
"No! No!"
"Shall we begin with the West Indies, Mr Frazer?"
"No! No!" responded Mr Frazer.
"Mr Clough, shall we begin with the East Indies?"
"No. Not in Ceylon nor on the continent of India," called Mr Clough.
"Brother Jones, shall it be with you?"
"No, Sir, never, we must hold you fast now!" replied Mr Jones.
"Where then shall it be? Shall it be in Australia, Brother Waterhouse?"
"No. No."
"That again is decided in the negative. . ." commented Robert Newton, and pressed his conclusion.

"To an outward course we are called by the doors which Providence has thrown wide open for our entrance. . . By the ashes of the departed, . . . by the sainted spirits before the throne of Jehovah we are urged to maintain to the utmost of our power that holy cause, which living and dying was so dear to their hearts. And I trust, Sir, we may say with truth that we are called to the same outward course by the dawning at last of a brighter day than our darkened world has ever witnessed since days began their round . . . and when myriads of races shall be heard from the east, from the west, from the north and from the south, bursting forth in a loud and rapturous sound, 'Now is come salvation, and strength, and the Kingdom of our God, and the power of His Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever. . .' That being so, I anticipate from this meeting a collection worthy of the cause." [24]

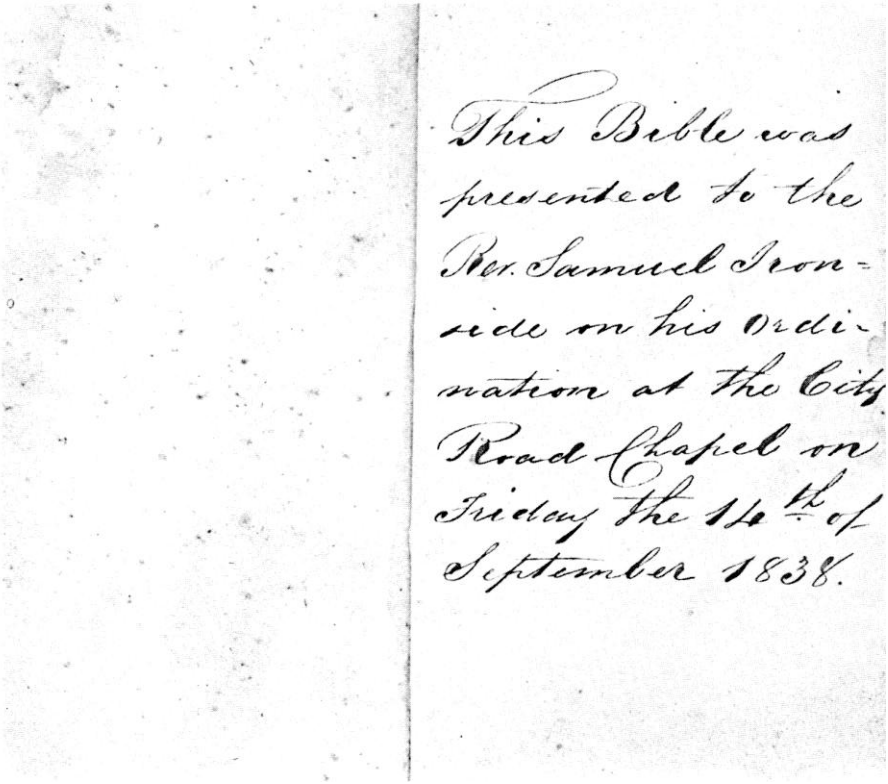
In the resolution of appreciation to the secretaries, Dr Bunting took the opportunity to say farewell to his colleague, Rev. John Waterhouse, who was shortly to sail for Australia. Waterhouse, quite overwhelmed, replied in words that were to be prophetic: "I do most humbly. . . offer myself before you, a sacrifice upon the missionary altar. I give my life, my all to God. . " [25]

Back in the mission office it was determined that John Bumby should be chairman of the New Zealand district and that John Warren, Charles Creed and Samuel Ironside should reinforce the mission in that country; that John Waterhouse should be general superintendent for Australasia and Polynesia; that John Eggleston should assist in Hobart Town. Conference in July approved of these recommendations, and Samuel Ironside was recommended for ordination and given permission to marry. He hurried to Sheffield, where all preparations for his marriage and journey had to be undertaken. Sarah was quietly confident of her fiancé for whom she had waited throughout his

[24] Two hundred and sixty pounds was given.
[25] *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,* 1838, p. 472b.

collegiate years. It was a time of very mixed feelings. For Samuel and Mary Ironside it was with gratitude to God that their son had been honoured to undertake a part of the greatest work on earth, yet for Mary it meant parting with the child to whom she was closest in spirit and aims. Samuel had already made the break from home when he went to London to enter the theological institution. For the twenty-year-old Sarah it was a multiple break — from the joy and security of her family, her church, her city and her country to accompany the one she loved to the ends of the earth, perhaps never to return.

The marriage took place in Trinity Church on Friday 24 August 1838 with Isaac and Elizabeth Ironside as the witnesses. There were preparations for the journey to be finalised and on Friday 14 September the ordination and valedictory service would take place in London. By this time John Hunt, of the earlier missionary party, was in Somosomo, Fiji. Now the second reinforcement for the Australasian and New Zealand mission field was being assembled and the sailing ship *James* was already provisioning in the Thames.


This Bible was
presented to the
Rev. Samuel Iron-
side on his Ordi-
nation at the City
Road Chapel on
Friday the 14th of
September 1838.

The front page of the Ordination Bible presented to Samuel Ironside on 14 September 1838.

Long before the time appointed for the commencement of the valedictory service, Wesley's Chapel in City Road, London, was excessively crowded in every part. Somewhere, no doubt in that vast congregation, was a contingent from Sheffield, including the Ironsides and the Eades. The official party entered. They were the president of conference, Rev. Thomas Jackson, Dr Hannah of Hoxton Theological Institution, Rev. Robert Alder, one of the general secretaries of the missionary society, and they took their places on the central platform. The seven ordinands sat in the pews to the left: the four to be farewelled sat in the pews on the right. Several were destined for New Zealand, one each for Nova Scotia, Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Newfoundland. After the opening worship three of the ordinands were called upon to speak. Samuel Ironside was one:

> "I should be guilty of the blackest ingratitude to God, were I to forget what I owe to the Theological Institution. If I have any clear views of Wesleyan theology — if my mind and religious character have received anything like stability — if I have gained any general knowledge of literature — I owe it to the Institution. There my piety was nurtured, increased and strengthened and there my missionary zeal was fostered and inflamed. Long as I live that place will be dear to my affections, and, with its supporters will have an interest in my prayers." [26]

The president read the Epistle (Ephesians 4:7-13) and the Gospel (John 10:1-16) and addressed the traditional questions to the candidates. The candidates knelt. A great silence filled the crowded chapel. The president led in prayer. The hands of the president, Thomas Jackson, the ex-president Jabez Bunting, Dr Hannah from the theological institution, Revs. Treffrey (Samuel Ironside's district chairman), Alder, Beecham and Hoole (mission secretaries) were laid upon the head of each ordinand and the Holy Spirit invoked for the power to fulfil their ministries.

Waterhouse, Bumby, Eggleston and Jones now came forward. The president spoke of the record of each man, and they spoke of their response to the call of the mission field and what they were each charged to accomplish. Then to the ordinands the president said:

> "Next to your conversion this is the most important day of your lives. You will recollect from this day that you are all devoted men, from this time, you are to be men of one business, that of saving your own souls, and as much as lies in you, the souls of all the people to whom you can have access. . . . Your business is not to make proselytes of these men, but to convert them, and effect their regeneration through the grace of the Holy Spirit. You are not to be satisfied with teaching savage men the arts of civilized life, or with merely reforming their outward conduct: you are to persevere in your labour until they are justified and

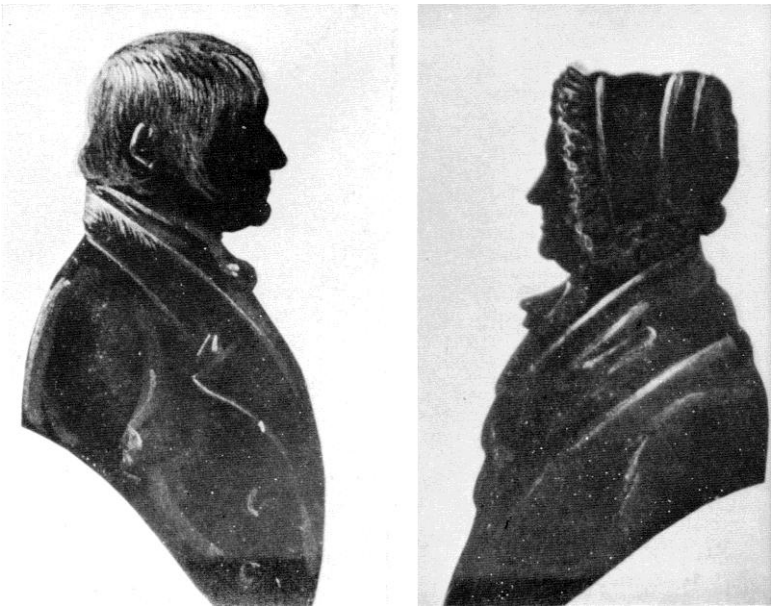
[26] ibid. 1838, p. 785. Also *Sheffield Iris*, 25 September 1838.

> sanctified in the name of the Lord Jesus. . . Remember too that you labour in a cause that must eventually triumph over all opposition. . . ."

Then to John Waterhouse and those with him, he said,

> ". . . vain, uncertain and fleeting is the life which we now live . . . We sorrow at parting: yet I marvel not at the choice you have made. . . . That man especially doeth the will of God who goes to 'preach among the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ.' My dear brethren in Christ, farewell. Your Master and ours is fitting up a home above. Go on in this work, and we will meet you there. Farewell!"

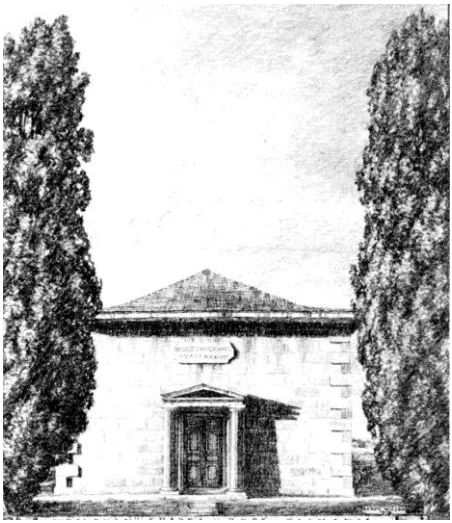
Somehow what was said by one was silently said by all, for Thomas Jackson was voicing the feelings and thoughts of so many who watched their loved ones set apart for this, the highest form of Christian service they could conceive.



Samuel Ironside sen, 1773-1846, and Mary Ironside, 1775-1850.
After leaving for missionary service in New Zealand, these silhouettes were the only visual link Samuel Ironside had with his parents.

Samuel Ironside was a thorough Wesleyan. By upbringing he had the example of parents who had chosen the Wesleyan way; by conversion under Wesleyan preachers he had received new dimensions of life which no others had given him; by fellowship his interior life had been enriched and invaded by an abiding sense of benediction; by invitation and direction his youthful powers had been employed in spiritual service. The theological institution had developed his literary interests and skills as well as

widening and deepening his general education. It had given him clear understanding of the doctrines he was to preach and a clear vision of the goal to be pursued. Those under whom he trained had high views of the ministry especially as it concerned the powers of the keys of the kingdom. Now by ordination he had been authorised to act as the agent of the church he loved and to fulfil his calling in its company and with its support. To one who believed he was descended from the last of the Saxon kings the touch of kingship was strengthened as he entered into the service of the King of Kings.



Wesleyan Chapel, Ross, Tasmania. A pencil drawing by Wm. Hardy Wilson, 1881-1955.
National Library of Australia.

The day before embarking for Hobart Town, the missionary party was called to the mission office to meet the twenty-four members of the missionary committee. It was a sobering occasion. Present was Rev. W. H. Rule just returned from Gibraltar, broken in health, yet urging the secretaries to find a new superintendent for the school and resume the preaching among the Spanish people which he had been forced to abandon. The zeal was the same but the health of those setting out and the one who had returned was in marked contrast. The president spoke about the terms of missionary appointments in Australia and New Zealand. One of the treasurers, Mr Farmer, reminded them of the necessity for making missionary funds go as far as possible by avoiding unnecessary expenditure. Dr Sandwith gave them some final advice about health; Mr Waterhouse replied and the missionary party was commended to God by the prayers of two members of the missionary committee.
Samuel Ironside left with the distinct impression that he was eligible to return to the land of his birth after ten years service in New Zealand.

3

The Journey Out [1]
1839

It was a race against time. The New Zealand Company's plans to settle colonists in New Zealand had been opposed by both the Church (Anglican) and the Wesleyan Missionary Societies, and the annual meeting of the Wesleyan Missionary Society had enthusiastically supported that action. Yet the plans were proceeding and it was in the hope of being able to cushion the Maori people against the shock of European settlement that the mission staff was being reinforced and extended. One would hardly have thought that the company of high-minded Wesleyans assembling on the deck of the *James* would be any match for the interests that would despatch the *Tory* to Port Nicholson, the *Fifeshire* to Nelson Haven, and the *William Bryan* to Taranaki. Nor was it simply pecuniary reasons that determined the route to be taken by the *James.* In contrast with the New Zealand Company's vessels, which sailed via Bahia in South America, the *James* was to sail around the Cape of Good Hope and then direct to Hobart. Apart from a few hours in Cape Town the passengers would not set foot on land for five months. Urgency was required. The staff already on the New Zealand mission field was becoming discouraged by disappointed hopes of additional support, while every week and month delayed meant a difference in the eternal state of some primitive New Zealanders. To cope with the long periods of boredom which the route entailed, those on board were expected to be sustained like those at home — by the routine of Sunday worship, class meetings, private devotions, missionary prayer meetings and the innocent amusements and happenings of life together for months on the endless ocean.

For the Rev. John Waterhouse, the new general superintendent of Wesleyan missions in Australasia and Polynesia, it meant the uprooting of his family and settling in a new country. He was forty-nine years old, and had spent twenty-nine of those years travelling in English circuits. With his wife Jane, and their ten children, it was unlikely that they would ever return to their native land. In addition to caring for his own family, he was to be responsible for the oversight and deployment of his colleagues throughout the vast mission area. In the meantime he would meet with the preachers in class, preparing them in mind and spirit for their work, and in the course of the journey was to earn their respect and affection as he fashioned each for their individual needs in the task ahead.

[1] The only known journal recording this voyage is that of J. H. Bumby. Extracts from this were printed in *The Life the Reverend John Hewgill Bumby,* Alfred Barrett, J. Mason, London, 1852. In spite of extensive efforts to locate the voyage journals of John Waterhouse and Samuel Ironside, these have not been found.

John Bumby was the new chairman of the New Zealand district. He was a bachelor, aged thirty-one years. Travelling with him was his sister Mary who was to care for him. For John Bumby time on this journey would hang heavily. The excitement of the decision to leave England and his wide circle of admirers — for he was a gifted pulpit orator with an assured future in English Methodism — had passed. Being chairman to most of those on board, and not being married, he stood somewhat aloof from the rest. He settled into his cabin, smoked his pipe after dinner, wrote up his diary, thought much of what those at home were doing and worried about how he would get Mary back to England to care for their aging father. On sleepless nights he found the quiet of the quarter deck railing very agreeable to his solitary spirit as he indulged his faraway thoughts of home. Only the hope of reaching Cape Town could turn the spiritual tide of his introspection and quiet grief.

John Eggleston had just completed his probation and been received into full connexion, while John Warren had a year to go. At the time of his joining the mission party Eggleston had been on the staff of the Sheffield West circuit where Samuel Ironside had been raised, and which was always aglow with missionary fervour. John Warren was the son of a Norfolk farmer. His clear-headedness and resolute spirit had been invaluable as assistant in the Croydon and Horsham circuit. To the missionary venture he and his wife gave themselves with the same steady resolve.

Charles and Eliza Creed, and Samuel and Sarah Ironside, were the junior members of the party. For Charles and Samuel there were the Hoxton years in common, memories of tutors, the passion for Christian perfection, the recollection of that final sobering service in Wesley Chapel when they had been ordained and the missionary party farewelled, and the endless wondering about Charles de Wolfe in Nova Scotia, Peter Jones among his Indian tribesmen, and James Calvert and John Hunt who had sailed five months earlier for Fiji. When homesickness grieved the heart, there was always comfort in the one who had taken "for better or worse" not only a husband but a new country among primitive people and the dangers of childbearing in an unknown land.

The captain of the *James* was Mark Todd, a plain man, good tempered, sincerely devout and a Methodist from Hartlepool. The chief mate, a son of Cornish Methodists, was lively, amiable and obliging. The second mate was the son of a Yorkshire clergyman, and likely to rise in his profession. The steward, a coloured man, and the cook were both experienced sailors, most obliging to the passengers but each had too much work for his hands alone to do. Neither the captain nor the mates had been south of the line before.[2] For all on board this was a new venture.

All told there were twenty-three in the Methodist party plus six other passengers in the cabin. The ship was crowded and during the next five months, in those confined surroundings, all were to be educated in the graces of Christian character!

[2] *NZ Methodist*, 29 November 1890.

About noon, on 20 September 1838, the mission party, accompanied by a number of their friends, went on board the *James* at Gravesend, and partook of a social repast provided by Mr Lidgett, the owner. Afterwards Dr Bunting, the senior missionary secretary, led them in singing and prayer, and when the friends were leaving, the missionaries with their wives and Mr Waterhouse's children, were called into the cabin to meet the secretaries and receive their final benediction and tender farewells. As the *James* put out to sea the passengers retired to rest. Hearts were sick. The following day strong, contrary winds whipped the sea into such boisterous confusion that the ship was obliged to put into Portsmouth. All was in disarray. Apart from the crew, everyone had been seasick but, nothing daunted, they worshipped Him "who rides upon the whirlwind and directs the storm." [3] When the *James* put into Cowes, several landed for breakfast. To the ladies on board John Waterhouse passed the milk, saying, "Fresh from cows?" Soon Lizard Point was passed and the vast ocean stretched before them. Sensitive to the feelings of his small flock, John Waterhouse preached from 1 Peter: v.7 "casting all your care upon Him". Sailing conditions were now perfect, and all began to settle down to the weary months of travel which lay ahead.

Breakfast at eight, lunch at eleven, dinner at half past two, tea at six — was the routine of the day.[4] The preachers were rostered to conduct Sunday worship in descending order of seniority, beginning with the general superintendent. Class meetings were held and Mr Waterhouse met with the junior preachers to discuss aspects of ministry unknown to those without his wide experience.

After the third and fourth days there was no fresh bread; nothing but hard ship biscuits. Fresh meat became a luxury that was enjoyed once or twice a week. Fresh water was limited, so that when it rained basins and bottles were put into service and no one ever drank water before with so much relish. When a shark was caught part was served up for breakfast, but for some the thought that it might have fed on human flesh ruined the not disagreeable flavour.[5] Apart from the vocational routines — and an apprentice falling overboard — there was little to excite on that interminable journey from Portsmouth to Cape Town. Sunsets, squalls of rain, the ever-changing colour of the sea, the tropical sun overhead, their first sight of the stars of the Southern Cross, the catching of several albatross and the killing of the last sheep on board, were entries made in John Bumby's journal. There was too much time for solitude and reflection and, had it not been for Waterhouse's constant good humour, depression could well have gripped some of those sick hearts. With a twinkle in his eye as he sat at the breakfast table Waterhouse would begin to recount some of the pillow talk he had heard through the thin partitioning which separated one cabin from another.

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[3] Alfred Barrett, *The Life of the Reverend John Hewgill Bumby*, p. 189.

[4] ibid. p. 190.

[5] ibid. p. 192.

Horror spread over the face of the woman whose purported conversation was repeated! Threats of dire consequences if he spoke another word and peals of laughter at the embarrassment caused always resulted.

As the Cape of Good Hope was said to be only sixty miles away many began lining the rails for the first sight of land. Supplies were low and it was important to re-provision. At mid-day on 18 December, Table Mountain was seen and soon the *James* was lying at anchor in the shelter of the bay. The visit was memorable if short. The ship carried no physician, but one of the passengers, a half-pay army officer who volunteered to prescribe for the mission party, presented an account for £29. To avoid litigation it was resentfully paid. By contrast, Rev. T. L. Hodgson, chairman of the district and his brother ministers, received the travellers, lodged them to the best of their ability, and showed them the sights of Cape Town. It was here that Samuel Ironside had first thought to serve, so it would have been with more than a curious eye that he took in all that he saw. Highlight of the visit was the "ride in an African waggon drawn by sixteen oxen, out to the celebrated Constantia vineyard, whose owner, a stout Dutchman, gave each a glass of wine which he said was one hundred and six years old." [6]

Three days before Christmas the voyage was resumed. The previous night, a party from the *Platina,* which could not make their ship because of strong winds and boisterous seas, was picked up and given hospitality. Christmas Day found the party dreaming of home, and no doubt those at home wondering rather sadly about the ones who usually occupied the empty places at family tables. On Boxing Day a boatload came on board from the American whaler *Clematis.* She had been at sea for twelve months. Their chronometer was broken and several of the crew were decrepit with scurvy. They asked for vegetables. These were readily supplied and the passengers on the *James* made up a basket of fruit from provisions bought in Cape Town. The long and monotonous journey across the Indian Ocean was broken only by a brief visit to St Paul's Rock, a small island 38 degrees south latitude and 77 degrees east longitude, which rose out of the sea with a rocky barrenness. It was uninhabited, except for "sea fowl", wild goats and hogs. About noon, the *James* lay to, and the captain with some of the passengers went in a small boat to fish. They returned about three hours later with as much fish as they could conveniently bring, and a few penguins.[7]

Nearing Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) the *James* rode into a tempest which lasted two days. The raging of the sea and the rolling of the ship were terrifying. One of the yards was broken, a sail split in pieces, and the vessel had to go under bare poles. As the wind abated, the mountains of Van Diemen's Land came into view. Bumby entered in his diary: "How lovely to our eyes, and welcome to our hearts, none can tell

[6] *NZ Methodist,* 29 November 1890.

[7] Alfred Barrett, *The Life of the Reverend John Hewgill Bumby,* p. 196.

but those who for months have been prisoners at sea. The excitement which prevailed upon the announcement of land was quite bewildering, and the captain especially, was delighted that his calculations and reckonings, had been so accurate." [8]

At 6am on 31 January 1839 the pilot came on board and took the *James* past Tasman Head, through Storm Bay and up the Derwent River, bringing the vessel to anchor at l0am in Sullivan's Cove. All on board were delighted with the view. Ironside later recorded:

> "What an exquisite picture opened out to us on every side, as we gazed about us, after our wearisome voyage! There was the little city of Hobart with its merchants' stores, rising as it were from the water's edge, extending back into the hills among which it nestled, the very home of peace and content. Grand old Wellington, monarch of all it surveys, towering up more than four thousand feet, at once the pride and guard of the place. On all sides low ranges of hills, with giant mountains behind them. The magnificent Derwent on whose bosom we were floating quietly, with a depth and capacity for the largest ships, its branches running up into the land in all directions, no shoals nor hidden dangers anywhere." [9]

First on board to welcome the missionary party was Rev. Joseph Orton, superintendent of the Hobart Town circuit. He had been a missionary in the West Indies and well understood the thoughts and feelings of those on board. No time was lost. While the *James* lay at New Wharf for unloading and reprovisioning, the missionary party, by various routes made their way to the homes of their hosts and hostesses who, in their small way, shared the excitement of the missionary enterprise undertaken by the conference of 1838 to commemorate the centenary of John Wesley's conversion.

Hobart Town was extensive and straggling. The buildings were thinly scattered along wide streets which contained few houses of any merit. Some good shops abounding in everything that could be desired, and selling at reasonable prices, attracted the attention of the women. In spite of its pleasant appearance Van Diemen's Land had a reputation in the eyes of the early preachers beyond even that of Sodom and Gomorrah. The great majority of the population of this, the second penal settlement in the Australian colonies, was convict, and those who controlled them did so with almost total authority. Little effort was made to alleviate the lot or to improve the morals of the victims of the transportation system. On the contrary they were almost invariably treated with shameless injustice and harsh cruelty. Public executions were quite a common spectacle: drunkenness, gambling, and immorality abounded.

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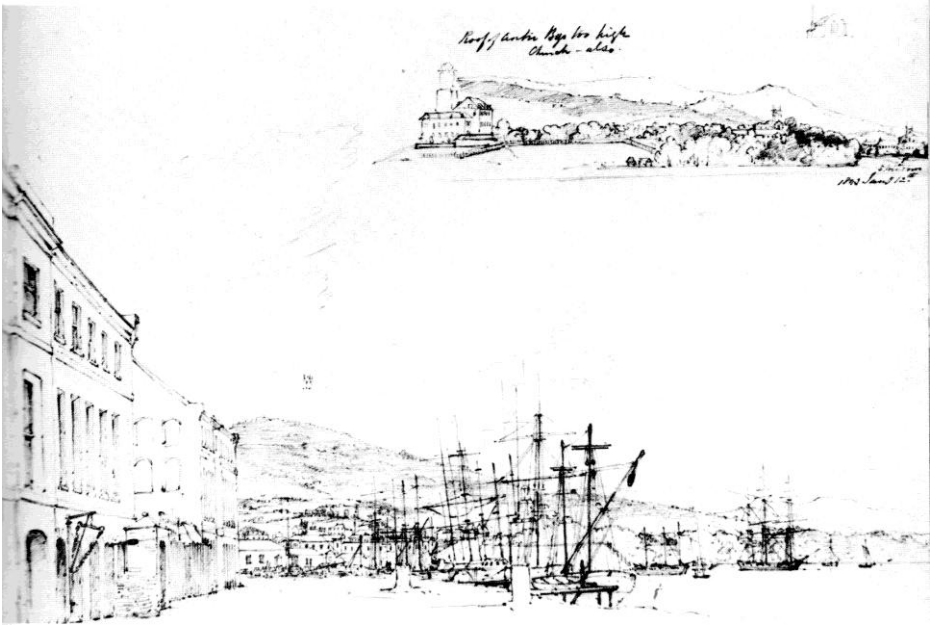
[8] ibid. p. 197.

[9] *NZ Methodist,* 29 November 1890. Ironside was so impressed with Hobart that he chose to retire there. The only other retirement place that tempted him was Nelson, New Zealand.

Governor Macquarie declared in 1811 that there was "a total disregard for the common decencies of life" [10]



New Wharf, Hobart, from the Ordnance Stores.
The mission party landed at New Wharf on 1 February 1839, opposite the large stone store of Willis, Sandiman & Co. The pencil drawing by T. E. Chapman, December 1839, shows the port as it would have appeared to the new arrivals. *Mitchell Library, Sydney.*

In this sink of misery and vice, Methodism had taken root. In spite of a warning that any attempt to preach in the open air would be met with missiles and abuse, Benjamin Carvosso had preached on the steps of the Hobart Town courthouse in April 1820, and a small class meeting was formed.[11] It was disciplined, benevolent, evangelical and missionary-minded. It met five nights a week and before long a Sunday school had started under the care of several soldiers. Within sixteen months there were thirty-two people meeting in class — twenty-nine men (mostly soldiers) and three women.

Discipline and charity were the rule. Some were suspended for drunkenness or other offences: a widow received a weekly grant: financial distress caused by sickness was relieved: liberal grants were made to the poor. Work among the convicts went on with

[10] C. C. Duggan, *A Century of Methodism in Tasmania 1820-1* 920, Tasmanian Methodist Assembly, p. 10.

[11] A class is a group of not more than ten members of the same sex under a leader appointed by the minister. The purpose of the group is to grow in Christian obedience and grace.

such effectiveness that during the ministry of Rev. Nathaniel Turner[12] Governor Arthur ordered supervisors to cease work to enable Turner to preach to the convicts as he wished.[13]

A tour through the length and breadth of Van Diemen's Land revealed that between seventy and eighty prisoners were reported as "truly converted or reformed persons." Of these, sixty ascribed their change to the Methodists, and Governor Arthur declared, "The Methodists were doing more good among the prisoners than all the other denominations put together." [14] Even in Macquarie Harbour, the place of confinement for the worst and most depraved convicts, Sergeant Waddy was able to form a class of six prisoners. Nor was this all. Gratuitous instruction of illiterate adults, the children of the poor and of female prisoners, went on constantly, and successive ministers related to the needs of the community and won the gratitude of the population and of the governor. A temperance movement,[15] a benevolent society, and the Bible and Tract Society, even the first public library in the Australian colonies were begun.[16]

Nor were the Aborigines forgotten. Following the failure of Governor Arthur to bring peace between the settlers and the Aborigines, George Robinson, a Methodist local preacher, offered to go among them and seek pacification. In five years he induced them to yield themselves to the governor in peace. Meanwhile successive preachers, ministerial and lay, evangelised throughout the island and by the time the *James* sailed up the Derwent to discharge its passengers, Wesleyan chapels or schoolhouses had been built at Patterson Street (1839) and Margaret Street (1837) in Launceston; at Longford (1837), Perth (1838), Cressy (1839), Glenorchy (O'Brien's Bridge), New Norfolk, Claremont (then Roseneath), Brown's River, Ross, Back River and Campbell Town. In Hobart there were chapels in Davey Street, High Street, and Melville Street. Queen among these churches was Melville Street. There the mission premises were extensive and valuable, the chapel small but neat. Next to it was a more spacious and beautiful chapel, in course of erection, designed on the pattern of Wesley's Chapel in London. The foundation stone had already been laid by the Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Franklin on 26 December 1837 and the whole edifice promised to be the Wesleyan cathedral of Australasia.[17]

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[12] Rev. Nathaniel Turner was in Tasmania 1822-23, 1831-35, 1839-46.

[13] C. C. Duggan, *A Century of Methodism in Tasmania,* p. 34.

[14] C. C. Duggan, *A Century* of *Methodism in Tasmania,* p. 21. See also *The Pioneer Missionary, The Life* of *the Rev. Nathaniel Turner,* by his son J. G. Turner, Melbourne, 1872. p. 153.

[15] C. C. Duggan, *A Century* of *Methodism in Tasmania,* p. 35. Turner records that of thirty inquests held in rapid succession, twenty-eight untimely deaths had been caused by drinking.

[16] This was opened to mark the centenary of Johh Wesley's ordination on 19 September 1725, and as memorial of that occasion was named the Wesleyan Library.

[17] Alfred Barrett, *The Life of the Reverend John Hewgill Bumby,* p. 197. Also C. C. Duggan *A Century of Methodism in Tasmania,* p. 19.

Made to feel very much at home, the missionary party was soon caught up in a round of preaching and missionary meetings. The leaders especially, were worked hard. On Sunday 2 February, John Bumby, the captain and chief mate of the *James* and several of the sailors — a party of eleven or twelve — went to chapel at Melville Street. Waterhouse led the service using John Wesley's abridgement of the Book of Common Prayer. John Bumby preached the sermon after which John Waterhouse baptised the child of one of his relatives who had been in Van Diemen's Land for upwards of sixteen years. To the eyes of those accustomed to English Methodism, everything was English — even the congregation appeared typical of respectable English Methodism.[18] In the afternoon John Warren preached out of doors and met with several New Zealanders who happened to be in Hobart. In the evening the general superintendent preached, and as chief pastor to the Pacific, led the missionaries and the overflowing congregation in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. On Sunday 9 February, John Waterhouse was preaching at the evening service in the Collins Street chapel, and on the following Sunday John Bumby was one of three guest missionary preachers at the Independent Chapel. The next evening Waterhouse was among the guest speakers at the annual meeting of the Independent Church Missionary Society.

While all this was going on John Bumby was becoming widely known for his pulpit oratory. In the *Hobart Town Courier*[19] he was advertised as one of two people to preach the sermons preparatory to the annual meeting of the O'Brien's Bridge Missionary Meeting. The name of the other preacher was not stated. John Bumby was the drawcard! On Sunday 24 February the new chapel in High Street was opened by the general superintendent, and the following Sunday John Bumby was advertised to preach his farewell sermon in the Melville Street chapel. "The departure of this reverend gentleman was not expected to be so near: but, it seems, his religious duties call him immediately to New Zealand, where he goes as a missionary. The audience we doubt not, will be numerous, as the fame of Mr Bumby's pulpit eloquence is very great." [20]

Meanwhile, throughout the circuit, the annual missionary meetings were being held. The eloquence of those who had returned from missionary service enthralled audiences who had little knowledge of countries beyond their own shores. On one occasion, no less than eighteen gentlemen delivered eloquent addresses![21] Among the Wesleyans it was customary for the annual report and balance sheet to be read to the meeting, and the resolutions of the conference to be adopted one by one. The whole proceedings came alive when a missionary, lately returned from overseas, told his tale of privation and adventure, travelling over mountains, down rivers, through forests

[18] ibid. p. 198.
[19] *Hobart Town Courier*, 8 February 1839.
[20] *Colonial Times*, 19 February 1839. 1
[21] ibid.

and across endless plains to take the good news to people whose language and culture he had learned to understand, whose battles he had sought to prevent, whose souls he had tried to save, and whose social conditions he had sought to alleviate. Such men were heroes, and in the eyes of the Wesleyan public, no calling was greater than to leave all and go as a messenger of good tidings to the heathen.

At O'Brien's Bridge the audience was "electrified". John Dunn was in the chair. The attendance was greater than usual, and the collection more liberal than on any former occasion. The general superintendent, John Waterhouse, and the circuit superintendent, Joseph Orton, were billed to speak. Excitement ran high for both men were full of missionary stories. Fresh from his contacts with the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London, John Waterhouse gave an exciting account of Wesleyan missions in every part of the globe and the audience punctuated his address with cheers and applause. The only mission field he did not speak about was the West Indies of which Joseph Orton could speak with detailed knowledge having lived there for some years, and been imprisoned for six months for his work on behalf of the slaves. John Waterhouse finished his speech. The chairman called upon Joseph Orton to take up the story. The audience was hungry for more. But Orton was pipped, doubtless at his inferior role. He shuffled awkwardly on his seat, and muttered "I beg to second the resolution." "The meeting appeared electrified at the disrespect shown to the preceding speaker as well as to those present." [22] The newspaper columns took up the tale.

John Bumby, the Apollo of the party, preached several times to large and interesting congregations in Hobart Town. Among those who heard him was Lady Franklin, wife of Sir John Franklin, governor of the colony. This led to the highlight of the visit to Tasmania — an invitation to dine at Government House. Both host and guests understood venturing into the unknown. Indeed, for Sir John the fascination of living on the edge of the unknown expressed itself both in voyages of discovery as well as in a strong personal faith. In exploration and scientific affairs he had become a legend in his own lifetime. His passionate love of the sea took him into the Royal Navy. He was a veteran of both the Battle of Copenhagen and the Battle of Trafalgar. With his uncle, Captain Matthew Flinders, he had been engaged in surveying parts of the Australian coast. In 1818 he was chosen as second-in-command of the British expedition to seek the North West Passage: the following year he led a land expedition across Canada to arctic America: a year later he was again on a voyage of discovery which lasted four years from 1824-28, and for which he was awarded the gold medal of the Geographical Society in Paris, the D.C.L. of Oxford and a knighthood by the king. In spite of the adulation of London society, he was courteous and gentle to a fault, scrupulously honest in mind and pen and a sincere lover of science and learning. But within a few years the Arctic was to claim him forever.

[22] ibid. Also 26 February 1839. Also *True Colonist*, 22 February 1839.

Though married to such a man, Lady Franklin was a person in her own right. One of three daughters of a wealthy member of the Goldsmiths' Company, she had an insatiable thirst for knowledge. Religious books always headed the list but travel and matters relating to social problems featured prominently. At forty-five years old she was a shy woman of great charm, who took an intelligent interest in her husband's work, and was utterly devoted to him.

Government House, Hobart, where a viceregal reception was given by Sir John and Lady Franklin to the Wesleyan mission party, March 1839. This pencil drawing is by T. E. Chapman and was made eight months later. *Mitchell Library, Sydney.*

Coming to Van Diemen's Land shortly after the passing of the British Reform Bill, Sir John expected to bring something of the spirit and deeds of reform to the penal settlement. He was bitterly disappointed in this and had to be content to encourage every movement that sought to improve Tasmanian society. Although the Franklins lived quietly they gave many dinner parties and the arrival of the missionaries with whose humanitarian aims they sympathised, was reason enough for another such occasion.[23] All the missionaries and their wives, together with a small party of select friends, dined at Government House: "The entertainment was sumptuous and splendidly served. His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor and Lady Franklin were particularly affable and did all in their power to render the occasion interesting and pleasant." [24] What they talked about we can only guess. If it was travel Lady Franklin

[23] I. E. Fitzpatrick, *Sir John Franklin in Tasmania, 1837-1843,* Melbourne University Press, p. 31.

[24] Alfred Barrett, *The Life* of *the Reverend John Hewgill Bumby,* p. 199.

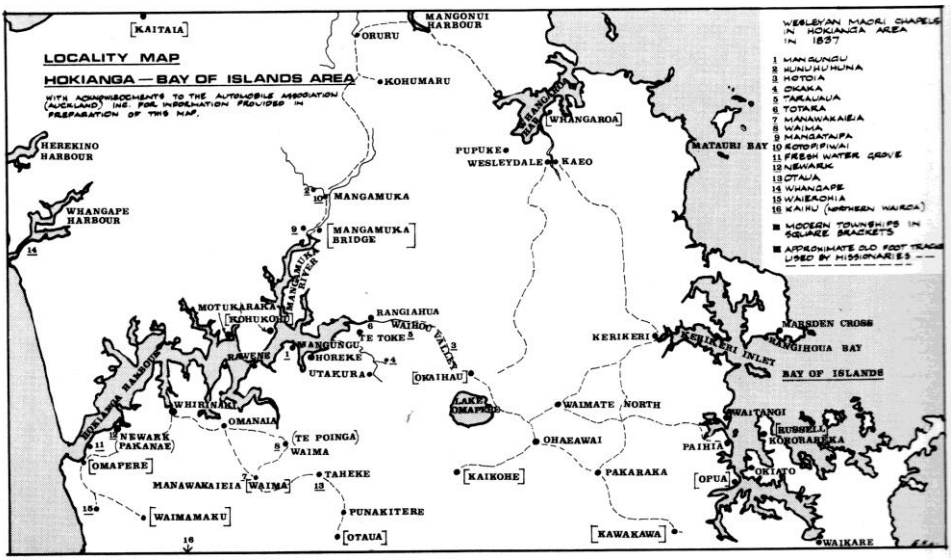
could speak as no other woman could, of the overland journey from Port Phillip to Sydney: Sir John of the Arctic: the missionaries of the journey out. If it was politics, Tory leanings linked Sir John with Wesleyan clergy generally. If it was reform, both governor and missionaries would consider their services as in the interests of humanity. If it was churchmanship, all were part of the evangelical tradition of the Church. In devotional literature, Lady Franklin was as well read as any of her guests. If it was the fascination of the unknown both hosts and guests knew the magic spell of living on the horizon where the known and the unknown meet. But of this occasion we are left in ignorance, for the one volume missing from Lady Franklin's papers covers this period. Only John Bumby's record survives: "Before we left, about eleven o'clock, Mr Waterhouse read a chapter out of the Holy Scriptures, and I engaged in prayer." [25] John Bumby noticed that Miss Williamson, Lady Franklin's companion, was deeply pious — but of Lady Franklin — well she seemed religiously disposed!

All the guests were bidden farewell and returned to their lodgings. John Bumby was anxious about the accommodation of the missionaries already in New Zealand. The principal house on the Mangungu mission station had been burnt to the ground in the previous August and housing was already a pressing problem without the influx of several new families. In spite of numerous suggestions that he should stay in the colony — "that New Zealand would never do him, he would soon be back in Hobart" — Bumby's heart was already in New Zealand, and there he was determined to go. The only people to remain in Tasmania were Rev. John and Mrs Warren who were to relieve in the Aboriginal work until a permanent replacement arrived from England.[26] On 9 March, the *James* slipped her moorings, rode gently down the Derwent, and with the prevailing south-west wind on the starboard quarter bowled along with all the speed of which she was capable. On the tenth day after leaving Hobart Town she crossed the bar of the Hokianga Harbour and anchored safely in the stream a mile or two below the branch mission station at Pakanae, named Newark by John Whiteley, after his English home in Nottinghamshire.[27]

[25] ibid.
[26] ibid, p. 198.
[27] NZ *Methodist,* 29 November 1890.

4

Mangungu
1839-1840

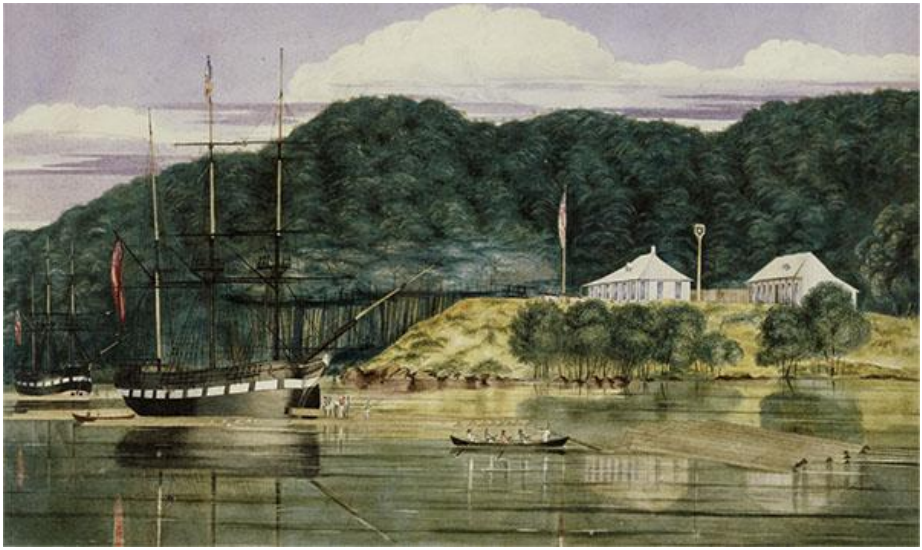


Locality map Hokianga — Bay of Islands area from *Te Hahi Weteriana* — Three Half Centuries of the Methodist Maori Missions 1822-1972 by George I. Laurenson, in Vol 27 Nos 1 and 2 *Proceedings,* Wesley Historical Society of New Zealand.

After beating up and down the coast for some hours, it was a pleasant relief to be riding at anchor on the placid upper reaches of the Hokianga Harbour. All were on deck to see the new land and there had been some joking between the ship's officers and the mission party as to whether they would find anything to eat, or whether they should be eaten in this strange land.[1] Before long a large canoe manned by a Maori crew was seen approaching at racing speed, the rowers, in a state of great excitement, roaring at the top of their voices: "Ko te Wunu! Ko te Wunu!" In the stem sat a large-framed gentleman, looking the picture of health and comfort. While yet some distance from the ship he called out: "Is this the *James?"* the Maoris still yelling "Ko te Wunu!"[2] It was the resident Wesleyan missionary, William Woon of Pakanae, who had come out to welcome them. Seeing him so stout, rosy and comfortable, the

[1] *NZ Methodist,* 29 November 1890.
[2] ibid.

conclusion was soon unanimously reached that whatever the diet they should at any rate fare well.

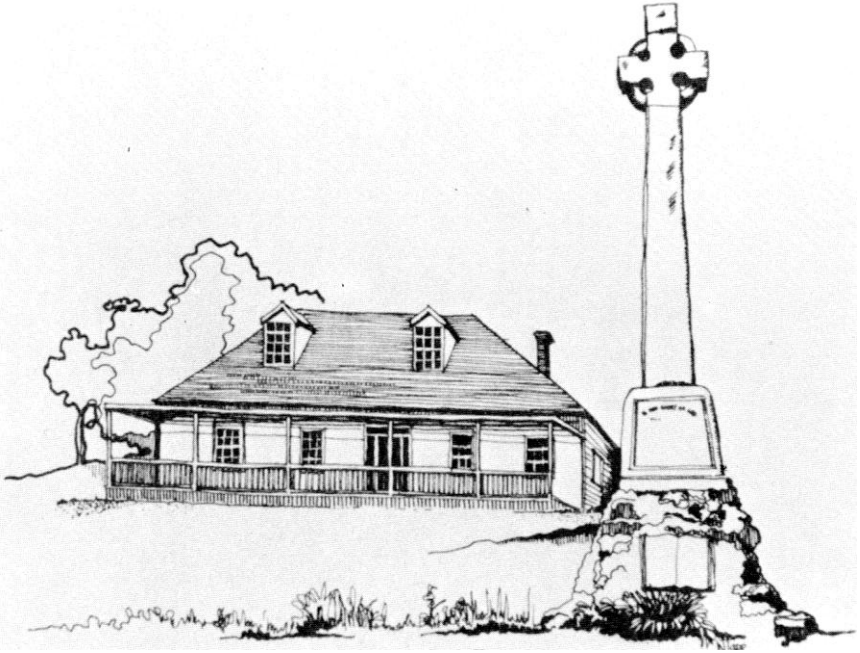


"View of the Kahu-Kahu — Hokianga River, December 1839." This reproduction of a Charles Heaphy watercolour shows the Horeke shipyard on the Kohukohu stretch of the Hokianga River, men loading spars on a sailing ship and the house of Lieut. T. McDonnell. This was part of the view which greeted the newly arrived missionaries. ***Alexander Turnbull Library.***

The next day, 20 March 1839, the *James* went up river some twenty-five miles, passing Herds Point (Rawene) at the mouth of the Waima branch of the harbour, through the narrows to the head of ship's navigation where it anchored abreast of the mission station at Mangungu. From the ship's rails they gazed with interest upon the scene. The most prominent object immediately in front of them, on the rise of the hill, was a large, square weatherboard church, devoid of all architectural adornment, but roomy enough to hold up to a thousand Maoris squatting close together on the bare floor. A few yards to the right of the church was the printing office, a little weatherboard structure about fourteen feet square. To the left of the chapel was the house of the carpenter and his wife, Mr and Mrs Monk, worthy Methodists. Mr Monk was rebuilding the mission house which had been destroyed by fire in August of the previous year. Further up the hill was the partially built mission house which would later be occupied by John Bumby and his sister. Scattered about at the foot of the hill and below the church were houses built of native materials and occupied by mission staff. Into these homes the new arrivals were squeezed. Nathaniel and Mrs Turner and their children made room for John Bumby and his sister, Mary; Rev. John and Mrs Hobbs and their five children took Samuel and Sarah Ironside into their three-roomed

Maori house, while T. Spencer Forsaith, (catechist at the mission), and Mrs Forsaith welcomed Charles and Mrs Creed.[3]

A mile away to the right, on Mata Point, where the river bends eastwards from its southerly course, was the large establishment of William and Francis White. William White a former controversial missionary was now, with his brother, doing a large trade in kauri logs and other timber with England and the Australian colonies. Higher up the river, on the eastern bank, where the Hokianga River proper ends, was the station of Mr and Mrs Marriner, cousins of William Woon. From their station, the Waihou branch ran its course some miles north to the residence of the celebrated Baron Charles de Thierry, an enterprising French nobleman who, having acquired the lands of the Reverend Mr Kendall of the Church Missionary Society, had established himself in a bush palace and styled himself the "Sovereign Chief of New Zealand".[4]



The Mangungu mission house and cross. The Mangungu mission house was built in 1839 and only partially complete when the missionary reinforcements arrived. When the mission was closed, the house was moved to Onehunga, Auckland, where it remained until it was returned to the mission station site and restored by the New Zealand Historic Places Trust in 1972. The cross commemorates all Wesleyan missionaries who served in the Hokianga area. The second signing of the Treaty of Waitangi took place here on 13 February 1840. ***New Zealand Historic Places Trust.***

[3] ibid.

[4] *Aus. Methodist Missionary Review*, 4 July 1892.

All this was new to those standing on the deck of the *James.* They saw, but did not understand: scanned, but could not comprehend: time was to make the scene both familiar and beloved. Many ships anchored near the Mangungu mission, but when it became known that there were missionaries on board this one, no more joyful tidings could have been brought to the little band that had been hoping and praying for reinforcements. Such joyful handshaking! Such brotherly greetings! After twenty-one weeks at sea, the missionary party was glad to be on dry land again, eager to commence the work for which they had sailed half-way round the world. Conditions had been cramped on the *James.* They were to be no better at Mangungu. For the first two months, while the Ironsides were guests of the Hobbs family, they did not have a room to themselves in which to share a moment's privacy. A bed was made by putting a form against a sofa, and a mattress upon it after the family had gone to bed.[5] But the Hokianga rats, as though it had been a jubilee, were residents they found it impossible to welcome!

The children delighted in the new arrivals. Mary Anna Bumby was a vision of delight. She wore her soft brown hair in ringlets, her complexion entitled her to the name of the "bonnie English rose", and her smile lit up gentle hazel eyes from which only loving thoughts seemed to beam.[6] But to the Hobbs children those under their own roof were the best of all. The prayers offered on the children's birthdays, hymns learned at Samuel or Sarah's request, theological issues that were explained to their perplexed young minds, were never to be forgotten, while Sarah's unvarying tenderness and sincerity introduced them to "religion with a happy face".[7] The debt of gratitude to Samuel was more traumatic. The mission billy goat, the size of an average donkey, teased by the mission boys beyond the endurance of his species, had cornered six-year-old George Turner in one of the close paling-fenced yards, and was stamping his forefoot ready to charge. Seeing the desperate plight of the boy, Samuel raced to the rescue, leaned over the fence, seized George under the armpits, and lifted him over the fence.[8] On the receiving side, Sarah was introduced into the mysteries of managing New Zealand domestic servants, while John Hobbs took great delight in giving his young friend his first lessons in Maori.[9]

Every Sunday at Mangungu was memorable. Not many Maoris lived in the vicinity of the mission station, but they flocked together in droves from the various rivers on a Saturday (the ra horoi whare) the cleaning-up house day. Tamati Waka Nene's contingent came from Waihou, Arama Karaka and Mohi Tawhai and their people came from Waima, Wiremu Patene and others came from Mangamuka and Orira.

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[5] Letter from Samuel Ironside, 6 August 1839.
[6] *NZ Methodist,* 2 May 1891.
[7] ibid.
[8] *Aus. Methodist Missionary Review,* 4 July 1892.
[9] *NZ Methodist,* 2 May 1891.

Then all was bustle and life about the place. The missionaries made good use of the time. They preached, taught, led classes, tended the sick, catechised and were catechised. It was at a very late hour that the settlement was hushed by sleep, but with the first blush of dawn over the hills and mountains to the east, the church bell was rung for the early morning prayer meeting and all who could came together. Hundreds attended. The principal morning service after breakfast was always high festival. The church overflowed with Maoris squatting on their haunches. Some were wrapped in blankets; a few wore European dress, but their tastes differed as to the manner of putting clothes on. Some wore coats with one sleeve to the front and the other to the rear, fastened by a hook and eye to the collar, the front opening to the right side after the manner of a Maori cloak: some had feathers in their hair. The mission families and a few Europeans were seated within the communion sanctuary area formed by raising and railing-off some eight to ten feet of 'the west end of the church. All were devout. The Liturgy was read: the responses beyond anything heard in England: the favourite hymns of Methodism were sung as lustily at Mangungu as at City Road or Birmingham or Sheffield.

Ka tirohia te Ripeka
I mate ai Te Ariki nui
Ka iti haere taku pai
Ki enei taonga hemo noa.[10]

This first Sunday at Mangungu was more memorable than most. Not only were there more missionary families within the sanctuary area, but today tribal animosities were in the balance. There had been bloodthirsty feuds between some of the tribes north of Hokianga and the Bay of Islands about a kauri pine forest.

Some time before the arrival of the *James,* four Maori teachers, Matiu, Hokepa Otene, Rihimona and Wiremu Patene, had gone out to a small tribe to try to persuade chief Kaitoke to abandon heathenism. They were spurned and warned that they would suffer if they returned. Without telling the missionaries of this threat, they repeated the visit on a subsequent Sunday. As soon as the Maori preachers got within musket range they were fired upon. Matthew fell dead. Rihimona was mortally wounded. Wiremu Patene[11] was unhurt although three bullets had passed through his blanket. Upon receipt of the tidings the missionaries set out for the scene of martyrdom. Some of the Maoris from the mission station burned for revenge, pleading that if the murderers went unpunished others would be emboldened to perform similar deeds. By ten

[10] "When our heads are bowed with woe,
When our bitter tears o'erflow,
When we mourn the lost, the dear,
Jesus, Son of Mary hear." Methodist Hymn Book, 978.

[11] Wiremu Patene, or William Barton, was the son of Otene Pura, and son-in-law of Tamati Waka Nene.

o'clock on Monday morning nearly 600 Maoris had assembled. Nathaniel Turner and John Whiteley proposed to accompany two or three chiefs to Kaitoke's village to reason with the offenders. The people sought to dissuade them, but as they were approaching the villagers again opened fire. One chief fell dead and another was seriously wounded. After the third shot, the missionary Maoris returned fire.

Mediation was now hopeless, and reluctantly the missionaries returned home. Early the next morning, they returned to the scene of the conflict and learned that, after their departure on the previous day, twelve of the villagers had been killed and the rest — including Kaitoke who had received a bullet through his ankle — had been taken prisoner. Having overpowered their enemies, not another blow had been struck by the Christian Maoris who, instead of enslaving their prisoners, had at once liberated them and were even then bringing the wounded down to the mission station. Kaitoke was patiently nursed by the missionaries and attended a mission service.[12]

This happened a day or two after the arrival of the *James* and there was great excitement in the place. The large church was so crowded with worshippers that many could not get inside. Some of the local people willingly stayed outside to make room for Kaitoke's party. John Hobbs preached a grand sermon from John 3:16. It was clear that the sermon was powerful for good; the people were bowed down under the Word. At the close, John Hobbs called on Wiremu Patene to pray. Patene prayed for his would-be murderers. Sighs, groans and fervent responses filled the place. Even the newly arrived missionaries who could not understand the language, felt the influence. Kaitoke and his people were overcome with emotion. Reconciliation was effected and, in honour of the event, Captain Todd dressed the *James* with all the bunting on board, sent up rockets and fired salutes; the mission station was in high festival.[13]

If Samuel Ironside needed any convincing that a mastery of the language was essential to entering into the routine as well as the drama of life on the mission station, that Sunday impelled him to learn Maori. He had excelled in languages at Hoxton, and although he had no Maori text to fill the tedious hours of the journey out, he set about redeeming lost time. John Hobbs was in charge of the printing press. It was old-fashioned even then, worked by hand with a few cases of type. It was primitive but serviceable. The one or two Maori lads who helped Hobbs were quickly joined by Samuel Ironside who spent some hours each day in the office assisting in preparation of type for the hundreds of copies of *Wesley's Sunday Service* and the hymn book used on Wesleyan mission stations. In the evenings he went into the Maori huts trying to read and talk Maori, learning pronunciation and daily adding to his vocabulary.[14] Many an evening he sat in Tamati Waka Nene's hut, with the Maori *Testament* on his

[12] From a paper given by M.A.R. Pratt, at the dedication and unveiling of the memorial tablet to Samuel Ironside in the Tuamarina Methodist Church on 30 May 1935

[13] *NZ Methodist, 6* December 1890.

[14] ibid. 29 November 1890.

knees, reading chapter after chapter and getting Nene and his people to correct his pronunciation — which they were always willing to do, laughing at his blunders.[15] Ironside had his reward on the sixth Sunday after his arrival. He asked Mr Turner to be allowed to read the Liturgy in Maori at the large morning service. Turner was dubious. Ironside got through the ordeal fairly well. The brethren were relieved and glad. The Maoris jubilant.[16] In August he took sole charge of the Maori service, including the sermon. This was just five months after his arrival. Both Maoris and mission families were much impressed. He had established a record.[17]

For some time the Wesleyan missionaries had been anxious to extend their work down to the most southerly part of the west coast of the North Island, leaving the Church of England missionaries to evangelise the eastern parts. To enable John Bumby to survey the work of the mission, Nathaniel Turner agreed to postpone his departure for Van Diemen's Land while Bumby became acquainted with his field of labour and saw the new missionaries settled on their stations. Since Captain Todd resolutely refused any suggestion that the *James* be chartered to survey the western coastline to determine the best sites for future missionary activity, John Bumby, John Hobbs, Samuel Ironside and Captain Todd set out on 6 April with three Maori lads to carry their coats and packages to cross the island to Tokerau (Bay of Islands) in the hope of chartering a vessel. At that time Tokerau was the chief port of entry into New Zealand.

The newcomers were impressed with the vast tracts of fernland, and the magnificent forest and soon began to experience the peculiar toil and fatigue of travel in New Zealand. Ironside found the soil very productive and was impressed with the attention that some of the Maoris were paying to cultivation. Having to pass through a farm belonging to Rawiri, a Maori chief, Ironside "was astonished at the large quantity of land he had in cultivation and at the order and regularity everywhere displayed. He had a considerable number of cattle and supplied the most excellent butter and milk to the bay. Several weeks earlier some of the natives had sold Mr Turner sixteen or seventeen bushels of fine quality wheat." [18]

The journey was broken at the Church Missionary Society station at Waimate, where the Wesleyans were always welcome and hospitably entertained.[19] On Friday 8 April 1839 they travelled further east to Paihia in the Bay of Islands, where John Hobbs stayed with his old friend Mr Baker, and Samuel Ironside with the Rev. Henry

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[15] Ibid. Letter from Samuel Ironside, 6 January 1894.

[16] ibid. 29 November 1890.

[17] lbid.6 January 1894.
Rev. John Hunt read his first sermon In Fijian after five weeks in Fiji and preached extempore in four months. Both Hunt and Ironside, who had been intimate friends at Hoxton were excellent linguists.

[18] Letter from Samuel Ironside, 6 August 1839.

[19] *NZ Methodist*, 6 December 1890.

Williams, head of the mission station. On Sunday, Henry Williams took the party in his boat to Kororareka where there was a mission church. The bell was set to ringing, but Williams took each of his guests by the arm and said, "We won't go in just yet; we'll walk up and down the beach, and let them see there are strangers here, and so get a larger gathering." A good congregation of white people came together, Henry Williams read the prayers and then introduced Ironside as the preacher. After the English service, the Maoris flocked in and Williams and Hobbs divided the service between them.[20]

John Bumby introduced himself to the British Resident, James Busby, dined at the residency, and as soon after as possible the *Hokianga* — which had been used on former occasions on mission business — was chartered for the journey to the south. In early May. Messrs Bumby and Hobbs with twenty Maori youths, chiefly southern Maoris taken prisoners in war, joined the *Hokianga* for the southern expedition.

Meanwhile the work of the mission station proceeded. As the ailing Nathaniel Turner was shortly to return to Tasmania, he wished to visit Kaeo on the upper reaches of the Whangaroa Harbour where the first Wesleyan mission station had been formed in New Zealand. In 1827 the mission had been sacked by Hongi Hika's men. Ironside accompanied the veteran missionary and was "broken in to bush travelling, scaling high mountains, thickly wooded to the summits, crossing treacherous swamps, fording numerous rivers of the purest waters in the world, rolling merrily along towards the ocean, making sweet music on their way as they ran over their smooth, pebbly beds. We gladly welcomed our resting places for the night, but ere we could retire there were services to take in the village, long talks with the natives, answering questions, explaining scriptures, etc. It was a happy journey extending over two or three weeks."

They passed through several large kauri forests and on one occasion formed a circle with arms outstretched and finger tip to finger tip to get some idea of the circumference of the forest giants. In some ways it was a sentimental journey for Nathaniel Turner for there he had laboured for five years, built a home for his wife and family, and been confronted with naked savagery when the premises were rifled and burnt and the missionary party barely able to escape with their lives. Now the roses and the fruit trees grew wild and mosses covered the clearings where the mission buildings had stood. Since those times what had God wrought!

When Bumby and Hobbs returned from the expedition south, it was decided that mission stations were to be located at Taranaki, Port Nicholson and Cloudy Bay, Marlborough, and promises to send missionaries had been made to the Maori people in those areas. It was also decided that Rev. James Buller, stationed at Tangiteroria on the Kaipara Harbour, should travel overland from Kawhia to Wanganui and along the

[20] Ibid.

coast to Port Nicholson, to complete the survey so happily begun.[21] To take up these stations, John Bumby went to Sydney to arrange for furniture and stores, but as no vessel could be chartered, the southward extension of the mission had to wait the arrival of the *Triton*, for which the missionary society was negotiating.

Meanwhile the junior missionaries were travelling throughout the area influenced directly by the Mangungu mission station. Over the weekend of 13 October, Ironside and Creed had been to Waima to renew the quarterly class tickets of the Maori people and to enquire into their religious experience. Mohi Tawhai, one of the chiefs, was full of comparisons by which he illustrated the work of grace in his life "Talking of the present state of his heart he said he had a number of Devil's men there at work — one was minding the things of this world too much, another was to go and fight, but there was one that was quite dead, which was to lull men, but the others frequently troubled him. Were I to attempt to describe the zest which accompanied this description, the originality and force of the illustrations, I should fail. I therefore desist" records lronside.[22]

If Mohi Tawhai had a fascination for Ironside, Ironside seems to have commended himself to Mohi Tawhai. A fortnight later, Ironside records that after the morning service Mohi Tawhai visited him and said that if he did not soon make up his mind to go and instruct his people, he and his people would come and take him on their backs![23] The next day, Sunday 27 October, over a thousand people gathered at the Mangungu chapel for the baptisms that were to take place that day. John Hobbs preached the preparatory sermon from Mark 16:15-16 and immediately after dinner the baptismal service was held. "Upwards of two hundred were admitted into the visible church of Christ." In the evening John Bumby, who had held spellbound the large congregations of Birmingham, preached to the handful of Europeans from the mission station and from the surrounding district. Whether to large congregations or small, the effect of his preaching was the same. "The congregation was deeply attentive and powerfully affected with the truth." [24]

On the following Friday, John Whiteley and James Buller arrived at Mangungu for the district meeting which proceeded with fraternal goodwill and concluded on the following Sunday with Messrs Whiteley and Buller preaching, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper being administered. Ironside simply records: "Our District Meeting is concluded; great peace has attended our meetings, the churches are in prosperity. It

[21] Ibid.
[22] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 15 October 1839.
[23] IbId. 26 October 1839.
[24] Ibid. 27 October 1839.

is agreed that I remain here for the present." [25] But Ironside was restless. He wanted to be more fully employed. "Anywhere Lord, so that I may be useful." [26]

Perhaps to work off some of that restlessness, John Bumby arranged with Whiteley that they should take the junior missionaries, Ironside and Creed, to Horuru, about sixty miles distant. The purpose of the visit was to assess whether Whangaroa should be reoccupied as a mission station. Turner had reported adversely upon any such move, but Bumby wanted to make the trip overland (rather than by boat as Turner had done two years previously) in order to assess the Maori population of the nearby areas. The first evening, after pulling hard on the oars for four hours, they arrived at the top of the Mangamuka River, where they left the boat hauled up on the bank and walked through some beautiful potato and kumera plantations to Rotopipiwai, a settlement of Christian Maoris with whom they held service and spent the night. The following morning a number of the people of Rotopipiwai set out with the travellers. No sooner had the journey begun than the rain came down in the most drenching torrents. Mountains had to be climbed and a deep river had to be crossed about twenty times. The rain made travelling heavy and disagreeable work. In the afternoon they arrived at Maungataniwha[27] having passed several ruined fortifications and desolated villages from which it was evident that the population was once more numerous than at present. About noon they arrived at the chapel which stood in the midst of the valley.[28]

The people of the surrounding villages had been expecting a visit and soon gathered. Here about thirty Maori children were baptised and early next morning Bumby baptised about sixty adults from both sexes and all ranks from chieftains to slaves. After taking food, the party proceeded to Mangonui (set in the Doubtless Bay of Captain Cook) and having been loaned a boat by a friendly European, crossed the harbour. Night overtook them while they were crossing a large tract of open country. There was nothing to do but to sleep under bushes. Next evening they arrived at a beautiful little settlement on the side of a cultivated hill. This was Pupuke, four or five miles from Wesleydale (Kaeo, known then as Whangaroa). Again the news of the missionaries' arrival spread quickly to the surrounding villages. Crowds gathered, and opportunity was taken to teach and exhort. The next day the missionary party walked over to Whangaroa. Bumby was pleased to find so many people scattered throughout the valley. From Turner's report made two years before he had been led to believe that the place was well nigh depopulated, and was little more than a cheerless desolation. The local Maori chief Tara, known to his European shipmates en route to England as "George", and his brother Te Puhi, had in 1809 murdered the crew of the *Boyd,* in 1824 attacked the schooner *Endeavour,* and in 1825 had plundered the brig *Mercury.*

[25] Ibid. 3 November 1839.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid. 13 November 1839.
[28] Ibid. The vIllage was Pakonga, 13 November 1839.

In 1827 Ngapuhi Maoris had attacked and destroyed the mission station and driven away the missionaries with nothing but their lives. The ruins of the mission station with its many flowering shrubs and fruit trees looked beautiful even then and was still known as "Mr Turner's kainga". In Bumby's judgment Turner's earlier adverse opinion had been too much influenced by past painful memories and by the fact that, since he had not travelled over the surrounding countryside, he was quite unaware of the not inconsiderable population still living there. Like Nehemiah surveying the ruins of Jerusalem, Bumby made up his mind that this place was to be reoccupied.

The journey home was accomplished in two days, walking in torrential rain. "It was rather an unfavourable specimen of New Zealand travelling for Mr Ironside and Mr Creed; but they bore the seasoning remarkably well, and will, I doubt not, in a short time, be accomplished pedestrians. It is an indispensable qualification for a New Zealand missionary, that he should be a good walker." [29]

Having cleaned themselves up, all the "pedestrians" except Charles Creed went over to Newark where Mrs Ironside had gone to keep Mrs Whiteley company during her confinement. Bumby then proceeded with James Buller to the Kaipara mission station, and two weeks later, after baptising Edward Gyles Hobbs, embarked on the *Melrose* to attend the financial affairs of the district in Sydney.

Christmas was observed in the Mangungu chapel with Ironside preaching the sermon and the mission staff afterwards gathering at the home of Mr and Mrs Francis White for the traditional Christmas dinner. The New Year was begun with the watchnight service, William Woon presiding and Samuel Ironside giving one address to be followed by three of the Maori preachers — John Lee Tutu (with whom Ironside was particularly pleased), Richard Watson and Moses Rewa. Early January saw the quarterly class tickets distributed — the members, with few exceptions, having met regularly and the numbers increasing as the influence of the mission spread. In the second week of January, Charles Stephens, "a steady useful man" of whom Ironside had hopes, was killed in a quarrel, and buried on 12 January 1840. The following Sunday, January nineteenth, during the Maori service, Rev. John and Mrs Warren, who had been left in Van Diemen's Land when the *James* sailed for Hokianga, walked into the service quite unexpectedly after a Tasman crossing of three weeks! [30] And on 1 February news reached Mangungu that Captain Hobson of the Royal Navy, appointed by the Queen as consul and lieutenant- governor designate, had arrived at the Bay of Islands.

> "In 1835, four years before. . . the Government of the country had been recognised as a 'confederation of Native chiefs'. A British resident, James Busby, Esq., had been appointed by William IV to watch over the interests of the Mother Country.

[29] Alfred Barrett, *The Life of the Rev. John Hewgill Bumby,* London, 1852, p. 229.

[30] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 19 January 1840.

> None of the southern chiefs were included in the confederation, so its influence was limited, and the state of affairs was unsatisfactory. With the prospect of a large immigration in the immediate future, it was obvious that there was great, pressing need for a regular, central authority — one that could maintain, and enforce, when necessary, the peace and order of the community. The Home Government, therefore, commissioned Captain William Hobson, R.N. as Consul and Lieutenant-Governor, to proceed to New Zealand at once. He was to obtain the consent of the Confederation to the transfer of authority before he assumed the Governorship, meanwhile to act as Consul. Soon after his arrival, at the end of January 1840 he summoned the chiefs to council,[31] — Tamati Waka, and the rest — to discuss the ceding of the authority of the chiefs to the English Government. . . Tamati Waka Nene who headed the contingent from Hokianga, wished one of the missionaries to accompany him. Since Mr Bumby and Mr Hobbs were both away from home, Samuel Ironside was asked." [32]

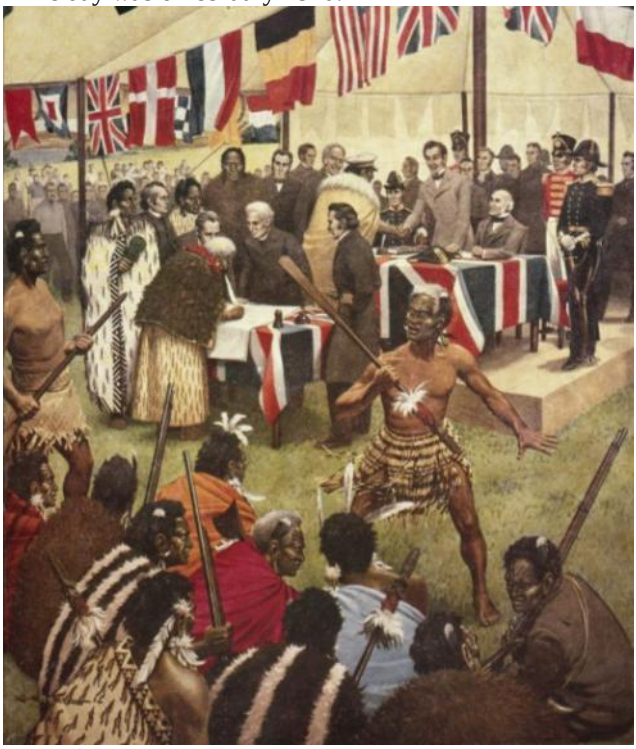
John Warren, who had arrived in the country only a fortnight before, went with them. Part of two days was occupied in travelling, and the contingent arrived on the evening of the first day of the council.

> "A large crowd had assembled on the lawn in front of Mr Busby's house at Waitangi, where a large marquee had been erected. There was considerable excitement. It was patent that unfriendly influences had been at work. The captains and crews of foreign whalers in the bay, chiefly American and French, feared no doubt the advent of law and order and found a willing listener in Hoani [Hone] Heke, who had been connected with the Church Mission at Paihia. He was loud in his taunts and insults to Captain Hobson. 'Haere, hoe, e hoki' 'Go return; we don't want you!' His Excellency seemed rather puzzled and disconcerted at the opposition. Next morning, February 6th, the discussion was renewed. Tamati Waka, with whom I was sitting, was vexed, 'Ka kino tenei' — this is bad. The Queen has sent this gentleman to counsel and teach us and we are insulting him — well if you think so, say so — he sprang out in front and rushing to and fro in the crowd crying excitedly — 'Haere mai, e koro, haere mai' — Come, sir, come — we have long wanted someone from the Queen to take care of us — we want Kai tiaki — a guardian — come and you shall be our father.' He spoke of their quarrels, of the loafing whites, whom they could not keep in order, of the fact that none of their lands would be alienated from them without their consent, and a fair price being given. Says he, 'We only give up the shadow of sovereignty which we cannot manage for ourselves, but we retain the substance, undisturbed possession of our lands and properties.' Addressing the Governor he said, 'Come to us, we are orphans, you shall be our father, we will

[31] *NZ Methodist*, 6 December 1890.

[32] Ibid. 6 January 1894.

put ourselves under the shadow of the Queen.' He completely disarmed all the opposition, and at once all the principal chiefs rushed forward to sign the Treaty.' It was which would be first to sign. Hoani Heke seeing how the feeling was tending, rushed up to the table in front of Captain Hobson, on which was spread the Treaty for signature. *He would sign his name first.* The feeling was contagious — very soon all the chiefs of note had affixed their names or marks to the document. The representatives of the various churches, and some leading residents of the Bay, signed the Deed as witnesses — Henry Williams, Senior Church Missionary, Samuel Ironside and Mr Warren of the Wesleyan Mission and the Roman Catholic Bishop Pompallier. The meeting was then adjourned, and deputations appointed to accompany the Governor to Hokianga and other districts to get the signatures of those chiefs at a distance who could not be present.[33] The day was 6 February 1840."



Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi 6 February 1840. This painting by Leonard Mitchell reconstructs the historic event. It shows Samuel Ironside standing between two chiefs and behind the chief signing the treaty at the left of the picture. *Treaty House, Waitangi.*

[33] Ibid. "New Zealand and its Aborigines." A Lecture to the Surry Hills Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society by Samuel Ironside, Wesleyan Book Depot, Sydney, 1863.

But the work of Ironside in connection with the treaty was not complete. He foresaw that if opposition to the treaty should be manifested in Hokianga, a serious blow would be dealt to the whole enterprise. He and Warren therefore returned home to pave the way for the governor's arrival at Mangungu. Hobson was assured of the loyal cooperation of the missionaries, and then he and his party became the guests of Miss Bumby at the mission house — her brother John not yet having returned from a visit to Hobart Town and Sydney. By 13 February more than 3,000 Maoris had assembled at Mangungu. Included in the number were between four and five hundred chiefs. John Hobbs was chosen as interpreter for the governor. That day thirty-four of the most prominent chiefs signed the treaty, and one of the witnesses was William Woon. The following day H.M.S. *Herald* left Hokianga for the Bay of Islands and as she glided downstream a salute of eleven guns boomed the satisfaction of the Horeke and Mangungu people.[34] Ironside reveals his mind:

> "The Governor's proposal was to me very fair and calculated to benefit the natives, so I gave it my sanction, believing a regular colonisation by Government certainly much better than the irregular influx of convicts and runaway sailors which infests this country at present."

John Hewgill Bumby, gifted pulpit orator, who was the first chairman of the New Zealand Wesleyan District. He was drowned near Auckland in June 1840, aged 32.

