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MAORI AND MISSIONARY

Early Christian Missions in the South

Island of New Zealand By REV. T. A. PYBUS

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# INTRODUCTION

PRIOR TO, AND DURING THE CENTENNIAL YEAR (1948), MANY useful historical books appeared dealing with the early history of Otago and Southland. My excuse for adding to the number is mainly because it gives me an opportunity to publish the Journals of the Revs. James Watkin and Charles Creed which supply information not found elsewhere. These journals, although scrappy, give the account of the first Christian Mission in the South Island and much other historical data.

In the year 1926 I began to collect letters and records available for the purpose. I am indebted to Miss W. Watkin (since deceased), daughter of Dr. Watkin and grand-daughter of the pioneer missionary, for letters, documents and information, which involved, on her part, unwearied investigations and letter writing.

In 1932 the Rev. M. A. Rugby Pratt, F.R.H.S., published his interesting book *The Pioneering Days of Southern Maoriland*. In view of more recent research some of the data therein needs revision. Some of my friends have urged me to publish the Journals of the Revs. Watkin and Creed. Mr. F. Watkin, of Tonga, son of the Rev. J. B. Watkin, who was President of the Tongan Methodist Church, and Prime Minister to the King of Tonga, and later to Queen Salote, has given me permission to use and publish the Journal of the Rev. J. Watkin, his grandfather. I wish to acknowledge the courtesy of Miss P. M. Jones, B.A., librarian of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, and the authorities of the Mitchell Library, who hold the original Journals of the Rev. James Watkin. I am under an obligation to the Rev. H. L. Fiebig, B.A., and the committee of the Methodist Connexional Office, Christchurch, for permission to use the Journal of the Rev. Charles Creed.

I am not an anthropologist nor an ethnologist, but it has been my privilege to meet and know several European missionaries to the Maori people. I refer to the Revs. W. Gittos, W. Rowse and T. G. Hammond. These men were expert in the knowledge of the native race. Nor must I omit the names of the Maori Ministers—the Revs. R. Tahupotiki Haddon and Hauraki Paora (Paul), and in later years the Rev. Eruera Te Tuhi, O.B.E. I have also corresponded with Mr. R. Riemenschneider, whose father was born at Otakou and whose grandfather, the Rev. J. F. Riemenschneider, was one of the early missionaries appointed to Otakou and who remained there till his decease.

## PAGE BREAK

In referring to the various authors quoted, I have allowed them to speak for themselves, and, as far as possible, to use their own words and manner of expression. This refers more particularly to the Journals of the Revs. Watkin and Creed.

Mr. Watkin kept a private Diary or Journal in which he recorded his onerous engagements. Unfortunately there are gaps which it is difficult to fill in, but his letters and reports to the London Mission Board are a help. He committed his thoughts to his Journal, in which he weighed scrupulously his every motive and examined with relentless searchings the depths of his heart. Some of these expressions indicate much self-recrimination, amounting almost to despair, due to his trying experiences and physical collapse in Tonga. These expressions were not meant for the public gaze. In fairness I have omitted many of them, seeing they do not give a normal conception of the man.

I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to the valuable volumes written by Mr. S. Percy Smith, F.R.G.S., Dr. R. McNab, Dr. A. J. Harrop, Dr. E. Shortland, Sir Peter Buck, Mr. Herries Beattie and Dr. W. Morley, and others whose names are mentioned in these pages, To the staff of the McNab, Hocken, University and Athenaeum Libraries, I tender my thanks for help received. Also to Miss M. M. Pryde, O.B.E., secretary of the Early Settlers' Association, for her help in many ways. Dr. D. P. Sinclair, a descendant of the chief Horomona Pohio, has given generous access to his valuable manuscripts, and he has assisted me to solve several difficult problems, for which I am grateful. Mr. W. A. Taylor, of Christchurch, has given me permission to quote from his manuscripts and newspaper articles. These have been valuable and much appreciated.

I am deeply indebted to the late Mr. Alfred Eccles for reading my manuscript, and for making constructive suggestions regarding the arrangement of certain historical data, and who has been wholeheartedly interested; to Mr. A. H. Reed for his valuable and expert judgment, including his practical assistance in numerous directions, and to Mr. A. W. Reed for his work in preparing the work for publication; to my daughter, Mrs. A. Hovland, who has been a constant, valuable and painstaking helper in arranging quotations and writing at my diction; and to Mr. P. Pratley and my daughter, Mrs. Pratley. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Mr. Ian Dunn for permission to reproduce his drawings.

If I have failed to acknowledge any authority, I offer my sincerest regret.

1. A. PYBUS

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# CHAPTER ONE THE REV. JAMES WATKIN

A pioneer has been defined as a “foot soldier with spade and pick-axe who goes ahead to prepare the road for the advance of the army”. Not only the army, but every sphere of conquest has its pioneers. The missionary who with axe or tomahawk cuts away the tangle of superstition, and with the spade digs out the undergrowth of antagonisms, and with the grubbing axe cuts away tangled roots of prejudices, is a pioneer worthy of our esteem.

The first Christian minister to visit the South Island was the Rev. W. White, in April, 1836. The next Wesleyan missionaries to visit the Island were Revs. J. H. Bumby and John Hobbs in June, 1839. The object of their visit was to ascertain whether it was practicable to establish a South Island Mission. They agreed that it was a promising and needy field and left behind them several native teachers. They reported favourably to the Wesleyan Mission Board in Sydney.

The appointment of the Rev. James Watkin to the post was due to various circumstances. Mr. John Jones, owner of the Waikouaiti shore whaling station, with a sincere desire for the welfare of the pakeha and Maori, applied to the Wesleyan Mission Board for a missionary.

In 1839 the Otakou chiefs, Karetai and Taiaroa, were in Sydney and they urged their claims, supporting Mr. Jones's request. They ‘desired schools for their children in order that they might read and write like the Maori children of the North Island. They desired them to learn the truths of Christianity. They were anxious for their wives and daughters to cook and sew and care for the sick and aged. As a result of these various representations, Mr. Watkin was appointed to Waikouaiti, now known as Karitane, as a centre from which he could visit the various kaikas of the south.

James Watkin was born in Manchester, England, on September 9th, 1805, and was of Welsh ancestry. He had the advantage of a sound Christian home training, and in early life felt a call to the Christian ministry. It is reported that a friend, seeing his unusual ability, urged him to enter the Oxford University and take orders in the Church of England, offering to pay all fees and the expenses PAGE 2involved. James Watkin, however, felt a strong desire to enter the ministry of his own church. Accordingly he applied himself assiduously to the prescribed course of study required for the Wesleyan Methodist ministry, with a view to Foreign Mission work.



In the year 1830 quite a number of young men were designated for the mission field. In the same year, fifteen young men were notified to appear before the Mission Board in London; among them were W. Moister (who became a noted missionary and author), W. Woon, and James Watkin. Mr. Woon was destined to fill an important place in the missionary records of New Zealand; and it may be said in passing that his eldest daughter ultimately became the wife of the Rev. J. F. Riemenschneider, and with him spent some years of faithful service at Otakou.

When the young candidates appeared before the London committee it was not without considerable trepidation, for the august committee included some of the most eminent ministers of the church; among them were the Revs. Dr. Townly and Richard Watson, the latter being the leading administrator of the denomination. Three of the candidates, Peter Turner, William Woon, and James Watkin, were appointed to the Friendly Islands, Tongan group.

Mr. Watkin was ordained in the Sloane Terrace Church, Chelsea, London, on 17th June, 1830. The ordination certificate, a copy of which is to be seen in the Otakou Memorial Church, bears the names of the Rev. James Townly, D. D., Rev. George Morley (President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference), and the Rev. James Taylor, who conducted the ordination service.

Prior to his ordination, on the 25th March, Mr. Watkin appeared at the Mansion House before the Lord Mayor of London, the Rt. Hon. John Crowder, and “subscribed to the several oaths”, and was duly licensed as a minister of the Gospel, before “the said Lord Mayor”.

On 30th June, 1830, Watkin married Hannah Entwisle, a niece of the Rev. Joseph Entwisle (sen.), twice President of the British Methodist Conference, and Principal of the Theological College, of whom it was said that he possessed “a sound and discriminating judgment, and that his discourses were well studied, judicious and instructive”. It is worthy of note that some of these characteristics appeared in the young bride. The Entwisle family<sup>1</sup> was related to the Rev. Edward Irvine, the Scottish divine, and also to the Right Rev. J. W. Colenso, Bishop of Natal.

Mrs. Watkin's ancestors came to England with William the Norman, and one of them fought at Agincourt. Other forbears

<sup>1</sup> From manuscripts provided to the writer from Miss Watkin, granddaughter of pioneer. Also *Pioneering Days of Southern Maoriland*, by M. A. Rugby Pratt.

PAGE 3linked her with the Royal House of Stuart. It was no small undertaking for a sensitive woman, used to the refinements of a well-ordered home, to share the lot of a pioneer missionary with all its hardships, danger, and self-sacrifice; but like a heroine she dedicated herself to the service of the church, and to the welfare of the native women among whom her lot was cast.

Mr. and Mrs. Watkin sailed for Tonga in the ship Lloyd on August 30th, accompanied by the Revs. Peter Turner and William Woon. As the ship proceeded from Gravesend she passed the Royal Barge, on the deck of which stood King George IV. When the King was informed that there were missionaries on board for a distant land, he walked to the stern of the barge and stood with hat lifted until the ship passed out of sight. As Mr. and Mrs. Watkin beheld the shores of their beloved England fading in the distance from their view, it was with feelings of sadness, and yet they had the conviction that they were in the line of God's will, for which they counted no sacrifice too great. It was a final farewell, for they were not privileged to see their Homeland again.

The ship Lloyd arrived at the Bay of Islands on January 7th, 1831. While in New Zealand they were much refreshed in the congenial company of fellow Christian missionaries. They made the most of their brief visit and did not arrive at the Tongan Islands till March 10th, 1831. For six years and six months they toiled for the Tongan people and battled against untold difficulties, tribal wars and ill-health. It was a hazardous undertaking to go from island to island by canoe or boat in stormy weather; but the difficulties were faced and overcome.

James Watkin had a natural gift for acquiring languages and he soon became the most expert speaker in the Tongan language. His friend, the Rev. S. Ironside, said of him, "in Lufuka and Haabai, the chief scene of his labours, many thousands of natives were won for Christ and His Church".

Among his converts was George, the reigning prince of Haabai, heir to the Tongan throne. At Lufuka there was erected one of the largest and finest churches in the South Seas. This church had a unique pulpit and Holy Communion table and rail which were formed of clubs and other weapons that had been used in tribal wars in former days.

During his term of service in Tonga, Watkin was distressed to hear of the heathen customs which prevailed in Fiji; of the hardships and dangers endured by the missionaries, and of the pathetic need of reinforcements. When a chief died his wives were strangled. Burying alive was another Fijian custom. Cannibalism and infanticide were rife. On one occasion, as stated by the Rev. J. Blacket, 200 bodies were consumed at a single feast. One chief used the bodies of living men as rollers on which to transport his canoe from sea to land. PAGE 4The wail of the strangled Fijian widow and the throb of the death drum of the cannibal temple were heard by Watkin, and taking his facile pen at the request of colleagues, he appealed to English Methodists on behalf of Fiji. In burning words he wrote his pamphlet. Pity Poor Fiji. This

appeal was heard, and its message moved the hearts of the Methodist people in England, and the Revs. T. J. Jaggard, John Hunt and James Calvert were appointed to reinforce the small staff already on the field. The conversion of the Fijian people and their king reads like a second Acts of the Apostles. The publication of Watkin's pamphlet did much to pave the way for the annexation of Fiji to the British Empire. The native people, fearing the designs of other nations, and being involved in financial trouble, the king, Cakobau (Thakombau), at their request, handed over the islands to the care of the British Empire. Dr. J. E. Carruthers, President of the General Conference of Australasia, 1917–20, said that Watkin's pamphlet, *Pity Poor Fiji*, alone is sufficient to entitle him to a place among the outstanding figures of Australasian Methodism in the first half of the 19th century.

In 1837, Mr. and Mrs. Watkin were transferred to Sydney. The change was necessary due to Mr. Watkin's failure in health. It was certainly a mistake to call the group "Friendly Islands". The London Missionary Society had appointed ten missionaries to the Islands in 1796. Four years later the Mission was abandoned, three of the Mission party were murdered, and the rest had to take refuge in the rocks and caves of the Island, were stripped of all their clothing, and subjected to the most horrible insults, but managed to escape in a passing vessel.

The hostility was caused mainly by some escaped convicts who poisoned the minds of the natives against the Mission. The first renegade who found asylum in Tonga was named Morgan, a convict from Botany Bay. He told the chiefs that the missionaries had been sent by the King of England to destroy the natives and take their land. He affirmed that they were doing this by witchcraft and incantations. Said he: "You see, these people are singing and praying, by means of which they are killing you all." Two men, two dissolute sailors named Ambler and Connelly, also sowed seeds of distrust; a man named Veelson dressed himself like a savage and lived like one, attached himself to a native wife or wives, and lived on a plane lower than savages themselves. The natives at that time were constantly at war, and were notorious for cannibalism, polygamy and heathen practices.<sup>1</sup>

Twenty-two years later the Rev. Walter Lawry resolved to make

<sup>1</sup> *The Call of the Pacific*, by Dr. J. W. Burton.

*Makers of our Missions*, by J. Telford, B.A.

*Missionary Triumphs*, by John Blacket.

PAGE 5another attempt to Christianise Tonga. The missionaries were held by some to be spies who had come to take the land. One old priest had a dream that the spirit of an old chief had returned to earth with the message: "The white people will pray you dead." The natives became insolent and rough. They forced their way into Mrs. Lawry's bedroom and despoiled the house of its possessions and talked of putting an end to the white people and generally behaved in such a way that Mr. Lawry found it expedient, especially as his wife was in feeble health, to return to Australia, after fourteen months full of disappointment and trouble. The Rev. W. Woon at another time had to leave for the same reason; his physical constitution collapsed under the strain. Notwithstanding all these disappointments, the workers were reinforced and in due time success crowned their efforts.

The work of Watkin and his co-missionaries was by no means a failure. Before Mr. and Mrs. Watkin left Tonga, a gracious work of Grace took place, and the various missionaries had the joy of seeing the fruit of their labours. Idols and heathen temples were destroyed. Finau, the chief of Vavau, set fire to the temples and the gods were burned with them. At Lufuka, where Watkin lived, in six months the converts increased to more than a thousand.

The Friendly Islands (Tongan Group) today are thoroughly Christianised, and, more than that, many of the converts enjoy a vital Christian experience. Practically the whole of the Tongan people are Methodists, and Queen Salote is a devout member and class leader.

When Mr. and Mrs. Watkin left Tonga they did so with very sad hearts, for Mr. Watkin was a sick man, physically and mentally. Appointed to Sydney, after a brief rest, and although still feeble in health, Mr. Watkin's preaching attracted large congregations, and a great scheme was organised for the erection of a large church in York Street. In 1840, however, the Mission Board appointed him to Waikouaiti, New Zealand, in order to establish a Mission.

Regarding the voyage from Sydney to New Zealand, he wrote to the Rev. Joseph Entwisle, of Tadcaster, as follows:<sup>1</sup> "You are aware for some time that I have been appointed to New Zealand, but perhaps not aware I was detained in Sydney until within a very short time from this date. If the people could have prevailed I should have been in Sydney still. Their efforts were fruitless, for the committee's commands were peremptory; the wants of New Zealand pressing.... Whilst preparing to leave Sydney for Hokianga, a friend of mine said to me one day, 'There is a Mr. Jones, a shipowner, anxious that a missionary should go to one of the whaling stations in New Zealand, where there is a considerable number of

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Rev. Joseph Entwisle. Copy of this in the hands of the present writer, supplied by Miss W. Watkin.

PAGE 6natives anxious for a missionary, and if the Society will send one he proposes to take him down free of expense with his goods and stores and £50 sterling towards the commencement of the Mission.' This is a noble offer,' I said, 'and ought to be accepted,' little

thinking that I should become the man to go. I named the proposal to my superintendent, but then half a man was not available for the purpose, and it remained as it was until Mr. Bumby visited Sydney, when, Mr. Jones continuing in the same mind, it was proposed that I should go to commence the new Mission in the middle island of New Zealand group; quite new ground for missionary labour—no missionary having previously been stationed there so far as I can learn. Having come to this decision, we set about preparing for leaving civilised life once more. The day for the sailing of the vessel was fixed. We took leave of our friends, and were spending the last night with the owners of the vessel, expecting to go on board the following morning. On that morning, however, another vessel belonging to Mr. Jones came in and, having very superior accommodation to those of the Magnet, in which we were going to proceed (she was very inconvenient, in fact, and crowded like a slaver with men and women, goods and cattle), and when Mr. Jones came in to breakfast, instead of bringing us a summons to go on board, he came in with a request that we give up the Magnet and wait for the Regia. As we had given up our home his request was that we should make his house our home during our longer stay in Sydney. Though we would have been most welcome to the homes of many Sydney friends, we thought it best to accept the kind offer. From first to last we spent seven weeks longer in New South Wales, and most of that time at Mr. Jones's hospitable house. He would hardly hear of our visiting our friends, so enamoured had he become of our company. His and Mrs. Jones's kindness can never be effaced from our memory. Our living with them introduced them to the society of some of the best people of Sydney, as well as to my friends of the ministry; this led to their frequent attendance at our churches, and almost his last words to me on board were: 'You will hear of my becoming closely connected with your society....' I feel a strong affection for the man, and he for me and mine. His kindness I can hardly over-praise....

"It was not until May 1st, 1840, that we left Sydney, when we embarked on the barque Regia for New Zealand. We were accompanied to the ship, indeed, to the Heads of the Harbour, by a considerable number of our Sydney friends, from whom it was painful to separate. We were soon at sea, and the usual concomitant of the commencement of a voyage—sea sickness—soon appeared. It began with the youngest and before we had got many miles on our way five of the mouths owned by our family were acting the part of occasional fountains, James and myself only escaping the horrors of sea sickness. In a few days all were well ...

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"Our voyage commenced on the 1st and terminated on May 15th, in the evening of which day we cast anchor in the Bay of Waikouaiti, in which place we were to commence operations and fix our residence. Our voyage, though short, was towards the last somewhat perilous. We were one night very near being shipwrecked, and the captain for a time despaired of escape. This was no comfortable position for us to be placed in, with five little children and all our worldly goods (not much, by the way) had she been wrecked.... In our extremity we called upon God and He delivered us, for which we were grateful. I shall never forget the night. Rain fell very heavily, but not a breath of air to stir our sails, which were flopping idly against the masts. The vessel had not steerage-way upon her, but was at the mercy of the current. The moon emitted a sickly light by which we were made conscious of the proximity of danger as the gleam of the white breakers and their horrid roar struck our eye and ear. I have been in danger at sea before, but I was never more afraid of shipwreck, concern for the mother and children who were sleeping below in happy unconsciousness of the danger being

the paramount feeling in my mind. 'In perils of the sea', modern as well as ancient missionaries must expect to be. Missionaries to New Zealand are no exception to that rule. We had two other narrow escapes before we got fairly ashore, but I need not trouble you with any more of our hair-breadth escapes. We got ashore at this place on May 16th. For 10 days we had unhappy accommodation, but in the end we got our present little habitation rendered fairly comfortable. Small as it is, it is our own, and we are well satisfied to endure until our new home shall be finished. It will be a good one, and will be built at the expense of Mr. Jones, whose kindness I have previously mentioned. His conduct ought to be set forth as an example of Australian benevolence for English imitation. Can any good thing come out of Botany Bay!—as New South Wales is sometimes called by people at home.

“Waikouaiti is on the eastern coast of the middle Island and about 800 miles from Hokianga, our principal New Zealand mission station—principal because the first established, not the most important, I think. I shall have no direct means or communication with the other parts of the mission, and shall be four or five hundred miles, I think, from our nearest occupied station, viz., Port Nicholson. I shall have to communicate with the chairman through Sydney. It will not be wise, some time hence, to continue this island as part of that district (viz., the Australian Synod). There will be hardly a possibility of my ever attending a district meeting (in Australia) unless steamers or other vessels play along the coast, which will not be yet...

“This island is like what I have seen of the North, one comprised of hills and mountains, there being very little level country PAGE 8as far as I have seen it. The land appears to be generally good many tracts of it being heavily bushed. There are rivers and rivulets in abundance, and the climate in winter is much warmer than corresponding latitudes in your hemisphere. This island would with proper culture, produce food for millions, but it is next to solitary. It has never been so prosperous as the North Island within the memory of the inhabitants, but it has been much more populous than it is now within the last 10 years. The measles carried off hundreds if not thousands, of all ages, and a 'churchyard' cough has been equally destructive within a few years. War has thinned their number greatly through war with the North Island natives, who appear to be more bloodthirsty than these, though that party were invested in several of the last engagements, yet such is the fear of the people that scores of miles before you reach Cook Strait, which separates the two islands, you cease to meet with a native. Those who have escaped the exterminating wars waged against them by Taraupaha (Te Rauparaha) have settled here and at other places more to the southward.... Taraupaha has been a Tamerlane upon a small scale.... The people of the island are a good deal scattered and will require several missionaries. If they were nearer together, they might do the work. To visit the people by land in some cases is impossible, and by boat or canoe dangerous. In the language, I make progress slowly, being different to the North Island dialect. The North Island books are of little use to me.... I am getting on, but the school operations will be hindered for want of books. I am preparing my first book, and must have it printed in Sydney. I have printed several books with the pen, and they are much prized. I think many of the people here will soon learn to read. I intend to teach them the writing of the printed characters at the same time. I am about to get schools built, and hope soon to commence schools in earnest. Of my success you may hear in a further letter. The natives began to observe the Lord's Day as soon as we arrived, and in that respect shame the whites who are resident in these parts. I have also two English services on the Lord's Day, one at a

place about four miles from this, and the other here. The whalers will go out in quest of whales on Sunday as well as on other days, though it is opposed to Mr. Jones's wishes. It is remarkable, however, that they have not yet taken a single whale on a Sunday during the season.”

The foregoing letter explains itself, but there are other details worth recording. Mr. Watkin was at that time 34 years of age, and it was no small matter to travel with a wife and five little children (the youngest being an infant of ten months) in order to establish a Mission under trying and adverse circumstances. Regia, the vessel by which they travelled, was a small craft of 180 tons. In addition to the passengers on board, there were sheep, cattle and horses, the latter suffering from sickness and the close confinement.

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On the 11th the vessel battled against a fierce storm and much anxiety was felt by the captain for the safety of the passengers and the ship. Next morning the Solander Island was sighted and the Regia entered the Foveaux Strait. The wind dropped, the ship began to drift with the current. By 10 a.m. island after island appeared in close proximity, and there was great alarm. The ship drifted past these perils, however, into the greater danger of Waipapa Point, off which it was enveloped in a thick fog, and in the sickening roar of the breakers was warning that the vessel was leading for destruction. Providentially a breeze sprang up and the Regia escaped from the prospects of shipwreck, and the captain was able to pronounce to the terrified passengers that they were out of danger. Mr. Watkin wrote in his Journal, “surely our grateful hearts sent up ascriptions of praise to the Great Deliverer.”

Mr. Watkin conducted the first Christian service in the South Island on May 17th, and he reported to the Mission Board, London:

“This day I held a service in English which was pretty well attended by the men from the whaling gang, some of the agriculturists sent down here by Mr. Jones, and a considerable number of the natives who, of course, could not understand me. I opened my commission in New Zealand by preaching from the old-fashioned text, 1st Timothy 1–15, This is a faithful saying, etc.’ The attention was great. May the word spoken not have been in vain.”

Thus the first messenger of the Cross began his mission—it was the beginning of a new day and of a new era. It was pioneer work, hard, plodding, and in some respects depressing.

Waikouaiti, now known as Karitane,<sup>1</sup> to which James Watkin was appointed as a centre from which to work his huge parish, was a shore whaling station and was established by Messrs. Wright and Long of Sydney in 1837. Mr. John Jones, also of Sydney, purchased the station in the following year. He visited New Zealand in 1839 in one of his own ships and returned to Sydney in January, 1840. The white population was a mixture of whalers, sailors, escaped convicts and various foreigners. There were about 40 persons employed on the station, which included coopers and carpenters. The Maori population was never large and included Natives who had fled from Rauparaha's clutches when he invaded the northern

<sup>1</sup> The name Karitane has caused much discussion. One version is that the Wesleyan Chief, Rawiri Te Maire, made the proposal to perpetuate the name Creed as they had already perpetuated the name Watkin by changing the name of the mountain known as "Hikororoa" to Mount Watkin. His proposal was to change the name of Waikouaiti to "Karitane". Thus "Kariti" Creed, and "Tane" man—the man Creed—"Karitane". The other version is that Karitane means "Bruised Man" and that it refers to an incident in the siege of Te Wera's pa by Taoka. It must be remembered that the present town of Waikouaiti only received that name in recent years. Previously it was known as Hawkesbury.

PAGE 10part of the island. Other Maori people from Otakou and the south were attracted by the whaling industry.

In the first years of the station there were only two white women in the place; one was the wife of Thomas Jones, a brother of the station owner, and the other was the wife of W. McLachlan, a cooper. Some of the European men were living with Maori women as their wives. One can easily visualise the whaling station—the row of huts occupied by the whalers; the wooden shed where the barrels of oil were stored; the whalers, assisted by the Maoris, both men and women, stripping the blubber and carrying away junks of meat for cooking purposes. The foreshore and beach were strewn with the bones of the monsters of the deep, and the air was permeated with the evil smell of boiling blubber. Mr. Jones's store with its various commodities was the centre of attraction to those who had money to spend—such was the whaling station of old Waikouaiti.<sup>1</sup>

A few weeks before the arrival of the Watkin family the population was augmented by the arrival of the passengers on Magnet, the first regular shipload of settlers for Otago. The list of passengers included several names of persons who contributed their share in the founding of the Otago Province and whose descendants fill useful vocations in the Church and civil life. The first problem for the missionary to solve was the difficulty of obtaining a house for his wife and five children, and he wrote as follows:

"May 18th: Went today to Matanaka, the agricultural settlement, where it was said my house was built. I found the place totally inadequate to the reception of my family for its size, and that living there would defeat the great object of my coming to New Zealand, namely, the spiritual welfare of the aboriginal inhabitants. I determined not to reside there, and to get a



temporary residence of some kind in Waikouaiti itself, which I have some hope of soon being able to accomplish....

“May 20th: We have found a site for a house, and a native house in an unfurnished state which may be rendered tenable at a small expense of materials and time and the carpenters are to be set to work to floor part of it and weatherboard the sides. It will be miserable enough when done, but we shall be under our own roof once more, a most desirable thing for comfort's sake and our family welfare. The house stands on a considerable elevation (Hau-tekapakapa hill) overlooking the sea, and commands beautiful prospects in every way. May the views of mountain and sea scenery ever lead us to adore Jehovah the Creator who ‘weighed the mountains in scales, the little hills in a balance, and who meted out the waters with the hollow of His hand.’

1 History of Waikouaiti, by J. Christie.

Early Waikouaiti, by W. Mallock.

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“May 24th: We have not had a public service this day, the day being very stormy without—preventing the people from assembling, and the house in which we are, being too small to accommodate many. In the evening I had a service with my own and part of Mr. T. Jones's family.

“May 26th: This day we have taken possession of our house (hut), the whole of it not too large for two people, in which, however, seven of us must cram, with some indispensable articles of furniture, and then we must do our best until we can enlarge our borders.

“May 30th: Have been very busy for the last few days in getting our little hut in order, unpacking, placing, etc. We have plenty of visitants, but they hinder rather than help, etc.

“May 31st: Another Lord's Day, the third of our residence in this strange land—in the afternoon I held a service in the English language. The carpenter's shop was fitted up for the occasion and had an excellent and attentive congregation of my own countrymen, to whom I recommended righteousness of life. A considerable number of the natives were present to

witness the Karakia bora, the English mode of worship. I hope soon to be able to make known unto them in their own tongue the wonderful words of God.

“June 7th: I conducted two English services at which I read a considerable portion of the Liturgy in the morning at Matanaka, where the agriculturists in the employ of Mr. Jones are located, a number of whom attended the service, etc.... It is a pleasing circumstance that the natives have begun to abstain from work on the Lord's Day, from the very imperfect manner in which I have been able to set forth the claims of that day of sanctity.”

The following day Watkin reported: “Have nothing remarkable to note this day, unless it be that we have got our little hut improved considerably by having the house place floored with planks; the earth floor was both damp and cold and which was felt acutely by us who have been ten years without feeling intense cold, but especially our children who, born most of them within the tropics, feel the cold of these high southern latitudes to be intense.”

Six days later—“I preached twice in English to small but attentive congregations, in the morning at Matanaka, to which place I was conveyed in a whale boat by the kindness of two American captains who had come the preceding night from Otago for the purpose of attending religious services.

“I had a better congregation than on the preceding Sunday and the people there appear anxious that I should continue to visit them, which I propose doing every Lord's Day morning, weather permitting. In the afternoon I preached at this place and read part of the Liturgy. I had Americans, Australians, English and New Zealanders in the congregation. The attention paid was great by all present. I am sorry to have to report that the conduct of the PAGE 12whites is worse in reference to the Lord's Day than that of the natives themselves; the latter do no work on that day, and will, I confidently hope, be brought ere long to a religious observance of the day.... The natives in this respect of abstaining from labour, setting an example to the whites living among them, who pursue their worldly avocations on the Lord's Day despite their better knowledge, etc.

“June 24th: Today I have been a good deal pleased with Sunday conversations I have been able to hold with the natives, and among other subjects that of the Resurrection of the body was talked about. I made them to understand me tolerably well. It is to them a strange subject. Inquiry after these things excites attention to the missionary and God's Book—subjects of general conversation. I was a good deal startled today by seeing a human jaw with the teeth serving as a pendant to a man's ear. Upon inquiry I found it belonged to one of his children and was kept by him in affection towards the deceased. Poor fellow, he appears to have lost six children in rather quick succession. I asked him of what they died. He told me the cough Te Mare (the churchyard cough of consumption). ‘Ah,’ I said, ‘that has carried off a great

many New Zealanders.' 'Yes,' he said, with a melancholy shake of his head and a sorrowful expression of countenance which I shall not soon forget, 'Nui, nui raki' (a great many)."

Having lived in a temporary hut for about four months, a mission residence was built and Watkin wrote, August 24th: "Our new house will be ready shortly and I then shall have part of our present one to the purpose of learning the language myself and teaching the Natives the truth of God which will banish from their minds the superstitions by which they are at present enslaved, and restrain them from acts of bloodshed, for which they have so strong an inclination."

The new Mission parsonage was a quaint little four-roomed cottage with an attic and had a commanding view from the high terrace where it was situated on the south side of the river as it takes its final bend to the sea. The chimney was the first constructed of bricks in the South Island. They were brought from Sydney.<sup>1</sup>

The site where the Mission Station was established was called Hau-te-kapakapa. It was an assembly ground in pre-European days, the name meaning "the flapping of the wind". In close proximity, in those far-away times, there were three ancient kaikas known as Maraekura, Waipipikaika and Makuku. Looking to the west from the Mission Station may be seen old Hikororoa, a mountain which

<sup>1</sup> This little parsonage was, in later years, taken to Seacliff, where it did duty as an annexe to a baker's shop; it was subsequently burnt down.

PAGE 13 rises to a height of some 2,045 feet above the level of the sea. The top of the peak is capped with basalt of various kinds. Old Hikororoa now bears the name "Mount Watkin".

The language difficulty had to be faced at once, and this was no easy task. Watkin was much helped by his accurate knowledge of the Tongan language for there were similarities in construction and pronunciation.

On May 30th, he wrote: "I am sorry to find from the little I have been able to pick up of 'Te Korero Maori' (the New Zealand language), that it differs very materially from the language in the North Island; this will involve much labour, and much expense, for as the books printed at the Mission Press, Hokianga, will be of very little use here; it will be necessary to begin afresh, and from the alphabet, to write the hitherto unwritten language. I have read from the New Zealand Testament published at Paihia, but it appears a strange language to this people, many of the words bear considerable resemblance to words spoken here but others are quite distinct. I don't think there will be any need here for the foolish gna (nga) of the North Island." At another time he remarked: "I am still at the language but it is not very easy

work to act the pioneer in this respect. I do not regret that I have to do it, but rejoice in it as I shall do something towards smoothing the path of others.” Later: “I am making progress in the Korero Maori (New Zealand language) but should be glad if it were more rapid. I pick up words and phrases with considerable facility but should do so with much more rapidity if the language spoken here were the same as that of the Northern Island. At present it is like a man travelling in the dark in a path unknown to him.”

On June 5th he could report: “I have collected words and phrases to the number of nearly four hundred, though I cannot say that I have them all in my memory. I am increasing in a knowledge of the language daily, and what with the broken English of the Natives and what I have acquired I can manage to understand and make myself understood on common subjects.”

Watkin had a flair for languages and in four months from the time of his arrival at Waikouaiti he was able to preach in Maori. On September 14th he wrote: “Yesterday I conducted the usual Sunday services ... in the afternoon I ventured to address the natives extempore; a considerable number were present and their attention was deep whilst I endeavoured to make known to them the great truths of Revelation. I believe that I was generally understood and my hearers could well adopt the language of the Athenians and say, Thou bringest strange things to our ears.' I have often felt something like shame that I have been so long in acquiring an ability to deliver myself extempore in four months, but the difficulties of acquiring a language which has never been previously learned by PAGE 14 anyone can only be appreciated by those who have had a similar task, now my way will be comparatively easy. I have had many hindrances, and have still, but hope to master every difficulty and lay a foundation upon which others may build.”

From the beginning of the Mission in Otago, Watkin was obliged to compile a vocabulary, construct a grammar, and thus start from the beginning. For example, the Southern Maoris' use of the letter “l” has no place in the North. The “ng” of the North appears as “k” in the South. “Kainga” becomes “kaika”, “ngaio” becomes “kaio”, “tohunga” becomes “tohuka”, “Tangaroa”, the god of the sea, is known in the South as “Takaloa”, “Waihora” becomes “Waihola”, “Waitangi” becomes “Waitaki”. These are some of the differences, and there are many others. In former years students of the Maori language, knowing the northern variation only, have regarded the southern differences as depraved Maori, for which they have blamed the whalers. Even Mr. G. Clarke, Protector of the Aborigines, in his book *Early Life in New Zealand*, referring to the southern dialect spoken by the Otakou Maoris, says, “The jargon they speak in their common talk is low Maori.” He was certainly mistaken.

Watkin's son James, nine years of age, was quick in acquiring the language and was a real help to his father. The chief, Haereroa, was an able assistant and patiently suffered himself to be questioned daily in this difficult quest.

Having acquired the language, it was the missionary's task to reduce it to writing and prepare books for his numerous scholars. This involved hard work, seeing he was obliged to write by hand all the books required. Primers and a translation of St. Matthew's Gospel in the southern dialect were prepared and sent to Sydney for printing; but much time elapsed before they came to hand. In the meantime he continued his toil as best he could. He wrote prayers which the Maoris committed to memory, hymns for congregational singing, the Liturgy, and the Catechism. The Ten Commandments, in the southern Maori, were recited almost daily. Watkin's vocabulary may be seen in the Hocken Library, Dunedin.

The missionary was sadly hindered in his educational work by lack of equipment. Slates, paper, ink and pens were not easily obtained, and he was obliged to make the best of the situation.