While the treaty was still in process of signature in other parts of the country, John Waterhouse, the general superintendent of Wesleyan missions in the South Seas, arrived at Hokianga on 7 May with John Bumby and missionary reinforcements. From 7 May until 21 May, Mary Bumby provided daily care for twenty people of the

[34] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 15 February 1840.

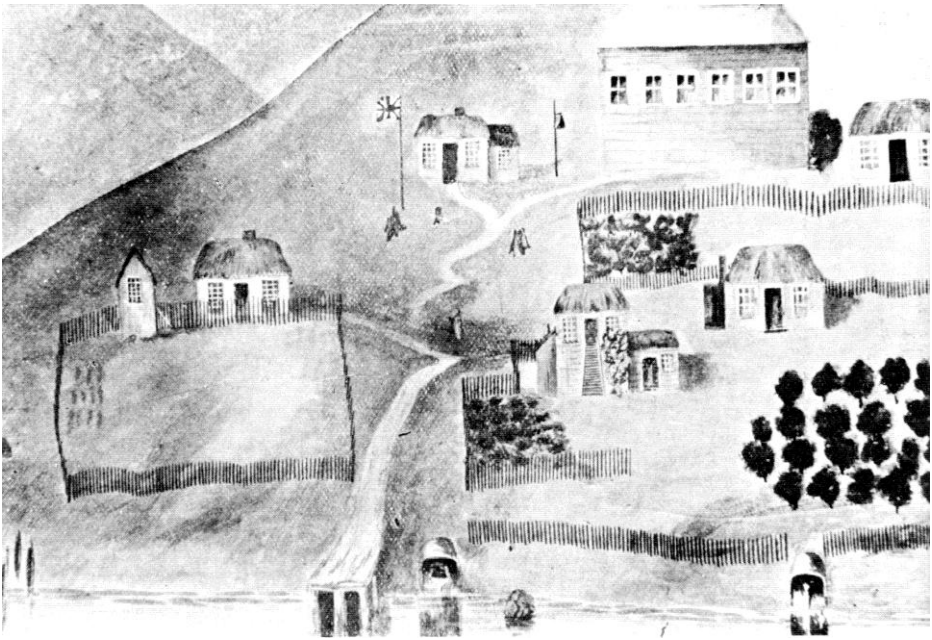
missionary party, with great cheerfulness and in a manner highly to her credit.[35] This fortnight was memorable. It was the first time that so many Wesleyan missionaries were together with the general superintendent, who was anxious to learn what each was doing and to meet first-hand the people to whom they were ministering. On 11 May he records: "Mr Bumby being busy, I went among the natives, Mr Woon being my interpreter." Men, women and children came to shake hands saying he was their "great Bishop" or their "exceeding great father". Two or three Maori chiefs, surrounded by a great number of their people, formed a circle around him. Waterhouse sat down while they reclined on their left elbows except the chiefs who sat on their heels, with keen eyes piercing him through and through. They were delighted to learn that he had a wife, ten children and a grandchild. Mr Woon said he was "the General Superintendent" which Waka Nene called "Kai tiaki" — protector or keeper, and said, "If you are our protector then you ought to bring Mrs Waterhouse and family, select a piece of ground, build a house, learn the language, preach the Word, meet classes, and keep supplies for the people, then you would be our keeper." The conversation turned to the great difference the missionaries had made to the way of life in the north, and Waterhouse expressed his pleasure at witnessing "the triumphs of the cross." [36]

John Waterhouse, genera1 superintendent of Wesleyan missions in Australasia and Polynesia.

On Tuesday evening, the usual routine of the mission station was broken. John Waterhouse had turned fifty-one on the previous Sunday and it was time to celebrate. With some of the newly arrived missionaries, he was sent to visit the Marriners, who lived about a mile from the mission station. When he arrived back to dine with the

[35] Letter from the Rev. John Waterhouse, 13 May 1840.
[36] Ibid.

Bumbys, the whole mission establishment had gathered for high tea. The meal was sumptuous, amply provisioned under Miss Bumby's experienced direction, and everyone ate their fill. After the meal the evening was filled with singing and laughter. The ladies recalled how Waterhouse took delight during rough weather on the voyage to New Zealand by surprising them with a dish of newly cooked potatoes or a jar of enticing jam! Some of the younger missionaries were embarrassed as their shortcomings were related publicly and how 'J. W. "bore with them! They recalled how he had arbitrated in their discussions on the journey out, had from his vast experience, prepared papers on connexional polity which he read and illustrated, in the discussions that followed. Others recalled his jokes — like the "fresh milk from Cowes", and their feverish dash for the deck to see land when "J. W." rushed into the cabin calling "Houses! Houses!" "Where?" demanded the hoaxed missionaries indignantly, when there were no houses to be seen. Pointing to his ten children leaning over the ship's rail, he replied somewhat majestically, "There! Water-houses."



The Mangungu mission station. A sketch by Mrs Kirk, shows the relative position of the buildings. The large building is the chapel, capable of seating 800 people. To the right is the printing office. To the left, the home of Mr and Mrs Monk. Below are the houses occupied by the missionaries. Far left are the whares of the Maori people associated with the mission station. The mission boat sheds are at the water's edge.
The History of Methodism in New Zealand **by William Morley. Mrs Kirk, a daughter of missionary John Hobbs, was a child when she drew this sketch.**

Apparently Mr Woon was in fine voice that night, and as the Maoris crowded in to listen to old tunes like 'Sagina' and 'Nativity' sung with spirit, one of them remarked, "Mr. Woon's voice is like the westerly wind. It blows strong!" [37] Everybody roared with laughter. Great kindness was shown on all sides; John Waterhouse knew how deeply he lived in the affection of his colleagues — and he was pleased to be so warmly esteemed. But laughter hushed to silence as he closed the evening with prayers for his family in God. All too soon they would be scattered and John Waterhouse would be the occasional visitor to lonely stations far away from the world and the delights of agreeable social life.

A quick visit was made to Waima on 15 and 16 May and services attended on 16 May at Mangungu, but in view of the state of health of some of the wives, the voyage to the designated missionary stations had to be resumed as quickly as possible. Monday the seventeenth was spent in making arrangements for putting to sea. In the evening, Waterhouse counselled the missionaries in the traditional manner by reading John Wesley's "Twelve Rules of a Helper". Tuesday, letters were written, especially to the governor, William Hobson, and by noon the *Triton* weighed anchor and slipped downstream toward the heads. Waterhouse and Bumby left Mangungu at 3 o'clock and joined the *Triton* at 8pm but not until 2pm on 23 May did she cross the bar and set course for Kawhia. On board were John Waterhouse and John Bumby, Thomas and Mrs Buddle destined for the Aotea station, H. Hanson Turton and Mrs Turton to be landed at Kawhia, Samuel and Sarah Ironside, and George Buttle and John Aldred who would be left at Kawhia to proceed overland to Wanganui. With them, but proceeding into the Pacific, were Francis and Mrs Wilson, George Kevern and his wife who were bound for Tonga, and Thomas and Mrs Williams for Fiji. Having settled these people on their respective mission stations John Waterhouse would then return to Sydney, pick up Mr and Mrs Webb, together with Francis Wilson's luggage and supplies, and return to Fiji, Tonga and New Zealand for the district meetings.

On a fine day with a favourable wind, John Bumby preached in the morning, and Samuel Ironside took the evening service. Towards midnight the wind increased to almost gale force and continued in this manner for thirty-six hours. All were sick. Three of the crew, in stowing the jib, were thrown overboard by a sudden lurch of the ship — but fortunately they were rescued. Samuel Ironside records:

> "Arriving off Kawhia, the wind was dead on shore; the bar a formidable obstacle at all times, was considered not fit to take. The waves were running in huge volumes like moving hills over it. So we tried to beat offshore out of the bight between Cape Egmont and Waikato. For thirty-six hours we were thrashing away in a vain attempt — some of us lending a hand to help the weary sailors in working the ship. The words — 'Ready about! — Helm's are Alee!' — 'Tacks and sheets!' — 'Let go and haul!' became to us familiar household words. But

[37] *NZ Methodist*, 27 December 1890.

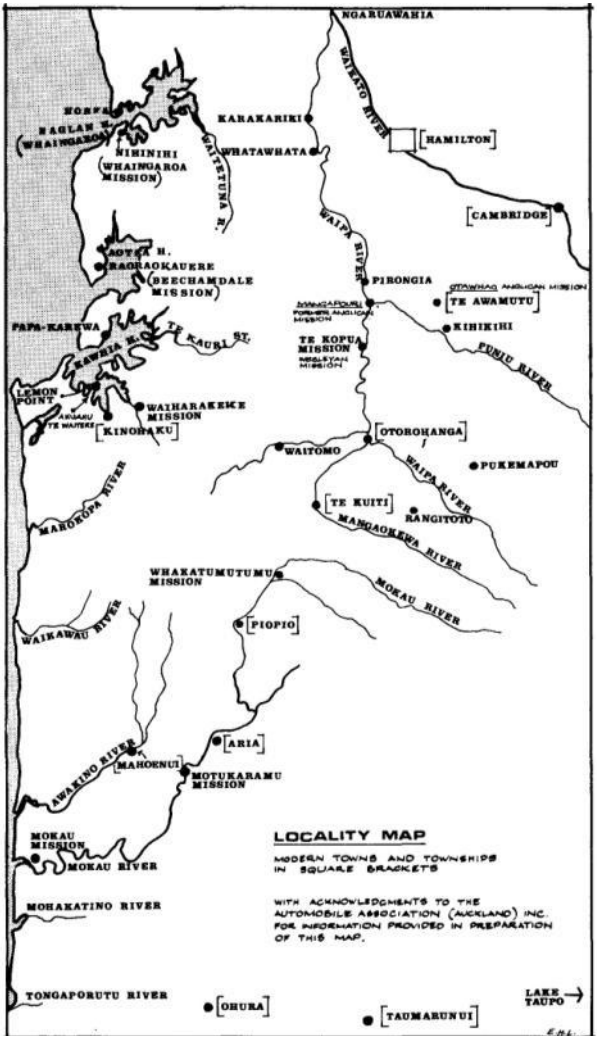
all was of no avail. Every fresh tack found us drifting more and more to leeward, towards the inhospitable iron-bound coast. The situation became serious. The provisions were running short. Already a valuable domestic animal I had brought as a start in stocking the station I had to form, was sacrificed to the needs of the cabin table. Our captain was not equal in nerve to the trying circumstances. Mr Waterhouse, full of anxiety for the valuable human freight under his care, sought counsel from God in his cabin, came on deck, and told the captain we must take the bar. The Captain was uncertain as to whether he should not run before the wind, round Cape Reinga and make for the Bay of Islands. The outlook was gloomy, and the crew dis-spirited. 'Well, come! we must have a little faith and its legitimate fruit, works,' said Mr Waterhouse. After pausing a little, the captain said, 'Come then, Mr Buck, about ship'.

"On behalf of the owners, John Waterhouse assumed responsibility. All passengers were ordered below, the hatches battened down, the yards squared, and the ship was headed towards the formidable bar, with frightful mountain billows rolling over it, and heavy breakers to the right and left on the sandspit op either side. Truly it was a sight to try the strongest nerve. Mr Turton begged to be allowed on deck with Mr Waterhouse and the ship's officers; and we waited below in fearful suspense. One, two, three heavy seas broke over the deck sweeping everything before them. Through Divine Providence we did not touch the bar, and in a few minutes the joyous shout was heard that we were over the bar; all was clear. Very shortly after we were made safe at anchor within the Kawhia Heads and we sang the doxology with much feeling. Mr Waterhouse told us with emotion how thankful he was. He had trembled as he took the responsibility, but his action had undoubtedly saved the ship and our lives." [38]

[38] Ibid.

5

Kawhia
1840



Locality map Raglan-Kawhia-Mokau area from *Te Hahi Weteriana* — Three Half Centuries of the Methodist Maori Missions 1822-1972 by George I. Laurenson, in Vol 27 Nos 1 and 2 *Proceedings,* Wesley Historical Society of New Zealand.

Torrents of rain fell that night, but all was secure aboard the *Triton*. Bumby with some of the Maori lads went in the ship's whaleboat to Whiteley's mission house, returning the following day with Whiteley to bring John Waterhouse ashore. In spite of a hurricane overtaking the party on Kawhia Harbour the weather abated towards evening, and Waterhouse was delighted with the wild and beautiful scenery. The mission premises were well situated on a peninsula near Kinohaku.[1] The mission station was at Ahuahu, on the opposite side of the bay from where Woon commenced missionary work in 1834. The weatherboard mission house was not finished, but when it was, Waterhouse observed, it would be "patriarchal in its simplicity both of design and furnishing".

It was a wonder that so much had been achieved. The Whiteleys had returned only in the first week of January 1839, after a three weeks' overland journey from Mangungu. Mary and her three daughters Elizabeth, Sarah and Little Mary had survived this arduous experience but John Whiteley's infant son had died. Since then the house had been well advanced in building, and the gardens laid out. Potatoes and kumeras had been cultivated, peaches, cherries and lemon trees planted and grape vines established. Fish was plentiful, so was the unfamiliar shellfish 'pipi' in the sands and there were wood pigeons and porkers in the bush. Besides this, goats' milk and cream came from their own stock. In fact, the mission station was beginning to show the harvest of hard physical work.

The same was true of the missionary work among the Maori people. When the Whiteleys returned, at the request of a dozen Ngati Maniapoto people who had travelled three weeks through enemy territory to make the request, they were assured of both welcome and support. The thirteen months' residence at Waiharakeke had borne fruit, for the principal chief, Haupokia, second only to Te Wherowhero in regional influence and a proven warrior whose name was known far and wide, had begun to attend worship regularly during that period. With his support, both in Waikato and the conquered territories of Taranaki, much might be achieved. Quite early in Whiteley's first residency in Kawhia he had intervened in the Waikato-Taranaki wars, so that he was already known to both tribes, and it was not surprising when, in July 1839, a deputation from Taranaki arrived asking for books and teachers.[2] Both were supplied, the teachers being Winera Te Awataia (or William Naylor) and Hohaia. A leading chief in the Waikato confederacy, William Naylor had fought against the Taranakis, and after his conversion went to live among them at Moturoa to prepare them for the return home of fellow tribesmen still captive in

[1] Today the site is known as Te Waitere, Maori for "Whiteley". Sometimes it is known as Lemon Point after the lemon grove planted by Whiteley. It is also known as Te Ahuahu, the original name for the point.

[2] W. W. H. Greenslade, "John Whiteley 1806-1869", *Wesley Historical Society* vol. 24, nos. 3-4, 1968, p. 14.

Waikato. Whiteley saw the settlement of the Taranaki-Waikato conflict as his first duty. His influence increased, as his courage and concern for the welfare of the whole region were proven, and in the nine months between his arrival at Kawhia and the arrival of the *Triton*, 459 adults and 167 children had been baptised; 137 couples had requested Christian marriage, and the Kawhia mission station membership stood at 336 full members with forty-nine on trial for membership.

The day after the arrival of the *Triton*, three of the missionaries on board had visited the mission house. Waterhouse was given Whiteley's small room with a thin ship's mattress while John Bumby and the others shared another room, without a blanket between them on the bare boards. Next day beds and mattresses were brought ashore — all hands providing for the women, who of necessity had to sleep in one room. Whatever the austerity and the crowded conditions, it was better than the rush house, 39 feet by 29 feet, with neither floor, partition, fireplace nor window, that the Whiteleys had previously occupied at Waiharakeke from November 1834 till June 1836.[3] The visitors were not to know that. They were relieved to be on shore, but soon realised that Mary Whiteley was not well and that it was impossible for them all to be accommodated there for long during a very wet season.

Once on shore General Superintendent Waterhouse was anxious to see as much of the working of the mission station as possible. On 30 May a chief from Aotea pressed his claim for a resident missionary. The next day, Sunday, while Samuel Ironside took the morning service at Kawhia, John Whiteley took John Waterhouse to the service at Mahoe. In the afternoon Waterhouse preached at Kawhia and Whiteley interpreted, and at half past five Waterhouse again preached — this time to the mission party and a few sailors and Europeans from the area. Always his aim was to encourage, and that mission party had much need of encouragement. Three of the wives were pregnant and two at least were ill. His text was Psalm 126: 5-6. "Before embarking in such a work," he said, "they should all [men and women] accompany John the Baptist into the wilderness, and, taking his life for their rule, count the cost: then they will be happy with hard work and coarse fare, in circumstances more trying than any English minister can conceive." [4]

It was, in fact, a dispiriting time yet an excitement and satisfaction pervaded the anxiety. Some were counting the cost of missionary service and vital decisions had to be made concerning the women. Waterhouse records in his journal:[5] "On Monday, June 1, the rain continued. Time was spent preparing the *Triton* for sea. In the evening Mr Wallis arrived from Waingaroa having come at considerable risk of health to visit the brethren.

[3] ibid. p. 10.

[4] Alfred Barrett, *The life 4 the Reverend John Hewgill Bumby*, London, 1852, p. 273.

[5] ibid. p. 273f.

> "On Tuesday, June 2, there was more rain and the men were still engaged principally in re-arranging accommodation on the *Triton* for Mr Waterhouse to take over the berth vacated by Mr Buddle, the stern cabin being so excessively uncomfortable.
>
> "On Wednesday, June 3, there was still more rain. [Mr Waterhouse] met with all the brethren and determined that Mr Turton should go to Aotea, by which arrangement the Chief of that place would have his wants supplied and Mr Turton would have access to about a thousand natives, and also have the advantage of Mr Whiteley's judicious superintendence."

Having decided this, he accompanied Mr and Mrs Buddle and Mr Wallis about six miles by water. Mrs Buddle was then put in a chair and carried on the shoulders of some Maoris, a two days' journey, about thirty miles mostly through bush, in the depth of a New Zealand winter. This was no trifle for a delicate woman in late pregnancy.

On Thursday 4 June the rains continued. A company of christian Maoris with their chief, William Naylor, arrived on their way to Taranaki as peacemakers. A large party had gone before them to claim Taranaki as theirs by right of conquest. Muriwenua, the chief, who had set out with a war party for Taranaki, hoped to persuade some of the Haupokia and the Mokau people to join him on the expedition. Realising the danger to the Taranakis, a large party of christian Maoris headed by John Hobbs (Karawhero) resolved to accompany the hostile party. They sent for William Naylor of adjacent Waingaroa, who determined to overtake the warriors, and passing ahead of them, to join the christian Maoris of Taranaki against whom he had been opposed in battle but a few years before. The christian Maoris of Waikato hoped to act as a defence to the people who had been daily dreading the arrival of their foes and, if possible, to prevent bloodshed and restore peace. On arriving at Kawhia William Naylor and his party surrounded the missionaries, who sang to their great joy "Soldiers of Christ Arise". Mr Waterhouse then told them that he was glad they had abandoned their former warlike practices; and hoped they would now become valiant soldiers of Christ, and be rendered successful peacemakers on earth. They entered their canoes, and sped on their journey, while the mission party pressed ahead with preparations for their own departure.[6] There had been rain ever since the arrival of the *Triton.* Roads were almost impassable. Waterhouse records:

> "I am wet from morning to night, more like a farmer half buried in mud, than a Minister. But we are all on our Master's business, and cheerful as larks. Had I not counted the cost, my harp would have been hung on the willows." [7]

[6] ibid. 274.
[7] ibid. 275.

On Saturday 6 June all hands were at work preparing to weigh anchor. Mrs Wilson was seriously ill, and Waterhouse was quite at a loss what to do. Francis Wilson wished Waterhouse to take the responsibility of saying whether she should continue the journey or be left at Kawhia. There were difficulties either way but Waterhouse was most inclined to taking her on board again, as she said she was quite as well at sea. At eleven o'clock Mrs Wilson was taken on board in a chair. Farewells were said and the *Triton* soon dropped down to the heads. On Sunday the seventh the weather was fine and the wind favourable. Soundings were taken. Whiteley and Bumby joined in the service on board the *Triton,* while Samuel lronside preached to the people at Ahuahu and later went up river to speak with heathen villagers. About one o'clock the *Triton* crossed the bar and with a smooth water and a fair wind set sail for Tonga. Before the vessel had arrived at her destination, Mrs Wilson had died. And John Bumby was drowned near Motutapu Island, while returning to the Hokianga.

Reinforcements for the mission staff had brought the possibility of opening up new mission stations. Already John Bumby and John Hobbs had recommended Port Nicholson, Porirua and Kapiti as new mission station sites, but further information was required about the Taranaki area, from which many of the slaves held by the Kawhia and Waikato tribes had come. To obtain this information, and to accompany a band of approximately 200 freed slaves returning to their home lands in Taranaki, Samuel Ironside, John Aldred and George Buttle were selected to set out from the Ahuahu mission station on an overland winter journey to Wanganui (the southern boundary of .Taranaki) with the intention of proceeding to Port Nicholson if possible.

Of this team Samuel Ironside was now the most experienced missionary. He was twenty-five years of age and had been in New Zealand sixteen months. John Aldred was twenty-two and George Buttle thirty. Both had been in the country a little over one month. Neither was proficient in the Maori language. For them the journey was a training exercise. Being responsible for the ecclesiastical function and interests, Ironside entered these carefully in his journal. John Aldred, also a diarist, recorded the weather, conditions of travel and day to day events. By carefully combining these two diaries a comprehensive record is available.[8]

> "It having been thought advisable by the District Meeting that I should take a journey overland, through the whole district of Taranaki, for the purpose of looking out the most eligible place as a mission station, I set out from this place in the early part of last June, having as fellow travellers, Messrs Buttle and Aldred." (Ironside)

1840, Tuesday 9 June

[8] To mark the source of the information Aldred's name has been inserted after material drawn from his journal, and Ironside's after extracts from his journal. Buttle did not keep a journal on this trip.

"Mrs Whiteley furnished us with those things which were required for the journey, Mr Bumby with a tent. About one o'clock this day we left home and friends, the Rev. Messrs Bumby and Turton kindly accompanied us the first stage. Shortly afterwards we found ourselves in the midst of an extensive mud flat where we sometimes sank up to the knees. This, with a number of creeks which we had to cross, made the former part of this day's journey rather tedious and unpleasant. We arrived towards evening at Mangatangi, where having refreshed ourselves and dried our garments we held service. Mr Bumby gave out a hymn and I prayed. We reached this place about 5 o'clock." (Aldred)

Wednesday 10 June

"This morning after services with the people of the place and commending each other to God, we parted from our friends and proceeded on our journey." (Ironside)

"We had several miles to go in canoes which brought us to the seaside. Travelling on the beach is very pleasant, but our pleasantness is often destroyed by the lofty mountains and rough stones over which we have to pass. We were struck with the appearance of the sand, there was a large quantity of iron ore mixed with it. Two villages lay between us and our sleeping place, both of which we stayed at and took refreshments." (Aldred)

"About mid-day we arrived at Han Hari: Haupokia, a principal chief of the Waikato tribe resides here. Not being able to proceed on our journey on account of the tide, I made the most of our detention by calling the natives together and showing them the necessity of 'repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ'. When the tide would allow us to proceed by the light of the moon, along the beach for two or three hours to Kiritehere, here, though it was late, people rose to welcome us. They were very anxious for books, but our stock being very small we dare not listen to their requests, we must reserve our books for more urgent cases." (Ironside)

"From Hari Hari Haupokia (great chief) went with us. He is a tall, strong athletic man. The road over which we had to pass was exceedingly bad (especially the huge stones) and several times when ready to give up, Haupokia would come to my assistance and on his gigantic limbs was borne the weary traveller. At length we came to a river over which we had to pass, he was the first who went over, and having left his blanket came to carry us over. Brothers Ironside and Buttle were carried over by him and having passed over sandbanks and hills came at length to Kiritehere where we immediately retired to rest." (Aldred)

Thursday 11 June

"Arose and breakfasted. During the morning were frequently disturbed by hideous and doleful mourning for a dead child, for whom they were also making

a coffin. A most (unknown) dangerous and difficult day's journey had been performed by us. At our starting we were troubled by a scarcity of lads. After some time got two and proceeded." (Aldred)

"In our journey today we had to climb over a high precipitous rock called Pirimoko. It was fearfully grand. In some places we had not more than four or five inches on which to place our foot and nothing as a stay for our hands but the naked rock, and this at a height of 1000 or 1200 feet from the stones below, against which the sea was breaking with awful violence." (Ironside)

"When up very high we were obliged to take off shoes and stockings and be literally dragged up by the natives. Under us were fearful rocks and foaming breakers." (Aldred)

"In all my voyagings and journeyings I never thought myself so near eternity as I did whilst crossing that terrific pass — a single slip and all would have been lost." (Ironside)

"Death must have been the lot of him who should fall. God graciously preserved us. Slept at Nukuhakane." (Aldred)

Friday 12th June

"Started, having Mokau about two days' journey from us, slept at Waikauau." (Aldred)

"After service this morning with the natives, we travelled on as rough and unpleasant a journey as any we have seen up precipitous hills, down deep ravines, across nasty swamp, etc. By 4 o'clock we arrived at Waikauau where, though tired, I got the people together, taking Gal. 6:7-8 as my text. Warned them against being 'deceived' for God is not mocked etc." (Ironside)

Saturday 13 June

"Blessed with fine weather, still found an abundance of shells. In the afternoon walked barefooted, favoured with delightful scenery and remarkable sight, large rocks through which the slow wearing waves had formed arches. I was reminded of a passage of. . .[9] Arrived at Mokau in the evening where we met with Muriwenua and his party who had left his Kainga (village) for the purpose of visiting Taranaki, whose inveterate enemy he had been for years, and by whom for as many years he has been dreaded. Thither he has at different times conducted his warlike tribe, to scatter, tear, and slay, and there he has left many to slumber in the dust. The report was that many years ago he lost some of his bravest and best men, being not only fought against by the natives but by several

[9] The word is missing from the journal.

Europeans also, who were then living there at a whaling station and who had several large guns. These circumstances it is said were still fresh to his memory and he was going to be avenged by killing as payment for them (their native custom), others that he claimed Taranaki, and as they had sold it was going for part of the payments, others that he is going to make peace.

"He was housed in a place not far from the spot on which we pitched our tent. We paid him a visit. I was particularly struck with the whole appearance. He is an old man bending under his weight of years. He was sitting on the ground, his back supported by the side of the building. At his feet a woman was lying, before him his men were sitting, around the house were to be seen their glittering weapons, guns, etc." (Aldred)

"There are also a number of Christian natives who have determined to accompany their heathen neighbours and thus, as far as possible, restrain them. I am truly thankful that we have overtaken them, as the heathen party will be prevented doing any mischief at that oppressed place Taranaki . . . Muriwenua appears not a little disconcerted at our arrival as his evil intention will be frustrated." (Ironside)

"I shall never forget the weeping, wailing, and shouting of the poor slaves as we came out on the brow of a hill, near Mokau, and had a view of grand old Taranaki [Mt Egmont] 9000 feet high with his sugar loaf crown . . . a sight these hundreds of poor fellows had lost all hope of ever seeing again." [10]

Sunday 14 June

"The day of rest has dawned upon us, but how unlike the happy ones I have enjoyed in beloved England. What with the yelling of dogs and pigs, and the shouts and screams of the war party, my soul felt 'cast down within me', but I felt profit in meditating on the 42nd psalm. In the forenoon I gathered the hundreds together, and addressed them on the love of God — contrasting it with their cruel purposes and urged on them the reception of the Gospel from John 3: 16-18." (Ironside) "Muriwenua was present." (Aldred)

"Much greater stillness and attention was displayed than I had anticipated — my soul was blessed whilst endeavouring to benefit others. Jacob, a native teacher of the Christian party addressed them with great propriety. After dinner I met a class of about 20, who, even here where no missionary has previously been, are desiring to be acquainted with the truth as it is in Jesus." (Ironside)

"Visited a pa down the river." (Aldred)

[10] *N.Z. Methodist*, 27 December 1890.

> "After another service with the natives in the evening, my brethren and I met together for social prayer and thus concluded the services of the day." (Ironside)
>
> "Retired early to rest." (Aldred)

Monday-Thursday 15-18 June.

> "Got very little sleep last night owing to the shouts, dances, songs of the war party." (Ironside)
>
> "Started about noon having got a pig and potatoes for four days as no villages lay between Mokau and Nga Motu, four days' journey. In the afternoon the lads troubled us, they cannot carry food far. Having gone a short distance and had food, took a little rest and walked in the night. . . . As the poor people of Taranaki are full of fears respecting their enemies, we think it right to make a push and get there before them to prepare the way. . . . Weather fine and pleasant.
>
> Had a bad river [Aranui] to cross. While waiting for the tide Brother Buttle caught some fish, the natives four wild pigs. Were obliged to strip and be led over above the knees in mud. . . Having another river to cross we started early, over which we were safely carried by natives though up to the neck in water [Waitara]. Here we got thoroughly wet, took off our clothes and wrapped ourselves up in blankets. Travelling was now painful to me, having got a stone in the sole of my foot." (Aldred)

Thursday 18 June.

> "Our journey, for the last three or four days has been over a large extent of fine fern land, watered by several splendid rivers — but not a single inhabitant, they have all been destroyed or dispersed by the sanguinary feuds and quarrels with the natives.
>
> A few years back this district was thickly populated — this is evident from the number of fortifications in ruins and from the vast quantity of pigs running wild in every direction, left by the people in the hurry of their flight. We arrived just before nightfall at Nga Motu north of the Cape Egmont of Captain Cook. As we neared the native settlement at Nga Motu we could see the few people, taking alarm at our numbers, run across the beach into the tide way, scramble on board the canoes, and paddle off in all haste to the outermost rock, in caves of which they had their sleeping place, only coming on shore by stealth to plant and gather their food. No signals of ours could induce them to come to us. Their dinner, fish and potatoes, was in pots over the fire. Our overtures of peace were at length accepted.[11] O when shall wars cease! When, O Prince of Peace, shall Thy Gospel

[11] ibid.

have universal sway! This spot appears to present most powerful claims for a missionary. He would be a stay and defence, the poor people would be encouraged to cultivate their lands, which, at the present, they dare not do — those who are at present exiles and wanderers, would return to their own homes, and peace and salvation would result." (Ironside)

"Provision House, Otumatua Pah, Cape Egmont 1842." This storehouse would have been seen by Samuel Ironside in June 1840. Reproduced from a painting by Charles Heaphy.
Alexander Turnbull Library.

Friday 19th

"The Christian party, William Naylor and John Hobbs.. . ." (Aldred)

> " . . . arrived this morning and reported that Muriwenua would be here either today or tomorrow. All is consequently bustle and excitement. Went this afternoon to look out a place for a station and to give directions for putting up a native house. Found one very eligible within a short distance from the principal settlement of natives. Its name is 'Te Wai Tapu' (the sacred water). May God grant that from this place 'the sacred waters' of eternal life may flow in streams of salvation to the 'perishing people of the neighbourhood'. As some of the people have been meeting in class on trial for some months and are well recommended by their leader, I examined them this evening, preparatory to their being admitted into the church next Sabbath by the sacred rite of baptism." (Ironside)

Saturday 20 June

> "The war party arrived this morning." (Ironside)
>
> "About breakfast time Muriwenua was seen near us. He was received in the usual way by a sort of dance. . . ." (Aldred)
>
> ". . . and proceeded to state that it was their desire to make peace but hoped they might be allowed to fire off their guns in memory of the dead belonging to them who had fallen in battle. This was allowed by the Taranaki natives — plenty of powder was wasted away and this affair ended." (Ironside)
>
> "While this was going on, Muriwenua sat insensible. He might have been reverting to former days of war and bloodshed and to those of friends who had been slain near the spot. The chiefs on both sides made speeches, all expressive of peace, with the invitations to their respective kaingas. It was an interesting sight." (Aldred)
>
> "It is to be hoped that these wars are at an end. May God grant permanency!" (Ironside)

Sunday 21 June

> "The chapel being too small for the congregation, and the weather fine, I assembled the natives on the beach near the camp of the war party to give them an opportunity of hearing. Having liberty of speech I addressed them from Romans 1:16. 'I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ' etc. I afterwards baptized the candidates, 21 in number. The spectacle was imposing. Great attention was paid. After dinner we had a native school. In the evening we again held service, after which I married seven couples of those baptized in the

morning. My brethren and myself concluded the interesting services of this day by an English prayer meeting." [12] (Ironside)

Monday-Tuesday 22-23 June

"The day dawned upon us fine, bidding us thereby proceed. Trouble in getting lads for bundles. Two followed us with two bundles in the evening. How filthy in their habits, two or three gnawing at the same bone.. . . Caught a fine pig which was found by a dog in hunting pigs. Their value consists. . . Passed over a vast quantity of flat land, wild turnips are found." (Aldred)

Wednesday 24 June

"A good day's journey, flat land, still both ourselves and lads almost destitute of food. This day's journey brought us to the fatal spot where the *Harriet* (a whaling barque) was wrecked a few years ago. . . Many parts of her are still to be seen, old rope, etc., she being driven on shore, was plundered by the natives and many lost their lives. The natives plundered her, murdered ten of the sailors and took the captain's wife, Mrs Guard, whom they violated. . ." (Aldred)

" . . . and the super cargo to their fortification, where she was treated most brutally by two of the natives and detained there for several months." (Ironside)

"For the purpose of punishing them and rescuing the lady, Her Majesty's ship the *Alligator* visited these shores. Two sailors started for Kawhia, our station. One lost his life on the way, the other got frost bitten in his feet, was found by the natives, taken to Mokau, rescued by Mr Whiteley from them taken at last to Hokianga, where at length he died." (Aldred)

"The natives think they were mercifully treated by, Her Majesty's ship *Alligator* as only two of them were killed in payment for the ten Europeans. This I had from the natives as we journeyed along with the wreck before us." (Ironside)

Thursday 25 June

"The weather remarkably fine, but have had a deal of swampy walking. One of our lads had a fall, not seriously injured." (Aldred)

"After a long day's march, almost faint with hunger, we arrived this evening at Otumatua,[13] a very extensive fortification. . . . The whole city came out to meet us." (Ironside)

[12] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 19 June 1840.

[13] Otumatua. C. L. Baker, secretary of the Patea Historical Society, writes: "As nearly as we could judge it is in the vicinity of the present Opunake . . . Otumatua is shown at a large Bay called Egmont Bay, and is probably the bay where Opunake is." Letter dated 25 October 1977.

"The natives being arranged in a row (their custom) I shook hands 163 times . . ." (Aldred) ". . . and then desisted. Most of the lads found relatives at this place, with whom they had a tangi (a cry) according to custom, the wailing and howling was dismal; I discovered another very powerful reason for wishing to escape from hell 'There will be weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth'." (Ironside)

"Here we bought a pig. Here we met a European who professes he came from Manchester, visited this coast in a brig, had a fall from the yard arm, was put on shore by the captain with a promise of calling for him in three months, but that he had disappointed him. I think he is some run-away sailor." (Aldred)

Friday 26 June

"Weather cold but fine." (Aldred)

"More than 200 natives assembled together this morning. I addressed them on the parable of the Pharisee and publican. The people very desirous that we would spend the Sabbath here, but as this is only Friday and there are two other very populous places within a day's distance we determined to go there, so most of them are for going along with us. Their desire for books and religious instruction is very great. God hath set before us an open door in these parts. There is work in the Taranaki district alone, where we are now travelling, for four missionaries and they are likely to have but one owing to the want of other places. . . . Left Otumatua about noon, a noisy rabble, a disobliging people. When we were about to start a great dispute arose about some firewood. It was said by a party that it had been taken from them, but no payment had been given. It was a serious quarrel, our lives were threatened. Though one of our lads made a speech, through the good providence of God not a hair of our head was touched. We gave the European an offer to go with us which he would not accept. . . . From what we saw we received a very bad impression — it is certain that his intimate intercourse with the natives will be a curse and not a blessing.

"At Oao, about a day's journey south of Nga Motu, we had a narrow escape from death at the hands of the old chief of the place. Our people had unwittingly taken some dry kindling from an old wahi tapu (sacred place). The old man worked himself into a fearful rage. He would have utu (revenge) for the sacrilege. Loud, and long, and angry was the talk. My two brethren did not understand the purport of the speeches, and I thought it best not to tell them. We had with us a baptized native (George Morley), related to the people of the village. He made a telling speech: he, their son, had come back to them, and brought these ministers to teach them the Gospel, and this was to be the end of it! Well, if they saw fit, they might kill his white friends, but should kill him, their son first. At last he suggested that we might make a peace offering. . . a regatta shirt or two, some figs of tobacco, etc. After a long talk the old man consented. I had been an

anxious listener and readily agreed to the terms: so peace was made and we were allowed to go on our journey." (Ironside)

Saturday 27 June

"Bad walking, fine level sand with a little trouble might be cultivated." (Aldred)

"Was surrounded all the journey of today with a guard of natives listening to my discourse, concerning the things of God. I related to them the history of Jonah with which they were very much pleased. Arrived about four today at the river Ngateko.[14] On the hill on one side is Orangituapeka, a pa which contained 150 natives — on the other side stands Waimate with a population much greater. We took our station between the two, as well to prevent ill feeling as to avoid the noise and confusion of the natives." (Ironside)

"From reports we feared that we might not have a very quiet Sunday by reason of the number." (Aldred)

Sunday 28 June

"About this we prayed, had a comfortable day. Brother Ironside preached and baptized, the number at Waimate and the other pa I should think about 300. (This was the pa that the *Alligator* visited, which circumstance was fresh to them.) Here it is that the abused lady was confined." (Aldred)

"There were here a number of candidates for baptism, recommended by Lazarus, Harrison and Zechariah, three native teachers. Early this morning I examined them and was much pleased and satisfied. We had nearly 300 at service and I called the attention of the people to Matthew 3:11-12. Afterwards 19 candidates were baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity. Found here a native teacher Wiremu Nera (William Naylor) who had come to fetch us to his place and baptize his people who had been meeting in class more than two years." (Ironside)

Monday 29 June

"Evidently as might be expected with a change of moon was a change of weather. The morning was threatening; drops of rain foretold a copious shower; we proceeded. I had that morning purchased a native cape which kept my upper parts dry. Brothers Ironside and Buttle got drenched. Our grief was not so much that we were wet but our prospect of lodgings for the night after a tedious journey. We reached Tangahoe where Wiremu Nera's people are, in good time. About 240 met us there, as there was to be a baptism." (Aldred)

[14] Ngateko referred to the three pas Orangituapeka, Waimate and Wharenui. It seems reasonable to assume that the Ngateko River was used as an alternative name for the Kapuni Stream. G. L. Baker, letter 9 March 1977.

"As soon as our clothes were dry, etc., we inquired into the character of the candidates for baptism. Afterwards retired to rest." (Ironside)

"We found our way into our lodging room and found it exceedingly convenient for those students, who, impressed with the value of time, are desirous of studying geography by day and astronomy by night. We wrapped ourselves in blankets. The heads and feet of the company might be seen east, west, north and south. We longed like the watchman for the dawn of day. Our bread and salt were done. Presented with a large hog. Heard that two ships are at Wanganui." (Aldred)

Tuesday 30 June

"Early this morning I again examined the candidates and endeavoured to impress on them the obligations of the solemn vow which they were about to take upon themselves. After breakfast I read the baptismal service, received satisfactory answers to the questions proposed. They were then solemnly dedicated to God. There were 42 of them." (Ironside)

"The weather is finer. Started about noon. The path to Patea lay on the cliff — travelled two or three hours, pitched our tent and retired to rest. Brother Buttle complains of a pain in his knee."

Wednesday 1 July

"In the forenoon had a shower of rain and feared its continuance. Cleared up." (Aldred)

"This morning we passed a magnificent natural basin in form resembling the keel of a ship, my feelings were powerfully excited as we walked over the arched rock and saw the foaming billows on every side below us. Came about noon to Patea, a fine river, but owing to the bar across the entrance, only available to small craft. We found here the neatest purely native chapel I have seen in the island — not a nail had been used in the erection. Got into the pulpit and felt my heart warm while addressing them from Romans 10:1. Two missionaries should be placed here immediately. In a circuit of twenty miles there are more than a thousand souls without a shepherd, four or five chapels are erected and a native building is put up for a dwelling house." (Ironside)

"At a short distance is another pa. This afternoon had a little trouble with the lads who were not disposed to go on. We travelled for some time alone. We were joined by them in the evening. Perhaps at three pas there might be two hundred." (Aldred)

Thursday-Friday 2-3 July

> "Last night was certainly the most unpleasant we have had, the weather was very squally and windy, our tent was blown down when in bed, it was then covered over us and thus we were situated for the night. Arrived at Waitotara in good time. It is a pa, situated a considerable distance inland. . . . Left in good time, the weather fine, detained by the tide. Amused with a playful whale; unable to reach Wanganui; obliged to sleep in the open air. I wrapped myself up in blankets and got into a hole made by the natives for that purpose." (Aldred)

Saturday 4 July

> "Weather cold and frosty." (Aldred)
>
> "This morning we reached Wanganui, .the southern boundary of Taranaki, having travelled hard the two preceding days in order to reach it. We were very much surprised to find that two of the church missionaries are settled here. We have endeavoured religiously to observe the treaty entered into by the Home Committees. Heard also that Mr Hadfield, another of their missionaries is at Kapiti. This river is very extensive — the natives pull their canoe ten days' journey up before they get to the top, and there is a numerous population all along its banks. Mare, chief at whose village we are staying, has begun to seek the Lord with his people, through the instructions of Wiremu Nera, who has frequently visited him. He has put up a chapel and tells me he shall give us no rest until we send him a missionary. This was the intention of the District Meeting that one should settle here . . . Visited Mr Mason, church missionary, who had not arrived many days. He is living in a tent — house not finished — imperfectly acquainted with the native tongue — surrounded by as noisy and impudent a rabble as I have seen." (Ironside)
>
> "Mr Matthews, a catechist, was daily expected. We visited the captain of the schooner *Surprise* by whom we were most kindly treated: he supplied our wants." (Aldred)

Sunday 5 July

> "At the request of Mr Mason, one of the missionaries, I went across the water and addressed his congregation." (Ironside)
>
> "A large company, not of the most quiet order." (Aldred)
>
> "Afternoon returned to our tent, and got this people together. Gave them a short address on perseverance and that faith they had so recently embraced." (Ironside)
>
> "Early retired to rest having first had our prayer meeting." (Aldred)

Monday 6 July

> "Thought about getting a passage to Port Nicholson. Our lads would not be taken, this prevented us. Dined with the captain, called again upon Mr Mason for a few stores sent by the captain, who likewise took tea with us. Spent some time thinking about my going to Port Nicholson. Decided at last for me to go. Got my things on board, took leave of my brethren." (Aldred)

Tuesday 7 July

> "Started off on our return home, having been prevented accomplishing our purpose of going to Port Nicholson through the want of natives — the people here are afraid of the Ngatiraukawa, the tribe south of them. . . It was agreed that Aldred should go on to Port Nicholson by boat." (Ironside)

> "Being left alone, I sat and thought and prayed. I looked at the rate of lodgings at Port Nicholson; the little money I had in my pocket and feared to draw a bill; our conversation the preceding evening; these things formed a burden painful to bear. I determined to follow my brethren, got three lads, after great difficulty got away. It was now dark. Got on to the beach, saw the fire which had been kindled by them. My lads began to be impatient and angry with me, I got a little way before I took off my shoes and stockings and continued running until I found they were comfortably seated by the fireside about to take supper to which I also had a hearty welcome. My lads soon came up!" (Aldred)

Wednesday-Friday 8-10 July

> "Arrived this afternoon at Waitotara, here they have built a neat chapel and are very anxious for books and a missionary. I endeavoured, in a short address, to point them to Jesus the Saviour of mankind. They were very attentive." (Ironside)

> "A little trouble with the Wanganui lads. Had pleasant weather. Now seated in the chapel at Waitotara. . . Great trouble to get lads, paid one before we started, which put a disposition into five to go with us. We fell in with two going to our home for books who assisted us ... Left Patea where we had spent the night. After having procured a pig got in good time to Tangahoe: the natives had gone to their place inland." (Aldred)

Saturday 11 July

> "The morning dawned upon us with threatening aspect of wind and rain and having a scarcity of food were obliged to proceed. It rained at our setting off and as we proceeded increased, so powerful was the wind I was afraid I should have to give up." (Aldred)

"We arrived at Warowaro Nui, the hill between the two native cities Waimate and Orangituapeka. The people gladly received us and brought plenty of potatoes and firewood." (Ironside)

"Were disturbed in the night by the rain coming through." (Aldred)

Sunday 12 July

"This morning I went to Waimate pa. The chapel was crowded with natives. I preached on the compassion of Christ to repenting sinners from Mark 2:14-18. I afterwards gave some suitable advice to the native teachers and exhorted them to steadfastness and perseverance. The afternoon being very boisterous and stormy, the wind blowing a hurricane, I was prevented from visiting the other pa, but spoke to the natives in the house on the spirituality of the Divine requirements. This is a subject with which they are very unacquainted. Our circumstances are very discouraging, near 200 miles from home, in the depth of winter — our tea, sugar, etc., nearly out so that we have been sometime on very short allowances. We held a prayer meeting this evening specially to entreat God on account of the weather." (Ironside)

"Laid down in our blankets to rest — a most uncomfortable night, several hurricanes." (Aldred)

Monday 13 July

"Could not proceed — the first day we have been hindered. It was an uncomfortable day, being thronged by natives. Here we missed some tobacco which the lad who carries it said was stolen." (Aldred)

Tuesday 14 July

"The wind and rain having considerably abated, we ventured to leave our shelter and proceed homewards and got to Otumatua. There is a runaway sailor here who left his ship 5 or 6 months ago calling himself Joseph Harmon — from conversation with him we were not much prejudiced in his favour. These people do missionaries no good." (Ironside)

Wednesday 15 July

"Trouble awaited us again. Having got a pig and ready to proceed, could get no lads and were only laughed at by them. We offered present payment but it availed not. That European has doubtless been a curse to them. I, having thought about staying at Port Nicholson, had the most luggage. Two little boxes containing books, manuscripts, a suit of clothes, etc. were left with the lad to take charge of them. This caused me great sorrow. Having got to our resting place, the lad made his appearance with the boxes, at which my heart danced." (Aldred)

Thursday 16 July

> "We were overtaken this day by a most violent storm of wind and rain; no shelter being at hand, we were obliged to make the best of our circumstances; so we set to work in good earnest and erected a hut of the flax which is very abundant here. In an hour we had raised temporary shelter, and got a large fire on its open side, and even under these circumstances found great cause for thankfulness to God as this was far better than we deserved, and there were doubtless others in far worse conditions. God was with us in our service." (Ironside)

Friday 17 July

> "Weather more promising, travelled well. Showers wetted us in the night. A scarcity of provisions." (Aldred)

Saturday 18 July

> "Arrived this evening at Nga Motu [Cape Egmont] after a very wet fatiguing journey. Feeling very unwell from our exposure to the weather, I desired Josiah, a baptized native of our pa to hold service with the people, he did so very much to my satisfaction." (Ironside)

> " . . . lodged in a native house." (Aldred)

Sunday 19 July

> "The weather finer." (Aldred)

> "I awoke this morning with a considerable pain in my head, and my whole frame debilitated, felt concerned with regard to the services of the day. But was obliged to give up the whole of the service of the forenoon to Josiah and Thomas, my steady lads. Feeling a little better towards evening I addressed the chapel full of people on 1 Kings 18:17-40. I was very much pleased and encouraged by the attention. Having thus travelled over the whole of the Taranaki district from Nga Motu, in the north to Wanganui in the south, we may remark that this district embraces 150 miles of coast. There is no harbour or shelter for shipping except the very important one of Nga Motu, and two rivers Patea and Wanganui, which are unapproachable by vessels drawing seven feet of water, so that the 'bay of Taranaki' in McDowell's chart is a mistake. There are perhaps 3000 people in the district. One hundred have been already baptized, two hundred more are meeting in class. The people are exceedingly anxious to be instructed in the good things of the Gospel. Great attention is paid to the Word of God as far as it has been dispersed among them — and they all scrupulously observe the Sabbath. This is entirely the result of native labour. 'Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things, and blessed be His glorious name forever, and let the whole earth be full of His Glory. Amen and Amen.' " (Ironside)

"While Ironside preached, Brother Buttle and I had a walk, held our prayer meeting and retired to rest." (Aldred)

Monday-Tuesday 20-21 July

"Procured pig and were in good time on our journey. The weather fine in the afternoon, got to the very formidable Waitara, the water was ebbing. Abiram (a kind native) being on the other side, assisted by several, made a float to take over the bundles. Brother Ironside swam over, Brother Buttle and I were led over another part by two natives, it was at the ,time we crossed both dark and frosty The path to our feet was most trying and painful We got in the water, I could but Just stand against the rapid stream Another native got before and broke its velocity A block of wood was concealed by the water over which I fell and hurt my leg We got over safely and were borne on their shoulders to a fire shivering with cold We laid ourselves down m our blankets by the fireside, but were very cold Arose before day to get Oudumua (a river) at low water which we did and comfortably crossed over. Were detained some time by the tide.

Wednesday 22 July

"Started in good time, the tide baffled us. The weather remarkably fine, not able to reach Mokau, our road was bad. The lads inconvenienced us. Having gone before with the tent, we were obliged to sleep in the open air." (Aldred)

Thursday 23 July

"Reached the pa on the southern head of the Mokau river in the forenoon. Having dined, left for Awakino. After having crossed the river we met a native who shocked us with the news of Mr Bumby's death." (Aldred)

"How mysterious are the ways of God. We had been gladdening ourselves with the prospect of all the comforts of home, but when we crossed the river the awful news came upon us like a millstone that Mr Bumby, our beloved Chairman, was drowned a month ago while crossing the firth of the Thames. We would fain have disbelieved it, but the account is so circumstantial that there is no room for doubt. It appears he was returning home by way of the Thames, being afraid of Kaipara; but according to all accounts, the former is far worse than the latter. All his lads are drowned with the exception of one James Garland. This sad and mysterious event took place on June 26th. May it be sanctified to us all. Hearing this intelligence and also hearing that our friends at Ahuahu have knowledge of our little disturbance at Otumatua pa, we think it right to make all haste and get home as their fears will be very probably excited on our account." (Ironside)

"Procured a pig and in sorrow returned to rest." (Aldred)

Friday 24 July

> "Obtained three additional lads, and selecting some of our own, started, intending to travel as fast as possible. God mercifully preserved me from a bad fall; slept in the bush." (Aldred)

Saturday 25 July

> "A hard day, lofty mountains to climb, bad and dangerous road after dark; were lighted with torches." (Aldred)

Sunday 26 *July*

> "The lamentable event caused us to travel on the Sabbath. A most difficult road through the bush. Travelled in the dark with torches." (Aldred)

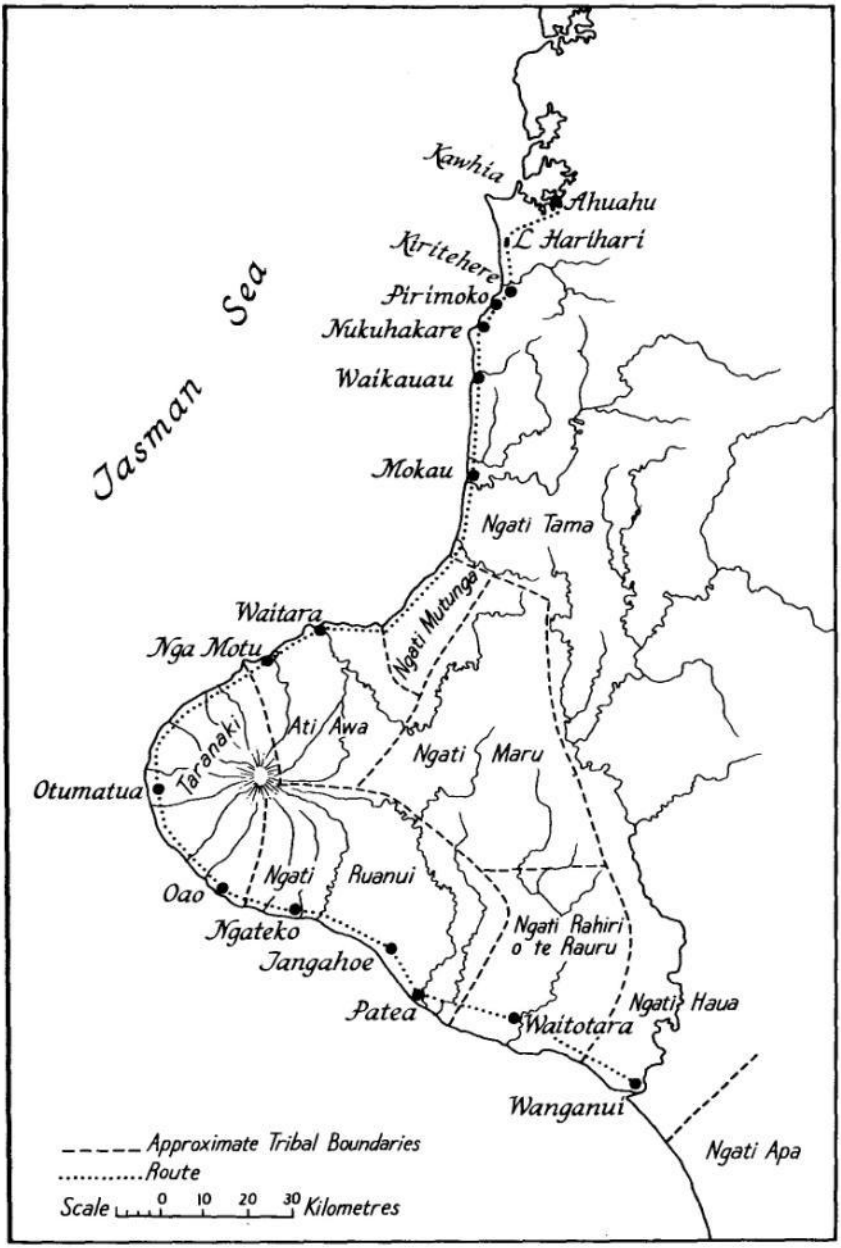
Monday 27 July

> "Started toward home in prospect." (Aldred)
>
> "After toiling hard night and day we arrived home this afternoon, joyful to find my beloved wife and all our friends well in health but in deep sorrow on account of our late bereavement. Mr Whiteley has gone to the Thames to learn the particulars of the event." (Ironside)

Tuesday 28 July

> "Mr Whiteley returned with the account, that eleven natives were drowned, six were saved. The canoe was large and good, the seas calm. It was through the carelessness of the lads. I have now but little that I can do of advantage to the church, preaching to a few Europeans on Sunday, copying some letters for Mr Whiteley and writing of my own, reading, a little English composition, with some attention to the New Zealand language, employing my time. Waiting the arrival of the *Triton."* (Aldred)

On returning from the south, Ironside took up the work of the mission station with zest. The Turtons left to commence work at Aotea on the fifth of August. Ironside and Aldred were sometimes together on preaching and pastoral expeditions, but more often Ironside was preaching to the Maori people while Aldred attended to the work among the European settlers and visiting sailors. The influence of the mission station extended to Waiharakeke, Aotea, Awaroa, Maungatangi, Hari Hari, Mahoe, Kawhia and to the heads where there were both Maori and European settlements. The school at Ahuahu was closely supervised, while the more distant and pioneering work was undertaken by Ironside, or by Ironside and his superintendent, John Whiteley, together.



Map of the overland, winter journey to and from Wanganui, showing the route taken and the tribal boundaries. ***Note:*** **Ngati o te Rauru appears to be a sub-tribe of Nga Rauru.**

The first of these extended trips lasted from 26 August to 2 September 1840. On 26 August, Whiteley and Ironside set out for the Awaroa — Whiteley to sow wheat for the Maoris and Ironside to journey into the interior. Sleeping the night at Awaroa, Ironside set out the next day for Kopua (Raglan). "Here is the largest native chapel I have seen in the land. I examined the candidates for baptism on their religious experience, and gave them a suitable exhortation." The following day (28 August) he baptised seven adults and a few children. After breakfast he and the members of the society partook of the Lord's Supper together. [15] Walking nine miles further inland he arrived the same day at Tihitu, where a friendly chief, baptised Hoani Waitere (John Whiteley), lived. Everything was done to make Ironside comfortable but very bad weather reduced contact with the people to indoor conversations with small groups.

On Sunday 31 August morning service was held in the chapel and ten or twelve adults were baptised plus a number of children. In the afternoon Ironside visited the school in which "numbers were learning the translation of the catechism while about ten or twelve were reading the Scriptures". In the evening he preached on the subject of the Lord's Supper, of which he afterwards partook with members of the society.[16]

Continuing rain made the commencement of the journey for Pareaniwaniwa a matter of faith. After two hours of hard walking, the weather cleared and the people of that village heard with interest "a few plain remarks on the danger of sowing to the flesh and. the blessedness of sowing to the spirit".[17] The following day (1 September) he again spoke to the people on "God's love in redeeming man by His Son Jesus." He then set out on the return journey. "I came away on my return home. Came over worse roads than I have seen lately in New Zealand, precipitous mountains to ascend and descend, was very fatiguing and about three in the afternoon, being well tired we gave up for the day and prepared to pass the night in an open shed. 2nd was very cold all night and arose this morning little refreshed, but after travelling four or five hours came to Mahoe where we got a small canoe and after about two hours paddling arrived in safety at Ahu Ahu, all well and happy, no worse for our journey. Thanks be to God."

While Ironside was inland on this journey, Whiteley and Aldred went to Aotea to consult with Wallis and Buddle on the propiety of making a move south immediately. Several events had occurred to alter the earlier decision by which Ironside was designated for Taranaki. While Ironside, Aldred and Buddle were pushing south overland, Rawiri Waitere (David Whiteley) was sailing north to Kawhia to press the claims of Cloudy Bay for a resident missionary. Rawiri Waitere had embraced Christianity at Kawhia through John Whiteley in the year 1835 or 1836. Later he made

[15] Journal of Samuel Ironside.
[16] ibid. 30 August 1840.
[17] ibid. 31 August 1840.

his way to the Cloudy Bay area and had diligently told his relations what he had learned. Finding that he did not meet with the success he desired, he embarked for Kawhia in June 1840 to seek the appointment of a European missionary. So successful were his pleadings that it was resolved that Samuel Ironside should proceed to Cloudy Bay,[18] and Thomas Buddle leave for Porirua by the first vessel available.

On 11 September Thomas Buddle and his wife embarked on the *Hannah* at Whaingaroa; on the sixteenth the *Hannah* entered Kawhia Harbour and Ironside's goods were loaded on Tuesday the twenty- second. She prepared to sail at 8am on Thursday, 24 September.

> "The *Hannah* was an old schooner of 28 tons, the property of a Polish Jew, a well-known trader in Port Nicholson. Her sails were worn and patched, her cable was a rotten rope, on which no dependence could be placed. The only boat she carried was a small one, with broad, bluff bow, very leaky; its starboard strakes broken away from the bow half way down the port side, so that when she lay empty in smooth water, the broken part was only two or three inches above the water level. If, in an emergency, the captain might wish to anchor, there was no prospect of the anchors holding, and to escape with safety by means of the boat would verge upon the miraculous. In fact, the little schooner was nothing better than a death trap. But we were very anxious to get to our destination — Mr Buddle to Porirua, and I to Cloudy Bay — so we chartered the wretched little craft and committed ourselves to the care of Him 'Whom winds and seas obey'. There was a light breeze from the east which we hoped would take us over the bar, but it failed, and fell quite calm. When we got between the Heads the tide was running out, so there was no getting back to the harbour. It was no use dropping the anchor, for our ground tackle could not be depended on, so we drifted whither the current would take us. It set outward to the south of the bar channel, right on to the very angry looking sand spit, over which the sea was breaking furiously. I shall never forget the pale, frightened appearance of the boy (about sixteen) who was at the helm, as he looked towards the ugly breakers that seemed ready to engulf us. In answer to a word from the captain, he gasped out, 'She won't answer the helm Sir.' Our doom seemed inevitable. Mr Whiteley who had climbed the south head to see us, as he hoped, safely over the bar, saw our danger and ran off to summon the Maoris from a neighbouring village, to come to our help. A light wind from the sea sprang up, took the sails aback, stayed our drift toward the frowning breakers, and helped us inshore towards a shallow, sandy beach of about half a mile in extent, just outside the south head. Presently the ship struck heavily, again and again, and the cruel, green seas came over us in deluges, carrying away every loose thing on deck, and driving us into the dismal hole of a cabin — a wretched place of some eight or ten feet square, with

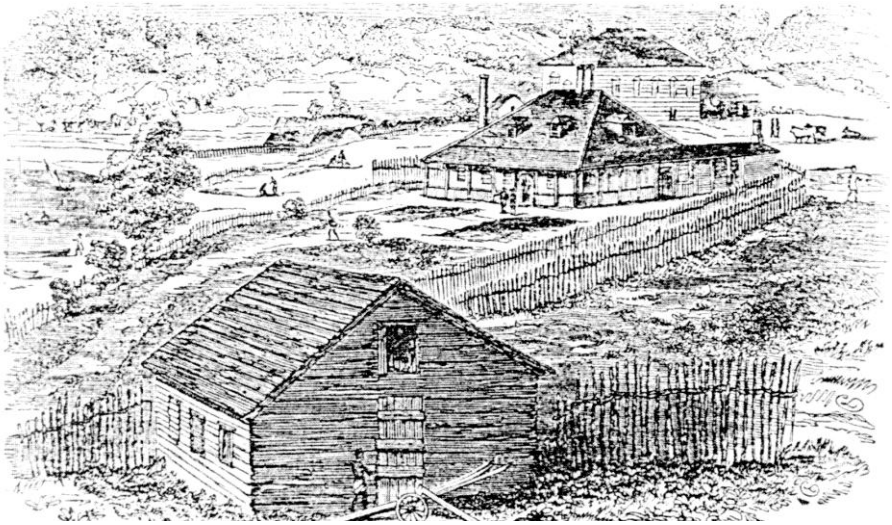
[18] District Minutes, 1842.

> two berths on either side fore and aft, lockers serving as seats on the three sides, still further reducing the space to about four feet across. You may readily imagine the picture — we and our dear wives on the floor, leaning against the locker on the one side, and pressing our feet on the other side, to save ourselves from injury with the fearful rolling of the ship; Buddle with his precious baby girl in his arms, trying to screen her in the sudden lurches of the doomed ship. I crawled up to look at the top of the companion to see if there was hope of safety. It was a piteous scene; the ship was broadside on the sand, rolling over with every big wave that came, as though she would turn bottom up; the few men on deck casting loose and throwing overboard all the deck load — furniture, mission stores, etc. to lighten the vessel, that she might possibly drift further inshore. There were boxes, chairs and a chest or two of drawers washing about in the surf. There was Mr Whiteley on the beach, having removed his shoes and stockings, running to and fro in the tide way, gesticulating to the Maoris grouped about. But what could he and they do? As I stood, my head just above the companion, looking for some chance of rescue, a big sea came curling over my head, washing me bodily down into the cabin...
>
> "It was now nearly low water, and the seas were less heavy. Some of the natives swam out from the shore and came under our lee, treading water — they seemed to be amphibious — and waited to help us ashore. One by one, first the babe, then our dear wives, then ourselves, were handed over the sides and carried upon the heads of our bearers. 'And so it came to pass that we escaped all safe to land.' We were welcomed with great joy by Mr Whiteley and a crowd of Maoris; a big fire was kindled, our clothes dried, some refreshing tea made, and we all devoutly thanked our Father in heaven for the merciful deliverance. As soon as possible we walked round the south head and were taken by boat to the mission station, Ahu Ahu, where Mrs Whiteley made us forget our troubles in the warm, motherly hospitality of her home." [19]
>
> "This disaster again caused an alteration to plans. After consultation it was agreed that Mr Buddle should form a station in the Waipa district instead of going to Porirua; Mr Buttle should help Mr Wallis at Waingaroa: Mr Aldred and Ironside stay with Mr Whiteley waiting for another opportunity of getting to Cloudy Bay and Port Nicholson." [20]

In the meantime Ironside was looking forward to taking charge of his own mission station. He enjoyed looking after Ahuahu if only for a few days during Whiteley's

[19] N.Z. *Methodist*, 3 January 1891. The boy who was at the helm when the *Hannah* struck was Thomas Skinner who dated his conversion to Christianity by this event. He became a zealous and successful catechist in the Wesleyan church and died in that employment.
[20] *N.Z. Methodist*, 10 January 1891.

absence,[21] but missionary news was disturbing. The *Bay of Islands Gazette* reported that in Tonga, whence the *Triton* was bound, a ship's captain had been killed and the missionaries had fled to Vavau for safety. Nearer home, news reached Kawhia that a war party from Taupo — the Ngati Tuwharetoa tribe — had succeeded in taking a pa supposed to be Waitotara. "The Ngatiruanui then assembled their forces from the other parts and marched against them. Paora, a baptized native went to the pa to arrange peace with the enemy but they stripped him of his books, clothes, and sent him back to his party which immediately marched in battle array. They held service before the pa during which they were fired upon by the enemy, they then went in a body to the fence of the pa — called out to the Taupo natives 'Kia kaha koutou ki te rapu utu' — (Be strong in seeking payment). They then fired deadly upon them, five score of their enemies were killed and the rest, perhaps two score fled away. We are afraid lest the chiefs of this place should rise and seek satisfaction for the Taupo chiefs. It is only three months since we left that part so that the fighting party was just at our heels. O the providence and mercy of God: Had this party met us we should at least have been robbed, perhaps murdered." [22]



Front page of the *Wesleyan Mission Magazine.* At the time of Samuel Ironside's residence at Kawhia the mission station was only partially built. From there he led the overland journey to Wanganui and made several journeys into the interior. *Methodist Missionary Society.*

Ironside was again left in charge of the station while Whiteley was at Aotea but when Whiteley arrived home on Monday the 19th, preparations were made immediately for another trip inland. This time Whiteley and Ironside were to proceed together: "We

[21] Journal of Samuel Ironside , 29 September 1840.

[22] ibid. 14 October 1840.

left home on Tuesday 20th, slept in the bush without house or shed, fire or water, comfortless but happy. Next day in the evening we arrived at Warekahokaho. Mr W. spoke to them on the blessedness of Christianity as opposed to their wretched heathenism. Next morning I preached on the new birth from John 3:1-8. An old heathen chief of this place declared today in favour of Christianity. After two hours' walk we arrived at Teraora's, where after refreshment Mr Whiteley spoke to them on Jesus and the resurrection, but the people like those of Athens to whom Paul preached, 'When they heard of the resurrection of the dead, mocked'. Went about eight miles further to Te Mania — a large settlement — received a hearty welcome from the people. We stayed here a day and a half organising their school, preaching, baptizing etc. and left them on Saturday for Te Paripari. Two old warriors, Tariki and Taonui reside here. They were very urgent for us to stay and also to send a missionary to reside among them. But we had sent our blankets on forward to Pukemapua, another extensive settlement of natives who were expecting us there to spend the Sabbath. Mr W. therefore determined to spend the night with them and I proceeded to Pukemapua — where I found a large company assembled to whom I preached good news from John 3:14 and 15 — the following morning the Sabbath, Mr Whiteley early made his appearance bringing with him most of the people from Te Paripari. He preached from 1 Timothy 4:8. Great attention paid — afternoon I met and spoke with the candidates for baptism on the vast importance of the ordinance. We then gathered the people together and Mr W. proceeded to baptize about twenty in the Holy Name of the Triune Jehovah. I then preached to them from Romans 1:16 — Monday morning we proceeded to Tihitu, turned a little out of way to see a large cave where were a vast number of [stalactites][23] formed by the continual dropping of water from the roof. This place is a wonder of nature, worthy the researches of the scientific. Arrived at Tihitu at 3. Had a hearty reception from Hone Waitere (John Whiteley) who had killed and cut up and cooked a pig ready for us. We held service with him and his people and baptized three. Next morning the people called us to them and were exceedingly urgent that a missionary should be placed among them. This place is central to a great number of populous villages and it is most desirable that a missionary should be there. The place being two days' journey from any navigable river, and that journey over very high hills, no road, etc will be an obstacle to the missionary's getting his furniture and boxes.

> "Visited the Kopua where we held service, I preached from John 3:14-15 and baptized an adult by the name of Josiah. Early next morning we started for home and after a long march and a long exposure to wind and rain in a canoe arrived at home well tired at about 10 o'clock last night." [24]

[23] The word is missing in the journal. It could be stalactites or stalagmites as these are characteristic of the limestone caves throughout this range of hills.
[24] ibid. 29 October 1840.

Recalling these journeys among the Waikato tribes on the Waipa and Mokau rivers later, Ironside wrote:

> "Mr Whiteley was one of the hardest working missionaries of his day, wiry, active, strong and his zeal provoked many.[25] How I used to envy him the ease with which he proclaimed the everlasting Gospel to those warlike tribes — ministering to their sick, giving them wise counsel, and gaining their love. I did my very best to copy his bright example but how puny were my efforts in comparison with his. He made light of the hardest toil; climbing the high mountain ranges — an impracticable task in many cases, but for the foothold given by the roots of the forest trees spreading over the surface of the tracks through the bush and the friendly kareao, the clinging vine which abounded everywhere, and gave us a good purchase where with to drag ourselves upwards. Sometimes the journey was over treacherous bogs and swamps, or rapid streams noisily making their way to the sea over the smooth warm boulders in the bed of the rivers. Nothing came amiss to John Whiteley. Divesting himself of shoes and socks, rolling up his nether garments above the knee, with a pilgrim's staff in hand, perhaps a tao, or taiaha (native weapons) he plodded along, in, through, or over every obstacle. Our long-enduring, sure-footed natives found it difficult to keep pace with him. And then at eventide, having come to the kainga, with his fellow traveller would fain seek rest and food, the church bell would be rung and the whole village, except those women who were busy preparing supper, would come together to hear the words of life in their own tongue, from the lips of their own well-beloved missionary, whom nothing seemed to tire; for after service,' and food, to a late hour, they would eagerly gather around him, listening to his wonderful korero."

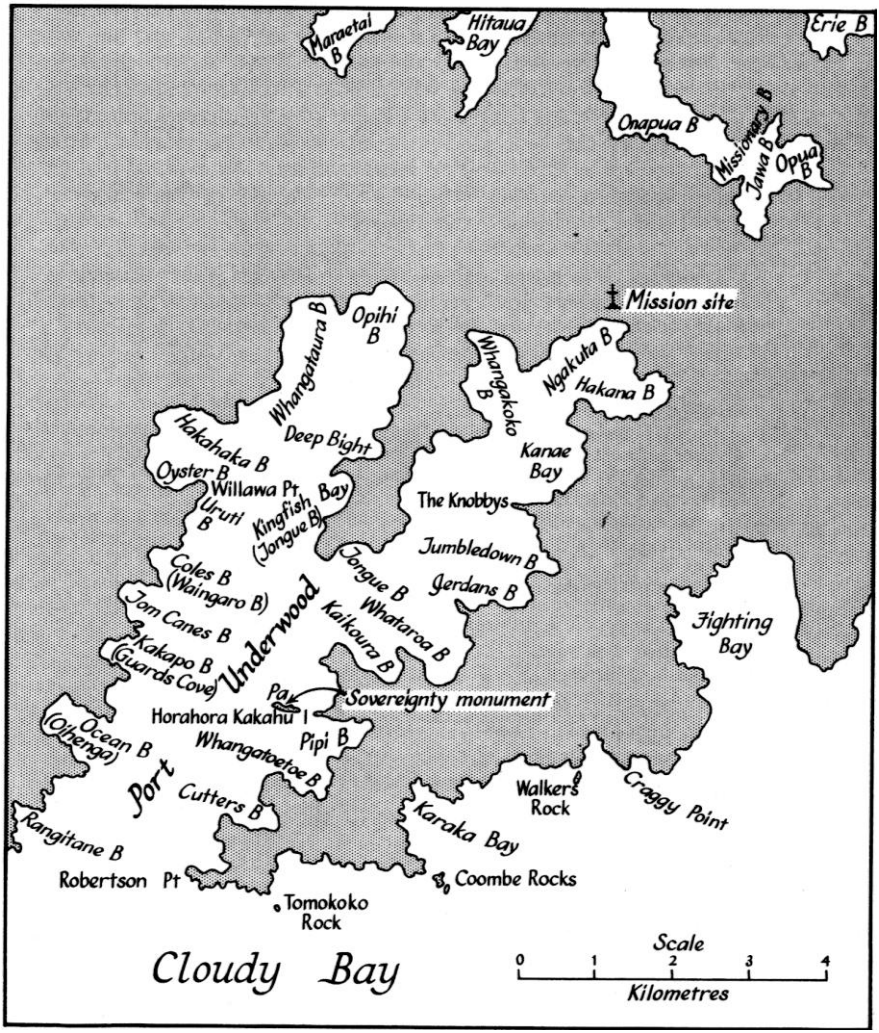
On 3 November news arrived that the *Magnet* was daily expected from Port Nicholson and was due to return. A hurried meeting was called for Aotea on 12 November. Messrs Whiteley, Wallis, Buddle, Ironside, Buttle, Turton and Aldred were present and agreement was reached that Thomas Buddle should become the missionary for Waipa and Samuel Ironside should proceed in the *Magnet* to Cloudy Bay as missionary to the Kapiti Maoris.[26] Until passage could be taken, Ironside continued busily about the Kawhia mission station, visiting Kiwi's place at the heads, preaching at Ahuahu, visiting the Turtons at Aotea, urging Muriwenua to embrace Christianity. All the time the expectation of establishing a station of his own heightened. He felt a real sense of satisfaction in doing what he was doing, especially in preaching. On 27 November Samuel and Sarah Ironside began preparing for the voyage south.[27] On Sunday, 29 November, William Naylor interrupted dinner to say a ship was in. It was

[25] *Aus. Methodist Missionary Review*, 1 June 1892.
[26] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 12 November 1840.
[27] ibid.

the *Triton* with John Waterhouse and Mr and Mrs Webb, (London Methodists whom Ironside had met at Harrow-on-the-Hill) on board. News of the journey to Tonga was shared; the death of Mrs Wilson mourned; the loss of Mr Bumby by drowning lamented. Then Ironside's thoughts began to turn to their own future. Mr Waterhouse confirmed the decision for the Ironsides to proceed to Cloudy Bay and for Mr Aldred to go to Port Nicholson. Ironside's own station was at last in sight! The *Magnet* lay at anchor loading timber for the infant town of Wellington — but the bar had yet to be crossed, and the wreckage of the *Hannah* reminded them daily of the dangers attending their way.

6

Cloudy Bay
Seedbed of the Mission



Port Underwood, with older names in brackets. Samuel Ironside's mission was in Ngakuta Bay, at the head of the right-hand arm of Port Underwood. A track led from Ngakuta Ridge to Missionary Bay, which gave access to Tory Channel and Queen Charlotte Sound.

Feeling the pressure of Hongi's wars in the north, Te Rauparaha and his Ngati Toa people began to move southward from Kawhia. By 1822 they were installed on Kapiti Island and in taking possession of their new island home. Te Rauparaha was planning to avenge the insults received. Armed with muskets purchased from whalers frequenting the Cook Strait area, he embarked upon the wars of revenge that largely depopulated the Marlborough Sounds, Kaikoura Coast and Canterbury. Thus, by 1844) the Ngati Toa and Ngati Awa had replaced the Ngati Kuia tribe in the Tory Channel[1] and taken over Queen Charlotte Sound from the Rangitane. Rangitane lands in the Wairau passed into the hands of the Ngati Rarua who were also given Te Awaiti. Ngati Toa supplanted the Ngati Apa and Tumatukoriri on D'Urville Island and in the Tasman Bay area[2], then after the sounds had been devastated, the Ngati Rarua and Ngati Tama hapus shared in the conquest of Tasman Bay.[3]

During the earlier phases of this period of devastating warfare the whalers began to arrive. First among these was John Guard, who in 1827 established the first whaling station in the South Island at Te Awaiti in the Tory Channel. A year later Archibald Mossman, also of Sydney, established a whaling station in Port Underwood, and was later joined by Dicky Barrett, Jackie Love, Arthur Elmslie, Williams, Joseph Thoms (alias Geordie Bolts), Jimmy Jackson and others. So flourishing was the industry that by 1833 various proposals were being made by Hobart Town businessmen for a colony to handle the volume of business generated by the shore-based whaling stations and the overseas vessels which visited Port Underwood during the whaling season.[4]

In spite of the concentration of Europeans in Port Underwood and at Te Awaiti, inter-tribal unrest made the safety of the European population precarious. One old hand at Te Awaiti reported having his property ravaged by Maori warriors on four occasions[5] and as late as 1838 the whalers gathered on Cod Island off Te Awaiti determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible against the Ngati Toas, should Te Rauparaha yield to the counsel of some of his warriors. Even in 1839 the fear of attack was forcing the Maoris of East Bay to build a pa to protect themselves in case Taiaroa of Otago should launch a surprise attack from Kapiti Beach.[6]

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[1] W. J. Elvy, *Kei Puta te Wairau: A History of Marlborough In Maori Times,* Christchurch, Whitcombe & Tombs 1957, p. 67.

[2] ibid. pp. 54, 74, 81.

[3] ibid. *p.* 67.

[4] Robert McNab, *Old Whaling Days,* Golden Press, 1975, p. 61.

[5] E. J. Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand,* Golden Press, 1975, *p.* 16.

[6] Ernst Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand: With Contributions to the Geography, Geology, Botany and Natural History of that Country,* Capper Press1Christchurch, 1974. p. 114.

From 1830 to 1837 Cloudy Bay was the main whaling area in the country. The principal stations were at Te Awaiti in Tory Channel and Port Underwood. Both were closely observed by Wakefield and Dieffenbach who, on 16 August 1839, in the New Zealand Company vessel *Tory,* glided down Queen Charlotte Sound and, passing between Long Island and Motuara, came to anchor in the south-east entrance of Ship Cove, where Captain Cook had cast anchor in 1770. After Dieffenbach had made excursions to the surrounding hills the *Tory* sailed through Tory Channel, and rounding Cape Koamaru, anchored off Te Awaiti after dark. "Large fires glowed through the darkness from the neighbouring beach, lighted by the trying out of the blubber of a large whale which had been brought in that morning, and confused sound of voices reached our ears and proved to us that even in this remote corner of the world it was custom to celebrate a happy event with profuse libations." [7] Dicky Barrett came off in his boat to welcome the party. The following day, Sunday 1 September, the party landed at the "whaling town of Te Awaiti".[8] "Barrett's home was on a knoll at the far end of it and overlooking the whole settlement and anchorage. There were about 20 houses — the walls generally constructed of wattled supplejack and filled in with clay, the roof thatched with reeds, and a large unsightly chimney at the end. The houses generally consisted of one floor, containing two or more rooms. The floor was of clay firmly compressed and beaten hard." [9] All the houses had been built by the natives and in Dieffenbach's opinion some were not inferior to those of the villages in many parts of Europe.[10]

Barrett's house was superior, built of sawn timber and floored and lined inside and sheltered in front by an ample veranda.... Williams' whare was in the centre of the town and Arthur Elmslie's perched on a pretty terrace on the side of the northern hill which sloped from the valley. A clear stream ran through the middle of the settlement. Geordie Bolts (Joseph Thorns) also headed a whaling party at Te Awaiti and nearby was Jimmy Jackson. Most of the whalers had Maori "wives". Barrett's partner was a "fine, stately woman named Rangi". Jackie Love had married a young chieftainess of rank.[11] Elmslie had land interests through his wife, at Anaho (Cannibal Cove). There were twenty-five halfcaste children at Te Awaiti. They were all strikingly comely and many of them quite fair, with light hair and rosy cheeks; active and hardy as the goats with which the settlement swarmed.[12]

While Dicky Barrett had a veritable township at Te Awaiti, most of the whalers were established at Port Underwood. Lying open to the south east, exposed to southerly

[7] ibid. p. 36.
[8] E. J. Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand,* p. 14.
[9] Ernst Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand,* p. 35.
[10] ibid. p. 38.
[11] ibid. p. 15.
[12] Compare Dieffenbach, p. 12.

gales,[13] and subject to heavy rains, Port Underwood is a deep inlet twelve miles long, lying north west and south east, with an entrance from Cloudy Bay. Anchorage was found in small, deep coves which on the western side of the harbour lay at the foot of steep, heavily wooded hills that plunge into the sea and made the whaleboat the only viable means of transport.[14] At the head of the harbour a tongue of land sticks out into the still waters and provides sheltered areas in Ngakuta and Hakana Bays which make up the inner harbour.

Those who arrived first established themselves near the entrance, since this gave them both easy sight of whales spouting in the bay and an advantage over those further down the harbour in the race to capture the victim. Nearest the head of the harbour lay Robin Hood Bay where there was a Maori settlement with no Europeans. Some distance further on lay Ocean Bay, which had two whaling establishments with thirty Europeans and about one hundred Maoris resident during the whaling season. Here lived Ferguson, an old trader, who in a community that was always drinking, had earned the reputation of never being sober.[15] Next came Kakapo, or Guards Bay, a small cove surrounded by steep hills which cut it off from much sun. Five Europeans and about sixty Maoris who manned the boats, lived here on intimate terms, including Te Rauparaha's brother Norua, and a daughter of Tupahi.[16] Around the northern headland of Guards Bay was Tom Kings Bay, the site of two whaling stations, one of them managed by an American.[17] Opposite on the eastern shore was a whaling station managed by a Portuguese named John who carried on business with four boats. [18]

In the whaling season, which lasted from the beginning of May till the first week of October, the shore-based whaling stations were joined by vessels from America, Sydney, Hobart, France, Denmark and Great Britain, bringing with them motley crews of tradesmen, ex-convicts, traders, and the occasional doctor or dentist, bent on adventure, fortune, freedom or a new life.

They anchored in Port Underwood, stripped down to the business of becoming a floating whaling factory, and competed with the shore stations for the killing of the hapless whale. During the season as many as forty whale boats might be seen out in Cloudy Bay,[19] the headman and steerer being Europeans, with Maoris pulling on the oars. At night the air was filled with the stench of smoke from the tripot fires and the noises of the whalers' revelry.

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[13] ibid. p. 63, 64, 95, 98. Journal of Samuel Ironside.

[14] Journal of Henry Williams, 9 June 1839. Also Dieffenbach, p. 62.

[15] Robert McNab, *Old Whaling Days,* p. 297.

[16] Ernst Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand,* p. 63.

[17] Robert McNab, *Old Whaling Days.* p. 298.

[18] ibid.

[19] Journal of John Hobbs, 18 June 1839.

Most of the European residents had Maori "wives" — often women of rank, but as May drew near the whaling stations attracted into their orbit Maori men and women from the pas and villages of the sounds — the men to be oarsmen, the women to be temporary wives for visiting seamen. When the season was over, and the noise and excitement of the station died down, the Maori people returned to their villages to cultivate their gardens or join allies in a fight against common enemies.[20] Resident traders went back to their gardens to spend the summer cultivating crops for trade with passing vessels or for next year's whaling fleet, while those who wanted easy living went to such islands as Matapara where pigs and potatoes were plentiful.

Into this area the representatives of the Wesleyan Missionary Society and later the Church Missionary Society made exploratory visits to plant Maori teachers in strategic areas to prepare their kinsmen for the arrival of a missionary. Setting out from the Bay of Islands with twenty Maori teachers on board the *Hokianga,* 60 tons, Captain Barker, John Bumby and John Hobbs entered Port Nicholson on 7 June 1839. Until 14 June they explored Port Nicholson, calling at Te Aro pa on Sunday the ninth, Waiwhetu on the twelfth, and Petone on Thursday the thirteenth. There was an estimated population of 400 men, women and children. Land was reserved for a mission station and six Maori teachers were left to begin Christian work in the area. They were More and Minarapa, from Mangungu, and a party from Waimate — Reihana, his wife and children, Hemi and his wife, Ngaroto and Waka.[21]

The following day, Saturday '15 June, the *Hokianga* crossed to Cloudy Bay. A baffling wind prevented entry to Port Underwood. Instead, anchor was cast "at the north west end of the bay at 10am on Sunday the 16th among eight whaling ships."[22] Hobbs preached to the Maoris in the afternoon and in the evening Bumby preached to the white community. The following day a cove further into the harbour was visited and worship conducted. This was repeated when the absent chief Puaha returned.[23]Another unnamed cove was also visited and worship held. Before the missionary party left, elementary books were distributed to the "son of this Rauparaha and the people".[24] The Maori population of Cloudy Bay was estimated not to exceed 120 men, women and children. Prostitution was rife. Hobbs wrote, "Some ships were full of

[20] E. J. Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand,* p. 122.

[21] Journal of John Hobbs, 14 June 1839. Also Chas. J. Freeman, *The Centenary of Wesley Church, Taranaki Street, Wellington, New Zealand,* p. 4.

[22] This crossing took thirty hours and anchor was probably cast in Ocean Bay. The length of the journey, the light winds and the cross currents perhaps had something to do with Bumby's ill report of the area. He was not feeling well.

[23] The cove could be Kakapo, Puaha's principal residence.

[24] Journal of John Hobbs, 18 June 1839.

girls and the whites on shore live with them in an unmarried state and many of them have children by them". [25]

On Wednesday 19 June, the *Hokianga* entered Queen Charlotte Sound by moonlight. Again Bumby was entranced with the scene.[26] She lay in a small bay called Kura Kura, bearing from the entrance southwest half south.[27] The following day a search was made for the "white people who live on shore here to catch whales". The object of the visit was to collect the Maoris together for a general meeting and get out to sea again as soon as possible.[28] They came to anchor off Te Awaiti and the following day a meeting was held just inside the heads of Te Awaiti. It was estimated that there were over 300 men, women and children present — about half of the Maori population of the sound. Hobbs related the Gospel to the events which had taken place in that area over the past fifteen years, and expressed the significance of being the first European preacher of the Gospel addressing those people in their own language. He observed that Christian influence had preceded his arrival. "A few natives here have learned to read and write from some of their countrymen who have been at the stations of both Missionary Societies in the Bay of Islands and Hokianga. . . ." [29]

On Saturday 22 June the vessel got under way, and about noon left the sound bound for Mana Island. Bumby comments: "I suppose ours was the first vessel that ever visited the Sounds on an errand of mercy to the natives." [30]

Next to visit the area was the Reverend Henry Williams who, like Hobbs and Bumby, was expanding missionary influence by depositing Maori teachers around the coast, particularly of the North Island. On Thursday 7 November 1839, he met up with Reihana who had been left at Port Nicholson by Bumby and Hobbs.[31] On Saturday 9 November Williams set sail for Kapiti. Off the headland he got into a strong rip which, with an ebbing southward tide and a strong wind change, prevented his working up to Kapiti, so he stood over to Cloudy Bay "in hope of being able to have a quiet Sabbath". In the evening the violent wind abated and it was possible to work into the bay with the assistance of a pilot from the shore. On the Sunday Williams had two services with the Maori people and one with the Europeans. On Monday he met "Mr Guard and Mr Winnings" (Wynen) with whom he had much conversation as to the state of the Maori in that part on the island and their desire for instruction and books. Wynen expressed his desire to assist in distributing books if sent to him. The same afternoon, with a light breeze from the south, Williams got under way for Kapiti.

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[25] ibid.

[26] Alfred Barrett, *The Life* of *the Rev. John Hewgill Bumby*, London, 1852, p. 212.

[27] Journal of John Hobbs.

[28] ibid.

[29] ibid.

[30] Alfred Barrett, *The Life of the Rev. John Hewgill Bumby*, p. 213.

[31] Reihana had been taught by the Church Missionary Society in the Bay of Islands, and baptised Richard Davis.

Opinions of the whalers and of whaling establishments differed considerably. John Bumby was impressed by neither land nor resident population. "The appearance of the Southern Island is particularly barren and repulsive." [32] At the time of his visit[33] he saw about 150 people in Cloudy Bay, while in Queen Charlotte Sound no estimate of population is given except that there may have been about fifty Europeans connected with the whaling establishments.[34] His opinion of the whalers was poor. "Some present specimens of human nature in its worst estate . . . they practise every species of iniquity without restraint or concealment. The very sense of decency and propriety seems to be extinct. The soil is polluted. The very atmosphere tainted." [35] Wakefield, like Hobbs, was entranced with the life and drama of the whaling stations and devoted much time to observing everything remarkable at Te Awaiti and its neighbourhood, and of learning much of the detail of its foundation and subsequent history.[36] Dieffenbach was a more discriminating observer. He observed, for example, that while the whalers themselves celebrated the bringing in of a large whale "with profuse libations"[37] the Maori "wives" excel their European husbands in sobriety and quiet dispositions.[38] Dieffenbach did not see one instance of drunkenness among the Maoris, though it was rife among the Europeans and though they joined the Europeans in their boats they did not join them in their revelries.[39] It is hard to avoid the conclusion that this may well have been the influence of Christian Maoris who taught in the nearby settlements. Hobbs records meeting with 300 Maori men, women and children "just inside the Heads of Te Awaiti,"[40] and that a few of the Maoris had learned to read and write from some of their countrymen who had been at the stations of both missionary societies in the Bay of Islands and at Hokianga. Judging by the influence of the Maori teacher at Anaho it is not unlikely that Maori teachers just inside the heads at Te Awaiti would have a similar influence. This could well have been exerted towards sobriety as well as worship.[41]

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[32] *The Life of the Rev. John Hewgill Bumby,* p.211.

[33] McNab in *Old Whaling Days* was not able to date this visit but assumed correctly that it was mid-June 1839. Entries in the journal of the Rev. John Hobbs show that it was from 15-22 June.

[34] *TheLife of the Rev. John Hewgill Bumby,* p. 212.

[35] ibid.

[36] E. J. Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand,* p. 16.

[37] Ernst Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand,* p. 36.

[38] ibid. p. 38.

[39] ibid. p. 40.

[40] Journal of John Hobbs.

[41] It is interesting to speculate where this village was. Hobbs describes it as "just inside the Heads at Te Awaiti". It could well have been Wekenui for on 21 January 1841 Samuel Ironside records preaching to a congregation of upwards of 200 people. He describes it as a large settlement. Since Wekenui is a little nearer the heads than Te Awaiti, this might well have been the site.

A second Christian influence in the area was recorded by Dieffenbach on his second visit to the sounds area.[42] Here a Scottish tailor whose fate had driven him to Te Awaiti had voluntarily undertaken the duties of missionary and the Maoris had built a house for him. His influence could possibly have accounted for the sobriety of the Maori people in this area.

Another centre of Christian influence was at Anaho (Cannibal Cove). "Amongst the houses was a large one which they had built for an Englishman who at the end of the whaling season lived among them. His house formed the meeting house of the tribe, as they had lately been converted to Christianity and had learned to read and write. Some of the tribe at Anaho had already acquired from them these arts and all were anxious to learn them." [43] The Englishman living at Anaho was Arthur Elmslie who worked at the Te Awaiti whaling station.[44] The Maori who had been to the Bay of Islands was called Wiriamu (or Williams) and Dieffenbach describes him as "the native missionary" [45] and Wakefield as "a native missionary teacher".[46] He was responsible for assembling the Maoris on board the *Tory* for prayers on several evenings. Thus it appears that there were at least two centres in which Maori teachers were operating. These were possibly at Wekenui, and certainly at Anaho. In both cases there was a hunger to learn the arts of reading and writing. Bumby could not satisfy the demand in Port Underwood.[47]

Hobbs records that just inside the heads at Te Awaiti there was: "such a desire for books that we could not get any rest for them begging and crowding upon us the whole day. We were sorry that we had not a sufficiency to supply them but promised more by and by.[48] As we left one place numbers followed the boat up to their middle to get books.[49] We found in the possession of some lads a few fragments of the translation of the New Testament, so dirty with use as to be scarcely legible but preserved with the greatest care. One of them, having learnt to write a little, and got some paper, had begun to multiply copies. I was particularly affected with the last passage transcribed, and earnestly prayed that it might be verified in the case of these interesting and promising young men:— 'He which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ.' " (Philippians 1:6.) The earnestness of this desire was not to be put off, for as Bumby and Hobbs sailed homewards, another

[42] Ernst Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand,* pp. 114-123.
[43] ibid. p. 31.
[44] E. J. Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand,* p. 11.
[45] Ernst Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand,* p. 34.
[46] E. J. Wakefield. *Adventure in New Zealand,* p. 11. McNab also refers to Williams in *Old Whaling Days* p. 8. 28 September 1830.
[47] Journal of John Hobbs.
[48] ibid.
[49] *The Life of the Rev. John Hewgill Bumby*, p. 213.

vessel made its way to Whaingaroa and Kawhia. On board was Rawiri Waitere who had embraced Christianity through John Whiteley in 1835, returned to Cloudy Bay to relate what he had learned to his people, but on finding he had not the success he desired he embarked in June 1840 for Kawhia to seek a European missionary for his people.[50] His pleading was so urgent that John Whiteley, in consultation with his colleagues, determined to embrace the favourable opportunity given them. A missionary was promised.[51]

All this was hopeful. In some places the sun was penetrating the clouds. "Kei puta te Wairau." (The sun always finds a hole to shine through at Wairau.)[52] In spite of the threat of inter-tribal war, and the depopulation that had taken place in the previous twelve years; in spite of the fear of further fighting; in spite of the cosmopolitan population that arrived every whaling season and the prostitution of Maori women; in spite of the drunken habits of Europeans, the sun was shining through several holes in the clouds. A handful of Maoris from the northern mission stations had created a thirst for knowledge of the Gospel; some well-disposed Europeans welcomed anything that would help in the cultural advancement of their Maori partners and half-caste children; here and there a European became a self-appointed religious teacher, as did the Scottish tailor at Te Awaiti. These people were not a large group among the residents, both Maori and Pakeha, but they were enough to give a missionary some hope of success.[53] This was the Cloudy Bay for which Samuel and Sarah Ironside were preparing to set out in December 1840, and in which they were to spend the next three years of their lives.

[50] Letter of Samuel Ironside, 10 May 1842.

[51] Minutes of the district meeting 1842.

[52] W. J. Elvy, *Kei Puta te Wairau* p. 1.

[53] In the district minutes for 1842 Samuel Ironside reported that the mission had begun in "very auspicious circumstances."

7

Pioneering in Cloudy Bay 1840-1843

For over a week the *Magnet* lay wind-bound in Kawhia Harbour. On 14 December the *Triton,* which was lying in another channel,[1] was able to get away but not a sail flapped on the *Magnet* as she lay fully laden with timber for Port Nicholson. On 6 December, Ironside visited the Maoris at Ahuahu as John Whiteley had gone to Whaingaroa for the district meeting. After 3 December none of the passengers had dared leave the vessel for fear of being left behind should a favourable wind spring up. To frayed patience was added traumatic apprehension resulting from the experience of the *Hannah*, which was wrecked when trying to cross the bar several months earlier. Not until 15 December was the *Magnet* out to sea.

> "Praised be the name of the Lord, we have been delivered from all our fears and have crossed the bar in safety and are now on our voyage ," [2] Ironside recorded in his journal.

After six days of fine weather sailing the *Magnet* rode into Cloudy Bay against a stiff breeze and anchored off Kakapo (Guards Bay) on 20 December 1840[3]. Although the Ironsides and their goods and chattels were expeditiously and unceremoniously landed on the beach[4] they were glad to be on dry land again.[5] He recalled:

> "The only place of shelter my dear wife and I could obtain, on being landed from the *Magnet* was an old disused kauta [native cooking place], built of rough slabs of timber, roofed in with the same material. There is enough and to spare of ventilation. The slabs were not joined together, but they were put up — Maori fashion — anyhow; you could thrust your open hand between almost every other slab; you could see the stars here and there through the roof. There is neither chimney nor window in the building, neither was there flooring save that which nature had provided. We were not overburdened with the comforts of civilisation; but we were in the Master's service, sent there to do His will, and to 'Show forth His praise'. So we did not murmur. We remained in those undesirable quarters for *two or three* weeks,[6] surrounded by scores of whalers of

[1] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 4 December 1840.

[2] ibid. 15 December 1840.

[3] NZ *Methodist,* 10 January 1891. The journal reveals that the time spent at Kakapo was eleven days, 20-30 December.

[4] *NZ Methodist,* 10 January 1891.

[5] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 21 December 1840.

[6] NZ *Methodist,* 10 January 1891.

> nearly all nations — English, French, American, Colonials — some of them escapees from Botany Bay and Van Diemen's Land; and some hundreds of Maoris, chiefly of the Ngatitoa and Ngatiawa tribes."

Ironside was not impressed by the quality of life obtaining in the port. While some of the managers of the shore parties were among his personal friends[6] and religious services were readily attended, he found "grafted upon and mingled with the original heathenism of the Maoris, were the vicious and unclean habits they had rapidly acquired from the example of the white men of the whaling establishments in several of the coves of the extensive harbour and in Queen Charlotte Sound. The services of Maori women were hired, very frequently for the fishing season, by payments, such as half a keg of tobacco or rum, etc. Some of the chiefs were living on the proceeds of this immorality. The narratives of their drunken, wretched orgies, given to me at times by competent witnesses, reveal a most disgraceful state of things. There was no law; everyone appeared to do 'that which was right in his own eye'." Nevertheless, Ironside was surprised at the number of Europeans in Port Underwood, "some of them respectable, and all very desirous of religious instruction apparently." [7] There was even talk of subscribing to a chapel! [8]

Five days after their arrival Christmas was celebrated. In the morning Ironside preached to the Maori people, directing their thoughts to the angels' song (as did Samuel Marsden in the Bay of Islands in 1814) and the appropriate response of the shepherds.[9]

In the afternoon twenty-five Europeans were gathered together in Wynen's house,[10] and not wasting time in carrying out his commission, Ironside preached to them from 1 Timothy 1:15, and afterwards baptised four infants of European fathers who had been drowned by the capsize of a boat some three months previously.[11] In the evening he was again speaking to the Maori people from 1 John, 5:4 and was well satisfied with his day's work.

Christmas dinner was taken in the house of Wynen,[12] the principal storekeeper, and "a native of the Netherlands, about the only decent and respectable man on that station.

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 21 December 1840.

[9] ibid.

[10] ibid. 25 December 1840.

[11] ibid.

[12] James Wynen, the principal storekeeper at Kakapo whaling station, lived above the Guards' house. He married Bethia Virtue, spinster, at St Marylebone in the county of Middlesex, 11 May 1830. The only child of the marriage, James Virtue Wynen, was born on 12 August 1833, and died, a bachelor, at Wakefield on 10 October 1861. Where his wife and child were when James was at Kakapo living with Kuika and her children, we do not know. He later had a store

We could not have the orthodox dish of roast beef, that was an unthinkable luxury . . but we had plum pudding, and a very good one too, prepared by a Maori cook." [13]

Looking down on Port Underwood from Missionary Ridge. The mission station site lies just beyond the macrocarpa frees at the foot of the hill. The entrance to Port Underwood is in the distance.
F. W. Smith photograph.

Two days later, Sunday 27 December, he preached to the Maoris and Europeans again and after the European service, married two European couples,[14] and met the Maoris in a class for instruction in the Christian faith. This was followed by another Maori service. Although fatigued he was happy, but exercised in mind over housing and the strategy of his work.

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at the Wairau Bar, and later still in Blenheim. The date of his move to Nelson is not known, but he died in the Fleece Hotel on 13 April 1866 and is buried in the Anglican Church grounds at Brightwater.

[13] NZ *Methodist,* 10 January 1891.

[14] These were James Hogan, bachelor, to Mary Ann Beard, widow; William Dakin, bachelor, to Mary Ann Baldick, widow.

Observation of the influence of the Europeans upon the Maoris of Port Underwood confirmed him in the view of the Wesleyan and Church Missionary Societies that the influence of nominally Christian Europeans was generally detrimental to Christian work among the Maori people.[15] Hence Ironside adopted the policy of keeping the two races apart as far as possible. He recognised however, that he had obligations to both. Most of the Maori people lived in the sounds while most of the Europeans lived in Port Underwood. Removal of the mission to a site further away from the whaling stations of Port Underwood and nearer to the sounds seemed both desirable and advantageous. The upper part of the harbour was very beautiful and, like the sounds, was a succession of bays, each containing a stream, gardens, more or less level ground and intermediate hilly ground which was fertile. The place he selected as the centre of his work was at the head of the inner harbour of Port Underwood, some eight or ten miles away from the whalers. Its Maori name was Ngakuta.

There was a small triangular block of some 150 acres of level land, chiefly wooded, gradually rising up into the hills that surrounded it on the north, east and west. A little to the left of this spot, fixed on as the site of the church and mission house, was the low, barren saddle of the dividing range, 400-500 feet high; at its foot on the other side lay a cove stretching in from Queen Charlotte Sound. A climb and a descent, taking up about forty-five minutes took him from Ngakuta to the sound, a distance by water of forty or fifty miles. By keeping a boat at the head of each cove, he thus commanded a large sphere of labour, embracing all Port Underwood and both channels of the sound, and thence on to Admiralty Bay and Pelorus River. From twenty to thirty Maori villages and the whaling stations were within reach, and there was the possibility of giving occasional attention to the people in the regions beyond.

The first necessity was to be adequately housed. Sarah Ironside records that they moved to Ngakuta on 31 December 1840. Their temporary home was a house of one room which had been built by the Maoris, where light entered from a hole in each wall and a single door. Exposure to the weather was beginning to tell on her health — she was seldom without a cold and the south-easters that stormed up the harbour began to play havoc with her constitution.[16] By the end of the month a better house was in course of erection, again with local Maori help, and Samuel was searching for the services of a carpenter to put a weatherboard front to the dwelling.[17] In the meantime a multipurpose building had been erected. It was a large squat building of some twenty-five feet square, built of raupo. It answered the purpose of house, school and church. The bedroom was one corner partitioned off from the rest of the building by carpets

[15] A summary of the views expressed to the British Government opposing the New Zealand Company, may be found in Alfred Barrett, *The Life of the Rev. John Hewgill Bumby.* London 1852, pp. 179-183.

[16] *NZ Methodist,* 7 February 1891.

[17] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 31 December 1840. *NZ Methodist,* 10 January 1891.

and rugs[18] and was the only privacy they had for months. This building was used as a church hall until Ebenezer Chapel was opened on 5 August 1842. Samuel found a carpenter, for by 24 March 1841 the six-roomed parsonage with weatherboard front was sketched by Dr Weekes of the *William Bryan.*[19]

From this position Ironside could more easily build a strong centre for missionary work and begin to operate the strict Wesleyan polity. This polity consisted of preaching wherever he could gain a hearing; gather the responsive into classes for spiritual direction; bring the classes together into congregations or societies; and congregations into groups of congregations to form a circuit. When class members were ready for baptism the sacrament was administered at the sole discretion of the missionary. From those who grew in Christian experience and maturity some were selected according to their gifts to be class leaders, teachers or preachers. These then became the personnel of a leaders' meeting, responsible for the pastoral oversight of the members and for the extension of the mission. As these were appointed to various localities they came together to form a quarterly meeting responsible for the mission in and beyond the circuit boundaries.

To assist the spiritual growth of the converted, the arts of reading and writing were taught to enable scholars to read the Scriptures, which were highly regarded as a means of spiritual growth. In addition to the traditional means of grace, and the observance of the major festivals of the Christian year, Wesley's prudent means were also used. These were class meetings, small groups meeting regularly for the cultivation of Christian living; the watchnight and covenant services associated with a solemn ushering-in of the New Year and formal covenanting with God for the days ahead; and the love feast, a special meeting of the congregation held quarterly for the purpose of sharing the members' growing Christian experience. From the beginning it was taught that what one had gained in Christian knowledge and growth must be shared with others. Thus Christian witness in the local village and beyond it was systematically encouraged.

Fundamental to the Wesleyan polity was the obligation to preach and to form classes.[20] Being a convinced Wesleyan, Samuel Ironside was diligent in implementing it and so fulfilling his purpose in entering foreign mission work. Within four days of arriving at Kakapo he had preached three times on Christmas day, and within three days of arriving at Ngakuta he was preaching to "a very receptive congregation on the

[18] *NZ Methodist,* 31 January 1891.

[19] J. RutherfordlW. H. Skinner, *The New Plymouth Settlement 1841-1843.* New Plymouth, Thos. Avery, p. 39.

[20] For the way this was accepted by the district meeting, see the minutes of 1840. Because this policy was encumbent upon all Wesleyan missionaries, Ironside's work can be recounted from this point of view.

necessity of a present reception of the Gospel" and afterwards went down to two of the European settlements and held services.[21]

On Tuesday 5 January 1841, Ironside met the first class and was pleased with their experience. "They are simple, but sincere, and I hope good things from them. There are perhaps 14 of them." Two days later the Maori school was held in the evening. It was divided into three classes: the first composed of those who were able to read the New Testament, the second and the third composed of males and females not able to read.[22] On Wednesday 13 January the prayer meeting was instituted and "it would do the hearts of some of our English friends good to listen to the prayers of the people. Simplicity and fervour are strongly marked." [23] Gradually the foundations of Wesleyan polity were laid. A Sunday is described:

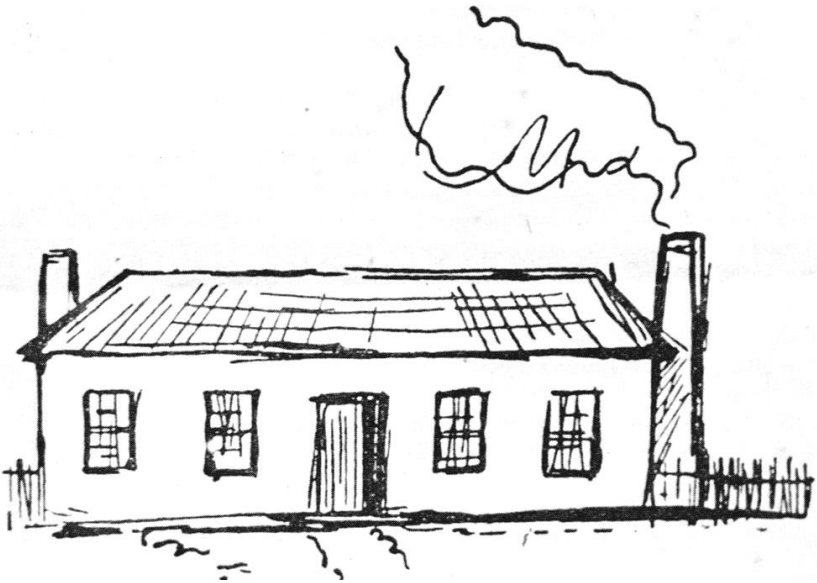
> "Seventeen [January 1841] I held school this morning at 9 a.m. Afterwards preached to my people from 1 Timothy 1:15. I trusted perhaps too much to myself because of the familiarity of the subject, consequently was rather embarrassed — preached in the afternoon to about half a dozen Europeans from Hebrews 2:14. Afterwards met the native class from Totara Nui —then preached in the evening from Galatians 6:7-8. A very happy day. I rejoice O Father because of the honour Thou hast put upon me." [24]

As the Maori population joined whaling stations during the season, so they began to visit the mission station at Ngakuta to join in the public worship and the classes that were being established there. The visit of the Totaranui (Queen Charlotte Sound) class to Ngakuta for 17 January 1841 led to Ironside's first visit to the sound: "Twenty first. I came home yesterday from a visit to the Sound — the Gospel is I trust taking hold of the people's hearts. I preached at Wekenui, a large settlement of upwards of 200 from 2 Corinthians 5:18-21. I was much assisted in speaking. I spent the rest of the evening in trying to answer the numerous inquiries of the natives after spiritual truth and the meaning of God's word. Next day I went to Totara Nui. Found a large number awaiting my arrival, perhaps 300. I gathered them together and was greatly blessed by calling their attention to Romans 1:16. Met the class of more than 20 striving to be right in the way to heaven and spent the rest of the evening as before explaining as well as I could the various passages they brought forward. God is at work here." [25]

All this was going on while house and chapel were being built at Ngakuta. Personal convenience and comfort were secondary to the necessity of preaching the Gospel and giving religious counsel to those asking for it. As Ironside began to move about the

[21] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 3 January 1841.
[22] ibid. 7 January 1841.
[23] ibid. 13 January 1841.
[24] ibid. 17 January 1841.
[25] ibid. 21 January 1841.

area he found men who had already played a significant part in introducing the Gospel to the sounds area. Rawiri Waitere (David Whiteley) was one and Ironside was happy to have him preach at the evening service on 24 January. A fortnight later Rawiri and his wife Pirihira of Ngakuta were baptised, Ironside recording that they had been serving God diligently for a considerable time past.[26] Another man named Koinaki from Mokopeke, who with his wife had been some years on trial, was admitted into the visible church by baptism and named Hoani (John).[27] So a team was gathered together and built up.



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 1944) and was published in the *Methodist Times.*

Yet care was taken. No one was baptised or admitted to the office of class leader, exhorter or local preacher who could not give a scriptural account of his conversion to God. Until class leaders were qualified the missionary or his wife met the classes. The training of candidates for baptism was the task of the local preacher who, in addition to being able to give a scriptural account of his conversion, must hold the doctrines of Methodism, have the ability to preach, and be upright in his conduct before men. In places which the missionary was unable to visit regularly,[28] and where there were no

[26] ibid. 29 January 1841.
[27] ibid. 1 March 1841.
[28] District minutes 1840.

local preachers, catechists were appointed to read the Scriptures and teach the catechism. Gradually a number of Maori chiefs joined the church and were anxious that all should enjoy the privileges of the Gospel. They in turn began to have an influence upon other men of rank. On 6 March Sarah Ironside recorded that Puaha intended to begin meeting in class on Sunday[29] — a decision which was to have long-term effects in the life of the Ngati Toa tribe, for Puaha was a near relative of Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata.

Rawiri Kingi Puaha, a nephew of Te Rauparaha, who was baptised by Samuel Ironside on 1 August 1841. At the Wairau confrontation he pleaded for a negotiated settlement of the land dispute. Later he took up arms in pursuit of his relative Te Rangihaeata and advised Samuel Ironside on land issues in Nelson.

Alexander Turnbull Library.

During the last week of February Ironside was again in Queen Charlotte Sound, visiting most of the mission outposts and pleased with the earnest attention invariably

[29] From the journal of Sarah Ironside, quoted in the NZ *Methodist*, 7 February 1891.

exhibited. (On this occasion two chapels were opened,[30] whilst the villagers of Mokopeke were busy cutting timber for another. Quietly the influence of the Gospel spread. Richard Cook and Kataraina, who had been living together, were married on 7 February 1841, and a fortnight later John Delaney, bachelor, married Esther Hall, widow, of Kakapo. Samuel Guerdon, bachelor, was married to Hera, a spinster of Kakapo, while around the mission station at Ngakuta the people were busy putting up neat and respectable houses for themselves, "quite palaces in comparison with the miserable huts they had been accustomed to reside in." [31] A very pleasant Maori village was growing up around the mission station, and around the houses large gardens were being cultivated.[32]

Sarah had no difficulty in getting servants to help with domestic work — boys for cutting the firewood and rough work outside and girls for cooking and washing. The only expense was that of feeding and clothing them; they built themselves small huts to sleep in. Two girls were as many as Sarah could manage. Those who were more or less permanent were Rhoda and Maria who came from different tribes and insisted on being treated alike. If Rhoda was ill, then Maria wanted to be ill as well. Sarah learned to tell Maria, "Taihoa, Maria, ida ora a Rora, ma reira ka mata ai koe." ("Wait, Maria, till Rhoda gets better, then you can go and be sick!") She was always reminded of this promise in due time. In a day or two Maria would come in. "Mother, Rhoda is better." "Well, then, go and be sick," Sarah would say! [33]

Towards the end of April Sarah commenced a school for the women of the missionary settlement. She taught reading, writing and sewing to a class ranging from four to seventy years old, to young women with large families and frail women bent with years. All were eager to learn to read the Scriptures and if Sarah was a little late for class they came to fetch her! In addition to teaching school Sarah was spiritual director to a women's class and by mid-December of that year she was sure that Emma was ready for baptism. "She prays regularly, in private, and frequently on such occasions is filled with love and she rejoices in God her Saviour and is obliged to give vent to her feelings by weeping." [34]

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[30] Unfortunately the names of these chapels are not given in the journal. Ironside mentions only one chapel having a lock on it, and reference to a lock occurs in his letter of 7 January 1843, so itmay be assumed that one of these chapels was at Wakakaramea. Ironside says in the letter that it was opened 'eighteen months ago'. In fact it would have been opened at the end of February 1841 — almost two years before.

[31] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 11 March 1841. This was district meeting policy which Ironside had been implementing, and was being accomplished by the gift of a few nails at the expense of the missionary society. See letter of Rev. John Skevington, 15 September 1842.

[32] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 11 March 1841.

[33] *NZ Methodist,* 7 February 1891.

[34] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 13 December 1842.

In May, Samuel Ironside visited Port Nicholson, where he found John Aldred well, and the work prospering. On a boisterous wind-blown Sunday, with few at chapel, Ironside preached indifferently, but more happily to the Maoris in the evening. Back in his circuit, Ironside was again in the sounds to visit Toheroa, a dying chief of the Puketapu tribe at Totaranui. On the way he called at several places, arriving at Totaranui on 2 July. Before he died, Toheroa was baptised. The effect of the classes and the influence of teachers was beginning to be felt. On 11 July eighteen were baptised and five couples were married. On 1 August 100 people "renounced the devil and all his works" in baptism[35] and on 12 December Ironside and his wife went to Te Awaiti to examine candidates for baptism.

"Upwards of 84 were admitted into the visible church. . . the chief of this place [Edwin White] has with his people evidenced his zeal for the Lord by building a strong chapel about 30 feet square and has paid three pigs to a European carpenter for the pulpit erected in it." [36]

As the influence spread, so the value of the Christian year began to tell. Good Friday 1841 had been solemnly observed. "They [the Maoris] at once saw the propriety of setting apart the day and entered into its duties with spirit" records Ironside. Christmas also was a special teaching occasion for both Maoris and Europeans, while New Year's Eve 1841 was celebrated in typical Wesleyan manner.

"Last night, we had our chapel full at 10 p.m. and very great attention was paid while I addressed the natives on the barren fig tree and afterwards one or two Christian chiefs spoke in a very edifying manner. The intervals between the exhortations were well filled by some earnest prayers and singing the songs of Zion. Three or four minutes before 12 we all knelt down in solemn silent prayer and so until the moment of 12, when one of our number prayed and we departed. This first Watchnight here was a very solemn one to us." [37]

So the routine of preaching, meeting the classes, teaching in the schools and conducting prayer meetings went on. Lay leadership emerged and was developed. Chapels were being built in the outlying villages and these were visited from time to time, worship conducted, classes met, catechumens examined and baptised. The observance of the Sabbath was taught and readily accepted. On Saturday all domestic affairs were attended to; people from the outlying villages travelled to Ngakuta for the holy day. School met at 9am. Public worship followed at 10.30am. The classes were met after worship, and in the evenings the people met again for worship and instruction.

[35] ibid. 20 August 1841.
[36] ibid. 12 December 1841.
[37] ibid. 1 January 1842.

That was but the beginning of the week. Before the people returned home on Monday Ironside practised what medical skill he had upon those who sought his help. Some were given stock remedies and occasionally a patient was bled.[38] On Tuesday he met classes; Wednesday, a prayer meeting was held; Thursday, school was conducted upon the Lancastrian model with which he was familiar. Between times the shortage of copies of the Scriptures involved him in the necessity of transcribing large portions for the hungry minds and souls of his people, as well as erecting more adequate buildings for the work. The Maoris had built the six-roomed residence for the missionary and Samuel had sought and found a carpenter to put a weatherboard front to it and to install windows. It had a chimney at each end and Sarah had made the house her own by painting each room a different colour as she fancied, blue, pink, orange. The servants had built themselves huts nearby, and the chapel itself, square and squat, built of raupo, was used for worship, school, class meetings, prayer meetings and other instructional activities of the station. Scattered around were the neat houses of a number of the Maori people who had been encouraged to build more adequate family homes.

The mission station was quite a settlement by the time the New Plymouth emigrant ships put into Port Underwood in March and April 1841. Ironside would have been glad to have some visitors from the *William Bryan* and the *Amelia Thompson* — although he records nothing of it in his journal. He was able to allay the fears of some of the Devonshire agricultural labourers who, looking anxiously for fertile pastures, saw only the barren hills of the sounds and the uncultivable mountains, by telling them that he had walked over the whole of Taranaki and found it to be the "garden of New Zealand". But while he allayed their fears, their anxiety about land hardly served to allay his.

During the visit of the *William Bryan* Dr Henry Weekes, surgeon-superintendent, and others went ashore at Kakapo where they were entertained by Mr and Mrs Guard and visited Ironside at the head of the bay with a "colony of natives about him".[39] James Wynen and Samuel Ironside did all in their power to make their few days' stay as agreeable as possible. Of his visits to Ngakuta Dr Weekes records:

> "The missionaries have done much to civilise the New Zealanders both by themselves, and indirectly by educating and sending among them native teachers. I witnessed a remarkable instance of the influence of the latter over their brethren when at Port Underwood. After spending the day, and enjoying the hospitality of Mr and Mrs Ironside we proceeded at about half-past six to the native chapel to which we were summoned by a native walking about and striking a hatchet-head with a spike-nail, to resemble the tinkling of a bell. As soon as the congregation

[38] *NZ Methodist*, 7 February 1891.

[39] *The Establishment of the New Plymouth Settlement in N.Z.*, p. 39.

were assembled they commenced the old 100th psalm in loud bass, all singing in unison and slow. They invariably ended in a key or two lower than the one they commenced in, which was caused by their frequent use of a flat semitone, instead of a natural. There was a touch of the savage about it altogether strange and peculiar. After a prayer, during which they all bent their heads and covered their faces with their hands or blankets, the native teacher stood up and gave out a text in which he closely imitated the manner of the 'pakeha' clergyman. He first appeared to make private prayer; then rising up he looked slowly around on the congregation with a nonchalant air, and carefully unfolded a pocket handkerchief, gravely wiped his nose, commenced his text with a hem! hem! We listened to him for about ten minutes during which he preached fluently, and then quietly retired as we were not acquainted with the language. Mr I. at our request gave us the pith of his discourse which is, it appears, sometimes rather difficult to find owing to their figurative style of language. He had been by various metaphors endeavouring to show his hearers the beauty of the Christian religion and the good intentions of the missionaries who had come so many thousand miles to convert them. 'You go,' he said, 'into the woods and catch the wild pigs and bring them into your whares (houses) and take care of them, and tame them; you were wild, the missionaries came and tamed you,' etc. etc. It occurred to me that the simile was not very appropriate, for the pigs are dragged in 'vi et auribus' to be, in the end, slaughtered. May a corresponding fate be averted from the New Zealanders! Many of the natives have learned to write; and having expressed a wish to obtain a specimen of their writing and composition for my friends at home, a native chief wrote, in a few minutes, the accompanying letter to his missionary. Of this Mr Ironside kindly wrote a translation.

'E. Ahoa ete haeanu Te anaru Koe
He nui toku aroha ki a koe ne te mea kua rongo ma tou i te nui oto. A a hua ata wai ki a tatou e hoa e hora te nei aroha i toke kikokiko. Otira i to te Wairua kua whaku kitea mai te nuinga otana aroha. Ki te ngakau E tohu matua te nei ano te whaka aro otoku nga kau to Atua ko tate nga kau wiwinga kite ripeneta kite mum nga hara kite harihoki ote Wairua tapu heoi ano. Ne to hoa aroha. Na More.
MA TE HAEANEY

"'Translation of a letter from a New Zealander to His Missionary.
O friend, O Mr Ironside, that is you. Great is my love to you, because we have heard the fullness of God's grace to us. O friend, this love is not of the flesh, but of the Spirit, He having shown the greatness of His love to the heart. O my father this is the feeling of my heart toward God, the choosing of repentance and forgiveness of sins and the joy of the Holy Ghost by the heart (or that I may choose, etc.). This is all from your loving friend. From Morley.
TO MR IRONSIDE.'"

Since October the *Triton* had been expected to take Ironside to the district meeting at Kawhia. As the weeks passed without sign of her, apprehension rose concerning the safety of the vessel and her crew and particularly for John Waterhouse, the general superintendent, who was on board. Not till New Year's Day did she heave to in Port Underwood. On the way out to the ship Ironside was met by Captain Buck and the Reverend and Mrs John Skevington who had recently joined the New Zealand mission staff. It was a joyous meeting and the letters from England were the first to arrive at Ngakuta. News of the various mission stations was asked and prospects for the work assessed. On his desk Ironside had already prepared a report to be presented at the district meeting, and the prospects were hopeful. Captain Buck called the mission station "Pisgah Vale".[40] The name appealed and stuck, for it was from here that many Maoris were catching a glimpse of the Promised Land and Ironside was never fully to possess it. Besides that, it reminded him of Mount Pisgah in Sheffield as well as in the Holy Land.

On 4 January 1842 Ironside embarked for the district meeting, leaving Sarah Ironside "all alone, nobody but natives with her, and the probability is that I shall be six weeks away. O Lord be Thou her Helper." [41] What these long separations meant to Samuel we know well for on his journeys he constantly mentions Sarah in his journal. Had we Sarah's journal we should know more of her feelings, but Eliza White spoke for all missionary wives when she expressed her feelings in a similar situation:

> "O those who live in happy England know little of the heart of a missionary wife — her situation is solitary and trying indeed. When her partner is several weeks from home and no post letters arrived to tell how he fares, but she is obliged to wait in anxious suspense until he can return to tell her himself of the troubles that befell him in the way: and should the period fixed for his return pass over, and many days with it elapse, and her dearest earthly friend not arrive, who can imagine her dark forebodings and distressing fears? Frequently have I felt desolate as a widow, but I feel grateful to my heavenly Father that on no occasion have I been left comfortless. " [42]

Samuel was not unmindful. Sarah was "the greatest treasure of his life" and "worth a million", and he was determined to love, honour and cherish her as far as was humanly possible, as he promised on his wedding day. [43]

While Sarah kept oversight of the mission station, she was herself protected by one of the Maori chiefs. The *Triton* called at Taranaki, where Mrs Creed was found to have taken seriously ill just four days after her husband had left for the district meeting. On

[40] *NZ Methodist*, 10 January 1891.
[41] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 2 January 1842.
[42] Letter of Eliza White, 14 October 1835.
[43] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 24 August 1842.

8 January the *Triton* anchored safely in Kawhia Harbour. Present at the district meeting were John Whiteley (chairman), James Wallis (secretary), Thomas Buddle, Samuel Ironside, Charles Creed, George Buttle, John Skevington and H. Hanson Turton.[44] Ironside was able to report that in the course of the year 215 communicants had been received by baptism and 302 members were "on trial". In addition, 441 adults and 138 children were meeting in Sunday and other schools, a total of 579. During the year a piece of land containing about twenty acres had been made tapu for the Methodist church and a Maori house plastered with weatherboard front, had been built.[45] It was expected that a chapel would be built at Cloudy Bay and a sum not exceeding ten pounds was allowed for carpentry. The income from the Cloudy Bay circuit was six pounds while the expenditure of £250 was met by the Wesleyan Missionary Society in Great Britain.

> "The circuit embraces Cloudy Bay, Queen Charlotte Sound and several other places with a population of about 2000. At all the above places the people are under religious instruction. Many classes have been formed but the missionary laments the want of suitable persons whom he might appoint as leaders in the numerous societies committed to his care." [46]

A breakdown of statistics for church members and scholars in both school and Sabbath school is as follows:

MEMBERSHIP

Society	*Trial*	*Members*	*Increase*
Cloudy Bay	98	46	46
Te Awaiti	14	91	91
Totara Nui	78	52	52
Te Hoiere and Rangitoto	112	26	26
	302	215	215

SCHOOLS

School	*Adult*	*Children*
Cloudy Bay	150	35
TeAwaiti	116	40
Totara Nui	175	63
	441	138

[44] Whiteley came from Kawhia, Wallis from Whaingaroa, Buddle from Waipa West, Ironside from Cloudy Bay, Creed from Taranaki and Kapiti, Buttle from Mokau, and Turton from Aotea. John Aldred was absent through ill health and James Watkin was not present because the *Triton* had not vsited his station at Waikouaiti.

[45] Minutes of the district meeting, 13 January 1842, p. 3.

[46] Minutes of the district meeting, 1842, p. 15.

Commenting on the progress in spiritual experience Ironside writes:

> "The missionary would regard the people of his charge as earnestly endeavouring after, rather than actually enjoying the 'Kingdom of God', whose properties are righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost."

Notwithstanding he had sufficient grounds for believing that

> "a good work has been begun among them, for they labour to keep the commandments of God, they diligently read His Word, they greatly desire instruction, they are cordially attached to their Missionary, and they are indefatigable in their labours to spread the knowledge of Divine Truth among their less favoured countrymen . . . and the Missionary . . . resolves to labour on at God's command, and offer all his works to Him."

The work of the school was hindered by the lack of slates and books but a liberal grant of New Testaments by the British and Foreign Bible Society had partly relieved the situation. A modified form of the monitorial system was being practised, the classes being arranged according to their proficiency in learning, over which the missionary had final oversight.

> "It would gratify some of our friends at home could they behold, as we do, the old warrior chieftain, taking his station in the class, and paying attention to the advices and suggestions of the young slave, it may be who is Mouitoi." [47]

Apart from all this Ironside had mentioned a place called "Nelson Haven" or "Blind Bay" as a possible mission station, but as no-one present had seen the place, Ironside was directed to visit it and report to the next district meeting.[48]

All in all, Ironside had much to be pleased about. His circuit returns were among the most promising in the country, and he was growing in recognition as a leader. Certain unresolved situations at Hokianga demanded urgent attention, and the chairman, John Whiteley, wished Ironside to accompany him to Hokianga to help settle the disagreements. As the trip would not make his time away from home any longer, he consented, but records, "each day seems a month to me as poor dear Sarah will be so lonely." [49] The misunderstanding at Mangungu had arisen out of the death of John Bumby, chairman of the New Zealand district. The Reverend Gideon Smales, Bumby's brother-in-law, had taken charge of Bumby's papers and, not understanding that John Hobbs had been appointed provisional chairman by John Waterhouse (general superintendent now in Hobart), Smales objected to certain actions Hobbs had taken. It was with relief that Ironside recorded on 2 February 1842, "the unpleasant

[47] ibid. p. 19. "Mouitoi" means monitor.
[48] ibid. p. 8.
[49] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 16 January 1842.

business about which our Chairman came is amicably settled, and we came down the river [Hokianga], but as the ship would not sail till tomorrow, we came on shore to Mr and Mrs Smales." Arriving back at Kawhia on 15 February, the chairman resumed the adjourned district meeting, which finished on 24 February. Buttle joined the *Triton* to go to the colony of New South Wales to seek a wife, Skevington was put ashore at Taranaki, and on 6 March, Ironside returned home.

> "My dear wife well and of course happy. We had two remarkable providences, one in Blind Bay — a perfect calm and a very heavy swell setting us on shore at the rate of two knots an hour, the shore rocky and precipitous and within four or five miles, yet in our extremity God appeared for us and gave us a nice wind to help us out of our danger. Another was last night, it was blowing a gale from the north west and at dawn we were about fifteen miles windward of Cloudy Bay, so that the Captain was compelled to make short half hour tacks on and off shore to prevent our being driven past our port. When about 3 a.m. without any previous warning the wind chopped round and blew furiously from the southeast, but through the mercy of God this came on us when we were on the off shore tack with a few miles of offing. Had it come on half an hour previously I don't suppose we would have weathered the land, as it was, it just allowed us to lie our course and just round the north head of our port with scarce a stone's throw of room to spare." [50]

On his return, Ironside took up the thread of his work. Early in January the long-wished-for supply of Maori Testaments had arrived with the *Triton* but time would not allow their distribution on that occasion. Of this edition of 5000 copies (printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society) the district meeting had allocated 450 to the Cloudy Bay Mission Station, and long discussions had been held as to the wisest way of disposing of the gift. Some argued that a fixed price of, say, two shillings per copy would lead to the Maori people valuing the gift. Others stressed that these books were a gift from the Bible Society and should be used as such. The only consensus was that each missionary should use his own judgment in the distribution, and the proceeds, if any, should be remitted to the Bible Society in recognition of its generosity. Ironside's understanding of Maori thinking and custom is evident from the way in which he handled the situation.

> "I at once made my preparations. Messengers were sent to all the outlying stations in Queen Charlotte's Sound and the Pelorus River inviting all and sundry to come to the head station at Ngakuta, to the feast of Testaments. Before they came together, I set out on paper a list of the villages, the names of the teachers in charge; apportioning to each as many as could be spared . . . 10 here, 12 there, and so throughout the circuit, till the whole number of books was exhausted. On the 'great day of the feast' we had a gathering of over 700 Maoris, all eager for

[50] ibid. 6 March 1842.

the Word of Life. Our church, the first erected at Ngakuta, would not accommodate half the number, so we conducted our proceedings under God's own dome. I set the books in heaps around the preaching stand, each heap with the name of the teacher written out on top. The bell was rung; we held a short service of praise and prayer; an address was given from Acts 17; verses 10 and 12. The example of the Bereans was commended to the people. Hitherto they had been unable to follow it, but now they could and I was sure they would 'search the Scriptures daily'. I said I had not books enough for each of them; but every teacher of every village would have as many as could be spared. I then came to the delicate matter that had been the subject of discussion at the District Meeting. 'Here is a great feast provided for us by our good fathers and friends at home in England — a feast of the Word of Life, a "feast of fat things, full of marrow". You have a custom among yourselves called paremata. A chief who accepts an invitation to a feast from another chief, while he is partaking of it, is considering about making a paremata (or return feast) and so by and by there is provided in return if possible, a larger and richer banquet than the first. "Shall I have a paremata?" 'The names of the teachers were then called out, village by village, and each received the portion of his people. I have often wished I could reproduce the scene in a picture — heaven smiling from above; the valley and the surrounding hills clothed in the richest verdure of early autumn; the crowd of Maoris all with strained gaze looking at the distribution; the teacher, as his name was called out, springing up and rushing to the stand, leaping over the head of those squatted in front of him, clutching the heap assigned to him, and away back to his place, hugging to his breast the coveted treasure. An angel in his flight might have been arrested by the scene. The seed sown about the paremata fell into good soil, and soon began to germinate. In two or three weeks I noticed an unusual stir among the people in the village. There was a commotion in the air. All seemed to be full of repressed excitement; preparations for a great display were everywhere afoot. I concluded that the paremata was coming. From the front windows of the mission house could be seen several large canoes, fully manned coming up the bay to the station at racing speed, each frantically striving to be first. From the back part of the house was seen a long line of Maoris in Indian file coming over the saddle in the hills separating us from the Sound, each one with a full heavy basket on his back, and some in addition, with a pig on a string in the hand, guiding him along. While my wife and I were delighting ourselves looking at the animated scene, listening to the eager shouting of each fresh arrival, we were *sans ceremonie*, told to go inside the house and shut the doors; we were not wanted yet. We submitted to the friendly interdict, and waited patiently. When all was ready we were summoned. There in front of us was a long heap of baskets, about three feet high, stretching from one end of the yard to the other, I counted 600 baskets, full of potatoes, Indian corn, pumpkins, etc. Each basket would weigh fully 56 pounds. On the outer side of the heap, tied

> by the leg to the fence behind, were 7 good sized pigs. On the heap of baskets at one end was a little parcel tied up in an old handkerchief to which my attention was specially directed. All being ready, out sprang the master of ceremonies, Hoani Koinaki, chief of the Wekenui village in the Sound — as fine a specimen of the Maori race as you would see from Te Reinga to Murihiku. With true native courtesy the place of honour had been ceded to him by the Ngatitoa chiefs of Cloudy Bay. Hoani, tucking up his blanket, with a long native spear in his hand, ran backwards and forwards from one end of the food pile to the other striking the baskets with his spear at intervals. 'Here is our feast. Take it and give it to our loved fathers in England; it is all we can do to show our love to them for their great kindness in sending to us the Pukapuka Tapu (the Holy Book).' In the little parcel at the end of the pile was a lot of silver dollars and crown pieces, English, French, Spanish, American. These had been in their possession for years. Many of them had been bored through and worn as ear ornaments by the women. But they were freely sacrificed on this occasion. They amounted to £9.17.6. The 600 baskets and the 7 pigs I sold to one of the traders for £25. They were worth much more, but traders were few and I was at their mercy. Besides the food was perishable, and I should lose materially if I kept it in hope of a better bargain. However, I had the pleasure of remitting to the British and Foreign Bible Society £34.17.6 as our Cloudy Bay contribution in return for their splendid gift." [51]

This tremendous occasion was followed by a love feast. Of those present, about thirty people spoke and the whole was concluded with fervent prayers for the prosperity of the circuit and the work of the Kingdom. Afterwards most of the *Triton's* crew came ashore and Ironside addressed them from Hebrews 4:14-16. The following day Ironside dined on board the mission vessel, which was making preparations for her voyage to Sydney. George Buttle was then taken on board and as the anchors were raised Samuel Ironside pulled away in his whaleboat to resume the lonely life on an isolated mission station.

In April[52] he baptised ten Maori people from Motueka, and by 3 May the local Maoris were preparing to build a chapel at Ngakuta. "They work well only when superintended, so that most of my time is taken up looking after them." [53] But Mrs

[51] *NZ Methodist*, 24 January 1891. This sum is acknowledged in the report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1843. Those who sold the book at a fixed price did not do as well as Cloudy Bay.

[52] The Baptismal Register shows these took place on 8 May 1842. There are no journal entries for April.

[53] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 3 May 1842.

Ironside's health was deteriorating and medical help was necessary. This meant a visit to Port Nicholson.[54]

On 16 May Samuel and Sarah Ironside embarked on the *Susannah Ann* (Captain Lewyn) but spent five days either rolling "gunwales under" in Port Underwood, or waiting to get into Port Nicholson. When they got ashore John Aldred was just dismissing the Sunday congregation, and the first news Ironside received was that the Reverend John Waterhouse, beloved superintendent, was dead.[55] Waterhouse had been more than a superintendent. He was also a father figure to the younger men — a quality which Bumby never understood. "Favoured with his counsel a short time in England, on the voyage out, and also on his recent visits to New Zealand, he had acquired a fatherly influence over me, of which I was now deprived," [56] grieved Ironside in his journal.

During this visit Samuel and Sarah Ironside lodged with Mr and Mrs John Wade, and a warm friendship and mutual high regard was struck. Mrs Wade and her sister Miss Smith, who was staying with them, could not have been kinder or more attentive had they been their near relatives. On the Tuesday evening Samuel spoke to forty or fifty Europeans in Mr Wade's store and at the social tea on the following night, 30 May, for the benefit of the chapel fund. It was at this time that he made the acquaintance of Mrs Waters, the Luxfords, John Harding and his wife, David Lewis and many others whom he regarded as the excellent of the earth.[57] On the following Sunday he shared the Maori services with John Aldred, and in the afternoon preached to the European congregation in the Exchange, from Isaiah 25:6-10. The time passed pleasantly. Medical attention had been sought, and on 10 June the *Elizabeth* (Captain Smith) bound for Nelson, arrived in Port Nicholson and four days later with Samuel on board she beat out of port, leaving Sarah with the Wades on the understanding that she would cross to Cloudy Bay when the *Susannah Ann* returned. After a pleasant run, the *Elizabeth* discharged her passengers at Nelson. Ironside's first impressions of Nelson are recorded in his journal.

> "This appears a very fine harbour, though the entrance is exceedingly narrow, and the tides run very strong. A lamentable proof of this is afforded by the *Fifeshire,* a fine emigrant ship which is now lying across the rocks at the entrance with its back broken. Ships in entering have to pass within less than a cable's length of her. Captain Wakefield appears a person of amiable manners,

[54] The complaint had been increasing.

[55] John Waterhouse was the second leader of the mission party who came to New Zealand in the *James* in 1838, to die. John Bumby had been drowned in the Hauraki Gulf in 1840.

[56] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 22 May 1842.

[57] NZ *Methodist,* 28 February 1891.

> the reverse of his brother, the manager of the Port Nicholson settlement; he appears willing to afford every assistance to Missions and Missionaries." [58]

This was to be no fleeting visit. Since the founding of the settlement a number of Methodist people had been active; among them was William Andrews who, in the absence of a minister, was regarded as the pastor of the Wesleyan community, and was affectionately known as "Bishop" Andrews. Others were the Lightbands, the Jacksons, Messrs. Hammond, Gapper, Hough, Humphreys, Mears and many others. Most lived in immigrant cottages[59], erected on Hardy Street by the New Zealand Company as the temporary sojourn of the people. On Sunday 19 June Ironside addressed between seventy and eighty Maoris on the beach in the morning, from Hebrews 2:9.[60] In the afternoon a good company assembled in the surveyors' messrooms, including the children of the Sunday school, to whom he preached "on the nature, prevalency and uses of the priesthood of Christ." [61] In the evening a small

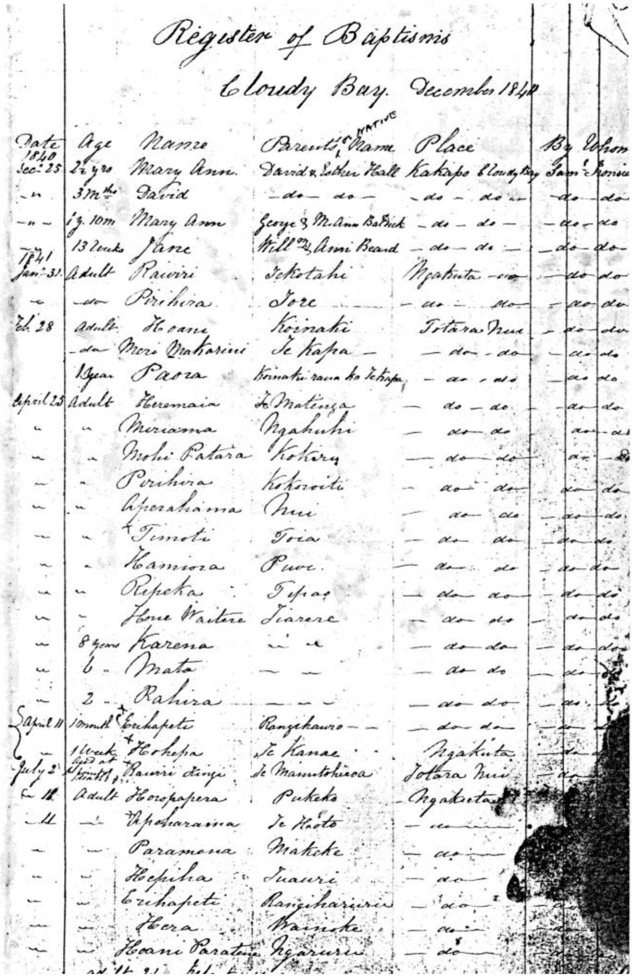
[58] Access to the Journal of Samuel Ironside makes it possible to correct inferences which previous writers have drawn from the material at their disposal. The Record of St John's Church, Nelson, prepared by W. E. A. Carr, needs correction on several points. Samuel Ironside arrived in Nelson on 17 June, not 25 June, and preached on the beach and in private houses as well as in the surveyors' mess. Carr also quotes from C. B. Jordan's *History Methodism in Stoke* (Nelson, New Zealand), to the effect that Ironside visited Motueka in May 1842. This seems to be assumed from the fact that Ironside baptised ten Maoris from that area. An examination of Ironside's journal shows that the Motueka people were baptised in April and there is no record in the journal of his visiting Motueka in May. During May the Cloudy Bay Maoris were preparing to build the Ebenezer Chapel, and Ironside, anxious about his wife's health as well as his own, was preparing to go to Port Nicholson to obtain medical advice. He embarked on 17 May and left Wellington for Nelson on 14 June. Nor is M. A. Rugby Pratt's statement correct that Ironside arrived on this visit in a whaleboat with a Maori crew; nor did he preach three times to the Maoris and twice in the open air to the Europeans. This information applies to his visit in September. Of this visit Ironside records that he preached four times on the Sabbath — once to the Maoris, twice in the open air to the Europeans and once in a private house.

[59] These were opposite the present church and parsonage, and formed three sides of a square.

[60] William Morley in *The History of Methodism in New Zealand*, p. *376*, states that Samuel Ironside took the first Methodist service in Nelson. This is corrected by M. A. R. Pratt, who gives Edward Green credit for this. Pratt then goes on to say that Ironside took the first service "by a Wesleyan minister" in Nelson. This is true but must be seen in the light of John Whiteley's laying of the foundation stone of the church school of the United Christians. The claim made by the late Rev. H. L. Fiebig that Edward Green held the first Methodist service in the South Island for a European congregation also needs correction in the light of Ironside's services with whalers at Port Underwood; no doubt James Watkin did the same at Waikouaiti.

[61] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 17 June 1842, ff.

cottage was filled with eager hearers and again Ironside preached, this time on the Gospel Feast, Isaiah 25:6-10.[62]



Register of Baptisms

Cloudy Bay. December 1840

Date	Age	Name	Parents' Native Name	Place	By Whom
1840 Dec 25	2½ yrs	Mary Ann	David & Esther Hall	Kakapo Cloudy Bay	Saml Ironside
"	3 mths	David	do do	do do	do do
"	1 y. 10 m	Mary Ann	George & M. Ann Baldick	do do	do do
1841	13 weeks	Jane	Willm & Anne Beard	do do	do do
Jan 31	Adult	Raiviri	Tekotahi	Ngakuta	do do
"	do	Pirihira	Tore	do do	do do
Feb 28	Adult	Hoani	Koinaki	Totara Nui	do do
	do	Meri Matarini	Te Kapa	do do	do do
	1 year	Paora	Koinaki raua ko Tekapa	do do	do do
April 25	Adult	Heremaia	Te Matenga	do do	do do
"	"	Meriama	Ngahuhi	do do	do do
"	"	Mohi Patara	Kokiri	do do	do do
"	"	Pirihira	Kokoroiti	do do	do do
"	"	Aperahama	Nui	do do	do do
"	"	Timoti	Toia	do do	do do
"	"	Hamiora	Puoe	do do	do do
"	"	Ripeka	Tepa	do do	do do
"	"	Hone Waitere	Tiarere	do do	do do
"	8 years	Karena	" "	do do	do do
"	6 "	Mata	— —	do do	do do
"	2 "	Rahira	— —	do do	do do
April 11	1 month	Erihapeti	Rangihauro	do do	do
"	1 week	Hohepa	Te Kanae	Ngakuta	do
July 2		Rawiri	Te Manutohiroa	Totara Nui	do
" 11	Adult	Horopapera	Pukeko	Ngakuta	
" 11	—	Tapoharama	Te Hoete	do	
—	—	Paramena	Makeke	do	
—	—	Hepiha	Tuauri	do	
—	—	Erihapeti	Rangiharuru	do	
—	—	Hera	Wainoke	do	
—	—	Hoani Paratene	Ngaruru	do	

First page of the baptismal register used at the Cloudy Bay mission.
Methodist Connexional Office

[62] In the NZ *Methodist* for 10 January 1891, Ironside says that the Maori and European services were held in the open air. The journal shows that while the Maori service was on the beach — no doubt where the Maoris had their fishing camp — both European services were indoors. In the journal entry for 8 October he mentions preaching to Europeans in the open. Presumably it was during his September visit to Nelson that with Edward Green he preached to the immigrants in the open air.

On Thursday 23 June he made contact with a society called the "United Christians", composed of Congregationalists, Baptists, Primitive Methodists and a few Wesleyans. These he helped as he could, but was regarded with some suspicion. On 26 June he followed a pattern similar to the previous Sunday, preaching to both Maoris and Europeans. Before he left he arranged for a Wesleyan service to be held on every succeeding Sunday at 3 o'clock in the surveyors' mess[63] to be conducted by local preachers living in the settlement. In the evening of Tuesday the twenty-eighth he left Nelson for home." [64]

The first fifty miles to Horea, one of the Maori villages on D'Urville Island, was travelled in a Maori canoe. There a considerable number of candidates had been prepared for baptism by Noah, one of the Maori teachers. Ironside resolved to stay over the Sunday. Friday and Saturday were spent examining and exhorting those desiring admission into the Church. He found them well acquainted with the catechism, and was on the whole pleased with their progress, though they suffered from want of pastoral oversight. On 3 July forty persons were baptised into the visible church and next day Ironside resumed his journey home where he arrived on Wednesday 6 July, having been preceded three days earlier by his wife and Miss Smith who had crossed from Port Nicholson.

While he had been away, the building of the church at Ngakuta had progressed handsomely and a month after his return, on 5 August 1842, Ebenezer Chapel (Ngakuta Bay) was finished. Ironside recalls:

> "As is common with all church building committees, many discussions took place. There was no architect or practical builder to guide us in the great undertaking. But all were willing and earnest. There were five leading tribes, and it was resolved to divide the work into five portions, each tribe to be responsible for its share. The size, outside measurement, was 66 feet by 36, and about 12 feet up to the wall plate. From 100 to 150 men gave all their time and labour to the work for months. The wives attended to the gardens and cultivations, and brought in food supplies for them. The frame of the building was of long huge

[63] *Nelson Examiner*, 25 June 1842.

[64] William Morley *(The History of Methodism in NZ,* p. *377b)* records that William Andrews was acting pastor among the Wesleyans until the arrival of a Wesleyan minister, and was affectionately known as "Bishop" Andrews. There was a Sunday school meeting regularly and a dass meeting. In addition Ironside was subsequently to visit Nelson on a quarterly basis, viz September 1842 and March-April 1843. On the latter occasion he was happy to transfer responsibility for the work west of D'Urville Island to John Aldred, who took up residence in Nelson on 26 February 1843. From the pattern of events it is dear that Ironside was organising Wesleyan work on a denominational basis, so was regarded "with a jealous eye" by the United Christians. If Wesleyan services continued to be conducted weekly Wesleyan Methodism was probably the first denomination to be organised in Nelson.

slabs of pine, two or three inches in thickness. Large and lofty pine trees grew in the hills behind, and a good many of these were felled for the purpose, and crosscut to the required length.[65] They were then hauled out by main force, and dragged to the church site with the aid of blocks and tackle lent by the whaling ships. Skids were laid down, and the logs were rolled upon them, the hauling tackle fixed and a hundred willing hands seized upon it; stretching their limbs and sinews to the tunes set by the fugleman (sailor fashion). Sometimes it was a school song, sometimes one of their old legends, more frequently a song improvised for the occasion. Some of the people were always to the fore with talk, advice, suggestion, but, like many others I have met elsewhere, they had a strong dislike for hard work. When the tough job of hauling was in hand, these fellows made all kinds of excuses for absenting themselves. The fugleman in charge took an effective means of exposing these talking elders. You would hear the strains as they emerged out of the bush, 'He wild ano, ka kitea: he wild ano, ka kitea. Kei to Mane, ngaro nob: kei te Mane, ngaro noa.' ('On the Sunday you will see them: on the Sunday you will see them. On the Monday, gone clean away. On the Monday gone clean away.') These fellows would appear regularly at the church services, but they had always a lame excuse for taking them away on Monday, when workers were called for. However, the work went merrily on; sawpits were constructed, each trunk was cut down into three or four slabs. These were adzed to a perfect smoothness, as though done by a carpenter's plane. They were set up for the walls, about a foot apart from each other, the interstices being filled with wattle from the kareao — a clinging vine which grows luxuriantly in the forests — plastered over with mortar. We gathered shells in great quantities from the beach, and burned them for lime. My wife got a practical lesson of the searching qualities of quick lime, for she incautiously put her fingers into it, and burned them badly. The whole interior was lined with tall reeds, which grew in plenty about the swamps. The women exercised their ingenuity and patience in staining each reed with various pigments, and the combination of colours was just beautiful. I worked with the men, and, as an amateur clerk of works, gave directions, as much as my other duties would permit me. [66]

[65] "Every post, as well as the ridge poles and of the beams and rafters, was made out of an entire tree." Journal of Samuel Ironside, 5 August 1842.