On August 1st, 1840, he reported: "Have been employed during the week in printing alphabets with the pen, which I must continue to do until I can get aid from the press. The Natives are anxious to learn, which cheers me in my efforts to teach them. Tonight our kitchen furnished a scene which might have done for a painter, and which would have pleased the philanthropist and gladdened the Christian. A considerable number of young men with their books in their hands conning over, a, e, i, o, u, etc., and while I was teaching PAGE 15 some others of them would be soliciting the instruction of one of my little boys, with E ha tenei, Wiriamu? (What is this, William?). Some of them learn rapidly and before they went away could say many of their letters. O that I had books!"

Watkin's son James, nine years of age, and his brother William, although scholars themselves, assisted in the school. On August 10th Watkin wrote: "The Natives still manifest their desire to learn, though I have no books. If I could get a native house built as a school ... I am greatly retarded for want of accommodation."

The following shows his method of work:

"I have been much employed during the week and in a similar manner in preceding weeks ... have school for men and boys at early morning, and one for women and girls in the evening, both well attended ... all ages and grades, old, young, chiefs, people, faces furrowed with time as well as the tattooing instrument."

Watkin's zeal as a spiritual leader was without the slightest tinge of fanaticism. With unflinching confidence in the uplifting and saving power of the Gospel, he expected it to work its saving results through the awakened and active intellect, and the instructed conscience, and not merely by rousing the devotional susceptibilities of man's nature; he set a high value on education as a civilising, elevating, refining and restraining power in the individual and a true handmaid of the Gospel of Christ.

He thought of education as the gift of a new power; and was anxious that this power should be used, under the guidance of Christian principle and a sense of responsibility, for the good of the person in whose individual mind it had been created. His first object was to answer the design of Christian education, by forming the minds of the youth, through Divine aid, to wisdom and holiness of life. In all his attempts to educate the people, Mr. Watkin was ably assisted by his wife. Notwithstanding all her duties, cares and responsibilities, Mata Wakina (mother of all), as she was known, applied herself to her onerous tasks. What a high degree of courage and devoted attachment there must be in a woman who sacrifices domestic ease of a home life to follow her husband, and share with him the privations of pioneer missionary work. Mrs. Watkin not only assisted with ordinary school work, but she assembled the women and girls and taught them to sew, to wash and iron clothes; she taught them to care for the aged and sick and instructed them in the rules of elementary hygiene. The women had as much reason to be thankful for the Mission as the men, and more so, for the status she gave them in the family life of the community.

When Mrs. Watkin had persevered with her lessons for only a few months, the girls who had never before handled needle or scissors could cut out and make up garments for themselves and their families, which were worn with harmless pride. The new PAGE 16 accomplishments and the improved appearance of the girls greatly pleased their families and added to the influence Mata Wakina was daily acquiring. There was singing also and prayer; and all unconsciously her pupils drank in the Christian faith which showed itself so beautifully in her unselfish efforts on their behalf.

It has been argued by some that the Maori people owed their ability to read and write as much to the traders and whalers as to the missionaries. The answer to this argument is that Watkin's marriage register reveals that while the Maori brides could write their names in clear, well-formed letters, their pakeha partners could only make "marks" thus, X; and the irony of it is that the Maoris who attached their signatures as witnesses to the authenticity of the pakeha marks could do so in an expert manner. It is evident that the whalers did but little for them in this respect.

In order to make full proof of his ministry this intrepid missionary toiled to gather everything regarding the ethnology, history and tribal life of the people that he might be the better able to meet their intellectual and spiritual needs. Seldom has a missionary accomplished so much in

one year as Watkin accomplished in 1840. His classes for the training of native pastors and teachers stands out as a marvellous achievement.

In the early days of the Mission the Watkin family suffered severely from lack of provisions and supplies. Very little in that direction could be obtained at the whaling station, for they also lacked the needful commodities. For five months no communication was received from Sydney and no supplies of any kind arrived. This caused considerable distress to the missionary and his family and his sick parishioners. Potatoes, flour, tea and sugar could not be obtained; their food consisted largely of cockles and Maori cabbage. Watkin wrote: "I could be content," but the distress of his family and those depending upon him weighed heavily upon his mind. Watkin was deeply attached to his wife, and keenly regretted that his duties kept him so much apart from her. They were of one heart and one mind and shared together the joys and sorrows of their lot.

To his children he was a most devoted father, delighting in their society and ever feeling the greatest concern for their welfare and his own high responsibility for them. He was indeed naturally fond of children, and confessed that he could spend hours (if that were possible) in watching them, enjoying their happy confidences and high spirits. He was always ready to listen to them, and on them his loving, gentle spirit expended its full force.

Watkin himself at this time suffered from lowered vitality and depression of spirit, for he had not fully recovered from his physical collapse at Tonga, and he was unable at times to put his best endeavour into his duties. However, after weeks of delay and PAGE 17 disappointment, one evening he reported "we were gladdened by the report of a gun, which proved to be from the Magnet direct from Sydney; her arrival was gratifying for we had been five months without word from civilised life, etc." ... "Life," it is said, "is largely made up of sunshine and shadow," but sometimes the shadow seems to obliterate the sunshine.

At the time mentioned, a chief named Kurukuru had occasion to go to a kaika north of the Mission Station where his people were cutting flax, and Watkin remarked, "Alas, it was to be his last voyage. On the night of the fourth I was startled by a fearful cry of many voices, and on running out to ascertain the cause was told that Kurukuru was drowned.... The aged Korako, who had lost his two and only sons, a daughter-in-law and a grandchild, was in a despairing grief, rolling on the ground and roaring in agony. The mother of one, and the father of two of the sufferers, relatives and friends, all uttering the cry of misery. How they perished must remain a mystery, none surviving to tell the tale. The most of the boat, mast and sail, have drifted on shore on the very spot to which she was bound, but not one body of the unfortunate ones who perished in her have as yet been recovered.... I have lost my best scholar and those of whom I had the greatest hopes. Kurukuru, his wife, his daughter and his brother, the brother of his wife and nephew and three others are swallowed up. This place has since been a place of weeping. It was rumoured that one of their human sacrifices would be made to the maues of the deceased, and Mr. Thomas, Mr. Jones's superintendent here, and I

went to the people and told them what we had heard. I stated that such a procedure would be very wicked and an aggravation of the evil under which we are suffering, and contrary to, and would be punished by, British Law. I told them the man that should murder the slave named to me would render himself liable to the punishment of death by hanging. Korako assured me that nothing of the kind would be done. Another said, 'We have heard you say, "Thou shalt not kill," and we are afraid of doing what we used to do.' I think this lamentable event will be sanctified to the good of this people."

Later: "This place has been one of considerable excitement ... and but for the presence of the missionary might have been one of war and bloodshed; as it was, a sham fight served the place of a real one, which I thought sufficiently horrible." He remarks that "the New Zealanders have been accustomed to war."

## CHAPTER TWO CHANGES IN THE MAORI WAY OF LIFE

A happening occurred which caused much comment among the Maoris and Europeans. A Maori woman named Tautaki died, aged 35 years. Her husband forsook the Maori customs of his fathers and requested that his wife should have the benefit of a Christian burial according to the rites of the Church. In doing this he broke away from the old law of tapu and Mr. Watkin wrote as follows: "I trust that the 'tapu' has received a blow in this place which will issue in its abandonment.... A Native whose wife died yesterday has abstained from all that was previously held sacred ... and is acting in the way usual among Christians. He did not remove the dying woman from his dwelling to die in an outhouse; he did not abstain from the use of his hands in eating he did not tie up the body of the deceased in some old blanket and put it in a hole two feet deep, but procured a decent coffin; a deep grave has been dug and tomorrow she will be interred in the presence of most of our worshipping Natives according to the rites of the Church."

"July 4th, 1842: Yesterday conducted the usual services, and buried a Native woman in the Christian burial ground, and near the grave of Mrs. T. (Mrs. Thomas, the wife of the superintendent of Mr. J. Jones's station), who was interred the previous Tuesday; this has given huge offence, as I am told, to some of the most Christian (?) whites, who are highly indignant at such a blow against white superiority being struck, for according to their notions, superiority exists after death as well as during life, an opinion from which I am a most sincere dissenter. I gave some reasons for the same to my white congregation in the evening, by which they might learn that I thought, if superiority exists, that it belongs to the natives and not to them. Some of the offenders are Americans, who with their vaunted declaration of rights staring them in the face, 'all men are free and equal' ... The natives of this country,



with all their vices, are better in every way than the creatures who calumniate them. The aborigines of this country need protection.”

The trouble was that Tautaki's grave was close by that of Mrs. Thomas. The Americans and several others were furious because Watkin had the audacity to bury a Maori in a plot close to the grave of a pakeha. It was an insult, monstrous, they said.

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While still smarting under Watkin's words, death was busy gleaning his harvest and the missionary was again called upon to officiate at the burial of a man who had died in the horrors of delirium caused by excessive drinking. Most of the Europeans attended the funeral, at which the missionary, in a brief address, referred to the evils of drunkenness. He reminded them that the previous October three boats had been wrecked and that six out of eight of those who perished were drowned whilst drunk. He showed how morally indefensible was the practice that sapped their vital forces, debauched their manhood, broke the hearts of their women and despoiled the lives of innocent children. The same night, going down to the store, Watkin found a number of men in an advanced state of intoxication. His courageous attitude in rebuking these excesses did not increase his popularity with a certain section of the community, and he wrote, “Their blame must be my praise. I should suspect myself if I had their encomiums.” He could say with the Apostle Paul, “We both labour and suffer reproach,” but “we trust in the Living God.”<sup>1</sup>

Another incident is given by Watkin in his Journal regarding the evil of excessive drinking. This happening took place at Otakou before his arrival. On February 15th, 1840, a Maori named Teuteraki Pauwa, who was the son of a chief, after heavy drinking on a whale ship went on shore and entered the whare of a man named Brown. A fight took place and a window was broken in the struggle. Some of the glass struck the Maori, who in his fury seized a musket and took aim at Brown. The gun was fired, but the bullet missed Brown and killed a ship's carpenter. The Europeans seized the Maori and were preparing to lynch the offender in American style. However, not being in America, they changed their minds and locked up the native and his wife and put them under guard, determined to send the Maori man to Sydney for trial. The unfortunate offender was so alarmed that he begged the Europeans to shoot him. By some means he got possession of a gun, probably from his guard, and, putting on his best clothes, got his wife to clasp his body from behind. He then put the muzzle to his chest and pulling the trigger with his toes the bullet passed through his heart and into that of his wife, killing them both. The Maori people in the district were furious and made preparations for revenge. The Europeans were afraid of a general rising and induced d'Urville, the French navigator, who was at Otakou at the time (April, 1840), to take Brown and his wife to the Bay of Islands.<sup>2</sup>

Due to the missionary's influence and the benefits of ordered government, these lawless happenings became gradually fewer with

1 Watkin's Journal and Rugby Pratt.

2 Watkin's Journal and Rugby Pratt's notes re same.

PAGE 20the passing of time. The missionary appreciated these changes for the better and he noted in his report:

“My schools and services, weekday and Sunday, are as well attended as can be expected, the desire to learn to read and write is intense in many, and surely good will come of it; the natives love the missionary, though some of his own countrymen curse him. I read a letter from a native this week in which he styles me ‘Father’ and expresses his indignation at some evil words spoken by some worthless European. The native is an instance of quick intellect and great perseverance, he having with but slight assistance learned to read and write remarkably well.”

“Yesterday (Nov. 16/40) I conducted five services, three in Maori and two in English, besides walking eight miles of not the easiest road in the world. I am encouraged by the attention which the natives pay to the word spoken and I trust that from these small beginnings there will be great results.... If the Mission had been established here ten years ago, what lives would have been saved, what knowledge would have been diffused and enjoyed! The race, alas, is fast decreasing, the remnant only will hear the Gospel.”

Watkin's native converts were simple-minded and sincere believers. They knew nothing of any subtle philosophy of Salvation. One thing they knew, “they had passed from death into life.” They knew they were free from the dark and tormenting tapu and from the tyranny of taipo. Their knowledge of God was still imperfect, but it was real as far as it went. To quote from M. A. Rugby Pratt: “The flower of a new life was only beginning to unfold. But they had heard whispers of love, faint at first, like an echo pulsing through a dream. In their genial fellowship with the All-Father the old haunting horror of grim gods had melted like a wraith of mist.”

The Maoris began to advance in their general manner of life. Community houses, in which all sat or slept together, gradually fell into disuse. Each family built its own whare or cottage, and family habits and household customs were gradually changed to the Christian way of life. Cleanliness and habits of industry were inculcated, and “amid the wreckage of an ancient order a new life began to emerge.”

On January 27th, 1841, the first adult Maori was baptised. The candidate's name was Mere Kuri, and the same day Mr. Watkin joined her in the holy bonds of matrimony to James Spencer—the first Christian marriage performed in the South Island. James Spencer had arrived at the Bluff in 1824. He had served at Corunna and Waterloo.

Watkin reported further encouragement on December 26th, 1842: “Yesterday held the usual services, and in addition to the

#### 1 Pioneering Days in Southern Maoriland.

PAGE 21 common duties had the pleasure of baptising a native who had met in class three months. ‘James’ he is called. It was an interesting service ... he is not so far advanced in knowledge as some others, but he can read pretty well and write too. He has a good gift in prayer and will, I hope, be useful. I have some other candidates to whom I shall administer the rite shortly.... I am distressed for books.”

These candidates chose their own names, and this young catechumen, named Mahaka, when asked what Christian name he desired, replied, “I want your name,” and thus he was baptised Hemi Watkina (James Watkin). This convert really represented the first fruits of Watkin's toil in a remarkable manner. Another ... “Yesterday held three services, in the afternoon baptised a native by the name of Joseph (Hohepa) who has learned to read and write and who has renounced the gods of superstition of his forefathers, and who has been very usefully employed as a teacher at Port Levy....I trust he will act worthily of his Christian profession publicly made. I also baptised my own last born child. He too was called Joseph—may he be the Lord's.”<sup>1</sup>

Hohepa was a typical Maori teacher, and did good service for the church. He was one of a band of travelling preachers sent out from the Wesleyan Mission at Cloudy Bay which had been established by the Rev. Samuel Ironside at the close of 1840.

Other baptisms followed. Watkin was never in haste to baptise his converts. Adults were received into Church fellowship only upon confession of faith, and after a period of probation. In a letter to the London Mission Board he explained his position and attitude as follows: “I make no haste to baptise or I might have scores to report; I wish them to know what Christianity really is before they embrace it. The administration of the Rite does not confer the thing signified, though it may be received with it. I urge them to believe that they receive the promise of the Spirit.”

In the same letter he remarked: "I am pleased with those who meet in class, some of them, I think, are very promising, it does me good to hear them pray." He was satisfied, as proved by the correctness of the language they used, and the sentiments they expressed that they were sincere in their profession of Christianity.

Regarding the manner in which he conducted the services of worship, Watkin has given considerable details. At first he committed to writing various prayers and hymns which the people were able to repeat from memory. In due time he was able to write copies of Wesley's edition of the Book of Common Prayer in Maori, and the congregation was able to join in the responses. "Many of the natives," he noted, "use prayers morning and evening, know the

1 Joseph H. Watkin became Mayor of Ashfield, Sydney, in 1888.

PAGE 22 Creed, Commandments and some Scriptural facts, and have some acquaintance with Christian, doctrine and practice." On a later date: "Yesterday was employed as usual, and I trust that God will bless His own Word which I have endeavoured to dispense. If deep attention to the Word spoken be an encouraging sign, then I may be said to have encouragement, for the natives appear to drink in the Word; it is pleasing to see them that can read and have the Word of God reading the lessons as I proceed with that part of the service. I seldom deliver what may be called a sermon, but attempt expositions of a chapter or paragraph; this I consider more profitable for them. In the forenoon I generally remark upon both the lessons and conclude with that part of the Liturgy which follows. In the afternoon a chapter is generally read and expounded." A granddaughter of Mr. Watkin informed the present writer that her grandfather was accustomed to wear his black gown. Wesley's version of the Book of Common Prayer was used, the congregation reverently joining in the responses.

Mr. Watkin wrote regarding their chanting: "The Maoris are very fond of chanting the Catechism, which they do with a great zest and in a tone rather agreeable than otherwise." His expositions of Scripture never failed to be illuminating, and he succeeded in bringing home its teaching to the hearts and conscience of the people. Miracles and incidents of Bible history and story which would appeal to the Maori mind were rendered as vivid as he could make them in order to arrest attention. The results were conviction in the hearts of the people and amendment in daily life and conduct.

Singing on the part of the Maori people was very much in evidence; many of them were in possession of sweet, melodious voices which they used with telling effect. In the early morning the whole valley was vocal with song.

The missionary, like the early adherents of Wesley, observed the various Christian festivals. The first of these after his arrival at Waikouaiti was Whitsunday, June 7th, 1840:

“I conducted two English services, at which I read a considerable portion of the Liturgy, in the morning at Matanaka, where the agriculturists in the employ of Mr. Jones are located, a number of whom attended the service, and a much greater number of natives who were attentive, though they could not understand anything that was said. The afternoon service was held at this place (Waikouaiti), and a mixed congregation as at the other place. I dwelt upon topics suitable to the day, and trust that the word spoken will be blessed of God.”

“Trinity Sunday: Had good congregations of natives, to whom it was a pleasure to hold forth with Word of Life; being Trinity Sunday I endeavoured to direct their minds to that which is assuredly believed among us, the glorious doctrine of the Trinity.

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“To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost be everlasting praise.”

On the 25th he observed the Christmas Festival. This was Watkin's first Christmas in New Zealand and he conducted two services. The preacher's heart, no doubt, warmed as he discoursed upon the fact of the birth of the Prince of Peace—the world's Redeemer. The Dayspring from on High had visited them, and His mandate had gone forth, “Peace on earth, goodwill to men.” The note of gladness was heard, the “glad tidings of great joy which shall be to all people.” The missionary appealed to the people to offer their best, as the wise men did of old, giving their gold of adoration, their frankincense of love, and their myrrh of praise, for “unto you is born this day a Saviour which is Christ the Lord.”

On Boxing Day the missionary and his wife gave the natives a feast as best they could from their frugal store, at which many Maori and European games were played. The Maori girls especially entered with zest into their pretty posture dances, with their twirling balls manipulated to the accompaniment of rhythmical movements of the body and the notes of lilting melodies.<sup>1</sup>

Good Friday was a special opportunity, and he wrote: “Good Friday we observed here as is the wont at home. I held three services, two in Maori and one in English, and I hope our hearts were affected the right way while considering the first hour of the Son of God. May we hate the sin which caused our Lord to bleed. An instance of the gross ignorance of a ‘Christian’ some thirty or forty years old has come to my knowledge in reference to the object for which the day is observed. My informant stated that he was applied to for information on the point, the individual stating that no person to whom he had applied for the information could tell him. If they had asked the Maoris they might have learned the fact it

commemorates and the number of years since its occurrence. Easter Day was, I trust, a day of rejoicing in some degree to us in this corner of the earth. Some here rejoice in a Risen Saviour, may they more fully seek those things which are above.”

On April 7th, 1844, his last Good Friday in Otago (Waikouaiti), he reported: “Good Friday was observed by us at home by abstinence from food and labour and by religious services.” April 8th: “Yesterday, Easter Day, was employed as usual; preached on the usual topics to the usual congregations. May God add His blessing.”

The first public celebration of the Holy Communion to Maori participants did not take place till January 29th, 1843. Watkin wrote feelingly about this event: “We partook of the emblems, and I felt some of the benefit resulting from the death which brought us life—the first instance here. May these young professors stand fast in one mind and in one spirit, striving for the hope of the Gospel.”

1 Pioneering Days, Rugby Pratt.

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The communicants were Iraia, Haimona, Pita Mutu, Paura Tua, Aperahama, Mohi, Rawiri Te Maire and Toati Witiwhiri (Whitefield in its Maori form). Mrs. Watkin also participated. This celebration brought home to the Maori converts the reality of the bond that united them to the pakeha missionary and his wife whose lives had been given up for them. Watkin was ill and low in mind at the time, and four days later received medical attention from a ship's surgeon.

Watkin, like all the early Methodists, observed frequent Love Feasts. These were meetings for devotion and fellowship which Wesley, in the 18th century, revived from the practice of the ancient Primitive Church, known as the Agapae. They had long been discontinued by the church. The New Testament Greek word Agapae stands for “love”, for genuine community sharing, as in Acts 2–46. After dispensing bread and water, the meeting was devoted to religious experience that, as Wesley said, “we might together eat bread as the ancient Christians did, with gladness and singleness of heart, being fed, not only with the meat that perisheth, but that which endureth to everlasting life.” These Love Feasts were a regular practice in the days of the Mission in New Zealand,

The work of the Mission was much hindered by lack of literature, and particularly of the Scriptures, but the best was made of a difficult situation. When, however, a supply of Bibles arrived at the Mission Station there was cause for much rejoicing. On the day of their arrival

the missionary exclaimed, “This day must be reckoned among the very best ... by the arrival of books! Kapa rawa. The arrival of books has infused a little life into my soul, and affords no small pleasure to my people.” Referring to the arrival of copies of the New Testament, he continued: “It would, I am sure, very much please that blessed British and Foreign Bible Society to see the pleasure which their noble gift of the New Testament affords in this distant place. And who can calculate the good that will result from their Christian benevolence! May God bless its active agents and all who contribute to its funds.” Again: “Thanks to the British and Foreign Bible Society. The anxiety for the books is intense. The arrival caused great joy. Already I have had applicants from seven, ten and thirty miles distant and they say, 'Let me have a book! Let me have a book! ... had almost stunned me! Let me have one for my wife, my sister, my brother, girl, boy, as the case may be, has often been urged. Never did such a precious case reach this place before. Cases of clothing, useful and necessary, have reached me, but this, this good thing, the better, the best thing that any ship has yet, or can possibly bring them—The Word of Life.”

When the weather was favourable, Watkin conducted his services in the open' air, and when the weather was cold or wet, any available PAGE 25building was used. Later the services were held in a native structure which was used as a chapel, known as a Whare Karakia.

The increasing success of the work necessitated a building of larger dimensions, steps were accordingly taken to provide a new place of worship,<sup>1</sup> and on June 18th, 1843, the people worshipped in the frame of the new church. It was a great occasion and the record is as follows:

“It was a high day in this place, we had natives from Ruapuke at the south and from Cloudy Bay on the north, so many that we were obliged to worship in the frame of our new Chapel, made as comfortable as circumstances would allow. I baptised 21 natives and a native child. It has been my lot to witness many baptismal occasions; but I know not that the baptising of hundreds ever gave me more pleasure than administering the Rite as yesterday—I never saw a better behaved congregation, nor candidates who behaved with greater solemnity. The names chosen were chiefly scriptural, from Enoch downwards ... names which will be had in everlasting remembrance, such as John and Charles Wesley and some of less note. Today I have married four couples who had previously been married in Maori fashion (custom). The Register will be a curiosity, I expect, to any professor of caligraphy. I have been much today in answering questions and writing explanations of words and phrases. A small commentary would be an acquisition to the Maoris.”

“It is worthy of mention that among those baptised were the chief, Horomona Pohio, who became the first native pastor and teacher at Ruapuke, and the chiefs, Hoani Weteri Korako and Tare Weteri Te Kahu, who became pastors and teachers at Otakou. It was an event long to be remembered.

The new church,<sup>2</sup> with seating accommodation for 200 persons,

1 The section on which the church was erected was not claimed as a Methodist Church property. The policy of the Methodist Missionary Society discouraged the acquirement of native lands. The Hon. W. B. D. Mantell, the surveyor, in reporting on January 13th, 1849, to the chief secretary, stated that he had asked Mr. Creed if he would prefer the site of the Waikouaiti Mission Station to be included in or left out of the Native Reserve, and that Mr. Creed requested him, if possible, to include it in the Maori Reserve, and that this was done. Similarly Sir Walter Buller reported in March, 1862, that four and a half acres at Kaiapoi had been offered as a “Wesleyan Church Endowment” but that the church did not accept it and the land still remained in the possession of the natives.

2 The new church possessed a sweet toned bell that had originally done duty on a Botany Bay convict ship. It was later purchased by Mr. John Jones and was used as a ship's bell on the Magnet. Mr. Jones presented it to Mr. Watkin for the new church. In the ‘fifties it was placed on the Presbyterian Church reserve in Dunedin, and used as a time signal, from which “Bell Hill” takes its name. The old bell now rests in the Dunedin Early Settlers’ Museum.

PAGE 26 was dedicated and opened on July 30th of the same year, and Watkin reported:

“Opened our new church and baptised five young men. May they act worthy of the Christian name.... About fifty Maoris received the Rite.... Most of them can read the Scriptures and have some portions of the Word in their hands.” It was truly a great day in the history of the Mission. The unpretentious sanctuary seemed “lit with celestial glory”, for out of the black night of heathenism those Maoris had come into the glorious Light of the people of God, and they proved their profession by Christian words and deeds. It was quite natural that the missionary's heart was gladdened because of this success, for those converts performed an important part in the history of the Mission and Colony.

The five young men who were received into fellowship were Hoani Maka Wharepirau of Waikouaiti, Anaru Takairaki of Stewart Island (Rakiura), and three from Moeraki, including the chiefs Matiaha Tiromorehu and Rawiri Waiteri Mamaru. The latter chief, two months later, was appointed a class leader at Moeraki.

Although these converts had broken away from their pernicious customs, and had turned away from old vices, they were not perfect. This could not be expected. It was difficult for them to abandon their former practices, and the sparks of passion were ready to leap again into flame. “But, although the drift of heredity still carried them, a new resistance had become manifest—the entail of sin had been broken and applied Grace proved sufficient for their needs.”



The Maori people regarded the missionary as their friend, and was able to write: “The natives bring their trouble to me, for I am regarded as their friend, and the poor things need a protector. I was pleased yesterday with what I heard from one of the natives, and which proves that already Christianity has some influence. He stated that he had been wronged by one of the white men and that the latter proposed fighting as a termination of the matter. ‘No,’ said the native, ‘I will not fight, for the missionary says we must not.’ This circumstance, though a little thing, was encouraging.”

There were other difficult problems, and Watkin reported to the Mission Board:

“The white men almost generally are living with native women, and my coming here is looked upon rather suspiciously by them, for they know enough of Christianity to be aware that if it prevails they must either marry the women or lose them. Another objection to the missionary is that he will make the natives too knowing, i.e., in matters of trade, but from the specimens I have had already, I think it my duty to make them less knowing.”

Watkin's parsonage was not only a residence for himself and family, but, small as it was, it was also a dispensary and hospital. Sick people from near and far came seeking his aid. Watkin was PAGE 27not a certified medical practitioner, but, like many missionaries, he had a working knowledge of diseases and their remedies and he knew how to treat them, and entered the following in his Journal: “I have begun to dispense medicine, and during the cold weather shall have plenty of patients.” The lady of the parsonage was more than a nurse. She was Mata Wakina (Mother of all), and cared for the women and girls. It was no small matter to find room for those who needed beds and her constant care.

Another onerous duty fell to the lot of the missionary, that of being a miniature Justice of the Peace. He was called upon to settle differences and prevent quarrels, particularly among the pakeha residents. He was obliged to intervene in Mr. Jones's affairs, and he reported on July 14th, 1842: “Yesterday was a good deal employed about Mr. Jones' affairs which, though foreign to my office, I consider imperative upon me to prevent as far as I can further injustice from being practised towards him. There is no other interested person here or near and competent at the same time or I should have avoided the care and odium, for there will be some of the latter from the unprincipled persons who have been preying upon him, but I should suspect myself of something very bad if I had their moral judgment.”

The following month he reported: “The state of things here becomes more alarming, property is insecure and life not much more so; robberies have been rather numerous lately and on two nights Mr. Jones's store has been broken open and robbed. I have dwelt among people called

savages and amidst 'war's alarms' but never felt such a sense of insecurity as I do at this place. Things are nearly as bad as they can be. Let us hope they will begin to amend.... Love of strong drink appears to be the source of much of the evil here."

Seeing that Mr. Jones was a patron of the Mission, and that he occupied an important position in the affairs of early Waikouaiti, it is necessary to record some details of his life.

John Jones was born in Sydney in 1809. He first saw the shores of New Zealand as a boy on a sealer when the sealing industry was already languishing. He visited New Zealand again at the end of 1839 and returned to Sydney in one of his own ships early in 1840. He was married to Miss Sarah Sizemore in March, 1828, a lady who proved a most devoted helpmeet. Watkin states: "On this date (August 5th, 1843) we had an unexpected arrival from Sydney in the family of Mr. J. Jones.... May it be a benefit to them and to the place." Alfred Eccles and A. H. Reed, in their book *John Jones of Otago*, state that the elder children arrived on the above date, and that the parents and younger children left Wellington for the South on September 1st in Jones's vessel the *Scotia*.

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Mr. Jones, in his desire for the appointment of a missionary to Waikouaiti, agreed "to afford a missionary and his family a free passage to the station in one of my ships; to give a suitable piece of land for the use of the Mission; to send the missionary supplies from time to time free of charge, and shall present to the Society towards the expenses of this Mission a donation of £50." The authors of *John Jones of Otago* call attention to the Rev. M. A. Rugby Pratt's statement in his *Pioneering Days* that Jones broke almost every clause of his undertaking. In this statement Mr. Pratt was mistaken. In a sworn statement, made in connection with his land claims, Jones included the following figures: "Cost of establishing a missionary for and at the request of the natives. Passage from Sydney for himself, wife and six children, with luggage and three head of cattle—£100. Cost of erecting a house of six rooms with kitchen and also a schoolroom for the use of missionary—£250." The above shows that Jones's promise regarding Mr. Watkin was honoured; Watkin in his *Journal* repeatedly refers to the kindness and liberality of his patron. It was also the whaler's intention to give to the Mission an endowment of 100 acres of land, but as the Government did not recognise his land claims he was unable to fulfill his desire. During Mr. Creed's term, for a time, the feeling between Mr. Creed and Mr. Jones was not so cordial. Mr. Jones was regarded by the people as the most important person in the district. He was a farmer, shipowner, and general merchant. The whaling station was closed in 1848. In 1854 he moved to Dunedin. He established a fleet of steamships and was the principal owner of the Harbour Steamship Navigation Company, which ultimately developed into the Union Steamship Company of New Zealand. Mr. Jones was a man of strong character, of a benevolent mind, and his liberality to worthy causes won the respect of those who knew him. When he moved to Dunedin he became an adherent of the Anglican Church. Mr. Jones died in 1869, aged 60 years. Mrs. Jones died in 1864 at the age of 57 years.<sup>1</sup>

The missionary observed: "Things are better for the natives since the arrival of the missionary in more respects than one, for the brutal violence with which they used to be treated is in a great measure at an end. In this improvement the natives rejoice and all unite in ascribing it to the presence of the missionary. Korako,

1 The Rev. J. Watkin baptised Mary, the daughter of John and Sarah Jones, at Waikouaiti on January 14th, 1844. She was the second daughter of the above and was married to Henry Nelson, M.D., at the Church of England, Dunedin, on September 10th, 1862. Dr. Nelson died on May 18th, 1867. Mrs. Nelson was re-married at St. Paul's Church, Dunedin, to Alfred Eccles, F.R.C.S., on April 29th, 1869. Mrs. Eccles died at "Beverley", Torquay, England, on August 2nd, 1886, at the age of 42.

PAGE 29an aged chief, who remembers Captain Cook's visit and the introduction of the potato, mentioned an instance of this savage violence and which occurred to himself: a blanket was stolen and search was made; in doing this the hut in which some of the whaling gang lived was visited ... when one of them deliberately dashed a quantity of boiling water upon him (Korako), scalding his face, chest and side severely. He was confined to his house ten days or more before he could move about. The blessings which 'civilised' man has conferred upon this people are easily reckoned up, not so easily the evils he has inflicted, is inflicting....

"My duties during the week have been much as usual, the four services on Sunday, the two on week nights with the schools, have engaged my attention. I have been informed that my plain speaking has given huge offence to certain of 'The Christians' and that I am to be punished by their non-attendance in future. 'The viper and the vile.' ... I have had to interfere in the case of brutal violence perpetrated by a white man upon a native boy. Instances of this kind were frequent formerly, and the inclination is by no means wanting now.

"A great alteration for the better has taken place even in the Maori people who have not embraced Christianity, and those who have become Christians are, all things considered, equal to their more favoured brethren, the pakehas."

The chief and tohunga, Korako, told Mr. Watkin that his coming to Otago had put an end to the vile brutalities inflicted upon the native race, and had also terminated cannibalism, murder and other evils that were formerly frequent.

The missionary toiled on amid many difficulties and much success, so that he could write to his friends in Australia in terms like these: "I am endeavouring to seek more of the mind which was in Christ. I love society, as you know; but I trust that God knows I love the poor natives more."

One bright summer's day in 1843, Mr. and Mrs. Watkin and family went for a picnic up the Waikouaiti River. They tied the boat to the riverbank and sat on the grass for a meal, when a wild cat passed them with a bird in its mouth. A Maori boy chased the cat, which at once dropped the bird. Picking it up, the Maori boy gave it to Edwin Iredale Watkin, aged about four years. The child proceeded to the edge of the river in order to put the bird in the boat, and in doing so fell into the river. Seeing that the boy did not return immediately, Jabez, a brother two years older, was sent after him. To his amazement he saw his young brother lying in several feet of water with a number of eels surrounding him. The boy shouted for help, and soon the unfortunate little chap was rescued. He was nearly dead, but restorative measures proved successful. In this way the Rev. Dr. E. I. Watkin was saved to the Church.

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In October, 1843, Dr. E. Shortland, Protector of Aborigines, visited Waikouaiti and conversed with Mr. Watkin. It was a brief visit, but it afforded pleasure to the inmates of the parsonage. Shortland had been at Otakou and wrote: "After having remained there a few days, hired a boat to take me to Waikouaiti, Mr. J—'s whaling station. At that place there was also a small body of natives, and a Wesleyan missionary, who had very hospitably offered to give me a bed in his house. I accordingly set sail at daybreak on a misty morning, but with a fair breeze off the land, which carried us the whole distance, about eleven miles, in two hours and a half. We landed on the bank of a small river, which gives its name to this place and flows into the southern extremity of a sandy bay.... On the first establishment of the (whaling) station very few natives, by all accounts, resided at Waikouaiti; but they soon increased in number, coming from all parts of the country for the sake of tobacco, clothing, etc., which they could exchange for their labour or for pigs and potatoes. They now possessed several boats, which they had purchased. Two native women had married whalers, and nine had formed similar connexions without the solemnity of the marriage ceremony. The fruit of these unions were fourteen halfcaste children. The remaining native population stood thus: Men 41, Women 32, Children 28: total 101. Here I saw for the first time, on a large scale, the native method of grinding the 'pounamu', or greenstone, from a rough block into the desired shape. The house belonging to the chief, Korako, was like a stone cutter's shop. He and another old man were constantly to be seen there, seated by a large slab of sandstone, on which they, by turns, rubbed backwards and forwards a misshapen block of pounamu, while it was kept moist by water which dropped from a wooden vessel. While one rubbed, the other smoked. They made, however, so little progress during my stay that it seemed probable it would be left to the next generation to finish the work."