[66] Barnicoat and Cotterell visited the mission station on Saturday 22 April 1843. Barnicoat gives the dimension as 70 x 40 feet approximately, neatly built in the native fashion. "It is thatched with raupo and its sides are formed in the exterior with manuka bark and in the interior with the reed of the toi toi. One of the gables projected a few feet according to the usual native mode and becomes a portico. The interior is yet incomplete and merely contains the pulpit and a space railed in as an altar.

"A carpenter from one of the whaling stations, a young man of respectable parents, who had gone astray, but who, through God's mercy came to 'himself', was with us for a month; worked *con amore,* making the pulpit and communion, fixing the doors and windows. There were eight large sashes, four on each side. These, with the doors, I had obtained from Port Nicholson. The carpenter's wages, with the cost of windows and doors, and pine boards for the pulpit and communion, amounted to forty pounds. This was the whole sum with which the Missionary Committee was debited. The money value of that church could not have been less than fourteen to fifteen hundred pounds. As the crowning achievement of the work I had 'Ebenezer' painted in large capitals on a board, and affixed to the front gable.

"Friday, August 5th, 1842 was our grand church opening day. There was an immense gathering of the clans from far and near, all full of high and holy expectation. All the villages in the Sound, the Pelorus River, and the distant D'Urville's Island, as well as those in Cloudy Bay, furnished their quota of worshippers. [67]

"The service was exceedingly interesting. After the morning prayers and lesson, a sermon was preached from 1 Samuel 7:12, 'Ebenezer! Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.' No collection was made; the people had not silver or gold to give. They had been willing workers in building the church for the preceding five months. They had exhausted their resources a few months before in the paremata (for the feast of Testaments). Saturday, the 6th was devoted to the examination of the candidates for baptism, who had given satisfactory proof of their discipleship. The majority of them could read the New Testament; all of them were well acquainted with our second Conference catechism, and repeated the first seven chapters *verbatim.* This *panui tanga* (general recitation) was deeply affecting to me. Sabbath, the 7th, dawned upon us bright and balmy; all was joy and animation. At 9 a.m. the candidates for baptism were gathered, and all arranged in rows in front of the pulpit to prevent confusion. The bell was then rung, and the mass of people flocked in. Between the prayers and sermon I received into the visible church one hundred and sixty three adults and thirty children. Many of us shouted for joy. After dinner not the least interesting part of our opening services was the marriage of forty couples, who had been living together in a heathen state, but were desirous of being united in 'the holy estate of matrimony'. The difficulty about the wedding ring was met by Mrs Ironside

[67] While there may have been people from "all villages in the Sound" at the opening of Ebenezer Chapel, the journal makes it dear that "a great number of candidates for baptism" had been prevented from attending by rough weather. The baptismal register shows that only fifteen people from Queen Charlotte Sound and forty-four from Tory Channel were baptised on 7 August.

> sacrificing a number of brass curtain rings she had treasured up against the time when we hoped we might find use for them, in an advanced state of home comfort. Afterwards we joined them together at the sacrament table,[68] and thus closed one of the most interesting Sabbaths the Middle Island of New Zealand had ever witnessed." [69]

Unfortunately, because of the rough weather in the sounds, a great number of people had been prevented from attending the opening of Ebenezer Chapel. Besides this, there were a number who were ready for baptism. To gather in the harvest the mission household, which included Miss Smith who was staying with them, set out over the Missionary Ridge and by whaleboat proceeded down Queen Charlotte Sound where Maoris from the sound and Tory Channel had gathered. After examination, more than one hundred were received into the visible church by baptism, after which thirty couples were united in Christian marriage.[70] The following day the mission party returned to Pisgah Vale. Although the sea swell made the women afraid, and the walk over the saddle made them footsore, they were rejoicing with their people in their new-found faith.

Within a week the *Susannah Ann* put into Cloudy Bay from the Chatham Islands to land John Aldred who stayed for two weeks. The joy at the further renewal of a friendship made when the two men, with George Buttle, walked from Kawhia to Wanganui in 1840, was intense. Since then Aldred had become more hardened to New Zealand travel and was now returning from an exploratory trip to those distant islands. On 15 June he and several Maori teachers had set out in the *Blossom* for the Chathams. After a boisterous passage of six days the party was landed at Waikari and Aldred became the first preacher of the gospel to visit those parts. Having called at every village around the island and settled a Maori teacher at Waitangi to continue the work, he made his way to Kaingaroa — the only good harbour on the island — to learn that the day after he had disembarked the *Blossom* had been driven ashore and wrecked. This news brought about a month's enforced residence on the island waiting for a vessel returning to New Zealand. Time was spent furthering the initial contacts he had made with the villagers, who were left building chapels and eagerly awaiting the appointment of a permanent missionary. [71] Aldred also took the opportunity to improve his grasp of the Maori language, a fact which Ironside noted with approval.

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[68] At the evening service, "a good sermon was preached by Rawiri Pthama." Journal of Samuel Ironside, 8 August 1842.

[69] NZ *Methodist,* 31 January 1891.

[70] The baptismal register shows that 127 people from Queen Charlotte Sound were baptised, and fifteen from Tory Channel.

[71] This hope was not fulfilled until 1856 when the Rev. Philip Hannah was appointed to the Chatham Islands.

Aldred's desire to return home as quickly as possible made it convenient to accompany Ironside to Tory Channel, where a vessel was about to leave for Wellington. At Tory Channel a chapel was ready for opening. This chapel, approximately 35 feet by 25 feet, was a substantial building erected by the fifty members of the society meeting at Wekenui. No cost (apart from a few nails and a pair of hinges) had been incurred. On the evening of 26 August 1842 Ironside read evening prayers and Aldred preached: the following day Aldred led worship and Ironside preached from Jacob's exclamation, "This is none other than the house of God," Genesis 28:17. So the chapel, or ornament to the village, was called "Bethel".

The influence of Pisgah Vale spread with the travels of the people. From the point of view of tidiness of Methodist polity, the South Island was divided into two circuits, the boundary being the Waitaki River. The missionary to the southern circuit was James Watkin, whose mission station at Waikouaiti had been established six months before that at Cloudy Bay.[72]

Although the two missionaries had never met, Watkin's influence upon Ironside had already been considerable, for it was his stirring appeal "Pity poor Feejee" that had turned Ironside's mind from missionary work in southern Africa to the more urgent needs of the Pacific. Since they were now serving in contiguous circuits, Watkin initiated correspondence with Ironside by means of Maori messengers who travelled almost the length of the island. Often preachers or teachers, these messengers spread the Christian message wherever they went, and it was not infrequent for groups of people from distant parts to visit the mission stations or to send requests for the missionary to visit them.[73]

One such call had come from Motueka in mid-1842. Responding with a strong sense of duty, Ironside set out on 15 September, arriving at this destination on the fourth day after a quick passage. On Sunday 25 September he baptised thirty-seven adults and five children.[74] On the whole he was much pleased with the Maori population there, in spite of the fact that the infant European settlement was exerting new influences upon the Maoris. Ironside recognised they would need much grace and that he would need to be very watchful for "generally speaking the coming of the English people is not attended with spiritual good to the natives however much it may better their temporals." [75]

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[72] James Watkin landed at Waikouaiti on Saturday, 16 May 1840.

[73] NZ *Methodist,* 28 February 1891. Some years ago the writer saw one of these letters in the material collected by the late M. A. R. Pratt. It was written on blue paper and sealed with red wax but its present whereabouts is unknown.

[74] While the Journal of Samuel Ironside gives the figures quoted, the baptismal register records forty-one adult baptisms on this occasion.

[75] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 8 October 1842.

On the return journey he again visited Nelson. This time he stayed with Edward Green, an ardent Methodist, who had bachelor quarters in a small frame house of two rooms near the Post Office. While there he called upon the Reverend Mr Reay who had been inducted by Bishop Selwyn to safeguard Anglican interests in the town, thus frustrating the aspirations of the "United Christians" and alienating the sympathy of the press.[76] Mr Reay was anxious for a union of the Anglicans and the Wesleyans, but Ironside doubted whether the heads of the Anglican Church would make any sacrifice to gain that objective. Nor did he think the Wesleyans would be prepared to give up their love feasts and class meetings, while that which constituted valid ministries found the two churchmen poles apart. Notwithstanding these differences of opinion, the conversation was agreeable and friendly, each man recognising that he had his own commission to fulfil.

The following Sunday Ironside preached three times in the open air — once to the Maoris, and twice to the Europeans[77] and in the evening, in a private house crowded by a company of eager hearers, the nucleus of which (about twenty) were staunch Wesleyans who had notes of removal from their superintendents in England. They were impatient for the appointment of a Wesleyan minister among them. Ironside could promise nothing, but counselled them and encouraged them in their witness in the town. On Tuesday the voyage home began. On Wednesday night Te Hoiere (Pelorus River) was reached. On Thursday a large and beautiful chapel approximately 40 feet by 25 feet was opened at Punekerua, the principal village, and between thirty and forty people who had been on trial for a long time were baptised.[78] He reached home on Friday after being away three weeks.

These distant places — Punekerua, Rangitoto and Motueka — were visited twice a year, more often if possible, and Ironside was careful to place the work in these remote areas in the hands of his most reliable Maori teachers. The journeys were made partly by canoe and partly in his own whaleboat, manned by a Maori crew, which more than once took the whaleboat through French Pass. On these journeys, while toiling at the oars with his crew or adjusting the sails as he held the tiller, he took every opportunity to increase his knowledge of Maori folklore and history and to broaden and deepen the crew's knowledge of the Christian faith. As they were coming home up the south channel of Queen Charlotte Sound all of them well nigh wearied out with a long pull against the tide, one of them called out from the bow of the boat: "E koro, ka kite na koe i nga tio e pin ana te Kowatu nei?" ("Sir, you see those shell-

[76] *Nelson Examiner*, 27 August 1842.

[77] One of these services would be the occasion on which Samuel Ironside and Edward Green took their stand and preached to those living in the immigration barracks.

[78] The baptismal register shows that thirty-nine people were baptised — twenty-two (including two infants) from Pelorus River, and seventeen (induding three infants) from D'Urville Island.

fish how they cling to the rocks? Just so my heart clings to Jesus Christ.")[79] Josiah said on another occasion when he read John 3:16: "It was not only undeserved love, it was unasked. If He had waited till we had asked Him, He would never have loved us at all, and we should all have been lost. Our proud hearts would not stoop to beg His love, yet He freely loves us." [80] Such conversations were windows into the inner recesses of his people's souls, and encouraged Ironside to believe that their new-found faith was an inward power that affected their whole outlook and behaviour.

In Ironside's judgment the time had now come to institute the next stage in the development of the Wesleyan polity — to establish the leaders' meeting. Maori leaders were already exercising pastoral care of the classes, teaching villagers to read and write and preaching the Gospel in village chapels or on the local maraes. The time had come for these leaders to be brought together and, with the missionary, collectively accept responsibility for the work of God in the area.

To institute the leaders' meeting a love feast was called. Upwards of 400 people attended to share their Christian experience. Three or four speakers rose at once and Ironside's time was fully occupied in preserving order by indicating the sequence in which men were to speak. Knowledge was increasing rapidly. Over 100 could read the New Testament fluently in the mission class, for knowledge plus Christian experience was the Wesleyan formula for education — and the love feast gave ample evidence that both were increasing. Following the love feast the leaders' meeting was called for 31 October. Unfortunately no details of this significant event are given in either the journal or his reminiscences. His journal simply records the fact and his hopes of it. "Yesterday we had a Leaders' Meeting, the first of the kind here, as the people had not advanced as to admit the introduction of this part of our discipline. I hope it will prove to the advancement of the work of God." [81]

The names of those present were not recorded, and the list of teachers Ironside made out for distribution of portions of the Scriptures at the "Feast of Testaments" has long since disappeared. Ironside says he had thirty leaders, teachers and local preachers. From various sources it is possible to compile a list of those eligible to attend in virtue of their office. Such a list would have included Rawiri Waitere, leader and local preacher;[82] Noah, Maori teacher at Horea;[83] Hoani Koinaki of Wekenui village; [84] Rawiri Kingi Puaha; Pirimona, leader;[85] Paramena, local preacher;[86] Rawiri and

[79] NZ *Methodist*, 17 January 1890.
[80] ibid.
[81] Journal of Samuel Ironside, November 1842.
[82] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 10 May 1842. Rawiri Waitere died on Good Friday, 1842.
[83] NZ *Methodist*, 17 January 1890.
[84] ibid. Also Journal of Samuel Ironside, 31 January 1840.
[85] Source mislaid.

Pirihira;[87] Josiah;[88] Hon Patara (George Buttle) preacher;[89] Hoani Paratene, local preacher;[90] Rawini Pihana, Maori teacher, Pelorus River.[91]

These were some of the men with whom Ironside followed the injunction of Paul to Timothy, to commit the teaching to faithful men who in turn would be able to teach others.

At this time Ironside was also longing for the deepening of the faith of the people by a movement of the Holy Spirit whereby the formal observance and the outward behaviour became the expression of a spiritual power, an inwardly felt experience, a living faith, an inter-personal relationship at depth.

It was in the following November that Ironside began to sense that such a deepening of faith was becoming evident. Paramena, a local preacher and a slave against whom there was some prejudice, preached one of the best sermons that Ironside had ever heard from a Maori. He had obviously studied, not read only, the New Testament, and in the schools and class meetings Ironside found "knowledge and feeling on the advance." [92] Hori Patara was feeling after it and encouraging his hearers to allow the Holy Spirit to have His way with them as he preached from 1 Thessalonians 5:19 on 13 November, which "ended with a forcible exhortation. . . . The people appear to feel the truth." [93] Ironside records: "I have reason to believe the Lord is at work in the hearts of His people here. They are far more serious than they were and their experience is more heartfelt and spiritual than what I have heard before. Our class meetings are decidedly rising in the spiritual scale." [94] Well aware of the dangers of spiritual pride attending those professing subjective spiritual experience, the classes discussed phansaism (righteous hypocrisy) and Ironside was led to share his own conversion to God: "Greater attention was paid than ordinary and if I might judge from their behaviour the Spirit was at work among them and they felt His presence." [95] At the Sunday prayer meeting the spirit of prayer was poured out upon the group and

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[86] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 9 August 1842.

[87] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 31 January 1841. Baptismal register, 31 January 1841. See also Letters of Samuel Ironside, 9 August 1842.

[88] NZ *Methodist,* 11 April 1891.

[89] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 13 November 1842.

[90] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 9 July 1842, 7 January 1842.

[91] Rawiri Pihama was also known as David Beecham. His wife was Priscilla. Journal of Samuel Ironside, 8 August 1842.

[92] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 13 November 1842.

[93] ibid.

[94] ibid. 4 November 1842.

[95] ibid. 3 December 1842.

"a gracious influence prevailed," [96] and in the congregation at large the dominical saying "except your righteousness shall exceed that of the scribes and pharisees ye shall in no wise enter the Kingdom of God" was laid heavily upon the hearers.

Thus was the mission having a massive impact upon the people of the community. Revival was in the air and days of blessedness which Ironside knew at Hoxton when the student body was seriously searching for Christian perfection, seemed just around the corner. "O bless the Lord for these first fruits of an abundant harvest." [97]

On Sundays the people from far afield were drawn to Pisgah Vale as by a magnet. From over the ridge of hill to the sounds and by canoe on the waters of Port Underwood they came to the head of the bay to join in the worship, to share in the classes, to learn in the schools, to receive medicine from the dispensary. "It was our busiest, happiest day," writes Ironside, "one round of joyous, delightful service, not only where the missionary himself was present, but in all our Christian villages, where the Gospel had come 'not in word but in power'. All the work that *could be* done on the Saturday *was* done. It was the ra horoi — the cleaning-up day, no unnecessary travelling, no wood chopping, all the food was made ready on the 'ra horoi'; there was nothing left but the putting the pot on the fire. The whole of the 'ra tapu' (holy day) was blessedly employed in prayer meeting, school church, enquiry, gatherings from morning to night, whether the missionary was present or not. He could not give personal services to more than a very few of the villages under his charge. But the work of worship went on the day through." [98]

Such was the pattern in almost every village of the area. J. W. Barnicoat records two incidents which amplify Ironside's statement. Visiting one village he enters in his journal: "At sunrise we heard the accustomed bell for service. Almost the whole population of the village attended. Immediately after service the congregations formed themselves into two circles on the grass. One circle listened to a reader, the other had each a slate on which they wrote and the writing was afterwards examined by a native teacher and corrected." [99] When he was about to leave Te Awaiti on Sunday 26 March 1843 Barnicoat found the Maoris engaged in their third service. Being Sunday he could not buy any potatoes and was put to some inconvenience: "the whole of which was attributed most angrily and with many an oath to the missionaries, but for whom we might have trafficked with the natives to any extent on Sunday but now could not procure a potato for its weight in gold." [100]

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[96] ibid. 5 December 1842.

[97] ibid. 13 December 1842.

[98] NZ *Methodist*, 14 February 1891.

[99] Journal of J. W. Barrncoat, 18 March 1843.

[100] Journal of J. W. Barnicoat.

Besides the scrupulous observance of Sunday, the standard of honesty had improved. It had been customary for the Maoris to pilfer almost anything and everything on which they could lay their hands. Now captains and crews felt secure from theft.

Perhaps the most radical change that had taken place concerned women. When Ironside arrived at Cloudy Bay Maori women were traded by their chiefs as temporary wives to visiting seamen in exchange for such as a keg of tobacco.[101] As early as January 1841[102] Samuel had raised the moral question of adultery with the evening congregation. He records that they saw nothing "exceedingly sinful" about it. Besides, they cited several instances of missionary infidelity — a fact which seemed well-known in the strait where John Hobbs had, in 1839, been offered a woman for the night, the vendor then correcting himself by stating that missionaries require virgins,[103] Apart from this, temporary wives sometimes found it difficult to extricate themselves from the persuasions of unscrupulous Europeans.

Sarah records the fact that Samuel had married a couple at the request of their friends. The girl had lived in concubinage for two or three years with a European, but wished to have no more to do with him and wanted to marry a baptised Maori. Rather loath to do so, Samuel yielded to the repeated requests of the couple's friends, thinking it better that they come together married than not. "On Wednesday last the man the girl had lived with came in here, in a small schooner, and fetched her on board. When I got to know I was very much vexed, both with the natives and with the European, Mr Ironside was away, and I did not know what to do," writes Sarah. "I wrote to the man to beg he would send the girl on shore. However, he took no notice, and the vessel sailed away very early the following morning with the girl on board. These are some of the trials we have to bear with the natives — they don't appear to regard the marriage vow as at all sacred. I believe the mother of the girl was privy to her going — she would sacrifice her daughter for the sake of a blanket or a gown." [104] Nevertheless by January 1843 Samuel and Sarah were rejoicing that only one chief and about ten of his people supplied the ships with women.[105]

By adopting a policy of keeping the races apart as far as possible, Samuel Ironside had in fact made radical changes in the life-style of the Maori people of the sounds, but it would be foolish to think that these changes were all welcomed by the resident Europeans. They had ambivalent feelings, and the missionary was both respected and ridiculed.

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[101] *NZ Methodist,* 10 January 1891.
[102] Journal of Samuel Ironside.
[103] Letters of John Hobbs.
[104] NZ *Methodist,* 7 February 1891.
[105] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 7 January 1843.

Barnicoat commented: "It is amusing to contrast the forced compliments paid by many white people to the missionaries, in the shape of acknowledgement of robberies, murders and vice, and violence of every kind which were formerly perpetrated by the natives and the manifest and undeniable change which has now taken place in their character, rendering them a most honest, peaceable and generally virtuous people. The good the missionaries have done is acknowledged reluctantly and slowly but is still too evident to be plainly denied. This contrasts amusingly with the hearty goodwill with which all kinds of abuse is heaped upon this class of men whose labours none are so bold as to deny our very lives and properties depend." [106]

Yet, after two years at Pisgah Vale, Samuel Ironside was satisfied with his work and happy with his lot. He had entered into a situation that was full of hope. He had been diligent in using the opportunities he had been given, and from this had grown a great mission station which, like a mighty tree, had branches spread over half of Te Wai Pounamu and those branches were yielding their fruit in due season. From the cramped quarters of the mission house Samuel Ironside put pen to paper and recorded some of the events that were happening. In a letter to the mission secretaries in far away Hatton Garden, London, he wrote:

"Pisgah Vale,
Cloudy Bay,
New Zealand.
7th January, 1843.

"Rev, and Dear Fathers,
"It is some time since I wrote last to you, but opportunities of communicating with England, either direct, or by way of Sydney occur but seldom.

"As I have now been two years in this Circuit, it may perhaps be advisable to lay before you a statement of the numbers of Chapels, Members of Society, and Hearers composing it, especially as I believe no regular account of these Chapels, etc. has ever reached you.

"1. *PISGAH VALE.* This is the principal place. Here we have a noble Chapel, built during the past year, capable of accommodating 800 persons with ease. It is much larger than the Mangungu Chapel. All the work, except Doors, Windows, pulpit etc. done by natives. Forty pounds will cover all the expenses of its erection, and were not Carpenter's work very dear, this would have been much less. There are about 120 members of Society here.

"2. *WEKENUI.* A village in what is called 'Tory Channel', i.e. the South entrance to Queen Charlotte Sound. Here we have a substantial chapel say 35 feet x 25 feet, opened last August, by our friend Mr Aldred, of Port Nicholson,

[106] Journal of J. W. Barnicoat, 26 March 1843.

when here on his return from the Chatham Islands. This building has cost the Society nothing but a pair or two of hinges, and a few nails. There are here about 50 members of society.

"3. *WAIRUNGA.* The next village up the Sound from Wekenui — Here is a very good place of worship, 40 by 30 feet, built last year, entirely by natives, has cost nothing at all to the society. This is the principal residence of the European whalers who frequent the Sound, and I should feel great pleasure were I able to say that my fellow countrymen were half as anxious about God and religion as the 30 native members of Society who reside here are. They would lose nothing were they to copy the example of their New Zealand neighbours.

"4. *TE TIO & PUHE.* Two small villages further up the South Entrance to the Sound — at each place is a small chapel built last year, free of expense to the Society. Number of members of Society about 30.

"5. Passing through the channel which separates the North and South entrances of the Sound, the next village at which there are Wesleyans is *WAKAKARAMEA.* Here is an excellent place of worship, built a year and half ago 30 x 30 feet. The Society supplied nails, hinges and a lock for the door — everything else done by the natives. We have here some very zealous members, who endeavour, as far as in them lies, to get and do good. They number about 40.

*"*6. *PUKARAMU & PUARERE.* Two small villages higher up the North Entrance, at each of which there are Chapels and about 20 members of Society.

"7. *TE WAIOPIOPI.* Another village in the Sound, where a Chapel has been lately erected, free of expense, and about 30 members of Society.

"8. *MANGAREPOREPO.* A good chapel —30 members of Society.

"9. *MOKOPEKE.* A substantial Building, lately opened, and a very lively Society of Members in number 50.

"10. *OAMARU.* Here a large Chapel is in course of erection, I expect soon to be sent for to open it — the Society numbers 30 or thereabouts.

"This I consider a very fair Circuit, for one Missionary, and if he do his duty among them, he will not eat the bread of idleness. But I have other places at a still greater distance to attend to, and knowing your embarrassed circumstances, I have not dared to ask for help for them. Though I am sure the want is urgent, for the distance, and the dangerous travelling (by boat out at sea) and the numerous engagements nearer home, render my visits to those places like Angels. There is:

"TE HOIERE i.e. *PELORUS RIVER.* At Punekerua, the principal village here, they have got a very good chapel built, which I had the pleasure of opening last October. It is perhaps 40 x 25 feet. There are upwards of 60 members and on trial

here, but pastoral oversight is much needed. I have lately sent David Beecham and his wife Priscilla, to reside among them; but the people are very urgent for a Missionary. Many heathen reside in the neighbourhood, and they remain deaf to our call to them to put away their false gods and believe in 'the only true God and Jesus Christ whom he has sent.' They say that when they can have a preacher for themselves they will then consider the matter.

"RANGITOTO or *D'URVILLE ISLAND* is still further distant. Here at Te Horea, one of the villages of the Island they have a very neat place of worship, 40 x 25 about. There are more than forty baptized members living here, without pastoral oversight, except what I, at a distance of 70 or 80 miles by sea, can render them. If a Missionary were to be sent to them to take charge of this place and Pelorus River he would find plenty of work among them, and would be a great blessing.

At the *MOTUEKA,* in Blind Bay, or Tasman's Gulf, 25 miles from Nelson the Company's second settlement, there are 70 baptized members of Society and more than twenty on trial. This place is 150 miles from Cloudy Bay and all by sea, for there is no way of getting over land by the coast. I have only been able to make one visit to this place and two to Nelson, but you will agree with me that the place should be occupied. I am glad to hear that the District has determined to send there the first spare man. At *Nelson* there are at least twenty Wesleyans, with Notes of removal from the Superintendents of the Circuits whence they came, but unless a Missionary gets among them soon, they will lose their religion it is to be feared, and backslide from the ways of God. At a late visit which I made the Members were quite in pain because I could not say positively that a missionary would be sent to reside among them. . . They say that they should not have left their homes in England had they known that there was no Wesleyan Mission within a hundred miles of the settlement they were coming to.

"In this Circuit then, as it at present stands, there are sixteen Chapels at least. The whole of them have not cost the Society 60 pounds, and if the subscriptions, of the natives for the Testaments they have received be taken into account, they have not cost 30 pounds. There are 30 Local Preachers and Leaders. More than 600 members and on trial, and perhaps 1500 hearers. When I came among them two years since there were not 30 members, and the people here obtained their living by carrying women on board ship for evil purposes. Now it is a matter of rejoicing to know that there is only one chief and about 10 persons, his people, who do such things. Even Captains of Ships and all are constrained to acknowledge the change for the better in this particular. Property was not safe, the Natives would pilfer anything and everything upon which they could lay their hands. The dressing case of the Mate of a Ship (I believe a present from his friends), went away in this manner, and he could not recover it. Now Captains never miss anything, they have left things about purposely, but the natives are

too honest to meddle with them. My sole object in recording these things is to afford additional testimony to the Energy of 'the Gospel of the grace of God.'

"On referring to the Register I find that I have married on this Station, during the last two years, 171 couples, Baptised 613 adults, and 155 infants. —

"I beg to remain,
Yours faithfully,
Samuel Ironside."

This view of Thorndon Flat and part of the city of Wellington, was painted by Charles Heaphy one month before Samuel Ironside visited the settlement in May 1841.
Alexander Turnbull Library.

Ironside had proved himself as a missionary but the previous month (December 1842) had brought tragedy to Cloudy Bay. [107]

With haste and obvious agitation a party of Europeans beached a whaleboat and raced to the mission house. Samuel Ironside knew them all: N. B. Robinson, James Cole, William Crosley, William Cooper, Sampson Hodge, John Guard and W. Hood. They implored him to go with them to Kakapo. Rangihaua Kuika,[108] Wynen's woman, had

[107] Michael Trotter of the Canterbury Museum has recently excavated two sites which he believes to be those of mission churches built during Samuel Ironside's ministry in Cloudy Bay. The first is on the left side of a small stream at the eastern end of Mokopeka Bay. Excavations showed a clay trace 30cm to 50cm wide, indicating the walls of a building 6m square. There were also pieces of slate, a day pipe and a greywacke pounder. The second site revealed a similar day trace l0m by 4.5m located on a dry stone-faced terrace in Oamaru Bay. "Report on Site Survey of East Bay, Arapawa Island, Queen Charlotte Sound."

[108] Rangihaua Kuika was commonly known as "Squeaker".

been murdered along with her little boy of eighteen months. Ironside went. The suspect was a European, the victim a Maori woman of rank, and the cry for immediate utu came from some of the victim's people, who had their own ways of discovering and dealing with such offenders. Reminding them that they were all citizens of New Zealand and assuring them that they could trust the justice of the Queen, Samuel Ironside advised an immediate appeal to the chief magistrate in Wellington. The following letter was sent:

"Kakapo,
Cloudy Bay,
December 20, 1842

"To Michael Murphy Esq.,
Chief Magistrate,
Wellington.

Dear Sir,
"A native woman of the name Kuika and her child having been this day found with their heads nearly severed from their bodies, and in consequence of there being no legal authority, the inhabitants of Cloudy Bay felt themselves called upon to take the following depositions.

"Richard Cook deposed that after returning from Oyster Bay having heard from his wife that Kuika had not been seen during the day being a lone woman, her husband being at Nelson, went along with Mr Robinson to her house, there they found an infant about ten weeks old lying on a mat in a weak state, upon which Mr Robinson brought it to Mrs Guard and seeing a large white dog about the place felt anxious about the matter, went up with a gun to shoot it, when they found the corpses of the woman and the child with their heads nearly severed from their bodies and fearful of their being mutilated by the dogs and pigs removed them into Wynen's house.

"Mr Robinson corroborated the above statement, and we the following inhabitants being called upon to examine the bodies found them as above stated and nothing in the house apparently misplaced. On our proceeding to the spot where the victims were, found a quantity of blood and from the appearance of the grass there had been considerable struggling, and we suppose the parties had been willfully murdered.

"We cannot separate without expressing our deep regret at our thus being left without any legal protection.

"Samuel Ironside, Wesleyan Missionary

N. B. Robinson	Jas Cole
William Crosley	Wm. A. Cooper
Sampson Hodge	John Guard

Rawiri Kingi x (his mark)	Puaha
W. Hood	Hy Dowthans
Hohaia Otane	Hori Patara"

James Wynen arrived home late the following day and immediately wrote to the police magistrate stating that he had refused burial at Ngakuta in order that the bodies could be disinterred if necessary for any enquiry, and urging immediate attention.[109] He found that his black leather portmanteau containing marked clothing was missing, and he concluded that the murder took place during the day, since the children were dressed, the beds made, food was cooking on the open fire, the window was open and the fire not out when Mr Robinson arrived.[110] By 30 December Wynen had received instructions on procedure. The portmanteau had been found in a bush at the rear of the house, the contents gone. Feeling was rising during the delay. "The natives are much excited and I fear will take vengeance on parties they suspect perhaps wrongfully and thus add more guilt to the melancholy affair. I must therefore beg that you will come over without delay as your presence will allay the excitement." Delay also meant that the murderers might seek to get away in an American ship that was lying in port. Again Wynen pressed for immediate action.[111]

Ironside had formed his conclusions: "The murderer is not yet discovered though several of us have our suspicions. From all the circumstances I should judge that some European has *lusted* after her and finding her unwilling to consent has *forced* her and found it necessary to murder her in order to conceal the crime. Vain attempt! The God of heaven saw him." [112]

The watchnight service brought the old year to a close and ushered in 1843. Ironside was pleased with the addresses of the local preachers and he directed the thoughts of the congregation to the "General Judgment" but their thoughts were more often turning to a particular judgment which their missionary urged should be left to British justice. Sarah was nursing Kuika's little daughter for their good friend James Wynen and hoping against hope for her recovery. Wynen was pleading for haste in investigating the affair. The residents of the bay were held in suspense.

Not until 7 January did the police magistrate arrive with two constables and an interpreter. Michael Murphy found the community in a state of great excitement, with a white man the Maoris accused of the crime having been taken into custody. This was Richard Cook, whom Ironside had married to Kataraina on 7 February 1841. Three days later Ironside recorded:

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[109] The bodies were buried the following day. Letter of James Wynen, 21 December 1842.
[110] ibid.
[111] ibid. 3 January 1843.
[112] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 29 December 1842.

> "10th [January] The enquiry into the murder has ended and the very individual whom I have for some time suspected as the guilty person (Richard Cook) is committed to take his trial for the awful deed before the Supreme Court in Wellington in April next." Several other charges were also brought against him, — some of them clearly proven — but as he had to answer to a capital charge, the others were kept back. "Be sure your sins will find you out, says the Bible, and Cook will find out the truth of it to his sorrow." [113]

Class tickets were distributed to the congregations in the sound on 15 January and seventeen people from Massacre Bay, Queen Charlotte Sound, Tory Channel and Motueka were baptised into the church militant, but recent events were still unsettling the people. Ironside was impatient: "The members generally are in as good a state as can be expected, considering the many temptations to which they are exposed through the influence of Europeans. Would that the ungodly of my fellow countrymen would either get vital godliness before they come here, or else stay at home." [114] Many of the Europeans felt greatly superior to the Maori population and many of the godless Europeans felt the same way towards any of their own race who made a profession of religion. Ironside was delighted when at least forty Europeans were present at the Ocean Bay service on 22 January, and took the opportunity to deal with self-righteousness by expounding the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (Luke 18:9-15). He regretted that at the time he did not know that several American Methodists — on board one of the whalers in port — were greatly ridiculed for their religion, both by their shipmates and those on shore.

Another example of European resistance to Christian influence among the Maoris came right to the door of the mission house on 4 February. A party of German missionaries from the Evangelical Church expected to be landed at Blind Bay where the St *Pauli* had landed a shipload of German emigrants brought out under the aegis of the Bremen office of the New Zealand Company, but the captain, "a wicked man, to prevent their coming to the place where they were appointed, and thereby the Gospel of Christ furthered, left them ashore at Otago, 600 miles away, and there they were left without funds. Providentially they met with a schooner there belonging to a German: he kindly allowed them to come here [Cloudy Bay] in her, and said they might get away from here for very little in canoes." They were five evangelists from Father Gossner's Lutheran church at Berlin, sent out by him to New Zealand. Their coming was an agreeable break in the Ironsides' domestic routine and their singing in the evening, to the accompaniment of their small organ, was a great treat. They consulted Ironside as to where they should establish themselves. Finding the area

[113] ibid. 10 January 1843.
[114] ibid. 17 February 1843.

already covered by Anglican and Wesleyan missionaries, they determined to compete with no-one and sailed for the Chatham Islands within a week.[115]

Meanwhile there was some slight improvement in the attendance of the whaling community at the services of worship — a dozen from both the whaling settlements on 6 February. On' the tenth, a party of fourteen Maoris from Banks Peninsula (some had been baptised by Ironside at Pisgah Vale on 29 January) set out for Port Levy. They had no missionary but a young man from Cloudy Bay had been living among them. Chapels had been built, schools planted and the services of Christianity conducted regularly throughout the district. "Having had frequent opportunities of meeting in class, these strangers for the four months they have been here, and being fully satisfied with their state, I admitted nine of them to the sacred ordinance of baptism a fortnight ago. May their return home prove beneficial to their neighbours."[116] Whatever may have been the effect upon neighbours, it was clear that in the growing Christian community some of the old prejudices were beginning to break down, for both vanquished and vanquisher could sit under a Maori preacher who had once been a slave and profit by his spiritual experience.

But unsettling conditions continued and Ironside wrote in his journal:

> "The people are by no means so much in earnest about salvation as they were two or three months back. The all absorbing subject of colonization of their country and land settlement, with various other harassing subjects connected with and growing out of colonization, has a very unfavourable influence on their religion. If the coming of Europeans were attended with spiritual good to the natives I should rejoice but as it is, I cannot." [117]

The fact is that an eight-man survey party, under J. W. Barnicoat, was in the vicinity and bound for the Wairau to make a preliminary examination before tendering for the survey contract." [118] Te Rauparaha had also heard of the intended survey and proceeded to the area to intercept its work. On 22 March Barnicoat put into Captain Cotta's Bay and there learned that Te Rauparaha, who was in Robin Hood Bay, was determined to turn the survey party back — "for no European should settle at Wairau,

[115] In the NZ *Methodist,* Ironside says the German missionaries were at Pisgah Vale for "two or three weeks". The Journal for 4 February 1843 records that they arrived on 4 February 1843 and left on 10 February 1843.

[116] These baptisms are recorded in the baptismal register under the date of 29 February 1843. Port Levy was also serviced by some of James Watkin's Maori teachers, and was recommended by the district meeting as a suitable site for a mission station. For a brief survey of this period as it affects the Canterbury Maoris, see *Our Yesteryears, 1840-1950,* by W. A. Chambers.

[117] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 13 March 1843.

[118] This was J. W. Barnicoat's party. Journal, 14 March 1843.

nor even go to look at it." [119] Having forgotten his muskets, Te Rauparaha turned back and was detained by the south-easterly wind which sprang up and blew furiously until Saturday 25 March. Meanwhile Barnicoat got out of Captain Cotta's Bay before the weather changed, and reached the Wairau, which he estimated to contain 60,000 or 70,000 acres. Frustrated in their attempts to intercept the survey party, Te Rauparaha and his men called at Pisgah Vale, stripped themselves naked, danced and fumed about the business, and expressed their intention of preventing any white men from occupying the Wairau.[120] Ironside asked Te Rauparaha what he would do if he found the survey party. The old chief answered that he would send them back to their boats; if they would not be sent, he would carry them, if they would not leave, he would make them. Ironside had intended going to the Wairau to prevent mischief but he also had been prevented by the south-easter. Barnicoat learned all this at Nelson where he met up with Ironside who, hearing that Gideon Smales was in Nelson enroute to take up his new appointment at Porirua, set out to meet him and his wife Mary, sister of the late John Bumby. Ironside found that grief had made sad inroads into Mrs Smales' constitution. She was a much changed woman from the one who came from England only four years before, but her two boys were fine lads. John Aldred had also arrived to take up work in Nelson and had commenced morning and evening services in the emigration storeroom in Hardy Street.[121] Ironside preached there twice on 2 April to a numerous congregation, and when he returned to Pisgah Vale was glad to leave the work in the Blind Bay area to his colleague.

In preparation for Good Friday services [122] Samuel Ironside read carefully through the Passion narrative in all four Gospels, endeavouring both to visualise and feel the event in order to speak to the people out of the fullness of his heart. In the morning he preached from John 19:34, and in the afternoon the first missionary meeting was held. The duty of supporting the work at home, and in other countries had been taught regularly and time had been allowed for the message to take root before the missionary meeting was suggested. Some of the best teachers were selected as spokesmen. Everything was en regale, platform, table, seats for the speakers. The Maori teachers seemed to the manner born. Their addresses were full of quaint but apt illustrations and Maori eloquence prevailed. About twelve gave addresses — additional to that of Samuel Ironside, who gave a brief history of the Wesleyan missionary work and outlined the purposes of the present gathering. There was no moving or seconding of resolutions as was customary in the formal proceedings of missionary meetings in English circuits but the response was gratifying — £11.6.1 in cash, mostly shillings and half-crowns.

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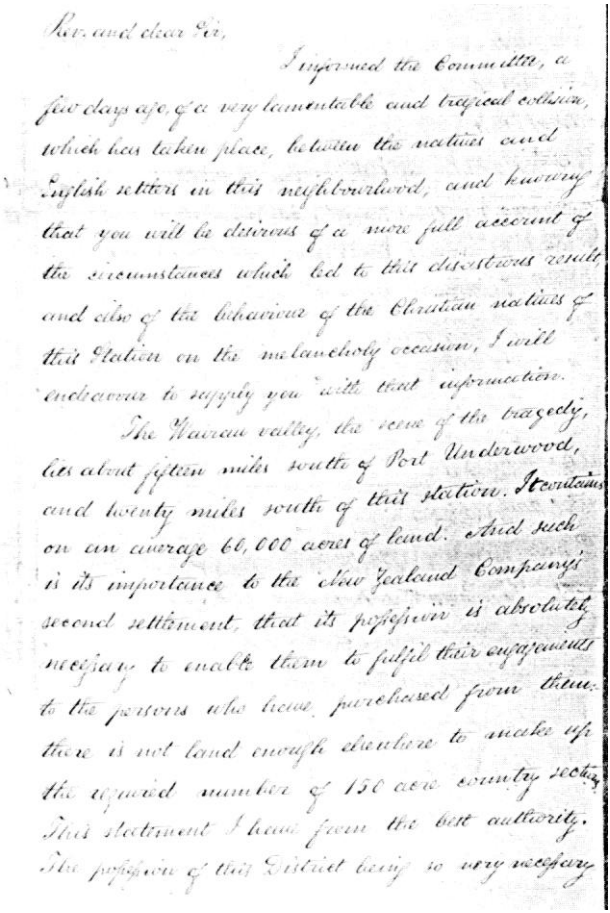
[119] ibid. 22 March 1843.
[120] ibid. 30 March 1843.
[121] *Nelson Examiner*, 3 March 1843.
[122] 14 April.



Rev. and dear Sir,

I informed the Committee a few days ago of a very lamentable and tragical collision, which has taken place, between the natives and English settlers in this neighbourhood, and knowing that you will be desirous of a more full account of the circumstances which led to this disastrous result and also of the behaviour of the Christian natives of this Station on this melancholy occasion, I will endeavour to supply you with that information.

The Wairau valley, the scene of the tragedy, lies about fifteen miles south of Port Underwood, and twenty miles south of this station. It contains on an average 60,000 acres of land. And such is its importance to the New Zealand Company's second settlement, that its possession is absolutely necessary to enable them to fulfil their engagements to the persons who have purchased from them: there is not land enough elsewhere to make up the required number of 150 acre country sections. This statement I have from the best authority. The possession of this District being so very necessary

The first page of Samuel Ironside's letter reporting the Wairau *affray.* It was addressed to Rev. J. Beecham, one of the secretaries to the Wesleyan mission office, London who marked it 'Private and Confidential'. It later became one of the primary documents on New Zealand affairs in representations to the British Government.

"The meeting would have gone better," Ironside confided in his journal, "but that the Government brig having arrived, Captain Richards came in the midst of our meeting to fetch me and the native witnesses in the case Regina v Cook for murder. This put us in a little confusion." [123] After arranging to begin proceedings in the morning, the momentum of the meeting carried on. Captain Richards, a Cornish Methodist, entered into the occasion with pleasure, taking the chair and making a speech to both

[123] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 14 March 1843.

Ironside's and the hearers' satisfaction.[124] The day climaxed with the evening service. Ironside spoke of our Lord's last cry from the cross, "It is finished."
"This has been a good day," he commented in his journal — but the text he had used in preaching was to be ominously prophetic.[125]

The excitement of the evening carried over to the following morning. The mission settlement was astir early. Ironside heard great noises outside and found that they came from the Maoris who had no money, bringing potatoes and pigs as their quota towards the Sunday collection.[126] Ironside counted them up, and rapidly calculated the value. Two hundred and forty three baskets of potatoes at sixpence a basket, £6.1.6. Seven pigs, £2.17.0. Total £8.18.6. Added to the offering of the previous evening the grand total was £20.4.7. "They have done well," Ironside records, and with obvious pride claimed in his reminiscences that this was the first such meeting in the South Island, and probably the first in New Zealand. The chairman, Captain Richards, said it was one of the best meetings he had ever attended. [127]

But there were other things to do. Captain Richards was anxious to take on board the official witnesses to the murder inquiry and put to sea. But the underlying anxieties of people who had been persuaded by their missionary to trust British justice welled up like a water table in an alluvial plain. A great many Maoris not officially connected with the trial also embarked to watch proceedings and to learn the outcome first-hand.[128] Ironside felt the urgency of the situation. In spite of Cook's wife having told the Maoris that her husband was the "betrayer and assassin",[129] Ironside had resisted their intentions of summary justice by assuring them that strict justice would be done. He believed it himself: his signature was on the Treaty of Waitangi: the Crown was the essence of justice. In a sense his credibility was on trial. His faith in Britain was on trial. The treaty was on trial. All were on trial with Richard Cook.

At the request of the government, Ironside was present as the interpreter. On arrival in Wellington, he breakfasted with the Crown Prosecutor and suggested one or two points of enquiry but was "not encouraged to go further in that direction." [130] Ironside was uneasy. The prosecutor's attitude was disturbing. . . it was only a Maori girl of course he might have been mistaken. . . it was his conviction at the time . . . He

[124] Ironside's memory is again playing tricks. The *NZ Methodist* speaks of Captain Richards being present right through the meeting: the journal makes it clear that his arrival was an unexpected interruption.
[125] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 14 April 1843.
[126] ibid. 15 April 1843.
[127] NZ *Methodist,* 31 January 1891.
[128] Journal of J. W. Barnicoat, 22 April 1843.
[129] *NZ Methodist,* 7 March 1891.
[130] ibid.

could not dismiss the suspicion that greater care and diligence might have been employed in preparing for the trial. The prosecution was relying on the evidence of Cook's wife whose testimony was direct and conclusive. Cook's friends had secured very able counsel. Cook's wife was called as a witness. The prisoner's counsel at once demurred that wife could not give evidence against her husband. Ironside was put into the witness box, and of course testified that Cook and his wife were married.[131] This shut out the evidence on which the prosecution was relying. Strong circumstantial evidence had been left at Cloudy Bay, and to the disgust of the Maori people, the prisoner was set free. The relatives of Kuika were loudly indignant, and in their anger did not hesitate to insinuate that Ironside was in league with his own people. Years afterwards Ironside wrote:

> "There were grave reasons why the natives were dissatisfied with this acquittal. They had grounds for believing that had it been a white man who had been murdered, Cook would not have been acquitted. Here are some of these grounds: A native man was executed at the Hokianga some months before for the *supposed* murder of a European. The evidence against him was wholly circumstantial but all the natives approved of his execution. Another native was executed at Auckland later on, for a similar crime, and though no person saw him do the deed yet all the Maoris believed him guilty, and acquiesced in his sentence. Now, they were morally certain that Cook was guilty of murdering Kuika, and the reason given for his acquittal was *want of evidence.* But they knew that evidence could have been obtained by sending over to Cloudy Bay."[132]

Fearful of the consequences of this decision, Ironside ventured to address a letter to the Chief Justice, who had presided at the trial.[133]

> "I fear that there has been some neglect or mismanagement somewhere on the part of the prosecution. Was the whole of the evidence for the Queen produced? Might not an enquiry have been made into the accused's previous character? Were not some very necessary papers missing? Had there been a little more diligence and attention shown in the safe keeping of documents, getting together of witnesses, etc. might not a different verdict have been obtained? How far the removal of Mr Murphy from his office may have disarranged these things it is not for me to determine.[134] I simply suggest enquiry." Ironside posed the further question — that as the case was of such importance to the peace of the country, and as the Maoris were admitted as competent witnesses in the court, would

[131] ibid.
[132] ibid.
[133] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 19 April 1843.
[134] Michael Murphy, the chief police magistrate, had been removed from office.

> there not be more satisfaction in having a mixed jury to try such a case? He feared that the peace of Cloudy Bay would be in danger while such a man as Cook was allowed to go at large, and that ". . .the insecurity of life and property" would prevent further visits to the more distant places under his charge. The reply of the Chief Justice was courteous. He could not believe there had been any want of diligence and care in the prosecution, that the operation of the rule of law, by which a wife cannot give evidence against her husband, was "not less wise than it was inflexible". That the question of mixed juries in important criminal cases was "under consideration"; that he regretted to hear that Ironside would be obliged to discontinue his visits to the more distant places under his charge, for that was putting "another argument into the mouths of those persons who advocate the celibacy of the ministers of religion." [135]

Ironside returned to Cloudy Bay on 27 April, sick in body and sick at heart. His credibility in the eyes of the Maori people had suffered a severe blow. His own faith in the working of the machinery of British justice had been shaken, and, although he found the colonial church flourishing, his trust in the New Zealand Company was shattered. "The society at Port Nicholson flourishes, but they sadly want a chapel — and Colonel Wakefield and his party will do all that is in their power to make them want. After all the professions of the Company about religion, this Colony has been here more than three years and not a church or chapel of any sort built." [136]

Meanwhile, the New Zealand Company officers at Nelson had despatched a body of surveyors to the Wairau to survey the district and map it out in country sections of one hundred and fifty acres each, for the settlers who had purchased their allotments in England and were still waiting to be put in possession of them. On Saturday 22 April the survey party arrived at Ocean Bay after rowing the ten ton vessel for the last sixteen miles. Cotterell invited Barnicoat to accompany him in the whaleboat to Pisgah Vale. On landing the visitors were met by a "fine and venerable looking man" who "as soon as he heard that they were surveyors and were on their way to the Wairau began to stamp, and scold, and walk up and down in the usual Maori manner when angry." This wag was Tom Street, who described himself as a brother of Te Rauparaha. He refused to shake hands, and at tea time re-entered the room and resumed scolding. He recited the places the white men had already taken and concluded, *"You* want the Wairau, but you won't get it." Mrs Ironside assured the visitors that his anger was real and that in common with many other Maoris he feared the extermination of his race.[137]

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[135] Since Ironside left Cloudy Bay on 15 April and addressel the letter to the Chief Justice on 19 April, the trial must have been held between 15 and 19 April 1843. Unfortunately the original letter has not been traced. The extracts quoted above are from the NZ *Methodist,* 7 March, 1891.

[136] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 27 April 1843.

[137] Journal of J. W. Bamicoat, 22 April 1843.

Meanwhile, Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata had been in Nelson and warned the New Zealand Company representative that they would resist the occupation of the Wairau Valley. In relating the interview with Captain Wakefield, Te Rauparaha got quite excited and angry. He said Wakefield jeered at him, told him he would have the Wairau in spite of him. So they parted in anger. The arrival of the surveyors, with their boats, tents and goods, as the Maoris thought to take possession of the land to which they had no right, put everyone in a most painful position. "The Surveyor General, Mr Tuckett, was a Christian gentleman, a great friend of the natives. Mr Cotterell, who had taken a survey contract, was a member of the Society of Friends, thoroughly imbued with their principles. Both felt they were in a false position and when they called on the Ironsides on their way to and fro the natives were indignant that they were not turned away from the Mission station instead of shown hospitality." [138]

To help resolve such questions a Queen's Commissioner had been appointed, sent out from England to inquire into all such disputed titles. Commissioner Spain was a personal friend of Ironside, who had been advised that the commissioner expected to be on the spot in two or three weeks' time to open his court. In view of Ironside's assurances, the fears of the mission Maoris concerning the prospect of the seizure of their land were materially allayed and they urged that the survey of the Wairau should be deferred until the question of the title had been investigated and determined by the commissioner.[139] Although he was apprehensive about the deepening tension, Ironside believed that little was to be gained by precipitating the survey. He clearly foresaw the fearful peril of exciting the worst passions of Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata and wrote to Captain Wakefield, via Frederick Tuckett, advising caution.

For the New Zealand Company the need for the land in dispute was pressing and its officials made light of Te Rauparaha's threats and warnings. In their view he was all "bounce" [140] and it was believed that a determined attitude on their part would soon quieten him down. Similar difficulties in Taranaki, but on a smaller scale, had been effectively quelled by an armed demonstration and Captain Wakefield confidently expected a similar result over the Wairau. So when Mr Cotterell and his survey party returned to Nelson, and reported that Te Rauparaha's people had interrupted the surveys, they were advised to use discretion and assured that in case of any actual injury to property the magistrate would take immediate action to apprehend the offender.[141]

[138] *NZ Methodist, 7* March 1891.
[139] ibid. 14 March 1891.
[140] Letter of Arthur to William Wakefield, 17 March 1843.
[141] Journal of J. W. Barnicoat, 13 May 1843.

On the last day of April 1843 Ironside baptised seventeen of the Rangitane people from Cloudy Bay, Pelorus River and Wairarapa who had survived Te Rauparaha's wars of extermination in the Cook Strait region.[142]

Mrs Ironside was not well. Distance from medical help was a cause of considerable anxiety, and Samuel was often at his wit's end." [143]

It was a relief to him when *Le Rhin,* a French corvette of 800 tons, sailed into Port Underwood to rest the crew. Captain Berard and his officers were most cordially welcomed at the mission station and found to be no exception to proverbial French courtesy." [144]They were, in fact, a hand-picked crew chosen to watch over French interests in Oceania and to carry out scientific work.

Many pleasant hours were spent in their company although there was some difficulty in conversing as none of them could speak English, and Ironside spoke no French. They made a little headway in Latin with a few hand signs when necessary. The ship's surgeon declared Mrs Ironside to be "run down", and prescribed a daily ration of wine. Samuel could find good scriptural warrant for that! The captain obliged by sending up a dozen bottles of choice French wines and some preserved fruits which, in Ngakuta, were a great luxury. The French crew attended the mission services once or twice and were evidently pleased with the singing and the devout behaviour of the congregation. For their part, they placed great stress on the significance of numbers as determining historical events. Samuel smiled but differed, but when *Le Rhin* unfurled her sails and resumed her voyage there was real sorrow at their leaving.[145]

In spite of this pleasant interlude, Ironside was still apprehensive about the survey of the Wairau, and set out in the whaleboat with his Maori crew to see what was happening. He met with Barnicoat and his party. Barnicoat records: "Ironside said that he had come over to see how the Maoris were treating us, and to see if he could be of any assistance in case they were troublesome." [146] The crew took tea with Barnicoat

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[142] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 1 May 1843. "Those I baptized were a remnant of cruel, sanguine wars."

[143] *NZ Methodist,* 28 February 1891.

[144] Charles Meryon, 2nd-lieut. on board *Le Rhin,* described the sailors "for the greater part as the most devoted, the most honest, in every way the best one can meet." Quoted in *Masters of Modern Art* by Loys Delteil. Bodley Head, 1928.

[145] In the *NZ Methodist* no mention is made of either the name of the vessel or of any member of the ship's company. Only one French "frigate" was on the New Zealand coast at the time. This was *Le Rhin,* Captain Berard, 800 tons. The vessel was protecting French whaling and colonial interests in Oceania. The vessel left Akaroa on 5 May and arrived at Port Nicholson on 12 May. For an account of her arrival, and the ceremonies attending her stay in port, see *New Zealand Colonist,* 16-23 May, *NZ Gazette,* 13-31 May 1843.

[146] Journal of J. W. Barnicoat, 9 May 1843.

while Ironside went on to the survey stations further up the river, returning down river the next morning.[147]

On 16 May Samuel and Sarah Ironside were at Tory Channel where he baptised twenty-eight people and administered the sacrament of Holy Communion to the congregation there. On the Sunday morning they were agreeably surprised to see George Buttle whose ship, en route to Taranaki, had put into the channel to await a fair wind.

On 22 May Ironside records:

> "Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata have arrived across the Straits on their way to Wairau which the New Zealand Company wish to get but they are not disposed to part with. They are heathens and violent ones too. I am afraid lest there should be mischief done. If the surveyors at Wairau resist them in what they may do on their arrival, there will be confusion." [148]

Expecting the arrival of their chiefs, the Maoris in the proximity of the survey parties were beginning to talk big and to pull up the survey stakes. By 1 June the survey was finished and Barnicoat had begun exploring the valley leading to Queen Charlotte Sound. Two days later Puaha (Booah) and his party of Christian Maoris from Port Underwood arrived; just after they left, Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata arrived to remove the surveyors from the Wairau.[149] With Puaha exercising a moderating influence at the Wairau, Ironside resumed his duties, visiting Totaranui:

> "It is refreshing to find that the people there are getting on in good things amidst the contentions and squabbles which are taking place all over about the land." [150]

This temporary respite from the anxieties of the Wairau was soon shattered. A letter from William Woon brought news of a fight which had taken place in the north between Maoris from both the Church and the Wesleyan Missionary Societies, and in which fifty people had been killed (among them fifteen Maori chiefs). Ironside knew that the example of the north would be pleaded by the Maoris all over New Zealand if any further quarrel should arise. In the very unsettled state of things nothing was more likely to happen than in the Wairau Valley for Te Rauparaha and his party were now destroying the surveyors' houses and thwarting progress with the survey. It was rumoured that Captain Wakefield had been sent for.[151]

On 16 June, Ironside records:

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[147] ibid. 10 May 1843.
[148] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 22 May 1843.
[149] Journal of J. W. Barnicoat, 3 June 1843.
[150] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 5 June 1843.
[151] ibid. 5 June 1843.

> "Things look dark here in this Circuit. The Mission natives have gone to the Wairau and are together with Te Rauparaha and party. They are busy planting and are going to build a pa there and make that their residence. If so, this station will be unsettled — it will not do for me to live alone here, and if I remove to Wairau I am too far from the natives in the Sound who are more numerous — and if I remove to the Sound I give up this people entirely — I am perplexed. Lord undertake for me." [152]

Ironside felt like a small craft responding to the contrary tug of turbulent waters beneath its hull. Nor was his apprehension diminished when it was reported that the brig outside the port had come to make Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata prisoners.

His journal records his reaction:

> "Surely not, this will be the height of madness, but I cannot believe it. They will never suffer themselves to be made prisoners: besides until the ownership of Wairau is settled such a step would be premature to say the least." [153]

In spite of his disillusionment with the New Zealand Company, Ironside had sufficient faith in Captain Wakefield's sympathy with missions and missionaries to think such reports exaggerated. Two days later he records:

> "My worst fears are realised — a collision has taken place and many are killed on both sides. . . a man arrived to say that Captain [Arthur] Wakefield, Mr Thompson and about a score of Europeans were slain and also about ten natives."

That day, 17 June 1843, the sun hid its face behind a cloud: the Maoris immediately left the scene: the slain lay among the bushes and undergrowth where they had fallen: those who escaped hastened to bring the sad news to the outside world. The honor of this event and his finding of the bodies where they had fallen, sickened Ironside. Every time he slept the whole scene came before him and he woke shuddering. In later years he recalled those days more dispassionately and published a series of articles in the *New Zealand Methodist.* These became the basis of the following narrative:

> "On Sunday 18 [June 1843] in the afternoon, a dreary day, a heavy downpour of rain, all round was cheerless in the extreme. But in the mission parlour was warmth, brightness, gladness, I was meeting Mrs Ironside's large class of native women for the renewal of their quarterly tickets of church membership. It was good to be there. Everything about the class was hopeful and encouraging. We were singing the last hymn, when, looking through the window, I saw a native in a small canoe paddling up the bay with great speed in the drenching rain. This

[152] ibid. 16 June 1843.
[153] ibid.

was very singular for, as a rule, the natives had too much regard for the Holy Sabbath to go canoeing, except in cases of great emergency. And then the weather was such that you would not care to turn out in it. So after the meeting was over, and the women had gone home to the Kainga, I waited expecting to hear at once who the man was, and what was his urgent business out in the bay in such heavy rain, and on Sunday. But no tidings came, so I sent one of the men from the station to enquire. He went but did not return. Later on we heard the tale the messenger had brought. A collision had taken place, and numbers had been killed on both sides. But he could not give particulars. Next morning a strong south-east gale was blowing, and a heavy sea was rolling up the bay. I attempted to get my boat out, but was obliged to give it up. Even if I had succeeded, it would have been madness to strive 15 to 20 miles in the teeth of the wind and the sea. We had to rest in patience, though we were all prey to the greatest anxiety.

"Next morning (Tuesday) we managed with difficulty to launch the boat, and with a strong crew of white men, pulled down to the principal whaling village in Port Underwood. There were the old chiefs and a tumultuous mob of their followers, exultant at their unexpected victory, and yet alarmed at the possible consequences when the Government should hear. Rangihaeata had urged that they should have plenty of utu [payment in revenge] beforehand, for the Government would be sure to be angry. He wanted to make a clean sweep of the white people in Port Underwood. But Rawiri was firm in resisting this. When their murderous passions were excited they might imperil Mr Ironside and family, and he and his people would not let any harm come to them. Old Rauparaha, too, thought they had done enough, and they had better get away to their mountain fastnesses, inland of Manawatu, before the soldiers came. As it was utterly impossible to venture out in the whaleboat across the dozen miles of open sea to the mouth of the Wairau, and the bar would be dangerous, I landed in the cove and went to see the old chiefs. They were sullen, and evidently in dread of the action of the authorities. But they justified their conduct. The magistrates had begun it, wanting to handcuff them, and threatening them with the war party if they resisted.

"'But,' I said, 'why did you kill Captain Wakefield and the other gentlemen, when they had given up their pistols and surrendered?'"

"'Well,' said Rangihaeata, 'they had killed my wife, Te Rongo, and they did not punish the murderer of Kuika,' etc.

"'I then said I wished to go, seek out, and decently bury the slain. I supposed they had no objection.'

'What do you want to go for? Better leave them to the wild pigs. But you can go if you like.'

> "We could do nothing that day, so we returned to Ngakuta, dispirited and anxious. Next morning we ventured out, and at considerable risk got over the bar at the river's mouth. I wondered afterwards at our temerity and at our marvellous escape. The Government brig had arrived the following day with the Magistrates from Port Nicholson, Charles Clifford, Colonel [William] Wakefield, Henry St Hill, and other gentlemen. But though the sea had gone down a good deal, they would not venture the bar till the next day. My party on landing, at once started upon our mournful task. As soon as we arrived at Tua Marina we began to search. One poor fellow, shot when crossing the canoe [bridge], was found in the creek; one fearfully mangled, among the thick scrub on the banks; another some little distance away. These were buried near where they lay. Others we found scattered in ones and twos around the hill. But the most dreadful spectacle of all was some twelve, including nearly all the gentlemen of the party, lying in a space about 15 x 20 feet square, all fearfully cut about the head, so that in some cases their features were hardly recognisable. We made a large deep grave, and laid them side by side in sadness and in tears, which none of us could restrain, reading over them the solemn, yet comforting and hopeful words of the funeral service. This was Friday the 23rd. We had scarcely finished the mournful task of filling up the grave when the gentlemen who had landed from the brig came up. We could not see the ship, and knew not of her arrival in the roadstead, or we would have waited for them to be present. Our party being now so much larger a more thorough search of the outlying valleys was made, and one more unfortunate was discovered, to whom we gave decent burial; and then left the melancholy scene.
>
> "The party got back to the mouth of the river too late to get on board the brig. They found some of the surveyors' stores, made an improvised meal, and bivouacked for the night." [154]

The next day the party boarded Her Majesty's brig *Victoria,* the court of enquiry was set up, and Samuel Ironside's depositions were taken and sworn before the Justices of the Peace William Spain, Charles Clifford, and Henry St Hill, and witnessed by Police Magistrate Arthur Edward McDonagh.[156]

Late that night Samuel Ironside, with the whole party that had searched the scene of the massacre, returned to the mission station.[157], [158] They found it deserted. All the

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[154] Letters of Samuel Ironside.

[155] *NZMethodist,* 21 March 1891

[156] Samuel Ironside's depositions form part of the 'Report from the Select Committee on New Zealand, together with Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index," ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 29 July 1844.

[157] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 24 June 1843.

[158] NZ *Methodist,* 21 March 1891.

houses in the village had been pillaged and Mrs Ironside was in great alarm for her husband's safety. The marauders had wanted to take the domestics away with them. Two servants would not leave Mata (Mother) so she gave the chiefs to whom they belonged a pair of large blankets, and on those terms she was permitted to retain their services.[159] Beyond the four or five Maori domestics attached to the mission, the premises were deserted. The Ngati Toa people, determined to cling to their old chief, Te Rauparaha, had abandoned their homes in Cloudy Bay, and were waiting at Totaranui (Queen Charlotte) for a fair wind to take their canoes, laden with all their taonga (household goods), over the straits to Kapiti Island. The Ngati Awa also took this opportunity of carrying out their long-cherished scheme of returning to their homes in Taranaki and on the Kapiti coast. Thus the pleasant well-sheltered coves of the sound were left in solitude, save for a few isolated whaling parties. "I had no crew to take me about if there had been natives to visit" is Ironside's melancholy entry.[160]

> "July 2nd. This Sabbath and the last are very unlike those it has been my pleasure to spend in time past. Only 9 or 10 natives to address, and if I go to the English whaling settlements the majority are away in the boats, for the whalers have no Sabbath, and the few who are left will not come to worship. O for the direction and blessing of God. I never needed them more." [161]

Three days later Samuel Ironside gathered the will to write to the mission office in London, but on hearing of the conciliatory attitude adopted by the Wellington magistrates to the Maori people involved in the affray, put down his pen and hastened to the sounds to try to persuade them to return to their homes. It was like the fluttering pulse of a dying man: it was a possible hope in a hopeless situation. He found them "in a retired place where it would puzzle the officers of Government to find them." They were greatly pleased to see him, but they were only waiting for some from Pelorus River and D'Urville Island before crossing the strait and joining Te Rauparaha. To all his arguments they turned a deaf ear and the chiefs, to a man, made it clear that they were decided to go with Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, and if necessary to defend them to death. All that remained for Ironside was to return home, complete his letter to London, remove to Port Nicholson and await further orders. Ironside's great work at Cloudy Bay was finished. Provision for the pastoral care of the remnant of the Maori people was carried on by Paramena, a Maori teacher, and then by a catechist named Jenkins. The main body of Ironside's converts returned in disillusionment to the western coast of Wellington. Had Ironside's advice to the New Zealand Company officials been taken, the double tragedy of Wairau and Cloudy Bay would never have happened.

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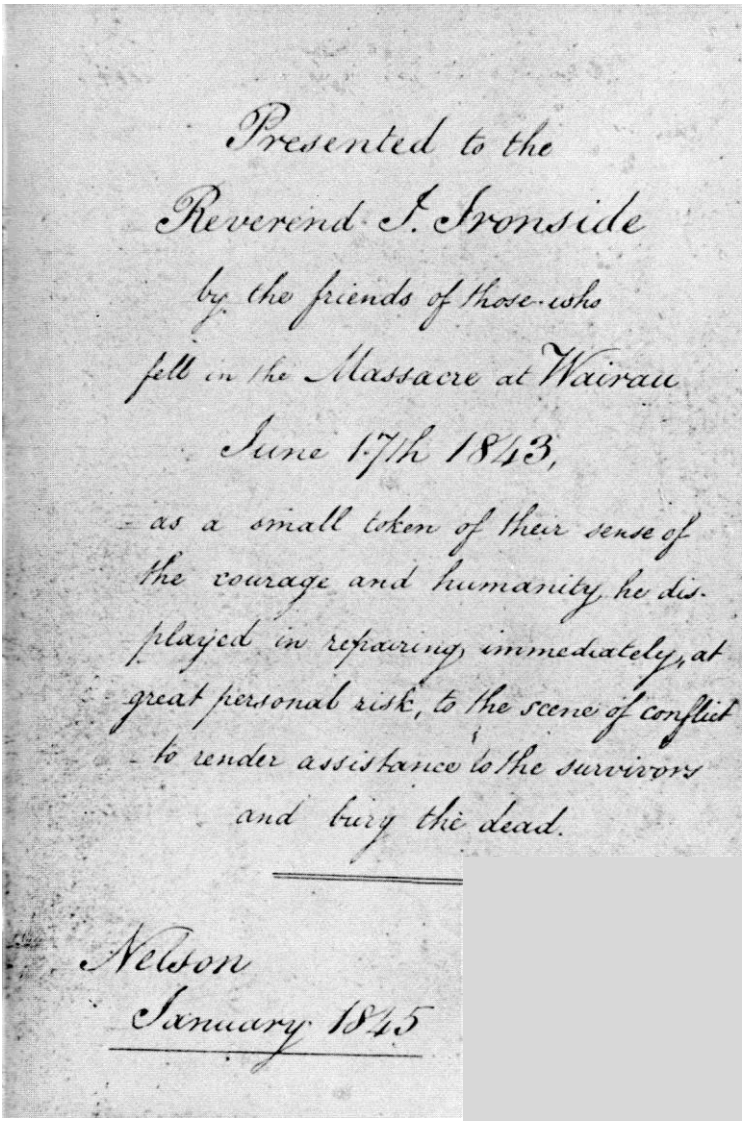
[159] ibid.

[160] ibid. 11 April 1891.

[161] Journal of Samuel Ironside, 2 July 1843.


Presented to the
Reverend J. Ironside
by the friends of those who
fell in the Massacre at Wairau
June 17th 1843,
as a small token of their sense of
the courage and humanity he dis-
played in repairing immediately, at
great personal risk, to the scene of conflict
to render assistance to the survivors
and bury the dead.

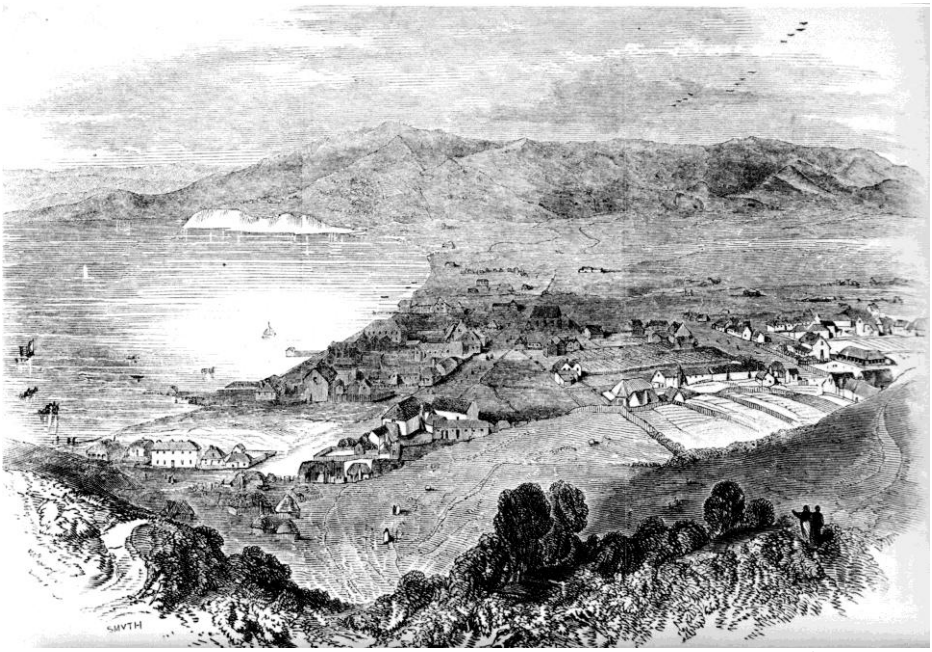
Nelson
January 1845

Inscription to the Bible presented to Samuel Ironside for his services at the Wairau. The Bible originally belonged to William Curling Young, agent of the New Zealand Company. Many years later it was found in the Neutral Bay Anglican Church, Sydney, and returned to the Bishop of Nelson, who handed it to the Methodist Church for safe keeping. *Methodist Connexional Office.*

8

Port Nicholson 1843-1849

On 29 July is the government brig *Victoria* set sail from Cloudy Bay with Samuel and Sarah Ironside on board. The gentlemen in Her Majesty's service were exceedingly kind and Major Richmond, the superintendent of the province, gave up his cabin to Mrs Ironside and frequently spoke with appreciation of the Wesleyan missionaries whom he had met in several parts of the world in the course of his career. The route lay via Nelson where the Wesleyan cause was in good heart. A large brick chapel seating 300 people was in course of erection, and plans were afoot for several others in the country districts. John Aldred, the Wesleyan missionary now at Nelson, was taken on board and the *Victoria* spread her sails for Wellington.



Wellington, the city and harbour as Samuel Ironside would have seen it when he arrived from Cloudy Bay in the brig *Victoria* in 1843. The severe earthquake which occurred on 16 October 1848 left the city in ruins and changed the shape of the land in several areas.

Wellington and its hinterland were well known to John Aldred, who had ministered to its people, Maori and Pakeha from December 1840 until February 1843. He was the first missionary to penetrate into the Wairarapa and in the winter of 1842 he carried

the Gospel to the Chatham Islands. Nor was Wellington unknown to the Ironsides. From Cloudy Bay they had visited the settlement for medical and recreational reasons and already had a number of good friends among its citizens. The place of public worship was still the Exchange; Wade's store was the usual place for church tea meetings and soirees, and Barrett's Hotel was the venue for State occasions, public receptions and council meetings. Ironside was pleased to notice that through the introduction of a rating system parts of the beach road had been made safe,[1] Willis Street had been drained and Manners Street not only had two bridges over the stream, but was comfortable for walking.[2] Less pleasing were the earthworks and stockades, and the cannons pointing ominously towards likely quarters of attack. The mission house, built on land adjoining the Te Aro pa, was the same raupo whare which had been built by the Maoris for their missionary some years ago. Now it was in a serious state of disrepair, but the resident missionary and his wife, Gideon and Mary Smales, made the visitors welcome and gave what comfort they could to those who had so recently tasted the bitter cup of disappointment.

In Wellington the English Wesleyans were just completing a small weatherboard chapel, sixteen feet by twenty two feet, with a gallery at one end, capable of seating 130 people. It was known that a building twice the size was necessary, but owing to the unsettled state of the land question and the financial depression of the times, nothing larger could be afforded. Small as it was, it could be moved to another site if necessary or used as a schoolroom if and when a larger chapel was erected on the site. Built by members of the congregation and paid for out of their poverty, it was the first European place of worship set apart for that purpose in Port Nicholson. On 13 August, it was opened with Gideon Smales, John Aldred and Samuel Ironside each conducting one of the services of the day. The number of members at this time was fifty and congregations were increasing. Friends from other congregations shared in the rejoicings at the public tea meeting on the Monday evening, and although only three pounds was received that evening, it was considered all that could be hoped for in the prevailing circumstances of confusion and commercial depression. After three years of settlement the land question had not been resolved. Although the New Zealand Company claimed to have bought from the Maoris tracts of land adequate to the needs of the settlers, many who had advanced money in payment for their properties were eating dangerously into capital as they waited for their tenure to be finalised. The Maori people were challenging the purchases which the New Zealand Land Company claimed to have made and would not sell more land to those eager to buy it. To vex the issue further, feeling between the New Zealand Company and the central government was not the most cordial. The Wellington settlers had landed two weeks before the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, but under the treaty all land titles had to be investigated and confirmed. To men eager to build and plough and sow this was

[1] *NZ Gazette*, 15 March 1843.
[2] ibid. 10 June 1843.

unnecessary bureaucracy. To the government, the New Zealand Company was suspect as it had proceeded to establish the Nelson settlement against the direction of the governor.[3]

In the prevailing circumstances the missionaries were in a difficult position. It was well known by the officers of the New Zealand Company that the Church and Wesleyan Missionary Societies had brought considerable pressure to bear on the British Government to disallow the company's activities, and when it was learned that colonisation would take place the same societies had pressed for the establishment of central government to control the company's activities. Missionaries were therefore suspect by the company's officials and settlers. When Europeans considered themselves injured or annoyed by the Maoris they blamed the missionaries as the "instigators of the natives". On the other hand, because the missionaries were white, the Maoris were apt to blame them as part of the body of settlers with whom they were identified by Maori custom.[4] The missionaries were uncomfortably placed between the two smouldering fires, and the situation was explosive. When news of the Wairau affray reached Wellington the passions of the settlers were so inflamed that eighty settlers, with one magistrate, armed themselves with guns and cutlasses and embarked for the Wairau not only to rescue the unfortunate whites who might have survived, but also to shoot as many of the "bloody natives" (as they termed them) as came in their way. So strong were the feelings aroused that the captain of the vessel was compelled by certain of the New Zealand Company's agents to beg a member of the Wesleyan Missionary Society who had been invited to cross to Cloudy Bay with him, to leave the ship, lest he should witness the conduct of this contingent towards the Maoris.[5] Adverse winds which prevented the vessel leaving port cooled the passions of the would-be vindicators of the victims of Wairau. Eleven days after the Wairau affray, Gideon Smales had five barrels of gunpowder knocked down to him at the company's sale. The company's newspaper asked what a reverend gentleman wanted with so much gunpowder, and suggested that the missionaries were supplying the Maoris with munitions of war.[6] Gideon Smales' action was a powder trail of innocent indiscretion leading to the magazine of explosive public opinion.

> "What with the Government and their friendly actions [to the Maoris] on the one part, the apathy displayed by the Company on the other, and the rascally behaviour of certain missionaries, verily the Wellingtonians are placed in a pretty pickle. Here we are, in the middle of the fourth year, and the second of the land question, and it is not yet settled — the energies of the settlers have been

[3] Letter of Gideon Smales 22 August 1843.
[4] ibid.
[5] ibid.
[6] *NZ Gazette*, 1 July 1843.

> cramped, and they have had to struggle against difficulties which cannot be conceived by any who has not been on the spot." [7]

In Ironside's opinion it had been unfortunate for the Cook Strait Maoris that they had not a missionary of experience and political influence resident among them. Whereas Mangungu had such veterans as John Hobbs and William Woon, and Kawhia and Whaingaroa (only sixteen miles apart), had such men as John Whiteley and James Wallis, the Cook Strait people had three junior missionaries among them and three hundred miles separating them. Had an experienced man been in the Cook Strait area there might have been a greater chance of averting the Wairau tragedy, and of handling the Wellington situation with more skill.[8] Shortly after arriving in Wellington, Ironside and Aldred learned that the governor had decided to refer the Wairau case to the British 'Home' Government. While this kept the Maori people in some suspense as to their eventual punishment, Ironside agreed that in the circumstances, it was the wisest plan. In his opinion it was doubtful whether any case could have been made out for a jury; and by many it was felt that if the case had been brought to trial, acquittal would have been certain. But, argued Ironside, who was to bring the accused chiefs to trial? There was not sufficient military force in the country to do it! Were it attempted — as at Wairau — the Maori people would again resist to the last man and a war of extermination result. There would be security for neither life nor property in the guerilla warfare that would ensue. Had it not been for the moderating influence of Christianity the Maori people would not have suffered (i.e. "put up with") half the insults they had already endured.[9]

In such a climate both Maori and European mission work suffered. Ironside observed that the Maori people had deteriorated sadly in piety and cleanliness. Te Aro pa was decidedly one of the dirtiest that Ironside had ever seen, while the persons and houses of the Maoris of Port Nicholson generally, were less clean than those of other Maoris at a distance from European settlements. The English cause had to contend with a great deal of opposition. Bad feeling existed against both missions and missionaries. It needed broad shoulders to carry the burden. Ironside commented: "Our only care is. . . that the 'evil' spoken against us shall be falsely spoken." [10] In these circumstances it was important that the team of young missionaries in the Cook Strait settlements should consult with as many of their seniors as possible.

The first section of the district meeting of 1843 met at Ngamotu in Taranaki. Present were John Whiteley (chairman), Samuel Ironside (secretary), George Buttle, John Aldred, Gideon Smales, John Skevington and Charles Creed. The second section was

[7] *NZ Gazette*, 10 June 1843.
[8] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 21 August 1843.
[9] ibid.
[10] ibid.

held at Waipa on 22 September with John Whiteley (chairman), James Wallis, George Buttle, Thomas Buddle, and Hanson Turton present. At Ngamotu Ironside expressed his opinions about the need for a senior missionary in the Cook Strait area. The erection of a raupo house was approved for Porirua and a substantial house was to be built in Wellington as soon as the mission land situation was clarified. Two major matters of policy occupied much of the time of the meeting. Possession of the land made tapu for mission purposes for Bumby and Hobbs in 1839 was under dispute by the New Zealand Company. The district meeting had formerly made plain its position — it would not give up its claim but was prepared if necessary to have it tested in the commissioner's Land Claims Court. However, the chairman reported that he had written to the governor indicating his willingness to an exchange of land for that originally made tapu, providing the alternative land took into account the recent and probable localities in which the Maori people lived, and providing that the land offered was equal in value to the land being surrendered. In the light of these moves it was hoped that this issue might be settled and the erection of buildings for mission purposes proceed with security.

On the Wairau troubles the district meeting received a full report. From the long experience in Maori custom of some of its members, the meeting expressed no surprise at the outcome of the actions of the Nelson settlers. In its judgement "the conduct of the Europeans was most unhappily calculated to mislead, provoke and exasperate the Maori people." [11] Nevertheless the concern of the meeting was that "every Brother in the district, and more especially those in the neighbourhood of European settlements, be solemnly enjoined to use every prudent means in order as far as they possibly can, to promote good feeling between the races." [12]

Even while the meeting was seeking to promote peace between Maori and Pakeha, they were deeply concerned about the re-baptism of Maori children by certain Church Missionary Society agents in the area. The matter was quietly brought to the attention of Bishop Selwyn, with a request that he adopt measures to ensure that such undermining of pastoral authority in the eyes of the Maori people should be discontinued. In the matter of appointments it was decided that the influence of the missionaries most esteemed by the tribes concerned should not be disturbed. This meant that Samuel Ironside might continue living in Wellington and supervise a salaried teacher to be located in the Ngakuta mission house, while Gideon Smales was to transfer to the Porirua-Kapiti area, stronghold of the Ngati Toa Maoris.

Ironside left Ngamotu happy with the decisions reached and promptly took steps to install William Jenkins as resident teacher at Ngakuta and to remove all his own belongings to Wellington. His surprise and indignation was very great when he read in

[11] Minutes of the district meeting, 1843.
[12] ibid.

the minutes of the Waipa meeting that he was to return to Cloudy Bay in an effort to induce the Ngati Toa people to follow him back to their former residence and that he was to use all his influence to prevent the Maoris of the Marlborough Sounds from returning to Taranaki.[13] It is dear that John Whiteley, who had given himself to solving the Taranaki-Waikato problem, was behind this move. By adopting this strategy he hoped to relieve Maori pressure on Wellington and at the same time to prevent the Ngati Awa people from returning to Taranaki, thus avoiding further complications in the land issue there.

In persuading the Waipa section of the district meeting to this course of action Whiteley had reckoned without Ironside's inborn ability to stand aside from a situation, take a comprehensive overview, extract the essential data and to draw his own conclusions logically and independently. As a junior missionary, just twenty-nine years of age, he recognised and respected ecclesiastical authority but knew how to use ecclesiastical machinery to ensure the full consideration of his views when he believed they best served the interests of those to whom he ministered. While he welcomed the appointment of a senior missionary such as James Watkin, to Wellington, he was not convinced that he (Ironside) should return to Ngakuta. He knew that the Ngati Toa people would not return to Cloudy Bay. Indeed all the Maoris on the north side of Cook Strait strongly protested against the suggestion. Secondly, he had good reason to believe that the Maori people of the sounds had no intention of returning to Taranaki. He could therefore be in just as close touch from Wellington as from Ngakuta. Thirdly, for the Wellington Wesleyans, this would mean yet another short-term ministry — the fourth in a row. Finally, the expense of reversing what had already been done and the personal inconvenience to himself and to Mr Jenkins, and the need of his wife for more normal society, led Ironside to protest to his chairman, and to lay his case before the missionary committee in London. He was willing to accept their decision but not without adequate representation of his position. Thus the matter remained until the arrival of the new general superintendent, the Reverend Walter Lawry. Meanwhile both the members of the Wesleyan Missionary Society and the general public petitioned the new general superintendent for the retention of Samuel Ironside in Wellington. The settlers urged: "It is because Mr Ironside has been instrumental in allaying much angry feeling in these parts, in restoring to harmony much that was in confusion before, and for his enlightened, just and pious views in all matters connected with the natives, the Wesleyan Society and the settlement generally. . . request and most strongly solicit that his presence may continue amongst us." [14] That petition was dated 15 June 1844. The result was that both James Watkin and Samuel Ironside were finally confirmed in Wellington appointments, and Gideon Smales was transferred to Aotea, north of Kawhia. This meant that the Maoris living

[13] ibid.

[14] Letter to Walter Lawry, 15 June 1844.

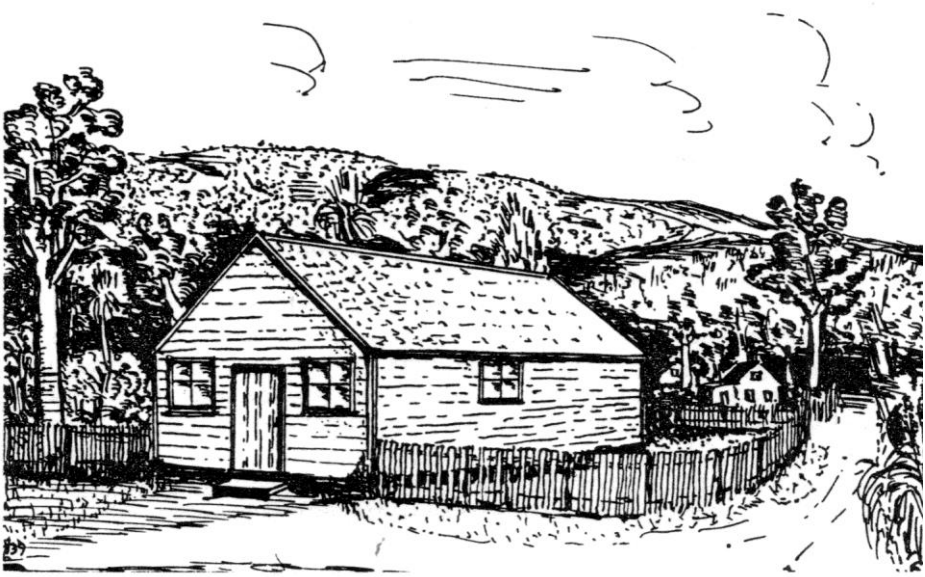
on the Kapiti coast also came under the pastoral oversight of the Wellington preachers.

While this was being settled, it is remarkable how much Ironside accomplished. He immediately took in charge all the Maoris of the villages around Port Nicholson, from Te Aro, Pipitea, Kaiwharawhara, Ngauranga, Petone, and away to Waiwhetu, at the mouth of the Hutt River . . . at Porirua, Te Mana, and along the coast to Waikanae and south eastward to Wairarapa. In addition to this there were the growing claims of the settlers at Wellington and the Hutt Valley, at Karori and along the track over the hills from Kaiwharawhara and Ngauranga to Porirua. Ironside moved among his people, Maori and European, so that they felt they were individually known and loved. Congregations increased, conversions took place and soon the European chapel was too small by half for the congregations that gathered Sunday after Sunday. Many were turned away every week. A small church was built at Waiwhetu, and the new mission house for James Watkin was in course of erection. Ironside was a careful and effective organiser. He could select and trust leaders, both Maori and European, and plan to use his time to be productive of the most good. The fact that he was pastor to both races thrust him into the role of interpreter and mediator and he became known and respected by a growing number of people in the community. On 1 December 1843 he reported to London that more often than not he had four, sometimes five services on a Sunday. These were at 9am with, the Maoris; at 11am at one of the settlements; at 2pm with the Maoris again, winding up at 6.30pm with an evangelistic service in the little church at Te Aro. Sometimes he would take the Hutt Valley road and work his way from Waiwhetu, the Third River, to the little church near the bridge, and so home. Another Sunday he would go to Porirua, and come back along the road to the village at Johnsonville. At Porirua, within a mile or two of the principal Wesleyan Maori settlement, he put up over night with a Scotsman and began the Sunday round of services with his family and farm servants. The roads were not without dangers. A false step on the very narrow side cuttings up the Kaiwharawhara hill might precipitate the traveller and his horse into the depths below, while oceans of mud along the flat meant three miles an hour was good progress for man and beast.

The Sunday evening service at Te Aro (mid-city Wellington) was Samuel Ironside's delight. "The little weatherboard church with its band box gallery in the gable above the front entrance, was crowded every Sabbath evening. William Fisher, the invaluable choir leader, with his wife — one of the sweetest singers [Ironside] ever listened to — and a congregation of earnest praying people. Night after night there were conversions to God. . . . No weather could keep the people from church. It was a long walk from Pipitea and Tinakore Road to Te Aro, and yet those who came that distance were seldom absent even though they came in the face of a violent south-easter and the drenching rain round the Kumutoto Point. . . ." There was Thomas Cayley from Southwark, London, an able, forceful preacher with whom Ironside started the first day school. There were the Luxfords, Kinnesburghs, active in Sunday

school work, and James Swan, Charles Hunt, William Sykes, Hart Udy and David Hall. And in the prayer meetings, "untutored men like James Barb, John Bradshaw, Short, and women like Mrs Kitson and Mrs Waters and others brought down into the midst, the blessed influence of the Holy Spirit." [15] Thus Ironside could report to the mission secretaries: "Our English cause here is fast rising from that cold, heartless state in which it was a few months back." [16]

The Maori cause was also improving. Twenty or thirty members had been added since his arrival in Wellington and although he had to contend with what he felt was selfishness and superstition in the Maori character, and with the "semi-popery" introduced by the English bishop, yet nevertheless he expected that God would revive his work "even among the New Zealanders and that they shall come by thousands into the spiritual church of Christ. We have the largest and most flourishing cause in Wellington." [17]



First Wesleyan chapel in the Hutt Valley. This line drawing was reconstructed from early records by Lance Hall of Lower Hutt.

[15] NZ *Methodist*, 11 April 1891.
[16] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 1 December 1843.
[17] ibid.

If Methodism was flourishing, business had never been worse and the land question was still unsettled. Merchants went down to their stores in the morning and spent the day idling about and turning over their empty books for perhaps the hundredth time, and then went home. The people were anxiously looking forward to the arrival of the new governor who, rumour said, had already visited Sydney and by this time should have arrived in Auckland. His presence was to improve everything! "If he accomplish only half of what is expected from him he will be clever. But it is a common fault among sanguine people to expect too much and of course the disappointment is proportionately greater. He may perhaps do something towards settling the land claims. This would tend materially to improve the prospects of the settlers. . . . If the Government had acted in a friendly manner towards the settlers, (not visiting upon them the castigation due to the Company) and determined in one way or other the land question three years since, there would have been greater prosperity and less complaining perhaps. As it is innocent parties are the sufferers. The land question is every day becoming more difficult and how it can be settled peaceably I know not. The Company have portioned out land which the natives claim, the natives resist the occupation of the land by the duped settlers, feuds and quarrels daily arise and I greatly fear that the Wairau tragedy will prove only the first of a series. Lord undertake for us!" [18]

His Excellency, the Governor, Captain Robert FitzRoy R.N., landed in Wellington from Auckland on Saturday 27 January 1844. A levee was held in Barrett's Hotel and Samuel Ironside was among those invited. Following a short conversation with the governor, Ironside was granted a private interview on the following Wednesday. Since the governor was to settle matters related to the Wairau affair he asked Ironside "to hide nothing from him of which he might be aware, that he might be the better qualified to decide the case".[19] FitzRoy also repeated his former statement that he would render any assistance that it was in his power to afford for the erection of chapels and schools. Ironside was heartened. Although plans had been drawn for a rather pretentious building capable of seating up to 400 people, the Wesleyan Missionary Society was not in a position to help financially. This promise of assistance from the governor recalled to mind the appreciation which Colonel William Wakefield had often expressed to Ironside for his seeking out and burying in a Christian manner, the body of his brother Arthur who had fallen at Wairau. All pecuniary appreciation Ironside had declined. He now resolved to bring the embarrassed state of the congregation before the colonel, who was pleased to make a private subscription and to promise assistance should the church memorialize the directors of the New Zealand Company in London. Immediately Ironside requested the Wesleyan missionary secretaries in London to further the local interests with the company in any way they thought appropriate. With these two promises of assistance,

[18] ibid.

[19] ibid. 27 February 1844.

he called the chapel building committee together. A decision was made to canvass the town immediately. The result was: money paid, ninety pounds; money promised, fifty pounds; promises of labour, forty pounds. Total, one hundred and eighty pounds. A building of the size required would cost five hundred pounds. To get the roof on and the doors and windows in, would cost three hundred and twenty pounds.

Within a month the foundation stone was laid by the governor,[20] who expressed great satisfaction at being called upon to perform the act and again promised that: "whatever assistance we can afford shall be extended to all denominations of Christians in proportion to their respective numbers." [21] "Although the elements raged exceedingly in the evening yet a very numerous and a very happy company met together in the Exchange to take Tea and the speeches afterwards were replete with interest and eloquence. These were given by the Rev. Ironside and Mr McFarlane, Messrs Rout and Woodward, and Captain Richards of H.M. Brig *Victoria."* [22]

By April 1844, the Wellington mission house was almost completed. It was a weatherboard dwelling 32 feet x 24 feet on the ground plan — four rooms 12 feet x 12 feet on the ground floor. One room 14 feet x 12 feet and two rooms 8 feet x 12 feet above — seven rooms in all — with four fireplaces and two passages, for a contract price of one hundred and eighty pounds.[23] Meanwhile the Sunday school, begun in mid-1842, had 180 scholars on the books with an average attendance of 110.[24] On 24 April Ironside reported to the missionary society that eight or ten people found peace with God on the previous Sunday evening while a revival was going on among the Sunday school scholars. Among the Maori people, attendances at public worship were good. Two thirds of the residents of the pas usually attended public worship,[25] but the week-day school was in difficulties owing to the example of the European settlers. "Rangitira [Rangatira] pakehas are only religious on Sundays and they copy the example. To go to school is only for children and why did he wish them to go? Are we children?" [26] Although it meant more work for himself, Ironside commenced a Friday evening class meeting to further the interests of the Maori leaders.

Meanwhile the unsettled state of the land question continued to cause tension and trouble. In early January Mr E. J. Wakefield had written to the *New Zealand Gazette* and *Spectator* stating that two Europeans had been killed by the Maoris and he

[20] ibid. 22 February 1844.
[21] *NZ Gazette*, 28 February 1844.
[22] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 27 February 1844.
[23] ibid, 24 April 1844.
[24] ibid. 17 May 1844.
[25] ibid.
[26] ibid.

implied that Moturoa and Wi Tako were hiding under the cloak of Christianity. Wi Tako replied point by point and concluded:

> "Mr Wakefield says that the natives make use of Christianity to hide what is bad. If a man takes off the cloak you will see the evil: perhaps this is true and I say to Mr Wakefield and all the pakehas, 'Take off your cloaks that we may see the goodness of your hearts to the natives. . . . Before you used to speak kindly to us, now you have thrown aside your cloak. That is all.' "

In the same issue appeared an inventory of the number of Maoris in the Cook Strait area who were capable of bearing arms.[27] Of the Ngati Awa and Ngati Ruanui there were 6,260; Ngati Toa 450; Ngati Raukawa 1,800; Te Patitokotoko 3,000; Ngati Kahungunu 140. The settlers were nervous; the Maori people restless. The *Gazette* for 28 February 1844, reported two instances of settlers in New Plymouth being confronted by Maoris. In one instance 200 Maoris squatted on a settler's section, destroyed bush and prevented surveys from taking place. The *Gazette of* 10 June 1843 had reported that Porirua Maoris had torn down a house on the land of Mr Stacey and had thrown the material into the river; the expostulating town clerk was molested for his troubles. In addition there was a growing record of what was interpreted as lawlessness. In January 1843, a warrant had been issued for the arrest of Te Rangihaeata on a charge of felony. On the decision of Chief Justice William Martin, the warrant was withdrawn, an act which raised the question as to whether the Maoris were subject to British law or not. Ironside reported the Maoris would not recognise the right of the magistrates to punish them when wrong. He cited the case of one Maori, then in custody for theft, who was twice rescued by his people and each time the military had to be called out.[28] At the heart of these matters were unresolved land questions.

In February 1844 Governor FitzRoy visited Wellington to settle the Te Aro land question. At the instigation of some Europeans the Maori people were asking for a much larger sum than they were being offered by the Crown and insisted that if more was not offered as "sugar on the rice" they would withdraw entirely from dialogue with Europeans. Neither course was acceptable to FitzRoy. He had fixed a fair price and would not alter his decision. Ironside supported the good faith of the governor and pointed out that under the Treaty of Waitangi the integrity of their pas, cultivations and burial places had been honoured, in spite of their fears; that if they refused to accept the price offered, the governor would depart and leave them to settle the differences in the best manner they could. The result could be their downfall.[29] Although dissatisfied with the price offered, the Te Aro, Kumutoto, Pipitea and

[27] *NZ Gazette*, 17 January 1844.
[28] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 1 December 1843.
[29] NZ *Gazette*, 6 March 1844.

Tiakawai people agreed to accept. On 26 February payment was made of three hundred, two hundred and two hundred and thirty pounds, in English shillings, to each respectively. Ironside was delighted and reported to the London mission office:

> "The Governor has accomplished a very difficult task, viz, the settlement of the land question between the natives and the Company. Colonel Wakefield on behalf of the above Company, has advanced fifteen hundred pounds (the award of Commissioner Spain) to settle the question as to the lands in the Port Nicholson District." [30]

Knowing the effect this settlement would have upon the settlers, Ironside praised the

> "uniformly kind and considerate bearing of the settlers towards the natives. Such disputes and misunderstandings between the races as had arisen had arisen mainly out of circumstances beyond their control, viz, the non- settlement of the land question."

And, he prophesied,

> "Let the settlers continue to exercise patience and forbearance and we may hope the morning of prosperity is not far distant, and will yet dawn upon us." [31]

The next decision to be made concerned the Wairau affair. Already the governor had sought Ironside's views which had been concisely expressed in his report to the mission office. The governor met with Te Rauparaha at Porirua and the judgement given was, according to Ironside's mind, the correct one; and it was unanimously held by the Wesleyan missionaries. "His Excellency has represented to him [Te Rauparaha] the evil of his conduct etc, but has acted wisely in looking over this their offence, in as much as they were not first to blame." [32] The judgment was not popular. The *New Zealand Gazette* regarded the proceedings as "blackening the memory of the victims of the Wairau massacre, palliating the guilt of the murderers" and represented the governor's inquiry as "one sided and partial". It concluded:

> "Governor FitzRoy's policy has inspired the natives with the conviction that they may with impunity annoy, plunder and harass the settlers, and this conviction cannot be beaten out of them, except by strong measures. Governor FitzRoy's policy, instead of being wise and humane, has brought insecurity to the settlers and rendered harsh measures against the natives inevitable." [33]

[30] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 27 February 1844.
[31] *NZ Spectator,* 9 November 1844.
[32] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 27 February 1844.
[33] *NZ Gazette,* 28 September 1844.

By August Ironside had judged that the tension had quietened down "chiefly through the manly, straightforward, upright conduct of our Excellent Governor, Captain FitzRoy. Your hopes concerning him are realised: he is a decided friend of the natives.

> . . ." Ironside then added a note of personal concern, for his strong sense of justice also recognised the legitimate interests of the settlers. . . we sometimes are afraid that he carries his friendly feelings towards them, i.e. the natives, too far to be of *real* service towards them, but it is better to err on this side, especially as the influence of most of the respectable colonists is on the other." [34]

On 29 June 1844 James Watkin and his family joined Samuel and Sarah in Wellington. After a boisterous run of sixty hours from the south they were glad to settle into the new mission house which had just been completed by Samuel's indefatigable labours. Although Watkin and Ironside had never met they were well known to each other. It was Watkin's pamphlet "Pity Poor Feejee" that had turned Samuel's attention to the Pacific as a field of missionary service. Besides this, the two men had corresponded regularly during their residence at the extremities of the South Island. Watkin quickly realised Ironside's worth and Ironside was pleased to have a senior colleague. Sarah Ironside's health was still delicate and Watkin quickly gave his forthright opinion: ". . . no wonder, living as she had been in the wretched hovel designated the Mission House." [35]

With two Wesleyan ministers resident in Wellington it was now possible to reorganise the expanding European work and to give more attention to the Maori people. Watkin began his ministry in Wellington by preaching in the Scottish church on 30 June. During the following week he met the classes on Monday and Thursday, preached on Wednesday, attended the Sunday school prayer meeting — all the time becoming acquainted with the people, "some of whom were very earnest but among whom were not many wise, noble, great or rich." [36] Although Watkin was considerably older than Ironside, he insisted on a load equal to that of his younger colleague. Often he took three services at the Hutt and one in Wellington, or preached once in Maori and three times in English, and began to share in the "Bethel Union" in the town. The new chapel was progressing slowly though he recognised that when it was completed it would be a noble affair.[37]

> "The contractors had been hindered and their expenses increased by the prevalent wind and rain storms. . . .Possibly from the lack of a larger scaffolding plant, they had run up the eastern side wall to a great height while the remaining walls

[34] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 1 August 1844.
[35] Journal of James Watkin, 29 June 1844.
[36] ibid. 6July 1844.
[37] ibid. 15 July 1844.

> were little above the foundation. The stormy wind . . . and a heavy downpour of rain brought the wall down with a crash, and they had their work to do again." [38]

Shortly afterwards both Watkin and Ironside left for the district meeting at Kawhia. The trip overland would have taken a month; to save time, as no direct passage was available by sea, the route taken was via the east coast to Auckland, across the island at the narrowest point, and then along the coast to Kawhia. Watkin was ill in Auckland, but was able to attend the district meeting, where his sociable nature was expanded to the full. The homeward journey was overland to New Plymouth, which took a week. From here Ironside walked to Wellington, visiting again the people of South Taranaki. Watkin was not equal to the overland journey and was urged by his colleagues to wait in New Plymouth for a vessel sailing for Wellington. He waited for eight weeks, during which time he assisted Hanson Turton in various ways, including the commencement of a missionary society. At length he had an opportunity of a passage in a small cutter of thirteen tons burthen.[39] After three days at sea the vessel was driven back to port. On the second attempt, after narrowly escaping shipwreck, she made the desired haven. For Watkin it was an absence from Wellington of sixteen weeks,[40] and led to his recommending the establishment of the southern district meeting.

By this time the Manners Street (Te Aro) chapel was nearing completion — as far as funds would allow. Situated close to the south-west corner of Cuba and Manners Streets, it stood beside the mission house, with its garden right on the corner, and straight across the road from the earthworks built for defence purposes after the Wairau incident. The chapel was designed by R. Stokes, a journalist, and the building was 39 feet x 48 feet and 22 feet in the clear. It was calculated to seat 300 people although it was supposed 400 could be accommodated. It was one of the most substantial buildings in the town and the Grecian pillars gave it a dignity beyond its peers. Although it was thought to be rather tall for such a place as Port Nicholson (which was exposed to windy weather and subject to earthquakes) yet, as the walls were eighteen inches thick and the timbers supporting the walls and roof were proportionately strong, there was no fear but that it would last many years.[41] Approximately half the church was taken up with straight-backed pews, each with a lock and key for seat holders. The remainder were backless benches known as 'free seats'. At the end opposite the pulpit was the singers' gallery, while over all hung four

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NZ Methodist, 30 May 1891. [38]

[39] Letters of James Watkin, 29 November 1844.

[40] ibid. 6 December 1844.

[41] C. J. Freeman, *The Centenary Wesley Church, Taranaki Street, Wellington, 1840-1940,* p. 17.

chandeliers of eight candlepower each to provide lighting. But beware! Those who sat beneath them were likely to be vexed by the "droppings of the sanctuary!" [42]

Opening services were held in the chapel on Thursday 5 December 1844. Following the custom of the day Samuel Ironside took the first part of the service, reading the proper psalms and lessons and the Form of Morning Prayer enjoined by John Wesley. James Watkin preached.[43] In the evening a tea meeting was held.[44]The opening services continued on the following Sunday when Samuel Ironside preached "an excellent sermon on Justification by Faith." Watkin preached in the afternoon to the children as they formed the greater part of the congregation, and again in the evening when every seat was occupied.[45] Watkin's preaching was now attracting attention in the town and some of the leading men of the settlement were drawn to him, including the Hon. W. Fitzherbert.

Up to this time the singing in chapel had been led by Mr Howe on the "clarionet" while Mr and Mrs Fisher were the chief singers. Now changes were made. The "clarionet" was augmented with a piccolo, a bass viol (the earlier form of viola) and a violin, and instead of giving out two lines of a hymn a whole verse was announced. The singing was first class! [46] And the preacher now appeared in a gown to the delight of the congregation! [47]

The excitement of the opening of the new Manners Street church was soon caught up in the work of the circuit. When one minister was at the Hutt, he took two Maori services and two English services, met the English "class", rode twenty miles and arrived back in town in time to conclude the service for his colleague, and take a prayer meeting. Meanwhile the other would have either preached to the Maoris at Te Aro pa, taken the morning and evening services in Wellington and visited the Sunday school in the afternoon, or have been in the Porirua area ministering to both Maoris and settlers. Twice a year Ironside crossed to Queen Charlotte Sound to supervise the work in that area, while both men visited "on the coast" (the Maori communities as far north as Waikanae). Both, on occasion, ministered at Thorndon, Karori, Wainuiomata and Taita, and either Watkin or Ironside was regularly at Karori on Tuesday evenings. Occasionally one or the other was at Porirua on a Thursday evening and the Hutt on a Wednesday evening, while Taita and Wainuiomata were regularly supplied by lay preachers.

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[42] ibid. p. 18.

[43] *NZ Methodist,* 30 May 1891.

[44]Freeman (41 above) incorrectly states that the tea meeting was held on the following Thursday (p. 18). It was held the same day as the opening service, i.e. Thursday 5 December,

[45] Journal of James Watkin, 7, 9 December 1844.

[46] C. J. Freeman, *Centenary of Wesley Church,* p. 18.

[47] NZ *Methodist,* 30 May 1891.

Watkin and Ironside served both Maoris and Europeans and took seriously the resolution of the district meeting of 1843 to use every means possible to promote good feeling between the two races. Old Hemi at Te Aro and Wiremu Tako at Pipitea occasionally attended the European services. All parties freely contributed to the opening of the weatherboard chapel at Waiwhetu. A huge picnic was part of the celebrations, with Maoris and Europeans gathered from far and near for the feast, and both races sharing in the love feast which was part of the celebrations. In united worship, and by sharing in common events within circuit life, bonds of unity far wider than that of land, race and language were being forged. So it was that on 31 December both races were represented at the solemn watchnight service that saw the New Year of 1845 in. Watkin took the English service and Ironside the Maori. On the following Sunday morning, 5 January, the Maori people from considerable distances assembled for the sacramental service and filled the new Manners Street chapel. In the afternoon Christian commitment was renewed in the covenant service. This time Watkin spoke the words of exhortation to a large congregation of Maoris. Ironside preached to the Europeans in the evening and Watkin led a Maori prayer meeting.

But the bad news followed. On 13 January, H.M. sloop *Hazard* sailed for Wanganui to assist Maoris and settlers who were being harassed by invading Taupo tribesmen.[48] During the week Ironside was on the coast between Porirua and Waikanae. The Porirua Maoris were anxious for a missionary to replace Gideon Smales who was now at Aotea and the settlers were in a disturbed state of mind. “The Government is an object of vituperation and certain parties were anxious to train for war between the two races which they considered inevitable.” [49] A militia bill had been passed, but the governor withdrew it. Watkin disagreed with the governor’s action as he considered that a “well ordered militia could have a moral effect in preventing war.” [50] A week later fears were quickened by news of the outbreak of hostilities at Whangarei and the Bay of Islands. “In the latter place, worse doings than ever, the result of Governor FitzRoy’s child’s play in the first instance, and now he talks about ‘sanguinary punishment’. This is going from one extreme to the other. Troops have been sent for and the natives must now look out.” [51] Closer to home the Maoris illegally occupying lands in the Hutt Valley were ordered to leave. The governor was determined they should. Public unease however was heightened by a Maori gathering at Kapiti to determine where the expelled Maoris should go — to the South Island or “down to the northward”.[52] There was war, or threat of war, at both extremities of the North Island and in the middle. At the end of February 1845 Watkin had been prevented by the

[48] Journal of James Watkin, 13 January 1845.
[49] ibid. 3 February 1845.
[50] ibid.
[51] ibid. 10 February 1845.
[52] ibid.

unsettled state of affairs from making the usual trip to the coast, and by 3 March news reached Wellington that an invading horde from the neighbourhood of Auckland had made an appearance in the Rangitikei area, one of the Wesleyan outstations. Watkin was not able to gather travelling companions to go to the scene of action to find out the truth and if possible prevent strife. It turned out to be a rumour — but the burning of a house in the Hutt Valley early on Sunday morning was fact, and in the excited state of the settlers' feelings it could be nothing other than the work of a Maori incendiarist! By 31 March Kororareka had been sacked. Soldiers had been requisitioned for the protection of Wellington, fortifications were to be erected and a militia drilled. Special constables were sworn in by the hundred. Auckland was threatened.

James Watkin wrote in his journal: "What a field of blood this country has been, and it is likely to continue such I fear. May God avert a calamity." [53] The *Spectator* was critical of missions and missionaries and those under their instruction.

> "Great is the outcry against the Missionaries of course, and against the natives who have been longest under instruction: the party complaining forget that they have been longest under corruption too. Whalers and traders and the very moral population of Kororareka!"

wrote Watkin sarcastically in his journal. Ironside replied to the leading article in the *Spectator.* His tone was conciliatory and, by attributing to the editor a sincere desire for the prosperity of the colony, was sure he would be sorry to publish anything which might have the opposite effect. Ironside then asked whether the tone of the leading article was likely to secure the hearty cooperation of the missionaries when it was so critical of them and their work. He protested their concern for the settlers among whom they classed themselves, regretted the policy of the Maori leaders, and corrected statements that were likely to spread distrust of missionary work. He concluded by pointing out that Otago had had a resident missionary longer than either Taranaki, Wanganui, Port Nicholson or Cloudy Bay. Nevertheless, the settlers in the Hutt were nervous.[54] A report was circulating that a confrontation was expected In that locality. Troops were sent to occupy the fort there. Watkin thought the rumour originated with the settlers but it could have come from Te Rauparaha, who warned Major Richmond of Te Rangihaeata's intention of striking in that area.[55] Ironside crossed to Cloudy Bay to supervise the work going on under William Jenkins. Watkin continued visiting both Maori and Pakeha in the Hutt. On 14 June there was another repulse of British troops in the north. "War in earnest with all its attendant horrors" wrote Watkin. On 16 June he was in the Hutt again and on 4 July the *Tyne* was

[53] ibid. 31 March 1845.
[54] NZ *Journal,* 22 October 1844.
[55] ibid. 13 May 1846.

wrecked at the entrance to Port Nicholson and much valuable equipment for the Wesleyan mission was lost.[56] On returning from Cloudy Bay Ironside concentrated on work among the Maori people "on the coast" and in the settlements around Port Nicholson.

In the unsettled state of affairs he was anxious to break down prejudice between the tribes under Wesleyan instruction and to bring about a closer union between them and the missionaries. To accomplish this, a hui was planned for Porirua from 11-15 July. "About fifteen hundred adults came together. Provisions were abundant. There was a thick pile of potatoes etc. some four hundred yards in length, thousands of baskets — dried fish innumerable." [57] Watkin accompanied Ironside to Porirua and in the course of those days both men moved freely among the Maori people. "On the Sabbath we baptized upwards of thirty, after reading the liturgy. The service was in the open air, as the chapel would not contain the people. In the evening we had the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, upwards of one hundred and twenty communicated and we found it good to be there." At one of the services Te Rangihaeata was present and Watkin exhorted him to renounce heathenism and become a good man. Te Rangihaeata was friendly but non-committal.[58]

> "On the Monday we had the catechetical examination — two hundred and fifty repeated very readily the 24th chapter of St Luke and the 21st of St John and the 5th-7th chapters of the second Conference Catechism and were subjected to a searching cross-examination of the whole. Their readiness in reply was very gratifying." [59]

At the end of that visit to Porirua it was clear the hoped-for improvement in relationships had been accomplished, but some of the people in Wellington were determined to have it that the hui had sinister political intentions and that the missionaries were playing a double game. In spite of repeated assurances and the fact that the date for the hui had been appointed six months beforehand, "our sapient settlers here would give it a political aspect. . . that it was a plot against the settlement." [60]

It was a matter of thankfulness that Wellington had remained quiet so long. Even so it was an uneasy peace and Ironside believed that if the news from the north should be unfavourable to the government, "the natives who had located themselves on the Hutt would no doubt take advantage of the want of success of the soldiery and attack." [61]

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[56] Letters of James Watkin, 5 August 1845.
Letters of Samuel Ironside, 5 August 1845. [57]
[58] Journal of James Watkin, 16 July 1845.
[59] ibid.
[60] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 5 August 1845.
[61] ibid.

Hopeka and others sent a letter to Ironside assuring him that the people of Port Nicholson and Waikanae would not follow the example of the north and that they would die with the Europeans should the strife spread. They pledged their love to the ministers and their friendship and neighbourliness to the European community generally, urging Major Richmond to see them as friends. At their request the letter was published in the *New Zealand Spectator*, to reassure the settlers of their peaceable intentions.[62]

On Saturday 26 July Watkin was at Takapuahia, where he preached and baptised. He spoke with Te Rangihaeata, who stoutly maintained that the Maoris were a more righteous people than the Europeans, and roundly asserted that he was no party to the governor's arrangements about the Hutt, and was highly opposed to it. Te Rangihaeata blamed the Anglican missionary, Octavius Hadfield, for recommending the settlement of rights without reference to him; further the signature to the deed was not his.

Watkin was troubled. He again exhorted Te Rangihaeata to renounce heathenism and embrace Christianity — with little effect.[63] The failure of Colonel Despard to storm Hone Heke's pa at Ohaeawai in the far north deepened the fear and gloom which hung over the Wellington settlers. Watkin and Ironside regularly visited the Hutt Valley settlers and those in other outlying places.

The work was responding to their diligence. A chapel capable of seating one hundred worshippers was opened in the Hutt on 5 November 1845 and it was anticipated that a Sunday school would be commenced shortly. Later that month John Whiteley was in Wellington[64] with the object of transferring Samuel Ironside from Wellington to Waimate in south Taranaki to fill the vacancy created by the sudden death of John Skevington, who had taken ill at the district meeting in Auckland. Long and serious discussion took place until it was clearly seen that to do this would be to fill one vacuum by creating another. "The natives were highly indignant with Mr Whiteley and they civilly told him to take himself home again; and if his object only were to remove either of their missionaries he might stay away altogether." [65] Shortly afterwards the general superintendent, Walter Lawry, concurred in the decision that Samuel Ironside should remain in Wellington, but arranged that Waimate (south Taranaki) should be visited by Ironside in February, by Hanson Turton from New Plymouth in May, by Watkin in August, and again by Turton in November until a permanent replacement could be obtained.

Throughout these uncertainties the needs of the local Maori people were not overlooked. The old raupo church on Te Aro flat had been blown down in a gale and

[62] Journal of James Watkin, 22 July 1845.
[63] 24 November 1845.
[64] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 5 January 1846.
[65] ibid.

for a year or so worship had been conducted in a Maori dwelling "begrimed with filth and festooned with soot",[66] "in which touch, sight and smell were all offended." [67] The need for a new Maori chapel was urgent, but the possibility of building one was remote as suspicion and fear paralysed the goodwill necessary to accomplish it. As Watkin saw it, "No assistance was forthcoming from the Missionary Society: the European public if they could, would not assist: the missionaries could not finance it themselves: the Maoris though able, would not." Nevertheless a subscription list was opened. His Honour The Superintendent and His Honour Judge Chapman subscribed three pounds and two pounds respectively and other settlers subscribed nineteen pounds. Thus a small weatherboard church was opened on Sunday 14 December at 9am.[68] There was a good attendance: Watkin read prayers and baptised several adults and some children: Ironside preached from the text: "Refrain from these men." (Acts 5:42) To Watkin's ear it was a seasonable subject and impressively put.[69] Ironside was no doubt using the pulpit to speak to the predicament in which the Maori people were finding themselves. At least seventy people took communion and again Ironside counselled a considerable number of the Maori people on the political situation. The Maori chapel was the harvest of growing goodwill resulting from Watkin's and Ironside's work. Three guineas was given by the Maori people towards the cost and the outstanding debt had to be met out of Watkin's and Ironside's stipends. Yet with that debt to be met personally, Watkin was making arrangements for the erection of a small chapel at Porirua to do duty as a church and as a school!

As the year 1845 ended Ironside looked back with some satisfaction. The Maori work was in a healthy state: the quarterly sacraments at the three principal places — Wellington, Porirua and Te Paripari — were each attended by upwards of seventy communicants with one hundred from other places as well. Corrective discipline was exercised and honoured in this regard. In the Maori school, now meeting in the new chapel, twenty young men were learning the English language, a large class was reading through the New Testament and two other classes were learning to read Maori. In the English work many of the more respectable of the colonists had taken sittings in the new chapel. Membership had increased by twenty on the preceding quarter. In addition to the town chapel there were three more in the adjacent country, and in three villages services were held in private homes. Both ministers had nine preaching and other services per week — two Maori and two English on Sunday and five during the week, excluding the Maori school which they held every day from 5pm to 6.30pm. Of the Sunday schools the town school had upwards of 100 scholars and

[66] Letters of James Watkin, 6 December 1844.

[67] ibid. 20 August 1846.

[68] This church stood on the corner of (St) Luke's Lane and Manners Street. *The Centenary of Wesley Church,* p. 18.

[69] Journal of James Watkin, 15 December 1845.

three others in country areas averaged thirty each. Another in the Hutt was about to commence.[70]

To fulfil his commitment to visit the Ngati Ruanui people Ironside set out in February 1846 for the Waimate (Taranaki) mission station, 200 miles away. He found his good friend William Hough of Nelson working as a catechist at Patea.

> "At Waimate all was dark and sad . . . but the evidence of the genuine conversion of hundreds was very manifest."

Ironside crowded as much work as was possible into preaching, meeting classes and holding special services the week of his visit.

> "God was with us in truth. Hundreds joined in the Holy Sacrament. . . . At the Love Feast the time for the service was altogether too short. . . . Shouts of joy were intermingled with the tears for their now sainted pastor, and prayers for his widow and the fatherless babes. . . . It was good to be there. . . That service alone was worth all the toil of the three hundred mile journey on foot to come to the place. . . . Our dear brother had neither 'run in vain nor laboured in vain.' " [71]

After making temporary arrangement for carrying on the services Ironside set his face homewards. He borrowed "Pegasus", the horse that Mr Skevington had procured for his extensive journeys through the length and breadth of the Taranaki plains. That horse had an unfortunate history. It was formerly owned by the Reverend Mr Mason, the first Church of England missionary to Wanganui. In company with Octavius Hadfield of Otaki, he was riding along the coast from Wanganui southwards. Turakina, which in Maori means "thrown over", is a broad, shallow tidal river, some fifteen to twenty miles from Wanganui. It was an easy enough crossing at low water, but at half-tide it was dangerous because of shifting sands. The two clergymen, ambling along, took to the river suspecting no danger. Mr Hadfield was in front. As soon as he was over, he turned to look for his companion, and was horrified to see him floating out to sea, evidently stunned in the fall, for he was making no effort to save himself. He was too far out for Hadfield to render any assistance. They had no Maori companions with them; so poor Mr Mason found a watery grave at Turakina. Coincidence brought Ironside to the same river, and on the same horse that had been the means of Mason's death:

> "I had my four Maori lads with me, with their pikaus on their shoulders, containing my bedding, provisions and other necessities for the journey. The tide was ebbing out, not much over the horse's knees; he stepped on one of those treacherous shifting sands when we were half way across, and his foot sank. In his terror he threw back his head, and as I fell forward on the horse's withers

[70] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 5 January 1846.

[71] NZ *Methodist,* 4 July 1891.

> from his stumbling, he gave me a fearful blow on my temple with his hard head, and I was at once rendered senseless. This was about ten o'clock in the morning, and it was nearly sundown in the afternoon before I began to recover my senses; so I was quite unconscious for six or seven hours. I found myself lying in my blankets by the side of a fire, on the banks of the Turakina, and my natives making a tangi [native lamentation] over me, thinking that I was dead. I had no recollection of the past — knew not where I had been nor what had happened to me, until, having asked the Maoris several questions, I gradually recalled all that had occurred up to the time of receiving the blow from the horse's head. It seems they had seen me falling from the saddle, and at once threw down their pikaunga [native packages], and rushed up just in time to catch hold of me as I was sinking into the water, and so preserved me from the same fate as the Rev. Mr Mason a year or two before. . . in the same river and from the same horse. . . . I was not much the worse next day, but judged it prudent to turn aside to the nearest civilized habitation, some thirty miles distant, up the river Manawatu, and rest for a few days before I took the longer journey home to Wellington. As it happened this was the house of the Rev. John Inglis of Scotland, who, with his colleague (Rev. James Duncan) was testing the practicability of establishing a Presbyterian Mission among the natives. . . . My good brother Inglis and his most excellent wife, carefully, lovingly ministered to my weakness, and I was able to pursue my journey home after a short but very happy sojourn with them." [72]

Meanwhile there had been a change of governor. Captain FitzRoy had left the colony in a shambles from his "flour and sugar" policy towards the Maori people and his disastrous fiscal measures from which the settlers, including both Ironside and Watkin, suffered loss.[73] In Watkin's view the new governor, Grey, had "the advantage of the dislike pretty generally entertained towards his predecessor." [74] Things could not be worse. FitzRoy had ordered the intruding Maoris out of the Hutt but they were still there. If the two races were to live together amicably it was essential now for the new governor to enforce respect for legitimate authority. Confrontation was imminent. Ironside assessed the situation:

> "The visit of His Excellency Governor Grey has been attended with very beneficial results and is satisfactory to both natives and settlers — except perhaps a few ultra among our own countrymen, who will be satisfied with nothing less than the total extermination of the native race. His Excellency has clearly shown that his object is to promote the prosperity of the Colony, not at the *expense* of the aborigines, but with their co-operation. Difficulties beset his

[72] ibid. It was believed that a nerve received a shock from the blow of the horse's head and caused a deafness which inaeased with the years.

[73] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 5 January 1846.

[74] ibid. 15 December 1845.

> path, which appear insurmountable chiefly owing to the fact that the reserves for the natives are neither sufficient in quantity, nor good in quality. This is a *fact* notwithstanding the broad denial of Mr Molesworth in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons. The natives of the Pah, Te Aro are greatly inconvenienced on this score, and are urging upon the Governor to make some provision for them and he will do it if the ultra supporters of the New Zealand Company will permit him.
>
> "There is also another difficulty — a turbulent chief of whom you have doubtless heard, Te Rangihaeata, will not acknowledge the authority of Government — speaks most contemptuously of Her Majesty, and as he is a Chief of high rank, he is a rallying point for all the disaffected, quarrelsome natives of the District. He is now at Porirua entrenched in a Pah with 300 men where he openly defies the Governor. He has along with him two natives who savagely murdered Mr A. Gillespie and his son up the River Hutt some three weeks ago, and he defends and shelters them from justice. I need not say that our own people at Porirua had nothing whatever to do with these proceedings. They have sent to him begging him to give up the murderers to justice, but he sent back the messenger, saying that the next one that came should be tomahawked. The Governor is very unwilling to proceed to extremities, but what is he to do? Unless the well-disposed natives and settlers are protected there will be no living in the place. His Excellency has proclaimed the District under Martial Law and had sent 250 soldiers over to Porirua to form an encampment. This has unsettled the minds of our people and they tell us they will remove again. We have urged upon them to remain. They evacuated Cloudy Bay because of these troubles, and if they return they will be getting embroiled with the settlers there. His Excellency moreover will protect them in their position at Porirua if they remain quiet. We therefore advise them to do so and hope they will listen to us. The great point will be for the Governor to find out the golden mean — treat the natives fairly and honestly but it will never answer to go beyond the line either to one side or the other. Now I greatly fear lest by undue clemency he should only render the settlement of affairs more difficult in the future. . . . Fathers and Brethren pray for New Zealand! It is in a difficult position." [75]

Martial law had been proclaimed. The intruders in the Hutt Valley had been expelled and later visited by the governor at Porirua. Te Rauparaha warned Major Richmond and Major Last that an attack would be made on the Hutt. The *Spectator* alleged that Major Richmond was repeatedly and deliberately warned that an attack was contemplated.[76] Te Puni of the Ngati Awa sent messengers to Porirua to obtain information about the movements of the rebellious Maoris under Te Rangihaeata. In

[75] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 28 April 1846.

[76] NZ *Gazette*, 23 May 1846.

early May he offered the services of his tribe to keep a watch on the Hutt area and, if they were provided with arms and ammunition, volunteered to resist any attempt at intrusion into the Hutt Valley.[77] Considering matters to be well in hand, Major Richmond declined Te Puni's offer. With Te Rauparaha neutral and with 250 soldiers stationed at Porirua, one hundred at Wellington and a small detachment of forty-three at the Hutt, he was sufficently confident of being able to deal with any rebellion. He therefore disbanded the militia in Wellington, reduced the Hutt militia to twenty-five men and dispensed with the services of Mr Turnbull, the only acting officer, leaving the men at Taita under the command of a sergeant. Only the militia at Thorndon and Te Aro remained unchanged. [78]

At this time, 1846, the majority of settlers were well disposed towards the missionaries. The large chapel at Manners Street was crowded. One hundred sittings were let and more pews were wanted. The Sunday school anniversary at Easter passed off well and a day school was becoming established.

> "From our School Reports you will see that we are attempting to do something in the way of week day education. The Wesleyan Day School for children of all denominations bids fair to become a flourishing institution. There are now seventy five children of both sexes on the books. We have obtained a little local aid, and are looking for some from the Government. Our room is already becoming too small for us, and the Master says he must decline fresh pupils unless we enlarge our borders." [79]

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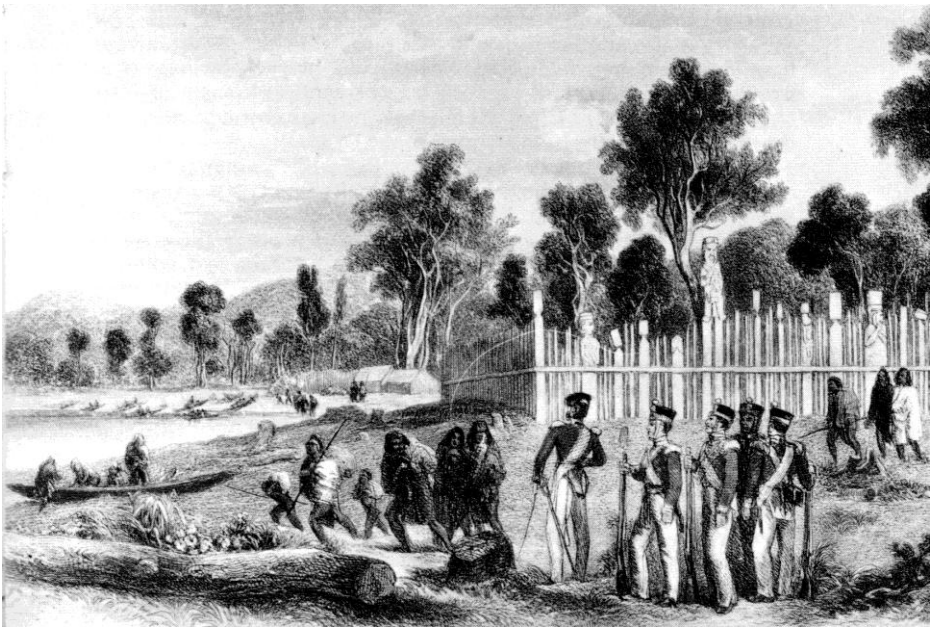
[77] ibid. 16 May 1846.

[78] The distribution of troops was believed to be:

Location	*Officers*	*Regiment*	*Numbers*
Wellington	Captain Hardy	58th	100
	Lieut. Page		
Hutt Stockade Bridge	Lieut. Herbert	58th	43
Porirua	Major Arney	99th	74
	Captain Armstrong		
	Lieut. Elliott		
	Captain Laye		
	Lieut. Pedder	58th	78
	Lieut. Hon. Yelverton	Royal Artillery	9
	Lieut. Fosbrooke	Royal Marines	25
Jacksons Ferry	Captain Russell	58th	34
(Porirua)		99th	29

The remainder were in Wellington under Major Last, senior officer in command. *(NZ Spectator,* 27 May 1846).

[79] Letter of James Watkin, 20 August 1846.



Fort Richmond in the Hutt Valley. Samuel Ironside was to play a leading part in averting serious troubles which may have culminated in an attack by the Maori tribes on Wellington city, during the 'Hutt War' of 1846. Troops of the 65th Regiment stationed at this fort were numbered in the congregation of the Hutt Wesleyan chapel.

On Saturday 16 May 1846 Te Rangihaeata struck. Kaiparetehau and some of the rebels entered the McHardies' farmhouse in the Hutt Valley and, cautioning silence, directed the family to leave. Mrs McHardie took shelter behind a fallen tree and watched the rebels creep up on Boulcott's farm.[80] On hearing a noise in the undergrowth the sentry fired in an attempt to rouse the troops sleeping in a tent nearby. Three volleys were poured into the tents in quick succession. The Maoris rushed forward and with loud yells tomahawked the four soldiers struggling to get out from under the collapsed canvas. Believing troops to be in Boulcott's house, several volleys were poured into it; one bullet passed through Mr Horsman's body and lodged in his back as he was getting out of bed. While sounding the alarm Bugler Allen's arm was nearly severed from his body. He fell to the ground. While lying in this mutilated state he seized the bugle with his other hand and attempted to warn his comrades in the barn. A second stroke of the tomahawk nearly severed his head from his body. Meanwhile Lieutenant Page cut his way from his quarters in the homestead to the barn where the troops were housed. He divided the soldiers into two parties of seven, each firing in turn and retreating to the barn to reload. In this way, they kept up a

[80] *NZ Spectator*, 23 May 1846.

continuous fire on the invaders. At the height of the engagement a party of seven men of the Hutt militia (who had been disbanded on the previous Monday), attracted by the noise of the firing, ran to the assistance of the troops. Believing that further reinforcements were close at hand, the rebels began to give way and were finally driven across the river, taking with them their dead and wounded. The loss of troops was six killed (four tomahawked) and five wounded. It was thought that thirteen of the invaders were killed or wounded.

On receiving news of this attack Major Last directed men of the 99th Regiment to proceed to the stockade at the Hutt River bridge, with instructions to Captain Hardy to advance with his men to support the troops at Boulcott's farm. Shortly afterwards, with Te Puni and Major Richmond, he went to the scene of action. Under protection of the standing bush the rebels kept up a straggling fire on the troops, who advanced in extended line to drive them out. In the town of Wellington Saturday was a "time of terrible commotion".[81] Families were flocking in from the Hutt; fathers and heads of families were sending their wives and children to Wellington as a place of safety. Captain Stanley despatched two of the *Calliope's* boats to Petone, one with arms for the militia and the other to bring away the women and children. The wounded were sent to Wellington Hospital, where James Watkin visited Horsman, Boulcott's servant, who was mortally wounded.[82] Rumours of all kinds were in circulation. At one time it was believed that a party of militia and police stationed at Taita had been cut off by the Maoris. Now it was said that the rebels were in the hills behind Kaiwharawhara; then they had landed at Ohariu (Makara) beach at the back of the town.[83] Everyone was on edge. Ironside did not believe these reports, but kept moving among the settlers. He recalled in later years:

> " . . . we were all excited and anxious. One evening during these scares, I was returning from a week night service at Karori — a pitch dark night — I could only just see my horse's head . . . (that was a lonely road in those days). I could scarce help feeling somewhat nervous. What if the reckless desperadoes had landed at Ohariu and were hiding in the gullies! When rounding a corner of one of the side cuttings I saw what I thought was a spark of fire a little distance ahead. . . I thought it was the light of a pipe of tobacco in full blast. My heart was in my mouth. The thought sprang up, 'The Maori rebels are camped there, waiting till the night is further advanced before they make their attack.' But home, wife and friends were on the other side of that fire spark, so commending myself to God, I rode cautiously along. It was the light of a glow-worm!. . . I was glad enough that night when my horse and I turned the corner of that winding Karori road and we came in sight of the lights in David Lewis' cottage on the hill

[81] Journal of James Watkin, 30 June 1846.
[82] ibid. 30 June 1846.
[83] NZ *Methodist*, 8 August 1891.

> to the left. I soon rounded Thorndon Flat and came cantering along the beach to the prolonged horseshoe line between Karori [Pipitea] and Te Aro." [84]

Various measures were quickly adopted for the defence of the settlement. Te Puni's offer of assistance was belatedly accepted, and with a little solicitation the old chief was persuaded to arm his tribe and fight against his old enemy. Accordingly, a hundred stand of arms were sent to Petone. On Monday 18 May, Maoris of Waiwhetu, Pipitea and Te Aro pas were also supplied with arms, and under the command of David Scott, were intended to form a guerilla corps, fighting the enemy after his own fashion and falling back on the troops for support or assistance. On Tuesday, the greater part of these Ngati Awa allies, about 250 men, assembled at Petone and then took up a position behind the stockade near Boulcott's farm.

Earlier, on Saturday, the rebels had robbed McHardie's home, killed his pigs for food and taken away or destroyed all his property. On Sunday the troops killed in the engagement were buried on the battlefield, while on Monday, under Rangihaeata's instructions, the rebels returned to Porirua where Rangihaeata was busily strengthening his pa at Pauatahanui, from which he intended to send out raiding parties to kill and plunder in all directions. The *Spectator* was now satisfied with the goodwill of the Maori allies but dissatisfied with the performance of the superintendent, Major Richmond. On Monday 18 May at 8pm a public meeting was called at two hours' notice for the Aurora saloon. Captain Daniell was voted to the chair and a notice of censure of the superintendent was replaced by an amendment calling on Major Richmond to enlist the whole male population in defence of their lives. The amendment was carried but fell to the ground for want of men willing to confront the superintendent. Mr J. Wade then proposed that a group of twenty- five men, not members of the executive government, be elected to form a committee of public safety whose duty it would be to take measures for the protection of the settlement until officials in whom the public had confidence, could be appointed. The following evening a large body of Te Aro residents proceeded with J. Wade and J. H. Wallace to Major Richmond's house and requested him to issue them with arms and ammunition. These were 'supplied from the Thorndon fort. Returning to the Aurora tavern Wallace, Wade and several others took temporary command for the night. About sixty volunteers were sworn in as special constables, and pickets were stationed to watch Te Aro and the outskirts. The next day the Te Aro Volunteers met at 4pm and elected officers in order to secure the town against sudden attack. A strong line of pickets — soldiers, volunteers and militia — encircled the town and extended some distance along the Karori road, while a detachment of militia was stationed to protect the powder magazine. The settlers at Karori and Porirua were also armed, and from the number of men carrying weapons it was obvious that the town and villages were preparing for war.

[84] ibid.

For his part Governor Grey was petitioning Britain for 2,500 troops for New Zealand and suggested that a Maori police force should be established. As a result the Royal New Zealand Fencibles was formed and 900 additional troops were sent from New South Wales, on the understanding that as soon as it was possible part of the regular troops were to be replaced by a well organised local militia and a force composed of Maoris. [85]

Throughout these disturbances, Ironside and Watkin continued to visit the settlers scattered over the countryside and the Maori pas in which their people lived. Although not all the Maori people were Wesleyan, those who were formed a significant percentage of the whole and the missionaries could move in and out among the villages secure in the support and confidence of their followers, but not without danger.

> "On one occasion I had what I believed to be a narrow escape. On a winter Sunday afternoon, just at dusk, I was returning from service at our Hutt Chapel near the bridge. Passing through the bush that then was between the bridge and the Pitone beach, I was startled by a sudden shaking among the scrub, and my horse sprang aside; just then a horseman rode up on his way home from town. 'Good night, sir.' 'Good night.' 'Did you hear that rustle in the scrub?' 'Yes; what was it?' 'I don't know — some mischief I think.' That same night — a few hours later — a poor settler was tomahawked at his hut, a mile or two away. I think his name was Gillespie. Fortunately this assassin was taken, tried, convicted and executed. While he lay in prison, he confessed that on the night he murdered Gillespie, he expected to have had a *rangatira pakeha.* He was secreted in the bush, lying in wait, and when he heard a horse coming along he hurried out to cut the rider down; but just then another rider was coming up so that he was disturbed and had to steal away." [86]

On one of his visits to the Kapiti coast Ironside had reason to suspect Te Rauparaha of duplicity and warned him that he would surely get into trouble with the government if he was not open and honest. "Oh no," said he, "Governor won't touch me. I know more than you do." From correspondence intercepted in July[87] it became clear that Te Rauparaha was implicated in Te Rangihaeata's rebellion. Not long afterwards the *Driver,* man of war, visited his Porirua pa, the blue jackets quietly surrounded it, and the old chief was taken and kept prisoner on board until peace was restored.[88]

If it was difficult for the superintendent, Richmond, to accept the offer of assistance from Te Puni in the Hutt, it was more difficult for the public generally to accept the

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[85] *NZ Gazette,* 26 July 1847.
[86] *NZ Methodist,* 8 August 1891.
[87] Journal of James Watkin, 27 July 1846.
[88] NZ *Methodist,* 8 August 1891.

help of Puaha. He was a nephew of Te Rauparaha and kinsman of Te Rangihaeata; he lived at Porirua, where Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata also lived and he had been present at the Wairau tragedy. These facts made him not only suspect in the eyes of the public, but also an object of apprehension. Public uneasiness was voiced by A. McDonald in an inflammatory letter to the *Gazette* of 1 August 1846. McDonald clearly saw Puaha as on trial for loyalty, and proceeded to publish allegations damaging to his character. In his eyes, Puaha was a "villain" and a "miscreant" whose hands were "still red with the blood of your countrymen." Ironside immediately came to the defence. He appealed to every whaler on the coast who had lived among the Kawhia people asking whether they knew a more quiet, unassuming and inoffensive man than Puaha? He had been among the first to offer his services on 16 May, after the very day of the Hutt attack, and Ironside believed that had Puaha and the soldiery at Porirua been able to coordinate their operations with those of the soldiers and militia in the Hutt, Te Rangihaeata would long since have been brought to justice.[89] Ironside took up the matter in the pulpit on Sunday morning. This provoked further correspondence from McDonald. Finally Ironside made a point by point reply in the *Spectator.*[90] This was much more than a baffle of words. The character of a friend was being attacked in his absence, and the shattering of his confidence in British justice could spell disgust and the withdrawal of his assistance in Port Nicholson's time of need. The safety of the settlement was at stake. What few realised was that the Wesleyan mission had made a deep division within the Ngati Toa tribe. Te Rangihaeata represented the old ways and values; Puaha was given to the new ways and values. He had been a close friend of Ironside ever since he had begun meeting in class at Ngakuta in 1841. He had pleaded for the peaceful settlement of the Wairau dispute. He had begged Te Rangihaeata to surrender murderers whom he was sheltering from justice. He clearly supported the good faith of the Treaty of Waitangi. Ironside believed the facts should be known and justice done to one who had long been a friend of the missionary and who advocated the rule of law for both races.

After Te Rauparaha had been taken into custody, Te Rangihaeata and his followers were thought to have withdrawn into the vicinity of the Hutt. A mixed force of militia, armed police and friendly Maoris moved from the Hutt to Pauatahanui, sweeping the country as they went along, and on arrival took possession of Te Rangihaeata's pa. This action completed the line of outposts between the Hutt and Porirua and effectually prevented the return of the rebels to the Hutt district. Te Rangihaeata eluded the operation and moved into the Horokiwi Valley. Again he was pursued, and in escaping left behind Bugler Allen's brass bugle which the Maoris had played in the evenings to taunt the nervous settlers in the surrounding countryside. They retreated to a stockade on a spur of heavily forested hill, which fell away precipitously on both sides and had to be approached by a path so narrow that only a few men could walk

[89] NZ *Gazette,* 5 August 1846.
[90] ibid. 12 August 1846.

abreast. Among the rebels killed on this occasion were Te Oro and Papuke, the murderers of Richard Rush at the Hutt. The Maori allies proposed building a pallisade around the stockade and starving the rebels out but on 13 August they escaped. Puaha sent the women back to the stockade and prepared to pursue the others. Efforts were made to drive them into open country; the Waikanae chiefs were alerted; eight who had come down from the hills to obtain food were captured. Among these was Ko Te Kumate whose trial, conviction and release resulted in the Gilfillan murders at Wanganui in 1847.[91]

By now the fighting was in the Wanganui area, and as Wellington settled to a more ordered existence, the circuit took shape. Towards the end of November 1845, a missionary society had been formed during the visit of the general superintendent, Walter Lawry.[92] Ironside and Aldred had preached the morning and evening missionary sermons on the Sunday, and on Monday 3 August, J. J. Peacock, a Sydney merchant, took the chair. The usual resolutions were moved and passed and seven pounds, ten shillings was taken in the offering. Ironside was of the opinion that if the chapel was debt free the church could support at least one of the ministers. Indeed "the tokens of prosperity are much more distinct and cheering among the settlers." The missionaries were happy to record an increase of about forty members during the year, and several more were on trial for membership. The congregations were large and attentive and the cause generally rising and prosperous. Six hundred and forty people attended worship in the three chapels and four other preaching places, and there were 118 accredited members. There were twenty- four teachers instructing two hundred children in four Sunday schools.[93]

There was a day school of sixty scholars under one teacher, and in filling preaching appointments the two ministers were assisted by five local preachers, and six class leaders helped in the pastoral care of the congregation.

In the Maori work there were eight chapels and seven other preaching places, thirty Sunday school teachers, twenty-five local preachers, thirty class leaders, 400 accredited members, and 1,000 who attended public worship. In the Cloudy Bay area there were nine chapels, ten Sunday school teachers, twenty local preachers, twenty class leaders, 206 members, 230 meeting in Sunday schools and the same number attending public worship. Unfortunately Ebenezer Chapel had been blown down during a south-easterly gale in June 1846.

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[91] *NZ Journal,* 21 November 1846.

[92] This was held during the district meeting.

[93] These were:

Wellington	100 scholars	12 teachers,
Hutt	60 scholars	6 teachers,
Karori	30 scholars	3 teachers,
Porirua Road	20 scholars	3 teachers.

At the Hutt the chapel was being enlarged to double its size and there was hope of starting a day school.[94] Among the Maori people the war had done much damage. Village life had been disrupted; some of the men were still at the war; many were away working on the roads and were either unable or unwilling to return to the kaingas for Sunday. The imprisonment of Te Rauparaha had caused much dissatisfaction among the people attached to him.

During 1846 Ironside completed the translation into Maori of John Wesley's sermon "The Almost Christian", and was instructed by the district meeting to prepare for publication a Maori translation of Wesley's sermon "On the Education of Children", and a brief history of Wesleyan missions in New Zealand.[95]

Meanwhile the signs of war were evident. The military garrison was still in residence. The Hutt church benefited by the attendance at worship of troops stationed at Fort Richmond and, in Wellington, the Manners Street congregation was enriched by the presence of men such as Barrack Sergeant Lovell who was a local preacher in the circuit. The settlers generally enjoyed the weekly concerts of the band of the 65th Regiment.

In mid-July 400 troops and 600 Maoris were locked in battle at St John's Wood, Wanganui. Two soldiers were killed, one mortally wounded and ten less seriously wounded, with an equal number of casualties among the Maori people. But it was the death of Captain Richards, commander of H.M. colonial brig *Victoria* that brought Wellington to a standstill. While attempting to cross the bar of the Wanganui River on Friday 30 July 1847, a roller capsized their boat, tipping her crew, Captain Richards and Mr Power of the government commissariat, and one hundred and eighty pounds of soldiers' pay into the water. The funeral took place on 3 August. Major Richmond, Mr Justice Chapman and Mr Strong were the chief mourners: Colonel Wakefield, Mr St Hill, R. M. Major Baker, E. E. Grimstone and Samuel Ironside were the pall bearers. They were followed by the Wellington crew of the *Victoria,* officers of government, ministers of the churches and a great body of the inhabitants of the town. As that mournful band wended its way to the Bolton Street cemetery, did Samuel Ironside think of Captain Richards chairing the first missionary meeting at Ngakuta when he came to collect the interpreter and witnesses for the trial of Richard Cook? Or did he think of Captain Richards' speech at the laying of the foundation stone of the Manners Street church? All ships in the harbour had their flags at half mast and the stores on the beach were closed in respect.[96]

Away in the forests of Rangitikei, Te Rangihaeata had set himself up as "Governor Rangihaeata", burning down Dr Best's house and taking possession of 1,100 of

[94] Journal of James Watkin, 14 December 1846.

[95] Minutes of Translation and Printing Committee, 5 March 1846.

[96] *NZ Gazette,* 4 August 1847.

Skipworth's sheep. A few days before he had stopped sixteen head of Wait's cattle which were being driven to Wanganui, Caverhill, the drover, was detained several days, but set free to return to Wellington on condition that he took back to Manawatu ten bottles of rum, ten pounds of tobacco and sundry other articles! And with the "message boy" Te Rangihaeata sent the taunting question — "Is there any grass around Government House because I intend driving the sheep down to graze upon it!" [97]

Meanwhile Wesleyan influence was spreading. Whatever the fears about the loyalty of Te Puni and Puaha might have been, both had proved to be the staunchest of allies in the struggle for law and order in the interests of both races. In August 1847 the public addressed their congratulations to Lieutenant-Governor Edward John Eyre upon his appointment under the new constitution for New Zealand. The Wesleyan body — the ministers, with Thomas Cayley, William Fisher, Charles Hunt and David Lewis — presented their own address, a sign of growing strength and confidence and concern for the welfare of the settlement and of the colony.[98] Both James Watkin and Samuel Ironside were named as managers of the Wellington Savings Bank,[99] and along with Wallace, Waters and Fitzherbert, in rotation attended various places at set times to receive deposits.[100]

After a chequered early career the Mechanics' Institute was revived and at the annual meeting of 1848,[101] Samuel Ironside was elected to the committee, serving with Messrs E. Stafford, W. Norgrove, James McBeth, W. Spinks, G. D. Monteith, J. Woodward, R. Hart, J. Marriott, J. Stoddart, W. H. Hellard and H. B. Sealey, under Mr Justice Chapman (president).

But it was through inter-church affairs that Samuel Ironside began to show his strengths. From the beginning of the settlement there had been cordial relationships between all ministers and congregations, with but few exceptions. The exclusive excluded themselves. Ironside describes that ministerial company:

> "There was the Rev. John MacFarlane, the first minister of the Established Church of Scotland. His church was a somewhat rude and rough erection of raupo but there was a numerous company of intelligent worshippers. Mr MacFarlane was an able and eloquent expositor of the truth. There was Jonas Woodward of the Congregational Church, a man of Catholic spirit. He was one of the best accountants of the city, and managing clerk of one of the principal

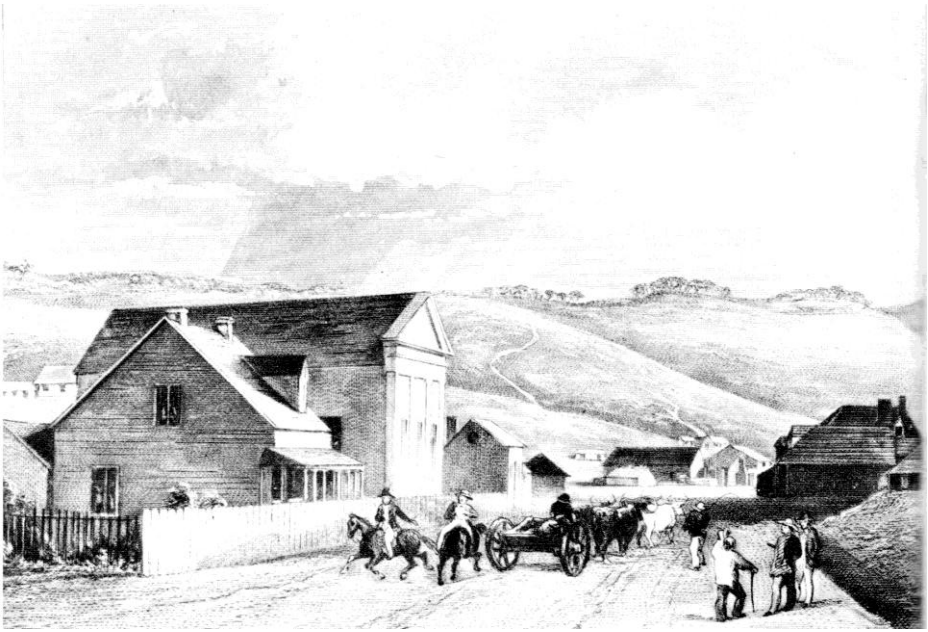
[97] *NZ Journal,* 2 December 1848, p. 281.
[98] NZ *Gazette,* 18 August 1847.
[99] ibid. 31 July 1847.
[100] James Watkin was possibly a member of the superintending committee appointed to consider the draft of the Savings Bank Ordinance. *NZ Gazette,* 31 July 1847.
[101] *NZ Journal,* 2 December 1848, p. 281.