In the years 1842–3, Mr. Watkin suffered constantly from impaired health. Death had often bruised him and passed by. The seven years in Tonga had taxed his physical and mental constitution to the last limit. There were days and nights of pain and mental depression. He blamed himself for his imagined failure, but he lashed himself to his arduous tasks. At one time he "hopes to be soon where he can obtain proper advice and treatment." He is willing "to resign and leave his charge and make room for a stronger man." He imagined "his work was falling short of success." He had no comradeship with intellectual equals nor any real

spiritual fellowship—“his loftiest thoughts had to be caged in his own lonely heart.” At another time he “fears to die and leave my wife and so young a family as mine.”

Mrs. Watkin carried a heavy load of care. Twice she had been PAGE 31 “near unto the gates of death.” At another time, suffering from the torture of neurasthenia, Watkin wrote: “This has been a poorly week; on Monday night I was cupped by a German surgeon attached to a Bremen whale ship then at Otago (Otakou), and which to the honour and glory of the owner, be it told, carries a chaplain, the first instance I have heard of a whale ship doing so. Let England and America blush and imitate Bremen. The vessel is named Juliana, owner Mr. Fritz. Nine glasses were used, the scarifier containing fifteen lancets and two applications were to each place. I fear that the quantity of blood taken was insufficient to secure relief, powerful medicines were prescribed and taken, and altogether I have been a good deal weakened.” He felt keenly his inability to do what he regarded a full day's work, causing him to depend upon his native pastors to supply his lack. He expressed his willingness to leave the district in order to make room for a person physically fit and more capable to endure the strain of the long journeys involved in such a far-flung parish. He said: “The people hereabout love me ... and I feel a strong concern for their interest.... I often think my days are numbered. Thou Judge of all the earth will do right.”

On another occasion, having passed through some distressing experiences, he wrote in his private Journal that the excitement had caused him much dejection of mind and he felt himself unequal to his task, but he reasoned, “though the exercises of a station like this must be borne by someone, why not by me? Mrs. Watkin has been seriously ill this week, which has served to increase the gloom of a dark week. May God fit us for either suffering or doing ‘His righteous will’.”

Notwithstanding illness, discouragements and the disappointment consequent upon his task, he proved himself equal to the burden. He saw the native people rising above the environment and sad conditions of their surroundings. Neat whares began to rise in the kaikas which took the place of the unhealthy community houses where the people slept together. Family life was established upon a Christian basis. Habits of cleanliness were adopted and there was a great improvement in the whole round of domestic life. All these changes for the better were sources of great joy to the missionary and his wife. They were greatly helped in their work by further gifts of Bibles from the British and Foreign Bible Society:

“I cannot but express the gratitude I feel for the help of the Bible Society in their gift of copies of the New Testament, and for the ability possessed by so many of the people to read the same. The Scriptures have a most telling influence in the life of the people.” Later: “This morning I have been pleased by the perusal of a number of native letters from far south ... and the anxiety for books and instruction. New Zealand is now receiving the Gospel PAGE 32 from end to end. It would have done the Bible Society good to have seen my congregation yesterday with their New Testaments in their hands and intently reading those portions of

Scripture on which the preacher dwelt. It did me good.... They have generally bags or little baskets of a size sufficient to contain the Testament and Hymnbook slung round their necks and occupying the situation erewhile occupied by powder, flash and cartridge box.”

The year 1843 was one of ingathering, and by the close of the year he had baptised over two hundred converts in his far-flung parish, and Watkin wrote: “On the 24th (December) had a series of interesting services. In the forenoon had perhaps two hundred present, baptised more than forty persons.... In the afternoon held a Love Feast (Agapae), a considerable number spoke. In the evening heard Hoani Weteri (Korako of Otakou) address the congregation, and was pleased. Afterwards I held a sacramental service, and had a large number to partake. May they all be partakers of the spiritual life through the death of Christ whom we commemorated.” The next day, Christmas Day, was a time not to be forgotten, and although the weather was unfavourable the services were well attended. Among those persons baptised on the 24th were twelve from Otakou, including the chief, Wiriamu Poteki (Potiki), and Hana Wera (Weller), the grand-daughter of the chief, Taiaroa, and mother of Mr. David Ellison (Iwi Erihana). There were also eight candidates from Purakanui who received baptism.

In July of this year (1843) Watkin received a letter from his friend Samuel Ironside informing him of the Wairau tragedy which had taken place on June 16th. Watkin replied on August 11th:

“Yours of July 26th reached me yesterday. My sorrow has been stirred within me by the sad news contained in yours. Oh! this land of blood. Our countrymen sent to their account in battle, natives killed, and the most promising station we have, broken up. May God bring good out of evil. Surely there must have been some rashness. Of course the missionaries will be blamed for it. The New Zealand Company's people hate missionaries. That is clear from their publications. You being nearest will come in for a share of the blame.”<sup>1</sup>

On that fateful day twenty-two Europeans were killed and five were wounded. Mr. Frederick Tuckett, who in 1844 took part in the Otago survey, was one of the survivors.

<sup>1</sup> The New Zealand Company disliked some of the missionaries because they opposed their questionable land transactions with the Maori people.

# CHAPTER THREE OTAKOU AND THE FIRST CHRISTIAN MISSION

Sentinel at the entrance of the Otago harbour stands Taiaroa Head.<sup>1</sup> Within the entrance lies the Maori Settlement which gave the name to the provincial district. Otago is a corruption of the Maori name Otakou. The port was known to the early whalers as Port Daniel and Port Oxley.

No more interesting and historic locality can be found south of the Waitaki River than Otakou with its traditions, legends and subsequent history.

June 13th, 1840, was a noted day, for on that date H.M.S. Herald, in command of Captain J. Nias, having on board Major T. Bunbury (80th Regt.), called and a gun was fired at eleven a.m. as a signal to the residents. Major Bunbury went ashore and during an absence of four and a half hours, obtained the signatures of Hoani Karetai and Korako to the Treaty of Waitangi. The signatures of Taiaroa, Tuhawaiki and Kaikoura<sup>2</sup> were obtained on June 9th at Ruapuke. On that occasion the chief Tuhawaiki wore the full dress staff uniform of an English A.D.C., with gold lace, cocked hat and plume. He was attended by a native orderly sergeant in uniform. Thus the Maori people acknowledged British supremacy, and Queen Victoria as their lawful sovereign and protectress. The days of "no man's land" came to a close.

The provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi were as follows:

"Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, regarding with her Royal favour the Native chiefs and tribes in New Zealand, and anxious to protect their just rights and property, and to secure them the enjoyment of peace and good order, has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great

<sup>1</sup> The original name of Taiaroa Head was Pukekura. Mr. Herries Beattie in his Maori Place-names states that the Pukekura Pa has always been a famous spot and is mentioned in a song where a canoe from Hawaki shortened sail under its shadow. The flagstaff and lighthouse of today are erected on the site of the old Pukekura Pa. A little further along the coast may be seen a cliff known as Rerewahine. The tradition is that a young Maori lady, probably in a disappointed love affair, terminated her life by throwing herself over the cliff—hence the name.

2 Kaikoura was a chief who fled from Kaikoura during the raids of Te Rauparaha. He died at Otakou and was buried in the old burial ground at Ruatitiko.

PAGE 34number of Her Majesty's subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of emigration both from Europe and Australia, which is still in progress, to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised to treat with the aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's sovereign authority over the whole or any part of these Islands. Her Majesty therefore, being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary laws and institutions alike to the Native population and to her subjects, has been graciously pleased to empower and authorise me, William Hobson, a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy, Consul and Lieutenant-Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to Her Majesty, to invite the Confederate and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following articles and conditions:

“Article I—The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation, cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation, all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation of individual Chiefs respectfully exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or possess, over their respective territories as the sole sovereigns thereof.

“Article II—Her Majesty the Queen of England, confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them on that behalf.

“Article III—In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand her Royal protection and imparts to them all the rights and privileges of British subjects.

(Signed) W. HOBSON,

Lieutenant-Governor.”



Such was the Treaty, first signed in the North Island at Waitangi, in the presence of Henry Williams, Richard Taylor and John Mason, of the Anglican Church; Samuel Ironside and John Warren, of the Wesleyan Mission; Bishop Pompallier, of the Roman Catholic Church, was also present. At Mangungu, the Rev. John

PAGE BREAK  
Rev. James Watkin.

Rev. James Watkin.

Rev. Charles Creed.

Rev. Charles Creed.

PAGE BREAK

Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers.

Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers.

Rev. Samuel Ironside.

Rev. Samuel Ironside.

Rev. W. Kirk.

Rev. W. Kirk.

Rev. J. F. Riemenschneider.

Rev. J. F. Riemenschneider.

PAGE 35Hobbs acted as interpreter. The Revs. J. Wallis and John Whiteley assisted in their charges. It is a simple truth to say that without the influence of the missionaries the Treaty would not have been signed. It was the famous Ngapuhi Wesleyan chief, Tamati Waka Nene, of Hokianga, who made the speech at Waitangi which confounded the opponents, rallied the waverers and saved the situation; the powerful chief, Hone Heke, spoke against the Treaty. The project was nearly defeated. At last Tamati Waka Nene, who had the utmost confidence in the missionaries, and great confidence in the British Government, rose, and after an

impassioned speech, addressing Captain Hobson, said: "Come, sir, come. We have been long confused and at variance with each other, come, and be our father and guide. You must not allow us to become slaves. You must preserve our customs and never permit our lands to be wrested from us." He carried the day. The Treaty was signed. The Maori was to be guaranteed on the faith of England all his rights in the land of his fathers, but the question today is who got the best of the bargain, the Maori or the pakeha?<sup>1</sup>

"The New Zealand Company continually desired the English Government to disregard the Treaty of Waitangi, and to confiscate the whole of the lands of New Zealand nominally to the Crown, but really for the benefit of the Company. It had gone so far as to approach Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, urging upon him that the Treaty of Waitangi was simply a device for the purpose of amusing naked savages, and inducing them to behave in a friendly manner until the British power should be permanent in these lands. With Lord Stanley the leaders met with no success."<sup>2</sup>

On October 28th, 1840, Watkin wrote in his Journal:

"Now this country is claimed by the British Crown as one of its appendages, it would be well if British Law were brought into operation here for the protection of the natives and the suppression of the enormities practised by Europeans.... Ex-convicts there are plenty, and some runaway foreigners, but some of these are thinking about changing their quarters.... If the French are allowed into this land it will only perpetuate and enlarge the evil.... This last, I hope, will be prevented without the intervention of war."

In the year 1840, when the Rev. J. Watkin arrived at Waikouaiti, the Otakou Peninsula and harbour possessed the largest Maori population south of the Waitaki River. Mr. Isaac Haberfield, who came to Otago in 1836, said that on his arrival there were between 2,000 and 3,000 natives at the Otago Heads. At Purakanui there were

1 Rev. T. Buddle, Pioneer Missionary to New Zealand, by a Granddaughter.

2 Life and Times of Sir George Grey, by William Lee Rees and Lily Lee Rees (1892), p. 99.

PAGE 36 about 500 more. The Rev. M. A. Rugby Pratt states that at the dawn of the 19th century there were probably 2,000 natives living at Tairaroa Head.

Watkin's early contact with the Otakou Maori people was disappointing, for they had suffered by reason of their connection and association with evil-minded pakehas, and "they were in no wise improved from their commerce with English, American and French shipping."

There was a fairly large European population at Otakou, consisting of whalers, sailors, small farmers and ex-convicts; some of them brought the Maori few virtues but outrivalled them in evil conduct. Mr. Octavius Harwood, Weller's manager, said that he was not afraid of the Maori people, but there were times when he felt considerable anxiety regarding some of the foreigners, and he did not feel safe in his store without his gun or pistol near at hand. There were other stations just as lawless, or even worse, where there was a concentration of the worst elements of human degradation, greed, selfishness, strife and lust; places where there existed neither legal or moral restraint, and where might was right. The Rev. S. Ironside recorded such conduct at Cloudy Bay. Some of the people "were not savages but savages and a half." Dr. Robert McNab, in his *The Old Whaling Days*, has written regarding Watkin:

"He could see that the whalers regarded him as a check upon their licentiousness, and a friend of those they plundered, and, if the whalers at Waikouaiti were like those described by Chetwode and Bumby, in Cook Strait and D'Urville at Otago, the missionary was in anything but an enviable position."

There were, however, at Otakou, pakehas of another type. Each had a Maori wife. Some had well cultivated gardens, and families of half-castes were brought up more or less in the European fashion. They had a crude idea of a "bit of religion". From these families the missionaries succeeded in obtaining some of the most sincere converts.

It has been the custom of some writers in referring to Otakou to paint in dark colours the whole population, which is most unfair. Some of the settlers were of high character who, as soon as the Mission was established, lent their full weight in support of the good work. Even some of the flotsam and jetsam of the whaling station, who led hard and dangerous lives and were given to coarse dissipations, had the virtues of courage and generosity in some degree.

When the Maoris at Otakou heard of the arrival of the missionary at Waikouaiti they journeyed by canoe or boat to the Mission Station in increasing numbers, being anxious to hear and learn.

There were several kaikas and hapus in the Otakou Harbour. Numbers of people were living in the old Pukekura Pa at Taiaroa PAGE 37Head and at Te Waiare. Ruatitiko, near Harrington Point, above the Rauone Beach, was the most important kaika in the old days. The Tahakopa Kaika, a little further to the south and above the Black Rock, was the next in importance. The third kaika was Omate, where Weller's store stood. The dwellings of the whalers were here at the base of the cone-shaped hill Te Atua o Taiahua, stretching toward Black Rock. This rock was the landing place of the whalers.

Amid all the difficulties and perplexities of his lot, and these were many and complex, the missionary set himself to his task.

Mr. Watkin visited Otakou by boat or on foot, and his reports to the London Mission Board indicate that he had no easy problem to solve. The Maoris were most unfortunate in their first contact with “civilised” Europeans, and he deplored that fact.

On March 1st, 1841, during a pastoral visit he was much perturbed because “a person the previous day had been buried who came to his death by falling down a deep place into the sea when returning home drunk; he was found next morning, within a short distance of his hut, dead.”

The same day he visited a sick young man who was dying of superstition. “I recommended some measures with hope of saving him but had something to do to persuade him to adopt them. Many of the New Zealanders die of nothing but the idea that Taipo has seized them—they then give up hope. I endeavoured to show them the folly of their belief but I fear without effect. O God, claim these people for Thyself.” He reported the case of a woman and child who had been kidnapped and taken on board a French whaler: “A most infamous case was reported to me and I was requested by the sufferer to write for him a letter to Mr. Robinson, the Police Magistrate, which I have done. A short time ago the great majority of the male inhabitants of Otago had occasion to go southward, and among them Taumeitōi (Taumaiti), the person referred to, leaving his wife and child at home. During his absence the French whale ship *Oriental*, Captain Smith, put in, and when about to sail carried off this man's wife and child by night, and went to sea, and it is reported that she was taken on board for the captain's use, and who must have known she was a married woman for her having one child with her and from the state she was in.... The poor fellow on his return found that his wife and child were gone and has been 1

1 Several Europeans are buried on the slope of the hill Te Atua o Taiahua. Prior to the arrival of Watkin, funerals were conducted by Mr. O. Harwood. The names of those buried are given by Miss Harwood, a grand-daughter of the last named: Benjamin Coleman, James Slahers, Bob Fortune, James Hanlon, Oamaru Watson, Pe Ses Suvat, Joseph Moss, Robert Twelvetree, John Antone. There were two women from the North Island, Maiti Tau and Hine Kaitaki.

PAGE 38in great distress ever since. He told me that they had lived together from extreme youth and she had been the mother of two children. It is expected that the miscreant will put in at Hakaroa shortly and I trust the letter to Mr. R— will be in time to ensure at least the recovery of the woman and child. Another woman was also taken from one of the foreign residents for evil purposes.”

These cruel outrages became fewer and soon ceased due to the influence of the Mission. The first marriages conducted according to the Christian rite at Otakou took place on June 19th, 1841. The chief, Tare Weteri Te Kahau, was married to Riria Weteri Wharekauri, witness, Moki Piehorokai; also Heremia Tahara Whana to Roka Tahana, witness, Horomona Pohio. Watkin, at first, conducted his services in Weller Brothers' store, the only building available. The seats for the congregation were made by Mr. Clearwater, Weller's boatbuilder. (These seats at the time of writing are in possession of the Harwood family.) The store, later, was owned by Mr. O. Harwood, and served as a place of worship till a church was erected at Ruatitiko, near Harrington Point.

The next recorded visit was more encouraging than the last. This was due to the fact that the converts at Otakou were constantly visiting the Mission Station at Waikouaiti, and also to the exertions of the native pastors who conducted regular services. These pastors and teachers made the services as instructive and interesting as possible. The regular reading of the New Testament was accompanied with expository remarks where necessary, and thus brought home its teachings to the hearts, minds and consciences of the people. When the subject was a miracle or other incident, it was rendered as vivid as the teacher or preacher could make it, in order to arrest attention, and a few words were added by way of inculcating the lessons learned. In this way the converts, line upon line, and precept upon precept, were advanced in their knowledge of Scripture and the Christian way of life.

... ..

Another journey indicates the dangers and difficulties Watkin had to face in the performance of his pastoral duties:

“On the 9th February, 1842, visited Otago (Otakou) per boat. Held a service there in the evening, the natives present were very attentive to what I said about the true God, His law and His Gospel. The next day the wind was contrary so I determined upon walking home. The journey was a very long one and tremendously fatiguing, the mountains so steep that ascending them and descending is more fit for goats than human beings. There are four rivers to cross, or perhaps ‘tideways’ were a better word. Crossing one of them (probably Waitati) I think took half an hour to effect it, and most of the time I was up to the chest in water. A long and difficult swamp is one of the peculiarities of the road. After dark PAGE 39 on the first day we reached a Maori place and were glad to avail ourselves of the shelter it afforded us from a heavy thunder storm. Wet and weary we sat or lay upon the ground during the night and early the following morning started again. We were soon wet through again from wet grass and bushes, and reached home in a state of greatest exhaustion, having slept little and eaten less during my absence.”

There were no roads, no bridges, simply the imperfect Maori tracks hedged by dense undergrowth of briars and scrub which were difficult to negotiate. To the north there were dense and almost impenetrable forests, while along the foreshore there were thickets of flax (harakeke), fuchsia (kohutuhutu), supplejack (kareao) and bramble-lawyer (tataramoa). The route between Waitati and Evansdale was through a huge bog to the knees or armpits, to which succeeding missionaries testified—all these difficulties were faced, endured and overcome. The missionary's heart was always cheered by the songsters of the bush—the parson-bird (tui), paraquet (kakariki), pigeon (kereru), fantail (piwakawaka), bellbird (korimako), and robin (totoara)—in fact the bush was vocal with enchanting music.

On October 11th of the same year: “Visited Otakou, and found a considerable number of southern natives with their chief, Tuhawaiki. I had three short services and had some conversations with the natives, chiefs and people, young and old. They want a missionary there.”

Watkin expressed his regret that some of the people were too fond of rum, and that there were stocks of that article available.

He therefore pointed out to them the evil of the habit and urged them to “give up the evil thing”. It was his intention to remain for some days in order to continue his duties, and further instruct those who had visited the mission-house, but he wrote: “The eagerness of my boatmen to return with the great chief, Tuhawaiki, prevented it. I therefore returned, and as my complement was five, and only one efficient, I had to take my share in working the boat, etc.”

The following report was entered on December 13th, 1843:

“Visited Otakou. Voyaging this coast is never particularly pleasant nor free from danger; going into most harbours here is very unpleasant and somewhat dangerous. My boat was crazy enough and my crew were Maori lads, but we accomplished our voyage in safety. In the evening I preached to and catechised the people at Teruatitiko (Ruaititiko), afterwards a prayer meeting was held. I had before me one of the catechumens and they had chosen their own names. Early in the morning of the 13th I baptised a number of men, women and children. May they be baptised with the Holy Ghost. I then met the members of the society and gave tickets PAGE 40(tickets of church membership). Afterwards visited Tahakopa and went through similar duties baptising and marrying. This done, I married four Europeans to the Maori women with whom they had been living and baptised two half-caste children. My second service was held out of doors and if it had not been so hot the occasion would have been one of great enjoyment; there was that to gratify both the natural and spiritual eye. I have long laboured to impress the English men with the propriety of being married, and at

last with some success. Visited Tawhiroko<sup>1</sup> (near Taylor's Point) and held a service there, and next morning, while the boat pulled round, David (Rawiri Te Maire) and I walked along the shores of the harbour to Waiparapara (now known as the Spit) and stayed there the night.”

Having fulfilled his appointment at Otakou, Watkin prepared for the homeward journey. On the way he called at Purakanui, and reported: “Under an almost torrid sun I held two services, the first a baptismal one, and the second an ordinary service. I also married two couples. To sleep was impossible, and I was glad when morning broke to take a walk on the sands. When the morning was advanced enough I conducted a service ... after which we embarked and pulled to Waikouaiti, thankful to God for all His mercies and seeking his blessing upon, our labours. May God make all these people Christians.”

On that occasion he baptised sixteen persons. The marriages performed were between Tamati Teaparakau and Rahera Natomina, Kipa Tana Poukaha and Hira Nukumaitore.

There are several items in this report which need explanation. The catechumen members were those who were receiving instruction in Christian doctrine and Bible knowledge. Class meetings consisted of gatherings of people for fellowship and prayer under the direction of a leader. Tickets of membership were issued quarterly, Ruatitiko, referred to in the report, was the main kaika at Otakou, and had the largest population. The church stood on the slope overlooking the harbour and the Spit and was about one hundred and fifty yards below where Mr. D. McGregor Reid's house stands today. Surrounded by shrubs and a neat flower plot, it was beautiful for situation. The church bell was a gun barrel hung in front of the building. This was struck with an iron bar, giving the call to worship. The whole of this area today is buried in the sand drifts. Tahakopa, before mentioned, situated on the green hill slope above the Black 1

<sup>1</sup> Tawhiroko is sometimes spoken of as Otawhiroko. Barnicoat, assistant surveyor to Tuckett, in his Journal, April 23rd, 1844, mentions a visit to Otawhiroko, where he was treated kindly by the natives. The Maoris had copy books with neat writing, of which they seemed proud. This shows the effectiveness of their training under the direction of Watkin.

PAGE 41 Rock, was a kaika under the control of the chief, Hoani Weteri Korako. He built his own church, in which he held services and conducted a school. Close by there was a little God's Acre or burial ground where reposed the dead.

Ornate also was an attractive kaika, studded with little Maori dwellings. The missionaries referred to it as the “upper village”. A small whare karakia was soon built there. It was a native structure which served as a church for some years.

The visitor today who may wander through the various kaikas—Ruatitiko, Tahakopa and Omate—can easily visualise the scene of those missionary labours on that day of glorious sunshine, for such it was, and understand the joy and rapture that filled the soul of the missionary as he pondered the results of his toil. Nor was he unresponsive to the surrounding grandeur of creation in its various forms, for such helped to lift him above the depressing circumstances of his strenuous life.

Watkin made several visits to the kaika at Purakanui and established a class for prospective converts and confirmed those already received into membership. It was usual for him to visit this kaika when on his Otakou itinerary, and he spoke of it as:

“A place that was formerly densely populated, but now the inhabitants are few indeed. I have a teacher there whose name is Elijah, a very worthy young man I think him. The measles and other ... things brought by foreigners must account for the diminution of the inhabitants, the account of the ‘mitara’ (measles) visitation is affecting enough. During my stay I was pretty fully employed in preaching and teaching by day and most of the nights also. I was much pleased with the people. The accommodation was Maori. We were a dozen strong in a hut large enough for a couple, according to English notions. The voyaging is anything but agreeable and sometimes dangerous.... We were twice in danger of being swamped.... For want of lights I was obliged to hold my evening service earlier than usual tonight. Have since conversed with two catechumens who are anxious for baptism and, of course, wish for new names. When I mention a new name the question is, ‘Was that an upright man?’ The people are very averse to my leaving them.”

Dr. Shortland in his Journal gives an interesting description of Purakanui as he saw it when on his way to Waikouaiti in 1843:

“Our course lay across a deep bay to a small cove, where was the native village, delightfully placed by the side of a river, deep enough to admit a boat, which entered it with the flood tide. Here was abundance of everything the New Zealanders required. There was plenty of wood, a rich soil, and the sea close at hand to supply them with fish. Nor did there seem much chance of their being disturbed, for the space of level land was too small to attract the PAGE 42attention of the European settler, and there was too many lofty hills surrounding it. The number of residents here I found to be men 10, women 9, children 13, total 32. The place formerly belonged to a family called Urikino. The present occupants were tenants on sufferance, having fled hither from Kaiapohia, after Tamaiharanui had been kidnapped by Te Rauparaha. The family name was Katihurikia and their chief persons were Pukai-a-te-ao and Kaitipu. I spent some time conversing with my new acquaintances, and looking at their cultivations. In the meantime they had sent a messenger to their white man, an old whaler who had built himself a cottage near the beach, at a short distance from the village. They said he could give me a more comfortable night's lodgings than they could. This man welcomed me with the hospitality of his class, although he possessed little but the mud and sticks of his



hut, an old musket and the clothes which covered him. He set himself to work to shoot some pigeons for my dinner, but, as he used small stones for shot, I was obliged to be very careful in eating, to avoid breaking my teeth. My bed was made from the slender branches of manuka, which are both soft and fragrant.... In the morning I woke early; and, as the dawn first peeped forth, was deafened by the sound of the bellbirds. The woods, which were close by, seemed to be thronged with them. Never before had I heard so loud a chorus.”

One can scarcely realise that this peaceful area and the adjacent Mapoutahi, in the days of the contending rival chiefs, Taoka and Te Wera, were the scenes of strife and bloodshed.

Continuing the Otakou narrative. As a direct result of Mr. Watkin's exertions a vast improvement was seen in the manner of life of the Maori people. Gradually they refused to take part in the drunken excesses of the pakeha population, and Sunday was observed by regular attendance at the Christian services.

Some of the pakehas of the “baser sort”, however, viewed the missionary with no friendly eye. Others, seeing a decided improvement in the lives of the people, ceased their opposition. The Christian Sabbath was held in great reverence. They prepared for it on Saturday by attending to cooking, cleaning and necessary toil, thus leaving the Day of Rest free for devotion, Bible study and the regular services. When the missionary was absent the devotions were conducted by the native pastors and teachers. Not only on Sundays, but every day when the missionary was present, the bell was rung for worship. When the missionary was absent, when possible, his place was taken by a native teacher. After the services of the Sabbath, before the people retired to rest, there was usually the psalm, prayers, and evening hymns.

The people had great respect for the church building. It was indeed a sacred structure—the House of God. Before entering, they PAGE 43left all walking sticks, food, knives, tobacco and pipes outside on the grass till the service was over. None dared to touch or steal them, for they were placed on sacred ground.

In the year 1852, when the Rev. Charles Creed was in charge of the Mission, Canon Stack visited Otakou and remarked about the changed lives of the Maori people, and is thus quoted in *More Maoriland Adventures*: “The change in their attitude towards one another was due to their having embraced Christianity and submitted to its enlightened rules of conduct. They had exchanged the vindictive heathen heart for the forgiving Christian heart—the ‘new heart’, as the Maoris say. As we read, sang and prayed together that first night I spent with the Maoris ashore at Otakou Heads, I realised what a bond of union and fellowship our Christian faith is between men of all ranks and races who accept it, and what a transforming power it possesses where it can change ... men into gentle and courteous Christians, such as the people I was then associating with.”

One of the outstanding chiefs in the early days of the Mission was named Tohiti Haereroa. He had been a great warrior and had fought Te Rauparaha in Marlborough, and against Te Puoho at Tukurau. He sometimes surprised Watkin with his thrilling descriptions of those fierce encounters and the oven fires which followed. He professed conversion to the Christian way of life and on May 20th, 1843, Watkin records "that he had become anxious for Christian knowledge". In 1840 and onward he had been a great help to the missionary in perfecting his (Watkin's) knowledge of the South Island Maori and in compiling his vocabulary.

As a proof of Haereroa's sincerity and devotion, Watkin records the following: "An instance of sincerity has been reported to me by a Maori who formerly lived with us, but is now resident at some distance. He is well known to the white men and talks better English than they can Maori. He has lately become anxious for knowledge, and serves God to the best of his ability. For some time formerly he assisted the whalers in this vicinity by means of a beacon. A party of them reached his place, and the first question they asked was, 'Have you seen any whales lately?' 'Yes, on Sunday.' 'Why did you not make a smoke?' 'Because it was the Sabbath—the Sacred Day.' 'Ugh! are you turned missionary?' (Christian), and other abuse. 'I am very ignorant,' he said, 'but I wish to keep God's Commandments.' 'What God, the Maori God?' 'No, the missionary's God.' They said, 'The missionary lives a long way off and he would not see you.' 'True,' he replied, 'but God would see me. He sees everything.' 'Oh,' they said, they were taught those things when they were children, but now they had cast them away. 'And where will you go when you die?' he enquired, telling them that 'hell was the place for evildoers.' They laughed, of course, and PAGE 44 would fain have persuaded him that there was nothing beyond the grave, but without effect." Watkin remarked in his report: "The natives estimate them and their opinions at their proper value now, and perhaps there is some danger of their regarding the illiterate among them as Montezuma is said to have regarded Pizarro."<sup>1</sup>

There was another chief of outstanding importance named Wirenu Potiki. He was of sufficient mana to be one of the signatories to the Deed of Purchase of the Otago Block in 1844. He is said to have been "gentlemanly in bearing and possessed a strong and honest mind." He and his wife, Mera Whio, and their three children were baptised by the Rev. J. Watkin on December 24th, 1843. The following day this chief and his wife accepted the Christian form of marriage, and the record stands in the Register: "Wiremu Nera Potiki to Mata Nera Whio." Upon the death of his wife Mata Whio, Potiki married Lydia Titawa on July 28th, 1857. Potiki died on May 17th, 1880, and his body reposes in the Otakou cemetery behind the Centennial Church.

It has been emphasised that Watkin was ably assisted by a number of native teachers and village pastors. He found that the intellectual capacity of the people generally was of a high order. Some of them had fine intellectual countenances, with the expansive forehead of the philosopher, His contact with them satisfied him that he was dealing with receptive and

enquiring minds. He soon discovered that some of them were great orators—their manner was very animated, and full of natural and appropriate gesture. Such men, after showing through a period of faithful living the genuineness of the transforming power of the Grace of God, were trained and utilised as helpers in the conflict between good and evil. Watkin gathered these men together and instructed them in Bible teaching, elementary theology and general knowledge. More than 26 pastors were engaged in preaching the Gospel to their own countrymen and instructing the children under their charge. They preached Christ and Him crucified, with power and success. Simple, lovable, Christlike men most of them were, who with gladness rejoiced that they were counted worthy to preach the glad tidings of a Saviour's love. These devoted men performed their duties as village pastors and as travelling preachers. In addition to their Sunday engagements they held week-night services, conducted classes and organised schools. They had a remarkable record of faithfulness and devotion,

1 As before stated, the Otakou whaling station was situated at the Black Rock about two miles from Taiaroa Head (Pukekura). The lookout for whales was on the hill at the Heads. When a whale was seen a fire was lighted and the smoke indicated that a whale was in sight. The crew at the station would then man the boats and make with all speed to attack the whale and secure their prize. Haereroa died at Temuka in 1870. He was uncle to the late Hon. T. Parata, M.L.C.

PAGE 45and it would have been impossible to have carried on the work so effectively but for them. Within the limits of their ability they rendered service of high quality and were the means of winning many for Christ and the Church. The late Mrs. Monson (nee Roebuck), who lived with her parents at Otakou in the pre-Scottish settlement days, wrote in her diary: "Mr. Watkin had some good preachers. I remember particularly Hoani Weteri Korako and Tare Weteri Te Kahu. These men would have been a credit to any community, and there was Matiu, another of marked ability. When the Europeans had no regular services, the Maoris had theirs at their own kaikas."

There were, unfortunately, some self-appointed teachers who esteemed themselves above measure and who did much harm. These men by their arrogance and lack of knowledge hindered the Mission. Watkin, in a state of exasperation, said of such whom he had used, "They are as stupid as asses." At another time he wrote: "Some of those who can read and write are rather too proud of their acquirements, and when out of the direct influence of the missionary love, to set up as teachers, the one at ... for instance."

Dr. Shortland also has written in the same tone of some who had constituted themselves "priests". These, however, were not Watkin's preachers. Many of Watkin's trained preachers were well equipped and possessed apostolic gifts.

1. Pember Reeves, in his book *The Long White Cloud*, writing of the native teachers in the North Island, makes statements which may also be applied to many of the native teachers of the South Island: "These dark skinned teachers carried Christianity into a hundred nooks and corners. Most of them were honest enthusiasts.... Colonists as a

rule shrug their shoulders when questioned as to the depth of the Maori religious feeling. It is enough to point out that a Christianity which induces masters to release their slaves without payment or condition must have had a reality in it.”

In the history of Christian Missions, in any part of the world, for devotion to duty, for sincerity of self-denying zeal, there are few, if any, greater characters than Watkin's preachers—Hoani Weteri Korako, Tare Weteri Te Kahu, Horomona Pohio, Matiaha Tiromorehu and Hami Watekini. It will be necessary to refer to these men again in this story.

The last recorded visit was on February 15th, 1844, and the entry is as follows: “On the 15th visited Otakou, saw some of the people, made necessary ‘arrangements’ and returned. Have preached the usual number of times, etc.” The words “made some necessary arrangements” seem to imply that it was not his last visit. On June 23rd, 1844, the Register shows that he baptised Ereha Taheke, of Otakou.

The extracts from Watkin's Journal and reports to the Mission Board, London, show that the infant church which he established PAGE 46at Otakou, and the various hapus in his charge, was an accomplishment of which no pioneer need be ashamed. Much was achieved for the mental and physical welfare of the people, but the greatest achievements were spiritual in transformed lives—the miracles of Saving Grace.

## **CHAPTER FOUR VISIT OF BISHOP POMPALLIER TO OTAKOU**

Until november, 1840, mr. watkin was the only european missionary of the Cross in the South Island, but on the 7th of that month he reported: “I am not alone in the field of this Island now. A priest (Bishop Pompallier and the Roman Catholic Mission party at Banks Peninsula) who has been in the North Island is now within 200 miles of me at a place where the French emigrants have located themselves.” On November 21st he reported that the Roman Catholic missionaries “are now ten miles beyond me, i.e., at Otakou, and are doing all they can to ingratiate themselves with the natives there by means of presents, etc., a plan I have not adopted, and if such an appropriation of the Society's funds were allowed, my repugnance to such a plan would render me a very unfit agent of the committee here. I am greatly distressed at the prospect of the few natives here being divided in the Creed which they seem likely to adopt. The French missionaries are very anxious to obtain influence among the natives, and giving largely is the most effective way. If they establish themselves there my operations will be very circumscribed. They have a schooner, the Sancta Maria, at

their command ... they are, however, much disappointed in finding so few natives, and may perhaps leave the field to me.”

On December 2nd he wrote that the Roman Catholic priests “still continue in the neighbourhood and are resorting to doing evil that what they esteem good may come, maligning better men than themselves and churches purer than theirs. This excites no wonder in my mind, but the poor natives are in danger of suffering from it, etc.”

“December 19th: On Sunday last and during the week have been much engaged as usual. This evening had an interesting conversation with Kurukuru who this day returned from Moeraki, which also has been visited ... (by Bishop Pompallier) where by dint of presents, dazzling vestments and superstitious forms has produced some effect, to the disparagement of my plain dress and equally plain mode of conducting religious worship, but as yet there is no resident priest. I may succeed in reclaiming some and preventing others from falling. These natives are fond of PAGE 48 forms and show: I belong to a church which dispenses with parade.”

“January 1st, 1841: I have heard a great deal lately of the proceeding of the Bishop. Thus the Bishop has told them that ‘Hine’, the wife of Maui, a New Zealand god or demigod, was the Virgin Mary. A circumstance which has been omitted in all the lives of that excellent, but much abused, woman which have ever been written.... He (the Bishop) has taken leave for some time, taking a number of natives with him to be initiated, and intends to return with a priest or two who are to be fixed somewhere in these parts and to baptise those who have been taught the Paternoster, Ave Maria and the Creed in a dialect not their own, the meaning of which they know little; if baptism is to be dispensed with on such terms, I might administer forthwith to most of the people hereabout. They ought, I think, to be taught more, and to pass through a considerable lengthy trial.”

Regarding the Roman Catholic version of the visit of the Bishop to Otago, the following is copied from Fishers of Men. The book contains a Foreword by Bishop Liston, of Auckland. The schooner in which the Bishop travelled was a small vessel and the record is as follows:

“It is called the Sancta Maria; on its white flag, which floats from the highest mast, is a Cross surrounded by twelve stars; underneath is a crescent. From a distance one would think it was an anchor. His Lordship was inspired by these words from Holy Scripture: ‘Mulier amicta sole et luna sub pedibus ejus; corona stellarum duodecim.’ On each trip that this vessel has made, it has run great risks, but it has always been saved by the Holy Virgin whose name it bears.”

The following quotations are from Early History of the Catholic Church by the Rt. Rev. Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier:

“Otago is about 50 leagues of the south of Akaroa. Fathers Comte and Pedant accompanied me ... we reached Otago all safe. The people of this bay had not as yet been evangelised by anyone. My arrival amongst them had already been announced by the natives of Banks Peninsula. They received the visit I paid them very well. At the end of ten days they knew the necessary truths of religion, made the sign of the Cross and said Catholic prayers. Although the Protestant ministers have not as yet enrolled them in their sects, these people have nevertheless received among them some native disciples of heresy, who have taught them some short prayers and a canticle they sing morning and evening. One might see also, in the hands of some of them, little Protestant books which their native catechists hawked all over New Zealand. Already in the tribes of Otago, they had heard the lies that heresy caused to be circulated to set these PAGE 49 people against the Mother Church, and caused them to embrace the sects of error. Here is one of the lies that made the most impression on their minds. They had told these people from tribe to tribe, from Cooks Straits to the end of the South Island, that the books of the Protestants carried with them a special protection from God for those who procured them. When they had these books about them in time of war or combat, the balls of the enemy would flatten themselves against their bodies without wounding them, while their own would always hit their mark, and would strike ten people at one shot, glancing from one to the other of the victims that were to be struck by it. Alas, how easy it is to deceive people who are in the darkness of ignorance and a state of childishness as they are in the bosom of infidelity. So how eager they were to purchase the Protestant books! These books were a source of income to the ministers of error, and drew into their sects the natives who believed their lies. I set myself to work therefore in Otago to undeceive the people about the falsehoods that had been told to them. They saw at once the abuse that had been made of their ignorance and credulity. They gave me their confidence and affection, received my little instruction books and begged of me earnestly to leave them one of the priests that I had with me and who assisted me in instructing them. But for the present I could only promise to endeavour to send one by-and-by. I wished greatly to comply with their desires, for at a certain distance from Otago a Wesleyan minister had already come to settle himself in the establishment of a rich farmer, at whose house he carried on his ministration in English for the benefit of the whites who were working at this place, and where he was studying the language of the natives in order to instruct them hereafter.”

The Bishop then stated that several persons from Ruapuke visited him and that—“The messengers who came to seek me were a white man and five or six natives from their tribes. The white man was an Irishman (Kelly) by birth and a Catholic. He brought with him two of his children whom I solemnly baptised on board the Sancta Maria.... In Otago, one Sunday, I celebrated Mass, as solemnly as was possible for us, in a large shed that an English merchant, a Protestant, had the goodness to lend us to hold Divine service in. All the natives of the Bay assisted at it, some twenty English, American and French whalers also came. The greatest number of the whites were Protestants. All the same they displayed the greatest religious respect for the ceremonies of the Church. Under these circumstances I gave two addresses, one in English to the whites, and one in Maori to the natives.” After this the Bishop and his party visited Moeraki and “instructed the natives during five or six days.”

It is stated that the Bishop took on his schooner from Moeraki three young men of the nobility of that place, to take to Akaroa. They were taken probably for training, but they were not heard of again in the South.

There are several statements in the Bishop's report which are of a controversial nature.<sup>1</sup> When he denies that any natives had been evangelised, does he speak as one who does not regard Protestant evangelisation as anything but heresy—therefore, the Maoris had not been evangelised? Then ... “Although the Protestant ministers have not as yet enrolled them in their sects these people have nevertheless received among them some native disciples of heresy.”

He also states that they have learned certain prayers, and a canticle that they sing morning and evening. Notwithstanding the above statements, the Bishop says “they had not as yet been evangelised by anyone.”

The above statements surely are contradictory. The real position presumably was that a church was functioning before the Bishop arrived which he endeavoured to ignore. Then, strange to say, the Bishop regrets that the Maori people are “in the bosom of infidelity” even although they acknowledge God and offer prayers to Him and sing morning and evening.

It must be remembered that Watkin's Catechumen members used the Wesleyan service book, parts of which he had translated into South Island Maori, which included the Confession, Creed, Collect, etc. When the Bishop said “the Protestant ministers have not yet enrolled them in their sects,” was he correct? Watkin received as Catechumens all who attended his ministration classes, and there were many from Otakou. It must be understood that a Catechumen member was an accredited member of the Wesleyan Mission and as such was entitled to receive the standard membership ticket bearing the member's name, but endorsed “Catechumen”.

Adults were baptised only after a period of probation. The first adult baptism did not take place till January 21st, 1841, eight months after Watkin's arrival in Otago.

The Bishop stated that he gave two addresses at Otakou, one in English to the whites and one in Maori to the natives. It is not

1 The Bishop did not recognise the Protestant Communion as valid Christian Churches. The following is from Fishers of Men:

“We began at Whangaroa on Jan. 4th, 1840.... Already seven young men have asked to be allowed to remain with us. Among them is the son of a Methodist. One day his father came to see us and on entering he said: ‘I am a Protestant with four children. I give them to you but I myself will remain a Protestant.’ I gave him to understand that he was not doing the best for himself, that the branches of the tree from the trunk, i.e., Christians separated from the True Church, were dead branches.”

PAGE BREAK

Te Matenga Taiaroa.

Te Matenga Taiaroa.

Hoani Weteri Korako.

Hoani Weteri Korako.

Korako Karetai.

Korako Karetai.

Patoromu Pu.

Patoromu Pu.

PAGE BREAK

Rev. Te Rote Ratou.

Rev. Te Rote Ratou.

Rawiri Te Maire.



Rawiri Te Maire.

Matiaka Tiramorehu.

Matiaka Tiramorehu.

Haereroa.

Haereroa.

PAGE 51 likely that the Maoris could understand him, seeing that he did not know the South Island dialect. Even Bishop Selwyn, an expert in the North Island Maori language, who visited Otakou in 1844, according to Watkin, could not make himself clearly understood.

Another remark calls for comment. It is often stated in print that the Bishop conducted the first Christian service in Otago (Otakou). This statement appears to be based upon a very slender foundation. Mr. Watkin's first recorded visit was on March 1st, 1841, but as you read the entry there is nothing in it to suggest that it was his first service.

It seems strange that Watkin, who arrived at Waikouaiti in May, 1840, having Catechumens at Otakou and who was so conscientious regarding his duty as a missionary, could neglect to visit such an important part of his charge till March, 1841.

Unfortunately there are omissions in Watkin's Journal which even his reports to London do not complete. Moreover, Watkin, as proved by his letters, lived the strenuous life, every day being packed with engagements and toilsome duties.

Another fact must be noted. Watkin and Creed, his successor, did not seem to realise that they were making history. If they had been conscious of that fact they would have been more careful to place on record the smallest details and the dates of all happenings. For instance, Creed, in reporting a visit to Moeraki on November 28th, 1844, refers to previous happenings and successes but does not give the dates of these previous visits. The same may be said about Watkin's reports to the London office.

The following quotations from Weller's Journal, kept by Mr. O. Harwood, throw further light upon the matter:

“Tuesday, November 17, 1840: The Catholic missionary schooner Sancta Maria, Bishop Pompallier, arrived here.

“Sunday, 22nd November, 1840: Bishop Pompallier performed Divine service for the first time in Otago in Mr. Hoare's shed.

“Sunday, 29th November, 1840: Bishop called and performed Divine service on shore.

“December 1st, 1840: Six boats left for Moeraki. Bishop went in one of them.

“December 6th, 1840: Bishop's priest performed Divine service on shore.

“December 7th, 1840, Monday: Read prayer over and interred the body of William May. The priest who was left here by the Bishop was requested to perform office for the dead, which he refused. The Bishop arrived from Moeraki.

“December 10th, 1840: Skidmore's schooner discharging potatoes on the Sancta Maria, having sold them to the captain.”

Weller's record is perfectly clear. The Bishop performed his first service at Otakou on the date mentioned (November 22nd, PAGE 521840). This statement does not claim that it was the first Christian service ever held there.

Regarding the Bishop's statement that Watkin ministered to the Europeans and was studying the language of the natives in order to “instruct them hereafter”, a sufficient answer is that within three weeks after his arrival at Waikouaiti, Watkin “could understand and make himself understood on most subjects”. His knowledge of the Tongan dialect was a help. So rapid was his success that on November 16th, 1840, he reported that he conducted five services that day, three in Maori.

Bishop Pompallier claimed that he had instructed the natives in the truths of Christianity so that “at the end of ten days they knew the necessary truths of religion, made the sign of the Cross, and said Catholic prayers”.

Thus ended the Bishop's visit to Otago. Watkin remarked that he expected that after the Bishop's visit “the field would be left to himself alone”. That is just what happened. Mr. Creed, five years afterwards, on October 6th, 1845, during his visit to Akaroa, reported that he badly needed a European assistant at that place and stated that “the cause of the Roman Church has nearly dwindled to nothing”. So far as Otakou was concerned the influence of the Roman Mission was of a very evanescent nature and nothing further was heard of it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is with much reluctance that I revive a somewhat ancient controversy. Religious disputations are subjects I much dislike. However, in the case in question, what we need is history and accuracy. It has so often appeared in print that Bishop Pompallier conducted the first Christian service at Otakou.

Dr. A. H. McLintock, in his History of Otago, repeats the statement:

“There has been some slight controversy as to whether this was the first service held at Otakou. From the study of Watkin's Journal it seems clear that Watkin had not visited the Otakou settlement by that date, though he certainly had been in touch with the natives there” (page 122).

I have placed the statements of the Rev. James Watkin and Bishop Pompallier side by side and leave the reader to draw his own conclusion. I would also add that any person with an open mind cannot forget the zeal, self-denial and devotion of the French priests of the Roman Catholic Mission in the North Island. Lieutenant the Hon. H. Meade, R.N., in his Ride Through the Disturbed Districts of New Zealand in 1864–5, states that after leaving Lake Rotorua, “the country we passed through was dismal in the extreme.... In one of the terraced basins we found two little whares, one of which was surmounted by a Cross; these were the church and dwelling of Father Boibeaux, a French Roman Catholic missionary.... We stopped for an hour or two, and partook of the good Father's hospitality. It would be difficult to conceive a life of greater devotion and self-denial than this—no hope of ever again seeing his native land, or returning to the society of educated men ... in a place where even the barest necessities of life are procured with the greatest difficulty—his life is passed in his Master's work,” etc.

# CHAPTER FIVE VISIT OF TAMIHANA

In July, 1843, tamihana, the son of the notorious te Rauparaha, visited the Mission, and on July 10th, there is the following entry in Watkin's Journal:

“Had very large congregations of natives yesterday, so large that I was obliged to take my stand out of doors. In the morning I endeavoured to direct their attention to the nature of God and that worship which He requires (John iv. 24). In the afternoon Josiah, one of Mr. Ironside's people, read prayers, and Sampson (Tamihana), a teacher connected with the Church Mission (Anglican), made some remarks upon the narrative of the rich man and Lazarus.... I was pleased with his humility and earnestness. He is, I believe, the only living son of Te Rauparaha, formerly the vindictive enemy of this people whose exploits make them tremble at the very thought. Christianity makes the bitterest enemies friends. Mr. H. (Rev. Octavius Hadfield) has something to answer for, I think, in endeavouring to poison the minds of his people against their fellow Christians. His people who come this way see I do not retaliate, and that may perhaps surprise them; I hope it may instruct them. Or, for catholic Love! When will it prevail?”

Again: “God forbid that the civil feuds of the Maoris should be succeeded by religious ones. My soul sickens at the thought of religious dissension among the natives. I would have them Christians, not sectaries.”

Further: “I am sorry to be brought into something like collision with the Church Missionary Society.... I feel much depression at times about this.... Sometimes these feelings amount to agony.”

It was a sad calamity that sectarian strife should enter the Mission Field;<sup>1</sup> it was a painful experience for Watkin and his helpers. This rivalry was not due to the Wesleyan Mission, which <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> D. W. Mallock, in his *Early Waikouaiti*, states that unpleasantness was caused by the arrival of two Maori missionaries of the Ngatitua tribe who came to minister to the Ngai-tahu tribe. One was the son of the bloodthirsty villain Te Rauparaha, and they spoke disparagingly to the Ngai-tahu tribe of the work of Mr. Watkin and his wife.

1. A. Rugby Pratt, *Pioneering days*, states that Tamihana was confirmed in the Church of England by Bishop Selwyn at the close of 1843, after his visit to the south.

PAGE 54 was already on the field, but it was due to those who followed and who set up rival sectaries, acting, unfortunately, under the direction of the Rev. O. Hadfleid, of Otaki. Matene Te Whiwhi and his cousin Tamihana, and others, told the natives that the Wesleyan missionaries were not of the true Church, and spoke of the Wesleyans as schismatics. Wherever they travelled they scattered the seeds of strife and discord—at Akaroa, Port Levy and as far south as Ruapuke and Stewart Island. “Bigotry is a cursed thing,” wrote Watkin, who had a deep veneration for the Anglican Church and its devoted pioneer missionaries, and this spirit continued to mark his later relationships with the Anglican Church and with Bishop Selwyn. The native teachers were not to blame for they were only young in the faith and inadequately trained; the responsibility and reflection rested upon those who sent them forth.

Tamihana, as before stated, was the only surviving son of the fierce Maori Napoleon (Te Rauparaha) who devastated the northern portion of the South Island. Becoming a Christian, Tamihana joined the Anglican Mission and, having a desire to make amends for his father's evil deeds, upon the advice of the Rev. O. Hadfield, of Otaki, with his cousin, Matene Te Whiwhi, he departed upon a Mission to the South Island.

According to the Rev. P. W. Fairclough in his *Early History of Missions in Otago*, their Mission to the South Island occupied eight or nine months in 1843. Dr. Shortland, who was in Otago in 1843, reporting to the Government on March 18th, 1844, stated regarding these Anglican native teachers:

“They have busied themselves in making proselytes with more of native than of Christian spirit, and have caused a schism between the inhabitants of almost every settlement, one party styling themselves the children of Wesley and the other the Church of Paihia. The distraction of their minds thus caused has essentially interfered with their happiness, by producing a feeling of separation between members of the same family. This would suggest the expediency of not sending missionaries of different creeds to the same tribe.”

In 1844, Bishop Selwyn and Tamihana were at Akaroa, where they met Dr. Shortland. They ascended a hill that overlooked the scene of Te Rauparaha's appalling treachery. Tamihana described the deed and his father's methods with a want of sympathy for the vanquished that drew upon himself a reproof. Remembering that Tamihana had been brought up according to the manners and customs of his race, and viewing him in the light of his youthful surroundings, it is quite easy to understand his attitude of mind as described by Dr. Shortland. We must estimate him by the conditions of his own age and not by an advanced Christian point of view.

There is another misconception, often repeated, but which has no foundation. Many writers have asserted that when Tamihana PAGE 55 visited the South his life was “in jeopardy”, for the very name of Te Rauparaha was enough to arouse a thirst for vengeance among the southern people, who remembered with horror and dismay the treachery and cruel deeds of

his father. According to the Maori custom, utu must be exacted; therefore Tamihana and Matene Te Whiwhi were in “momentary danger of being put to death”. The facts were, however, that there was no peril and no danger, for the simple reason that the Maori people had been Christianised by the Wesleyan Mission. Many years ago the Rev. P. W. Fairclough put the question to an aged Maori at Kaiapoi named Hoani Hape: “Was it dangerous for Tamihana to come in 1843?” Answer: “No, they were Christians before he came; besides, there had been a treaty of peace.”

A further misconception:

It has often appeared in print that Tamihana was the first native messenger of the Cross to visit the far south of New Zealand. The Rev. H. T. Purchas has repeated this in his book, *The English Church in New Zealand*. He states that when Bishop Selwyn visited the South Island in 1844, he found that the Maoris attributed the beginnings of their knowledge of the truth to Tamihana; that he evangelised wherever he went, and that he was the first native teacher to visit the south. Canon Stack has written in the same strain. There are misconceptions. Tamihana certainly did visit the south and made converts and was much beloved by many of those he visited, but he was not the first pioneer Christian teacher and preacher. The first messengers of the Cross to Ruapuke Island and the far south were Watkin's native converts.

When the Maoris of the distant south heard of the arrival of Watkin at Waikouaiti in 1840 they travelled by whale boat to the Mission Station to hear and learn all they could. As in the North Island, the Maori people who were living at a distance from a Mission Station came in groups to be taught and stayed for a time, then returned to their homes and taught others all they knew, and later went back again to the Mission Station to ask questions and receive further instruction; so it was in some degree with the Maori people living at Ruapuke.<sup>1</sup>

As early as October 19th, 1840, Watkin had four boats from Ruapuke Island containing about 100 people to preach to. They kept coming and going at intervals. What they learned was elementary, but it was real and effective as far as it went, and much good was done in that way. The most outstanding of these “learners” was the chief, Horomona Pohio, who became Watkin's principal teacher and preacher. He was without doubt the first authorised native Christian apostle to the Maori people of Ruapuke and Stewart

<sup>1</sup> Early History of Missions in Otago, by Rev. P. W. Fairclough.

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Island. This took place before 1843, the time of Tamihana's visit.

In January, 1844, Bishop George Augustus Selwyn made his first southward visit. He arrived at Moeraki on January 19th and stayed till the 22nd. He was engaged in examining candidates

for baptism, conducting services and distributing Bibles and Prayer Books. On the 21st (Sunday) he notes:

“Native services are as usual, and a service to the English at the Whaling Station, at which eighteen assembled in a barn. This place has been visited by the French Bishop, but by no one else, except Mr. Watkin, the Wesleyan missionary. In the afternoon I baptised four natives.”

[Mr. Watkin had a church functioning at Moeraki which included, besides adherents and catechumens, 39 baptised persons, including the chiefs Rawiri Waitiri Te Mamara and Matiaha Tiramorehu.]

“January 22nd: Embarked in a large sealing boat belonging to the natives, etc., etc. We ran safely behind the headland and into the little River of Waikouaiti; 20 miles from Moeraki, and ten from Otakou. Here we found a small schooner (the Perseverance<sup>1</sup>) belonging to the chief, Tuhawaiki, a native chief residing at Ruapuke, an island in Foveaux Straits. I went on shore and went to the house of Mr. Watkin, Wesleyan missionary, by whom I was hospitably entertained. In the evening I catechised his natives.”

Next day the Bishop “walked over the settlement, visiting most of the English settlers; many of whom had good fields of corn nearly ready for harvest. In the afternoon rode to a large farm belonging to Mr. Jones, a merchant of Sydney, where I came to a noble field of wheat of fifty acres and a very large stock of cows, sheep and horses.... In the evening had much conversation with Mr. Watkin on the subject of our respective Missions.”

On the 24th, the Bishop engaged Tuhawaiki's schooner to take him southward. The same day he arrived at Otakou and he wrote.

“Otakou is a small harbour, but good, and well marked from the sea by two patches of white sand, which can be seen from a distance. My tent was pitched at a small native settlement about a mile from the English, from which I visited most of the inhabitants, distributing books, etc.” On the 26th: “Early in the morning, the Perseverance worked out of the Otakou Harbour, and having cleared the Heads, ran to the southward with a fair wind.”

To Mr. Watkin's surprise, the Bishop located a native teacher

1 The schooner Perseverance was wrecked at Otakou in July, 1847, The vessel dragged her anchor during a gale and was driven ashore. The ship's bell, bearing the date 1838, cast in metal, now hangs in the tower of the Memorial Church at Otakou.

PAGE 57at Otakou1 whom he had baptised a few days before at Moeraki. There was an organised church at Otakou in connection with the Wesleyan Mission, which included, besides adherents and catechumens, 70 accredited members in fellowship.

Watkin's account, in his Journal, of the Bishop's visit is as follows:

“Was much surprised by and equally pleased with a visit from Bishop selwyn during the early part of this week. He is, I expect, the most primitive Bishop of the Church of England at the present time. He is in labours more abundant, in journeyings often. He is an excellent traveller, can bear privation, and endure exertions which would finish some of us who are below him in station. He appears to me as catholic as can be expected in a person who believes as he does, and who fills the situation as he does. He laments disunion, so do I, wishes for unity, so do I, but I see not how the unity he desires is to be brought about.”  
Watkin mentioned a union of love.

“Touched by the lodestone of Thy love,

Let all our hearts agree,

And ever toward each other move,

And ever move toward Thee.”

Further, in a letter to his friend, the Rev. S. Ironside, dated January 24, Watkin remarked, “I learned a good deal of his of Lorship in two days. He dwelt in my house. I am much pleased with him as a man, and somewhat as a Churchman. We conversed on many topics, agreeing and differing... I was told that he was a close, incommunicative man. I found him the reverse of that. I admire him on many grounds, but differ from him on many. I pray God to make him a blessing... He intends to visit the Chathams. He would dearly like all to belong to the Church of England. The Bishop has given me a few books, etc.”

Letter to Ironside, March 12th: “The Bishop's visit this way has not proved so productive, as it was hoped—his proselytes are but few. He disclaims a wish to proselytise, and yet his lads who accompany him labour at little else.”



Canon H. T. Purchas in his History of the English Church in New Zealand, referring to Selwyn's visit, writes (page 124): "At Waikouaiti.... The Bishop visited a Wesleyan missionary, Mr. Watkin. He was the only white teacher who had as yet visited this portion of the country, and he entertained his guest for two days in a friendly fashion. He was inclined to resent the intrusion of Tamihana into his district, etc. The Bishop felt that the ground had certainly not been effectively occupied before Tamihana's visit.... He therefore declined to recognise a Wesleyan sphere of influence in these regions, but the parting between himself and this lonely

1 The native teacher the Bishop located at Otakou was not heard of again.

PAGE 58missionary was thoroughly friendly on both sides."

Before the Bishop left Waikouaiti, as a token of personal goodwill, he presented to his host a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel in Maori which bore the inscription:

James Watkin

with best wishes of

1. A. Selwyn

Waikouaiti, 23rd January, 1844.

A few weeks after Bishop Selwyn's visit to Waikouaiti, Mr. Watkin made his long-anticipated tour to the far south, where most of the Maoris were in fellowship with the Wesleyan Mission. It was from the Bluff that there came to Waikouaiti, on January 27th, 1841, James Spencer, before mentioned, and Meri Kauri to be united in holy matrimony according to the rites of the Christian Church—the first Christian marriage in Otago-Southland. The native woman also received Christian baptism before the wedding ceremony.

Prior to his southern tour, Mr. Watkin had been suffering from much weakness of body, but he forced himself to his heavy task and wrote, February 21st, 1844: "Have been employed much as usual since my last entry.... Have just received the case of copy books from the committee. They are acceptable. The new Governor has arrived (Capt. FitzRoy, R.N.), and much is expected from him. He appears to be a fast friend of the missionaries, and promises to be a father to the natives. God speed him. Tomorrow I leave for the southward. May I have the smile of Heaven. On the 15th visited Otakou, saw some of the people, made necessary arrangements and returned. Have preached the usual times."

He reported that 'he set sail for Ruapuke on the 22nd in the schooner Scotia through the kindness of Mr. Jones, owner.'" After being tossed by wind and storm the captain was obliged to return to port next day. However, on the 24th, another attempt was made and the schooner reached Taieri that evening and part of the ship's cargo was delivered, and some of the passengers landed with their effects. They did not reach Foveaux Strait till the night of the 27th, and he reported:

"The darkness prevented our attempting the port, and we were driven back, and the whole of the next was spent in getting up again. On the night of the 28th made the mouth of Bloomfield Harbour (the Bluff), but the strong ebb tide prevented our entering and it was not until this morning that we gained the anchorage."

The same day Watkin held a service and preached to the natives. This was the first sermon ever preached at the Bluff.

[Prior to this, on February 2nd and 3rd, it must be remembered that Bishop Selwyn was at the Bluff and that he visited the people, conducted several marriages, baptised their children and "gave advice", but he did not preach or conduct a regular service.]

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On March 2nd Watkin was still at the Bluff. due to bad weather. On the third he wrote: "Preached in both languages, baptised a young woman, a youth and several children, 'Anglomauries'. There are many of the mixed race in these parts." He expressed a desire for a minister to be stationed at the Bluff, "for most of the natives are connected with us" (Wesleyans).

The young woman (adult New Zealander) baptised was Mary Parker. The others were Robert Graham, William Davis, Lucy, ward of Patrick Gilroy, and Harriet, ward of John M. Gibbon.

On the 4th, Watkin was at Half Moon Bay (Kairakau), Stewart Island (Rakiura), and "met a considerable number of natives gathered from various parts, distributed books and gave advice." He married "two white men to the Maori women with whom they were living and baptised their children." On the 5th he reported: "This day I held a service ashore under the shade of the trees and directed an attentive congregation to the excellency of God's works and of His Word (Psalm 91). At the same time I baptised three young men whose knowledge qualified them to receive the Rite. The service was interesting." This incident shows that

Horomona Pohio, Watkin's native teacher, had proved himself to be an efficient Christian pastor in the southern charge.

The same evening, March 5th, Watkin crossed the Foveaux Strait to Jacob's River (Aparima), where he conducted a service and distributed books, which he said "are in great demand, visited a school which has just commenced for Anglo-New Zealand children. I gave the master what assistance I could. We soon left the dangerous anchorage of this place, and set sail for Ruapuke."

[The Hon. W. B. D. Mantell (Native Minister), quoting the census of the Maori population of Aparima in 1852, states that "they all professed to be Wesleyans." Aparima was the name of the mother of Hekeia, a chief of the Waitaha tribe. Here the famous Waitaha flourished as the children of nature in the long ago".—Centenary of Early Riverton.]

Leaving Aparima on the 5th for his long-anticipated visit to Ruapuke, Watkin remarked: "Now I sorrowfully learned that the anchorage there was unsafe and I could not with my conscience urge the owner to peril his vessel. I was therefore obliged to return without having achieved my principal object. I wrote to and sent a package to Solomon (Horomona Pohio), my principal teacher there, which would lessen the disappointment. I must try again shortly." Watkin was much interested in Ruapuke Island, seeing that Horomona Pohio, whom he had trained and appointed as a native pastor and teacher, lived there.

It is necessary at this stage in the account of the early Mission to mention that when Bishop Selwyn visited Ruapuke on January 29th of the same year he wrote in terms of appreciation of the PAGE 60Maori Christians, but he gave the credit for this gratifying state of things to Tamihana, the son of Te Rauparaha, and reported: "Their instructor was Tamihana, whom I have before mentioned as having been sent by Mr. Hadfield on a missionary expedition to these parts." Tamihana was there in 1843, which was after Pohio's appointment by Mr. Watkin, thus the Bishop was under a misconception. The Bishop paid a further tribute to the Christian natives: "In all I found some natives able to read, and one especially, a very intelligent party under the care of a well-informed teacher." The Bishop does not mention the name of the well-informed teacher, but so far as the records are concerned, there was only one efficient teacher at that time, and that person was the chief, Horomona Pohio, who had been commissioned by Watkin.

Having completed his southern pastoral tour on March 8th Watkin wrote: "Reached home again and found all well. Thanks be to God."

At every place of call Watkin preached his evangel, instructed the catechumens, baptised converts who had been taught by his Maori colleagues, and officiated at a number of marriages. This devoted trail-blazer carried in his heart the constant burden of anxiety for the churches that through his ministry had sprung up in the southernmost part of New Zealand.

It must be said also of Watkin's contemporary in Apostolic service, as pointed out by W. I. Williams in his Centenary Sketches of New Zealand Methodism, "that Dr. Selwyn, the first Bishop of New Zealand, was a man of high character, of deep piety, of lofty aim, of splendid courage, of great administrative gifts and of absolute devotion to what he conceived to be his duty." He was a tireless, traveller. His name will always stand out prominently upon the pages of New Zealand history as one of its greatest leaders. This is all true, and much more may be said about this good and great Bishop. His career was unfortunately obscured by his High Church views. Before he and other High Church clergy came to New Zealand perfect harmony obtained between the Wesleyan Mission and the Anglican Mission. There was the spirit of brotherly cooperation between the two Churches, and they continued shoulder to shoulder in the fight against the forces of evil. The pioneer Anglican missionaries, Revs. Samuel Marsden and Henry Williams (afterward Archdeacon), John Butler and others continued their catholic-mindedness to the last. The members of both Missions practised intercommunion. When Christian natives, as was their custom, moved from one part of the country to another, they were "transferred in good standing" whether to Anglican or Wesleyan, as the case may be. They sang the same hymns, recited the same creed, and used the same form of service. Wesley's edition of the Book of Common Prayer was in regular use among the Wesleyans. The PAGE 61 converts of the two Missionary Societies looked upon one another as belonging to one body. When Bishop Selwyn and other High Church clergy arrived in New Zealand, all this was changed. Selwyn was a High Churchman but not a Ritualist. Canon Purchas says of him "that he could find no place for the Wesleyan Mission in his scheme of things. Always courteous to its leaders, but he could not continue the old communion with them. From this change of attitude the logical Maoris drew conclusions which soon brought sadness to the Bishop himself. Up and down the country, but especially in Taranaki, where the spheres of influence met, the converts were violently perturbed. A savage burst of sectarian fury broke out. Each small community was divided against itself, and its Christianity, like that of the Corinthians, evaporated in bitter party feeling. In one place a high fence was built through the midst to divide the adherents of Weteri (Wesley) from those of Hahi (the Church)."

On October 31st, 1843, the Bishop wrote to the Wesleyan District Committee telling them that Wesleyans were schismatics; that their ordinations were invalid, and that their baptisms were acts of laymen. He could not allow intercommunion between the Anglicans and the Wesleyans. This policy, disappointing and painful, had baneful effects upon the Maori mind, and disruption and division followed.

When Bishop Selwyn was at Ruapuke in January, 1844, he found "much strife between Wesley and the 'Church'," and regrets the spirit of controversy among the people, and wrote: "We need not wonder at controversies which are raging at home, when, even in this most

distant part of this most remote of all countries ... the spirit of controversy, so congenial as it seems to the fallen nature of man, is everywhere found to prevail, in many cases to the entire exclusion of all simplicity of faith.”

Unfortunately, there was controversy, division and confusion. The separate Wesleyan and Anglican native churches, built side by side at Ruapuke, brought from the Bishop the expression “Babel!” Who made the division and the confusion? Certainly not the members of the Wesleyan Mission. They were the first on the field, functioning in 1840.

The Bishop wrote to the Rev. O. Hadfield as a reason for obtruding in the Wesleyan sphere in Otago and Southland: “I cannot recognise the mere fact of his (Watkin) residence in Waikouaiti as entitling him to the special care of all the Southern Islands.” The answer to this is that Watkin was not appointed to Waikouaiti but to the whole of the southern part of New Zealand. He had already commissioned a teacher to Ruapuke Island in the south. He had established Missions at Moeraki and Otakou and adjacent hapus. In 1844, he advised the Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers to settle at Ruapuke PAGE 62 and take oversight of his converts there. Watkin expected his Missionary Board to appoint additional European missionaries, and while waiting for these reinforcements he instructed and trained his native helpers in order to supply the lack.

It is urged that Watkin did not regularly visit the distant kaikas. It is true that he did not travel as much as he himself desired, but it must be remembered that his home at Waikouaiti was a hospital and a dispensary for the sick. The Mission house was also a school of instruction, where he trained his teachers, and by these men he reached the distant parts of his charge more effectively than if he personally were continually moving from place to place.

It is true, as the Bishop has stated, that Watkin's health was unsatisfactory, and which he claims prevented Watkin from “visiting far afield”; but it must be admitted, as stated by Dr. D. Monro and others, that Watkin accomplished more in his weak state of health than many men of strong physique could have accomplished.

It must be said, however, that before Selwyn left New Zealand to become Bishop of Lichfield his experience of colonial life did much to emancipate the great man from the trammels which had fettered him. In one case he refused to consecrate a country church according to the Anglican manner, in order that Wesleyan and other non-Anglican ministers could officiate therein.

Another incident shows his altered attitude. Administering the Holy Communion in Auckland prior to his leaving for England, he noticed in the congregation two Wesleyan ministers, the Revs. James Wallis and John Hobbs. The Bishop left the altar, stepped down, and gave the sacred emblems, saying, "May we meet again at the Marriage Supper of the Lamb."<sup>1</sup>

The Rev. James Buller has written: "If Samuel Marsden was the father of the New Zealand Mission, Bishop Augustus Selwyn was the father of the Church of England in New Zealand."

When this great man lay on his death bed at Lichfield, he was heard to say in his delirium: "Otiia Ka hokimai ratou" (But they will return). His last thoughts were about the Maoris he loved so much and for whom he laboured so long. The falling away of the Maoris during the Maori War period and their lapse from the faith grieved him intensely, but he believed "they would return".

The name of Bishop Selwyn is indelibly written in the early pages of New Zealand history.

<sup>1</sup> In the Beginning, by Rev T. G. Hammond.

## **CHAPTER SIX WATKIN'S MISSION AT MOERAKI**

Some thirty miles from the waikouaiti mission station there was another kaika (Moeraki) under charge of the missionary. This kaika has a place in Maori history. Its shore was the scene of the total loss of the Te Araiteuru canoe, from Hawaiki, which was wrecked on a reef within sight of the Moeraki kaika. The reef, which extends seaward near Shag Point, represents the hull of the ill-fated craft. "The large boulders scattered along the Moeraki beach represent Hinaki or eel baskets of Hape-ki-taurake and the slave Puketapu." The globular boulders are said to be the calabashes which held the water supply. The irregular rocks further along the shore are the kumaras washed ashore from the wreck. So much for Maori tradition.

Moeraki figured in the Kai-tahu—Kati-mamoe conflict in which the former won a decisive victory over the latter. The chiefs who led the Kai-tahu to success were Taoka of Otakou, and

Te Wera, who had a strong pa at Huriawa, the Karitane of today. Not long after this Te Wera and Taoka quarrelled and became bitter enemies and fought against each other at Purakanui.