> merchant firms of Te Aro. Diligently engaged all the week in the duties of his office, he devoted the whole of his Sabbaths voluntarily to the Church and Sunday School of his denomination of which he was founder and mainstay . . . He assisted at the origin of the first Temperance Society, and took a lively interest in all its proceedings. We joined together at the foundation stone laying of the first Rechabite Hall on Lambton Quay. . . . There was John Inglis, who with his colleague James Duncan, came out under the auspices of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland. . . . It was their object to establish a mission among the Maoris and for this purpose Mr Inglis made extensive journeys through Maoriland. But finding the field fully occupied by the Church of England and the Wesleyans . . . he reported to the . . officials of the denominations at Home that it would be a waste of labour and money for them to establish a separate mission. With this view he left his colleague Duncan at the temporary station they had formed on the upper part of the Manawatu River and came to Wellington, meanwhile ministering to the Presbyterians who were 'as sheep without a shepherd' . . . and waited for an opening to the Foreign Mission work.[102] While in Wellington he threw himself into every scheme for the good of the city — Sabbath observance, Bible and tract circulation and Christian Temperance and whatever was likely to benefit the people socially and religiously. . . . There was Henry Green, a warm hearted Primitive Methodist brother, but not the first of that denomination to preach in Wellington. Robert Ward was the pioneer. . . . It was the Easter of the year in which he arrived in Wellington that I held a camp meeting service in Cuba Street, Te Aro. . . and Mr Ward was with me and did good service. But Henry Green was the first Primitive Methodist stationed in Wellington. He at once gathered congregations at Thorndon, Te Aro, at the Hutt, and away on the Porirua Road at Tawa, a small settlement some miles beyond Johnsonville where our little church was built. His wife was a helpmeet for him in his pulpit and pastoral work . . . [Then there was] the genial, warm-hearted . . . Father O'Reilly in charge of the Roman Catholic church. . . . Although he was much opposed in certain religious views, we had, now and again, pleasant conversation. . . I remember I wanted him to join us in an organised protest against Sabbath desecration, which was growing prevalent. He agreed it was an evil, but, said he, the poor miserables will have to suffer enough for that and other sins bye and bye; let them enjoy themselves while they may!" [103]

It was this group — excluding Father O'Reilly — which began to express their sense of unity in the faith through the formation of a branch of the Evangelical Alliance. Under the leadership of James Watkin a public meeting was called for 17 September

[102] After some time he joined Dr Geddes, John C. Paton and other ministers in the New Hebrides.
[103] NZ *Methodist*, 6 June 1891.

1848 in the Wesleyan chapel. The Reverend J. Inglis was voted to the chair and the story told of how the alliance had been formed in England in 1845. The aim was simple — to promote mutual confidence and friendly feeling between the denominations, and to give greater strength to the various agencies of the different churches. It was further pointed out that the meeting of the leaders of the different denominations had had beneficial personal and denominational results.



The Wesleyan Chapel and mission house, Wellington, 1848. The foundation stone of the chapel was laid by Governor FitzRoy on 27 January 1844. The chapel was so damaged by earthquake on 16 October 1848 that it had to be demolished. Painting by S. C. Brees. *Alexander Turnbull Library.*

James Watkin moved the setting up of a Bible Depot in Wellington; Mr Woodward wanted to establish an agency for the London Religious and Tract Society; Samuel Ironside advocated the establishment of a monthly religious periodical to disseminate information about the principles and progress of religion. Before the meeting closed a committee of ministers and lay people was set up to carry out, as far as possible, all of these objects. The magazine duly appeared on a monthly basis, and John Inglis and Samuel Ironside were joint editors. “It was a humble effort. . . . There were original articles on catholic principles, essays, religious biographies, and of course, a poet’s corner, Reports of Church meetings. Scissors and paste were used freely in culling news from Home. Interesting and amusing anecdotes for the young. Altogether it was a varied and attractive bill of fare for our people, and it demonstrated our unity in the

faith." [104] On occasion pulpits were exchanged all round, devotional meetings were held in common and, under the leadership of James Watkin, an ambitious course of lectures aimed at explaining and commending the Christian faith was embarked upon. The programme was as follows:

11 July 1848 "The Genuineness, Authority and Inspiration of the Bible," James Watkin.

18 July "Miracles and Prophecy," Samuel Ironside.

25 July "The Internal Evidence for the Inspiration of the Bible," James Duncan.

1 August "The Harmony between the Works and Word of God: of True Science not Opposed to True Religion," John Inglis.

8 August "Experimental Evidence for the Inspiration of the Bible," Jonas Woodward.

15 August "The Sources of Christianity in the First Ages of its Promulgation." "A Proof of its Divine Origin." Samuel Ironside.

22 August "The Immortality of the Soul," James Watkin.

29 August "The Resurrection of the Body," John Inglis.

5 September "The Future State of Rewards and Punishments," James Duncan.

These lectures were advertised in the daily papers and had a popular appeal. The selection of topics reflected the theological issues of the day and the evangelical leanings of the speakers, but the programme also provided a common platform from which the majority of the churches could speak to the community. [105]

In some ways the colonial churches were simply reproducing patterns of ministry similar to those of their homeland, England, which did not seem too distant a country. In other ways distance exacted a heavy personal toll. For James Watkin the need to return came with his father's death. To participate in the family estate Watkin was obliged to be in Britain by a certain date. Notification of this requirement arrived in Wellington just one month after the expiry date. He lost his inheritance. For Samuel Ironside the imperative desire to return to England came when he opened his mail on 14 April 1847. His father had died[106] and his mother expressed the hope that he would return to soothe her in her declining years. This wish urged him homeward. He

[104] ibid.

[105] That voice was to be important in 1849 when Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, proposed sending young offenders to New Zealand, in breach of H.M. Gov. promise that convicts should never be sent to this colony. Letters of James Watkin, 26 September 1849.

[106] Samuel fronside (senior) died at Sheffield on 21 October 1846 in his 69th year.

remembered that he was the child of her hopes and her prayers. He recalled how she had walked the streets for more than twenty years collecting for the missionary society's work. He remembered that he was the only one of the family attuned to her spirit in religious matters. "I beg to entreat you," he wrote to the mission secretaries, "that you will allow me to return and comfort my beloved, my *widowed,* mother." [107] It was not that he had lost all taste for missionary work or that he was putting his mother before the Head of the Church. He could as easily continue his ministry in England as in New Zealand. His colleague and chairman, James Watkin, approved of the contents of the letter and Samuel was hopeful of being able to return. In addition to this Isaac had petitioned the missionary society for Samuel's return as the estate also needed his attention.

The mission ship *John Wesley* arrived but brought neither replacement, nor any word from the missionary committee. Samuel requested the general superintendent to approve his leaving his post. Walter Lawry refused. Samuel wrote to the missionary committee again stating that a replacement could immediately engage in the European work in Wellington while he acquired proficiency in the Maori language. An English circuit "anywhere, however humble, on my native soil would suit me so that I could make a home comfortable for my dear mother." [108]

While he waited for a reply time passed quickly enough. The Maori people undertook to pay the balance due on their chapel at Te Aro that year, and sixty people contributed three pounds toward it in September.[109] The missionary society contribution from Wellington was generous. The time for the district meeting came and went. Still no answer arrived. On the anniversary of his first letter he wrote yet again, expressing his sorrow that other matters in his letters had been answered but not that which most concerned him. Protesting that his mother was not happy in the family where she was living and that she was still looking forward to his homecoming, urging remembrance of the undertaking that he would be entitled to return after ten years' service, arguing that sixty missionaries for sixty thousand Maoris was overstaffing compared with the ratio of ministers to population in Great Britain — with every sentiment of respect he pleaded his case and subscribed himself "Yours faithfully, Samuel Ironside."

Mary Ironside fretted for her son. She had her disappointed moments about the missionary society for which she had toiled over the years and for which she had endured separation from the child of her prayers. She recalled how she had dedicated him to missionary work and wondered at the heartlessness of the Church. Mails from London brought no news of Samuel's return. Letters from New Zealand spoke only of

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[107] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 14 April 1847.
[108] ibid.
[109] ibid. 7 October 1847.

his urgent desire to return and of his waiting for approval from London. Isaac was good to his mother and the house at Barbernook was comfortable, but it was not what she needed most. The year of revolutions came and went. 1849 followed and Mary Ironside was "in danger of receiving some spiritual hurt from the excess of this natural feeling". Her pastor, John McLean, wrote to Dr Bunting urging him to write some expression of appreciation of Samuel's service to allay her grief. She died on *7* February 1850, clear of mind and without resentment, but she never saw Samuel again. If Samuel and Mary had seen the letter written by Walter Lawry to the mission secretaries they would have known why there was no hope of returning.[110] It was flattering but hard headed in its intransigence:

> "I have no power to grant such a request, nor do I think a nine-years man should ask such a thing. When shall we learn to forsake *all* and follow the Master? Brother Ironside is a most valuable man, uniting in himself a good Maori and English preacher, a good pastoral man, and he is a *tried* man in the New Zealand work. God is using him to a great extent, and his work prospers in his hands: we cannot afford to part with him. . . . You may send three men out and not find one Ironside among them: and even if you do find one, that one will be four years before he will be of almost any value in the native work. Ironside is eloquent in the native language, and having that advantage it should be a very clear opening that should justify his leaving this critical, exposed and interesting Mission now that it has just reached its transition state. . . . My way is to hold hard, and keep the brother hard at work."

In spite of his restlessness, the work went from strength to strength. The district meeting for the southern section on New Zealand was held in Wellington in 1848. James Watkin was chairman and Samuel Ironside, secretary. Charles Creed and John Aldred were present, but William Woon was absent because of family illness. It was a small district, but the work was prospering. A town acre in Nelson with a small house upon it was recommended for purchase; a chapel had been built at Motueka; "an elegant native chapel had been built at Taupo [Porirua]; while in the Maori chapel in Wellington pews and a communion rail had been installed. For the settlers a small chapel had been built at Petre [Wanganui], while small weatherboard chapels were proposed for the natives at Takapuahia, Otakou and Port Levy. Chapels for the settlers were proposed for Taita and Waimea South; land had been given by Mr Marsden for a chapel and burial ground at Stoke; a town section had been given in Dunedin by Edward Lee, Esq., and a missionary was also requested for Banks Peninsula."

In the European department of the Wellington circuit there were now five chapels and six other preaching places, two day school teachers, thirty Sunday school teachers, seven local preachers, twelve class leaders, 200 members, 250 Sunday school scholars in four Sunday schools, and 140 day scholars divided between Port Nicholson and the

[110] Letter of Walter Lawry, April 1847.

Hutt. In the Maori department there were eight chapels, two other preaching places, thirty Sunday school teachers, twenty- five local preachers, eighteen class leaders, 350 members, fifteen Sunday schools with 500 scholars, the same number of day scholars and 800 attendants at public worship. In Cloudy Bay there were nine chapels, one catechist, ten Sunday school teachers, twenty lay preachers, eleven class leaders and 150 members. There were 200 Sunday school scholars in nine schools and 250 people attending public worship. In Maori and European work the number of members was increasing — the former only slightly — but a renewal of seriousness was apparent. Congregations were attentive and the Lord's Supper most appreciated, especially by the Maori people. The Maori schools were irregularly attended on account of so many men and boys being employed on public works. Some of these had disgraced themselves to the regret of the missionaries, but this might still have happened had they been idle at home. A large amount of the cost of the English schools had been borne by the missionaries themselves just as they had covered the debt on the Te Aro chapel and on the Manners Street chapel, but many poor children had been given the opportunity of some learning. Education was now regarded as of primary importance in promoting the work of God in the area, and the prospect of government assistance for educational purposes led the district meeting to designate Wanganui, Porirua, Motueka and Waikouaiti as areas for which this assistance should be sought.

It was a matter of regret that the Maori population was decreasing annually. As they said, "the leaves fall from the tree without being replaced." There was a marked disparity in the numbers of the sexes. Married couples who had two children were few. Of the children born, many died. It was pitiful to see congregations composed almost entirely of adults, and, on asking for the children, to be told, "They are not." Social changes and tastes were increasingly apparent. Though fond of a gregarious mode of living, there were many Maoris who owned substantial houses and took pride in their person and personal appearance. Most of those within reach of the settlements had some European clothing. Many had the entire number of garments, cap or hat down to hobnailed boots, and the females were not behind in the matter, with straw bonnets, bright shoes, shawls, mantles and silk gowns. The Te Aro congregation was quite respectable as far as dress was concerned:

> "You might mistake them for Gentlemen or Ladies, and be nearer the truth than folks sometimes are in London in their conjectures. There is a native ease about this people that some great men might envy. To procure these articles of dress, and other things deemed essential to civilisation, they labour hard. If this people is spared they will become civilised in much shorter time than the British were. . . ."

Nor was industry lacking:

> "The natives are to a great extent growing wheat, and other grain in imitation of the settlers, and in some districts a large quantity is produced; a few weeks since

> some of our people living about thirty miles off brought or rather sent, to this place wheat, which after deducting all charges of freight, commission etc. produced the sum of two hundred pounds! which sum now lies in the Bank in the name of Eriwini Waiti [Edwin White]. He has long acted as a Local Preacher, and in the New Zealand language would be called one of Mr Ironside's children. It is gratifying to witness the various signs of improvement, and it is a libel to say that the Missionaries take no interest in these things and have done nothing to promote these things!" [111]

All was in good heart, but Samuel felt that his work in Wellington was done. He requested a change of appointment. Much against James Watkin's desires the request was granted and it was decided that Samuel Ironside and John Aldred in Nelson should exchange spheres of pastoral responsibility. Samuel and Sarah were looking forward to the change. The winter had been unusually mild and the spring was rich in promise. There was peace in the land. All around were hopeful tokens of a prosperous season. The month of October brought with it frequent storms of wind and rain. The city was swept by three south-east gales in close succession. The wind blew with hurricane force: the rain descended in sheets. Few houses were proof against the tempests. Then the earthquake:

> "On Monday, the 16th [Oct. 1848] soon after midnight, at low water, a most violent concussion was felt, preceded by a fearful rumbling noise, as of a railway train driven at full speed. It was difficult, in the awful excitement, to say from whence, and in what direction the dread rumble proceeded. To me it seemed to come from the south-east in Cooks Strait, along Te Aro Flat, and away under the water of the Port, to Petone and the Hutt Valley. There was no more sleep for anyone after that fearful rumbling and shaking. In fact the earth was unquiet; throbs and tremors were almost continuous. . . . Daybreak revealed a city in ruins. The heaviest shock was felt on the flats, and along the beach; on the hills behind the shock was lighter. But the havoc was great; our 'holy and beautiful house' was shattered, no longer materially, at any rate, one of 'the bulwarks of the land' for it was at once officially declared, after examination, to be unsafe, and we had instructions to take down the handsome Grecian pediment on the front, for fear of accidents to passersby. . . . The Congregational and Primitive Methodist churches, and all other brick and stone buildings were wrecked. It was pitiable to walk round and see nearly every brick chimney that stood above the ridge board of the house cut off from the ridge as cleanly as though done with a sharp tool, and slewed round. Some of the freaks of the giant power on its way through the city were marvellous. At Te Aro, behind the church, there stood in a by-street, Dr Hansard's two storey brick house, and next to it, to the north, a wooden store, fitted up with fragile crockery goods. On the north side of Dr

[111] Letter of James Watkin, 22 February 1848.

Hansard's house there were stores of drugs, in bottles on the shelves, and the south wall of the crockery shop had shelves filled with delph [sic] ware. The doctor's medicine stores were smashed; all the contents of the drugs and chemicals among the broken bottles in an indescribable mixture. On the crockery shop side, not more than two feet apart, scarcely a plate, dish, or cup had been displaced.

"The great shock of Monday morning was followed at the intervals of three tides, about thirty-seven and a half hours, on Tuesday afternoon by another; and after a like interval of some thirty-seven hours, perhaps the most terrific of all, on Thursday morning about five. 'The earth shook and trembled' more or less during the whole intervening space of time from Monday to Thursday, and yet another concussion took place on the following Tuesday afternoon, when gradually *terra firma* was restored. There was great alarm among the people. . . . Some of our friends, with my dear wife and myself, took refuge from our wrecked homes with Mrs Watkin and family in the Mission house, a weatherboarded one, in Manners Street.

There were seven families in the Mission house, thirty two persons in all . . . Mr Watkin was away in Auckland. . . . My brother missionary from Waikouaiti, Mr Creed. . . with his wife and child, was in Wellington on a visit at the time. . . I was glad that he was with me to share in my responsibilities and perplexities. On the Tuesday afternoon when the second shock came upon us, he was meeting one of the classes in the study: that shock, which still further wrecked the church, came while the class was in fellowship.

The big eastern wall, only some sixteen feet from the room in which the meeting was held, vibrated from side to side in an alarming degree: if it fell it would endanger the life of everyone in the house. I was outside consulting with the builder and his men, who were taking down the large stones of the pediment in front. Some of them were on the scaffolding; I trembled for their lives, my heart was in my mouth as they swayed to and fro with the building. Very providentially the walls and roof maintained their position, so the dear women at worship were preserved, and the men of the scaffold were able to descend from their frightful position. . . . Then came the heaviest calamity. Mr Lovell, Barrack Sergeant, in charge of the commissariat stores in the large brick building on the beach, was there looking after the Government property under his care when the shock occurred. He had his two dear children with him: the youngest girl of four, and another a fine little boy of seven. The shock was so sharp and sudden, that, before they could escape, a brick wall fell upon them, and buried them under its ruins. The girl was instantly killed, the boy died the same night; Mr Lovell lingered for a day or two and then died, leaving a widow and two young children to grieve over their sudden and unexpected bereavement. He was a good Christian brother, and a most acceptable Local Preacher. . . . He had preached at

> Manners Street the previous Sunday. . . on St John xvii. 4 'I have glorified thee on earth; I have finished the work which thou gayest me to do'." [112]

Samuel's work in Wellington was also done. At Cloudy Bay it ended with the Wairau tragedy. In Wellington it ended shortly after the earthquakes which left the city in ruins. He encouraged the people to rise and build and helped with the work of the rebuilding committee but that work was to lie principally with his friend and colleague, James Watkin. On 11 February 1849 with his beloved Sarah and their two young children Samuel Eades and Mary Bradbury, (named after his mother), he embarked on the *William and Alfred* brigantine, 150 tons, under the command of Captain Tinley. Farewells were waved. She quietly slipped her moorings, spread her white wings and skimmed the shimmering waters of Port Nicholson, passed Pencarrow Head into the swift currents of the strait, and headed for Nelson Haven.

[112] *NZ Methodist*, 12 September 1891; 19 September 1891.

9

Nelson 1849- 855
The Happiest Years in New Zealand

Samuel Ironside visited Nelson several times before taking up his appointment there in 1849. This painting by Charles Heaphy shows Astrolabe Roadstead, Tasman Bay, in October 1841.
Alexander Turnbull Library.

Samuel Ironside was no stranger to Nelson although this was the first time that Sarah had been there. She knew that a warm welcome awaited them for among their belongings in the hold were the three volumes of Mant and Doyle's commentary on the Bible which had arrived in Wellington years before.[1] Inscribed on the flyleaf over the signature of Alfred Domett was the appreciation of the Nelson people for Samuel's

[1] The volumes originally belonging to William Curling Young, of the New Zealand Company, whose death by drowning in the Wairoa river in 1842 was a loss keenly felt by all the settlers. That it should be thought appropriate to give to Samuel Ironside the three-volume Bible belonging to one so universally loved, indicates the esteem in which Samuel Ironside was held. The volumes were later found in the vestry of St Augustine's Church, Neutral Bay, Sydney, in 1969 and returned to the Bishop of Nelson. Today they are lodged with Methodist archives in the Methodist Connexional Office, Christchurch.

services in burying the victims of the Wairau affray. It was with such sad memories and yet happy expectations that the Ironside family stood by the rail of the brig *William and Alfred* as she ran down the Boulder Bank, passed the wreck of the unfortunate *Fifeshire* lying on the rocks at the entrance to Nelson Haven, and came alongside the jetty to tie up. There were many friends with beaming faces ready to welcome them.[2] Bernard Gapper, circuit steward, clerk in H.M. Customs, was the first to greet them. A devoted Methodist from South Pemberton, he had been wounded in the hand at Wairau five years before, and had narrowly escaped with his life. There were old Yorkshire friends, Mr and Mrs Hough. Hough had been catechist at Patea among the Ngati Ruanui people and was now interpreter at the law courts in Nelson. Before long they were introduced to John Riley, another local preacher, son of a Methodist minister and educated at Woodhouse Grove School. His wife was one of the best class leaders in the circuit. William Andrews, one of the band of faithful men who had built up the church by starting services in a cottage on the banks of the Maitai River at the east end of the town, was pastor to the Wesleyans and affectionately known as "Bishop" Andrews. Others included Mr Hammond, Edward Green (who had begun Methodist preaching in Nelson and with whom Samuel had stood and preached in the open air), Benjamin Jackson, Mr and Mrs Lightband who lived on a little knoll overlooking the Maitai and Brooke Street rivers, John Hewitt, Adam Jackson, George Dodson and William Robinson. After hearty handshakes from a crowd of people the Ironsides were escorted from the wharf to the town. Ben Crisp would have given them a ride in one of his drays but as they preferred to walk, warm hearted Mr Gapper made little Mary comfortable in his arms and strode ahead, leading the way to his home.

To Samuel the improvements made since he was last in Nelson were immediately noticeable. Nelson now boasted three wharves — the NZ Company wharf at Green Point, that of J. N. Beit and Son at Auckland Point, and Otterson's jetty running 200 feet out into the channel of the Maitai. While the immigration barracks had disappeared, Morrison and Sclanders, Ottersons, Ridgway Loundes and Co and J. N. Beit and Son had opened warehouses or bonded stores in the port area. The town had a population of 1,331, while 1,758 people lived in the surrounding rural districts.

In the countryside the plough and the flail were never idle. Gardens and orchards were neatly laid out and 3,631 acres were under cultivation. Wheat, barley and oats were averaging thirty bushels an acre and potatoes eight tons an acre. In the fields cattle and sheep grazed, while horses, mules, goats and pigs were to be seen on almost every farm. Flour mills at Nelson, Waimea West, Gleniti and Riwaka ground the flour produced; three breweries malted the barley grown in the paddocks; two kilns burnt lime for the farmers; a coalmine at Motupipi kept smoke curling from the settlers' chimneys; rope hemp mills and rope walks and two shipyards served the increasing number of vessels using the port to carry the produce of the growing settlement to

[2] *NZ Methodist,* 10 October 1891.

distant markets. All the time sawmills at Waimea South, Gleniti and Motueka provided timber for the growing number of wooden houses in the town, and cleared more land for cultivation.

The Maori people lived in three main villages — at Wakapuaka, six miles from Nelson, at Motueka, thirty four miles from Nelson, and in Massacre Bay (Golden Bay) some fifty miles away. In all they numbered 1,426 souls and were known to be extremely peaceable and well inclined. Since the settlement of their land claims in 1844 they had made great progress in farming. Over 1,700 acres were under cultivation, most of it in wheat, but with smaller areas of maize and potatoes. Of cattle, horses and goats they had few, of pigs they had an abundance! For centuries they had visited Whakatu (Nelson) in the summer to fish; now they visited Nelson to trade their produce and were well aware of the effects of the imported grain on local prices and bargained accordingly.[3] Formerly they had camped on the beach in rough and half-open tents of sailcloth with bark on the floor:[4] now they were provided with substantial hostelries when the ships they both owned and traded with put into port.

The development had been quite remarkable. Throughout the area there were four Anglican churches, two Wesleyan, one Roman Catholic, one Presbyterian, and one Lutheran for the German community; while twelve day schools provided education for some 588 pupils under the British and Foreign School Society system, and 787 children were attending various Sunday schools. And for the immediate future designs were being called for the new town and for the Maori village, including a Maori chapel, at Waikawa.[5] But Nelsonians were aggrieved. Other provinces had roads — some leading nowhere — while Nelson's share of government expenditure for this facility was abysmally small. When bullock carts sank to the axles, and bullocks wallowed to their bellies in mud, on roads necessary to transport almost half of New Zealand's total output of produce, they felt they had just cause for complaint. In particular they wanted Nelson linked with the Wairau Plains by a route known to be thirty miles instead of the existing one hundred mile journey. As the number of squatters was expected to double in the next year the road to Wairau became much more important.

It was not until 18 March that John Aldred left Nelson for his new appointment in Wellington,[6] so the two men had time to converse at length about the state of the work. With the help of a valuable band of lay preachers, Aldred had laid a solid foundation for the church in Nelson, just as he had done in Port Nicholson. The Ebenezer Chapel, built by the United Christians, had been sold through straitened

[3] *NZ Journal,* 10 March 1849.

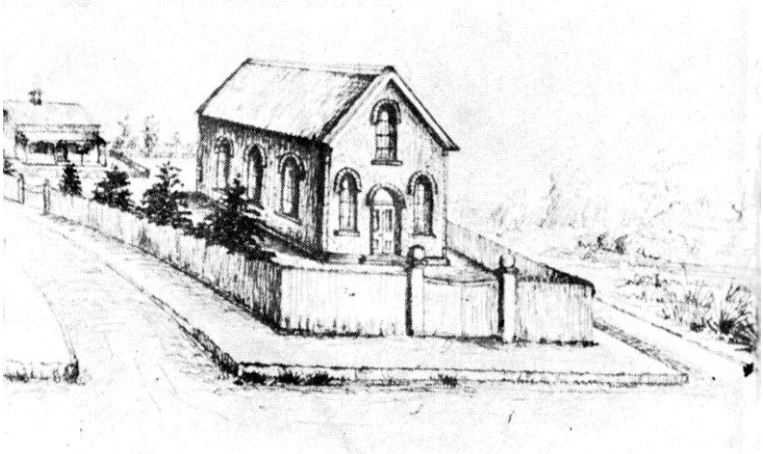
[4] Ruth Allan, *History of Port Nelson,* p. 12.

[5] *Nelson Examiner,* 23 June 1849.

[6] *Nelson Examiner,* 31 March 1849.

circumstances and the early hopes of non-sectarian Christianity came to an end[7] as one after another of the denominations stationed ministers in the town.

The early Wesleyans procured a place for worship from Captain Wakefield and found congregations encouraging. If Ironside's initial arrangements were carried out the local preachers took services from June 1842. The Wesleyans were probably the first denomination to be organised in the town. The foundation stone of the first Wesleyan chapel had been laid by Frederick Tuckett on 26 May 1843 and opened on 6 October. The building, standing on the corner of Bridge and Waimea Streets, was 47 feet by 27 feet with walls 12 feet high, constructed of bricks, the main body of the church and the front porch being roofed with shingles.[8] Following the English Wesleyan custom, the trustees provided pew sittings for fifty worshippers and free sittings for two hundred and fifty people. The whole did not exceed £170 to construct.



First Wesleyan church in Nelson. The foundation stone was laid by Frederick Tuckett on 26 May 1843 and the church was opened on 6 October. It stood on the corner of Bridge Street and Haven Road and continued in use until it was sold to develop the present church complex in Hardy Street. A pen and ink sketch by T. H. Foy. *The History of Methodism in New Zealand* by William Morley.

[7] *Nelson Examiner*, 27 August 1842. Octavius Hadfield visited Nelson in March 1842, and in May Rev. Charles Waring Saxon came as a settler. In May, John MacFarlane of the Church of Scotland called at the settlement, and in June 1848 T. D. Nicholson took up an appointment there. In June both John Whiteley and Samuel Ironside visited the town, and in March 1843 John Aldred took up his appointment. In August 1842 Bishop Selwyn arrived in Nelson with C. L. Reay whom he inducted as resident clergyman until R. Hobhouse arrived. Roman Catholic mission work commenced in 1844 with the visit of Bishop Pompallier. Lutheran work began with the arrival of the German immigrants in 1843 and the Society of Friends were represented by such men as Frederick Tuckett, J. Sylvanus Cotterell and I. M. Hill *(Nelson, A History* of *Early Settlement* by Ruth Allan, p. 175).

[8] *Nelson Examiner*, 7 October 1843.

It was said that Aldred was ambitious.[9] To erect a chapel capable of seating a quarter of the town population certainly was ambitious, but having an eye to future needs, and a pastoral heart, he followed up his opportunities. When in 1843 the Waimea Valley was taken over from the Maoris for farming, Aldred visited the Wesleyans who moved into the area and regularly took services with them from 2 April. He planned to build a brick chapel there and a wooden one at Motueka for the Maori people.[10] All this was the material form of the work going on in the hearts of the people through the impact of his ministry and that of his lay preachers. Prior to Aldred's arrival a Sunday school had been commenced in June 1842 by Mr Butler, assisted by William Andrews and Jonathan Meares, and when G. W. Lightband reached Nelson in October 1842, he was appointed superintendent.[11] In June 1843 Aldred had commenced a Wesleyan Sunday school. Shortly after Lightband's arrival, the first class meeting was held in his home, "Old Bethel" as it was affectionately called, on the west bank of the Maitai River, and Thomas Fry was appointed leader. In October William and Anne Hough arrived, adding more strength to the Wesleyan leadership. In addition to the Sunday school, a Wesleyan day school met in the chapel. This was commenced in June 1845 under Mr Moore who, as master, served both Nelson and Riwaka schools.[12] The hours of attendance were from 9am till noon and 2pm to 4pm. Terms were three pence per week. This school, which had to compete with the growing influence of the Nelson School Society, provided elementary education mainly for the children of those Wesleyan families who appreciated the benefits of a religious-based education enough to pay for it. In addition to the erected churches, services of worship were held in private homes at Spring Creek, Songers (Stoke),[13] Wakapuaka and Motueka. Aldred

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[9] Ruth Allan, *Nelson, A History* of *Early Settlement,* p. 175.

[10] The church at Waimea East was commenced in early March, 1845 *(Nelson Examiner,* 15 March 1845) and that at Motueka was opened in 1843. It was later blown down in a storm, but was replaced and a mission house built in 1849.

[11] Ironside found a Wesleyan Sunday school operating on his visit to Nelson in June 1842. He records: "In the afternoon at the Surveyors' Messroom a good company got together, also the children of the Sunday School to whom I preached . (Journal 19 June 1842.) Aldred records that Ironside commenced a Wesleyan Sunday school in June 1842, merged with that of the United Christians and that Aldred subsequently withdrew Wesleyan children from that venture. While approving of the United Christians joining together to keep their souls alive, and to help each other, both Ironside and Aldred had reservations about the activities of the local preachers of various sects. Ironside records that some of them regarded him "with a jealous eye". (Journal 23 June 1842), while Aldred states that the preachers administered the sacraments and did not hesitate to speak evil of missionaries. (Journal March 1843).

[12] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 25 December 1849.

[13] Mr Songer had been a personal servant of Captain Arthur Wakeffled, and a retainer in the Torlesse *family.* Shortly after Wakefield's death at Wairau, he settled on section 51 suburban south, and named the district Stoke, after Stoke-by-Nayland, the English home of the Torlesse family. He built a mud cottage and began to farm, growing barley and potatoes and running cattle and pigs. *Nelson, A History of Early Settlement,* Ruth Allan. p. 205.

covered the circuit either on horseback, riding twenty miles a day,[14] or by canoe, which was later replaced by a mission boat. As he was about to leave Nelson, Aldred drew up his final report to the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London. A copy of this fell into the hands of the editor of the *Nelson Examiner,* who took exception to some of Aldred's remarks. Nelsonians were touchy when he compared the size of Nelson (2,853) with Wellington (4,192) and Auckland (3,970), resented his comments about "the poverty of the place" and the fact that the Maoris no longer visited Nelson as frequently as they once did, and were indignant when he reported that the Wesleyan school had been closed for want of funds. The latter point was taken as a slur upon Nelson's educational efforts for "was it not widely known that more children in Nelson were receiving education that in any other place in the British dominions?" At the most recent annual assembly of the Nelson schools 800 children from eight schools (including the Wesleyan) had accredited themselves well before 360 friends, as they were examined by Mr Saxton, Dr Munroe, the Revs. T. D. Nicholson and F. H. Butt. This "very excellent system of education now spread over nearly the whole of the settlement".[15]

With this public rebuke Aldred prepared to leave Nelson to his successor. For Aldred it had been a time of unusual pressure. Relying upon appropriations for religious and educational purposes made by the New Zealand Company from the sale of land, and encouraged by Captain Arthur Wakefield's promise of an immediate advance from the £12,000 that would eventually be granted to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, Aldred had proceeded to build the Nelson, Waimea and Motueka (Maori) chapels. With Arthur Wakefield's untimely death at the Wairau, the building committee was in financial difficulties and Aldred had to fall back upon the Wesleyan Missionary Society to pay the bills or surrender the buildings to the contractors. In addition to a grant of £125 from the New Zealand Company, several fund-raising efforts realised £92 towards the £272-18-0 required to clear the debts. As the Wesleyan Missionary Society did not exist to assist colonial churches, the best it could do was to honour the debts incurred and debit the sum of £60 to John Aldred personally. Thus when Aldred referred to the extreme "poverty of the place", he was reflecting upon not only the plight of the large number of unemployed labourers in the community — who at times lived on sow thistles and docks — but also his own penury.[16] Sometimes for weeks he had scarcely a shilling in his pocket and several times had to borrow for the postage on his letters.[17] By the time Samuel Ironside arrived the debt had been paid and the seat rents were available for circuit income.

[14] Journal, 20 October 1847.

[15] *Nelson Examiner,* 9 December 1848.

[16] *Nelson Examiner,* 28 June 1851.

[17] Letters of John Aldred, 18 December 1848.

As Samuel Ironside assessed the situation in the circuit three priorities loomed large. The first was housing; the second was adequate pastoral care for both Maoris and Europeans; the third was to make the circuit self-supporting.[18]

Since coming to New Zealand Sarah Ironside had to put up with cramped quarters as guest in other missionaries' houses at Mangungu and at Kawhia, living in the corner of a chapel for most of the time she was at Cloudy Bay, and with a raupo mission house in Port Nicholson, which James Watkin described as a "wretched hovel" [19] (but which he does not seem to have done anything to replace). With no mission house to live in, two small children to care for, and with the Ironside family tradition of being good to their wives, and perhaps with some money from his father's estate, Samuel rented a very desirable residence situated on an acre of ground, fronting the Brook Stream. It was well fenced and stocked with fruit trees.[20] Here Samuel determined to settle until such time as the circuit might be able to provide a parsonage. And, since he was likely to be away from home caring for his flock scattered from Motueka to Wairau, Samuel was determined that Sarah should have company as well as help in the house. Dinah Sutton fulfilled both roles admirably until her marriage to George Parker in December 1851.[21]

The reorganisation of the circuit had been partially effected by the district meeting when William Jenkins, Maori catechist, was transferred from Cloudy Bay to Motueka, the largest centre of Maori population in the area. As a result of this Samuel Ironside continued to have personal oversight of the Maori people to the east of Nelson — Croisilles, D'Urville Island, Queen Charlotte Sound and the Wairau Valley, while Jenkins working under Ironside's supervision cared for those to the west. With such a vast area to cover, the urgent question was how best to care for both the Maori people, with whom Ironside had long and sympathetic associations, and at the same time to develop the work among the Wesleyan settlers to the point where it would be self-supporting, and to accomplish both with no such hurt as that experienced by John Aldred. All his family experience in accounting would be essential!

Ironside's 1849 ministry was immediately successful. He met with the Maori people "on the beach" when they came to Nelson trading their farm produce; he visited them at Motueka quarterly — in April, August and October — and on the latter occasion

[18] M. A. R. Pratt *(Nelson Centenary, 1842-1942)* follows William Morley *(History of Methodism in NZ* p. 377a) in stating that the Nelson chapel was paid for by a company grant of £125, the opening collection of £7.8.8 and a grant of £60 from the Wesleyan Missionary Society. John Aldred's correspondence shows that the missionary society made a loan to secure the chapel to the congregation but that Aldred was personally responsible for the repayment of the loan.

[19] Journal of James Watkin, 29 June 1844.

[20] *Nelson Examiner,1* June 1850.

[21] Nelson marriage register entry no. 91.

baptising three children of William and Catherine Jenkins.[22] His mana among them was high. Not infrequently Maori couples came to Nelson from Queen Charlotte Sound, Motueka or D'Urville Island to be married in the Wesleyan chapel.[23] Among the settlers there was an increase of about fifty members for the year and chapels at Motueka and Stoke[24] were opened without any cost to the missionary society. In all parts of the circuit there was peace and prosperity.[25] The Wesleyan day school was re-opened on 8 March in spite of John Aldred's statement about possible closure from lack of support, and a woman was employed to teach sewing on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. Nevertheless finance harassed the Nelson Wesleyans. To help meet this situation Ironside submitted to the New Zealand Company and the Wesleyan Missionary Society an accounting of what had been spent on religious and educational work in the area, and urged the missionary society to support his application for financial assistance from funds set aside by the New Zealand Company for religious and educational purposes. The vouchers showed the following:

Salary and Expenses of Rev J. Aldred,		
6 years at £150 p.a.	900	
Salary and Expenses of Rev S. Ironside		
1 year at £200	200	
Salary of Mr Jenkins, Catechist		
1½ years at £80 p.a.	120	
Total		£1,220.0.0
Salary Mr Moore, Day School Teacher		
Nelson and Riwaka, 4½ years at £15 p.a.	67.10.0	
Books, slates, Bibles, etc.	20. 0.0	
Mr Riley, Day School Teacher,		
2 years at Nelson, at	56. 0.0	
		£143.10.0
Chapel in Town	250. 0.0	
Motueka — Two chapels (First blown down), 1843		
and 1849, and mission house.	160. 0.0	
Richmond Chapel, 1845	45. 0.0	
Stoke Chapel, built 1849	30. 0.0	
Extra ceiling, fencing etc. of Nelson Chapel	55. 0.0	
		£540. 0.0
TOTAL		£1,903. 10.0[26]

[22] Nelson baptismal register, Nos. 419, 420, 421.

[23] Nelson marriage register, Nos. 81, 94, 95, 103, 106.

[24] Motueka, 20 November 1849 *(Nelson Examiner* 10 November 1849); Stoke, 9 December 1849 *(Nelson Examiner*, 1 December 1849).

[25] Letters to missionary society, 28 December 1849.

[26] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 28 December 1849.

The sum of £125 8s 2d from the "religious fund" of the New Zealand Company towards the cost of the Nelson chapel was acknowledged, but since Bishop Selwyn had already received £5,000 and the Free Church of Scotland had been assured of £150 for three years, Ironside urged the justice of the Wesleyan application in the light of the above expenditure. Further, since Nelson's financial independence would benefit the Wesleyan Missionary Society, he urged the secretaries on the spot in London to support his application for a grant proportional to the amount already spent by Wesleyan Methodism. The letters were posted and replies eagerly awaited, and the life of the community went on.

One of the major events of the year was the annual examination conducted by the Nelson School Society under whose auspices twelve percent of the children of the settlement were receiving some schooling, mainly through the efforts of the educated and philanthropic section of the community. The annual examination day was a public event of great importance:

> "The gathering of the children belonging to the various schools in our settlement, established principally through the exertions of Mr Campbell, and also the schools belonging to the Church and to the Wesleyans, for the purpose of undergoing their annual examination, took place on Wednesday last. At an early hour, bullock drays, laden with children, and covered with flowers and shrubs began to arrive in the town from the neighbouring districts, and by eleven o'clock, the whole had assembled on the green. The only District which failed to contribute its quota to the general muster was the Motueka, an unfavourable wind on the two preceding days having prevented the boats crossing the Bay. Many of the younger children attending the country schools were also not present, as the journey, in some instances of from fifteen to twenty miles, was considered too much for them. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, from 550 to 600 little voices joined in singing a preliminary hymn and the children then proceeded to the large booth which had been erected in Bridge Street for their reception, to partake of refreshment, in which pleasant duty they were joined by from 500 to 600 persons, who, in sixpences and shillings contributed £20 for admission. After the refreshments were removed, the children took their places on a series of elevated seats, in a semi-circular form, at one end of the building. The effect was now pleasing in the extreme. The booth, an erection 100 feet long and 50 feet wide, closely boarded to the height of six or seven feet, and only partially covered at the upper part and on the roof, but decorated within and above with flowers and beautiful shrubs, wore a lightsome and gay appearance. The broken sunlight, falling through the leaves upon so many well-dressed, clean, and healthy children, produced an impression not easily forgotten. There also stood assembled more than one third of the entire population of the settlement — representing fairly its poverty and wealth. Yet what a picture, compared with anything of the kind which could be produced in any part of

> England. What evidence was there of distress, of squalor, of disease — of misery in any shape? Within or without, nothing of the kind was to be seen, but on the contrary, the whole presented the appearance of general happiness and comfort. F. D. Bell, Esq. took the chair and examinations and exhortations followed." [27]

Meanwhile the educational waters of the town were beginning to simmer. From July there appeared in the *Nelson Examiner,* a series of articles which raised such basic questions as whether voluntary education had ever been universally taken advantage of? Whether the quantity and quality of voluntary education was deficient? Whether or not it is humiliating to be educated at the public expense? In every instance the answer was "No!" and the point was made that since teachers are poorly paid in the voluntary system, instruction was inferior. It was conceded that for the Maoris the government must still work through the churches which held an influence over the Maori mind, but for Europeans[28] there were "paramount reasons in favour of state education and none of any weight against it." [29] More specifically it was held:

> (a) that the state ought to give religious education if people wished it and a system could be devised in which the great bulk of the people acquiesced:
>
> (b) if not, the state must limit its education to secular knowledge, leaving ministers of religion to inculcate doctrines elsewhere than in state schools, and:
>
> (c) if sectarianism was admitted then ministers might give instruction as in the Irish system, but if not, then the teachers should give it.

Such conclusions radically challenged the system already operating. Following the precedent of the English educational system, Sir George Grey had made grants of money and land to the churches for religious and educational purposes. Although this system was seen to favour the Anglican Church, the churches generally were well pleased, and by this means had begun to establish schools for both Maoris and Europeans. The governor was reluctant to change. Nelsonians on the legislative council prepared an agenda for one of its sub-committees, and the issue became deadlocked. As the debate heated the governor was seen as a despot who like all despotic governments was unwilling to give full and ‚popular education "because such an act releases a power of self-destruction within a despotism",[30] In the *Nelson Examiner* he was lampooned as—

> Jove in his chair,
> Of the sky Lord May'r
> With his nods,

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[27] NZ *Journal,* 4 May 1850. Also *Nelson Examiner,* 29 December 1849.
[28] *Nelson Examiner, 7* July 1849.
[29] ibid. l4July 1849.
[30] ibid.

Men and gods,
Keep in awe.
When he winks
Heaven shrinks:
When he speaks
Hell squeaks.
Earth's globe is but his taw.
Cock of the school
He bears despotic rule,
His word
Though absurd
Must be law.[31]

Before the year was out the clergy were beginning to participate in the debate. At the laying of the foundation stone of the Presbyterian Church, the Reverend T. D. Nicholson, recently arrived from Scotland, spoke. He advocated teaching as a profession and therefore paying to get the best brains into it, espousing a system both Christian and unsectarian and recommended that the British and Foreign School Society system, as it was operating in Nelson, be adopted.[32] On the other hand Bishop Selwyn, in the course of his visitation of the South Island, stated that he believed the Church of England system of education was the best, and he would work to establish it, believing that others would also want this. In the meantime he cautiously conceded that "as far as he was able to judge, Mr Campbell's was the most desirable state which the country would admit of." [33]

In very strait financial circumstances, Ironside sought to make the Wesleyan schools as efficient as possible. The 1850 anniversary sermons were preached and the public examination of the scholars in scripture reading, arithmetic and recitations was held. A tea party capped all; leaving one shilling with the teacher to buy marbles for the boys, Ironside endeared himself to the youngsters.[34]

The Nelson Wesleyan school was a far cry from the Wesleyan Proprietary Grammar School which had been opened in Sheffield just prior to his sailing for New Zealand, but both offered an education on similar principles. The Scriptures were read to enable scholars to extract maxims and principles upon which character and behaviour could be modelled: catechism, containing a summary of moral and religious duty, together with a statement of evangelical doctrine, was taught; all within the context of worship which gave a sense of belonging to a tradition of faith and values rooted in the divine

[31] ibid. 24 January 1849.
[32] ibid. 18 August 1849.
[33] ibid. 8 September 1849.
[34] ibid. 1 April 1850.

will for man. By participating in all four it was expected that what the scholar learned with his head would be unified in his being and the student prepared for involvement in society by fulfilling his duty to God and man, finding joy in his own life and contributing to the welfare of the nation.

There was little time to enter into controversy. The Maori communities at Croisilles Harbour were visited in May and June, and in the midst of this Sarah Louisa Ironside was born on 4 June 1850. The one outside interest which Ironside indulged was membership in the Nelson Literary and Scientific Institution, where he had opportunity to meet educated people and keep himself abreast of developments in the world at large. At the annual meeting of the institute he quietly proposed that *Wesley's Philosophy* should be included in the books to be added to the library — although it may be feared that the seventy-nine volumes of *Lives of Individuals Who Have Been Raised from Poverty to Fortune* may have been better patronised by the majority of settlers!

From the beginning of 1850 the influence of the Total Abstinence Society began to be felt increasingly in the community. Like the Nelson School Society, the Total Abstinence Society was rooted in the concern of Christian people for the welfare of individuals and of the community. Its advocates closely linked Bible teaching with morality and followed the pattern of meeting which they had learned within the church — of doing business within the context of worship. Meetings for prayer were held in the house of Mr J. Packer, Bridge Street, at 4.30pm. Members of all the churches and friends of the cause were invited, and the newspaper advertisement of the meeting went on to say: "The most notorious drunkards in Nelson and the country around, will be also readily admitted, if tolerably sober and well disposed at the time." [35] Concern over drunkenness had been heightened by the death from excessive drinking on 19 April, of James Phipps who, with a man named Ellis, tried to see who could drink the most. They got into a fight from which Phipps fell and cracked his skull. Public feeling ran high. William Hough, one of Ironside's local preachers, publicly stated that he felt the publican should be prosecuted. By August, 200 people sat down to the fourth annual tea party where the comparative food value of a barley pudding and a gallon of ale were discussed. Several signed the pledge, and a course of fortnightly public lectures was planned to commence in December.

Among those most active in the Total Abstinence Society were William Hough and Ben Crisp (a rescued drunkard). It is not surprising that in the Church itself total abstinence principles were espoused from an early date. Ironside often wished its devotees were more temperate in their denunciation of others equally honest in their opinions and equally worthy members of the church, some of whom were hotel keepers, brewers, and maltsters. The point at issue between these two groups became the use of intoxicating wine in the Eucharist. Ironside reasoned with the total

[35] ibid.2March 1850.

abstinence advocates and spent many sleepless nights trying to avoid an open breach. Eventually he received a memorial signed by every local preacher on the circuit plan, by several of the leaders and by a number of members, asking him to allow the use of "teetotal wine" at the Lord's table. After long discussion at several leaders' meetings, a compromise was reached. If they would provide a proper wine from the juice of the grape, it should stand with the other on the table and be administered to them after the other communicants had been served. This worked fairly well for a few times when unfortunately, whether by accident or design, no port wine was provided. It was said the poor steward had forgotten it and the teetotal steward had ignored the neglect. To avoid a scene in the midst of the service Ironside proceeded to give the elements to his respected friend and senior circuit steward and his family. His wry looks on tasting the insipid, colourless mixture spoke his disgust, and his subsequent absence from the sacrament showed his lasting disapproval.[36]

Unfortunately this contentious spirit flared up again in connection with the new chapel at Motueka. William Jenkins, resident catechist, had been active in raising funds in Motueka, Nelson and the surrounding districts. For the opening celebrations a boat had been chartered to bring Nelsonians to Motueka. Circumstances made it impossible to give an accurate financial statement at the opening but, on a rough calculation, it seemed that £7 or £8 was required to open the chapel free of debt. In the enthusiasm of the moment those present dipped a little deeper into their pockets and left for home with the impression that the chapel was debt free. This was certainly Ironside's understanding.[37] On detailed reckoning afterwards this was found to be not so. The tea meeting had not been as profitable as anticipated: the contribution of the Maori people in potatoes, wheat and pigs realised considerably less than expected: the surplus provisions sent for sale in Nelson realised nothing: the expenses of the tea meeting were greater than budgeted for. All this resulted in a deficiency of £9.3.5. Ironside called for a full statement of the accounts. To aggravate the situation William Jenkins was due to leave Motueka. On hearing of this the builder summoned Jenkins before the magistrate to make satisfactory payment of his bill. For security Jenkins agreed to place the key of the chapel in the hands of Dr Greenwood, the magistrate, hoping that within two months he would be able to devise means of raising the deficiency.

Rumour in Nelson had it that Jenkins had misappropriated subscriptions. Ironside laid the matter before the chairman of the district, who authorised him to pay the debt still owing on the chapel but insisted that a full statement of accounts be tabled. Ironside visited Motueka. The detailed financial statement was presented. There was actually a balance owing in favour of Jenkins! This was paid in the presence of the magistrate. Thus Jenkins thought the affair would end. But rumour persisted. An unfortunate

[36]NZ *Methodist*, 24 October 1891.

[37] Letter to Wesleyan Missionary Society.

correspondence ensued in the *Examiner*,[38] and it appears that a correspondent who called himself "Fair Play" took some delight needling Jenkins in this affair — as he also did with Ironside in the later debate on education.[39]

In the midst of this unpleasantness Ironside 'was travelling extensively among the Maori settlements, baptising people at Motueka in August,[40] at Pelorus River in October,[41] and a party who had travelled up from Arahura on the West Coast in December.[42] Woven into the fabric of these activities was a concern for the men who had come to the colony with little capital but who wished to better themselves by taking up land. This led to Ironside becoming actively involved in the Nelson Working Men's Freehold Land Company. The idea of the company was to issue 6,000 shares at £5.4.0 each, to be met by payment of subscriptions of one shilling per week for two years, with an entrance fee of one shilling if paid by 8 August 1850. The capital thus accrued would then be used to purchase a block of land sufficient in size to contain at least ten acres for each share. The land would then be surveyed into as many lots as there were shares in the company. The trustees were Isaac Hall, Joseph Brougham, John Newman (chairman), J. P. Robinson, Robert Burn, Joseph Hargreaves, Isaac Hardy, John Kidson, Jabez Packer, John Riley, Richard Sutcliffe, George Taylor and John Watts. Samuel Ironside was appointed auditor, Richard Outridge secretary, and W. T. L. Travers, solicitor. Many of these were respected Wesleyans.

In June 1851 a special general meeting of shareholders in the Wesleyan schoolroom, resolved to call a tea meeting of shareholders and their friends to commemorate the taking up of the one hundred original shares in the company. This was held on 24 June in Mr Campbell's schoolroom in Bridge Street. An editorial in the *Nelson Examiner* referred to this as the "age of combinations", meaning that working men were learning the processes of combining their resources for personal and public advantage. In Birmingham, where the movement had arisen, where formerly whole families and even lodgers huddled in a single sleeping room, now artisans and mechanics were found occupying neat and wholesome cottages, were land owners, and had become

[38] *Nelson Examiner,* 12 October 1850; 19 October 1850; 9 November 1850.

[39] *Nelson Examiner.*

[40] Nelson baptismal register Nos. 464-469.

[41] ibid. Nos. 474-484.

[42] ibid. Nos. 486-488. Such was the continuing influence of the Cloudy Bay mission that Maori people from Arahura continued to travel to Nelson for baptism until 1853. Previously parties from Arahura had been baptised by John Aldred in July and October 1845, and in September 1846. Samuel Ironside baptised parties in December 1850 and in May and July 1853. In all, forty-six people from Arahura had been baptised by the Wesleyan mission between 1845 and 1855, the year Samuel Ironside left Nelson.

eligible to vote! [43] The political, social and moral advantages inspired both hope and enthusiasm, and appealed to Samuel Ironside as achieving similar ends to those worked for by Isaac Ironside with the Queenswood community. In addition, steps were being taken to apply the same principles to form a sheep association with the expectation of perhaps eighty head of sheep and £30 in money at the end of the scheme. Hopefully a working man might obtain a ten-acre block of land, a small flock of sheep and a monetary nest-egg to work with.

On 9 October 1852 the Nelson Working Men's Land Association was convened to consider an offer of land, but prices had soared to such an extent that on 14 December a special general meeting of shareholders was held for the "purpose of Winding up the affairs of the Company and the repayment of the amounts due to shareholders." Just three days before the winding up of the company, Ironside's name appeared among twenty-four signatories[44] calling for a public meeting to consider the approaching elections for superintendent of the province and for the members of the general assembly and provincial council. Above the public notice calling the meeting appeared another accusing Mathew Richmond of standing for high-priced land, high official salaries, nomineeism, high property qualifications for voters, irresponsible government and absolutism. Frustrated would-be land owners questioned: "Should we not stultify ourselves by voting for one who has proved always to be the willing servant of a despotic government?" A week later Mathew Richmond withdrew his nomination and the public meeting resolved that the only candidates that it would put forward for any position were those who had consistently aided the settlers and, among other things, would press for responsible government, the abolition of legislative nomineeism and for a low upset price for land.[45]

But this is anticipating too much. At the end of 1850 the circuit was in good heart. There was a brick church with a Sunday school and day school in Nelson, a weatherboard chapel with Sabbath and day schools operating at Richmond, and weatherboard chapels and Sunday schools at Stoke and Spring Grove. There were chapel, day and Sabbath schools for Maoris at Motueka, schoolrooms at Wakefield and Wakapuaka, a "preaching room for all denominations at Waimea Village, while services were held [presumably in private homes] at Appleby, Newark Green, Riwaka, and Massacre Bay". The membership was distributed as follows: Nelson 60, Richmond 14, Stoke 11, Spring Grove 20, Waimea Village 5, Appleby 3, Wakefield 6, Wakapuaka 3, Newark Green 5, Motueka 20. The peak membership of seventy-eight for Nelson was reached in January 1850. While there was no choir, congregational singing was led by Mrs Carter and her daughter [44] whose splendid voices were well to the fore with suitable tunes which the congregation sang heartily. There was a certain

[43] *Nelson Examiner,* 28 June 1851, 1 December 1852.
[44] NZ *Methodist,* 17 October 1891.
[45] NZ *Methodist,* 30 May 1891.

dignity in the worship: Wesley's abridgement of Morning Prayer was regularly used, the Te Deum sung, and the preacher gowned — and when the gown wore out he was presented with another! [45] Nevertheless Ironside felt the work had reached a plateau. The circuit was extensive. With one hundred miles of coastline and back country in places reaching twenty miles inland, in which there were more than 6,000 inhabitants of both races distributed in a score of hamlets, Ironside felt the frustration of spreading his ministry thinly over a wide area. On the other hand opportunities were limited. Other churches were also operating in the area. There were two Roman Catholic priests, two Anglican priests, a Presbyterian and a Baptist minister, and a pastor to the German settlers in the Moutere Valley.

Nevertheless by 1851 there were 130 full and accredited members, two day schools with two teachers and seventy-five scholars and a Maori school at Motueka with thirty scholars. Sunday school returns showed 174 scholars in the Nelson area and 300 in Motueka. In educational effort Ironside was content to cooperate with the Nelson School Society in all areas except those in which a Wesleyan day school had been established. In the Nelson Wesleyan School there was encouragement. The annual examination in February 1851 was conducted by His Excellency Sir George Grey who, to the gratification of the minister and the teacher, stated his intention of giving a donation towards the erection of a new schoolroom, and to the delight of the forty-one pupils left with the teacher a sovereign to be divided among the children! [46] Ironside was now firmly accepted as father and pastor to both Maori and Pakeha Wesleyans, and this was not more apparent than in the missionary meeting of 6 October 1851. Presbyterian and Baptist ministers might preach the missionary sermons on Sunday, but it was Ironside's frequent presence in the Maori villages of the district that brought Wesleyan missionary work right into the midst of the meeting. "One very pleasing feature of the meeting," reported the *Nelson Examiner*, "was the presence on the platform of some natives from the coast, the fruit of the Wesleyan Mission. Their simple statement, contrasting what they were and what they might have been but for missions, with what they are — and their unaffected display of good feeling towards the pakeha and loyalty to the Queen, told well upon the audience who testified their pleasure by rounds of applause." A missionary box from the Sunday scholars containing upwards of a guinea was handed to the chairman. Several annual subscriptions were paid which, with the liberal collections of Sunday and Monday made the total raised by the Nelson missionary auxiliary to about £31.[47] This gave Ironside much encouragement, for to him it was a sign that financial self-support was a distinct possibility.

Relationships between the churches were cordial even though the various denominations were working to establish individual identities. None could have been

[46] *Nelson Examiner,* 22 February 1851.
[47] *NZ Journal,* 31 January 1852.

more helpful and friendly than that between T. D. Nicholson of the Presbyterian Church and Samuel Ironside. They baptised each other's children, shared the missionary platform, preached for each other on significant occasions, and supported each other's educational programmes. But Ironside had wider church sympathies and as the year drew to a close Christ Church was opened on 14 December 1851 by the Anglican Bishop of New Zealand. For this occasion the Wesleyan and Presbyterian congregations "displayed the best of feeling by closing their services for the day to share in the opening services." [48] In his reminiscences Ironside recalls: "As the Bishop was eloquently referring to the difficulties and dangers of Nelson's early years and the melancholy fate of some of its best men at the Wairau some seven or eight years before, I found myself taken aback at the pointed references to myself and the services I was enabled to render on that disastrous occasion. I thought the Bishop unusually complimentary, and felt the blushes tingling in my cheeks and wished to hide myself from the gaze of the worshippers." [49] Ironside was held in universal regard, and the bishop's examining chaplain made no secret of the fact that Ironside would not have any difficulty in obtaining ordination from the bishop! [50]

In spite of this, between January 1850 and October 1851 the Nelson membership slumped from seventy-eight to forty-seven. This decline was to continue until 1854 when the lowest membership of thirty-two was recorded.[51] This was a matter of regret, "yet all the difficulties being considered, we have good reason to thank God and take courage," Ironside reported to the quarterly meeting.[52] Emigration from Nelson to the newly opened goldfields in Australia accounted for some losses, as did the impossibility of working so large an area without additional ministerial help. But this was not all. Writing to the mission office in London, February 1852, Ironside was glad to report signs of improvement, but acknowledged that "there had been a storm in which some had been alienated." [53] The centre of the storm was a former catechist who had been dismissed for circulating copies of the *Wesleyan Times.* No name is mentioned, nor is there known to be in existence any report of action taken by the circuit quarterly meeting. The "former catechist" could have been either William Hough, who had been catechist at Patea, or William Jenkins, formerly at Motueka. As William Hough was still active as a local preacher it appears that the offending person was William Jenkins, who, Ironside states, "would rejoice to find something to write about to the Committee for the detection and exposure of abuses which do not exist."

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[48] Bishop Selwyn took the morning service and the evening sermon was preached by the Rev. F. H. Butt. Congregations were estimated to be about 600 people.

[49] NZ *Methodist,* 17 October 1891.

[50] NZ *Methodist,* 17 October 1891.

[51] Wesleyan membership was based on those meeting in "class", i.e. on a committed membership basis rather than upon the numbers attending public worship.

[52] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 30 March 1852.

[53] ibid. 5 February 1852.

[54] It would appear that Jenkins was supplying the editors of the *Wesleyan Times* with alleged abuses of ministerial powers and circulating copies of the paper in the Nelson circuit.

On the former matter Ironside was angry. In one of the issues of the *Wesleyan Times* the Reverend James Wallis was claimed by the reformers as one of them — a claim which Wallis rejected stating that he would rather be tarred and feathered than have their approbation. Ironside comments, "And so say we all. We have *no fellow feeling, no sympathy whatever* with *wholesale dealers in calumny, slander and falsehood."* [55] To Ironside the *Wesleyan Times* was "the most wicked publication issued by the London press." The fundamental point at issue in English Wesleyanism was the authority of the preachers in whom the powers of admitting into membership, disciplining members and terminating membership were vested. Distributing a paper which circulated wholesale alleged abuses of ministerial authority was clearly aimed at clipping the wings of ministerial authority. The person on whom the debate focused was the Rev. Dr Jabez Bunting, one of the missionary secretaries, who was the foremost advocate and defender of the traditional Wesleyan position. In spite of the rising tide of political democracy expressed in the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, he maintained the Wesleyan stance on ministerial authority on theological grounds. The abuses of ministerial authority, alleged or factual, fanned the flames of injustice in Wesleyan hearts and heightened the demand for democratic changes in the policy of the Church.

In Nelson the political cauldron was nearing boiling point. The intransigence of the governor on educational policy was made the occasion for pressing for constitutional reform in the colony, away from the despotic system then operating, towards responsible government. This, together with the failure of the Nelson Working Men's Land Association Company, led to popular demand for representatives in the provincial council and general assembly who were pledged to work for responsible government. Jenkins circulating copies of the *Wesleyan Times* throughout the circuit was the lighting of a match near highly combustible substances. It offended Ironside's sense of justice by being underhand; it offended his sense of loyalty to the officers of the missionary society and to the polity of British Methodism of which he was a convinced member and loyal son; it challenged the authority which he, as a masterful man, exercised; it threatened the unity of the circuit for which he had toiled unsparingly. Jenkins may have had some residual feelings over the Motueka chapel affair, but there is no doubt that he was sensitive to the democratic aspirations of the times.

In June 1850 William Jenkins was disciplined by the quarterly meeting. Presumably this meant that he was suspended from holding office in the church and perhaps

[54] ibid. 5 February 1852.

[55] ibid. 6 August 1851.

deprived of membership. With him about one third of the Nelson members left the church. In the next few years Ironside kept a firm hand on the situation. The preachers were examined regularly, for having access to Wesleyan pulpits, they were in key positions to influence the opinion of members. Dissatisfaction was apparent. In 1852, Bro. B. Jackson was suspended "until he complies with the rule of Society that he shall not speak evil of ministers." When he acknowledged the error of his fault he was eventually reinstated by the leaders' meeting which "solemnly agreed in the presence of God that the past should be buried in oblivion. The Brethren agree solemnly to pledge themselves to God and each other, never to indulge in any way the grievous sin of evil speaking and to urge the same upon the members of the church. And we further agree that the first offender shall be brought before the Leaders' Meeting.".[56] The losses in membership were great but Ironside's firm hand on the helm steered the Nelson church through the troubled waters of the Wesleyan reform agitation with less damage than otherwise might have been the case.

While administering discipline within the borders of his own church he avoided becoming embroiled in disputes over infant baptism. During 1851 he had preached several sermons on this topic and had been urged by the congregation to publish them. Notice of this was given in the *Nelson Examiner* of 24 January 1852. The local Baptist minister, the Rev. D. Dolamore, issued "an examination" of the sermons. A month later Ironside whimsically gave public notice that he would "examine" Mr Dolamore's "examination" provided the expense of publication was guaranteed beforehand; otherwise he declined, as the amusement was too expensive! But on examining Dolamore's pamphlet Ironside was incensed because so much of it was taken up with misrepresentation, misconstruction and incorrect allegations.

"These admit of no reply," wrote Ironside, "And as for the 'bandying of personalities' with Mr Dolamore . . . [he had no vocation]. Self respect is a duty which I must not, will not violate. On these grounds I must civilly, but peremptorily decline a controversy with Mr Dolamore: and the very gross, unprovoked attack on Wesleyan Methodism, and on me, its humble representative, must lie unnoticed. I cannot come down low enough to refute and repel the verbal attacks and allegations of such character." [57] Shortly afterwards he notified the public of a series of lectures, commencing on Wednesday 21 July on such subjects as "The Bible Of Divine Authority and Inspiration". They were reminiscent of the series organised by the Evangelical Alliance in Wellington.

Always positive in his approach Ironside sought to improve and develop the work under his care. In educational matters he was greatly encouraged by the granting of a town acre for the residence of a day school teacher.[58] The salary of £36 per annum

[56] Nelson local preachers minute book, 1851-1865.

[57] *Nelson Examiner,* 22 May 1852.

[58] District minutes, October 12 1852, p. 248.

was acknowledged to be small, but the provision of a cottage and garden free of rent, would not only supplement the master's meagre income, but also be "a stimulus to further exertions in his arduous and responsible duties." [59] Ironside hastened to assure the governor that in the Wesleyan school, the children were taught on "strictly religious principles and by earnest God-fearing men" who would have beneficial influence in the formation of the character of the rising generation." [60]

While rejoicing in the strengthening of this aspect of his work, the plight of the Maori people living at a distance was causing him concern. Being in a state of cultural transition they required more attention than he was able to give them even with the help of Maori teachers.[61] He had no option but to continue relying upon such men and to try to meet the needs of both Maoris and Europeans by travelling extensively throughout the circuit. From 1852, however, a change is noticeable. Whereas in 1851 he had visited Maori villages both east and west of Nelson, from 1852 he began to concentrate on the Maori villages at Pelorus River, Queen Charlotte Sound and the Wairau. Part of the reason for this shift of emphasis was the growing European population on the Wairau Plain. Since its purchase from Te Rauparaha in 1847 an increasing number of settlers had been moving into the area. Among these, from 1850, were such Wesleyan families as the Jacksons, Hewitts, Blicks, Hoopers, Hammonds, Averys, Giffords, Dodsons and Robinsons. The brothers Davies were already living there, and were joined by Messrs. Parker from Victoria.[62] William Robinson, one time circuit steward and resident of Waimea, had taken up a cattle station of several hundred acres on the north bank of the Opawa River, and built his cob cottage at Spring Creek (now Rapaura). From the climbing rose that grew so vigorously in the garden, he called his home "Rose Tree Cottage". This house became Ironside's headquarters when he visited the Wairau, and on 3 October 1850 was the venue of the first Wesleyan service for the newly arrived settlers on the plain, long before the Blenheim circuit came into existence.[63] From here he set out on horseback seeking both the settlers and his Maori friends in the neighbouring areas. Although his

[59] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 28 February 1852.

[60] District minutes, October 12 1852, p. 10.

[61] District minutes, 12 October 1852.

[62] W. Morley, *History of Methodism in* NZ, 1900, p. 385.

[63] M. A. R. Pratt *Nelson Centenary, 1842-1942,* says nothing about Ironside's visits to the Wairau Plains, while William Morley, *History of Methodism in* NZ, states that the Nelson quarterly meeting urged the appointment of a minister to the Wairau in 1854, and records that Rev. J. Warren first visited the Wairau and held services in 1859. Rev. William Kirk did the same four years later. Morley seems ignorant of the fact that Ironside visited the settlers on the Wairau Plains from 1850 and of the fact that members living in distant places of the circuit are recorded in the circuit membership returns under "Outposts" from 1 October 1851. In fact the Nelson quarterly meeting protested against their minister serving areas at a distance, and between 1855 and 1859 the Wairau settlers were not assisted in any way by the Nelson circuit.

reminiscences make little reference to these visits, the baptismal register shows that he was at Wairau and Queen Charlotte Sound in April, Wairau again in May, Motueka in July and Pelorus River in August.

Quite apart from these occasional visits to outlying Maori villages Ironside was actively involved in matters relating to their welfare. At the district meeting of 1852 approval was given for the preparation of a Maori biblical and theological dictionary which was to contain sections of theology, geography, history, rites and ceremonies, manners and customs, proper names, and natural history. This was to appear in sections, in the order stated, with Watkin and Ironside preparing the final section.[64]In more secular matters Mathew Richmond's purchase of the remaining Maori land at Massacre (Golden) Bay was hailed with delight because the area contained deposits of quality coal. At the meeting to finalise the purchase price the Revs. Tudor and Ironside were the interpreters. Most vociferous at the meeting was Wiremu Te Koihua, sole survivor of Te Rauparaha's invasion of the 1820's. Now an old man, he was most agitated about the manner of payment and the questions of status involved. To sort out the Maori procedural etiquette Rawiri Kingi Puaha sought out his old friend Samuel Ironside who on the next day wrote to government advising on procedures and cautioning about interference.[65]

On the national level of church life there was growing unrest concerning the general superintendency of the New Zealand mission. The district meeting of 1850 had recommended the abolition of the office — a fact which the *Wesleyan Times* had taken up with insinuations of embezzlement by the representative of the conference. While deploring these insinuations as injurious to the reputation of Mr Lawry, whose talents and personal qualities were honoured, the district meeting was concerned about the autocratic nature of the office. A general superintendent was not subject to any control by the district meeting in the use of money for personal or public purposes; nor was there any check on overbearing conduct which inhibited the free expression of opinion; nor were the few powers enjoyed by the district meeting always respected. For these reasons the district meeting pressed for responsible government of the church by the ministry. To enable this to happen it was urged that the district meeting should be entrusted with the handling of financial matters. The discretionary powers of the chairman should be clearly defined, and his stipend should be no more than that of his colleagues. Such, it was believed, would restore harmony and confidence in the district.[66] Unfortunately the relationship between the general superintendent and his colleagues deteriorated. He refused to be accountable to anyone but the missionary society, whereupon the district meeting pressed for certain discrepancies in the accounts to be satisfactorily explained. In the deadlock that ensued the missionary

[64] District minutes, 22 November 1852.

[65]Letters of Samuel Ironside, 13 May 1852.

[66] District minutes, 10 February 1853, pp. 3-4.

society had no option but to intervene. For its part the Wesleyan Missionary Society had larger issues to deal with. It was anxious for the Australasian and New Zealand churches to become self-supporting so that it could enter the doors which were opening for missionary work in Asia and China. In due course it was learned that the Revs. W. B. Boyce and Robert Young had been appointed to negotiate both these matters with the missionaries in Australia and New Zealand.

While awaiting the summons to a special district meeting to consider these matters, Ironside devoted himself in the first half of the year to the Maori work. Although he had been in the Wairau in December 1852 where he conducted the first wedding on 13 December[67] he was back in April when he baptised three adults and three Maori children on the tenth and the following day baptised the five children of George and Hannah Wratt.[68] In May he was in Queen Charlotte Sound and then, on 29 May was at Massacre Bay where he baptised two children and ten adults from Arahura. In June he was back in Massacre Bay baptising three adults; on 3 July at D'Urville Island he baptised three adults and on 17 July he baptised another five adults from Arahura, where a Wesleyan Maori teacher was still active.

This heavy concentration upon Maori work was broken by the sorrow of Edwin Humphreys whose daughter had been widowed and stranded in Valparaiso, South America. A letter of commendation of character was written in support of a government grant to bring her back to Nelson.[69] In May the district chairman led a conversation in the Nelson quarterly meeting on how to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Church. This so commended him to the office bearers that in the following March he was invited to minister in the circuit! And the routine duties, such as lodging applications for a government grant for education purposes, was made in June. It was then reported that there was a weekly attendance of forty scholars in the day school and eighty in the Sunday school; that the master's cottage had been completed and a grant of £30 was required for the ensuing year and the year thereafter. Meanwhile the district meeting met and dispersed. The deputation came and went; Ironside heard nothing. In fact on 12 September, decisive steps had been taken to completely restructure Wesleyan work in Australasia. Boyce and Young proposed the creation of an Australasian Wesleyan conference, and assured the district meeting that the work of evangelising the Pacific Islands would be sustained in all its integrity. The district meeting was so impressed with the prospects which the union promised that it voted unanimously in support of the scheme, and promised the Australian brethren their cordial cooperation. Under this arrangement the New Zealand mission would be divided into two districts based on Auckland and

[67] This was of Samuel Buckman, aged 21, to Ann Bartlett, aged 19. Nelson marriage register entry No. 105. 1

[68] Nelson baptismal register entry Nos. 593-597.

[69] Letter to Superintendent Matthew Richmond, 10 May 1853.

Wellington. The Auckland district would consist of the following circuits: Auckland, Mangungu, Waima, Wairoa, Manukau, Whaingaroa, Aotea, Waipa, Kawhia, Mokau and New Plymouth. Those in the Wellington district would be: Wellington, Waimate, Waitotara, Nelson, Canterbury, and Waikouaiti. It was further resolved that Auckland, Manukau, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson and Canterbury should be considered English circuits and therefore subject to the English rule that ministers were to move at least once in three years. The personal issues involved in the general superintendency were largely lost sight of — partly by the retirement of the general superintendent, and partly because the larger issue of the establishment of the Australasian Wesleyan conference overshadowed it.

By the end of the month these decisions had reached Nelson and a lively discussion took place in the September quarterly meeting. There was no reference to the present incumbent, but the members generally felt a desire to carry out Methodist polity, and it was agreed that at the proper time a memorial to this effect should be sent to the district meeting. Ironside was not particularly happy with this decision — not because it would mean his removal from Nelson, but because he believed that the mechanical application of the three-year rule without consideration of the pastoral relationship, or the stage at which developmental programmes were poised, was detrimental to the work. To Ironside the fundamental principle of Methodism was not the itinerancy of the preachers. but the commission to "spread scriptural holiness throughout the land." Itinerancy was a means to that end appropriate in the eighteenth century but not necessarily in the nineteenth. He held that "for the efficient training of people, and the building up of the churches . . . a more settled ministry is desirable." [70] In these views he was seventy years ahead of his contemporaries.

The hard reality of separation from British Methodism was that the "European circuits" had to become financially self-supporting by 1855. "It is a subject on which I have been ever speaking — the Brethren have been urged publicly and privately for years, to do their duty, and I have reason to hope that at length the shame and disgrace of dependence will be wiped away." [71] The September quarterly meeting pledged itself to raise £30 per quarter to support the ministry. Besides this Ironside had pursued his applications to the New Zealand Company for the Wesleyan share of the moneys set aside for religious and educational purposes. When the company surrendered its charter to the government the trustees appointed by the Queen divided £2,000 between the various religious bodies according to their numbers. The Wesleyan share was £700 which, invested at ten percent, could be expected to benefit the circuit and materially help in achieving self-support. In addition to this the country Methodists "had a scheme for the permanent endowment of the Church by establishing a cattle farm in the Wairau. It looked promising at the outset; some young

[70] NZ *Methodist,* 3 October 1891.

[71] Letter to Rev. E. Hoole, 6 October 1853.

stock were given. . . but the station was too far away for proper oversight and it was resolved bring the small herd round into Waimea. The person who undertook the work had but little experience in the business, and of the care necessary. The young herd was over-driven, and one by one they succumbed to the strain that was put upon them." So the well-intentioned scheme of permanent endowment collapsed,[72] but the circuit was moving towards financial independence.