A shore whaling station was established at Moeraki in 1836 by John Hughes of Sydney. Prior to this, Hughes was employed by Weller Bros, of Otakou. The site of the whaling station was Onekakara, where the township of Moeraki stands today. The first season's whaling produced the total of 23 killed, yielding 28 tons of oil, paid at the rate of £8 to £10 per ton. The first ship to call at Moeraki after the establishment of the station was the Sydney Packet owned by Mr. John Jones. During a gale she went ashore on the beach and was destroyed (July, 1837). At the end of the fifth season, whaling was not a profitable business, but occasional whales were killed up to 1850.

When the whalers commenced business at Moeraki there was a very small hapu of Maori people under a chief named Tangatahara, mentioned by Watkin at Takatahara, the chief who killed Te Pehi (the kinsman of Te Rauparaha) at Kaiapohia. Escaping from the Ngati Toa he fled for refuge to the south. He left Moeraki shortly after the coming of the whalers and returned to Banks Peninsula, where he died in 1847. It was during the second season of the whaling station that a company of Maoris arrived in canoes and an old whale-boat, refugees from Kaiapohia, and settled about a mile from the Europeans.

Immediately upon his arrival from Waikouaiti, Watkin was visited by many Maoris from Moeraki. They became apt pupils and their names were included on his catechumen list. There were about 200 natives in residence and the missionary visited them as often as opportunity allowed. He journeyed to this Mission outpost by boat, later on horseback, but mostly on foot by the Maori tracks.

The following was written on January 17th, 1842, but he does not state that it was his first visit. This pastoral visit took place some eighteen months before Tamihana came south. Nor was it Watkin's first contact with the people of Moeraki, for, as before stated, his catechumen members were constantly visiting the Waikouaiti Mission Station for instruction.

The entry reads: "January 13th, 1842. Visited Moeraki, a much more populous place than this (Waikouaiti), and was much pleased with the place itself, but more to find a disposition on the part of the people to listen to my message, and to receive books.... It is surprising how prayers, hymns, catechisms, etc., are being spread through the country by oral communication. Those who can read or write are rather too proud of their acquirements, and when out of the direct influence of the missionary, love to set up as teachers on their own account, some who have done so being very unfit characters. I conducted several services, recommended the erection of a chapel, which it was promised should be done, and then

returned home. The journey there and back on New Zealand roads is rather too fatiguing to be accomplished in two days.”

On February 5th, he wrote: “On the first, set out for Moeraki, and after a very fatiguing journey reached that place where I spent three days endeavouring to instruct the natives in the things of God.... I should think there are nearly two hundred souls there.”

He deplored the sad results which followed Bishop Pompallier's visit and the unfortunate; conduct of one of the priests:

“I found that a letter purporting to be from a native of this place and a convert to Rome had been read, but really from one of the French priests. This I was requested to read, and found it full of exhortation urging them to become proselytes of the Hahi Matua the ancient church.”

He states that he met a native or two who had been made Christians by these Roman priests, viz., by baptisms, but they were deplorably ignorant of Christian truth. Watkin states: “If they learn the Creed and Ave by rote it is all they require.... I might baptise scores if such qualifications only were required.”

“March 28th: Set out for Moeraki and reached that place in the evening, where I stayed until the 1st of April, spending four nights lying on the ground and a mat for my bed, and a blanket for PAGE 65covering. I conducted eight services besides schools, and had a pretty fair proportion of the inhabitants present in the house which I am having erected; it is in an unfinished state and proved both damp and cold. I had little rest while I stayed and ate very little, so that I returned in a very fatigued and weak condition, and a throw from my horse served to increase my stiffness.

“October 31st: Visited Moeraki per boat, held a number of services there, and travelled back over-land—no trifle to so poor a pedestrian as I.”

Notwithstanding all discouragements, success crowned the missionary's efforts; a church building had been erected and opened for worship; instruction classes had been organised under native teachers, supervised by the missionary.



Following these tokens of success, unfortunately sectarian trouble arose due to the visit of Tamihana and Matene Te Whiwhi, before mentioned. Watkin regrets that native teachers of a sister church had been sent into his charge: "I have no wish for controversy and deeply do regret the divisive spirit," and declares, "we are friends, not enemies of the Church" (Anglican).

The journey to Moeraki on foot is described as difficult: "There was no well-defined track and it involved the climbing of steep ascents, the transversing of rolling downs covered with tussock and toi-tois; crossing the muddy estuary of what is now known as Pleasant River; the ploughing of stretches of sandy beach and the clambering of rocky shore strewn with boulders." The water was so salty that Watkin wondered how they could drink it. He relates a tradition which gives an explanation for the brackishness of the water:

"Their traditions as well as their language show them to have an origin in common with the Polynesians." One tradition is as follows:

"A youth going for water along the beach saw a whale which happened to be the vehicle of Takaloa (the god of the ocean, who shares with Rona, the maid who sits in the moon with a calabash at her side, the duty of controlling the tides of the sea). This youth addressed to Takaloa one of the most offensive expressions in Maori speech, something like 'bake or roast your head or I will do so.' This so angered his godship that he blew the sea water so high as to impregnate the springs at the top of the mountain with the saline flavour they have retained ever since." Watkin remarks: "Salt enough it surely is, my wonder is that they can drink it." "Takalva or Takaloa is the South Island form of Tangarua, son of Rangi (Heaven) and Papa (Earth), who is one of the great dieties of Polynesia, and was usually only seen in the misty spray of the sea when the sun shone upon it."<sup>1</sup>

1 M. A. Rugby Pratt.

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Watkin's efforts on behalf of the people of Moeraki were not in vain. Often he was cheered when, approaching the kaika unseen by the Maori people, he heard the sounds of worship issuing from their whares as their voices were raised in prayer and hymn, or chanting the "he Katikihama" (catechism) in tones which, though loud, were agreeable rather than otherwise.

"September 26th, 1843: Set sail for Moeraki.... My voyage was as pleasant as perhaps can be reasonably expected along this stormy coast; dangers are never wanting at sea, but here they

abound. Going out or coming in to landing places is a work of some difficult) and the danger of being upset is always great.... My visit on the whole pleasant, and I trust, too, that it was something more. I preached on Tuesday, and at a later service catechised the people.... On Wednesday forenoon held a baptismal service when between twenty and thirty received the Rite. My service was conducted in the open air, so that I had a finer roof than any cathedral boasts—the blue sky—the ground served for faldstool to those who knelt to receive the first of the two Sacraments. My congregation was attentive whilst I endeavoured to explain the Saviour's commission to his apostles. The candidates were serious and, I believe, sincere. May they fulfill their vows. In the evening attended the school and catechised. On Thursday appointed two young men to act as leaders. In the evening preached and catechised. On Friday morning preached again, and then set out on my return.”

Matiaha Tiramorehu, one of Watkin's baptised converts, afterwards known as Matthews, became one of the foremost leaders and preachers in connection with the Moeraki church. He had been a student in the Maori *whare kura*, or house of learning, in which instruction was imparted in historical traditions, religious ritual, and the higher mysteries known only to the initiated. Matiaha possessed a wonderful store of occult lore and tribal traditions that had been passed on from generation to generation, and he was without a rival in his knowledge of genealogical antiquities. After his conversion to Christianity he proved his faith by his consistent life.

The following was reported by Watkin to the Mission Board: “A sub-protector of the Maoris who has been in this neighbourhood who, as I suppose, was collecting material for a book, asked Matiaha for information, which was freely given as far as time would permit, and on Saturday it was proposed by the sub-protector that the theme should be resumed next day (Sunday). ‘No’ was the answer. ‘Why?’ asked the visitor. ‘Because it is the Sabbath,’ responded the native. ‘But I am leaving on Monday,’ persisted the pakeha. ‘Never mind that,’ was the rejoinder. ‘If the day is common to you, it is sacred to me.’ The chief refused to allow anything to distract him from his duties on the Lord's Day. This may appear to us extreme, but it shows the sincerity of the convert.”

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Matiaha did good service by his correspondence with Governor Eyre in 1849 to get a just allocation of reserves set apart for his tribe. Mr. Walter Mantell, the Commissioner of Lands, in a report to the Colonial Secretary concerning native reserves, dated August 30th, 1849, paid high tribute to this native chief and pastor, and “principal man of the place”, from which he derived the greatest support and assistance. In 1864, Matiaha was appointed a Native Assessor or Magistrate.

Canon Stack, referring to Matiaha Tiramorehu, said that he was the best authority on Maori traditions in the South Island. In this statement he was dealing with the rock paintings attributed to the oldest inhabitants of the South Island already mentioned.

Watkin's last entry concerning Moeraki is as follows:

“Went to Moeraki (30 miles) and was ill tired. I stayed there until Thursday. I baptised a number of candidates (10), issued tickets (of church membership), renewed the class papers, catechised, answered questions, dispensed medicine, etc. There is much sickness at Moeraki.... I was pleased with some things which came under my observation.”

He refers to Matiaha's strength of moral principle, and said of him, “There is none better acquainted with genealogical antiquities than he—one of my teachers.”<sup>1</sup>

There is no further record of any visits to Moeraki in Watkin's Journal or in his reports to London, but the baptismal register shows that on April 24th, 1844, he baptised Hakeaha Tohu, Catechumen, Moeraki, about eight weeks before he left Otago for Wellington.

Seeing that Canterbury has a link of connection with Watkin, a brief historical statement is necessary. The earliest contact of Methodism with Canterbury was made by a West Coast native named Taawao. He had been instructed in Christian truth by a Wesleyan of the Ngapuhi tribe from North Auckland, probably Whangaroa and Hokianga. The Wesleyan missionaries had evangelised a large portion of the Ngapuhi from the year 1822, and they in turn were keen to pass on to others what they had learned, following the example of the Primitive Christians of the Apostolic Church. The Rev. P. W. Fairclough in his *Early History of Missions in Otago* quotes the following: “Hoani Hape, an aged Maori at Kaiapoi, says that the Kaiapoi natives then living at Port Levy, first heard Christian teaching from a native called Taawao, who came from the West Coast, where he had been taught by a Ngapuhi man from the North of Auckland.”

<sup>1</sup> Matiaha Tiramorehu died on April 7th, 1881. For thirty years he served the church as teacher and pastor, travelling as far as Waitaki. When he died a tangi was held that was attended by 500 Maoris from all parts of the Island. He is buried in the graveyard of the Moeraki Maori Church.

Another native teacher was named Hohepa Korehi, who taught at Akaroa, Pigeon Bay and Port Levy in 1841. Taawao was earlier still. These two men were the first heralds of the Cross in Canterbury. Watkin's register reveals that Taawao was baptised and received the name Rawiri Kingi. Korehi was baptised and received the name Joseph (Hohepa). Watkin says of him that "he had renounced the old faith of his ancestors; that he had learned to read and write, and had been usefully employed as a native teacher at Port Levy." Both Ironside and Watkin had supplied the native teachers with portions of Wesley's Service Book, which was a shortened form of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer.

The Rev. Samuel Ironside landed at Cloudy Bay, Marlborough, on December 20th, 1840, and established a Mission in that area which included Ngakuta Bay,<sup>1</sup> Queen Charlotte Sound, Tory Channel, and sometimes travelled as far as Nelson and Motueka.

Shortland states that Ironside's converts travelled the whole of the East Coast of the Island with their evangel; they 'gave elementary and religious education.' All this took place before the advent of Tamihana and his comrade.

When Bishop Selwyn visited Taumutu in 1844 he found about 40 Maoris who could read and many who were acquainted with the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, and portions of the Catechism.

A further evidence of the early success of the Wesleyan Mission is given by Mr. W. J. Hamilton who, when investigating and negotiating land purchases from the Maoris in Canterbury in 1856–9 said that he "could find no competent European Maori scholar in the Province save the Rev. J. Aldred of the Wesleyan Church (who missioned the Chatham Islands in 1842), and is repeatedly thanked for services at Akaroa, Port Levy, Rapaki and Kaiapoi."<sup>2</sup>

To quote the Rev. P. W. Fairclough again, when he asked the aged Maori, Hoani Hape, at Kaiapoi, "Did Mr. Creed visit them?" he answered, "Yes, and Mr. Watkin, too."

Prior to this, in June, 1839, when the Revs. John Hobbs and J. H. Bumby visited Marlborough, Queen Charlotte Sound and Tory Channel, they stationed native teachers there. Robert McNab in his *Whaling Days* states that both Wakefield and Dieffenbach "speak of a native teacher in Cannibal Cove, who had taught many to read and write, and who had conducted regular services there as early as August, 1839. The latter authority also mentioned that at two

1 Ngakuta was the head of the inner harbour of Port Underwood; a narrow dividing range separated it from one of the coves of Queen Charlotte Sound.

2 Mr. W. A. Taylor, an authority in Maori history, states that the Revs. J. Aldred and Y. Buller had the confidence of the Maori people of early Canterbury. Prior to the appointment of Canon Stack they were the interpreters to the Provincial Government.

PAGE 69villages called Wangenui and Okokurri, situated on beaches near Te Awaiti, Wesleyan native missionaries were established. The same remarks apply to Moioio in Tory Channel." Services were established and the Christian Sabbath observed. When the missionaries were leaving, many followed their boat until up to their middles in the water. Mr. Bumby remarked: "I suppose ours was the first vessel that ever visited the Sound on an errand of mercy to the natives." After this visit of investigation by the Revs. Hobbs and Bumby, fragments of the New Testament were found among the people, carefully preserved. One Maori in particular, who had learned to write, had begun to multiply copies.

The year 1844 marked the conclusion of Mr. and Mrs. Watkin's ministry in Otago. The closing months were marked by strenuous labour, but also by success.

One cheering event for the missionary was the arrival of a whale-ship whose captain was a zealous Christian. This welcome event took place just before he left for his pastoral tour to the Foveaux Strait region. He reported the following:

"Have just met with a converted captain of a whale-ship, a humble, loving man. Would there were many such. From his account there are several American captains who are so, who as well as himself hold religious services on board their vessel. He has had a revival on board his vessel and a number of converted characters among his officers and crew, some belonging to the Methodist, some to the Freewill Baptist Churches. To the latter he himself belongs. That church differs little from our own. They have class meetings and are believers in and seekers of sanctification. My conversation with him on the latter point was interesting to me. I gave him some magazines and one of our hymn books, pointing out to him the hymns for those seeking full redemption, where the blessing is described and sought in a manner only less excellent than in the Scriptures themselves. He attended and was pleased with our native services. He gave us some combs for the females, which have been distributed. May God be with Captain Barker and preserve him in his simplicity and ardour."

A few days later he wrote: "There is a report here that a boat's crew belonging to the Lancaster, Captain Barker, has been lost. I hope it is not so, but Otago is a fearful place to go into or come out of in some states of wind and tide. The account is that the boat was putting the pilot ashore when the casualty took place. I hope the rumour is not true."

Mr. Watkin had many tokens and proofs that his four years of toil had not been in vain: "A future, newly born and rich with promise, was displacing the old order of savagery and lawlessness. The Maoris had seen a compelling ideal. The Europeans were thinking bigger thoughts. Racial unity was finding at least some PAGE 70 recognition and a new atmosphere had been created." There were Gospel triumphs and miracles of saving grace.

Another evidence of success was indicated by a note which Watkin found carefully laid on the pulpit desk in the church. The writer had placed it where it was sure of being noticed by the missionary, and was as follows:

"To Miti Watkina,

O, my friend, my compliments to you. My mind is glad in my Lord and Saviour. My mind rejoices greatly, my soul is glad, Amen, My evil is gone and I am seeking to my Saviour Jesus Christ. O, His goodness to me is great and lasting. Amen.

#### 1. SIMON,"

The following are the last of Mr. Watkin's entries in his Otago Journal:

"April 6th, 1844: Yesterday, being Good Friday, was observed by us at Home by abstinence from food and labour, and by religious services. A boat arrived from Port Nicholson bringing a box of slates, much and long wanted, etc.

April 8th: Yesterday, Easter Day, was employed as usual. Preached on the usual topics to usual congregations. May God add His blessing. Amen.

"April 10th: Yesterday heard that a successor is at length on his way in the person of Mr. Creed.... May we go (from Waikouaiti) under God's blessing.

"April 15th: Yesterday employed as usual. I have heard good news from Port Nicholson. The foundation stone of a new chapel laid by His Excellency the Governor (Captain R. FitzRoy, R.N.), His speech on that occasion was most flattering, etc.

“April 20th: Yesterday the Deborah arrived, bringing Mr. Creed and his wife and family. I hope their coming is under the best direction and that they will prove eminent blessings here.

“April 22nd: Yesterday had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Creed hold forth in Mauri (Maori).... He brings a good account of natives in his last circuit.... This is joyful news.... His poor wife is in bad health. This is, however, a healthful district. In the same vessel have arrived a staff of surveyors under Mr. Tuckett, who is the chief surveyor and agent pro tem of New Edinburgh.

“There is some prospect of that settlement being formed in this quarter. A better they cannot find. There is Mr. Symonds, a police magistrate, on board and other gentlemen.

“April 27th: This has been a week of considerable affliction. Poor Mrs. Creed has been and still is very ill.... My own wife has also been ill and unable to render help. This has been a week of unusual excitement...”

It was indeed a time of excitement, with the Deborah anchored in the Bay. Besides the visitors already mentioned, there was Mr. PAGE 71 Wohlers, of the Bremen Mission. He was hospitably entertained at the Mission house. Messrs. Watkin and Creed, with native help, being the hosts. Mr. Tuckett had advised Mr. Wohlers to open a Mission on Banks Peninsula, but as that field was well provided for by the Wesleyan Mission, he declined. Both Watkin and Creed advised Wohlers to settle among the Maoris in the far south, with the suggestion of Ruapuke as a centre, where Watkin had his native pastors who needed European supervision. Wohlers also had a letter in his pocket from the Rev. S. Ironside to introduce him to the southern Maori people. The idea appealed to Wohlers and the problem was solved as to where he should labour.

An interesting incident took place at the time. The pilot of the Deborah, Edward Palmer, through his contact with Watkin at the Mission house, made the “great decision” and became a consistent Christian. In later years Wohlers wrote of him, “that when he came to Waikouaiti, he was led to peace with God by Missionary Watkin and now lives at peace with a suitable income as an old but hearty man. Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come.”

To continue Watkin's Journal:

“May 11th: A week of considerable excitement this. Two sick in the house at once, domestic duties as well as the care of the church.... I hope Mr. Creed will be useful here.... It appeared a necessary thing that I should remove, but now the time comes I shrink from it, natives like these I shall not find in New Zealand....

“May 18th: Still at Waikouaiti, the Deborah not having returned from her exploring trip to southward. It is perhaps as well that I am here for Bro. Creed is almost incessantly employed in attending to Mrs. Creed, who continues ill. Schools, etc., have occupied my time.

“June 17th: A year ago the dreadful recontre between the natives and our countrymen took place. I have seen some of the parties who were present, and of both races the Europeans were in fault, but it was a horrid affair, and the destruction of the nine who surrendered was murder and nothing less.... I trust nothing of the kind will occur in the new settlement.

“June 24th: Yesterday I closed my ministry in Waikouaiti. The congregation was large for the place. May I not have laboured in vain. I baptised six persons from Ruapuke. Mr. Creed baptised our youngest son, we call him John Wesley. May God bless this people. Yesterday the Deborah reached Waikouaiti, so that the longexpected removal is now near.

“June 29th: The date of our arrival in Port Nicholson.”

Thus terminated the pioneer missionary's work in Otago. He saw the dawn of a new and better day for the Maori people of the south. He succeeded better than he expected, and better than he PAGE 72himself ever knew. He regretted that he did not visit more frequently the outposts of his huge parish. This remissness was due not merely to physical disability (and he suffered much in this respect), but because he was needed at the the central Mission house. It was not only a minister's residence, but also a hospital, where he attended to the needs of the sick. It was also a school of instruction to which his scholars came from all parts of his circuit to receive biblical, theological and secular tuition. In this way he reached more people and his work, as proved by results, was more effective than if he had constantly toured his charge. His 26 native pastors and teachers were able to reach and pass on more effectively the truths of Christianity which they had learned, than could one solitary missionary.

As before stated, during the whole of Watkin's term in Otago, it was a long struggle against physical and mental depression. During these times of mental strain, he blamed himself for his imagined failure. His private Journal abounds with expressions of selfaccusation which



amounts to agony. A reader unacquainted with the facts, and not knowing his true character, would not understand this. It was the custom of many early missionaries to note down their misgivings; to search their hearts and examine their motives. To get rid of self-seeking, self-gratification and to lose sight of themselves in the service of the Master whom they served, was their constant aim. This involved assiduous watchfulness over themselves, and careful sifting of the motives of their lives. Thus it was with Watkin. There are portions of his Journal which were not intended for the public gaze. They were too deep, too sincere, for that. Unfortunately, these soul searchings have been printed in full in Dr. A. H. McLintock's History of Otago, which give an unfortunate impression of the heroic pioneer and do him a sad disservice. The same writer and historian writes about Watkin's complex against the Maori character, and quotes his expressions "a barbarous set", "dislike of the native" and so forth, used by Watkin in times of severe exasperation, particularly due to their mixing with unprincipled pakehas. The missionary's whole attitude towards the Maori people proved that he loved them, and that they loved him. His experiences in Tonga may have caused a temporary complex, but with returning health the cloud lifted. His whole attitude towards the Maori people shows that he viewed them with pity and deep concern. "The natives of this country," he said, "are with all their faults better in even respect than the creatures who calumniate them. The aborigines of this land need protection."

His unwearied, self-denying efforts on their behalf; his care for the sick and broken; his cottage hospital, and his anger towards those who degraded them, proved his character. His pamphlet, *Pity Poor Fiji*, stirred the hearts of the people in England. The Church responded by sending more missionaries and teachers to those islands, and helped to pave the way for the English Government to annex Fiji to the Empire at the request of their chiefs and people.

When Watkin settled in Wellington, with returning health, all former depression left him and he faced life with an optimistic outlook. When, later, in Australia, with his exuberant spirit and optimistic outlook, no one would ever suspect that he had at any time suffered from depression.

It must be admitted, by all candid minds, that his work in Otago was a pronounced success.<sup>1</sup> The triumphs of his courage and genius over physical disadvantages cannot be over-estimated. He succeeded where men physically stronger would have failed. He laid, "strong and firm", the foundations of the first Christian Mission in the South Island. He laboured, others have entered into his labours. He sowed the seed, the harvest followed. He left behind him a well-organised church, and church members more than can be tabulated. One day the aged chief Korako cheered him by informing him that his coming had put an end to slavery, war, cannibalism, murder and other evils formerly frequent.

Dr. D. Monro wrote in July, 1844: "The natives at Waikouaiti are well disposed ... and, by the praiseworthy exertions of the Rev. Mr. Watkin, the Wesleyan clergyman lately resident

there, have been instructed in the doctrines of the Christian religion, and in reading and writing, to the full as well as in any part of New Zealand I have visited.... Mr. Watkin's labours have not been confined to Waikouaiti, but have extended from Moeraki, 30 miles north of it, to the Bluff, about 130 miles to the southward. Notwithstanding the short time which had elapsed since its establishment, the progress made by the natives has been surprising; and it is a striking proof, among many others, of the aptitude of the New Zealander for instruction, and of the eagerness with which he embraces it.”

The Rev. Samuel Ironside, who was stationed at Cloudy Bay, Marlborough, in December, 1840, paid the following tribute to his friend:

“He was my nearest brother, but 400 miles of a strong sea and an inhospitable coastline separated us. We could not meet personally. There was no postal communication. Very casual visits from whaling or trading vessels brought news from the outer world and supplies

1 It is largely due to Watkin's influence upon the Maoris, upon his evangelistic and educational zeal, that Tuckett, Wakefield, Symonds and Clarke were able to conclude the purchase of the Otago block for the New Zealand Company in such a friendly and businesslike fashion. But for Watkin and Creed, the Free Church settlers might not have found their relations with the Ngai-tahu chiefs and people so harmonious. Twenty-three out of twenty-five native signatories to the sale of the Otago block were baptised adherents of the Wesleyan Mission.”—John Jones of Otago, Alfred Eccles and A. H. Reed.

PAGE 74for our stations. Long before I saw him I formed the opinion that he was about the best read man, the closest observer of men and things I had ever known, and withal a man of utter self-abnegation. Years before I knew him in the flesh I loved and honoured him. We were literally in perils in the wilderness and in the sea, but we were happy in our work. We rejoiced over hundreds of the natives converted to God and baptised into the faith of Christ. I have a distinct recollection of some of Mr. Watkin's sermons in Wellington. I have heard Mr. Spurgeon, Dr. Morley Punshon and other great men at Home and here. As I knew him, I should hardly be disposed to give him a second position to any of those distinguished men,” (Written from St. Kilda, Melbourne, August 9th, 1886.)

Mrs. Monson (née Roebuck) has written in her notes:

“From my earliest years as a child, I have been helped by the missionaries. My first recollection dates from before I was quite five years old. The first was Mr. Watkin, who came in 1840. He was always spoken of with great respect even from the roughest men. We came (to Otakou) in 1843 and many Maoris could read and write. Mr. Watkin must have worked very hard, and so must Mrs. Watkin. I have always thought of the missionaries as specially belonging to God.”

In 1851 Mr. Watkin paid an official visit to Canterbury in order to supervise and direct the Mission there. Prior to that date the whole of the South Island was under the care of the Rev. Chas. Creed, which was almost an impossible task. In October, 1851, Mr. Watkin made his official visit to the Province. On the 12th he was at Tapaki and baptised twelve Maoris who had been prepared by the native pastors. The same day at Wakaoroa he baptised fourteen Maoris, and a week later, five others. Their names appear in the Wellington register. On October 19th, at Pigeon Bay, he baptised two sons and daughters of Ebenezer and Agnes Orr Hay. A few days later, at the same place, he baptised two Maoris, and also the son of James Gilbert and Ani Marino, his Maori wife.

At Lyttelton he baptised six European children. At the Taumutu Kaika he baptised seven adult Maoris and one Maori child. At Kaiapoi, on October 28th, he baptised sixteen Maoris, all adults.

The natives were all admitted as catechumen members of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission. During this pastoral tour to Canterbury, Mr. Watkin preached at Lyttelton, and also in a cottage which was the residence of Mr. Isaac Philpott in Hagley Park, Christchurch. This cottage was on a small dry creek on the south side of the Park and nearly opposite where later stood the College pavilion. It was during 1851 that Mr. Philpott and Mrs. Quaipe opened the first Wesleyan Sunday school in Christchurch. It is difficult to tabulate the number of services and meetings conducted by Mr. Watkin during his pastoral visitation.

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In 1853 the Rev. W. Kirk, when en route to succeed the Rev. C. Creed at Waikouaiti and Otago, was detained at Christchurch for about nine months in order to take charge of the Methodists residing there till the arrival of the Rev. J. Aldred in 1854. Mr. Aldred was the first regularly appointed Methodist minister to Christchurch. He was assisted by the Rev. W. Rowse, who resided at Lyttelton. Mr. Aldred was succeeded in 1860 by Rev. J. Buller. During his term the Durham Street Church was erected. The church was dedicated on December 25th, 1864. The preacher at 11 a.m. was the Rev. C. Frazer (Presbyterian), and in the evening was the Rev. J. Buller, who took for his text Psalm 49, verses 12–24. A few months afterwards, Bishop W. Taylor, of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, conducted a special Mission. The same year Mr. Buller was elected President-General of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Conference. In the passing of the years some of the most prominent ministers of the Church have served in Christchurch. Among the names may be mentioned the Revs. A. R. Fitchett, W. Morley, Alexander Reid, W. Baumber, J. J. Lewis, H. R. Dewsbury, W. Lee, C. H. Laws—all ministers of outstanding ability.

# CHAPTER SEVEN THE REV. CHARLES CREED

“Whatever noble fire is in our hearts, will burn also in our work.”

Sir Frederic Leighton.

It is true that the rev. James Watkin was the first missionary pioneer who blazed the trail in the South Island and who established the first organised Christian church. He cut his way unhindered by handicaps, undaunted by any tasks, however difficult, and left behind him a trail for others to follow. The Rev Charles Creed was the second pioneer. He not only followed in the tracks of the first herald of the Cross in the South Island, but he penetrated localities and native settlements untouched by his worthy predecessor.

Charles Creed was born at Hembridge, Somersetshire, England, on October 8th, 1812. In 1836 he became a student in the Theological College, Hoxton. After his ordination, he, with the Revs. J. Waterhouse, H. Bumby, S. Ironside and J. Warren, left Gravesend on September 20th, 1838, in the ship James, to reinforce the Wesleyan Mission staff in the South Seas. Upon arrival at Hobart the missionary party was entertained at Government House by Sir John Franklin, who later won fame as an Arctic explorer. Several of the missionaries remained for a time at Hobart. The others, including Mr. Creed, reached Hokianga on March 19th, 1839. At Hokianga and Kaipara, Mr. Creed acquired a full knowledge of the Maori language and acquainted himself with the customs and legends of the native people.

After serving the church in the above-mentioned places he was in 1841 appointed to Taranaki. A fine picture by Baxter depicts the Rev. J. Waterhouse, general superintendent of Wesleyan Missions, conversing with a chief about the prospects of the Mission. An old chief has thrown his patu to the ground to convince the missionary of his willingness to accept the Gospel of Peace. As soon as Mrs. Creed approached the shore in a boat, the native women began to cry, “E Mata! E Mata!” and seven women immediately ran into the sea up to their shoulders and caught her in their arms and carried her on shore—the first white woman they had ever seen. Mr. Creed is depicted as directing the landing of his goods. The missionary ship, the Triton, is shown at anchor.

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Mr. Creed commenced his work at New Plymouth with a keen sense of the responsibility resting upon him. Opposition never daunted him; on the contrary, his courage rose with

danger. Upon the Maori people he made an impression that has been handed down to the present generation. He was the first resident missionary among the Taranaki Maoris, and Mrs. Creed was the first European woman to settle among them. Mr. Creed's appointment to Taranaki helped to meet the needs of the Maoris, who at that period were returning from Cook Strait to their ancestral homes, and also of the returning exiles who were being emancipated from slavery in the Waikato. Of such importance was his appointment regarded by the Maoris that the chief, Reihana Toko, escorted him all along the coast during the first year of his work.

When the immigrant ship, the *William Bryan*, arrived on March 31st, 1841, Mr. Creed was on the beach to meet the men of Devon and Cornwall who founded the European settlement, and he was a source of inspiration to them as they faced the difficulties of the situation.

Charles Creed was an expert horseman. The chief surveyor of the settlement had purchased a horse for which he had paid £79, but the animal was beyond control and used to deposit his rider in the nearest ditch. He sold it to Mr. Creed for £29. Creed found the animal a spirited but useful servant, though some of the Maori people may have regarded it as a *taniwha* (monster).

In 1844 Mr. Creed, who was 32 years of age, was appointed to succeed Mr. Watkin in the South Island, with Waikouaiti as his headquarters. He sailed from Wellington with Mr. F. Tuckett, surveyor, on the schooner *Deborah*. The Rev. J. F. Wohlers, missionary bound for Ruapuke, was also a passenger. Arriving at Port Cooper (Lyttelton) on April 5th, Mr. Creed met for the first time the chief, Taiaroa (with whom later he had much to do), and Tuhawaiki, a chief of great standing among the Maori people. Both these chiefs were clad in sailor's suits. On Sunday, the 7th, Messrs. Creed and Wohlers set out for Port Levy to visit and conduct services for the Maoris where Mr. Watkin had appointed two native pastors. On their way they became hopelessly lost among the mountains. At last they arrived at Lake Waihora (Ellesmere), and Wohlers wrote:

“Here we are, lost, hungry and tired, no roof and no food.” They subsisted on wild turnip and native berries. On the morning of the third day, weary and faint, they despaired even of life. On the fourth morning, continuing their journey over the mountains, they rose above the clouds, and saw in the distance Port Cooper and the *Deborah* once more—a welcome sight.

They reached Waikouaiti Bay on April 19th, and were met by Mr. Watkin, who gave them a hearty welcome. Wohlers wrote of Watkin: “He is a clever and experienced man and knows how to PAGE 78take people in the right way, and his labours are, with the blessing of God, successful as well among the Maoris as the Europeans,” Creed wrote as follows: “I am well pleased with the success which has attended his (Watkin's) exertions. The knowledge of the

natives is more than could have been expected, considering the disadvantageous circumstances under which this isolated station has been labouring. The natives here may be classed with those of the older stations; they would do no discredit to those in the Northern Island, either in Scriptural knowledge or general information. The unwearied exertions of Mr. Watkin are truly praiseworthy.”

Mr. Creed began in commission under more favourable conditions than his predecessor. He was better equipped, having a good supply of service books and Bibles in the Maori language. The natives who could already read were charmed with these, and Mr. Creed, being a ready speaker, was listened to with great attention. The missionary did not lose much time in visiting the various settlements of his parish.

Mr. Watkin, prior to his departure, had prepared many converts for baptism. The Register shows that on July 14th Mr. Creed baptised five Ruapuke candidates; on August 11th he baptised seven, and on September 15th twenty-two Ruapuke people. In addition to these, there were candidates from Moeraki, Waikouaiti and Otakou. These figures show how thorough Mr. Watkin's work had been before leaving for Wellington. The accessions gave Mr. Creed a good start and were an encouraging augury for the future. Among those baptised on August 11th appear the names Haora Piharo, Hohepa Tahao and Mohi Moki. On September 15th appear the names Wiremu Parata, Tare Weteri Hape, Nera Weteri Pohau, and Anara Turi. Mr. A. W. Traill, schoolmaster at Stewart Island, informed the writer that Mohi Moki proved himself to be a man of excellent character, and was highly esteemed by Maori and pakeha. He died at Stewart Island in July, 1910. Two of his daughters were sent to the Maori Girls' College, Turakina, where they became so proficient that Mr. Hamilton, the superintendent, desired them to remain as teachers.

Like his predecessor, the new missionary had to face obstacles placed in his way by unprincipled Europeans. He reported to the Mission Board, London, his regret regarding the evil habits into which some of the younger Maoris had fallen due to this cause, and wrote: “This, alas, is no otherwise than can be expected from the company in which they had been brought up, viz., European whalers, many of whom delight in making the natives as bad as themselves. The consequence is that in some cases we have a sad combination of native and European vices. Many of the Europeans use their art and influence to draw the people away from religion. Mr. — (no name given) gave the natives a bucket of rum. I need scarcely PAGE 79add that several of them became intoxicated. Such a scene, I never witnessed before, I hope never to see again. At another time a European presented a draw knife to the throat of a native two or three times and told him he would kill him; and many things too numerous to mention. I trust when the settlers arrive at New Edinburgh a different influence will be exerted on the minds of the natives, and that a stop may be put to the loose, and in many ways outrageous, conduct of some of the Europeans.”

When Mr. Creed came to Otago he called at Port Cooper (Lyttelton) en route, and was much impressed with the needs and prospects of the work in the northern part of the Island. He made up his mind to visit these fields as soon as possible. With the shattering of Cloudy Bay Mission consequent upon the Wairau tragedy on June 17th, 1843, the boundaries of his charge were enlarged. His circuit, which already extended to the remotest south, was extended to cover also the territory as far north as the inland Kaikouras. This second visit of Mr. Creed to Banks Peninsula took place in the latter part of 1845. Accompanied by three native teachers named Rawiri Te Maire, Wiremu Patene Te Aowangai and Hohepa Maru, he left Waikouaiti Bay on Monday, September 22nd.