Towards the end of the year Ironside began to take a more prominent part in public affairs. At the Nelson Literary Institution he was honoured by being elected a vice-president,[73] but the proceedings of the recent election and the increase of intemperance, especially among the Maori people, were causing him concern.[74] Too often, while visiting Nelson, the Maoris frequented the public houses, and on more than one occasion it was his melancholy duty to bury the victims of drunkenness. Increasingly he became sympathetic with the aims of the Total Abstinence Society. At the annual meeting of that society he confessed that though he generally felt a certain degree of reluctance to speak at a public meeting on such a subject, he now did so with great pleasure. He indicated that he would join the society as soon as he saw his way clear to do so, and suggested that the society might adopt a watching brief to secure the enforcement of the law concerning the sale of liquor to Maoris. In the following April he publicly rebuked the bench of magistrates for increasing the number of licences for the sale of liquor. It was generally held that there was an adequate number of retail outlets before the new licences were issued. Of the four licences issued, the first was in Haven Road where there was already a public house in a thinly populated district. The second was at Waimea Road, where circumstances similar to Haven Road prevailed except that many in the latter area were also teetotallers. Further, travellers could quench their thirst either at Salt's in Suburban South, or at Winterbourne's on the way out of town. Then Richmond, which already had two public houses, was to be honoured (or cursed) with a third. Such duplication of licences, reasoned Ironside, could only lead to competition for trade among the licensees and would inevitably lead to greater drunkenness and misery in the community:

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[72] NZ *Methodist,* 17 October 1891. Morley gives credit for the establishment of this fund to John Aldred. *(History of Methodism in NZ* p. 384a.) At the instigation of the district meeting Aldred made out an excellent case to T. C. Harrington, one of the directors of the NZ Company; Ironside followed with a fresh and detailed application to the NZ Company and requested the Wesleyan mission secretaries to support the application in London. No results were obtained until 1853. Ironside reported the grant was £700, a figure at variance with that given by Morley. For an account of how this fund was used, see *History* of *Methodism in NZ* by William Morley, p. 384.

[73] *Nelson Examiner,* 1 October 1853.

[74] ibid, 1 January 1853.

> "It appears to me exceedingly unwise in our Magistrates (who are, by office, conservators of the peace and morality of the community and who are responsible to God for the proper discharge of their duty), that they should have been induced to open wider the flood gates of intemperance, which according to R. Wakefield Esq., (see *Examiner* for April 15th) is the fruitful parent of all other vices."

Ironside's argument was well grounded in local knowledge and in spite of his reverence for persons invested with secular authority, was not prevented from expressing his disapproval of their actions. His attitude towards the sale of liquor was hardening.

Although membership in the Nelson church was declining, the churches throughout the circuit were well attended. At Richmond the church building needed to be enlarged by a half to accommodate the growing congregation. On Sunday and Monday, 2-3 October 1853, the Richmond Sunday school had its third anniversary. The annual tea meeting was held for the second time in Mr Cleaver's large tent which was given free of expense for the occasion, and J. W. Saxton took the chair. The children sang one or two of their hymns: the annual report was presented. Richard Wallis, the resident teacher, stated that four years ago he had commenced with fifteen scholars: now there were between seventy and eighty children on the roll of whom sixty-five attended frequently. More often than not there were fifty children present and except for the help of one or two older scholars, he was left single-handed to teach them. More teachers and more space were required for more effective teaching and better control in the school. Speaker followed speaker urging parents to supplement the work of the teacher by insisting on obedience in their children, or urging parents to visit the Sabbath school occasionally, or to urge some volunteer teaching help for Mr Wallis, or to urge the importance of the Sabbath school should the education system go secular. Samuel Ironside recalled his first visit to Richmond. He was deeply shocked to see scarcely a whole pane of glass in the chapel windows. Shutters had to be put up to protect them from the young larrikins of the district! Now the shutters had been dispensed with. Such was Mr Wallis's influence. Mr Dartnall, who had children in the school, offered help to enlarge the building. Mr Wallis was instructed to prepare a list and wait upon the residents of the neighbourhood for subscriptions towards the enlargement. All went home about 9 o'clock. The finished extensions were opened early in 1854.

But it was the possibility of the educational system becoming secular that was exercising the minds of most churchmen. The governor had consistently followed the English system of schools run by churches and charities. Now all provinces were agreed that education should be supported out of public funds, but views about the nature of the education to be supported varied in different parts of the country. The governor therefore left it to the different provincial councils to decide the matter.

New Zealand Wesleyans looked to British Methodism for a lead. There, the Wesleyans were hoping to establish denominational schools alongside their major chapels, as necessary to the fulfilment of their vocation to spread scriptural holiness throughout the land. Being a thorough Wesleyan, Ironside supported the reasoning behind the conviction. Knowledge was not necessarily virtue. As the Reverend Dr Waddy pointed out, when enunciating the principles lying behind the education offered at the Sheffield Wesleyan Proprietary Grammar School, many of "the greatest monsters of iniquity have been found among the learned polite while among the poor mere knowledge was no preventive of crime." He then set out the advantages of a system of religious education.

> "A proper acquaintance with the sacred scriptures leads us to contemplate all things in reference to their great First Cause, and reconciles us to many obscure events by showing their beneficial results. . The religious man loves the laws and institutions of his country, and submits himself to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake. . . . Nor does he view his own condition and relations as fortuitous. God, he believes, has chosen his inheritance for him; and therefore the duties which specifically grow out of it, he views as pointed out to him by an authority to which he loves to submit. Sobriety, frugality, uprightness, benevolence, are with him divine virtues. He is thus rescued from the despotism of a master-passion, and saved from the capricious rule of temper and external circumstances by being placed under the dominion. . . of well-known, fixed and elevated principles. Men must not only be shown the path of virtue, but this must be connected with the will of God, the sanctions of eternity, and that plan of redeeming love by which. . . he may be enabled to serve God in righteousness and holiness all the days of his life."

The outcome of such a system produced the welfare of the individual and the well-being of the nation. True religion therefore was also true patriotism, and therefore —

> "every encouragement should be given by the Government to the establishment and support of schools under the direct supervision and religious influence of every denomination of Christians; and although this might tend to perpetuate the individuality of sectarianism, it would perpetuate with it distinct and practical views of religion and morality; and, by most powerfully promoting individual integrity and enjoyment, would thus promote the happiness of the country." [75]

When Ironside entered into the debate, he stood by the 'voluntary principle' and state aid.

On 10 September he asked that the nature of the Education Bill submitted to the British Parliament in April 1852 by Lord John Russell, should be published in the *Nelson Examiner* for the benefit of people who relied upon that newspaper for news of

[75] *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,* January 1838, p. 38.

developments in Britain. When this was done Ironside followed up with three lengthy letters. In the first he showed that Lord John Russell's scheme was working well. The proportion of scholars to the population had increased from 1:17 in 1818, to 1:8¼ in 1851, and behind the scheme was a very large proportion of the clergy and laity of the Church of England, the British and Foreign School Society, the Wesleyan Conference, and leading representatives of the Congregational Church. He made the point:

> "No other scheme could have obtained the adhesion of so many parties. The secular education scheme of Mr Fox would rouse into opposition the entire religious body of England! It should be the interest of Government to use the co-operation of educators already in the field and not turn them into antagonists, supplementing their receipts to better the conditions of the masters, and improving the quality of teaching by a system of confidential inspectors to ensure that grants were properly bestowed." [76]

This was then followed by two articles on "Education in America". In the *Nelson Examiner* of 1 October 1853, he examined the claims that the secular education system in New York State was superior to that of the United Kingdom. While recognising excellencies in the American system he set out to show that in extent, in the social position given to teachers and in the character of the education given, it was inferior to the system operating in Britain. Quoting the statistics published in the Leeds *Mercury,* Ironside showed that in New York State only 1:9 of the population attended school whereas in England it was 1:8¼ — a balance in favour of England. He also showed that a figure comparable to that in England, received education in Nelson Province, so that Nelson, like Britain, did not suffer by comparison with New York State. By using the criteria of salary as an index of social worth, he showed that the yearly wage of teachers in New York State was £13.8.8, or 5/2d per week, if they were engaged for the whole year. This was much below the average wage for manual labour. While admitting that schoolmasters were poorly paid in Britain and Nelson, in both countries they were in excess of the American wage. Concerning the character of the education given Ironside stated that the secular system had failed to satisfy a large and thinking section of the intelligent citizens of the Republic, and the longer the system worked the more unsatisfactory its results were likely to become.

> "There is no doubt but that American youth will be smart enough and cute enough for business and politics. Their eyes are soon opened to their own interests. . . They will prove themselves worthy scions of the shrewd and calculating and not to be imposed upon New Englander. . . . If the nation's morals and religion were of no moment, or only trivial and unimportant as compared with her political and worldly affairs, then the palm of superiority might perhaps be given to the public schools of the States. And yet. . . Governors and Magistrates might find it difficult

[76] *Nelson Examiner,* 17 September 1853. Letter to *Nelson Examiner,* 8 November 1853.

> to conserve the law and order of the community if the people have no higher inducement to morality and uprightness than the interests of the present life." [77]

His opponents were quick to take up the cudgels. In reply he argued that if settlers did not wish a religious training for their children they should establish schools of their own from which the Bible was excluded, but let them not wish to impose a rate upon those who did, and exclude all other schools from like assistance. That would not be "fair play". He contended that the only feasible system in the present state of public opinion was the English system — to let the establishment and maintenance of schools be left in great measure to private enterprise; let the government inspect the quality of teaching given in secular subjects as a condition of making grants in aid of the school. By such a system room was given for philanthropic and voluntary effort, and its confessed inadequacy would be supplemented by the paternal assistance of the state. The only alternative he could conceive was to make education purely voluntary. With this view he disagreed as he held that the state had an interest in and a duty to assist with the education of the masses, yet he would "greatly prefer voluntaryism as far less evil than the establishment by a Christian government among a Christian people, of purely secular institutions." Indifference to any sect was a matter to be deplored as he saw indifference as the breaking down of Christian influence in the educational system and "the letting in upon us the flood of evils which are proved to exist in America and against which we will find it extremely difficult to contend." [78]

From the correspondence in the papers it appears that Samuel Ironside was the most vocal opponent of those advocating secular education. His articles led to a measure of public impatience. So before matters got too serious, Ironside discreetly closed the correspondence for the time being with an anecdote.

By 1850 both of Samuel Ironside's parents had passed away. All his pleading for permission to return to England to be with his aged mother and to settle his father's affairs had fallen on the deaf ears of the missionary secretaries. Family affairs had been settled, and in October and November 1851 he bought six acres of land fronted by Manuka and Bronte Streets, and the Brook Stream.[79] Here he hoped he might one day retire.[80] He also put money where his interests lay. Five guineas were given to the jubilee fund of the British and Foreign Bible Society, ten pounds to the special financial appeal of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and other amounts were put out

[77] ibid. 8 October 1853.

[78] ibid. 8 October 1853.

[79] These lots were Town Acres 518 and 519, comprising four acres granted by the Crown and described as "surplus land". An adjoining lot, Town Acre 519A of two acres, was purchased on 7 November 1851 for four guineas. The former section had originally been owned by the New Zealand Company. These sections were held by Ironside until 3 January 1878, with a view to retirement in Nelson.

[80] See speech of reply to those making the presentation, *Nelson Examiner,* 2 May 1855.

on mortgage. He also took some interest in the Cook Strait Mining Company, for after the glowing reports of Mr Thomas on the prospects of the Duns Mountain Copper Mine, Ironside, with some friends, had been induced to become contributors. When, however, the same Thomas of Wellington began spreading reports detrimental to its character, Ironside was among those who asked for a full enquiry to be instituted. When this was done, and the results published, it was Ironside who proposed the thanks of the contributors to the committee for their exertions and to the projectors for the manner in which they had met the enquiry.[81]

Walter Lawry who succeeded John Waterhouse as general superintendant of the Wesleyan Church in New Zealand. In refusing the request made by Samuel Ironside to be allowed to return to England to comfort his widowed mother, he wrote to the mission secretaries: "Brother Ironside is a most valuable man, uniting in himself a good Maori and English preacher, a good pastoral man, and he is a tried man —."

By the end of November Ironside was reporting his disappointment to the mission secretaries that he had been deprived both of meeting the deputation sent out to settle the New Zealand affairs, and of having a voice in the discussions to determine the future relationship of the mission in New Zealand to the British Conference and Wesleyan Missionary Society. As a youth he had listened spellbound to the stories of Boyce's work among the slaves of Jamaica, and though he had no desire to participate in any acrimony concerning the general superintendency, he did wish to see justice done to a man he honoured. He approved of the missionary society spending its resources in new fields and was confident that the Australasian people would "do their duty and will make their ministers comfortable. . . ." [82] Evidence for this confidence was the growing financial support of the Nelson branch of the missionary society which he proudly pointed out . . . the first year £30, the second year £50, the third year

[81] ibid. 19 November 1853.

[82] Letters of Samuel Ironside, 28 November 1853.

£70. In addition £60 had been raised in class and ticket money by the ninety English members, an average of 13/- to 14/-.

At the quarterly meeting held on Christmas Day 1850, the office-bearers of the circuit again pledged themselves to raise £30 per quarter in aid of the ministers stipend "each Society to have a share of his time in proportion to their rate of contribution." [83] The demands of financial self-sufficiency had been cushioned in part by Ironside renting his own house, but with his departure in the foreseeable future, a parsonage would have to be provided. At the March quarterly meeting of 1854 the secretary reported that it would cost £700 to buy land, and to build and furnish a preacher's house.[84] The circuit was determined to fulfil its obligation and made enquiry as to whether John

[83] Quarterly meeting minutes 25 December 1853.

[84]The residence of the Nelson minister has been the subject of differing opinions. William Morley in *History of Methodism in* NZ states that a site was obtained in Washington Valley and a small parsonage erected, part being weatherboarded and part having mud wails. (p. 377a.) M. A. Rugby Pratt repeats this statement in *Nelson, Methodist Centenary 1842-1 942* (p. 9), but adds two other facts: (i) that the land and house were advertised for sale in 1861 and sold in 1864 to Robert Lucas for £420, (ii) that the Washington Valley property was originally held for school purposes, and power to vary the use of the asset had to be obtained from the general assembly. The desire of the trustees was to sell the Washington Valley property and use the proceeds to erect a parsonage adjoining the new church in Hardy Street. In the list of property supplied to the Australasian Wesleyan conference in 1855, no mention is made of a parsonage, but mention is made of a schoolmaster's house in Washington Valley. The fact that there was no parsonage in the circuit is implied in the quarterly meeting financial statement where an entry occurs for eighteen guineas for expenses incurred by Mr Warren when in lodgings (see 85 below). The obligation to provide a residence for the minister is clearly accepted.
In becoming financially self-sufficient the Nelson circuit was under considerable strain. The Australasian conference assumed that the European circuits (such as Nelson) would continue to give pastoral oversight to the Maori settlements in their areas, a policy which became explicit in the South Island from 1891. This policy put strain on the Nelson circuit, which discontinued Ironside's ministry to the Maori people and incurred protest from Australia. (Letter, Rev. J. Eggleston to Rev. J. Warren, 18 September 1858.) In addition, the Nelson church 'which had been badly damaged by the earthquakes of 1848 and January 1855', needed replacing.
The passing of the Education Act in 1856 meant that the Wesleyan day school was closed and integrated into the public system, the church school at the corner of Waimea and Haven Roads was sold in 1858 for £1500. On 18 June 1858 the new church was opened in Hardy Street. Once the school was closed the schoolmaster's residence would become vacant and could be used as a parsonage until a minister's residence could be built. In this way the Washington Valley property became known as the "parsonage", as recorded by Morley and Pratt. The Washington Valley property was sold in 1864, the year the Hardy Street parsonage was opened. It appears therefore, that the Washington Valley schoolmaster's residence was used for parsonage purposes from September 1855, approximately, until 1864. Prior to this the minister seems to have made his own arrangements. Both Aldred and Ironside held land in Nelson.

Aldred would sell his property for parsonage purposes.[85] While encouraging efforts towards financial selfsufficiency, Ironside would not have been happy that each society should share the minister's time in proportion to its contribution to his stipend, if it meant that the Maori people would have virtually none of this time since they did not contribute to the circuit fund. It was most likely assumed by the missionary society that circuits would accept pastoral responsibility for contiguous Maori areas, but since Ironside considered that his calling was to the foreign mission of the Church, any rigid interpretation of the quarterly meeting policy is bound to have been resisted. January saw him among the Maori people at Motueka and D'Urville Island: February and March saw him again at D'Urville Island: April he was in Queen Charlotte Sound (apparently on a vessel chancing to visit that area) and at Pelorus River: June saw him yet again at D'Urville Island. He baptised continually both adults and children, and while he remained in Nelson that was likely to be the pattern.[86] By mid-year Ironside's tough physique was near the point of exhaustion. He began to suffer from a "low fever", and the June quarterly meeting recommended to the district chairman that he should rest for twelve months. A sub-committee was appointed to draw up a memorial to the district meeting requesting two additional ministers for the area, one to be stationed at Wairau and the other at Motueka.

Throughout these months public discussion on education was reaching the point of decision and the interested parties were stating their positions like the concluding speakers of a debate. In April 1854 the Nelson School Society took the opportunity afforded by its annual meeting to state its history, policy and record in the *Nelson Examiner.*[87]

The annual general meeting became a public demonstration of achievement. Two hundred people sat down to an excellent meal; the scholars of the Nelson school were examined in spelling, grammar, geography and arithmetic. The annual report showed teachers' salaries had been upgraded, attendances and payments were more favourable than previously. . .The school at Nelson had been divided into elementary and more advanced classes, and a governess had been appointed for the younger children.

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[85] Aldred's property was approximately one acre in area, lot 665, situated between Wellington and Waimea (now Rutherford) Streets, near the junction of Wellington and Mount Streets. This land was not taken up by the circuit largely on account of its location. With the move to relocate the church in Hardy Street it was desirable that all Methodist properties should be together. When John Warren succeeded Samuel Ironside, the quarterly meeting had to pay eighteen guineas incurred in lodgings for the Warrens.

[86] After Ironside left the circuit he was disturbed to learn that the Nelson circuit officials had curtailed the minister's connection with the Maori work. He could not believe it of them and advised the Australasian mission secretary to take the matter up with the circuit through the chairman of the district. (Letter Rev. J. Eggleston to Rev. J. Warren, Sydney, 18 September 1858.)

[87] *Nelson Examiner,* 15 April 1854.

Schools were also operating at Hope, Stoke, Spring Grove and Waimea Village. Schools at Riwaka and Appleby were in course of erection and enquiries for schools had come from Wakapuaka and Wakefield. In all these districts Sabbath schools were also operating. Sir George Grey had made a valuable gift of equipment; and steps had been taken to enable the Nelson society to hold and dispose of property, to perpetuate its principles and to negotiate with government on matters relating to education. In short it was able to offer a first class education to the child of every settler who could claim it, and under its catholic principles difficulties concerning religious instruction were claimed to have disappeared. The achievement of the society was quite remarkable and claimed the interest and support of the leading citizens. Committee members were His Honour the Superintendent, Mathew Richmond, J. W. Saxton, Dr Richardson, Dr Munro, Revs. T. D. Nicholson, S. Ironside, D. Dolamore, Messrs J. McKay, W. T. L. Travers, J. McCartney, M. Gardner, with Mr Campbell as treasurer and Mr Stanton as secretary.

Nevertheless the debate continued. The provincial council set up a committee under the convenorship of T. D. Nicholson to report on the schools of the Nelson School Society. After expounding the advantages of the system, the report drew out hindrances to the success of the work:

> (i) the too early employment of youth and their withdrawal from the school system before their schooling was complete,
>
> (ii) irregularity in attendance,
>
> (iii) the insensibility of parents to the value of an education which they had not themselves enjoyed.

To overcome these obstacles it was recommended that a local assessment be made on all residents in order to give them a stake in the local school. From this assessment the cost of maintaining school buildings would be met and a partial endowment for the school master provided. The balance of his salary would come from school fees. This was seen as an encouragement to the teacher's zeal in the performance of his duty. It was conceded that there must be an education rate, but not argued that it must be of such magnitude as to make unnecessary the payment of school fees by parents. Free schooling and needless proliferation of schools were viewed as unmitigated evils.

Unfortunately the names of the other members of the committee are not known, but some of the committee's thinking is reminiscent of Ironside in at least one instance — the idea of fees being retained "as a spur to the schoolmaster's zeal in the performance of his duty." [88]

[88] This view is expressed in a letter to Sir George Grey, (National Archives, Wellington, 28 February 1852).

Meanwhile at the annual meeting of the Wesleyan Sabbath and day schools, held on 5 June, Samuel Ironside stated his mind on the education issue.[89] With characteristic courtesy he recognised that he and his friends differed on this issue. From thinking, talking and practical experience, he had come to hold certain convictions:

> (a) he accepted the commonly held view that in order to be beneficial education must be religious, that knowledge must operate within and be subject to a Christian value system.
>
> (b) He went further — it must be denominational or sectarian. In theory, and upon the public platform, it sounded well to talk about a non-sectarian system of religious education but in strict practice it was not a tenable position. Biblical facts or events required interpretation, and it was from the different interpretations that the various sects of the Christian world had arisen. He conceded that many good men would disagree with even traditional Christian interpretations and would object to their children being so taught. Such objections would be disastrous to any comprehensive scheme of religious education which was not denominational.
>
> (c) The alternatives were either a purely secular system, the evils of which had been thoroughly exposed, or for each church to educate its own members, the state aiding thei1 in proportion to the numbers taught and the quality of education given. The justification for state aid to the churches' educational effort was that if the state saw fit to punish crime it had an obligation to assist in its prevention. Since public authorities carried out drainage and levied taxes for it, there could be no objection to a levy for educational purposes.
>
> (d) Since parents of children at denominational schools bore their share of taxation they had a right to claim a fair proportion of that aid.

He concluded:

> "If the State determines that education shall be voluntary the managers of these schools agree to it. Let the schools of the community be placed on the same footing and we have no reason to complain NOR WILL WE. But we shall complain, and I think reasonably, if, besides supporting our own establishments, we are called upon to pay our quota towards other schools from which neither we nor our children derive any benefit. The injustice, which for centuries the Non-Conformists and Dissenters of England have suffered in having to support the State Church, has at length made itself felt and is being removed. Let not our friends be parties to the infliction of a secular injustice here."

[89] *Nelson Examiner*, 24 June 1854.

Less than a week later Ironside was on D'Urville Island. On return he pressed his point by drawing the attention of the public to the January number of the *Edinburgh Review* which reported that with the new facilities offered by the Privy Council new schools were arising for Scotland's lowest poor by the exertions of the religious denominations, so that in a few years it was expected that both in town and country the education of the children of the "respectable poor" would be catered for. All this was happening by Christian denominations acting while "the secularists were theorizing on the subject of education from which religion is to be carefully excluded." [90]

Samuel Ironside was now the chief public protagonist for state support of denominational schools. In spite of the low fever that impaired his health in the second half of the year, he was sensitive to the importance of the educational issue, and gave what strength he had to it. While he sympathised with and actively supported the aims of the Nelson School Society, he rejected its claims that the Scriptures could be taught without interpretation, and therefore helped the secularists by undermining the school society's hope of being the *via media* for the future. By the time the issue had to be decided in the provincial council the alternatives had been narrowed down to a secular versus a denominational system of education. His plea for sectarian conviction without bigotry went unheeded. The advocates of a secular system prevailed. Even while he stood in the opposite camp, he held the respect of his opponents.

This was apparent when Superintendent Mathew Richmond was in the audience and Mr Sinclair, speaker of the provincial council, presided over the annual meeting of the Wesleyan missionary auxiliary. The usual resolutions were passed with two additions. The formation of a separate Wesleyan connexion for Australasia was noted and the fact that the Nelson circuit was no longer financially dependent upon the missionary society.[91] Within his own circuit 'voluntaryism' had shown that it was viable.

On 26 October he set out on his horse Plover for Richmond, nine miles away, to take the wedding of Clara Hewitt and James Hooper. That day was stamped on his memory. He records:

> "After the ceremony in the Richmond Church, the wedding party with their guests, started away for Mr Hewitt's home, some distance further up the road. I told them I would follow after, as soon as my horse was saddled, but the man had turned her into the paddock, and she was kicking up her heels in joyous liberty, and for a long time refused to be caught. As I was somewhat behind the time of the wedding breakfast, I shook Plover's bridle as soon as I was mounted, and we went off at great speed. Something startled her on the road, and she ran off with me, taking the bit into her teeth. I just managed to pull her in as we reached

[90] ibid, 8 July 1854.
[91] ibid. 25 October 1854.

> Hewitt's stable yard; but in the effort the off stirrup gave way, and I fell gently over her side, still keeping hold of the bridle. But she was somewhat excited, and, sidling about, before I could get from my inglorious position, she stepped on my right ankle, breaking both the bones. I felt the snap, like the breaking of a dry twig, and had no idea that any bones were broken until, in attempting to rise, I found the ankle gave way. I was carried into one of the bedrooms of the farm cottage, fortunately not many yards away and there I lay prone for the next three weeks ere I could be removed home." [92]

The local doctor jocularly told him it was just as well the accident happened before the wedding feast; had it been after there is no knowing what people might have said!

The Hewitts gave Samuel all care, and no doubt Sarah and the children were cared for by the church people in Nelson. It was two months before Samuel was able to hobble about on crutches and then his first public duty was to fulfil a longstanding engagement to preach at the opening of the Baptist chapel. Supporting himself on crutches he preached on the Transfiguration!

In January 1850 the church steward was instructed to put in more pews for the growing congregation; the provincial council was memorialised on the desirability of suppressing intemperance on the Sabbath day; mis-statements in the *Examiner* about inadequate repairs to the Wesleyan chapel after the 1848 earthquake were corrected. Imperceptibly all minds were turning to the changes that were shortly to take place. Ironside had no doubt that the new constitution granted to the Wesleyan Church in the southern hemisphere would be beneficial but he had not really given his cordial consent to it as he could not so easily sever himself from the motherland. Yet he was confident about the future: "You need be under no fear for Methodism, nor for Methodist Missions in Polynesia," he assured the mission secretaries in his final letter to them from New Zealand. "They will be sustained and extended. There are some large hearted men out here who will . . . follow after the Farmers, Healds, Chappels, etc at home. I expect that Methodism out here will be wonderfully expanded in a very little time." [93] As he was thinking about the future of Australasian Methodism the minds of church people and leaders in the community were turning towards the approaching departure of Ironside for New Plymouth. He had been intimately connected with the settlement of Nelson from its beginning.

The Richmond congregation said goodbye on 21 April 1855. The Nelson congregation drew up a memorial to be presented to him at a farewell party on 29 April. On 25 April, a public notice appeared in the *Nelson Examiner* stating that a breakfast was to be held in the Trafalgar Hotel at 11am on Friday 27 April for the purpose of meeting

[92] *NZ Methodist*, 10 October 1891. Ironside would have been immobilised at Hewitt's from 26 October until 16 November.
[93] Letter, 6 December 1854.

the Reverend Samuel Ironside and presenting him with a testimonial. Among those present were D. Sinclair, speaker of the provincial council, the provincial solicitor, the provincial secretary, T. D. Nicholson, J. J. Peacock "and other gentlemen" as well as representatives of the Wesleyan and other churches.

> "After a very appropriate address the Hon. Donald Sinclair handed Samuel Ironside a purse containing seventy-five sovereigns to purchase a piece of plate to bear the following inscription: "Presented to the Rev. Samuel Ironside, Wesleyan Minister, by his friends and well wishers, on the occasion of his leaving the Province of Nelson, New Zealand, in testimony of their great respect for his high character, Christian philanthropy, and eminent usefulness, during his residence amongst them." [94]

Later that day, the S.S. *Nelson* slipped her moorings and steamed towards the harbour entrance bound for New Plymouth. On board were Samuel Ironside, and Sarah, and their children, Samuel, Mary, Sarah, Emma and Frances (the last three born in Nelson), and among the other passengers, a troupe of actors.

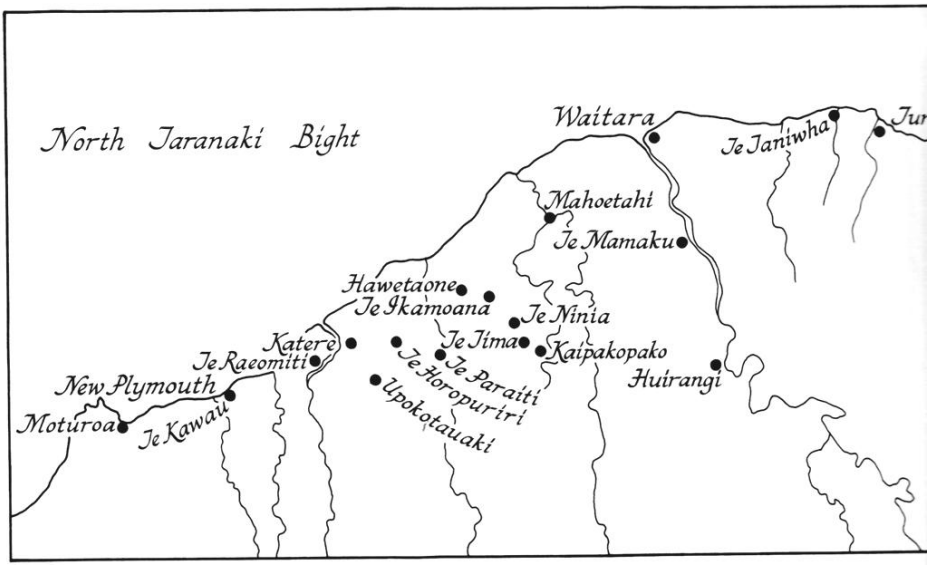
The following year the circuit quarterly meeting rescinded its resolution of discipline of William Jenkins; stopped the visitation of the Wairau settlers; restricted contact with the Maori people to those within easy reach of Nelson; passed a resolution of approval of the Nelson Education Act and directed that it be published in the *Nelson Examiner.* If they could have foreseen the spiritual barrenness of the secular system they were so keen to endorse, they might well be among those who today are seeking to reintroduce elements of value and meaning which the Johnson Report advocates, and for which Samuel Ironside in his day was essentially contending.[95]. In the last respect Samuel Ironside was far-seeing rather than reactionary.

[94] This plate consists of a tray, tea pot, hot water jug, milk jug and sugar basin, and is still in the possession of descendants. It was displayed in the window of Messrs Moore & Co before it was shipped to New Plymouth in the *Inchinnan.* In his "Reminiscences" Ironside records that he still had the testimonial in 1891 and treasured the names appearing upon it.

[95] *Growing, Sharing, Learning:* The Report of the Committee on Health and Social Education. New Zealand Department of Education, 1977.

10

New Plymouth
1855-1858



The Maori pas along the North Taranaki coastal region, at the time of Samuel Ironside's appointment.

Why Samuel Ironside was appointed to New Plymouth can only be guessed. He was well known and respected by the Maori people of the area. In 1840 he had accompanied some of the freed slaves back to their homelands, and the Ngati Ruanui remembered him from his overland journey to Wanganui at the same time. Further, he had visited the latter Wanganui people shortly after the death of John Skevington, and the district meeting had been petitioned for him to become Skevington's successor in south Taranaki (Waimate). With the Taranaki people who had fled to the Cook Strait area at the time of the Waikato invasion he had been well acquainted since the days of the Cloudy Bay mission, but his appointment to New Plymouth was to be with the European settlers among whom the work of Hanson Turton had so prospered that a full time agent was now necessary. Ironside had already proven himself an able minister to both Maori and Pakeha, and in Nelson had brought the circuit to the point of financial independence. On a personal level, the petition of the Nelson circuit for him to rest on account of emotional fatigue could be met in part by giving him a more compact sphere of work and his wife's health requirements could be met by an appointment in which the colonial surgeon was a regular worshipper. Further to all

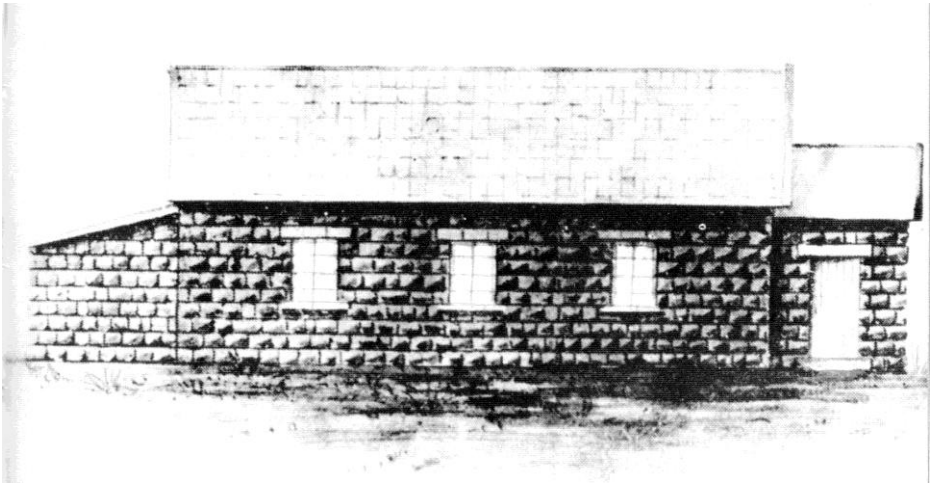
this, his previous dealings with the New Zealand Company, and his wide experience of Maori affairs made him a valuable colleague for any missionary mediating in land disputes. For a man of experience needing to recoup his strength, and for the connexion itself, New Plymouth was as good an appointment as was available in New Zealand. Ironside recalls:

> "To this service I was appointed at the first of our Australasian Conferences, held in Sydney, in January, 1855. In the beginning of April in that year we removed to our new Circuit. We were fortunate in getting passage in one of the pioneer steamers that began to find their way to the growing colony. There was a great crowd of passengers on board, amongst them a theatrical troupe; its leader had a high sounding Turkish name. The weather was stormy, my dear wife was sick, and our precious babe Fanny, was in great pain. All efforts to soothe her were in vain, and with four other little ones, the eldest only eight, I had my hands full that live long night off the Taranaki coast. To add to my troubles, as I paced about trying to quiet my darling child, the theatrical party in the saloon were talking about us in French; their leader wanted to know if I was skinning the baby. However the morning came, the roadstead of New Plymouth was reached, and that trial was over. The house that had been taken for us, said to be the only one available, had been a potato store; large, open to the roof, rude and rough, over-run with rats, three wooden partitions only were raised about seven or eight feet; all above was open to the high roof — there was enough and to spare of ventilation. The winter was approaching, the house was in a bleak, exposed position, so the prospect was by no means rosy. There was neither cupboard nor safe in the house, and our ingenuity was taxed to preserve the eatables from the swarms of rodents that had found homes to their liking in the old provision store. My little boy had an unpleasant experience of these vermin one night. We heard him screaming with pain, and ran to his little couch; as we came near a big rat sprang out from it and made off. We found his toes bleeding from the bites of the vermin; he bore the marks for many years. The house was a long distance from the church, the roads in a state of nature, the moonless nights dark and dreary, so that my work was hedged round with difficulty. However, we laboured on and the church and Sunday School prospered; more room was soon imperatively needed. Here our success was our difficulty. We wondered where the funds were coming from to pay for a new church; the people were willing, but the bulk of them were poor." [1]

Ironside's predecessor, Henry Hanson Turton, was gifted and popular with an influential section of the citizens of New Plymouth. Among these were the resident magistrate, Josiah Flight; the colonial surgeon, Dr P. Wilson and the principal solicitor. They had purchased for the Wesleyans a square, unfinished sandstone

[1] *NZ Methodist,* 21 November 1891.

church, formerly owned by the Independents, and capable of seating one hundred people. It was opened for worship on 10 September 1843.



Sandstone chapel, Courtenay Street, New Plymouth. This chapel was bought in an unfinished state and opened for Wesleyan worship on 10 September 1843. Samuel Ironside was one of the preachers on that occasion. Built of sandstone, it later proved too costly to enlarge and was replaced in 1856, during Samuel Ironside's ministry. *Taranaki Museum.*

On that occasion Ironside had been one of the preachers but as it was now too small for the growing congregation Turton called a public meeting in the Freemasons' Hall for 14 February 1855, "to provide a means for the erection of a new place of worship." [2] Ironside continued this initiative and secured a site on the corner of Courtney and Liardet Streets (just opposite the chapel), upon which stood a cottage rather small for his family's requirements, but better than both the converted potato store and the "poor mud dwelling for the missionary to the Maoris at Moturoa." [3]

Ironside found

> "the little province was arrested in its progress through the disallowance of the [New Zealand] Company's purchase of the land by the former Governor. . . . Liberal payments had been made to the remnant of Natives, a mere handful, that had been permitted to remain by their Waikato conquerors — these too had been compensated. The refugees who had returned from Cook Strait had been paid for their usurped possessions in the Straits before they went back to Taranaki, whence war had driven them. The Queen's Commissioner, Mr Spain, had carefully examined the Company's purchase, getting evidence from both sides,

[2] *Taranaki Herald,* 14 February 1855.

[3] Minutes of Conference, 18 January 1855, P. 195.

> and everywhere as he was able; and had awarded 60,000 acres of land as that to which the Company was fairly entitled. Had this award of the Commissioner been carried out, there would have been enough to satisfy the claims of the emigrants, who had bought from the Company in England before they left home, The Governor . . . refused to confirm this award; (no doubt under instruction from Downing Street)[4] and only granted some 3,000 or 4,000 acres. The settlers were sorely distressed, perplexed and anxious." [5]

Henry Hanson Turton who arrived in New Zealand on the *Triton* in 1844). He served on the Aotea mission station (1841-1844) and at New Plymouth (1845-1855). He distinguished himself in controversy with Bishop Selwyn and later entered government service, becoming a magistrate of the Native Land Court. *Taranaki Museum*.

To Ironside it was mistaken philanthropy towards the Maoris and injustice towards the New Plymouth settlers. When the balance of the 60,000 acres was returned to the Maoris the land reverted to waste. Recalling his visit to New Plymouth in February 1844, Ironside wrote:

> "It is eleven years ago this very month since I had the pleasure of dining with a respected friend on his farm, at what was then the prosperous village of Mangoraka. There were a goodly number of comfortable English-looking cottages and homesteads in that neighbourhood. But the blighting decision of Captain FitzRoy, reversing the award of the Queen's Commissioner, Mr Spain,

[4] *NZ Methodist*, 28 November 1891.
[5] ibid., 5 December 1891.

> authorised Katatore to drive these industrious settlers into town, and sacrifice their improvements. . . . All that remained at Mangoraka were thousands of acres of wilderness and desolation with the remains of ditches and banks." [6]

There was no excuse for the injustice done to the settlers, whose forbearance Ironside constantly praised. As for the Maoris, their titles to those lands were "in inextricable confusion". It appeared . . . to many that the old freebooters' rule was to prevail:

> The good old rule, the simple plan,
> That they shall take who have the power,
> And they shall keep who can.[7]

> "These manumitted [released] war captives, and the exiles from Cook's Strait would never have been permitted to return to their old Taranaki homes but for the influence of Christianity. They had a moral right to as much land as they could profitably occupy, and this would have been readily conceded them; but where was their right to the tens of thousands of waste land over and above their personal requirements? These waste lands were given over to them and at once they were in hopeless dispute about their ownership of them. Here was the unhappy *fons et origo* of the internecine wars among themselves, years before the war of the races arose. . . . The petty ruler of Waitara and his Lieutenant Katatore, had no more right to the land at Waitahi than other natives at a distance. But Rawiri, the resident chief at Waitahi, with six of his people, was murdered by Katatore while they were, unarmed, quietly cutting the boundary lines of part of their own land, which they were offering to the Government for sale. The Government did not, would not bring these murderers to justice because it was a Maori quarrel. Perhaps they felt they could not; a general war might have resulted. So for nearly all the years of Sir T. G. Browne's governorship these sanguinary struggles — between natives who were desirous of selling some of their lands and the Wi Kingi party, who were determined to prevent all land sales — were of almost weekly occurrence; and the Government did not interfere." [8] "In these circumstances the settlers chafed under the treatment they had received; some of those who could do so left the place in disgust, those who stayed behind were almost without heart and hope." [9]

The little township was well supplied with churches and ministers. Apart from the missionaries working among the Maori people in the surrounding country — Riemenschneider among the Maoris of South Taranaki, Cort H. Schnackenberg at Mokau, and H. H. Turton at Moturoa — there was Archdeacon Govett and his curate,

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[6] *Taranaki Herald,* 26 September 1855.
[7] *NZ Methodist,* 5 December.
[8] ibid., 5 December 1891.
[9] ibid. 28 November 1891.

Mr Wollaston, who had a large and influential congregation at the Anglican church; and Joseph Long who had charge of the Primitive Methodist churches in the town and at Bell Block — they had sittings for 300 people and an average attendance of 230 worshippers, which was slightly larger than the Anglican attendances and considerably larger than the Wesleyans with 140. Apart from the sandstone chapel in town the Wesleyans had two other preaching places. There was no day school, but there were ten Sunday school teachers, two lay preachers, one class leader and ten church members, with a total of 274 people attending public worship.[10] Compared with the Maori work this was small indeed: they had ten chapels, twenty-four other preaching places, two schools with forty-four scholars; forty-seven local preachers; thirty-two class leaders; 410 church members; 820 Sunday school scholars and 1,150 people attending public worship.

As in Nelson, Ironside's ministry in New Plymouth was immediately successful. The problem of providing new church facilities was urgent, but though the people were willing, the bulk of them were poor, and wondered where the funds for such a project were coming from. The Sunday school anniversary was held on 17 June with services at 11am and 6pm and the customary tea meeting, held on the following Thursday at 4pm, provided a means of social intercourse dear to Methodists and helped to build a strong sense of community in the beleagued settlement where so much was uncertain. On 23 May the governor met the warring Maori parties. Having failed to reconcile their differences he reaffirmed the official attitude that as this was a Maori dispute about land the government would not interfere. Arama Karaka was incensed:

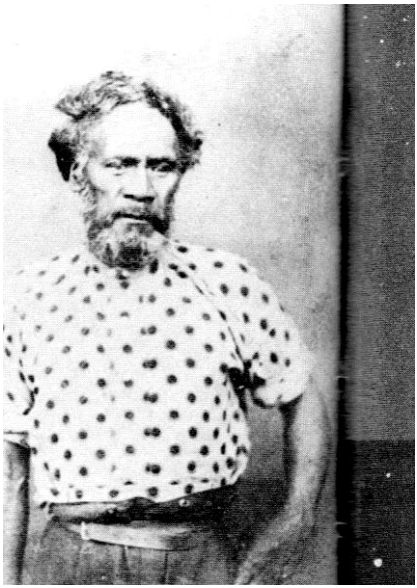
> "Governor," he said, "if the blood which has been spilt had only been that of an ENGLISH BABY instead of SEVEN NATIVE CHIEFS, what would you have done in that case? Why you would have filled the island with soldiers and killed every Maori in the country, before you would have allowed the murderers to go free. But you say that this is a NATIVE QUESTION, and yet you blame us for demanding Katatore's life, and wish us to leave the retribution to the day of judgement. This we will consent to do, if the Europeans will set the example, and do away with all laws and magistrates, and then we can defend ourselves. It is not straight for Government to act in this manner, whilst at the same time they call us children of the Queen." [11]

Meanwhile the forces opposed to the sale of land were gathering strength, while missionary influence was seeking to prevent the escalation of the conflict. Reverend George Stannard had met with the Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui people at Weriweri in March and persuaded the Wesleyan members of those tribes not to become involved

[10] Statistics of New Plymouth, No. 25.

[11] *Taranaki Herald*, 12 September 1855.

in the Puketapu feud.[12] In June he again met the Ngati Ruanui at Ohingaiti and persuaded the Wesleyan members of the tribe not to join Katatore.[13] Nevertheless, by 3 July, Katatore and Wiremu Kingi had enlisted the support of the non-Wesleyan Ngati Ruanui tribesmen for an attack on Ninia pa, and on 7 July, Colonel Wynyard, the officer administering for Government, decided that troops should be sent to New Plymouth because the settlers had neither means of defence nor of retreat. Should either of the contending parties seek shelter and protection in the town, it would expose the settlers to considerable danger by being dragged into a collision with one party or the other.[14]



Ihaia Kirikumara, one of the principal figures involved in the Puketapu feud. ***Taranaki Museum.***

On 15 July seventy-six of the Ngati Ruanui Maoris arrived and others were following. On 16 July they took possession of the stockades of the Kaipakopako which had been erected for them by Wi Kingi: within twelve hours hostile demonstrations against the survivors of Rawiri Waiaua began.[15] Not two years had elapsed since the Ngati Ruanui had threatened to cut down the New Plymouth flagstaff after the manner of Hone Heke. As a last resort, in an endeavour to keep the contending parties apart, and thus gain time for the governor to despatch relief for the protection of the English

[12] ibid., 31 October 1855.
[13] ibid., 26 September 1855.
[14] ibid., 15 August 1855.
[15] ibid., 24 July 1855.

settlers, Turton pitched his tent between the Ninia pa and its assailants, trusting "for safety to the Providence of the Almighty, and the personal goodwill, and respect of these much misguided people." [16]

To Turton the issue was clear. The matter could never be settled with anything like safety, until Katatore was either slain in conflict or removed away to another district, leaving the land for the use of the survivors. The Maori law ran thus — if a man was slain by a foreign tribe, nothing but blood would compensate; but if he was slain by another member of the same tribe, then the banishment of the offender, and the confiscation of all his property, both real and personal, would be accepted as sufficient compensation.[17] This was the most lenient settlement that could be made under Maori custom. Commissioner McLean had proposed it; H. H. Turton had repeatedly urged it; Katatore had consistently rejected it. Therefore, the only alternative was for the murderer of Rawiri Waiaua, Native Assessor, to be brought to justice not only in the interests of law and order but also to preserve the confidence of those tribes which, under the authority of the Treaty of Waitangi, were willing to sell land to the government. In the meantime his efforts were exerted to prevent fighting, or to redress the balance of power until such time as the government should act for the safety of New Plymouth. All the Maori protectors, all who had ever shown friendship to Europeans — Hoani Ropiha, Poharama, Waka, Roptha Haungenge, Ropiha Moturoa, Raniera, Tamati Waka and Tahana — were within the Ninia pa. The Ngati Ruanui had joined Katatore and Wi Kingi, and Turton appealed to the Ngati Maniapoto Maoris to come to the relief of Ninia, not to provoke a battle but to redress a balance of power until the government should station a military force in the town for the protection of the settlers. On Saturday 21 Turton reported:

> "Have succeeded in keeping the people quiet for a whole week. A few shots have been fired upon us by the Ngatiruanui, but they were not returned; and since then the bad weather has quenched their spirits. This morning the Rev. Mr Ironside came out to see me. He is well acquainted with many of these New Plymouth natives, who were formerly under his own charge at the South; and has used increasing endeavours to assist me in 'confounding the politics' and 'frustrating the knavish tricks', of these ragamuffin foreigners, who have dared to come and establish martial law, under the very shadow and shelter of British *supremacy."*.[18]

Details of Ironside's involvement are unknown but it is clear that he was supporting Turton's initiatives. At the same time Turton was assuring the Ngati Maniapoto that

[16] ibid., 24Ju1y 1855.
[17] ibid., 11 August 1855.
[18] ibid., 1 August 1855.

the governor would never allow any Maori chiefs or Native Assessors to be murdered so long as they obeyed and endeavoured to carry out the laws of the Queen.

On 7 August fighting broke out in earnest. The attack began with Katatore's party who wished to press their advantage before the arrival of the Ngati Maniapoto. Whereas up till now the fighting had been desultory because the combatants were fighting tribal relatives, the presence of other tribes removed family restraints. On hearing that fighting had broken out, Turton hastened from his home to the scene of the fighting.

> "On arrival I found them all skirmishing about in the fern, and just walked deliberately into the midst of them, on the road between the pas, the balls whizzing past me every moment. On seeing this, Arama Karaka, of his own accord, hauled down his red flag, and hoisted the flag of truce. Our own natives then ceased firing, as soon as they saw me on the ground; and I walked on to bring our own people in, and to bid the others to return. They allowed me to advance alone about fifty yards further on the straight line, when suddenly three shots were fired at me, all at once. One passed a little above my head, and one on each side of my face, close to my ears. Hoani Ropiha cried out, 'Turton, those shots are aimed at you; come back.'. . . Seeing what a murderous set we had to do with, we then retired gradually to the pa, other balls being fired at us all the way, until some of our men made a rush towards them, when they retired. For this manifestation of cowardly malevolence, perhaps I am indebted to one of my own countrymen, whose atrocious conversation with the Waitara Natives, was repeated to me last week. But we shall get to know who were the men who fired the shots, and that may give a clue to it. Thus, the poetry of action is wasted upon insensible minds; and we learn the lesson that the best way of dealing with men of murderous spirit, is to keep out of their way altogether." [19]

Turton was not only frustrated by the government's attitude but quite incensed for the Maoris who had suffered under it, and fearful for the consequences:

> "With our Native Assessors spread over every part of the Circuit, and the general lawfulness and civilization which has obtained in it for many years past, we can imagine nothing so impolitic as well as unjustifiable s to deprive the people of the protection of those laws to which in a great measure, they have been led to submit. Had the Puketapu chiefs retained their native authority instead of deferring to ours, they would still have been alive and in possession of all their rights, which none would have dared to dispute. And if, after losing their lives in the maintenance of our cause, and at our own instigation, and under the direction of a Government officer, the slaughter is to be ignored, and the murderers go free, it is not to be supposed that the survivors will submit themselves any longer to our direction, or that they will be blameable for refusing to do so. Their only

[19] ibid., 8 August 1855.

> protection will be found in their ancient, though barbarous customs; and the Queen's laws, they will leave to the Queen's subjects. And thus will rise up in our midst an imperium in imperio — the Maori chief will supplant the Native Assessor — and British rule and supremacy will cease to obtain even in our very township." [20]

The following morning the Ngati Maniapoto arrived from Mokau. On 13 August word was received that troops had sailed from Auckland in the *Duke of Portland* and it was agreed that as soon as the troops arrived the Mokaus would be free to return home. Their presence had intimidated Katatore's people, and the Ngati Maniapoto had sufficient authority to keep Wi Kingi's party "snug at Waitara". The settlement had been saved.

Four days later, ten messengers arrived from the interior of Wanganui bringing letters from the head chiefs and a cask of powder for the Puketapu people. This was in response to Ihaia's summons, made without the knowledge and consent of the missionaries. The powder was to be sown as seed upon Te Ikamoana, Kaipakopako and Waitara, and the Wanganui Maoris would shortly arrive to reap the harvest. This was a declaration of war. The Ngati Ruanui were warned to return home as soon as possible; but Katatore and Wi Kingi would not consent to their withdrawal from the league. About the same time it became apparent that much of the intransigent attitude of the Maoris associated with the Land League stemmed from Anglican influences and was traceable to Otaki where the league of Maori landowners was first established. The publication of a Maori tract advising against the further sale of land to Europeans by two clergymen revealed the connection. With every advancing year this Land League had been increasing in strength until it had gained the support of every non-Wesleyan Maori family from Otaki to Whitecliffs. As the league gained strength its leaders conspired to intimidate any who would sell land to the Europeans. The old Puketapu chief, Parata, had died from the rough usage he received from them; Katatore and Wi Kingi conspired to steal the map of the settlement from the commissioner's office but were thwarted by Halse and Poharama and Te Waka, and the affray at Waitaha and the unremitting endeavours of Katatore and Wi Kingi to cut off the survivors, were all activities of the Land League leaders, while the continual threatening attitude of Wi Kingi to the people of Mamaku prevented them from again offering their land for sale. A kind of indefinable fear of this southern conspiracy prevented the government from entertaining the proposal to buy more land. In short, Turton concluded:

> "They were afraid of endangering the settlement, in the absence of troops, which, on the other hand, they were afraid of introducing for a similar reason. And so they have avoided to do right for the fear of doing wrong, until the natives generally have lost all respect for any other will but their own. But we trust that

[20] ibid., 15 August, 1855.

> we have now come to the end of that system, which is as ruinous to them as it is disgraceful to us." [21]

On 19 August 300 soldiers of the 58th Regiment arrived under Major Nugent who, having conducted an enquiry in the area some time previously, held the confidence of the settlers. The following day the *Duke Portland* arrived from Port Nicholson with 300 of the 65th Regiment, and about the same time Bishop Selwyn arrived on the borders of Taranaki to try to settle the land dispute. This was at the request of the governor. During the past fifteen months Selwyn had been in England and was therefore somewhat out of touch with events but from Levi Te Ahu, who was preparing for holy orders, he had learnt more than his opponents realised.[22] Unfortunately he did not consult either Turton, who had been involved in the proceedings for the past thirteen months, or any of the settlers who were restive under the impression that an influential section of the Anglican clergy was actively supporting the anti-colonial league in their refusal to sell land. His appearance on the borders of Taranaki was viewed as an unnecessary and resented intrusion.

Between 15 and 31 August a series of interviews took place with both parties in the Waitara district and church services with natives and colonists were conducted. In Selwyn's mind the murder of Rawiri Waiaua by Katatore was quite separate from the settlement of the land issue. He pointed out that not until the heat had been taken out of the land issue would any progress be made. Turton would have agreed but held that the "heat" was indignation at the lack of government response in taking legal procedures against the murderer, and until that was done both indignation at present government policy in regarding the feud as a domestic Maori affair, and contempt of British authority would continue. Until this was rectified little progress in the settlement of the land dispute was likely to be made. In the light of the official British attitude, the only humane way left to attempt to settle the dispute was in terms of Maori custom whereby Katatore should go into voluntary exile. In this Turton had supported McLean, but without success and with diminishing conviction.

On the land issue Selwyn held with the government, that the real owners of the land were the Ngati Awa and that they should be enabled and encouraged to reoccupy their territories. It was an act unworthy of Englishmen to avail themselves "by any native custom either of conquest or of slavery, to disenfranchise any class of native proprietors." [23] In pursuit of this policy Governor FitzRoy had reversed Commissioner Spain's finding that the land at Waitara had been fairly bought. Turton maintained that it was equally unjust to dispossess without compensation, any section of the colonists who had honestly bought land and when the commissioner was known to have upheld

[21] ibid., 23 August 1855.

[22] *The Life and Episcopate of C. A. Selwyn,* H. W. Tucker, William Wells Gardner, London 1879, p. 55.

[23] ibid., p. 54.`

the validity of the Waitara land purchase. Selwyn's warnings on the sin of covetousness may have been apt enough as an exposition of the sin of Ahab, but to accuse the settlers of "earth hunger, land grabbing, and other groundless offences, because they asked to be put in possession of land they had bought and paid for: and which the Queen's High Commissioner had awarded.

There was not excuse for this injustice done them." [24] In Ironside's opinion Selwyn's mind was strangely warped towards his Maori protegees to the disparagement of his fellow countrymen. He had the preconceived notion that the settlement of New Zealand had been undertaken primarily for the benefit of the Maori race. Thus, where colonial interests appeared to be incompatible with Maori tradition and custom, trade and commerce must languish. In spite of the high regard which Ironside always publicly avowed for the bishop with whom he was personally acquainted, he considered that Selwyn's Maori predilections often led to the unjust condemnation of the settlers and the violent overbearing Maori had been excused and his excesses winked at.[25]

Selwyn's belief that the Ngati Awa should be encouraged to repossess their ancestral lands had in view the practical end of determining what lands were surplus to their requirements. When this had been determined he was prepared to advise the Maori owners to sell or give to the government, such lands, and to encourage each owner to secure the possession of his individual lot by a Crown grant and be registered as a voter with the same qualification as an Englishman.[26] He held that this could be achieved by peaceful negotiation — as had been accomplished in Auckland — and in this way the Maori land titles could be extinguished and the settlers secure possession of such land. With this intention Turton would agree, but held that before such sales could take place the vendor must have the protection of the Crown from the intimidation of those opposed in principle to the sale of any Maori land, but who had no rights themselves to the land being sold.

For Turton at least, there was a twofold solution. First, a large body of troops should be located in the district, until such prestige had been established in the Crown's favour that respect was ensured and obedience commanded. Secondly, that having provided for all the possible wants of the Maori people, the entire remaining district should be purchased by the Crown and settled with bands of sturdy yeomen who, in a few years, would stand on their own defence and liberate the Imperial troops for other duties.[27] In the meantime two principles should govern the acquisition of Maori land. It should be gained equitably for both government and Maori, and it should be gained

[24] *NZ Methodist,* 5 December 1891.

[25] "New Zealand and its Aborigines", a lecture by Samuel Ironside, Sydney, 1863.

[26] *The Life and Episcopate of C. A. Selwyn,* H. W. Tucker, p. 52.

[27] *Taranaki Herald,* 12 September 1855.

peaceably so far as the real owners of the land were concerned, i.e. without interference from other parties.[28]

Unfortunately the line of demarcation on the land issue was, broadly speaking, a denominational one. Those who opposed the sale of land — Katatore, Wi Kingi and a section of the Ngati Ruanui that supported them — were Anglican, while those who wished the Maori to sell land were Wesleyans. While both Wesleyans and Bishop Selwyn were not opposed to the sale of Maori land, and agreed that Maori owners should be encouraged to hold their land by Crown grant, a section of the Anglican clergy appeared to be supporting the anti-colonial league. While Selwyn condemned murder he was helpless to see justice done, for the government was powerless to apprehend the offender. Donald McLean's proposals pursued by the Wesleyans were equally ineffective. Moreover, the crucial issue had not been dealt with. When one party of Maori land owners was prevented by intimidation from selling land they legitimately owned, by another party with no rights in the land offered for sale, Turton was more practical than Selwyn. Ironside recalls:

> "Many a time have I ridden out from New Plymouth to the Waitara District with other missionaries and influential gentlemen, once at least with Bishop Selwyn, in the vain hope that we could reconcile the contending parties. We visited the wounded, dressing their wounds as we were able. We went to the hostile pahs and reasoned with both parties, to no avail. Fight they would, and fight they did. Even while we were at one time counselling one of the tribes to cease from this deadly strife, the opposing party, Wi Kingi's people, commenced firing at the pah, and we heard the whistling of the bullets in very unpleasant proximity to us. We learned afterwards that the firing party thought we had been too long with their foes. I think the good Bishop Selwyn learned a lesson that day, He found that his protegees, the Wi Kingi party, were not so tractable as he hoped they would be. I, for one, was glad to leave the field where friendly counsel was replied to by ball cartridge." [29]

The initiative now lay with government. The new governor, Lieut-Colonel Thos. Gore Browne, paid his first visit to the province on 29 October. After congratulating the settlers and the neighbouring Maoris on their forbearance, he made it clear that the policy of non-interference in Maori feuds would continue, but should there be any interference with settlers' territory, troops would defend the settlement.[30] Turton and the Ninia Maoris were bitterly disappointed, and Turton feared that his own prophecy of an *imperio in imperium* would be realised before his eyes.

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[28] ibid., 26 September 1855.

[29] NZ *Methodist,* 5 December 1891.

[30] *Taranaki Herald,* 31 October 1855.

On arrival in Auckland Bishop Selwyn had penned a pastoral letter largely for the benefit of his people in Taranaki. The contents so incensed Turton that a public meeting was called for on 28 September in the Freemasons' Hall, to consider the matter. C. W. Richmond took the chair and begged the meeting to keep strictly to the point and by no means to express any opinion of the measures of government. Turton read the Bishop's letter point by point and spoke for two hours. The *Taranaki Herald* declined to comment until it had a copy of the pastoral letter. When that came to hand, the *Taranaki Herald* reported that the meeting completely justified the course of action and advice which Turton had pursued during the late disturbances.[31]

It pointed out the indiscretion of the bishop in grounding his judgment of the morality of the people of the settlement upon the opinion of a few members of his own church, and that some of his own flock would have sufficient regard for the character of the province to throw back on him and his informers "the sweeping calumny" he had launched on the community generally. The position of the settlers regarding Maori land was made abundantly clear — "the settlers neither desire to take, nor even to obtain by purchase an acre of land that the native is able and willing to cultivate". They were fully aware that whether it be by Maori or Pakeha every acre cultivated added to the strength and wealth of the settlement. They coveted nothing more than the secure occupation of that which they had paid for, and which by their toil and capital had become valuable. To accomplish this on their behalf was the first duty of those in authority and influence. And, the rebuke added, "We much regret to say that throughout his Lordship's argument there appears a woeful forgetfulness of the interest and security of the European settler . . . and the truth must be added, that notwithstanding. . . a quarter of a century of Missionary labours, the Natives still destroy each other in cold blood, without repugnance or remorse, upon the slightest provocation and accompany these slaughterings with the horrible brutalities of their ancient customs." [32]

In all this controversy, Turton felt that attempts had been made to misrepresent his conduct and to lay his character under unmerited imputations. However, he had the satisfaction of knowing that the settlers, on the resolution of two churchmen, appreciated the exertions he had made for the safety of the settlement in its recent critical position, and that the Wesleyan district committee (meeting in Auckland on 13 November), approved his conduct as being highly creditable to him as a Wesleyan missionary, beneficial to the country generally and to the province in particular. The presence of the Mokau people, the Ngati Maniapoto, and the threatened invasion of the Wanganui, had subdued the Land League leaders and their Ngati Ruanui supporters, while the presence of the 58th and 65th Regiments imposed peace on the surrounding countryside and gave New Plymouth the air of a garrison town. The

[31] ibid., 26 December 1855.

[32] ibid., 17 October 1855

superintendent of the province called a meeting to consider the formation of a volunteer force. So the year 1855 closed.

The same district meeting that approved of Turton's actions in the recent crisis, also appointed the veteran Wesleyan missionary, John Whiteley to take charge of the Native Department at New Plymouth. Whiteley had been expecting to go to Auckland and had some encouragement to believe that he would succeed Walter Lawry as the new leader of Wesleyan Methodism in New Zealand. Disappointed at the change of plans, Whiteley took up his new appointment in New Plymouth "to assist the Government and Mission solve the Taranaki Native risings." [33] Turton was reluctant to vacate the mission station at Moturoa where he had a growing personal interest in the farm, and Whiteley saw advantages in living at Te Henui to be near the seat of the conflict in which he was to mediate. Thus the two men entered into a lease of the mission property. The district meeting disapproved and Ironside became the local agent for enforcing district meeting policy. It was an awkward position and fraught with conflict. But Whiteley was newly on the scene and describes how he found this district in 1856:

> "This Circuit having been in a state of war for the last two or three years is now composed of a number of pas or stockades, each little settlement being converted into a military fortress for the security of the inhabitants thereof. These pas are generally situated along the main road — called Devon Line — and number nineteen from Te Kawau in New Plymouth, to Turangi, five miles north, or Waitara.
>
> "The following is a list of these Pas, viz. (South of the missionaries present residence):
> 1. *Te Kawau* a pa in the town of New Plymouth, distant about 1½ miles.
> 2. *Moturoa* a small village about two miles further. (North of the Missionary's present residence).
> 3. *Te Raeomiti* the pa of Hone Ropiha, 1 mile distant.
> 4. *Katere* another mile further on.
> 5. *Upokotauaki* is inland from the above one mile.
> 6. *Te Horopuriri* another mile further along the Devon Line.
> *7. Te Paraiti* inland 1 mile.
> 8. *Hawho Taone* on the Devon Line 1½ miles.
> 9. *Te Ninia* the pa of Arama Karaka ½ a mile further.
> 10. *Te Tima* is inland half a mile.
> 11. *Kaipakopako* the pa of Katatore half a mile further inland.
> 12. *Te Ikamoana* a new pa near the Ninia on the Devon Line.
> 13. *Mahoetohi* is 1½ miles further inland on the River Waitara.
> 14. *Huirangi* is 3 miles inland on the River Waitara.

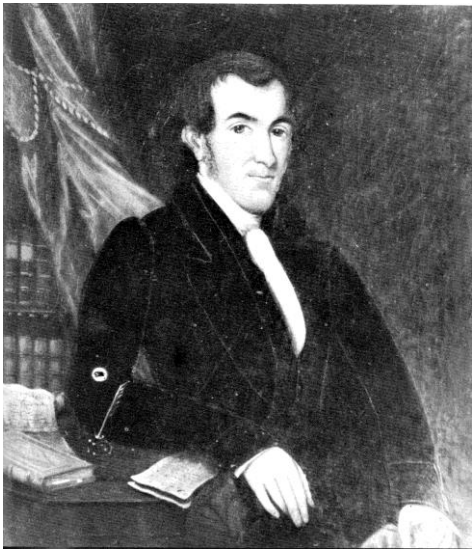
[33] Letter from W. W. H. Greenslade.

15. *Te Korihi* 2 miles nearer the coast on the same river.
16. *Te Karumowhiti* another mile distant inland.
17. *Te Mamaku* 2 miles lower down the Waitara River.
18. *Te Taniwha* 3 miles from Waitara along the Coast.
19. *Turangi* 2 miles further along the Coast.

> "It was impossible to give a correct number belonging to each pa simply because the people had been in an unsettled state and moving from pa to pa." [34]

It was the conviction of the district meeting that if the Maoris would listen to anyone they would listen to Whiteley.[35]

> "Fearing nothing, loving everyone, he went about his work, preaching peace by Jesus Christ. The ordinary Sabbath life of Mr Whiteley. . . was to ride out from his home in Taranaki some 20 or 25 miles north or south, on Saturday afternoon, and have early Sabbath morning worship with the natives where he spent the night. Then, setting his face homewards, he conducted worship at as many as five or six native villages on the way. Some of his friends thought he was too venturesome. His reply was 'Oh they know me well enough, they will never meddle with me.' ".[36]



John Whiteley. This portrait was painted prior to his departure from England. Re reached New Zealand in 1833 and was killed in February 1869 during the Taranaki disturbances.

[34] District minutes, 1856. New Plymouth Native Circuit Report.

[35] *Australasian Methodist Missionary Review*, 1 June 1892.

[36] ibid. This article was by Ironside.

The early months of the Whiteley-Ironside ministry in New Plymouth were peaceful. The military presence still had the power to overawe the turbulent spirit of the leaders of the Land League party, who were busy propagating their ideas and quietly drawing together the tribes in greater unity. The Royal Military Theatre was preparing for such performances as "Maurice the Woodcutter" (with an interlude on "The Rifle Brigade!") and the "Irish Attorney". The military band played on such occasions as a gubernatorial visit, and things were in such a state of relative calm that the 58th Regiment farewelled some of its members with a ball. Church life was also enriched by the military presence. The eyes of a uniform crossed those of a settler's daughter, and wedding bells rang, while some, such as Sergeant Marjoram of the Royal Artillery, took over the superintendency of the Sunday school and enlarged his duties by teaching both adults and children to read from the Bible.

It was in this calm that followed the arrival of Imperial troops, that steps were taken to re-establish the work of the Wesleyan Church in more adequate premises. A plot of land with a shingle-roofed cottage upon it had been bought under favourable circumstances; a building committee was set up; an architect employed; and on Thursday, 13 March, just a week before Hanson Turton left New Plymouth, the foundation stone was laid with great ceremony. The congregation and friends met in the sandstone chapel across the road at 1pm for a service of worship for which a number of "gentlemen amateurs" kindly lent their musical services for the day.[37] The congregation then walked to the site of the new church where the foundation stone was laid by Josiah Flight Esq, Resident Magistrate. The Doxology was sung, a collection made and addresses given. The open air ceremony concluded with the whole assembly joining with spirit in singing the National Anthem. Upwards of 200 people, besides children, were refreshed and regaled by the good cheer provided, which included nothing intoxicating. Then speeches flowed — loyal, national, social and religious — and the company parted at 5 o'clock, well gratified with the day, and the handsome sum of upwards of £30 laid on the foundation stone.

During the year Ironside's pastoral care had been extended into the surrounding country districts. Monthly services were commenced in the Hua Village, five miles east of the town, in the Primitive Methodist chapel and most of the villagers assembled regularly for worship as had been their custom before migrating. Another monthly service was commenced on 14 May in the cottage of M. Carrick at Mangorei, eight or nine miles south of the town; between thirty and forty assembled regularly for worship. More frequent services would have been held but the only local preacher in

[37] At this period the music for Wesleyan worship was often provided by instrumentalists. The New Plymouth church owned at least one instrument, for in the balance sheet for 6 May 1858, appears the item "Proceeds of sale of Bass-Viol, £2.5.0." No doubt a nucleus of the "gentlemen amateurs" were those who regularly played for the congregational singing in the sandstone chapel. Their services were no longer required when the pipe organ was installed.

the circuit objected to the rough roads he must travel through dense New Zealand bush without a horse. As the people had to assemble in daylight, and no other preacher was available, a monthly service had to suffice. A friend had given land and the district was being canvassed for funds to erect a small building. At Tataraimaka, fifteen miles south west of the town, a congregation of twenty or thirty people was led in worship by the Wesleyans, the Primitive Methodists and the German Lutherans in sequence. This also lacked the help needed for development. One other service in the outlying areas was conducted. Cooperation with the Primitive Methodists was good and, while they allowed the use of their chapels for Wesleyan services, Ironside withheld taking any steps towards establishing a Wesleyan day school because the Primitives already had one and there were not enough children to support another. For the community generally Ironside imported cases of Bibles and Testaments which were advertised for sale in the local newspaper. His growing unrest at the intemperance of the community led him to successfully petition the provincial council for the closing of hotels on Sundays. In May the renovation of the cottage on the new church site seems to have been completed, the family moved in, and the new address was advertised as "Devonport".[38] For his part Whiteley maintained contact with the Maori pas in each of which a Maori teacher was working.

In mid-April, while Arama Karaka was peacefully tilling his land, a fresh outbreak occurred at the Bell Block. There were killed and wounded on both sides as the skirmishing continued for two days. On the third day a truce was called for burying the dead. Arama Karaka's people now understood their plight and made plans to fall back on Hone Ropiha's pa at Waiwakaiho if Ninia became untenable. All the other villages were being abandoned for these two points. In May the Ngati Ruanui began a long march around the coast to join the attack. By July they were five hundred strong. They built two pas, and threatened to go to great lengths to protect them. One of these was between Ninia and the European boundary, scarcely a quarter of a mile away. Whiteley records something of the missionary activities during this crisis:

> "On Monday — to Katatore's pa. I went there early to meet them and Bro. Ironside followed me but as the weather came on wet he caught cold and for nearly a fortnight was laid up with erysipelas. In consequence of the wet weather the taua [fighting party or invaders] did not come on. . . Rev. Mr Govett the Church Missionary, offered to accompany me and the Rev. Riemenschneider of the German Mission gave us a visit and went with me many times to different pas. Bro. Turton assisted with valuable information and when Bro. Ironside was recovered lent me a helping hand." [39] "Twice a general battle was prevented by

[38] *Taranaki Herald*, 3May 1856.

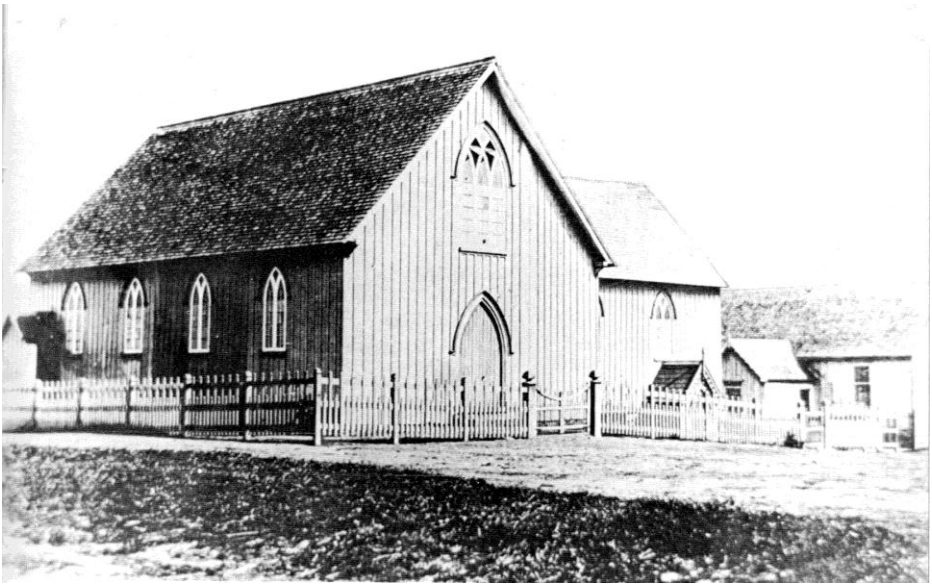
[39] Letter of John Whiteley, Tumbull Lib.

> missionary influence: a conflict, however, did take place in which five on each side were slain." [40]

On 26 July a whole day of fighting occurred. Ihaia and his party were attacked and saved only by the careful strategy and counterattack by the men of the Halftown and Ninia pas. Nine were killed and as many injured in the hostilities which were taking place right within the European out-settlers' holdings. In spite of their superior numbers, the Ngati Ruanui were defeated. They burnt their pas and returned home. For a time matters settled down again, though the underlying anxiety of both Maori and Pakeha continued. Ironside and Whiteley both describe conditions prevailing at the time:

> "These were purely Maori quarrels; the unfortunate settlers had nothing to do with them, save to endure the frequent scares, and the petty thefts, chiefly of lead, fire arms, and anything else that might help them in their hostile encounters. . . Their wives and daughters would hear of new shipments of goods to the drapers' shops, and were generally among the first to call and inspect the fresh goods, requiring the tradesman to turn out everything he had got for them to see. Their husbands were heavily in debt at the stores, a matter which they treated very cavalierly. These debts they called *rongo taima* (long time), significantly true in their case." [41] "A roll of sheet lead, weighing upwards of eight hundredweight, was stolen by the natives from a European tradesman. One of our chiefs, Hone Roptha, nobly exerting himself, not only succeeded in recovering nearly the whole of it and returning it to the owner, but he also, by taxing himself and his people, raised the sum of twenty pounds as compensation for the injury done to the lead by cutting it up for bullets. This same chief had also ventured to take upon himself the responsibility and odium of making an important move towards the restoration of peace, but the terrible example of the British war with Russia has had its influence in protracting the quarrel here. But little is being done in the way of cultivation; neither have the natives time nor inclination to earn money by working for the Europeans; yet so great has been anxiety for munitions of war, that they have purchased them secretly, in violation of the law, at most enormous prices. The people are thus stripped of almost every available shilling. As to schools, the 'Grey Institute' has not been in operation, as the rumours and evils of war have made the people fearful and unwilling to risk the safety of their children by allowing them to leave the vicinity of their respective pas." [42]

[40] Report to district meeting, 1856, John Whiteley.
[41] *NZ Methodist*, 28 November 1891.
[42] Report to district meeting, 1856, John Whiteley.