Letter to the General Secretary of the Mission Board: "For a long time I have been exceedingly desirous of visiting the people on Banks Peninsula, and along the coast, and had determined to make the attempt the first favourable opportunity.... I heard of a schooner which was going to Wellington and might probably touch at Akaroa. I immediately made arrangements to go in her. We were four days and four nights on board, having had contrary winds; we came to anchor in Akaroa on the 26th September. I then commenced my overland tour; visited Akaroa, Pigeon Bay, Port Levy and Port Cooper on Banks Peninsula; and from thence travelled along the coast to Waikouaiti: the whole distance I had to walk was about 270 miles. After leaving Port Cooper our way lay along an extensive plain 150 to 200 miles long and perhaps 30 miles wide; we generally kept near the coast and can therefore say little as to the nature of the country. We travelled 50 or 60 miles without seeing a tree or shrub with the exception of the ti-tree, which in some places is very abundant. We generally had to depend on driftwood for fuel. The rivers on this coast are often very dangerous in consequence of the very great floods occasioned by melting of the snow, and the falling of the avalanches from the immense ranges of mountains inland. In this respect I would thankfully acknowledge a kind and gracious Providence in preparing our way before us, the weather being dry and the waters in the rivers very (comparatively) low. One of them, which we forded, was nearly to the loins and very rapid. The natives assisted me through the water. Another, the Waitaki River, we were obliged to cross on a PAGE 80raupo or reed boat. Altogether this journey was one of the most arduous and fatiguing I have ever undertaken. Through the Divine Blessing I reached home in safety, devoutly thankful to God for all the mercies to me and my beloved family during my absence. As to the state of religion among the natives generally, I would gratefully say that Christianity has already done much for them, both from a civil and religious point of view. They have their regular services for Divine Worship and their schools for instruction, conducted by native teachers: knowledge is keenly communicated and received in all their villages; and although we cannot expect to find them as far advanced as those who reside near the Mission Stations, their progress is considerable, both to themselves and their teachers. Some of them, I trust, are sincere seekers of salvation. The New Testament may truly be said to be the New Zealander's companion. Many of them can read with fluency and their knowledge of Scripture is encouraging. Everywhere I was received as a messenger of mercy, and I never felt more delighted in preaching the Gospel than latterly; and although I had no listening thousands, yet the scattered tribe of Ngai-tahu gladly gathered round their missionary to listen to the Word of Life. Brethren, pray for us, that the Word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified, even as it was with you.... During my stay at Port Levy, I heard the particulars regarding a number of natives, two hundred or more, residing on the West Coast, nearly in the same latitude as Banks Peninsula. They have generally embraced Christianity, and have been waiting for the last three or four years for a missionary to visit them, I baptised a young man

from thence, who has returned home, and with him I sent some Testaments. He was very urgent for me to visit them, should Providence direct my way. Since my return from the north I have visited Otakou and Purakanui; south of this place, etc.

I remain, etc.,

CHARLES CREED.”

Extracts from Creed's Diary, and further to the foregoing letter:

“September 22nd, 1845: About 8 a.m. the schooner belonging to the natives, in which I intend to proceed to Banks Peninsula, came out of Otakou. I made all possible haste to be ready. At 10 a.m. she came off Waikouaiti. I commended my dear wife and family to the merciful keeping of our Heavenly Father, took my leave of them, and went on board without delay, as the vessel did not come to anchor. When we got out to sea, the wind became contrary: we beat to and fro, but made very little headway. I became very sick and ill.

1 See Journal, October 12th, and baptism of Riwai Watene.

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“September 23rd: Strong head winds. Very sick. The motion of the schooner being very quick made me worse than in a larger vessel.

“September 24th: Wind still against us. I felt a little better.” (He was much perturbed by the conduct of some on board, and hoped to be able to do them good; however, at 3 p.m. the wind changed, and he added) “so we were not tossed about so much. I preached to the people in the hold of the vessel: I believe all felt the presence of the Lord. Afterwards I had a service with the European whalers who were on board. The Lord enabled me to warn them faithfully, as well as the natives. I endeavoured to set before them the necessity of repentance and faith in Christ. The subsequent part of the evening our little vessel was like a schoolroom—reading the Scriptures, repeating the Catechism, etc., I felt truly thankful and much refreshed in mind.



“September 25th: The wind continued from the north, so we have made very little progress, although this is our fourth day from Waikouaiti. My mind became much depressed. I was induced to lay our cause before the Almighty, praying He would grant us a favourable wind. That passage of the Scripture was applied to my mind, ‘whatsoever ye shall ask in My name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son.’ I felt encouraged to pray more earnestly. I opened my Testament on the chapter containing the account of St. Paul's shipwreck, knowing that several vessels had been wrecked on the coast. I looked to the Lord for help and direction and the 34th verse was powerfully applied to my mind—‘Therefore I pray you, to take some meat, for this is your health, for there shall not an hair fall from the head of any of you.’ I immediately sent for some food, which I ate with thankfulness, still waiting upon God. In the evening I had an interesting service with the natives.

“September 26th, 1845: During the night the wind continued from southward. A little before midnight those on board, fearing we might get too near the shore, it being very dark, we lay to for a few hours. At daybreak we put on full sail and by 10 a.m. came safely to anchor in Akaroa. I went on shore immediately, and, after taking some refreshments, walked about two miles to the European settlement. I called on Mr. R., the police magistrate, with whom I spent an hour or two, and returned in the evening to the Maori village.” (The resident magistrate was Mr. C. B. Robinson.)

“September 27th: This morning I preached to the natives. In the afternoon I went to the settlement and dined with Mr. R. This settlement is not advancing very rapidly. The harbour is very good and extensive, but the adjacent country is not very eligible for a settlement, it being mountainous and at a considerable distance from the main Akaroa, being situated to the south-east extremity of Banks Peninsula.

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“September 28th: Sabbath. At 10 a.m. I felt considerable liberty in preaching to the natives, exhorting them to turn to God with full purpose of heart. On returning from the service I found one of the Europeans who came in the schooner so much affected that he begged the liberty to offer up a prayer in which he humbly confessed his sins and unfaithfulness. I found he was the son of an old Methodist in England, and that the instructions which his father gave him had never been erased from his mind during all his wanderings. In the afternoon I married a European and a native woman and baptised their three children. In the evening I preached again to the natives and afterwards had service with two Europeans' (We may here interrupt the quotations from the diary by stating that it is to the credit of the Europeans who had contracted alliances with the Maori women according to the usages of the native race, that in most cases they grasped the opportunity presented by the visit of the first European missionary to have their existing unions sanctified according to the Christian ordinance of marriage.)

“September 29th: About sunrise preached to the natives and married a couple (Anglo-Maori), and at 9 a.m. crossed over the bay and proceeded on the way to Port Levy. I called on Mr. H. at Pigeon Bay.” (Mr. Ebenezer Hay, who arrived at Pigeon Bay in March, 1843.) “Found the mountain which lies between Pigeon Bay and Port Levy rather difficult to ascend in consequence of so many loose stones in the path. It is very fatiguing to travel, not having quite recovered from my late attack of lumbago. We arrived at the native settlement a little after sunset.

“September 30th: I preached this morning to the people from Matthew, chapter 5, verses 25 and 26. In the course of the day I visited seven sick natives, one of whom died a few hours after I had seen her. In the evening I preached from Galatians, chapter 6, verses 7 and 8.

“October 1st, 1845 Early this morning I preached again to the people. Had a long conversation with one of our principal men, an elderly chief, who, I trust, will be a blessing to his people. About 5 p.m. I buried the native woman who died yesterday. A pretty large congregation collected around the grave. I preached to them on the solemn occasion. Many of them appeared much affected. In the evening I conducted a school and was much pleased with their advancement in knowledge, considering they had only native teachers.”

The native teachers, as already stated, were Taawao, who came from the West Coast, and Hoepa.

“October 2nd: About sunrise I preached from Hebrews, chapter xi, verse 7. The subject made a deep impress upon the people. I wrote a letter to a chief and his people at Poutini on the West Coast, nearly in the same latitude as Banks Peninsula. I sent them

PAGE BREAK

Opening of the Otakou Maori Centennial Church.

Opening of the Otakou Maori Centennial Church.

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Opening of the Whare Runanga by the Hon. Peter Fraser on December 1946. The author is on the right, and Mr. F. T. Tirikatene, M.P., on left.

Opening of the Whare Runanga by the Hon. Peter Fraser on December 1946. The author is on the right, and Mr. F. T. Tirikatene, M.P., on left.

Interior of the Otakou Maon Centennial Church.

Interior of the Otakou Maon Centennial Church.

PAGE 83some Testaments. There are two or three hundreds in the neighbourhood. They have embraced Christianity and have been waiting two or three years for a missionary to visit them. The journey across the island from Port Levy to Poutini may be performed in seven or eight days. Should no other missionary visit them in the interval, I purpose by the Blessing of God to return to Port Levy in the course of the next year and proceed thence to visit this isolated people. May the Lord make my way plain and direct me aright. Had long conversation with the natives, settling disputes, etc. At 5 p.m. I preached from St. Luke, 18th chapter, 9 and 10 verses. In the evening made some arrangements concerning the Karakia (worship).” It is worthy of note that Dr. J. R. Elder in his book, *The Pioneer Explorers of New Zealand*, states that Thomas Brunner and Charles Heaphy, the first explorers to attempt to reach the West Coast from Nelson, spent eighteen months in that region, and returned to Nelson in June, 1848; and that of the 97 natives they met 68 were Wesleyans. All had Bibles and Prayer Books. They were quiet, hospitable people, and cleaner in their habits than the Maoris seen elsewhere. This statement shows how real and fruitful were the labours of the native teachers Taawao and others.

To continue Mr. Creed's Journal:

“October 3rd: Preached this morning from Luke 15. O Lord, make me a blessing to this people! In the afternoon met some of the candidates for baptism. At noon visited the sick natives, and at 5 p.m. preached from Rev. 20:11–12. Had a very interesting meeting this evening with some of them in propounding and answering questions.

“October 4th: About sunrise I preached from the account of Cornelius, Acts 10. In the afternoon I set before them the example of Abraham. In the evening I met the people and organised classes.

“October 5th: Sabbath.' Prayer meeting this morning at sunrise. At 10 a.m. I preached from John, chapter 3, verses 14 and 15, to a good congregation. I felt considerable liberty in setting the Gospel before them in all its freeness and fulness. Afterwards I baptised nineteen adults and ten children. Immediately I had closed the native service, the Europeans, ten or twelve in number, assembled. They had come over from the other side of the Port. I preached to them from John, chapter 3, verse 16. I afterwards married three of them to native women with whom they had been living for several years. I also baptised three children belonging to one of them. In the afternoon I married nine couples of natives. In the evening I preached to a good congregation from Hebrews, chapter 12, verse 1, etc.

“October 6th: Preaching at sunrise. A goodly number present. I baptised one adult and one half-caste child. I visited for the last time one of the sick natives (Meri Kaihau), to whom I administered baptism. She may linger for a few weeks, but cannot hold out for long. I made arrangements for starting homeward. Took leave of the people, and walked round to Port Cooper. My mind is deeply affected with the destitute (religious) state of the people on Banks Peninsula and the neighbourhood. There are about 300 natives residing at Port Levy and from 150 to 200 at all the other villages in this part of the district. Were it not for the more powerful claims of other places I would recommend that a European missionary, or at least an assistant missionary, be stationed at Port Levy. There are two principal karakias at this place, that of the Wesleyan and that of the Church of England. The cause of pikopo (Bishop Pompallier) has nearly dwindled to nothing. At Port Cooper (Whakaraupo) I called on some Europeans. At sunset the boat came round from Port Levy with my things, and my travelling natives (Rawiri Te Mairi, Wiremu Patene and Hohepa); we crossed over to Rapaki, a small village, where we found a few natives with whom I held a Divine service.

“October 7th: About sunrise I preached to the few natives and proceeded to the head of the harbour in a boat. From there we went to the Waihora Lake (Lake Ellesmere). We had to go round by a circuitous route to the head of the lake. I could easily recognise the place where Mr. Wohlers and I descended from the mountains when we were lost in the thick fog about eighteen months ago. In proceeding on our journey we met a fishing party (Maoris), to whom I preached the Gospel. We then travelled on till quite dark, and halted for the night. This is the last day of my 33rd year. How many mercies and blessings have I experienced in my short career... In meditating on the goodness of God and the love of God, I felt His love fill my soul. I lay down to sleep very happy in God

“October 8th: About midnight the wind changed to the south-west, and shortly after it began to rain a little, which continued all night; not having a breakwind, our things got wet. We started early in the morning, and after travelling about 15 miles with the wind and rain in our faces all the way, at noon we reached Taumutu, the end of the lake, where a few natives are residing. After breakfast and changing my wet clothes, I felt refreshed. In the evening I preached to the people. I am now entering upon another year. I think I never felt more determined to live for God than now. May this be the best year of my life!

“October 9th: This morning I preached from St. Luke 18. One of my travelling natives had his foot so swollen that I was obliged to leave him behind, and get another to supply his place. We left at 8 a.m. and, travelling along the coast, saw the wreck of a boat, supposed to be one that left Moeraki about three weeks ago for Tewaiatamate (near Temuka), to which place we are now travelling. At 10 a.m. we came to a river called Ohineware. The water was very rapid, and about to the loins. We crossed all at once, so that the force of the water was broken before it came to me. These rivers are exceedingly dangerous, especially in the summer, when the north-west or hot winds blow. The snow on the immense ranges of mountains inland melts so rapidly, and the falling avalanches cause the rivers to be swollen so very high as to render fording them impossible. The next river we came to was the Korakaia (Rakaia), generally much worse than the other; we crossed one, two and three

branches, which were dried up, expecting to come to the principal stream in due time; we toiled on, and to our great astonishment, found that also dry; thus we crossed this much dreaded river nearly dry-shod. Such, thought I, is often the case with the true Christian: trials expected much exercise the mind; death often perplexes, but like the river we have just crossed, and of which I have heard so much, when the trembling Christian is called to meet those trials which had caused so many anxious fears, the Lord has been before him, and prepared his way, etc. We sat down and took some refreshment, and then proceeded on our way. We travelled until 4 p.m., when we came to a place where we expected to find water, but it was dried up. We had no alternative but either to spend the night parched with thirst, or travel about fifteen miles further on to the next water. We walked hour after hour, and being very much fatigued, were obliged to lie down on the stones several times and rest awhile, and then on again. It was about midnight when we reached Hanganui, a freshwater lake. Here we gladly halted for the night. The distance we travelled was about forty miles, and what made it worse was the last ten or twelve miles, having to walk on a loose shingle beach. After prayer, we lay under a bunch of flax, thankful to God for all His mercies.

“October 10th: Early this morning we proceeded onward, crossed the Wakatere River, the water to our knees. At 8 p.m. we reached Pakihaukuku, raised a little breakwind, and having a pretty good fire, lay down for the night.

“October 11th: We started early this morning and soon came to the Rangitata, a river very dangerous to cross when flooded. We found the water a little above the knees. We proceeded from thence to the Hapi, an outlet for the waters of a small lake; the tide being high, we could not cross. We had therefore to ford the upper part of the lake. The water was above the waist, but there being no current, we crossed with safety. About noon we reached Tewaiatemati, a small native village, the population being about 80 souls, including children. This village is situated on one of the most extensive grass plains in New Zealand. We have been travelling along it since we left Banks Peninsula, and have not seen a tree, with the exception of a grove about five miles from this village. Further than the eye can see is nothing except an extended plain, PAGE 86north and south, and in a westerly direction about 30 miles distant are those immense ranges of snowy mountains which extend from Kaikoura to Waitaki. So far as I can learn, this plain must be from 200 to 250 miles in length, and averaging about 30 miles in width; and no doubt will ultimately be made available for very extensive cattle and sheep runs. In the evening I preached to the people from Matt., 5th chapter.

“October 12th, Sabbath: Early this morning I held a prayer meeting. At 10 a.m. preached from Acts 2:38, 39. In the afternoon met some candidates for baptism. At 5 p.m. preached from Rev. 20:11, etc. The word appeared to take effect; many of their countenances seemed to express their earnest desire to have a place at God's right hand. Afterwards I baptised eleven adults and children, and married two couples. I was particularly impressed with one of the men who was baptised. During the ordinance his whole soul seemed engaged with God. I felt a quickening influence resting upon us while I blessed the name of the adorable Trinity. Lord, seal them to all eternity. In the evening a prayer meeting.”

One of those baptised was Riwai Watene Kahi. He came from the group of Maoris on the West Coast and returned, no doubt, to pass on the blessings he had received.

“October 13th: At sunrise preached from Heb. 11:7. The subject appeared greatly to impress their minds. At 5 p.m. preached. In the evening, school; was pleased with their progress and their understanding what they had learned. Some natives returned this evening from Timaru. They had started to go to Waikouaiti, but the wind being contrary, and hearing that I had reached the village, they came back to see me, so that through a kind Providence, I shall have an opportunity of sending to my dear wife, who has not heard from me since I left home.

“October 14th: Preached this morning from Luke 16:19. The Lord enabled me to warn them faithfully. From all I can hear, the boat which was wrecked at Taumutu left Moeraki with nine on board; one European and eight natives, men, women and children, all have perished. One of the native men, Hoepa Kirihauka, was a teacher from Waikouaiti, on his way to visit his friends at Port Levy. I have great hope in his death, etc. At 5 p.m. I preached in the open air to a good congregation. In the evening I met a few more candidates for baptism, they being from home on Sunday last.

“October 15th: This morning I preached from Rom. 8:26–27; afterwards baptised ten adults and children and married one couple. Lord, bless these people with a saving knowledge of Thy truth. About 11 a.m., I took my leave of them and proceeded to Timaru, a distance of ten miles. The rain coming on heavily hindered us from going farther. In the evening I had a class meeting with my travelling companions and the other natives who are going in a boat. The PAGE 87 Lord was with us.

“October 16th: This morning I addressed them from I Thess. 5, and at 8 a.m. directed our way to Waitaki. We reached Makihikihi, where we halted for the night.

“October 17th: At sunrise I prayed and proceeded on our way. The sun set before we had reached the small village on the Waitaki River. We had some difficulty in finding our way—it being dark. About 8 p.m. heard the barking of a dog, which soon directed us to the place. We found seven or eight natives, including children. We had travelled thirty miles today, etc.

“October 18th: Preached this morning from St. John 14:16. We went about five miles inland to another village on the other side of the river, but found all the natives away from home, and there being no ‘Mokihi’ we could not pass over. We lighted fires as signals for the

scattered people to come to the village and waited till sunset. No one came, so we had to remain where we were for the night, having a hut for our accommodation.

“October 19th: Sabbath. This morning had a prayer meeting with my travelling natives, and then returned to the village which we left yesterday. Took breakfast and had a service with the people. I preached from Gal. 6:7–8, and felt considerable liberty in urging them to forsake their sins and serve God.... Doubtless the Lord had a wise end in view in permitting us to go inland yesterday; had we not gone in search of the people, I think it more than probable I should have been persuaded to have proceeded onward toward Moeraki, as the food is very scarce in this place, and under the circumstances, there would have been no alternative for us but either to spend the Sabbath on the coast without a house, and very little or no food, or, otherwise, to have travelled on to Moeraki on the Lord's day, which however justifiable in case of necessity, might be much abused hereafter, both by natives and Europeans. I feel truly thankful to the Almighty for His goodness in preserving me from the necessity of travelling on Sunday. One of my natives fretted a good deal under the disappointment, and would have proceeded on the journey today, had I most determinedly refused to travel on the Sabbath. At 5 p.m. preached to the people. I took the parable of the lost sheep, and endeavoured to persuade them to return to Christ, the true Shepherd. In the evening, school and catechetical instruction.

“October 20th: I preached at 6 a.m. from St. John 3:16–17 and then started for Moeraki. We crossed the Waitaki River on a mokihi, or reed boat. There are several channels in addition to the principal one. The water is rapid in its course; we crossed in perfect safety. The river appears to me to be the only important obstacle to horse travelling, from Banks Peninsula to Waikouaiti, and even here a horse accustomed to New Zealand travelling might cross with PAGE 88care, when the river is not flooded. We walked five miles, and took some refreshment, one of my natives having got some food from a distance. We have had very little to eat these last few days. We travelled on till 8 p.m., and reached a small river called Kakanui, where we rested for the night.”

The mokihi was a boat-shaped raft constructed of bull-rushes and flax-flower stalks bound together with green flax. It was the only means of crossing this river, and was reasonably safe, provided the crossing was not attempted near the river mouth. The mokihis were often carried down stream for a couple of miles before the opposite bank was reached.

“October 21st: At sunrise we set forward. It was a rainy morning, travelled five miles, and had breakfast. Met with a white man, with whom I had much conversation. I proposed reading and prayer, which was readily assented to; at last I found that he was a poor backslider, having been united with a Christian Society in America; his mind seemed to be fully open to conviction. I hope he will return to the Bishop and Shepherd of our souls. In the afternoon we reached Moeraki, heard from my beloved wife. All well at home, and I feel

unfeignedly thankful to the God of all mercies for His continued goodness to us. In the evening I preached from Eph. 6:23–24.

“October 22nd: Preached this morning, and at 5 in the afternoon. In the evening met the classes. I hope the work of Grace is deepening in the hearts of many of the members. Since I was here last one of the members has passed out of time into eternity. There was hope in his death.

“October 23rd: About sunrise preached from St. John 8:12, felt the power to set before them Christ the True Light. Baptised two infants and married one couple—Te Reihaua Pururu to Mokiho. At 5 p.m. I preached from Hebrews 11:29. In the evening met the people in the school, was much gratified with their advancement in Scriptural knowledge.

“October 24th: This morning I addressed them from ‘Casting all your care upon Him, etc.’ Immediately after service, I started for home, walking eight miles, and took breakfast. We travelled on, and at 5 p.m. reached Waikouaiti. Found my dear wife and child well. Bless the Lord, O my soul, for all His mercies to me and my dear family during my absence from home.”

Thus terminated Creed's pastoral visit to Canterbury. He was an indefatigable traveller, as subsequent events proved. The triumphs of his courage and genius over physical disadvantages cannot be overestimated.

As already stated, prior to Creed's visit, services had been conducted by native Wesleyan preachers on Banks Peninsula and in Canterbury in 1839 and 1840, and many of the people had accepted PAGE 89Christianity.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Creed was anxious to visit these converts and further instruct them in the truths of the Christian faith. Accordingly he held services in the native villages, prepared and baptised converts and conducted marriage ceremonies. These marriages were witnessed to by native pastors, and their names appear in the Register. Some of these marriages were between pakeha men and native women. On foot the missionary and his guides travelled across what is known today as the Canterbury Plains, and Creed gave it his opinion that this area, in the future years, would become extensive sheep and cattle runs. This dream has become a reality.

The traveller in those days was confronted with many obstacles of which the present generation can have no conception. Even in the more open country the grass was always knee-deep, with a tangled, spongy mass of decaying vegetation below. Frequent detours were necessary to avoid lagoons and swamps, and dense growths of flax and toetoe had to be



penetrated. Dangerous rivers were crossed, where it meant “swim or sink”. Drenched through by the rain; sleeping in the open air, or at best a cave or deserted whare, and weary and hungry by reason of scarcity of food, were the experiences of Mr. Creed and his Maori travelling companions. They “endured hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ”.

Mr. W. A. Taylor, of Christchurch, an authority in early history, in a newspaper article has written:

“Charles Creed must always rank with the best of those staunch pioneer missionaries of the pre-settlement era: men who smoothed the way for the early settlers: men of great faith and of great courage, and still greater endurance. They lived for the most part alone amongst the Maoris, and at a time when peace was by no means stabilised with the pakeha.”

Charles Creed, and James Watkin before him, held regular services across the Bay, at Matanaka. On foot, by the beach it was a tiresome walk, and by boat not without danger. At first the services were held in one of the farm buildings, and later in the sitting room of Mr. Jones's residence. Later again, a schoolroom was built on to the house, and in this the Christian services were held. The congregation was composed of farm assistants who lived on the estate, and a few European settlers whose names appear in the Register as follows: the Palmer, Glover, Beal, Prior, Kennard, Pascoe, Coleman and other families who bore their part in the history

1 When the first emigrants arrived at Akaroa in August, 1840, to establish the French Colony, Captain Lavaud stated that on Sunday he visited the Maori settlement and found 40 men, women and children engaged in singing prayers taught them by a Protestant native pastor, and that they had small printed books in their native language.—The French at Akaroa, T. Lindsay Buick.

PAGE 90 of the Province. For some time Mr. Charles Windsor assisted Mr. Creed in day and Sunday school work.

The residence of Mr. Jones, the “Big House”, as it was called, was an attractive mansion for those days. The timber was pit-sawn from Jones's bush at Hawkesbury. The doors were made of cedar from Australia. The residence is now, at the time of writing, occupied by the Bannatyne family, who keep the house in excellent order, much as it was in Mr. Jones's time. The grounds are beautifully kept, and the whole property reminds one of an English squire's palatial residence. The house, although erected more than a hundred years ago, is in a wonderful state of preservation. Windows, doors and timbers are the originals. The coach-house, stables, barns and outhouses are much the same today as they were when erected.

The following incident shows that due to the missionaries' influence the Maoris gradually accepted the Christian way of life. Mr. Creed felt it to be his duty to interpose on behalf of a young Maori whom some of the old chiefs were taking as a slave in consequence of his having shown disrespect to some of the old-time native observances. They seized him and placed him at the feet of the old chief whose tapu he had not regarded. Mr. Creed went first to one of them and then to another, endeavouring to quiet the bursting flame. He then went to the old chief at whose feet the young man was still lying. He reasoned with him and with the other chiefs who were present. The old chief seemed to have made up his mind to retain the slave. The missionary set before the chief the evils of slavery and how wrong it was to collect the natives from different places, and to raise a dispute which might end in the loss of many lives. Mr. Creed then went home and wrote him a letter, determined by God's blessing to put a stop to such proceedings. Not long afterwards the old chief came to the Mission House and requested Mr. Creed to go down to his house with him, explaining that he was now anxious to free the young man. Mr. Creed accordingly accompanied him and had the gratification of seeing the young offender liberated.

Notwithstanding various discouragements, the missionary's heart was cheered by tokens of spiritual achievements, and he reported to the Mission Board:

“Waikouaiti, Otakou.

“April 27th, 1846.

“I know that you will be thankful to hear that amidst the many difficulties and discouragements with which a New Zealand missionary has to contend ... the God of all consolation does not leave His servants without some encouragements.... It will rejoice your heart to know that from this, your extreme Southern Station, there are some who have lately passed into the world of Spirits, to join PAGE 91the triumphant host before the Throne of God. I often think that the words of our Blessed Saviour are being literally fulfilled in our day, ‘And they shall come from the east and from the west, and from the north and the south, and shall sit down in the Kingdom of God.’

“Four of our people, in this place, have died within the last few weeks, and have entered into the rest of ‘the people of God’, two of whom were young men, the one about twenty and the other twenty-one years of age, they were both lying ill together in the same house: one of them died in peace while I was from home visiting the people at Otakou. He was an intelligent native and one of the most fluent readers I have met with amongst the New Zealanders. He was just beginning to act as a teacher when he was taken ill, and was thus removed in his youth to a better world. The other I found still lingering on my return, he conversed freely with me on the state of his mind. He was happy in God. I enquired when he felt the inward change, ‘While lying in the other room with the young man who is just buried,’ he answered. He said he was not afraid to die, and when I asked if he knew where he

was going to, he unhesitatingly replied, 'To heaven'. Two days after this interview he fell asleep in Jesus.

"There was another, an old man, a cripple, I suppose 60 years of age. I frequently visited him in his illness, and conversed with him about his soul. A few weeks previous to his death he said that one part of his heart was light, but the other part was burdened with sin. I pointed him to the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. A few days before he expired he said that now the darkness and burden were removed and all was light. I baptised him in the Name of the Holy Trinity, feeling fully assured that he was also baptised with the Holy Ghost. He continued in a peaceful frame of mind to the last. I do not remember ever pronouncing these solemn words, 'We therefore commit his body to the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in sure and certain hope of eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ,' over any corpse with greater assurance than over the remains of this old New Zealander. The fourth was a woman about 35 years of age, a mother of a small family. During her continued illness, I constantly attended her, and I was for a long time much distressed, especially so as the old woman, still adhered to her old superstitious observances, much wished to get her away and subject her to the former mode of incantations for the sick. Of course I used all my influence to prevent this, and am thankful to say was successful.... After this she lay for several weeks, and a few days before her death, as I was conversing with her, she said, 'For some time past I have been wavering and in doubt, but now light has come into my mind; all my desire is to lay hold of the feet of Christ.' I could not but praise God for His PAGE 92mercy in thus rescuing this poor woman from the delusions of the devil and translating her into the Kingdom of His dear Son. She died in peace. I trust these successive happy deaths will be blessed to all the natives; that they may seek and find the same Grace and thus become the crown of our rejoicing 'in the day of the Lord. This tribe is fast disappearing, so many of all ages, and in every place so rapidly dying; may many of them be found at the last day with the sheep on His right hand."

He further reported to the Mission Board: "Some of the encouraging features of the work here are the great attention of many of the elderly people to religion; the fact that some of the old chiefs who have been tapu all their life have recently renounced their observances, and are now desirous of finding their way to Heaven. Their constant attendance on the means of Grace, their desire of being instructed in the things which make for their everlasting peace, prove at once their sincerity, and also that the Gospel has begun to take effect on their hearts.

"During the last few months I have baptised three old men above 70 years of age. The work of conviction appears to have been progressive in their minds, until thus, in their old age, they were induced to come forward, and openly profess their belief in the Saviour and have been baptised in the name of the Holy Trinity....

"Had a very interesting Love Feast (Agapae), fourteen spoke, some of them much to the purpose. Several of our members, I believe, enjoy true religion. We rejoiced together for the

consolation of the Gospel, that while those who adhere to their superstitious observances were perplexed and troubled, we who in Christ believe, could rejoice and be glad in our Saviour's love.”

The Register shows that previous to the foregoing, Charles Creed kept in touch with the far south, where Watkin had adherents. On June 29th, 1845, several persons from Jacobs River presented themselves for baptism. Their names are: Horomona Pukuheti, Aperahama Kaimata, and Ihaka Mako.

A very prominent figure in the missionary days was an aged chief and tohunga (priest) named Korako, often mentioned by Mr. Watkin. This chief and priest remembered, in his youth, the visit of Captain Cook, who gave him a tomahawk, which he regarded as a great treasure. With this weapon he had been a terror to his enemies. He had used it to cleave asunder the heads of his foes and had, according to ancient Maori custom, drunk their blood, that the valour of his victims might be united with his own.

The old chief bore in his body the scars and marks of many a conflict. The old warrior loved to talk with Watkin about the customs, language and beliefs of his people; although he felt that his atua was angry with him for visiting the Mission House, yet he dared to face the danger and risk the loss of prestige.

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During Mr. Watkin's ministry he often attended the services, but he still adhered to the old Maori faith and customs. At this particular time the aged chief became more deeply interested in the Christian way of life, and Mr. Creed reported on October 15th, 1846: “I buried a native child this evening, and preached to the people on the subject brought before us in the burial service. Had a conversation with one of the old chiefs, Korako, who informed me that he intended coming to the class on Sunday next.”

“October 18th: Prayer meeting in the morning at 10 a.m., preaching from Acts 3:6, ‘Silver and gold have I none.’ ... At class immediately after the service I was thankful to see the old chief, Korako, there.... May the Lord awaken his soul, and may he be a ‘brand plucked from the burning’.... I endeavoured to show the people that it was for their eternal interest especially, that the Gospel was preached to them ... some interested Europeans having endeavoured to draw the natives from attending the services. The subject appeared to have a good effect upon some of them.” Mr. Creed then proceeded to refer to Korako: “He said that when my predecessor was here, he attended the services, but as soon as he got outside, his heart went after other things, and so it was for a long time after my arrival here; ‘but latterly,’ he added, ‘it had been different, ever since you talked to me so much about the late

disturbance in reference to Titoke' (the young man whom they had taken for a slave, but was set at liberty again through my interposition)."

A gradual change had taken place in the old man's life. It seemed to have been a hard struggle, but by the Grace of God he had won through and made the "great decision" for Christ. According to ancient Maori custom, being a chief, he had two wives. One was quite a young woman named Hamiria and the other was named Kupukupu, the aged wife of his youth. Before he could be baptised and received into church fellowship, he must be the husband of one wife. This was a difficult problem. It was a testing time and trial of faith, and it had to be faced. Ultimately he decided to stand by the aged Kupukupu who had shared the burdens and cares of the years. They were baptised upon confession of faith on July 19th, 1848, and the entries stand in the Register: "Te Wakena Korako, old man, and Mata Wakena Kupukupu, adult; New Zealander. Signed, Charles Creed." The old man had chosen for his own name Te Wakena (Watkin) and his wife chose hers, Mata Wakina (Mother Watkin), and the same day they were married with the rites of the church, and the witnesses were Joseph Crocome, surgeon, and Pahepa.

The old couple witnessed a good confession for the remainder of their days. Korako was a close student of the Bible, and Mr. Creed said of him that he was particularly interested, and compared PAGE 94 the sacred history with their own Maori traditional events which seemed analogous to those recorded in the Sacred Volume. Korako lived only four years after his baptism and was buried at Waikouaiti in 1852.

It was always a difficult problem when chiefs with several wives became Christians. The present writer remembers how the Rev. W. Gittos, the veteran missionary, once solved the difficult question. A powerful chief who had several wives became a Christian. What was to be done? He was very sincere and anxious to be received into church fellowship. He said, "There is my first wife, the wife of my youth, I don't see how I can give her up. There is my second wife. She is a good cook. How can I give her up? There is my third wife, who is useful in the garden and plants my potatoes What can I do?" One day, after much thought, he went to Mr Gittos and said, "The problem is solved and my mind is made up. There was much conversation and much questioning, and the chief said, "I will stand by my first wife, the companion of my youth and the mother of my children. She is old now and I must care for her." Mr. Gittos asked, "What about the other two wives, what will you do with them?" The chief replied, "Mr. Gittos, you can have them. I will hand them over to you." The problem was truly solved and the missionary, I presume, had to find suitable husbands for them with whom they could live in happy relationship.

One of the most intellectual of the Maoris at the Waikouaiti Mission was a chief named Maru. He was a priest (tohunga) and chief. He had renounced witchcraft and emancipated himself from the crude superstitions of the people and from belief in malignant deities. He had never eaten human flesh or fallen into vicious practices. For some years he kept aloof

from the missionaries, but was searching after a god of noble worth. In Io, the supreme head over all things in the Maori theological system, he saw the shadow of "One" from whom all things proceed. During Mr. Creed's ministry, Maru began to attend the services of the Church. He would enter quietly and sit in a corner farthest from the preacher. Maru told Mr. Creed that the people of his tribe had been dreadful cannibals.

One night as Mr. Creed was preaching from the words, "Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God", he illustrated his theme by reference to Maui, the incarnate God of the Maori; Maru shouted out, "Koe-a, Koe-a" (Yes! Yes!). As the preacher proceeded to show how Jesus incarnated the power of God, the old tohunga, deeply moved, exclaimed, "Kamou te Korero" (your words are true). From that time Maru was a new man, and was duly received into church fellowship by Christian baptism. The record stands in the Register: "No. 497. May 30th, 1847. Hohepa Entwistle Maru, 70 years."