Wesleyan Methodist church, New Plymouth. Built on Liardet Street, this church was opened on 2 October 1856, and continued in use until the first Whiteley Memorial church was built in 1898. It replaced the former sandstone chapel. *Taranaki Museum.*

In spite of the presence of troops, uneasiness within the settlement was heightened during such occurrences, and shots fired at night greatly alarmed the settlers.[43] In spite of all this the Wesleyans had been working hard to build a new church:

> "In due course a neat chaste building was raised, in which both church and school found accommodation; and the cottage made a convenient parsonage, though small. The debt left on the premises was manageable, so the Trust was, as is usual to say, in easy circumstances. One experience the building committee had which we had to pay for: the contract specified that the contract specified that the work of the builder had to be done to the satisfaction of the architect, and on his certificate was payment to be made. We learned afterwards that the architect, a free liver, had got financial accommodation from the longheaded contractor, and signed certificates for payments which ought not to have been made, as the work was faulty. After the church was opened, the roof was found to be insecure, and the building had to be braced up with inch iron rods, stretched across from side to side. If there was no neglect on the part of the builder which the architect was induced to overlook, then there would have been a reflection upon his skill in having prepared faulty plans and specifications; anyhow, it was a business. We had about one-third of the building partitioned off for a

[43] *Taranaki Herald*, 11 November 1856.

> schoolroom; the space over-head opened into the church, and made a nice choir gallery, with seating accommodation also for the scholars during public worship. We had a very excellent choir, on which we prided ourselves; and we were fortunate, too, in having a sweet-toned pipe organ, rather small, but large enough for our church. It was said to be 150 years old, had been in the possession of Father Hobbs, who took great interest in church music, and had educated himself to considerable proficiency in that branch of worship. " [44]

> "The opening services were quite an event in the town. The opening was conducted by the Rev. Samuel Ironside on Thursday, October 2nd [1856] at 11 a.m. and an evening service at 6.30 was led by the Rev. John Whiteley. On the following Sunday a Maori service was held at 9 a.m. when the sum of £5.10.0 was collected and given towards the new erection; this, in their present circumstances, was a large sum and a noble act." [45]

This was followed by the usual 11am service, led by the Rev. H. H. Turton who saw completed what he had begun. For this service the Maoris joined the Europeans in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

> "The crowning part of this interesting affair," reports the *Taranaki Herald,* [46] "was the Tea Meeting on the evening of Monday last, which was a most enthusiastic assemblage. The people began to arrive early in the afternoon, and before the hour appointed; and the old chapel, where the tables were laid out, was soon filled, upwards of 400 persons sitting down to tea, while many were too late either for room or accommodation. During the Tea some larrikin brought the whole gathering to a stunned silence by firing off a cannon which was found shortly afterwards partially buried in the ground, not many yards from the site of the building. Dr Wilson was incensed when one of the women miscarried." [47]

The meeting transferred to the new church

> "which was crowded almost to suffocation, and speeches of all kinds, grave and humorous, instructive and amusing, were listened to with great attention. The attractions of the choir, were however preeminent — the singing was a great treat, and too much cannot be said in its praise. [This was the choir of St Mary's church.] The total receipts. . . amounted to £119.9.3½, an amount unprecedented, it is asserted, in New Zealand Church and Chapel opening All the speakers were in fine fettle. To Mr Turton fell the task of speaking to a resolution rejoicing in the liberality which left a debt of only £400 on a £1300 building, and against this

[44] *NZ Methodist,* 28 November 1891.
[45] Whiteley's report to the district meeting, 1856.
[46] *Taranaki Herald,* 11 October 1856.
[47] ibid. 11 October 1856.

> debt would be the proceeds of a fair shortly to be held. His speech was 'replete with humour, and he sat down amidst shouts of laughter and applause.' " [48]

Thus the third Wesleyan church in New Plymouth was launched on its career. The work was in good heart and gaining in strength. The new building was an ornament to the town, the seating capacity had been almost doubled, and the average attendance at public worship followed the same trend.[49] The renovation of the cottage, which was included in the building scheme, was furnished at Ironside's expense,[50] and shortly afterwards he applied for sections 52 and 53 on the plan of the Hua village to extend Wesleyan influence in that district.[51]

Now that the old Wesleyan chapel was no longer required for worship, the trustees were happy to receive overtures from the Taranaki Institute for the use of the building at least on a temporary basis. In November 1856 a provisional committee set up by the institute, under the chairmanship of C. Brown, proposed that the institute should secure a permanent home for its activities and suggested ways to finance a building scheme. Other matters seemed much more important to the community, which did not respond to the idea. Without support the institute was glad to find a temporary home in the old Wesleyan chapel.[52] Here lectures were periodically given and on 18 October 1856 Samuel Ironside gave what was probably the first scientific lecture sponsored by the institute. This was on "Pneumatics", delivered in a "lucid and entertaining manner" and loudly applauded.[53]

Shortly afterwards, on 17 December, a new executive was appointed: Dr P. Wilson, colonial surgeon (president), Samuel Ironside (treasurer), and C. Harrison (secretary!). The following evening these met with the Wesleyan church trustees, who agreed to carry out such alterations and repairs as were necessary to let the building to the institute.[54]

As the year drew to a close Whiteley and Ironside sailed for Wanganui.[55] The reason remains a mystery. Was it to consult with George Stannard about the powder sown by

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[48] ibid.

[49] Statistics of New Plymouth, 1853, 1856.

[50] Quarterly meeting nthiutes, 4 January, 1858.

[51] *Taranaki Herald*, 25 October 1855. These sections were purchased but never built upon. They were sold in 1909.

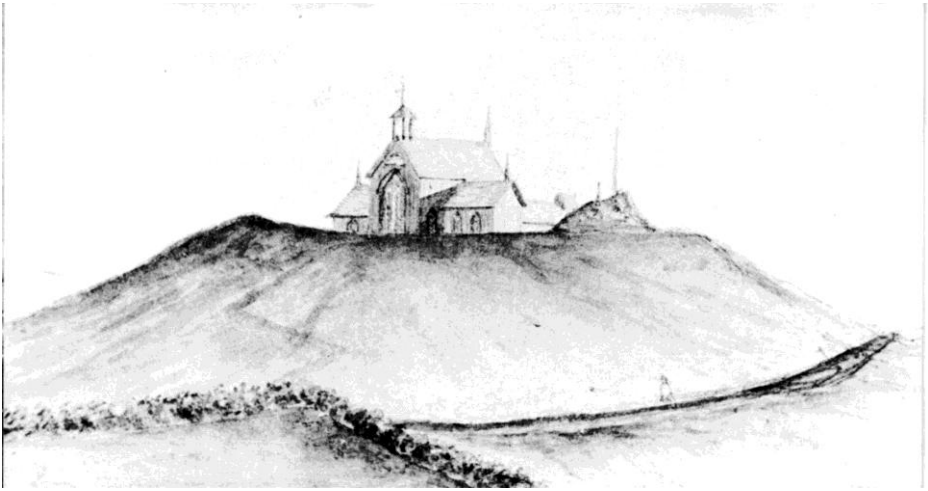
[52] ibid., 27 December 1856.

[53] H. E. Carey in *New Plymouth Public Library, a History, 1848-1960,* p. 12, refers to the 'previous year's single scientific lecture' as being in 1857. Ironside delivered the lecture on pneumatics in October 1856, and also spoke on astronomy on 21 May 1857.

[54] *Taranaki Herald*, 10 January 1857.

[55] ibid., 23 November 1856.

the Wanganui Maoris on Ikamoana, Kaipakopako and Waitara? Was it to see William Woon, who was ill? It has not been possible to find out, but we know that it was a relief to all, that hostilities had died down through the patient work of John Whiteley and Hone Roptha. Whiteley was confident that their efforts would be crowned with success. The minority that wished to continue hostilities hoped that the Taupo and Wanganui tribes would come to their assistance. Two pas had been built and a third was in course of erection, but in Whiteley's opinion it was doubtful if they would ever be occupied by those for whom they were intended. In the expectation of a prolonged peace. Whiteley took steps to honour the request of the district meeting to occupy the mission house at Moturoa and re-open the Grey Institute. During 1856 he had remained at Te Henui to be near to the seat of strife: he now moved to the mission site to be near the school. On the roll of thirty-four pupils were several European and half-caste boys but the majority were Maoris. It was hoped that Mr Skinner who knew the Maori language and the Maori people, would be available as master, but since he was now occupied elsewhere as catechist, Henry Collins was appointed to the post.



The Grey Institute in 1850. Named after Sir George Grey, the institute was planned for the education of young Maori people. During the disturbances of the Puketapu feud it was closed through lack of support, but it was the base from which Wesleyan Maori work in Taranaki operated.

Taranaki Museum.

The day began at 6am, with work on the farm and in the classroom occupying the morning. Dinner was at noon, followed by an hour for play. Classroom and farm work took up the remainder of the afternoon, and in the evening Scripture was read from 7 until 8pm. Progress in reading and writing had been satisfactory but the school was beset with difficulties. As an industrial school, the curriculum was fashioned to teach Maori youth the arts of farming along with language skills. Financial viability depended upon the scholars working on the farm and receiving board and keep in lieu

of payment. In theory this was admirable: in fact it failed to take into account the local conditions. Most of the Taranaki people had been held in a state of slavery. The badge of that condition was work without pay. Thus, when parents learned that their children were required to work on the farm without being paid in money they were reminded of their own degradation and felt that the badge of slavery was being put upon their children. To overcome this Whiteley suggested to the education committee that scholars should be paid for their work and charged for their education and keep; but this would probably incur a financial loss that the mission was in no state to sustain. These difficulties were compounded when the master, seeing no prospect of an increase in his salary, resigned, and from April 1856 the responsibility for tuition fell heavily upon Whiteley, with some assistance from Mr Edgecombe.[56]

The new year of 1857 came in quietly. No doubt the usual watchnight and covenant services were held in the new chapel; the Royal Military Theatre entertained the citizens of New Plymouth and a military cricket match was played; the Wesleyan Sunday school anniversary was held and for a change, the tea meeting was held at the mission station with Sergeant Marjoram keeping the lads in regimental order. The Taranaki Institute began to hold soirees where a little learning was brought to the community with the appetiser of social intercourse and entertainment. On 15 January Arama Karaka, stout friend of the settlers and renowned Maori warrior, died at the Ninia pa. A giant of the forest had fallen, and there was a gap on the skyline. More Bibles arrived for Samuel Ironside to sell in the interests of intelligent godliness. The institute began to tailor its programme to the needs of community: John Whiteley spoke of the Maoris for one and a half hours, on three occasions, in an effort to help settlers understand their Polynesian neighbours. Dr Nield espoused the cause of temperance, while such issues as a bridge for the Waiwakaiho River, a model of a floating breakwater for the roadstead, and the local manufacture of cotton looked at issues affecting the life of the community.

While this was going on, John Hobbs arrived in New Plymouth to investigate on behalf of the district meeting, certain allegations concerning Hanson Turton. Hobbs was a guest of the Ironsides' where he found the children well behaved and Mrs Ironside expecting her sixth child. Being a man of high standing in the church, Hobbs was invited to preach at the Sunday school anniversary, and Ironside did not fail to note that the collection was thirty shillings more than usual! [57]

But the object of the visit was to enquire into the alleged drunkenness of Hanson Turton. Hobbs moved around the district, meeting the people, sharing in the church functions, preaching in the churches, meeting with the Taranaki Institute, finding an engineer whom he thought could manufacture a speculum for his medical work, and

[56] Letter of John Whiteley, 27 December 1856.

[57] Journal of John Hobbs, 18 January 1857.

quietly reminding the people that the three year rule applied to European circuits. "There are reasons for my doing so," he entered rather mysteriously in his journal. As for the alleged intemperance of Mr Turton, it became clear that there was a deep division in the church. Turton had gathered about him a number of leading citizens who were not "members of society"; these people were influential — perhaps trustees — and had much to do with the provision and upkeeping of property. Among these people Turton moved with ease and probably accommodated himself to their ways by taking snuff, taking wine with meals on social occasions, and enjoying a pipe of tobacco. But he was alleged to have been seen drunk! In the course of the enquiry it became evident that there was much local feeling against Whiteley, who was held to have advised Governor FitzRoy to disallow Commissioner Spain's finding that 60,000 acres had been fairly purchased. He was believed, therefore, to be the malevolent spirit that initiated the settlers' land troubles. There was also intrigue on Turton's behalf. Mrs Wilson went to see Mr Bayley hoping to persuade him to say he might have been mistaken in the person who was drunk! Perhaps it was not Mr Turton. She was thinking of petitioning the district meeting on Mr Turton's behalf! Clearly, the church was divided and partisan. Some thought Whiteley was against Turton and Ironside for him. In Hobbs' opinion Whiteley was "making a dead set at Ironside . . . who appears to wish to act uprightly" [58] and came to the conclusion that those who could not rule would leave.[59] And so it proved. The Wilsons began to attend the Primitive Methodist church, and Hobbs noted that of Turton's friends only Dr Humphries attended the Wesleyan services. The conference exonerated Turton on the charge of intoxication but reprimanded him for not attending the meeting. "This to such a man as Turton" gossiped Mrs Wilson, "and that really bad man Ironside, to be pitied and made much of, it is too bad. We are doing all we can to get Turton to give up the Mission — for a man of his talents must do in any situation — he would make a famous Native Commissioner under your orders, would he not?" [60]

Hobbs left with forty pages of foolscap and not much satisfaction. He took with him young Samuel Eades Ironside, just ten years of age, to attend the new Wesleyan college in Auckland. There he would live with the Hobbs family and attend as a day boy. When the Ironside farewells were said and the passengers boarded the steamer for Manukau, Hobbs gave young Samuel into the care of the stewardess and, finding his own cabin, settled down to reading 300 pages of *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin.*[61]

In June the Wesleyan cemetery was dedicated. On 14 August the absence of young Samuel Eades from the household was partially filled by the arrival of baby John. As the year wore on relationships in the circuit were still unhappy. Whiteley was reluctant

[58] ibid., 7 February 1857.

[59] ibid., 8 February 1857. The main charge against Turton was that he was running some of his own stock on mission land, and trading in this contrary to the Rules of the Mission Society.

[60] Letter of Mrs H. A. Wilson to Donald McLean, 9 May 1857.

to leave Te Henui, where no doubt he enjoyed the company of some of the disaffected Wesleyan families. Ironside's insistence that he move to Moturoa did not improve the situation with either Whiteley or these families. Again, Helen Wilson reflected something of the local feeling:

> "Sammy Ironside continues to fall out of the good opinion of his flock which is now reduced to a very few. . . We often hear from Turton who is still persecuted by the Wesleyan body at Auckland who are guided by that mischief making body, Ironside." [61]

Among the Maori people the Wesleyans saw signs of hope. The effects of the protracted war were still evident in uncultivated lands and large debts, but with the help of the Europeans the Maoris had built a neat timber chapel in the town pa at a cost of £220, most of which had been collected during Mr Turton's ministry.[62] In addition the Grey Institute had been re-opened with encouraging prospects of success. Whiteley reported to the district meeting a strange movement among the Maori people all along the coast in reference to their sacred places:

> "Much zeal and superstition have been manifested in connection with this business, but the more sober and well meaning of the people reason that as the 'high places' were demolished and taken away under the Jewish dispensation so also should all their places of 'tapu' and old heathenish superstitions be destroyed in order that the people may no longer be doubtful or of divided mind between the fear and bondage of Maori superstition and faith in the Christian religion. For it is a fact that though Christianity has been embraced very extensively yet many are under the bondage of fear with regard to Maori gods and Maori witchcraft and Maori tapu . . . They acknowledge that these false or imaginary gods have been abandoned but they have an idea that they have not been destroyed. . . .They believe however that this power only extends to the body and that the soul by faith in the Redeemer is safe . . . Thinking that the power and vindictiveness of their Maori gods is one cause of their mortality and decrease in numbers, the natives have therefore determined upon the annihilation and destruction of all their sacred places and this has been attended to with great zeal and parade and not without superstitions and heathenish feelings and fear . . . Reading the Scriptures, prayer and worship have formed a part of these ceremonies and great order and solemnity have been observed . . . Their attention to religious duties has certainly improved, the congregations have increased and the anxiety to obtain books is greater than has been witnessed for some years past." [63]

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[61] Journal of Hobbs for February 12, 13, 1857.

[62] Letter of Helen Wilson to Donald McLean, 20 September 1857.

[63] Report to district meeting, 1857.

In the meantime some of the most respected Maori chiefs had been exerting their influence for the termination of the protracted war. Theirs was an uphill battle but peacemaking had been successful insofar as no fighting had taken place since July 1856, and a number of the tribes were uniting for a peaceable sale of land to the government.

> "Some of the shrewd natives were not slow to perceive the good that would accrue to themselves by the disposal of their surplus lands. I have often heard my good friend Ihaia, a minor chief in the Taranaki district, reason on this subject with his fellow countrymen. 'Listen,' he would say, 'we will sell a part of the land — that we don't want and are always quarrelling and fighting about — to the white chiefs. We get plenty of *taonga* in payment for it. By-and-by the half of the land that we keep will be worth much more than the whole price is now. The pakehas will come and build many houses; they will make roads and bridges, so that we can have horses and carts; we can take to the towns our pigs, and corn, and potatoes, and get a big price for them. So we shall have more money and be much better off than we are now.' " [64]

It was this Ihaia who, at the end of April, offered land at Mangoraka for sale. The *Taranaki Herald* spoke highly of Ihaia's action, but recalled the fate of Rawiri Waiaua.

Meanwhile those opposed to the sale of land were consolidating their position and at the end of June the first reports of the Maori King Movement appeared in the *Taranaki Herald*. Upwards of 2,000 Maoris, had assembled in Auckland to discuss setting up a Maori king. For a time the result was in doubt, but the majority eventually declared in favour of Queen Victoria. The result by no means overruled the others who decided at once to appeal to the southern tribes for support. Antipathy to British rule and contempt or British authority was evident. It was perceived as an act of rebellion deliberately considered and entered upon, frustrated, perhaps for a time only, and liable to further development.[65] Ironside reflects:

> "They had, rightly or wrongly, lost all faith in the Government. One reason for this I will give. Very unwisely the authorities had granted licences for the sale of intoxicating drinks among the native settlements. Now the Maoris, chiefly through the teaching and example of the missionaries and their families, had contracted a wholesome abhorrence of drink; *he tangata kai rama* (a man who drank rum) was *kino rawa* (a very bad man) classed by them with fornicators and othet deadly sinners. At our church meetings many of our native office bearers desired to have such men expelled from church membership. It was, therefore, a great grievance to them, as well as to ourselves, that licences to sell drink were

[64] *NZ Methodist*, 8 August 1891.
[65] *Taranaki Herald*, 27 June 1857.

> issued, where the half-enlightened people could readily obtain it, and the temptation was too strong for many white people. So determined were the leaders of the 'King Movement' against the drink traffic that one of the first articles in the charter of incorporation. . . was as follows. 'No intoxicating drink shall be permitted to enter this river.' [The Waikato River was meant.]" [66]

Ironside cited this as one of the reasons for the loss of faith in British rule. The major one, of course, was its inadequate handling of the land issue in Taranaki. Meanwhile a local poet saw the issue plainly:

> A Banner on the mountains!
> The hawk's upon the wing!
> A Banner on the mountains,
> For our great Maori King!
> Ho, sons of loved Hawaiki!
> It is our Festal Day:
> The Red King sends his summons;
> And who will dare delay?
> From *far-off* Ruapuke's coast
> To Reinga's haunted height,
> The warrior clans, a countless host,
> Are gathering in their might.
> Soon, soon these lonely mountains
> Shall echo to the roar:
> "The Red King of New Zealand,
> Who reigns from Shore to Shore."
>
> Scene — Upper Waikato.
> Speaker — Waikato Seer, and follower of Potatau te Wherowhero.[67]

In this prolonged period of superficial peace New Plymouth citizens turned their attention to their community life. The Taranaki Institute maintained a full schedule of meetings. Ironside gave what was probably the second scientific lecture — this time on the solar system: Dr Wilson entertained the audience with a lively series of four lectures on Morocco; Whiteley continued, speaking about Maori superstitions; Ironside spoke on the English language as illustrative of English history; Dr Wilson was again to the fore in talking about Gibraltar. All of these informative meetings of isolated intellectuals took on a new seriousness when in July William Fox gave a report on the Wellington education commission.[68] In August the census on population and education showed a total of 319 New Plymouth children attending day schools

[66] NZ *Methodist*, 2 January 1892.
[67] *Taranaki Herald*, 17 April 1858.
[68] ibid., 11 July 1857.

and 285 attending Sunday schools. While it appeared that town children were reasonably well catered for by private schools there was little chance of children in country areas acquiring even the basic skills of reading and writing. The census returns for children between the ages of five to ten years, showed that there were fifty-three in the Grey and Bell Blocks, thirty-four in the Omata Block and twenty-seven in town, who could not read. Further there were seventy-six in the Grey and Bell Blocks, fifty in the Omata Block and forty in town who could read only. Finally, there were thirty-seven in the Grey and Bell Blocks, twenty-one in the Omata Block and forty-nine in Town who could both read and write. As a result of this, the Taranaki Institute commenced a morning school for boys on 14 September 1857. This was conducted by Mr Manby of Arundel Cottage, at the Taranaki Institute. Educational work among the children of soldiers was led by Sergeant Marjoram R.A. who, when he found there were also illiterate adults, pressed for the establishment of a school for men.[69] The issue was topical. In late October Major Lloyd spoke to the institute on "religious education in schools",[70] and the *Taranaki Herald* reported that it caused angry arguments in the community and bitter dissention among members of the institute. Ironside's views on this topic were well formed and, although there is no record of his participation in the debate, he no doubt took part.

The *Taranaki Herald* reported: "The Education Meeting held on Tuesday, 13th October at the Taranaki Institute did not cast a slur on the Education Commission," and that, "The Provincial Council very properly recommended the appointing of a Commission exclusively composed of laymen." The *Herald* took it for granted that, "The worthy originators of the meeting should be aware that the people of this Province will not respond to the cry of Church and State, and that no liberal system of education can possibly emanate from sectarians wedded to opinions half a century in arrear of the times, and proved to be erroneous." With this attitude firmly established no good purpose was to be achieved by Ironside, especially when Nelson Wesleyans had clearly dissociated themselves from his views so soon after his departure from the circuit. The Taranaki Institute continued to sponsor interest in the sciences and arts, by commencing classes in chemistry on Monday 21 December; vocal and instrumental classes, and later painting classes under the tutorship of John Gully.[71] As a result of the fresh impetus given to education through public awareness and the efforts of the institute there was some improvement in literacy, but not sufficient to justify anything less than continued concern.[72] The New Plymouth Total Abstinence League was also gathering some strength under the leadership of Dr Nield.

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[69] *A Goodly Heritage,* R. L. Cooper, p. 12.

[70] *New Plymouth Public Library, a History, 1848-1960,* p.12.

[71] *Taranaki Herald,* 11 April 1858.

[72] For comparative statistics, 1855, 1856, see *Taranaki Herald,* 12 January 1857.

Within the church, Ironside took the first steps in constituting a quarterly meeting. His purpose in doing this was to put the church on a thoroughly Wesleyan basis. Hitherto it had grown up about the popular personality of Hanson Turton but, in view of the late disturbance of the society through Turton's alleged misconduct, it was essential for the Church to be properly constituted both as the ongoing witness to Christ in the community and to possess, within itself, the necessary machinery for handling such situations. An initial step had been taken in April with the setting up of a properly constituted board of trustees. Leaders and stewards were appointed by the superintendent minister. These, together with the ministers, were the members of the quarterly meeting. On that occasion, Monday 28 September 1857, those present were Samuel Ironside; John Whiteley, superintendent of the Native Department; R. Rowe, N. Hooker (stewards); W. Edgecombe, Sgt. Marjoram (leaders); W. Collins, C. Davy, W. R. King (trustees). Several of the thirty-five private members of the society were also present at the invitation of the superintendent.

The purpose of the meeting was to give general oversight to the work of God in the circuit, to arrange the preaching plan, to ensure that financial arrangements were satisfactory for the maintenance of the ministry, and to consider ways by which the work of God in the area could be extended. At this, the first meeting, much time was spent in explaining Wesleyan polity so that the members could take up their respective responsibilities within the constitution. While an application to the district meeting was necessary for financial help, the overall work was considered to be in a satisfactory state, and Samuel Ironside was "respectfully invited to remain as minister of the English Department. . . for the ensuing year." [73]

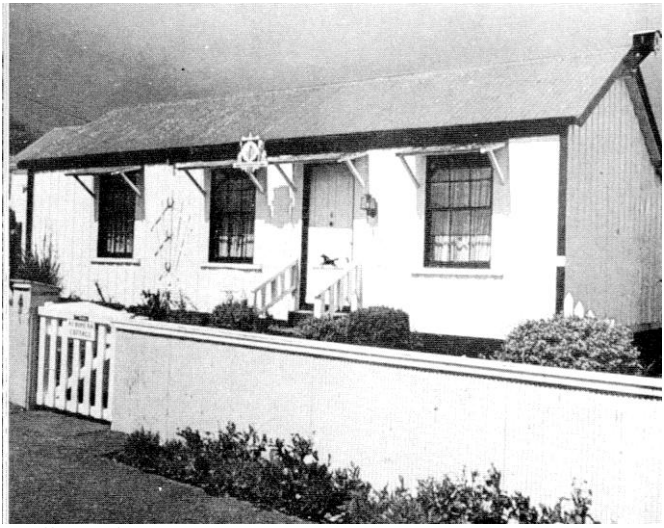
About this time steps were taken to formalise arrangements in the Sunday school where, it appears, control had been lax. This was not to be wondered at during these unsettled times. The statistics available show that there were 101 children on the roll with thirteen teachers on the staff. Each Sunday there were two sessions, at 9.30am and 2pm. Since a number of the children came from out of town wet days greatly affected the average attendance. Usually there were from twenty-two to thirty-seven present with an average of about thirty scholars and five teachers in attendance. There was considerable room for improvement, and to achieve this a supervising committee was appointed.[74]

In spite of the controversy over Turton, and the angry arguments caused in the community over religious education in schools, relative peace prevailed in the province. The Sepoy Mutiny in India aroused indignation in the hearts of loyal settlers over whom the Union Jack proudly fluttered in the daily breeze; the departure of Colonel Wynyard of the 58th Regiment was marked by appreciative addresses; the

[73] Minutes of quarterly meeting, 28 September 1857.

[74] Earliest records for the Sunday school are May 1858. Statistics quoted are for that month, and give a picture of the school at the time of Ironside's leaving New Plymouth.

fact that the 58th Regiment volunteered for the scene of action in India gave no cause for alarm. But all was not well.



Quarters of the officers of the Imperial regiments stationed in New Plymouth during the Taranaki disturbances. *Taranaki Museum.*

On the evening of Saturday, 9 January, 1858 six Maoris hid in the back of Mr R. Street's workshop at Bell Block. One was in the house on watch. At 7pm Katatore and four other Maoris halted at the crossroads. E. W. Hollis shouted a warning. Shots rang out. Katatore, Tamihana and Rawiri Karira fell and were tomahawked. Two others escaped. The ambush had been planned by Ihaia and his party.

Reprisal was immediate. Katatore's people took possession of Rawiri's reserve in the Bell Block and used it as a base of assault. A tapu was put on the road against Ihaia's people. The only access to their pa was by sea. Many Maoris who had been fighting against Katatore, now cried out to avenge his death. On 20 January the seventy or eighty Maoris at Rawiri's "halftown" pa attacked Ihaia at Ikamoana. They did the same the next day and on the third day; Ihaia, having received reinforcements, came out and there followed a hide and seek skirmish without casualties. Katatore's followers began to encircle Ihaia's party with a series of stockades, and fenced the Devon Line on the Bell Block boundary. Any goods beyond small quantities of food were confiscated at this point. Maoris coolly entered the settlers' houses and watched for their enemies. Settlers were threatened with the burning of their houses if anything was found which might be suspected as supplies for Ihaia. Up to this point the Sabbath had been respected, but on Sunday 31 January the day was spent carting material and erecting pas to harass Ihaia. On 3 February there was a clash between Ihaia and his enemies resulting in one death and three injuries. This took place among Mr Hoby's

standing crops, his garden and dwelling. Josiah Flight, resident magistrate, publicly announced that if robbery was reported to him he was powerless to act. If murder took place he would apply to the military for assistance, but the decision whether or not to act would be that of the commanding officer. Everyone in the settlement had firearms. They knew their vulnerability, but this was a Maori feud and they were advised to keep out of it. Keep out of it they did. On 6 February Maoris entered Mr Milner's house and took his shovels and pickaxes, telling him that an engagement would take place next day, and advising him to get under the bed when his house was taken over for military purposes. The next morning there was an outcry. The assault for which they had worked for a month by surrounding Ihaia with stockades and pas was unnecessary. He had fled. Their rage knew no bounds and destruction began. Columns of smoke coiled into the air. Ihaia's flagpole crashed to the ground. Ploughs, harrows, carts, threshing machines, pigs and poultry were all destroyed with a savage ferocity.[75]

Ihaia had fled to Waitara. At least the conflict was at a safe distance from New Plymouth. His pa near the Bell Block was destroyed by former allies. Ironside with other "influential gentlemen", and once at least with Bishop Selwyn, set out for the Waitara district, "in the vain hope that we could reconcile the contending parties." [76] On 15 February 1858 there was an engagement at the Karaka pa. Two were killed and others wounded. John Whiteley and Mr Parris, the land purchase commissioner, visited the pa, and the colonial surgeon went to attend to the wounded. He was refused permission to attend to Ihaia's wounded. Bishop Selwyn urged Ihaia to go into exile at the Chatham Islands, in much the same way as Ironside had wanted Katatore to go into exile, and thus settle accounts in as peaceable a manner as was possible. Ihaia was reluctant. Meanwhile the feud was growing. The Taranaki people — those living between the Sugar Loaves and Ngati Ruanui — came into the struggle. Defying the edict of Major Nugent that armed natives were not to come into New Plymouth, small parties of Taranaki Maoris passed through the town with arms concealed beneath their cloaks. On 16 February a party of eighty passed through the town with their weapons and baggage carried by a long train of bullock carts. Nothing was said. On the 18th they threw off all semblance of peace, and dressed for war. Almost naked, they set off from Te Paraita pa passing through the farms of the Bell Block settlers, with the government-paid Native Assessor bringing up the rear!

> "The disaffection of the Maori towards the white race, including the missionaries," writes Ironside, "made it no longer safe for them to go to and fro among the people to teach and preach, as they had been wont. They were 'in perils oft'. One of my brethren, riding in the neighbourhood of the Waitara, altogether unconscious of danger, was startled at the rapid fire of musketry; but had no suspicion that he was the target, so continued to ride on. A friendly native

[75] *Early Days of Taranaki,* F. B. Butler, p. 31

[76] *NZ Methodist,* 5 December 1891.

> ran up to him, out of an ambush, in great excitement, crying out to him: 'Haere, e hold, e koro: mou nga pu nei.' (Go back sir, those guns are for you); meaning that the people were firing at him. From the whistling of the bullets about his ears, he was unpleasantly convinced that it was even so." [77]

In spite of this Whiteley went doggedly about his work.

> "The word of God has been preached to the people of all the pas and stockades and villages every sabbath and frequently on the days of the week," he reported to the district meeting of 1858. "The preaching places vary with the movements of the Natives and some of them are far away in the distance and can only be reached occasionally. . . . The whole framework of society being thus convulsed and disorganised, the regular ordinances of religion were, as matter of consequence, subjected to the prevailing confusion but the Gospel was preached and the word of God read and urged upon their attention at all opportunities and among all parties. It has been a time of darkness and anxiety but by the blessing of God upon the interference and advice of his servants, some of our worst fears have not been realised. The offending party were induced to remove from the neighbourhood of the British Settlement and thus, after one skirmish in which a ball struck the house of a settler and the residents were induced to flee for their lives, the scene of contention was at a safe distance. Terrible doings of vengeance were threatened against the besieged when their fortress should be taken, but that did not come to pass: and by friendly interposition on the part of a Native Chief from Bro. Wallis's station[78] . . . they were enabled to retire with all their moveable property, to a place of refuge 12 miles distant where they have since remained in quietness. But peace is not made and it is impossible to see how the matter will end. . . ." [79]

(For the gallant Whiteley the matter ended on 13 February 1869, when he was murdered by rebel Maoris at White Cliffs in the final stage of the Taranaki war. His death caused the closure of six mission stations and the further effects of war in Taranaki diminished much of the missionary achievements of the Wesleyans in the region.)

During the conflict near New Plymouth it had been expected that Ihaia with his 120 men would withdraw to the Puketapu pa and place New Plymouth in jeopardy. The settlers were anxious and feeling the need for greater preparedness. On 27 February, Major Lloyd of the New Plymouth Battalion of the New Zealand militia, called on all

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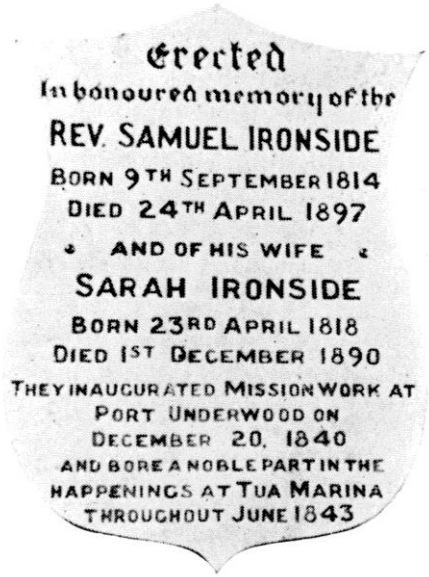
[77] ibid, 9 January 1892.

[78] William Naylor, chief of Whaingaroa, "whose good will led him to visit our settlement during the recent Native conflicts." He had freed Taranaki slaves as far back as 1840 and had been an active Maori teacher among the Weriweri people.

[79] Report to district meeting, 1858, John Whiteley.

men between the ages of eighteen and sixty, liable to serve as militiamen, to assemble at Mt Eliot on Friday 12 March for training.[80]



This memorial tablet was unveiled in Trinity Methodist Church, Tuamarina, by M. A. Rugby Pratt. Tuamarina was Frank Smith's home district, Trinity his home church, and this memorial his tribute to Samuel Ironside.

Meanwhile the Wesleyan Sunday school held its anniversary and the Primitive Methodists did the same; the preachers exchanged pulpits; Mr Thom (of the Free Church of Scotland at Turakina) visited the settlement and preached in the non-episcopal churches; the Taranaki Institute held its soirees; John Gully commenced painting classes, and Mr Wilson entertained with stories of his encounters with Spanish robbers; and the skirmishes at Waitara continued.

Meanwhile Ironside was anxious about his next appointment, for Hobbs had warned that the three year rule would apply. In later years he recalled how his appointment was terminated:

> "At the District Meeting, held in Auckland in December 1857 where I was at home always on my visits there with my dear friend John Hobbs and his loving family, there was a difficulty in arranging the stations, especially in Auckland, where Fiji veteran, Richard Burdsall Lyth, had just finished his three year term, and was returning to England. The Auckland Quarterly Meeting had passed a

[80] *Taranaki Herald*, 27 February 1858.

decided resolution asking for the appointment of a minister from Australia. The Auckland District Meeting wished to put me down for Auckland. I strongly objected, after the Quarterly Meeting resolution, so I preferred a request to be removed to Tasmania, having regard for my dear wife's health, and also disliking the prospect of being sent to a possibly unwilling circuit. The District Meeting kindly granted my request and passed it on to Conference. The Resolution passed, a copy of which I have before me, is written in the clear legible hand of the father of the Australian Conference, my venerable friend James Wallis. The writing is very much like that of Dr Hannah, our divinity tutor at Hoxton: 'Brother Ironside having requested, on account of his wife's health, to be removed to Tasmania, this meeting is of the opinion that his wish should, if practicable, be gratified. We take this opportunity (but there follow some very complimentary remarks to myself which need not be inserted here). Signed J. Wallis, Sec.'

"I was in uncertainty and doubt as to my future until the month of April [1858] was well on. The second Monday of the month brought one of Mr Peacock's vessels from Canterbury, on her way to Sydney. She had called by his direction to take up to Sydney myself and family, and our belongings. This was the first intimation I had of my appointment to Sydney, Bourke Street Circuit, by the Conference held in Hobart in January. The Captain's time was limited. I demurred to his wish that we should pack up and get on board immediately. I had no copy of the stations; not a line from Conference had reached me, and there might possibly be some mistake. The captain assured me it was all right. He had seen my name printed in connection with Bourke Street, Sydney, and he was instructed by Mr Peacock to call for me. Moreover, he would only wait a day to give us more time. So as it appeared to me, in a most unceremonious way, we took our leave. The week's wash was in the tubs, had to be taken out, dried after a fashion and stowed away. Some 200 of my books and a quantity of furniture were sent to the auction room, so as to save time and trouble, and by Wednesday, hardly two days after the time of her arrival, she was under weigh again. Our farewells were sad as well as brief. We loved the people; some of them were the fruit of our ministry, and we were parting with no prospect of meeting again on earth. Our bright hopes for the Maoris, to whom we had given so many years of our life, were blurred and dimmed. Yet all was not lost. Hundreds of them had been gathered home before the evil came. The future before us was untried and uncertain, so with very mingled feelings we said — GOOD-BYE NEW ZEALAND." [81]

[81] *NZ Methodist*, 9 January 1892.

Samuel Ironside left New Zealand in 1858. This photograph, taken in 1861, shows him shortly after he took up his ministry in Sydney.

The reasons for Samuel Ironside electing to leave New Zealand may well have been many. The application of the three year rule for appointments to European circuits necessitated his leaving New Plymouth, but not the colony, If he was to be regarded henceforth as a minister to Europeans he may well have felt at liberty to ask for an appointment that would alleviate some of the problems which beset his family life in New Zealand. Sarah's health had been of concern to him over the years. In all his appointments the parsonages had been well below standard. In Hokianga they shared very cramped quarters with the Hobbs family and did the same with the Whiteleys at Kawhia. For much of the time in Cloudy Bay the "Mission House" was a carpeted-off corner of the original chapel. James Watkin described the Wellington mission house as a 'hovel', while in Nelson he rented a house until he took the step of purchasing his own. The first parsonage in New Plymouth was a converted potato store, infested with rats, and the cottage on the church site was too small for his growing family. Throughout all of this Sarah's health was far from robust and the living conditions cannot but have told on her. The Ironside men were all known for thoughtfulness to their wives and Samuel must have felt keenly the conflict between his sense of vocation and the conditions under which his wife and family had been living. No doubt he reached the point where he considered that a better home life for his wife and children was overdue.

Further, he needed educational opportunities for his growing family. To remain in New Zealand would have meant that unless he was stationed in Auckland the children would have to leave home as young Samuel had done at the age of ten to attend the Wesleyan college. Since an Auckland appointment was not available without going against the strongly expressed preference for an Australian minister, Ironside requested an appointment in Tasmania, where he knew Horton College would provide the educational facilities he required. These two problems at least could be resolved, but one suspects that deep down he was disappointed at being withdrawn from the Maori work to which he had devoted himself since coming to New Zealand in 1839. True, in 1847 he considered that the New Zealand mission was over-staffed by comparison with English circuits; that is the way he argued when he wished to return to England to attend his mother in her last illness. In 1858 however, circumstances in Taranaki at least were different. Experienced staff was urgently required in that troubled province and, while he had been able to support both Turton and Whiteley during the anxious days of the Puketapu feud, he was more or less redundant in terms of the Maori work. The depth and breadth of his experience in Maoridom were inadequately used and within the European circuit were almost useless. The real urgency lay among the Maori people. Many were scattered and fast being alienated from their Pakeha neighbours and, having lost confidence in the government, the war of the races was looming up. Ironside felt that the watchful, loving care of the missionary should not have been withdrawn. His influence might not have prevented the war of the races but to withdraw it at that stage curtailed any likelihood of success. Ironside felt that he had been withdrawn from the Maori work and this was felt to have violated his sense of missionary vocation. His previous appointments had been to the Maori people, with some responsibility for Europeans. While this emphasis was maintained the Wesleyan Missionary Society supported the work. Yet the advent of colonial settlements and the necessity of ministering to both peoples had proved him to be an effective minister to Europeans, and the European work at New Plymouth became the stepping stone to wider spheres of ministerial labour.

Although his request for a Tasmanian appointment could not be met, he was appointed to the Sydney East circuit. He was at the height of his powers and ripe in experience just as the Bourke Street church was at the zenith of its usefulness and power. There he exercised an influential ministry among young and old alike and was a useful adviser on New Zealand affairs to the Foreign Missions Board. He kept abreast of the Taranaki situation in particular, speaking to the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society on "New Zealand and its Aborigines", and addressing letters to the newspapers upholding the Treaty of Waitangi and correcting misapprehensions about the war in Taranaki. After three further years in Sydney, in the New Town circuit, he transferred to Norwood, Adelaide. While there he laid the foundation stone of the influential Wesley Church which continues in the Kent Town — St. Peter's parish in the Uniting Church of Australia, and edited the South Australia Wesleyan magazine. His desire to return to Tasmania was not gratified until 1867 when he was appointed

to the Melville Street church, a replica of John Wesley's chapel in City Road, London, and regarded as the cathedral church of early Australian Wesleyan Methodism. An appointment to Longford (Tasmania) ended with the fulfilment of his ambition to revisit England in 1873. By this time his father and mother were long dead and his brother Isaac had recently passed away after an outstanding career in local body affairs. Samuel's homecoming was in the Golden Jubilee year of his home church — Ebenezer, Sheffield — but was unnoticed by the religious and secular papers of the time. His later appointments in Australia were to Talbot and Amherst (Victoria) and to Port Melbourne where he again met up with Mr Wollaston, previously from New Plymouth and then the incumbent of Trinity Church, East Melbourne. At the latter place he was the foreign mission secretary of the Wesleyan conference. After forty years' service in the ministry he retired to "Fairthorpe", his home in Balaclava, Melbourne, and from 1885-1889 continued to serve the Church as the conference custodian of deeds.

Central New Plymouth 1866. The military barracks on Marsland Hill can be seen centre right. St Mary's Anglican Church and the Wesleyan Chapel are at the extreme right and left respectively. A watercolour by H. H. Arden. *Taranaki Museum.*

During this period Samuel Ironside's interest in New Zealand remained constant. Apart from letters about New Zealand affairs, he visited Nelson in May 1862 to conduct the church anniversary services, which cleared the debt on the buildings. The following year his son, Samuel Eades, was employed by the Nelson Education Board as a teacher at the Appleby School. In May 1878 he again visited Nelson, this time

lecturing on “Travels by Sea and a Tour of the Continent of Europe”, proceeds in aid of the Sunday school enlargement fund. Again he was invited to return to Nelson, this time for the Golden Jubilee of St John’s Church, of which he was the recognised pioneer. Though he was strongly inclined to go he feared the excitement would be too much for him, and so declined.

Increasing deafness, the onset of which was at his near-drowning in the Turakina River in 1846, prevented the fulfilment in later years of some of the administrative offices of the Church which Ironside’s record and abilities would have merited. In the pulpit and on the public platform he continued to labour with zeal, efficiency and acceptance down to the last week of his life. He was an able minister of the Gospel. His sermons were luminous expositions of biblical truth delivered with great earnestness and were often accompanied by much spiritual comfort. He was a faithful pastor, a true friend, and a venerable man of God.

11

Epilogue

The character, achievements, and the problems faced by Samuel Ironside in New Zealand, emerge from his journal, letters and reminiscences. For several reasons, not least the modesty of the man and his primary concern with spiritual matters, there are many subjects upon which he leaves the researcher tantalizingly in the air. He did not leave New Zealand for selfish reasons or because he felt that he had failed in his work. Throughout his life he retained a close interest in the Wesleyan mission in New Zealand and in the affairs of the country as a whole. This knowledge was used to advise the Foreign Mission Board in Sydney and to write and lecture on New Zealand subjects. Yet he felt like a man called out of the theatre at the intermission; from across- the Tasman he was obliged to be a distant observer of the ongoing drama in Taranaki.

His main concerns were ever the welfare of the Church and relations between Maoris and Europeans. When a serious state of war developed he held strong and well-informed opinions on the causes and these were forcefully put in "The War in New Zealand", a newspaper article printed in the *Sydney Empire*, and, reprinted in the *Taranaki Herald* 27 June 1863. (See appendix).

The long term result of Ironside's work in New Zealand is difficult to assess because it was conditioned by the land problems that embroiled all the missionaries and erupted in the devastation of war. What is not difficult to measure is the character of the man, for he was consistent and honourable throughout his life. He supported the Treaty of Waitangi because it was designed to protect the interests of the Maori people. At the same time he was committed to uphold justice as applying equally to Maoris and Pakehas. This meant that he assessed a situation and, according to the circumstances, expressed his views to correct the balance of the scales of justice. If that meant that he championed the Maoris in the early years of his ministry, it also led him to uphold the settler in the Taranaki situation. Championing one or upholding the other was not a matter of race but of the justice of the situation. In this he had a deeper understanding of human nature than did the exponents of 19th century humanitarianism, which erred on the side of the noble savage. Well aware of the character of both Maori and Pakeha, Ironside sought to uphold the rights of both parties and he stood firmly by the Treaty of Waitangi as a just means of doing this.

From this point of view Samuel Ironside's twenty years in New Zealand may be seen as a saga of endeavour marked by notable success and plagued by racial problems and the disintegration that follows war. His work in Cloudy Bay was split asunder by events he had tried to prevent — the acquittal of Richard Cook of the murder of a Maori woman and child, and entry of the New Zealand Company into the Wairau

Valley, leading to bloody conflict. In each case his plans were for justice and, in hindsight, it is clear that he was right.

In Wellington he was aware that British justice was on trial insofar as the Ngati Toa people were concerned. For this reason he openly defended the character of Rawiri Kingi Puaha against public slander just as he had defended his colleague Gideon Smales. At the same time he approved the use of military force against the Maori occupation of the Hutt Valley, for legitimate rights had to be upheld and be seen to be enforced by legitimate authority. In those tense days of so many conflicting interests, and open suspicion and fear, Ironside not only kept his head, but the strong sense of justice which permeated his deep understanding of Maori custom made him trusted by both settlers and Maoris.

The final test of his judgment came in Taranaki. The region had been stripped of most of its Maori inhabitants by tribal wars and the Waikato people held it by right of conquest. They sold the land to the government for European settlement. The previous sale of land by Wi Kingi was also judged to be binding and both the settlers and the resident missionaries believed that the land that the settlers had paid for and which the government had purchased, should be made available. This opinion was upheld by Commissioner Spain, who had proved his independence by a contrary decision in Wellington not long before. Ironside subscribed to the legality Of the land purchases and the rights of the settlers to immediate occupation.

In this he was in argument with the humanitarian leanings of the governor who had over-ruled the commissioner, and with the Anglicans who believed that the land belonged solely to the Taranaki people and that their Waikato victors were outside British law in contracting to sell it. The pursuit of the governor's policy drifted into the Puketapu feud, the exasperation of the settlers, the loss of mana and trust by the Crown, and Ironside's proposal that the settlers emigrate, with compensation for their losses, to the West Coast of the South Island. But that was not to be. Torn between his love for both settler and Maori he expressed his fears and disappointment in a letter from Sydney:

"And now what will the end be? Of course the British soldier will have the victory. But at what sacrifice. Murdered settlers, ruined homes, hundreds of orphans and widows, hundreds more reduced to penury, hundreds of poor, unhappy natives cut off in their madness and folly. Oh, my heart bleeds at the prospect! And *this* is to be the end after the years of patient toil and sacrifice, and expenditure of the Missionary Societies, and after all the philanthropic effort of the English nation, to preserve that noble race." (17 August 1863).

Well might he have appealed to the wisdom of the Wesleyan and Church Missionary Societies in opposing the colonisation of New Zealand at a time when the values and ideals of the Christian religion were only just beginning to take root in Maori culture. But he was not a man to bemoan what might have been. He believed in dealing with a

situation as it was and building from that base. Given colonisation, he believed the Treaty of Waitangi was a just way forward; given the conflicting interests of the Ngati Awas, Waikatos and the settlers in the Tataraimaka and Waitara land, he believed firmly in the justice of the views he held, even when they were contrary to those espoused by the governor and the Anglican Church.

One leaves a study of Ironside's career with certain regrets, the chief of which is that he left no record of Maori history, legend and lore in which he was well versed. Few men had the opportunity to listen to so many Maori travelling companions for such extensive periods of time with as precise a grasp of the nuances of the language; and few of the Wesleyan missionaries had so ready a sympathy for Maori culture, which could allow Ebenezer church to be built like a Maori meeting-house and for the Maori people to respond to the Gospel in their own cultural idiom. For this lack we are the poorer.

Throughout his life his interest in New Zealand was unabated. He visited Nelson in 1862, 1863 and 1878 and, until the trip to England in 1873, planned to retire in that city. After serving in seven Australian circuits he retired in Melbourne. In 1888, because of the failing health of his wife, the aged couple moved to Hobart to be near their daughter and son-in-law, Mr and Mrs H. W. Chapman. There, Sarah urged her husband to perform one more service for the New Zealand Wesleyans by writing his reminiscences, from which much of this volume is drawn. She died in her sleep on 1 December 1890, aged 72, before the task was complete. Samuel passed away in the same manner on Saturday 24 April 1897, aged 82. On the previous evening he had been in good spirits, having conversed cheerfully with some young people who were holding a party at the house, had smoked his customary pipe, conducted family worship and gone to bed at his usual hour. In the morning, not getting up for his bath at the usual time, he was found dead, lying in a peaceful attitude. It was the diamond jubilee of his ministry. The pulpit in the Melville Street church was draped in black out of respect for the pastor who had so frequently occupied it, and he was laid to rest in a grave maintained by one who continued to appreciate what Samuel Ironside did long ago in Cloudy Bay and at the Wairau — the late Frank Smith of Tuamarina.

Appendix 1

The War in New Zealand

The following letter was addressed to the editor of the *Sydney Empire* by the Rev. Samuel Ironside and was reprinted in the *Taranaki Herald* 27 June 1863,: and in *Early Days in Taranaki* by Fred B. Butler, Taranaki Herald Company, 1942:

The very calamitous tidings from New Zealand received today, have filled the hearts of us all with gloom and sorrow. But no one at all acquainted with the history of the colony, or who has watched the course of events there, particularly in the province of Taranaki, can be at all surprised at this unhappy event. The Taranaki natives have been, to my knowledge, the veritable rulers of that province for the last twelve or fifteen years. Every poor settler there, and every exile driven from the place by their lawlessness, can bear abundant witness of this. The proclamation of His Excellency Sir George Grey, issued just one week after the massacre of the soldiers, in which he gives back to the natives the Waitara lands, purchased of the owners by his predecessor, Colonel Gore Browne, is a fitting finale to this chapter of the history.

It may, perhaps, interest some of your readers at this juncture to lay before them a resume of the history of affairs at Taranaki; and to trace up the causes of the war. Twenty-five years ago the whole district in question, embracing 100 miles of coastland, was depopulated. There were not more than twenty to thirty souls left there. The Waikato tribes and those further north, had overrun the place with fierce war; hundreds of the people had been killed and eaten, hundreds more had been carried into slavery by their victors, hundreds more had been driven into exile towards Cook's Strait and Queen Charlotte's Sound. The above twenty or thirty were all that were left in occupation. The chiefs all signed the deed of sale. Among the parties to the sale was Wiremu Kingi who is now so violent and rebellious. He was then called E Witi. He was very active in furthering Colonel Wakefield's wishes. He wrote to Taranaki telling the few in occupation to receive Colonel Wakefield and further his views in every way. They were all too glad to sell the land, and get payment for it, as they dare not return to occupy it for fear of Waikato. When the Waikatos heard of the sale of land which they claimed by right of conquest, they threatened vengeance against the remnant of Taranakis, and a war party of several hundreds started off to exterminate them. A band of Christian natives came to the Wesleyan mission station at Kawhia, Waikato district, begging some of us to go with them and prevent hostilities. I, with two other brethren newly arrived, accompanied the Christian people to Taranaki, and we succeeded in preventing bloodshed; but the Waikato chiefs then and there asserted and maintained their rights of ownership of the conquered territory. His Excellency Captain Hobson, then Governor, in satisfaction of their claim, gave Potatau (afterwards Potatau I) £400. You will see that abundant payment had been made more than twenty years ago for the disputed lands — first, by the New Zealand Company to

the original owners, and afterwards by Captain Hobson, the Governor, on behalf of the Company, to the Waikato chiefs. A number of persons in England purchased some thousands of acres of Taranaki land off the New Zealand Company paying £1 per acre — the half of this purchase money being devoted to bringing out agricultural and other immigrants; the other half, after paying the cost of purchase, being given to roads, bridges, and other public works in the settlement. Two or three thousand persons settled there being the original purchasers chiefly, and the immigrants brought out by their means. A beautiful new town, New Plymouth, was formed, and a number of honest, hard-working Devonshire and Cornish men set to work and reclaimed the wilderness. Thriving and prosperous farms were established for nearly the whole distance between the town and Waitara, twelve miles north of it. But the natives, exiled by war, returned home by degrees, now that Europeans were there as a protection; and the Waikato chiefs allowed many of their Taranaki slaves to return. These persons began to clamour and dispute, a thing they dared not before. In the years 1843-44, Mr Spain, now of this city [Sydney] then Queen's Commissioner, specially appointed from home to investigate and determine upon the New Zealand Company's titles, visited Taranaki in discharge of his duties. He had, after due inquiry, disallowed the Company's purchases in Cook Strait. But, after careful and patient investigation, he decided that the district of Taranaki had been fairly purchased and accordingly awarded to the province the whole block extending north and south of the town, including both Waitara and Tataraimaka, the scenes of the late and present disturbances; ample reserves, suitably situated, having been made for the native residents. The Taranaki natives were dissatisfied, and bouncingly threatened to drive all the settlers from their holdings. Captain FitzRoy, then Governor, partly in pursuance of the mischievous policy of puffing off the evil day, and partly to embarrass the New Zealand Company, that was not in high favour at home, arbitrarily set aside the award of the Queen's Commissioner, gave back the land to the natives, and told every settler in the Waitara and neighbourhood that they remained there at their own peril — he could not and would not protect them from the natives. Of course these honest, hardworking Englishmen, who had bought and paid for their lands in England, had no alternative but to abandon their farms and homesteads. Their fine grazing paddocks, and corn-fields, reclaimed from the wilderness of fern and scrub by their own toil and sacrifice, relapsed into a worse wilderness than before; for the natives not being able to cultivate one-tenth of the land, it became overrun with Scotch thistle and other noxious weeds, and so it remains to this day [1863]. These arbitrary proceedings of the Governor were disapproved by the home authorities. He was shortly afterwards recalled, and his successor, Captain Grey, now Sir George Grey, was instructed to take steps at once, by further payments, to acquire these lands for the province. Some of these lands were so acquired, by a further purchase; among them was Tataraimaka, the scene of the late massacre of officers and men of the 57th [April 1863]. Settlers have entered upon and improved these lands, after paying some of them as much as £8 to £10 an acre for them. But the violent natives had found out

their power, and ably have they used it. A large proportion of the natives were peaceable and friendly, and were anxious to sell some of their lands, in order to have European neighbours, and a profitable market close to their doors, for their pigs, potatoes, and corn. These have been overawed, and, to use an expressive, but appropriate term, bullied by the rebels, and thus prevented from exercising their rights of ownership. Eleven years ago a league was formed by these overbearing natives, binding each other not to sell lands to the Government, and threatening death to any chief who should dare to do so. The peaceable natives refused to enter into this league, and have from time to time urged the Government to purchase, saying that the land was the fruitful source of quarrel among themselves, and for peace sake they wished to alienate. The league, however, have ever been strong enough to prevent Government from entertaining their proposals.

In 1854 Rawiri Waiaua, a respectable chief, who had been appointed by Sir George Grey as assessor or native magistrate, offered a block of his land at Waitara for sale. This land had been mostly brought under cultivation by the settlers twelve years before, but abandoned at the mandate of Captain FitzRoy. The land purchase commissioner desired him to mark out the boundaries of the block in order to negotiate; promising to meet him and walk over the lines with him. Something prevented the commissioner from going upon the morning agreed upon, and Rawiri and his people set out, bill hooks in hand, to cut the lines through the fern. Rawiri was principal chief of his tribe, the Puketapu, and no one disputed his ownership; but while he was thus employed, an armed mob of the league, headed by Katatore, fired upon them, killing Rawiri and six others at once in open day. The friends of Rawiri returned home, and began arming for vengeance, but they were dissuaded from this. ‘Don’t take the law into your own hand; Government will, of course, interfere; and justice will be done.’ Colonel Wynyard, the Administrator of Government at Auckland, was sent for. He came, and in pursuance of the old fatal policy, chose to consider the murder of his native magistrate and his people as a native quarrel, and refused to interfere. He visited Katatore, the murderer, shook hands with him, gave him some good advice, and left the natives to themselves. Government having denied justice to their subjects, the friends and relations of the murdered took up arms, and Katatore was beseiged in his pa. The land leaguers from Taranaki south, 100 miles away, came up to his support and from 1854 to 1859, a severe bloody feud raged among the native tribes. Those on the side of Government were at first a large majority; but having no help nor countenance from Government, many of them went over to the rebels. I should say that at least one hundred natives were killed and wounded on either side during the progress of this war. Sometimes the farms of the settlers on the nearest European district were made the battleground of the parties, the one crouching behind the hedges, the other crowding into the barns and outhouses for shelter. One respectable lady was in imminent danger during one engagement; bullets were flying over the house, and rattling against the walls, one bullet penetrating into an upper room. She had heroically remained to take care of the house, while the husband was

trying to save the corn and produce of the farm. During all these wars of the natives among themselves the Government did not interfere, and things became worse and worse. Native offenders defied the law and the unoffending settlers were in continual anxiety and fear, and frequently suffered loss from the depredations of the lawless. At length, in 1859, surely not too soon, Colonel Gore Browne, then Governor, essayed to put an end to this unseemly state of things in a British colony. That gentleman will have full justice done to his praiseworthy efforts in behalf of law and order, before the present war is ended. He had a large meeting of natives in the town of New Plymouth; declared that as British Governor he would protect all of them, in their rights; that he had no wish to purchase any of their lands about which they were quarrelling; that he would not buy any lands, the title of which was disputed; but that if any of them were anxious to sell and could prove their title, they certainly should sell; he would protect them. Immediately Teira [nephew of Wiremu Kingi] offered his block of 600 acres at Waitara, appealing to the assembly as to his right to sell! They all assented except Wiremu Kingi, the head of the league, who with a few of his people sat aloof; Te Teira's representations were corroborated by the chief commissioner, Mr McLean, who knew more about native titles and rights than any other gentleman in New Zealand. Teira again urged his offer, and the Governor, after consulting with the Commissioner, and with his Executive, accepted it, provided that Teira proved his title. Teira then presented at the feet of His Excellency a fine silky mat, as a ratification of the agreement. Kingi got up in a rage and said, 'Governor, you shan't have Waitara; it is my land; I don't let it go.' He was asked 'Was not this piece of land Teira's?' 'Yes,' said he, 'but he shan't sell it; Teira has floated the canoe, but I will not let it go to sea' — and he and his people left the meeting.

After a delay of nine months, during which Mr McLean and his assistant, Mr Parris, made diligent enquiry, they reported Teira's title was good. No one objected to the sale save the land league party who had no legal objections to raise. [Wiremu Kingi said 'that no Maori owned land, the land was owned by all the people to be used communally and individually and not to be possessed. Under Maori custom no land could be sold without the consent of all the people. As leader he must make a decision in accordance with the people's demands.'] The Governor paid £100 as part purchase money, and surveyors were sent to lay the block out. The land leaguers resisted the survey, and appealed to the native king, Potatau, who espoused their cause. Martial law was declared and the sad results followed with which your readers are too familiar. The settlement of Tataraimaka, twelve miles south of the town, was taken possession of by the natives, by right of conquest, from the Europeans, who had all been driven off. Many had been murdered, some killed in war, a large number died through disease and exposure, and the district was held since 1860 by the rebel tribes. I could tell painful stories of loss and privation by the settlers — let one suffice. A respectable Scotch family, belonging to the Presbyterian Church, were comfortably settled for some years at Tataraimaka. The gentleman spent £3,000 in purchase of his farm, and putting up a large substantial house and improvements. He worked hard,

and spent all in fencing and reclaiming his land. When the war broke out he had to fly with his family into town. He was drafted into the militia, and his lady and daughter were sent away to Nelson, where they were twelve months ago, earning their bread by the laundry and by needlework. He was dependent upon his is. 6d. a day as a militiaman for his living. And now this gloomy chapter of Taranaki history is finished by the proclamation just issued from His Excellency, restoring the land purchased by his predecessor to the natives — this proclamation being issued just one week after the murder of the troops at Tataraimaka. No doubt the reasons for this are satisfactory to his Excellency, but the natives believe that it is through fear, and as an endeavour to prevent Waikato from interfering. Can any one wonder that the unfortunate settlers of Taranaki are complaining loudly about this surrender of Waitara? Who in their circumstances would not? I wish they could all be removed from Taranaki to the west coast of the Middle Island [South Island] of New Zealand, where, free from native interference, the vast mineral treasures and fine agricultural lands might, with a little timely help at starting, in some measure recompense them for their many years of toil and anxiety.

I am, &c.,

SAMUEL IRONSIDE.

Appendix 2

WESLEYAN MISSIONARIES IN NEW ZEALAND TOGETHER WITH THE DATES AND PLACES OF THEIR APPOINTMENTS

ALDRED, JOHN 1818-1894 b. Suffolk, England
1839 Entered
1840-1842 Port Nicholson
1843-1848 Nelson
1849-1853 Wellington
1854-1859 Canterbury
1860-1863 Wellington
1864 Otago
1865-1866 Dunedin
Superannuated

BUDDLE, THOMAS 1812-1883 b. Durham, England,
1835 Entered
1840-1844 Waipa
1845-1853 Auckland
1854-1860 Manukau
1861-1865 Auckland
1866-1869 Christchurch (Durham Street)
1870-1872 Wellington
1873-1875 Nelson
1876-1881 Auckland (Three Kings College)

BULLER, JAMES 1812-1884 b. Cornwall, England
1837 Entered
1837 Mangungu and Waima
1838 Newark
1839-1840 Kaipara
1841-1853 Wairoa and Kaipara
1854 Auckland
1855-1859 Wellington
1860 Thames (Shortland)
1860-1865 Canterbury
1866-1869 Auckland
1870-1872 Thames
1873-1875 Christchurch (Durham Street)

BUMBY, JOHN H. 1808-1840 b. Thirsk, Yorkshire, England 1829 Entered
1839-1840 Mangungu and Waima
Chairman of New Zealand District
26.6.1840 Drowned in Hauraki Gulf

BUTTLE, GEORGE 1810-1874 b. Yorkshire, England
1838 Entered
1840-1842 Kawhia and Mokau
1843 To Sydney, N.S.W.,
1844 New Plymouth (North)
1845-1848 Whamgaroa (Raglan)
1849-1857 Waipa
1857-1862 To England
1862-1874 Supernumerary at Otahuhu

CREED, CHARLES 1812-1879 b. Somerset, England
1837 Entered
1839 Kaipara Heads
1840 Kaipara (Wairoa).
1841-1843 New Plymouth (North)
1844-1853 Waikouaiti
1854-1855 Wellington and Hutt
1856 Kawhia and Aotea
1857 To Australia

HOBBS, JOHN 1800-1883 b. Kent, England
1824 Entered
1824-1829 Whangaroa
1830-1831 Hokianga
1832-1839 Launceston, Tasmania
1839 Mangungu and Waima
1840 Newark
1841-1845 Mangungu and Oruru
1846-1854 Mangungu and Whangaroa
1855 Governor, Three Kings College
1856 Supernumerary

IRONSIDE, SAMUEL 1814-1897 b. Sheffield, England
1837 Entered
1839 Mangungu and Waima
1840-1843 Cloudy Bay
1843-1849 Port Nicholson
1849-1855 Nelson

1855-1858 New Plymouth (European)
1858 To Australia

KIRK, WILLIAM 1825-1915 b. Epworth, England
1846 Entered 1846
1847 Auckland
1848 Waima (Newark)
1849-1852 Wanganui (Ohinemutu)
1853 Christchurch (short time)
1854-1856 Waikouaiti
1857-1859 Wanganui (Kai Iwi)
1860-1862 Whangaroa (Mangonui)
1863-1866 Nelson
1867-1869 Wellington
1870 Christchurch (Durham Street)
1871-1872 Christchurch (St Albans)
1873-1875 New Plymouth
1876-1878 Auckland
1879-1881 Wellington
1882-1884 Richmond
1885-1914 Supernumerary, Petone

LAWRY, HENRY H. 1821-1906 b. New South Wales, Australia
1845 Entered
1845 Manukau (Pehiakura)
1846 Auckland
1847-1848 Manukau (Pehiakura)
1849 Auckland
1850-1853 Manukau
1854 Wairoa and Kaipara
1855-1861 Hokianga
1862-1863 Auckland (Three Kings College — Maori)

LAWRY, WALTER 1793-1859 b. Cornwall, England
1817 Entered
1844-1853 Auckland
General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions
in Australasia and Polynesia

LEIGH, SAMUEL 1785-1852 b. Staffordshire, England
1812 Entered
1822-1824 Whangaroa

REID, ALEXANDER 1821-1891 b. Edinburgh, Scotland
1848 Entered

1849-1857 Three Kings College
1858-1863 Waipa
1864-1866 New Plymouth (Maori)
1867-1869 Christchurch (Durham Street)
1870-1872 Dunedin
1873-1875 Auckland
1876-1878 Wellington
1879-1881 Christchurch (Durham Street)
1882-1884 Auckland (Pitt Street)
1885-1891 Three Kings College

SKEVINGTON, JOHN 1814-1845 b. Nottingham, England
1839 Entered
1842 Waipa (West)
1843-1845 Taranaki South

SMALES, GIDEON 1817-1894 b. Whitby, England
1829 Entered
1840 Waima
1841-1842 Newark
1843 Nelson, Port Nicholson for short periods
1843 Mokau
1844-1849 Kawhia and Mokau
In England
1855 Kawhia and Aotea
1856 Supernumerary

STACK, JAMES 1801-1883 b. Southsea, England
1825 Entered
1825-1827 Whangaroa
1830-1831 Hokianga
1831 Joined the Church Missionary Society

STANNARD, GEORGE 1803-1888 b. Yorkshire, England
1844 Entered
1844 Newark
1845-1847 Waima and Newark
1848 Auckland
1849 Taranaki South
1850-1853 Waitotara
1854-1856 Waimate and Waitotara
1857-1858 Otago
1859-1862 Hokianga

1863-1864 Raglan and Aotea
1865 Supernumerary in Wanganui

TURNER, NATHANIEL 1793-1864 b. Cheshire, England
1821 Entered
1823-1827 Whangaroa
1827-1830 Tonga
1831-1834 Hobart
1835-1836 Hokianga
1837-1838 Mangungu and Waima
1839 To Tasmania

TURTON, HENRY HANSON 1818-1887 b. Bradford, England
1839 Entered
1840-1842 Aotea
1843 Taranaki (North)
1845 New Plymouth (North)
1846-1854 New Plymouth
1855 New Plymouth (Maori)
1857 Kawhia
1858 Manukau
Retired from the Mission

WALLIS, JAMES 1809-1895 b. Blackwell, England
1833 Entered
1834-1836 Hokianga
1837 Kaipara
1838-1844 Whaingaroa (Raglan)
1845-1862 Whaingaroa
1863-1865 Manukau
1866-1867 Auckland
1868 Supernumerary

WARREN, JOHN 1814-1883 b. Norfolk, England
1836 Entered
1840 Kaipara Heads
1848-1854 Waima
1855-1859 Nelson
1860-1862 Auckland
1863-1865 Auckland (Pitt Street)
1866-1869 Manukau
1870 Supernumerary at Otahuhu

WATKIN, JAMES 1805-1886 b. Manchester, England
1830 Entered

1840-1843 Waikouaiti
1844-1848 Port Nicholson
1848-1853 Wellington
1854 Wellington and Hutt
1855 To Australia

WHITE, WILLIAM 1794-1875 b. Durham, England
1822 Entered
1822-1826 Whangaroa
1827-1829 In Australia and England
1830-1835 Hokianga
Retired from the Mission

WH1TELEY, JOHN 1806-1869 b. Nottinghamshire, England
1832 Entered
1832-1833 Hokianga
1834 Waipa
1835-1836 Hokianga
1837 Newark
1838 Kaipara
1839-1854 Kawhia, Aotea, Mokau
1855 Auckland
1856-1864 New Plymouth (Maori)
1865-1866 Taranaki (Maori)
1867-1869 Taranaki
13.2. 1869 Killed

WOON, WILLIAM 1803-1858 b. Cornwall, England
1832 Entered
1833-1834 Friendly Islands (Tonga)
1834- New Zealand
1836-1838 Mangungu and Waima
1839 Newark
1840 Mangungu and Waima
1841-1845 Mangungu and Oruru
1846 Manukau (Pehiakura)
1847-1852 Waimate and Patea
1853 Supernumerary in Wanganui

Appendix 3

Tributes to Samuel Ironside

'After services I was visited by Mohi Tawhai, who said if I soon did not make up my mind to go and instruct his people, he and his people would come and take me on their backs.'

Journal of Samuel Ironside, 26 October 1839

'Mr Ironside has been instrumental in allaying much angry feeling on these points [relations between the two races], in restoring to harmony much that was in confusion before, and for his enlightened, just and pious views on all matters connected with the Natives, the Wesleyan Society and the Settlement generally, that we respectfully and most strongly solicit that his presence may still be continued amongst us.'

Petition to the Rev. Walter Lawry
from the Settlers in Wellington, 1844

'The infant colonies of Port Nicholson and Nelson, badly organized and without military defence, lay for the moment at the mercy of the natives who had a supply of firearms and were trained in no despicable fashion. . . to the influence of Octavius Hadfield and Samuel Ironside, the Anglican and Methodist missionaries bordering the Strait, the settlements owed their preservation.'

History of the Methodist Missionary Society
by Findlay and Holdsworth

'Presented to the Rev. Samuel Ironside, Wesleyan Minister, by his friends and wellwishers, on the occasion of his leaving the Province of Nelson, New Zealand, in testimony of their great respect for his high character, Christian philanthropy, and eminent usefulness, during his residence amongst them.'

Donald Sinclair, 27 April 1855

'The reverend gentleman's activity in religious and social movements has assisted in the establishment of many of the institutions which have grown up in the Australasian colonies.'

Wellington newspaper, 10 May 1897

'The deceased gentleman was always active in religious and social movements, and was a very general favourite with old and young. Last evening the pulpit of the Melville Street Wesleyan Church was suitably draped out of respect to the deceased pastor, who had so frequently occupied it.'

Hobart Mercury
quoted by *The Australasian Methodist Missionary Review,*
5 June 1897

'He was an able minister of the New Testament, a faithful pastor, a true friend, a venerable man of God. Among the names of the pioneer missionaries of Australasian Methodism, he will ever have an honoured place.'

Victoria-Tasmania Wesleyan Conference, 1 March 1898

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WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY (New Zealand)

Wesley Historical Society (New Zealand) is a voluntary organisation within the Methodist Church of New Zealand, and was founded by direction of the Church's Annual Conference in 1930. In 1954 it was duly incorporated under the provisions of the Religious, Charitable and Educational Trusts Act, 1908. The financial membership numbers approximately 350 persons and libraries.

The society exists to publish Methodist-related historical, biographical and missionary material. Membership ($5.00 per annum in 1982) is open to interested people and libraries, in New Zealand and overseas. (Currently, 29 libraries are financial members, 14 in New Zealand, 7 in U.S.A., 5 in Australia, 2 in England and 1 in West Germany.) Over the years the society has published many booklets ranging from 16 to 60 pages on a wide variety of topics. In 1972, it undertook its most ambitious project to that time — the publication of the four 150th anniversary histories. The individual titles, which appeared over a three-year period, are as follows:—

Te Hahi Weteriana (The Maori Mission Story) by G. I. Laurenson, C.B.E.
Out of the Common Way (The European Circuits to 1913) by E. W. Hames, M.A.
Coming of Age (The European Circuits since 1913) by E. W. Hames, M.A.
A Family Affair (Overseas Mission Outreach) by G. G. Carter, M.A.

Sets of these four volumes are available in hard covers ($10) and paperback *($7),* plus postage, from the secretary. (Many of the smaller publications of earlier days are also available. List on request.)

Now, in conjunction with Ray Richards Publisher, we are proud to issue Wesley A. Chambers' *Samuel Ironside* — a major work by a careful and diligent scholar, who has served the society faithfully for many years. Publication has been assisted by a legacy from the late F. W. Smith, formerly of Tuamarina.

Enquiries about publications, conditions of membership and the work of the society generally, will be attended to promptly by the secretary. The current officers of the society are (1982):

President: Rev. G. I. Laurenson, 15 Ashton Rd, Mt Eden, Auckland 3.
Secretary: 8 Tampin Rd, Manurewa, Auckland.
Treasurer: K. H. Lawry, 85 Kings Road, Panmure, Auckland 6.