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He was a good example to all, and through his influence others believed, gave up polygamy, and remained true to the Karakia, or Christian worship. As his new life unfolded itself, it became apparent that he had a new feeling towards God as his Father in Heaven; a new consciousness of himself as a moral and responsible being, and a new sense of the worth of his soul and of the souls of all men, because of Christ's sacrificial death.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT THE REV. J. F. H. WOHLERS VISITS CREED**

Reference has already been made to the rev. j. f. h. Wohlers, of the Bremen Mission, who accompanied Charles Creed on the schooner Deborah when travelling to Waikouaiti. Mr. Wohlers was destined to accomplish a very important task in consolidating the work begun by Mr. Watkin and his native teachers at Stewart Island and Ruapuke.

Johann Friedrich Wohlers was born at Mahlenstorf, Germany, on October 1st, 1811. After schooldays were ended he engaged in farming, and one day visiting a friend, he saw the pamphlet written by Mr. Watkin entitled Pity Poor Fiji. This appeal was written in 1836 and was translated into German. As the young man read the document it proved to be the turning point in his life, and he made up his mind to enter the mission field. He was accepted as a student by the Reformed North German Mission and pursued his studies in the Mission College. He was ordained in 1842, and was designated for New Zealand, to work among the Maoris, and he, with three others, among whom was J. F. Riemenschneider (who was

destined to spend his last years as a missionary at Otakou), arrived in New Zealand in June, 1843. Wohlers was engaged in Christian work in the Upper Moutere Valley, Nelson, till April, 1844, when, with letters of introduction from the Rev. S. Ironside, he accompanied Mr. Creed on the Deborah.

When at Port Cooper, Mr. F. Tuckett advised Wohlers to settle himself as a missionary at Banks Peninsula, but as that field was already a Wesleyan sphere, he declined the suggestion. Arriving at Waikouaiti, Wohlers was warmly welcomed by Mr. Watkin and his wife, and was given hospitality at the parsonage, the Deborah being detained for several days. Messrs. Watkin and Creed discussed with Wohlers the problem of his future, and both ministers advised him to settle at Ruapuke Island, as a centre, where Watkin already had many baptised converts, several native teachers, and his chief pastor and teacher, Horomona Pohio, and thus the problem was finally settled.

Arriving at Ruapuke in May, 1844, the new missionary took his outfit ashore, which consisted, it is said, "of a portmanteau, a gun, an axe, a saw, a sack of flour and a bag of salt." The pilot of the Deborah, Edward Palmer, explained to the Maoris that the PAGE 97 missionary had come to them with the commendation of Watkin. At first several of the Maoris were reluctant to receive a person they did not know, and several of the leading Wesleyans sent a boat and representatives to Waikouaiti to place their objections before the missionary there. They were assured, however, that all was in order, and they were advised to accept the new arrangements.

Wohlers found that regular services were held on the Sunday, and that devotional and other meetings were held every morning and evening. He found much discord between the Wesleyans and the Anglicans, due to the visit of Tamihana who, in the previous year, had set up a rival church. Wohlers, therefore, wisely built a church of his own, and gradually brought about unity.

When the missionary arrived at the island he was the guest of the chief, Tuhawaiki, until better accommodation could be arranged. Another chief, Teone Patuki, came to the rescue and offered a house in which his wife had died. This building being tapu, it was taken down and rebuilt on another section. Ruapuke is an island covering an area of about eight miles by four, and was the home of 200 people. It contained six or seven hapus, and Wohlers preached at all of them in turn. He also included Stewart Island in his parish. There were discouragements, difficulties, perplexities, and at times cause for much depression, but there were also successes and tokens of spiritual victories.

For a long time there was no financial help from the Missionary Society in Germany. One source of cheer and comfort, however, was the friendship of the occupants of the Waikouaiti

Mission house. Many letters of goodwill and advice were constantly received from Mr. and Mrs. Creed. Weakened in body, due to lack of nourishing food and the European way of life, he lapsed into a state of mental depression. Mr. Creed urged him to take a holiday, and spend it with them at the Mission parsonage. In November of that year (1847) Wohlers left Ruapuke in an open boat with a Maori crew, and Mr. Creed wrote: "November 17th: This morning the Rev. Mr. Wohlers, German missionary, arrived at Waikouaiti from Ruapuke, in an open boat. He has been on that solitary station for three and a half years, and now, at my urgent request, he has come on a visit."

Due to the change of scenery, congenial surroundings, and the cheering and invigorating atmosphere of the Mission parsonage, a change for the better took place. Mr. Creed took his guest with him on his daily rounds. On December 5th he records that he preached to the natives that Sabbath morning, and in the afternoon to the English on the Flat. In the evening he accompanied Mr. Wohlers to Matanaka, where the latter preached his first sermon in the English language from "Blessed are the poor in spirit, etc." There was a class meeting afterwards.

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On December 14th, he attended a wedding festivity at Matanaka, the happy couple being James Hoad to Mary Ann Ellis, the witnesses' names in the Register being J. F. H. Wohlers and Eliza Creed.

On the 19th, Mr. Creed preached in Maori at 10 a.m., and in the afternoon heard Mr. Wohlers preach in English from "the children of this generation, etc."

The Christmas season of 1847 was a very happy one for Wohlers, and on Boxing Day, the 26th, he was so far recovered that he was able to give considerable help to Mr. Creed, who reported: "Sabbath, I read prayers. Mr. Wohlers preached this morning." At this time Mr. Creed was suffering from influenza, and Mr. Wohlers was able to assist by taking further services.

"January 19th: This morning Mr. Wohlers left for Ruapuke per Frobe, his health has greatly improved during his sojourn with us. May the God of Mercy preserve his life. We have been greatly delighted with his company He is a truly good man, exceedingly amiable, and of a very loving and sweet spirit."



For two months Wohlers had sojourned with the Creed family, and when the time came for departure he reluctantly left for his lonely abode in the Foveaux Strait. Towards the end of the following year depression and weakness of body again almost overcame him. At the same time another missionary arrived from Germany, without financial support, which increased his difficulties. He also received a letter from his Missionary Society urging him to proceed to Nelson to ordain a missionary there. Again he left Ruapuke in an open boat and landed at Port Chalmers. From Port Chalmers he trudged on foot to Waikouaiti to visit the Creeds. He was 38 years of age, unmarried and lonely, his clothes patched as only a bachelor can patch them. Mrs. Creed's discerning mind took in the situation at once. She wrote a letter of introduction to a young widow in Wellington, Elsie Palmer, a lady who had experience in dealing with Maori people, and who knew their language.

Having performed his duties at Nelson, Wohlers went to Wellington and became the guest of Rev. James and Mrs. Watkin. Mrs. Creed's letter of introduction to Elsie Palmer was in Wohlers's pocket. He sought the advice of his host, with the result that the letter was delivered without loss of time. After a few days of betrothal, under the guidance of Mr. and Mrs. Watkin, the happy couple were married by their host. Their honeymoon was spent with the Creeds at Waikouaiti. On December 1st, 1848, Mr. and Mrs. Wohlers landed at their own home at Ruapuke, where under the gracious influence of the missionary's wife, a transformation took place in their immediate surroundings.

In 1850 they had the misfortune to lose their home by fire. Regarding this calamity, Mr. Creed reported to the Mission Board: "I am sorry to inform you that the residence of Mr. Wohlers, NorthPAGE BREAK

Miss A. Karetai, grand-daughter of the chief Karetai, at the opening of the Maori Centennial Church at Otakou.

Miss A. Karetai, grand-daughter of the chief Karetai, at the opening of the Maori Centennial Church at Otakou.

Right: The tower of the Church, which contains the bell of Tuhawaiki's schooner.

Right: The tower of the Church, which contains the bell of Tuhawaiki's schooner.

Karitane Bay, showing to the right part of the peninsula where the siege of Huriawa took place. In the distance is the peninsula of Matakana, where John Jones lived.

Karitane Bay, showing to the right part of the peninsula where the siege of Huriawa took place. In the distance is the peninsula of Matakana, where John Jones lived.

PAGE BREAK

The Whare Runanga at Otakou. Drawing by Ian Dunn.

The Whare Runanga at Otakou.

Drawing by Ian Dunn.

Pukekura pa at Otakou.

Pukekura pa at Otakou.

PAGE 99 German missionary at Ruapuke Island, near Stewart Island, has been completely destroyed by fire, and all their personal, as well as Mission, property lost. They have to suffer many privations, being so far from any settlement, added to which is the length of time that must lapse before they can obtain fresh supplies from Germany....”

The missionary and his brave wife faced the difficult situation with heroic courage, and made the best of the distressing circumstances.

A magical change came over the condition of the people and real family life became established on the island. Pakeha sailors married Maori women, who, having Christian instruction, had a refining influence over their husbands. Mrs. Wohlers was the means of creating a social and economical revolution in the island, such as only a woman filled with energy and strength of will could accomplish. In the Mission house she usually had ten or twelve girls to whom she gave two hours of instruction daily. The rest of the time the girls helped partly in the house, partly in the garden and field. Cows were kept, and the young Maori girls were taught to milk and make butter.

Mr. Wohlers conducted worship, taught school, acted as registrar of births, deaths and marriages, and carried on pastoral visitation. Towards the end of his life he was able to repeat, “There are no heathen proper now in the whole of my district. The entire native population may be looked upon as a Christian community.”

He continued his beneficent work until his death at Ringaringa, Stewart Island, on May 7th, 1885, at the age of 73 years. Mrs. Wohlers died on December 14th, 1878. Mr. Traill, their son-in-law, died on December 3rd, 1936, and Mrs. Traill, their daughter, died on July 11th, 1935. They are all buried in the private cemetery, Ringaringa, Stewart Island.

Like his predecessor, James Watkin, Mr. Creed does not give the date of his first visit to Otakou, but wrote to the Mission Board, London, as follows: "In my former visit to Otakou I engaged to visit them again as soon as circumstances would admit, accordingly I sent a message that I would be there, all being well, September 12th. Perhaps an extract from my Journal will best elucidate my visit.

"September 12th, 1844: Morning boisterous, but being under an engagement to visit the natives at Otakou and a large boat returning thither, we started about 10 a.m. There was a considerable swell on (being open sea), the wind favourable, and our boat stiff under sail, we rode safely over the raging billows until we reached the entrance of Otakou, when a heavy roll knocked the boat dreadfully, we lost the rudder, but having a steer-oar in readiness we soon got all right again, and in a few minutes arrived at the village, where we were gladly received by the natives. I felt humbly thankful to the God PAGE 100 of the missionaries who so graciously delivered His servants in the trying hour. In the evening I preached to the people, about 50 strangers, besides the natives resident at Otakou, were present; seven boats having arrived. Had a long conversation with them after service.

"September 13th: Preached to a pretty good congregation at sunrise. In the afternoon called upon Mr. Tuckett, the N.Z. Company's agent for the settlement of New Edinburgh. On our return we received the painful intelligence of the death of six native men, who were drowned by the upsetting of a boat. They left for Waikouaiti about ten minutes after our departure; their course lay a little more to the west, being bound for Purakanui, a village ten miles from this place. It is probable that their boat upset about the same time as we lost our rudder, and six out of the eight were snatched away....

"September 14th: Early this morning I preached from the subject of the barren fig tree. The congregation very attentive. In the afternoon I examined the candidates for baptism; we afterwards prepared a temporary place with boat sails for the services of the Sabbath." (Mr. Creed remarks that the Maori church was too small to accommodate the congregation.) "In the evening I preached from Galatians 6:7-8. The Word seemed to take hold of the people.

"September 15th: Sabbath. Prayer meeting this morning. About 80 present. At 10 o'clock the bell was rung for service; from one to two hundred were present, to whom I preached from Matthew xi, 28, 29. After service 20 adults and two children were solemnly baptised in the name of the adorable Trinity. One of them was a young chief from Ruapuke of considerable influence. Most of the chiefs of the neighbourhood were present as a mark of respect to those who were baptised." (The young chief from Ruapuke who was baptised was Topi Patuki.) "At 2 p.m. I married three couples, after which I preached again to the people. I left them for New Edinburgh, I walked four miles, crossed over in a boat, and preached to a few Europeans. Spent the evening with Mr. Tuckett,

“September 16th: I returned to the village (Otakou) at 5 p.m., preached to the natives. In the evening I renewed the tickets (of membership) to the classes. The young men who act as leaders conduct themselves with great propriety and are very intelligent.

“September 17th: At sunrise I preached to good congregations and at about 11 o'clock started for Purakanui, at which place I arrived in a few hours. None of the bodies have yet been found; PAGE 101the boat's oars, sail, etc., drifted on shore. The two surviving natives have returned to Waikouaiti. At 5 p.m. I preached to the natives.... In the evening met the classes. The members here do not seem so much in earnest as those at Otakou.

“September 18th: This morning preached to the people. Afterwards heard them repeat part of the Second Catechism. At 10 o'clock I left for Waikouaiti.”

The next visit to Otakou was on November 6th: “About 2 p.m. I left home in a whale boat; was very sick and ill on board. We arrived in safety after two hours' gentle sailing. In the evening I preached to the people.

“November 7th: At 6 a.m. preached from St. Mark 4. The parable of the sower. Went to visit the people at the upper village, Omate” (where the Centennial Memorial Church stands today). “Had a long interview with a sick native; there is no hope of his recovery. I earnestly exhorted him to lay hold of Christ as the only help left for him. Called upon some of the Europeans, made arrangements for holding a service with them on Sunday next. About 5 p.m. preached to the natives from St. Luke 18. Returned to the other village (Ruaititiko) and had school in the evening.

“November 8th: This morning preached to the people from I Tim. 1; felt considerable liberty in setting before them the true religion of Christ and the necessity of giving up all their sins. About noon a messenger came to me with the intelligence of the death of a sick man whom I had visited yesterday. In the afternoon I preached from I Thess. 5. My mind much distressed. I earnestly pressed upon them to turn to God. The people dying so fast affects my mind.... In the evening met three young men candidates for baptism; afterwards had a meeting with the teachers and leaders. Expounding the Scriptures occupied part of the evening.

“November 9th: Sabbath. Prayer meeting at 6 a.m. Preached from Acts 3:19; afterwards baptised four adults and eight children. In the afternoon preached to more than twenty Europeans and I endeavoured to set before them the necessity of true repentance and conversion to God. They were very attentive. Hope the good seed of eternal life may be sown in their hearts. Immediately after service I went to the upper village (Omate) to inter the

deceased native. Many of the Europeans were present, and nearly the whole of the native population of Otakou. The natives proceeded from the grave to the chapel, where I preached from I Cor. 15:55–57. The subject made an unusual impression on their minds.... In the evening met two of the preachers, John and Charles Wesley (Hoani Weteri Korako and Tare Weteri Te Kahu), two hopeful young men.

“November 10th: This morning met the classes. The 7th chapter of Romans is very descriptive of the state of several of the members. May they speedily experience the deliverance offered to PAGE 102them in the Gospel. I had a long conversation with some of the people on Scripture history, a subject with which they are much delighted. Went to the upper village (Omate), married a couple, and baptised the native wife of an European (Meri Ana Taraphake). Crossed over the port to Tawhiroko, held service with a few natives, went thence to Koputai (Port Chalmers).”

Following the above-mentioned events, Mr. Creed reported to the London Mission Board regarding the death of a Maori woman at Ruapuke, in which the Otakou people were concerned. The report throws light upon the doings of those days:

“Since the date of my last, we have had to pass through a great deal of excitement, partly in consequence of the death of a native woman at Ruapuke supposed to have been murdered by a European residing near the spot where the body was found and at whose house she had lived for a long period. She suddenly disappeared from the neighbourhood and nothing could be heard of her for about a week, when she was discovered lying among the rocks on the beach, apparently having been put into the sea some short time before, as the body was not at all swollen or otherwise affected as in the case with persons drowned, or lying long in water. Several boats coming from that neighbourhood had arrived at Otakou, also a boat borrowed by some natives from the European suspected as the murderer, had caused a great stir. Some of the chiefs from this place, being at Otakou at the same time, returned home to this place (Waikouaiti) and immediately sent off a boat secretly by night to assemble all the natives of this district. The messenger arrived at Moeraki by night; some of the people suspected all was not right, their counsel was to stay at home; however, a few came; all the boats from south of Otakou, seven in number, being arrived here, the general meeting took place. Great was their speechifying; some were for taking the European's boat as payment (utu) for the murdered woman.... I endeavoured to persuade them to submit the case to the law. They immediately referred the murder to Cloudy Bay.... A few of them were turbulent and ready for anything, regardless of life or death.”

Mr. Creed was a peacemaker, and on this occasion, as on many others, by his tact and wisdom he was able to prevent serious complications, and even disaster.

Mr. Creed's journeys to Otakou were often made by the Maori tracks via Waipute (Waitati).

“About noon I left home on a visit to the Otakou district, reached Waipute about 4 p.m., but found the tide so high that I could not proceed. Stayed with Mr. S. (sheep station); had service in the evening with two shepherds, Scotchmen, who I hope are not altogether careless about their eternal interests. Next day about 10 a.m. tide being favourable I proceeded on to Purakanui, preached PAGE 103 to the people and had much conversation with them—went to Wareakiake (Murdering Beach), met with an old European in a very weak state; had service with him and a few others, natives, and then hastened on to Otakou, the beach way. As we got to the Heads, found the wind blowing very strong indeed, and it being dark we could not get across to the native village; found a little hut on the sand banks, where we lighted a fire and rested for the night. Early next morning we signalled for a boat, which came shortly after, in which we crossed to the village. I preached immediately to the people I found there. In the course of the day I visited the sick and many others. In the evening I preached again at the same village. Afterwards met a few candidates for baptism. Next day, morning preached, afterwards baptised six women and one child. One of the women was far advanced in age, being, I suppose, 70 years of age, or more; she had a great grandson now living. I trust the poor old woman will find her way to eternal life.”

In 1848, just before the arrival of the Scottish settlers on the John Wickliffe, Mr. Creed was at Otakou performing his usual duties in visitation and teaching. On the Sunday he went to the upper village (Ornate), where he preached to the Maoris in the morning. In the afternoon he conducted a service for the Europeans, and he remarked: “The Lord enabled me to warn and exhort them faithfully.”

Mrs. Monson in her “Notes” states that “a Sunday School was held at the Otakou Kaika under the supervision of Mr. Creed.” Hoani Weteri Korako was the native teacher. She continues her reminiscences regarding Mr. Creed and the Sunday school: “I always thought of Mr. Creed as a man of God. The first time I saw him I was a child. He laid his hand upon my head and blessed me. I well remember when I repeated to him my Scripture lesson, St. Matthew, chapter 2, and received the second prize. Mrs. Creed did splendid work among the Maori women and girls, teaching them to read and write, to sew and to cook.”

In 1846 the Sunday school was conducted by Mr. and Mrs. C. Windsor and continued under them till 1849, when they removed from the district, and the work passed into other hands.

Mr. Creed's first recorded visit to Moeraki is described in his report to the Missionary Secretaries, London, and bears the date November 28th, 1844:

“My trip to Moeraki, 20 miles north of Waikouaiti, was satisfactory. I found the natives attending regularly their Karakia (worship) and their attendance also to the schools is very encouraging. Many of them can read the New Testament with fluency. They are also making progress in the second part of the Catechism. Much credit is due to Joel (Hoepa), one of Mr. Ironside's natives from Cloudy Bay, who acts as their principal teacher, Matthias (Matiaha Tiromorehu) and David (Rawiri Te Mairi), whom Mr. Watkin PAGE 104baptised ... zealously co-operate with Joel in teaching and instructing the people.”

His visit on his return from Canterbury has already been described and need not be repeated. Unfortunately there are serious gaps in the Journal which even his reports to London do not supply. His journeys were performed on foot, along native tracks which involved much fatigue. Services were held at sunrise, during the day and in the evenings as opportunity offered. The following entry is an example of this: “Sabbath. Prayer meeting this morning” (presumably at sunrise). “At 10 a.m. I preached in the open air to nearly all the inhabitants of the settlement. They paid great attention. At 6 p.m. preaching to the natives from ‘Where your treasure is, etc.’”

A further entry: “Both at the morning as well as at this evening's service they paid most earnest attention, especially the old people. In the evening I examined two elderly men for baptism. Their attendance at the schools and services has been most exemplary for a long time. Next day preached from I Peter 4:7. I also baptised the two elderly men, one of whom I suppose must be between 70 and 8(1 years of age. I baptised his great grandson twelve months ago, he received the name of John Waterhouse, after our venerable Father Waterhouse.”

On another occasion: “Preaching this morning at 6 o'clock from Romans 6:16. Visited a sick woman in the course of the day—had much conversation with some of the people. At 6 p.m. preaching in the open air, many attended, my subject was ‘Resist the Devil, etc.’ I trust the Lord enabled me to be faithful. In the evening I conducted school. Next day, morning, my subject was ‘Every plant which my Heavenly Father, etc.’ Matt. 15:13. Today I had a long conversation with one of our principal men, who is very intelligent—especially in Maori information.”

This man explained to Mr. Creed some of the cannibalistic practices of the people before they came under the influence of the Mission. “And now,” Mr. Creed reported, “some of these people are embracing the gospel of peace and love. How wonderful are the triumphs of the Cross of Christ! At 6 p.m. I preached again. In the evening met the classes. I trust some of the members enjoy true religion.”

In 1848 the new native church was built, and on February 15th Mr. Creed reported:

“This morning I set off for Moeraki, having received a letter from that place I thought it my duty to go; but as the weather became foggy I waited some time at Matanaka—it became clearer as I proceeded on the journey, got there at 5 p.m. In the evening I preached to the people. The new chapel which they have recently built is strong and neat—native built. The door, windows, table, PAGE 105reading desk, etc., the Society (Church) furnished.

“February 16th: Sabbath. Prayer meeting this morning. At 10 a.m. I preached from ‘I am the Bread of Life’. In the afternoon I attended the school. During the catechical instructions I was much pleased with the blind orphan boy, who answered many of the questions with such readiness and propriety as at once evinced much insight into the doctrines of the everlasting Gospel. At 5 p.m. preaching again from ‘To us there is but one God, etc.’ In the evening I met the classes and examined the candidates for baptism.

“February 17th: Early this morning I preached from ‘All power is given unto Me, etc.’ Afterwards baptised four adults.... I then rode eight miles and preached to a fishing party. I reached home (Waikouaiti) in the afternoon, thankful to God for all His mercies.”

Unfortunately several pages of Creed's Journal have been lost, and the next entry regarding Moeraki is dated July 6th, 1851:

“On Sunday, after preaching to the native congregation (at Waikouaiti), I proceeded to Goodwood, Pleasant River, where I preached to the European congregation.

“Yesterday Messrs. Suisted and Scott accompanied me to Moeraki. I arrived at the place a little before sunset after a pleasant journey. The natives were delighted to see me. After service I weighed a quantity of wheat and potatoes for them which they had sold to Europeans. The natives are rapidly rising in the scale of civilisation.

“July 12th: Since my arrival I have been preaching morning and evening on a succession of subjects in sacred history, commencing with the Flood. I do not ever remember to have witnessed such continued and earnest attention amongst any natives since I first landed in New Zealand. An old priest (tohunga) is particularly interested and compared the sacred history with their traditions, remarking on the traditional events which seem analogous to those recorded in the Sacred Volume. Late in the evening two boats arrived from Waikouaiti bringing the intelligence that my family was passing through scenes of excitement and trouble, and that of a twofold nature. On Sunday last a stranger, a foreigner, who had been



staying a few days at Waikouaiti with a native, shot himself. Added to this, Mr. F., who had brought my travelling horse with the things I required for my journey as far as Goodwood, was returning home in the evening on a valuable little mare of Mrs. Creed's. When he was passing down a valley near Mr. —— (no name) establishment, the mare fell into a pit 14 or 15 feet deep. Mr. F. jumped from the saddle as the mare was descending the pit and thus miraculously escaped with his life. Proper help was refused by Mr. ——, consequently the poor creature had to remain in the pit and although got out next day, she died on Thursday morning. This fearful pit was not known to myself or to Mr. F., so that PAGE 106 in passing that way I might have ridden into it... I feel the cruelty towards the poor beast as much as the loss to ourselves. Had proper help been afforded the mare would have been saved." Mr. Creed remarks that other animals had met the same fate.

Mr. Creed's journeys to Moeraki and to other places on horseback were not without incident and inconvenience. He was an expert horseman, and he and his steed were familiar figures in those days. His horse Pompey would be regarded by the elder Maoris as a species of taipo (devil or goblin). He had the reputation of being something of an outlaw. When most needed he had the habit of disappearing and hiding in the scrub and flax bushes. Mr. Thomas Ferens, Creed's assistant, recorded his firm conviction that the rebellious spirit of Pompey emanated from taipo. Sometimes he refused to face the rain and snow, and at other times he would get away on his own account, and leave his master to go on foot as best he could.

Mr. Creed visited Moeraki as frequently as his engagements would permit.

On December 5th, 1851, he baptised Mary, the daughter of the chief, Matiaha Tiramorehu, and of Priscilla his wife.

On October 22nd, 1852, he baptised five persons, among them Hohepa Temaiaki, said to be an "old man", also Pita, son of Pita Tipa and Erihapeti his wife. The last baptismal entry is that of Hapuroana Mama, adult New Zealander. The last marriages performed by Mr. Creed took place on February 20th, 1854, as follows: Paroa Tu to Ritia Keripako, and also Tatena Touitu to Maraea Tuetekura.

1 Dunedin. William Chambers suggested the alteration of "New Edinburgh" to "Dunedin" in a letter that appeared in the New Zealand Journal of some date in November, 1843. Chambers's letter was dated October 30th.

# CHAPTER NINE THE NEW EDINBURGH SCHEME

The “new edinburgh” scheme originated with Mr. George Rennie, a Scot who represented Ipswich, England, in the British Parliament. Mr. Rennie subsequently secured the interest in his plan of Captain William Cargill, a veteran of the Peninsula War, and, since his retirement from the Army, a banker. These two were later joined by the Rev. Thos. Burns, a minister of the Free Church of Scotland since “the Disruption”, who proved a tower of strength to the movement. Eventually, owing to disagreement with his colleagues who planned to make the “New Edinburgh” settlement a close preserve for Free Church adherents only, Rennie withdrew from the scene. After some delay an association formed by lay members of the Free Church was brought into being, and this body approached the New Zealand Company and secured from it its aid towards the purchase of suitable South Island land for the project.

Definite negotiations were commenced, and Captain FitzRoy, Governor of New Zealand, acting under the authority of the Colonial Office, arranged to secure a site for the proposed Scottish settlement, and granted to the New Zealand Company's agent, Colonel Wakefield,<sup>1</sup> power to purchase land from the Maoris at a suitable locality. In all these transactions the interests of the Government were placed in the hands of Mr. J. J. Symonds, assistant police magistrate at Wellington, whilst Mr. Frederick Tuckett was appointed principal surveyor.

Tuckett was charged with the duty of selecting a site for the new settlement and the chief town. He chartered the brigantine Deborah of 121 tons (Captain Wing) and sailed from Nelson on March 31st, 1844. Tuckett had with him two assistant surveyors, Messrs. Barnicoat and Davison, and five men as boatmen. The other passengers were the Rev. Charles Creed, who was on his way to Waikouaiti, and the Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers, who was in search of a suitable locality for a Mission Station. There were also Dr. David Monro and Messrs. Wilkinson and Wither, who joined the party for the love of travel, and Mr. J. J. Symonds, who joined the ship at Wellington. On their way down the coast Port Cooper (Lyttelton) was visited, and then Moeraki, from which place Tuckett walked to

<sup>1</sup> Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand, Dr. Hocken.

PAGE 108 Waikouaiti. The Deborah proceeded to the Otakou Harbour. Tuckett,<sup>1</sup> with the aid of Maori guides, walked over the mountains to Koputai (which took him two days), where he saw the Deborah anchored in the bay which now bears the name of the ship. The survey of the harbour was at once proceeded with. Tuckett then, by boat, visited the head of the river, as the whalers called it, where Dunedin now stands. Of this trip Mr. Wohlers wrote: “We went in a boat through a passage by Port Chalmers up to the inlet, to where Dunedin now is.... We landed on a low, flat place; somewhere to our right (our faces landward) I believe there was a creek. We went to the left upon higher ground.... Mr. Tuckett walked farther over the hills to have a good look over the country and he was much pleased when he came back

with the beautiful valleys he had seen. He also thought that the place would suit the site of the chief town. However, he would not fix his choice until he had seen the country as far south as Foveaux Strait.”

Such was Otepoti, New Edinburgh, the Dunedin of the future. The Maori people were friendly and agreed to the survey of the harbour. Following this, Mr. Tuckett travelled overland to the Molyneux, and the Deborah was to meet him there. He was accompanied by Dr Monro and several Maoris as guides and carriers. They proceeded through the Taieri district and on to the Mataau River (Molyneux). The rest of the journey southward was performed on foot, by a ship's boat and by the Deborah. The Bluff was visited, also Aparima or Jacob's River (now Riverton). Stewart Island was visited, three days being spent there. On June 1st the Deborah began her return journey and called at the Molyneux again. In order to explore thoroughly the country, Tuckett and his party left the vessel and the coast and travelled inland to the Otago Harbour where, on the 11th of June, they met the Deborah; and the expedition was at an end. Otepoti, at the head of the Otago Harbour, proved Tuckett's choice of site for the chief town of the settlement.

The following account of the proceedings accompanying the sale of the land is contained in Notes on Early Life in New Zealand by George Clarke:

“In June, 1844, I received instructions to go to Otago and to

1 Frederick Tuckett was appointed by the New Zealand Government to select a site for the New Edinburgh settlement. Born in 1807; studied engineering under Brunel. Came to New Zealand and was present at the Wairau Massacre and narrowly escaped. There would have been no massacre if his advice had been followed. He was the pioneer of the Nelson system of Bible in Schools. After going back to England he sent the German missionary, Wohlers, aid for his Mission work at Ruapuke. He also sent him books and material useful for building. He “fell out” with Symonds, the Government representative, on points of detail when they bought the Otago block. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and took an interest in the temperance cause. He died in 1876.

PAGE 109 assist in the purchase of land for the Scottish settlement. Colonel Wakefield was to act for the Company, I for the natives, supervise and endorse the whole transaction on the part of the Government. When we got to Otago we anchored a mile or two inside the heads, off a native village on the eastern side of the harbour. We pulled up in a boat to what is now Port Chalmers. It was then a little forest of Kahikatea (white pine) trees; we pitched our tents on the edge of it. The wood swarmed with pigeons, and I shot as many as we could eat from the tent doors, etc.”

According to Dr. Hocken,<sup>1</sup> by this time “about 150 natives had arrived at Koputai to discuss the terms of the sale. Eighteen or twenty canoes or boats were drawn up on the beach. The Deborah was anchored a short distance from the landing place. The Maoris assembled at sunrise, as it was their custom, for morning and evening prayers, being members of the

Mission. The discussion (korero) regarding the terms of the sale of their tribal lands continued at intervals during each day.” The first hitch in the business was the question of Native Reserves. Dealing with this aspect of the proceedings Mr. George Clarke reported: “The Maoris knew too much about the Company's purchases in the North and did not believe in making over the whole block and then leaving it to us to say what proportion should be assigned to them, nor would they hear of parting with their village cultivations and burial grounds. I had a hard fight with Tuckett and Wakefield to make the reserves and put them into the deed. These proposed reserves lay almost wholly in the Peninsula on the eastern side of the Bay, while, naturally enough, Col. Wakefield was as anxious to buy the Peninsula as the Maoris were to retain it.... There were, at this time, some two or three hundred men on the ground, most of them from different parts of the coast. The principal chiefs were Tuhawaiki and Tairaoa.... There were some twenty heads of septs a little lower in rank. One day we crossed over with them to look at the ground which they wished to retain, and, walking to the top of the hill (Ohinetu), Tuhawaiki asked Colonel Wakefield and myself to sit down, stretching out his arm and pointing with his finger:

“‘Look here, Karaka,’ he said. ‘Here and there and there and yonder; those are all burial places, not ancestral burial places but those of this generation. Our parents, aunts, brothers, uncles, sisters, children, they lie thick around us. We are but a poor remnant now, and the pakeha will soon see us die out, but even in my time we were a large and powerful tribe, stretching from Cook Strait to Akaroa, and Ngatimamoe to the south of us were slaves. The wave which brought Te Rauparaha and his allies to the Strait, washed him over to the Southern Island. He went through us fighting, burning and slaying. At Kaikoura, at Kaiapohia and at other of our strongholds,

1 Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand, Dr. Hocken.

PAGE 110hundreds and hundreds of our people fell, hundreds more were carried off as slaves, and hundreds died of cold and starvation in their flight. We are now dotted in families, few and far between, where we formerly lived as tribes. Our children are few and we cannot rear them. But we had a worse enemy than even Rauparaha, and that was the visit of the pakeha with his drink and his disease. You think us very corrupted; but the scum of Port Jackson shipped as whalers or landed as sealers on this coast. They brought us new plagues, unknown to our fathers, till our people melted away. This was one of our largest settlements, and it was beyond even the reach of Te Rauparaha. We lived secure, and feared no enemy; but one year, when I was a youth, a ship came from Sydney, and she brought the measles among us. It was winter, as it is now. In a few months most of the inhabitants sickened and died. Whole families on this spot disappeared and left no one to represent them. My people lie all around us, and you can tell Wide-awake (Wakefield) why we cannot part with this portion of our land, and why we were angry with Tuckett for cutting his lines about here.”

This historic speech, pathetic and appealing, was a masterpiece of Maori oratory.

“The next question we had to settle was the exact boundary of the block of land that the natives were willing to sell. Except the Maori occupants of the Eastern Peninsula, and one or two small stations on the coast, there were no inhabitants in the whole district. The nearest white settlement was a decayed whaling station about 30 or 40 miles away. What is now the City of Dunedin and its surrounding farmsteads was only a run for wild pigs. On the eastern side of the block there was, of course, the ocean; on the western there were the distant ridges and peaks pointed out to us and named, and beyond which it was practically no-man's land. On the north the line was well known and sharply defined, but the southern was vague, and might easily be the occasion of dispute hereafter. I refused to take this line on the mere description of the tribe or the word of the surveyor, and, to the disgust of all but my friend Mr. Symonds, insisted on seeing it with my own eyes and having it carefully pointed out by a selection of the Maoris formerly deputed to do so. It was mid-winter and very cold, and the prospect of more than a fortnight's tramp through the snow, carrying all our provisions with us, was not at all inviting. However, we agreed at last to make up a party comprising Symonds, Wakefield and myself, with a number of delegated Maoris, and started to make' the southern limit. We pulled from Port Chalmers to what was then a bare and silent waste, but which is now Dunedin. Then we pushed on, striking first across the country, and coming down to the coast. The ground was undulating, covered with snow.... Some miles before us we could see a small island of forest.... We PAGE 11 reached the island of forest late in the afternoon, and pitched our tents on its edge. The forest was infested with wild pigs that made it unsafe to wander alone, and the trees were alive with wood-pigeons.... Next day we emerged on the beach.... At length we reached the mouth of the Taieri River, where we found the remains of an old whaling station and a couple of houses, in one of which was a Maori woman and a half-caste child. Her husband was away, but we got from her a supply of potatoes, and the loan of a large boat, in which we pulled to the head of the Taieri lake.... So we went on till we reached the boundary, I then returned by the same track.”

A further discussion took place at Koputai. The three principal chiefs, Karetai, Taiaroa and Tuhawaiki, signed a memorandum by which they agreed to sell the whole of the area of Otago to the Molyneux, leaving out specified reserves for themselves. The sale price agreed on was £2,400 (or 1 1/2. per acre). The agreement for the 400,000 acres was signed on the 20th June, payment to be made a month from that date.

The negotiators then dispersed, and the Maoris left to visit their friends in the nearby kaikas.

In five weeks from the above date, on the 25th July, the party returned to Koputai, and the Maoris gathered in numbers for a further korero. Commissioner Spain was now present, being appointed to enquire into the claims. Mr. George Clarke prepared the Deed of Purchase. The particulars of transaction were explained to the Maoris assembled. They agreed to the terms, and on the 31st July the deed was signed and the payment made. Of the amount, Tuhawaiki received £900, together with £300 to be divided among the people of the Taieri and Molyneux districts. Karetai and Taiaroa received £300 each and £600 was divided among the other Otago. natives. The deed was signed by twenty-five chiefs, and the witnesses were John Jermyn Symonds, P.M., Frederick Tuckett, George Clarke, Jun.,

Protector of Aborigines, and David Scott. When the payment was completed, possession of the area was given by the chiefs by removing the “tapu” according to Maori custom, and the bones of the chief, Kohi, who had been interred in the locality, were taken away. His whare was destroyed and the place was made “noa”; the Union Jack was hoisted, and the Korero was at an end, and the Maori people gradually departed to their various kaikas.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Koputai” is associated with the earliest history of the Otakou Harbour. The name means the “bulging out” tide. Traces of the Maori occupation have been discovered in the form of stone chisels, adzes and various native tools. It probably dates back to the Waitaha period. In early years it was known as a landing place for the Otakou Maoris. The last known hapu there was that of Kohi in the early forties. It appears that several chiefs, Tairaroa, Karetai and others, among them Kohi, bought a boat which they owned in common. Kohi was ill and thought that he was going to die and he feared that his son Timoko would not receive his rightful share in the boat. He therefore had the boat burned. The other shareholders when they heard what had taken place were angry. The sick man persuaded the others to allow himself to be strangled in punishment. They buried him in the Koputai Bay. The story is written in full in Dr. Shortland's Journal.

Seeing that Watkin visited every kaika and hapu in the harbour, it is possible that he included Koputai in his pastoral itinerary. He reported a service at the Tawhiroko hapu, near Taylor's Point, which is within the Koputai area.

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The land transaction between the Maori people and the New Zealand Company presents a problem at once complex and perplexing. To the Maori people of modern days it is the cause of much disappointment and heart-burning. There seems to have been muddle and misunderstanding from the beginning. It was the policy of the New Zealand Company, as at Wellington, to reserve “one-tenth” of the land bought for the sole use of the Maori people.

Mr. J. J. Symonds, Magistrate, who represented the Government in this transaction, explicitly and definitely declared the right of the natives to the reserves.

The Maori people regarded the price (a little less than one and a half penny per acre) as a minor part of the transaction, the real price being the “tenths”.

The following is a copy of the Deed of Purchase:

“Know all men by this Document, We, the chiefs and men of the Ngai-tahu Tribe in New Zealand, whose names are undersigned, consent on this Thirty-first day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1844, to give up, sell and abandon altogether to William Wakefield, principal agent to the New Zealand Company of London, on behalf of the said Company, all our claims and title to the lands comprised within the under-mentioned boundaries; the names of the said lands are Otakou, Kaikarae, Taieri, Mataau and Te Karoro; these are the boundaries, the Northern boundary line commences at Purehurehu, runs along the sea shore, crossing the entrance of Otakou Harbour to Otupa, thence along the coast to Poatiri; the Eastern boundary is the Ocean from Poatiri to Tokata; thence the Southern boundary runs along the summit of the Kaihiku Range, and crosses the Mataau River, thence along the summit of Wakari to Mihiwaka and Otuwararoa, then descends to Purehurehu on the coast. We also give up all the Islands, Kamautaurua, Rakiriri, Okaiha, Moturata, Paparua, Matoketoke, Hakinikinu and Atonui; excepting the following places which we have reserved for ourselves and our children, that is to say, a certain portion of land on the Eastern side of Otakou, called Ornate, the boundary line commences at Moepuku, crosses over to Poatiri, and thence along the coast to Waikakaneke then crosses to Pukekura, and runs along the side of the Harbour PAGE 113 to Moepuku. Also a certain portion of land at Pukekura, the boundaries of which are marked by posts, containing one acre more or less; also, a portion of land at Taieri, the boundary of which commences at Onumia, and runs across in a straight line to Maitapaka, the Taieri River forms the other boundary; also a portion of land at Karoro, bounded on the south by the Karoro River, on the East of the ocean; the Northern boundary includes the Kainga of that place, and extends inland about one mile; which said Reserved Places we agree neither to sell or let to any party whatsoever, without the sanction of His Excellency the Governor of New Zealand.

“We have received as payment for the above first mentioned lands the sum of two thousand four hundred pounds in money on this day.”

This was signed by twenty-five chiefs, including Tuhawaiki, Karetai (paramount chief of Otakou), Taiaroa, Korako, and others.

It will be noted that the “tenths” are not mentioned in the Deed, and the Maori people claim that this is due to the understanding between the Company for a subsequent and honourable settling up of their “tenths” when the survey had taken place. They claim that they trusted “the powers that be” honourably to fulfil an unwritten agreement.

Mr. J. J. Symonds in September, 1844, stated that he did not mention in the Deed the reservation of the “tenth” part of the land, because he thought that it was “beyond the comprehension of the natives to understand”, and that he left the allocation of the “tenths” to the Governor. He also states that the New Zealand Company intended to make such reserves

after the land had been surveyed, but before this intention could be carried out or fulfilled the Company ceased to function.

It may be conceded that the Maoris were anxious to sell their lands in return for the benefits they would receive as the result of European occupation. It must also be conceded, and could not be expected, that the Maori people at that time had a true understanding or grip of money values. Mr. George Clarke, Protector of Aborigines, years afterwards said that “so far as he knew, that from the date of the sale to this he had not heard a single Maori putting in a claim to be compensated for rights that had not been fully extinguished.”

In reply to this, it must be remembered that when Mr. Clarke witnessed the signing of the Deed he was about twenty-one years of age, and that when he wrote the above, which was about sixty years later, when he was eighty years of age, his memory would be obscured.

Mr. Clarke was apparently mistaken in his statement, for the Rev. Charles Creed in his report to London on September 11th, 1844, wrote: “The land question, also, which has caused so much PAGE 114excitement in the North Island, has during the last few months greatly agitated the natives of this district. Their conflicting claims often produce unfriendly feelings ... who, before, were living in peace with one another. We hope the subject will be amicably settled.”

It is quite clear that, whilst the Deed of Purchase was signed in July, 1844, the friction and trouble began among themselves as early as September of the same year.

The Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers wrote in 1862: “The Government had bought most of the country from the natives for a ridiculous price, and had guaranteed them to build schools and churches but had not kept its promise.”

The following is a summary of the position in favour of the “tenths”:

July 31st, 1844: Deed of Conveyance, Otakou Block (tenths not mentioned), but natives relied on proclamation of March 26th, 1844. June 12th, 1844: Superintendent, Southern Division, to His Excellency the Governor, demands the tenths. August 31st: Reserves cannot be made till survey completed. Commissioner A. Mackay, 1.8, page 74, reports: On July 5th, 1850, the New Zealand Company surrendered their Charter to the Crown and the whole of the lands in their possession, subject to existing contracts—became demesne lands of the



Crown. No doubt can exist that the New Zealand Company fully admitted the rights of the natives to have a tenth of the land set apart for them in the Otago block in the same manner as was carried out in northern settlements, and the reservation and selection of these lands were left to the Colonial Government; but for some unexplained cause, Governor FitzRoy omitted to give the necessary directions to have the lands selected, notwithstanding the desirability of doing so was brought to his notice more than once by the Superintendent of New Munster.

In 1887, Mr. A. Mackay was again appointed a Commissioner and reported in favour of the “tenths”.

In 1896, Crown Suits Act, 1881—Extension Bill—Legislative Council reported principle of “tenths” does apply to Otago Block.

Such is the outline of the case in favour of the “tenths”—a most difficult and perplexing problem. The Maori people claim that they implicitly trusted the authorities to honour an unwritten agreement, and they had from time to time made application for a just settlement.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Charles Hunter-Brown was much interested in land claims and the general welfare of the Maori people of Otago and Southland. In the early sixties he was engaged by the Government under Sir George Grey to investigate native affairs in the Urewera country. Then for two years he held the appointment of Maori magistrate in Hawke's Bay. Later he was gazetted as Commissioner for Native Affairs for Canterbury, Otago and Southland (1865). He toured Banks Peninsula with the Rev. J. W. Stack, adjusting Maori claims. Thence to Moeraki, Waikouaiti, Port Chalmers, Otakou Heads, Bluff, Ruapuke, Riverton and Colac Bay. He reported to Wellington, but was so disheartened because of the attitude of the authorities that he resigned his commission.

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There are many writers who reason that it would have been no injustice to the Maori people if the Government had appropriated, without payment, lands not in use by them. As a matter of history, certain nations have sometimes seized native lands and have given no payment or compensation. Even by their own code, hundreds of years ago, the Kati-mamoe tribe invaded the South Island, conquered the Waitaha tribe then in occupation, and possessed themselves of their territory. Prior to the coming of the Europeans and Kaitahu tribe in turn, invaded the South Island, conquered the Kati-mamoe people, killed thousands of them, enslaved those who had escaped the patu, and took their land. Therefore, it is argued by many, if the pakeha had taken possession of Maori lands, without payment, the Maori people would have no cause for complaint by their own code.

In answer to this, it must be remembered, however, that in the case of Otago, there was an agreement, duly signed by both parties, which should have been honoured to the last detail. The neglect of this was the cause of the complaint of the Maori people.

Be it said in justice to the Labour Government, that when the Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser, Prime Minister, visited Otakou on November 27th, 1941, he stated that the late Prime Minister, Mr. Savage, had promised to face up to the long-delayed Maori land problems and claims, and that the Government would do its best to honour that promise. Shortly afterwards the Government voted £300,000 in satisfaction of the Kai-tahu claims.

The Ngai-tahu Trust Board was set up under the provisions of the Ngai-tahu Claim Settlement Act, 1944. The Act provided that the annual sum of £10,000 should be paid for a period of thirty years from 1944 to the Ngai-tahu Trust Board in settlement of all claims and demands, and that the money should be applied, under proper safeguards, for the benefit of the Maori people in this district.

It must be admitted that the Government has done its best to face up to and settle a long-delayed claim which has caused much misunderstanding and heart-burning among the Maori people.

## **CHAPTER TEN CREED'S WORK IN DUNEDIN**

To Charles Creed belongs the honour of conducting the first Christian service and establishing the first church of "New Edinburgh". Before recording in detail Mr. Creed's pastoral work in that area, it is necessary to glance back upon the early history of Dunedin.

The older generation of the Maori people used to speak about Otepoti,<sup>1</sup> an area which extended along the foreshore or bay now covered by the Supreme Court Buildings, Railway Station, Exchange, Post Office, and towards what is now known as Manor Place and Maitland Street. The settlement or kaika was situated roughly between where Manor Place, Maclaggan and Rattray Streets are today.

The Toitu Creek<sup>2</sup> flowed down what are now known as Maclaggan and Rattray Streets; under what is now the Grand Hotel, and across the present Princes Street. The Maori landing place was where the Cargill Monument now stands, and there they moored their canoes. The pebbly beach was a regular meeting place for the Maori people, and where many a korero took place in the days of long ago. In the dim past there were kaikas at Kaikorai, Musselburgh, and on the banks of the Leith. Traces of early occupation have been found at Andersons Bay (Puketai), Tomahawk, Hillside (Ko-ranga-a-ranga-te-rangi), and Logan's Point, known as Taurangapipipi.

Owhai was a kaika on the site of Howe Street. At the foot of Frederick Street a chief named Te Raki lived and died about 250 years ago. A chief named Pokohiwi, of Ruahikihiki descent, lived in Upper Stafford Street. Another chief named Poho lived at Opoho, from which the locality takes its name. He lived there, it is believed, in the 18th century. St. Clair was known as Wakaherekau. It was a small kaika or hapu. The outlet of the water of Leith was Tutai

1 The name Otepoti (O-te-poti), the Maoris claim, was given to describe the canoe landing-place centuries ago, and, therefore, cannot owe its origin to pakeha days, as some historians claim.

2 This stream is sometimes referred to as the "Kaituna" (eel-food) and sometimes as the Toitu stream. The latter name is correct and agrees with Maori tradition.

PAGE 117a te Matauirā, and nearby was the native kaika Otukaiwheti. Roslyn was Teau (the fog). Maori ovens have been found at Halfway Bush (Taputakinoi). Flagstaff was known as Whakaari, not Wakari, which is usually wrongly spelled today and wrongly pronounced, giving the Maori a headache to hear it.<sup>1</sup>

The senior Maori people have a tradition of a battle fought, probably between the Waitaha and the Kati-mamoe at Taputakinoe, a locality between what is now known as Halfway Bush and Whakaari.

What are known as Mornington, Roslyn and Maori Hill were bush covered areas where the weka, kiwi, pukeko and wild pigs (in pakeha days) roamed at will. The bush was vocal with the notes of the bell bird (korimako), the pigeon (kereru), the paroquet (kakariki), the tui, the fantail (piwakawaka), the large parrot (kaka), and the morepork (kōkōu).

Such was Otepoti and its surroundings in the far-off days, where lived and fought in turn the Raupuwai, Waitaha, Kati-mamoe and Kai-tahu tribes.

Mr. Creed made frequent visits to Otepoti and its surrounding area in his itinerary. Visits to Dunedin were made on foot, sometimes via Otakou and Koputai (Port Chalmers). At other times on foot by the old Maori tracks from Waikouaiti over the Whakaari Mountain (Flagstaff), through Halfway Bush (Taputakinoi) and on to Dunedin. Later he obtained a horse, which relieved him of much fatigue. He was able at intervals to journey by boat, which was most perilous of all.

The Rev. M. A. Rugby Pratt describes one of those visits via Port Chalmers and gives the date December 10th, 1845, and the quotation is as follows: "Mr. Creed crossed over the Port Chalmers hills and held a service at a small kainga called Tawhiroko, which was probably Taylor's Bay. From there he passed on to Koputai, ministering to Maori and pakeha, and then on to Otepoti."

Creed's visits were not confined to preaching services, for his duties were various. He was requested to proceed on an errand of mercy on October 28th, 1846, which was the first European funeral in Dunedin.

"This morning (October 28th) at about 9 a.m. I received a letter from Dunedin, stating that one of the men had died suddenly. Mr. — requested me to go over. Accordingly I started in the boat and reached there in the afternoon. In the evening I preached to a few who assembled, from 'Be ye also ready, etc.'

1 For place names I am indebted to Miss Karetai and the Otakou Maori people, Creed's Journals and reports, Bathgate, Herries Beattie, and articles by W. A. Taylor.

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"October 29th: In the forenoon I buried poor Campbell<sup>1</sup> in the cemetery; this is the first burial in Dunedin. Most of the men attended, whom I addressed on the solemn occasion from 'The sting of death is sin, but the gift of God is Eternal Life'. A deep solemnity rested upon us. In the afternoon I visited the poor, distressed widow; she is left with two fatherless children, one of them by a former husband who was drowned near Port Nicholson two or three years ago; the other the child by the deceased. May she prove the promise hers—that God is the 'Father of the fatherless, and the husband of the widow'. At 5 p.m. I baptised the infant son of Mr Park, one of the surveyors; had a short service with them. In the evening I preached to a fairly good congregation from 'Come unto Me all ye that labour, etc.' The Word seemed to take effect on the people."

Robert Park was a civil engineer. His son Patric was baptised as stated above, being born at Akaroa on August 2nd, 1846. This was the first baptism of a European in Dunedin, as shown by the Register.

In less than three months another pastoral visit is reported. Creed walked from Waikouaiti by way of Otakou and Koputai, ministered there and baptised John, son of Peter Crow (probably De Croix), and Eliza his wife.

He walked through Tarere Kauhiku (Sawyers Bay) by the Maori track, up what is known today as the Junction Road, over Mount Cargill (Kataumahaka), through North East Valley, and on to the future City of Dunedin, and remarked: "I found it very fatiguing, it being very hot. Slept at Mr. D's. Next morning, Sabbath. After family prayers, had a long conversation with Mr. —on religion... Dined in the afternoon with Mr. K., preached to nearly all the Europeans, from Psalm 40: 1, 2, 3. I trust the Lord enabled me to set before them the nature and the necessity of experiencing a thorough change from nature to Grace. In the evening I preached again from Rom. 10: 8, 9, 10. O Lord, sow the seed of Eternal Life in the hearts of the people. Afterwards

I I am indebted to Mr. A. Eccles for the following: A man of the name of James Campbell was buried in the York Place cemetery; his name appears on the obelisk erected on the site. No record now exists, so I have been given to understand, of the burials that were made in that locality. I think, however, that it can be safely assumed that this man was the Campbell referred to by the Rev. Charles Creed in his Journal under date October 29th. 1846. The Mary Catherine, bringing C. H. Kettle and wife, Robert Park and wife, several other surveyors and a staff of labourers, cast anchor in Otago Harbour on February 23rd, 1846. Her master was Captain Howlett, after whom presumably the point near the Heads was named. Among the labourers brought down in the vessel was a man of the name of James Campbell. Again, I think it can be safely assumed that it was this man that Mr. Creed referred to.

PAGE 119 had a profitable conversation with Mr. —. I trust he is getting more in earnest about spiritual life. Slept at his house. Monday: This morning after breakfast I left Dunedin and proceeded homeward by way of the Whakaari mountains. The day was hot, found it exceedingly fatiguing. My native boy could hardly travel, so we were a very long time on the mountains. Reached Waiputai (Waitati) and had refreshments and at 5 p.m. started for home—travelled very fast—Waikouaiti about 7 p.m."

The following April (1847), Mr. Creed was in Dunedin in the performance of his duties, and on the 11th baptised John, son of John Anderson and of Isabella his wife. On the same day he baptised Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Henry 1 civil engineer, and of Amelia his wife. John Anderson had the distinction of being the first white child born in Dunedin (December 10th, 1846). Elizabeth Kettle has the distinction of being the first white girl born in Dunedin (March 3rd, 1847). She subsequently became the wife of Mr. James Macassey, a prominent

solicitor. James 2 arrived at Koputai in 1844 and settled at the Bay which bears his name. He and his son John lived in a small cottage built of timber, with thatched roof. Upon the arrival of the surveyors, John was employed by them. In 1849 he opened a butcher's shop at Port Chalmers.

Another quotation from Creed's report to the Wesleyan Mission Board, London:

“November 9th, 1847: This morning I left home for Dunedin by way of the Whakaari mountain. On the highest range the clouds were dense, and it was difficult to find the way. I reached there in the afternoon; preached in the evening from Heb. 4:16, ‘The Lord add His blessing’.”

The old Maori track over the 3 mountains was difficult and hazardous. Dr. Hocken, in his Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand, writes: “This (track) was by no means free from the danger of descending fog, ravines, and mountain swamps, and the bones of many a lost traveller attested to the deviousness of the path.”

Mr. J. Johnston, who arrived with his parents in the Blundell in 1848, states that “crossing Flagstaff (Whakaari) was attended at

1 Charles Henry Kettle came to New Zealand when 19 years of age. Returned to England, but came back in 1846, and was appointed chief surveyor two years before the arrival of the immigrant ships. Provincial Auditor in 1862, member of General Assembly in 1861–62. One of the founders of the Y.M.C.A. and was a Sunday school teacher. Led the first Otago temperance movement. Died in June, 1862, aged 42.

2 James Anderson, Sen., died in August, 1848, and was buried in the York Place Cemetery near the grave of James Campbell.

3 Whakaari means uplifted to view (J. Cowan).

PAGE 120times with considerable risk of being overtaken and lost in a fog. I know of one man who started for Waikouaiti. He must have been lost on his way as he was never found.... It was supposed that wild pigs had eaten him.”

Continuing Creed's references regarding the mountain track:

“November 10th, 1847: Today baptised Catherine, daughter of Donald and Mary Ross.

“November 11th: Left for home this morning accompanied by Mr. L.... After riding a few miles my horse was quite unable to carry me, consequently I had to walk a great deal. It was with difficulty we could get my horse home, which we did after twelve hours on the journey.”

To show the dangerous nature of the route by the Maori track over the Whakaari mountains, a quotation from the diary of Mr. T. Ferens (who arrived in 1848 on the John Wickliffe, and who became Creed's assistant and a student for the ministry) indicates the perilous aspect of the road:

“June 28th, 1849: Arose to prepare for off, very foggy, little prospect of getting through.... Left in a good state of mind. Got off and ascended Flagstaff. ‘Pompey’ would not face the snowy mountains and I was obliged to return.

“June 29th: The morning clearing, and the fog clouds have lifted on the mountain, determined to try again. Prayed with the people (hosts). Set off. ‘Pompey’ could scarcely be trusted to ascend Flagstaff at all. However, got on to the snowy mountain. The sun occasionally peeped through dimly. Wind strong and keen. Fog nestled thickly on the mountain, etc., kept well over. After getting over the lower snowy mountain, and in descending, ‘Pompey’ would not face the weather. I tried him twice, but could not make him descend on the Waikouaiti side. Left him to take me down as best he could. Unfortunately found myself far away to the right of the Waikouaiti range and on the way to Blueskin Bay (Waitati). Got into the shepherds' track and got down speedily and made for the shepherds' hut, but no one in, but the remains of wood still smouldering. Tied ‘Pompey’ up and took load off him. Made up a fire, trusting for someone to come. It was 1.30 p.m. About 4 p.m I espied the shepherd on the mountain. I had cooeyed several times before. It was the Maori shepherd with two assistants. Slept with my clothes on and kept a good fire burning all night. Slept but little. Good breakfast, pork and potatoes. The Maori said it was going to rain. Saddled ‘Pompey’ and engaged a man to put me through the bush and on to the cattle track. After praying with them, set off in the rain.... Got through the bush with difficulty but safely. The Maoris left me and off I set, fully expecting to get to the range of the Big Hill. Unfortunately the weather became cloudy and windy and the rain poured down. I turned back to the edge of the bush, unsaddled ‘Pompey’, tethered him in a sheltered spot, put the saddle and bags under the bushes, and set off again through the bush, one place nearly up to the waist in water, etc., etc.” The result was that Mr. Ferens was obliged to return to the shepherds' hut and wait for better weather.

The above statement shows how difficult and dangerous the mountain track was in those days.

There was a Maori hapu at Halfway Bush which the missionary had to pass on the way to the Whakaari mountains. These Maori people were visited and received Christian instruction. There were also several Europeans residing near the same locality whose spiritual needs were provided for. After the arrival of the John Wickliffe Mr. Ferens in his diary mentions the name of several families:

“Friday, June 8th: A fine morning. Went to Halfway Bush in the afternoon. At night preached from Gal. 6:9. Met the class, gave tickets; a wet night. Stayed at Kennards and 1

“Saturday, 9th: A cold, wet and unpleasant morning. Mountains covered with snow. Prayer with them, came to town, wet, usual walking.

“Sunday, June 10th: A furious night of wind and rain. It pelted down with equal fury during the day as it had done all night. Saw Maoris at Halfway Bush kaika and conversation on religious characters were the exercises of the day.

“Wednesday, June 13th: Went to Halfway Bush—had prayer with them and stayed the night.” Other residents in the same locality were Mr. and Mrs. Hepburn, J. Paterson, the Mosely family and Mr. Chalmers.

Early in 1848, before the arrival of the John Wickliffe and the emigrants, Mr. Creed suffered from a serious illness due to anxiety, difficult conditions and exacting duties. The story makes pathetic reading:

“I would first of all,” he wrote to the Mission Board, London, “acknowledge the goodness of God in raising me up from a dangerous illness. Indeed at one time I was induced to think my work was done, and I about to add one more to the already numerous list of missionaries who have died on the field. I had not been very well for a little time previous to my journey to Otago, but knowing the natives would be expecting me, I felt it my duty to go and not disappoint them. I was taken much worse on the journey, and had great difficulty to get to Otago. However, I felt desirous of giving the people the word of exhortation: I therefore preached twice the next day (Sabbath), once to the Europeans, but I was obliged to sit and finish my discourse. Next morning I was bled and put under



1 The Kennards and Glovers were among the party of agriculturists sent over from Sydney by John Jones in the Magnet in 1840.

PAGE 122a course of medicine by the surgeon at whose home I was staying, Being a little relieved, I was taken home in a boat on Tuesday, but again grew worse, and had to send for the surgeon from Otago by night, he came; had my head shaved, blistered, etc. He remained two or three days with us until the danger was past. After this I began to recover, but it was a month or more before I could resume my work again. Even then I was not well able, but having no one near me to render that help which was necessary, I could not rest, knowing the people were scattering as sheep having no shepherd. At present I am far from being restored to my former health, in addition to which I am suffering from sciatica, which I am afraid will prove rather obstinate. During my illness I experienced much of the presence of God—my mind was kept in a very delightful state of tranquillity. I do not remember ever to have enjoyed a more blessed period of my life.... One night in particular, heaven seemed so near, and the happy spirits all but visible, that I longed to depart to be with Christ. We have experienced great kindness and sympathy, both from the natives and Europeans, who did all in their power for us.”

Governor Grey visited Waikouaiti on February 18th, 1848, prior to the arrival of the Scottish settlers. Mr. Creed reported: “We were favoured with a visit from His Excellency Governor Grey, his lady and suite. I was much pleased with his condescending and affable manner; especially his kind attention to several subjects which I brought before him, and the settlement of these Mission premises.” The visit gave Mr. Creed the opportunity to discuss with the Governor the problems and the general welfare of the Maori people, in which the Governor himself was deeply interested.

The Rev. Charles Creed was the first minister of any church to conduct Christian services at the Molyneux. As early as 1847, and probably earlier, he conducted services. The Register shows that on April 16th, 1847, he baptised five persons and received them into church fellowship. The names of those who were baptised and received into fellowship on the above date were Kororaina Kiwi, adult New Zealander, Mari Toke, Erihapeti Wiki, Ripeka Kirikoko, adult New Zealanders, and Hana Wakena Tekau (young person)

The Maori people living in the Taieri district received considerable benefit from Mr. Creed's ministrations. He does not record the date of his first service, but on July 30th, 1847, he conducted a baptismal service for an adult Maori. In his controversy with Captain Cargill, he claimed that among the places where he had performed the rites and ceremonies of worship was the Taieri, and that he was the first Christian minister to visit that district.

It is worthy of note that the Taieri has an important history. Away in the distant past, about the mid-sixteenth century, there were two separate kaikas of the Kati-mamoe tribe living near PAGE 123the Taieri Ferry district. Near Henley there lived a chief named Tuwiriroa and his

followers. Another chief, Tukiauau, and his people, who had been driven from Marlborough by the Kai-tahu, lived towards Lake Waihola. Tuwiri-roa had an attractive daughter named Hakitekura. Tukiauau had a strong-built son named Korakowhiti. It was the old story repeated, of love-making, and notwithstanding all the opposition from Tuwiri-roa, the lovers could not be separated. Many a happy canoe trip they had together on the Taieri River and Lake Waihola. Tuwiri-roa, the girl's father, was angry and made matters unbearable for Tukiauau and his hapu, so they decided to move to Rakiura (Stewart Island). As the canoe was sailing down the Taieri River gorge, having on board young Korakowhiti, his devoted lover sprang from the cliff to join him. Unfortunately, not making a wide enough jump, she fell on a protruding craggy rock and was killed, and her broken-hearted Korako was obliged to sail on. Tuwiri-roa, according to Maori custom, held the whole of the Tukiauau's hapu responsible for his favourite daughter's death. At an opportune time, after much preparation, Tuwiri-roa and his warriors sailed to Stewart Island and killed all Tukiauau's hapu, with the exception of two young men, Tuopioki and Kapetaua-he-whiti, who escaped.

The cliff on the south side of the Taieri River gorge, from which Hakitekura leaped and was killed, is known today as Rereka a Hakitekura<sup>1</sup>

The Taieri kaika today is situated on the right side of the road as you approach the Taieri River bridge going south. Several descendants of the early families are living there today.

Dr. E. Shortland, who visited the Taieri kaika in 1843, mentions the name of Te Raki as being the chief.

The following baptisms and marriages are entered in the Register by Mr. Creed:

Baptisms:           No. 498.           July 30th, 1847. Watene Korako, chief, adult New Zealander.

No. 633.            January 16th, 1851. Hakaraia Te Raki, chief, adult New Zealander.

No. 634.            January 16th, 1851. Katarina Pi, adult New Zealander.

On the same date the following marriages were performed with the rites of the church:

1 Newspaper article by Mr. W. A. Taylor.

Marriages:         No. 141.

Korako, bachelor, 20, to Katarina Pi, spinster, perhaps 22.

Witnesses:

Hakaraia X Te Raki. (tohu)

Meri X Tewahikore. (tona tohu)

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No. 142.

Jan. 16th, 1851. Rawai Pukunui, bachelor, full age, to Mate-te Waririma, widow, of full age.

Witnesses:

Hakaraia X Te Raki.

Meri X Tewahikore.

No. 143.

May 7th, 1851. Littlebourne House, Dunedin, Hakaraia Te Raki, widower, full age, to Kaiheino, spinster, full age.

Witnesses:

David Bower.

Marie Obell.

Watene Korako<sup>1</sup> was said to be the last pure-blooded Kati-mamoe in the South. He was a person of intelligence and a diligent student of the "Way of Life".

Wereta Tuara was a keen adherent of the Mission and attended the services with the utmost devotion. He formerly lived at Kaiapohia and came south, probably, to escape the clutches of Te Rauparaha.

Tiote Te Korihi was another interesting person, industrious, and of an enterprising disposition.

Martha Rimu, a relation of Te Raki, married a pakeha sealer of Codfish Island. She was a person of chiefly birth and was much respected. Her daughter Hera married Edward (Ned) Palmer. They had a son named Robert. After 1848 the population gradually declined.

1 Watene Korako died at the Maori kaika, Taieri, in 1896, aged 120 years. His age was confirmed by Hoani Matieu. He left a widow (his third wife) and two sons.

Creed's Report to the London Mission Board for 1849–50

“Dunedin, Otago.

July 13, 1850.

“The natives of Otago require more pastoral supervision than it is in my power to give them. In point of civilisation they are making great advancement.... They require great attention, lest we lose what we have already wrought amongst them. This district is rising in importance and presents claims on our attention of no ordinary character.

“Before the commencement of the New Edinburgh settlement, your missionary had paid his visits to the district, and every succeeding visit only the more fully impressed his mind with the necessity of immediate help in the neighbourhood. Many and incessant are their applications for ministerial duty. Tomorrow is the third Sabbath I have spent in Dunedin on this occasion. The police court so kindly proffered by A. C. Strode, Esq., Police Magistrate, in which the services are held, is crowded with attentive hearers. But how can they be attended to by one missionary?” Mr. Creed then writes PAGE 125 regarding the difficulties of travelling over the Whakaari mountain range, which in winter is covered with snow and is often impassable, and urged a strong plea for an additional ordained minister who could administer all the ordinances of religion. The following pathetic incident is worth mentioning: “We were called upon to witness the last moments of a half-caste girl about fifteen years of age. I administered the Lord's Supper to her on Saturday. She died in peace. She was a Sunday school scholar and sought and found the Saviour.”

In his book, *More Maoriland Adventures*, Canon J. W. Stack gives an interesting picture of Otakou as he saw it in 1852:

“We got there (Otakou) late in the afternoon, and were received by the chiefs, Taiaroa, Karetai and Topi, and taken to a house close to the beach, where we remained for a few days.... When I looked round on my companions and noted their kindly and friendly behaviour to one another (Tamihana, Te Rauparaha's son, was present), I could not help thinking of the wonderful change that had taken place in the character of the New Zealanders. Twenty-five years before they were deadly enemies, and fought against one another at Kaiapohia.... The change in their attitude towards one another was due to their having embraced Christianity.... They had exchanged the vindictive heathen heart for the Christian heart—‘The new heart’, as the Maoris rightly called it. As we read, sang and prayed together that first night I spent with the Maoris on the shore of the Otago Heads, I realised what a bond of union and fellowship our Christian faith is between men of all ranks and races who

accept it, and what transforming power it possesses when it can change ferocious cannibals into gentle and courteous Christians such as the people I was associating with.”

The above quotation shows how real and effective the teaching of Watkin and Creed had been, and how it had changed for good the character of the Maori people.

Early in 1853 Mr. Creed's ministry in Otago terminated and he was appointed to Wellington as a colleague of Mr. Watkin.

When Mr. Creed arrived in Otago he was a comparatively young man, 32 years of age. He had a strong physique and overflowed with energy, but the strain of the work, the constant travelling under difficult conditions, and the privations he endured, exhausted his vitality. Reluctant to leave the work he loved and for which he had given so much, his transference to Wellington was providential for his own sake.

As the time for removal drew near, Mr. Creed reported to London:

“From my past communications you have been informed of the widely dispersed and scattered state of the New Zealanders inhabiting the several districts of which this circuit is composed.... The natives are now in a transition state from heathenism to semicivilisation. A few are more advanced, but as a people, now is the difficult crisis with them. Will, then, incipient Christianity be able to withstand the insidious attacks of evil, disguised under a thousand forms?”

He continues: “In addition to the trying position in which the natives are placed by the great influx of Europeans to their various localities, there are men who call themselves Europeans and claim the name ‘Christian’ who themselves are deeply sunk in evil practices and most abominable wickedness. These men, reproved by the superior conduct of the New Zealander, strive to induce them to give up their religion, and live as they themselves are living. Not infrequently the seductive glass of grog is given as an additional motive to join them in their sins. This is not a solitary case ... men of unsteady character are found in almost every native village.... I am not an alarmist, but wish to view things as they are. Christianity has indeed accomplished wonders amongst this people.... The musket and tomahawk have been laid aside for the spade and reaping hook ... war songs have yielded to the songs of Zion, and assemblies for the purpose of worshipping the True God are established. The question is, not whether the Gospel has already been successful, but whether the precious seed sown, the springing plant of Grace, shall be destroyed by evil influences.... How great the work before your missionaries! ... A circuit of above three hundred miles in length; running along the

whole eastern coast of this island from the Kaikoura mountains to Foveaux Straits; intersected by rivers, harbours, etc., etc., make pastoral oversight extremely difficult.” He pleaded that “the great need was for larger staff of efficient Maori preachers and pastors.” At the same time, “the European settlers make constant appeals for the ordinances of the church.”

Mr. Creed's work was sadly hindered by the size of his charge, which made pastoral oversight difficult. There was not only the lack of additional missionaries, which was serious, but there was also the question of finance. The Wesleyan Mission Board had spent about £380,000 on Maori evangelisation in New Zealand, and then there were the claims of the South Sea Islands, Africa, the West Indies, India, and other fields. England was passing through a trade depression due to the Corn Laws of the forties; the famine and fever in Ireland, and the disturbed state of Europe generally. All this made the financial position of the Mission acute, but notwithstanding all impediments and difficulties, Charles Creed developed the work of his predecessor, and was able to pass on to his successor a well organised circuit. He “endured hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.” His long, toilsome journeys, his having to sleep sometimes on the ground at night with no covering but his overcoat, the lack PAGE 127 of proper food, wore down his iron constitution. He was a true pathfinder, worthy to take his place among the shining ranks of missionary heroes. It must be conceded by all candid minds open to conviction, that Creed and his predecessor, Watkin, paved the way more than has ever been recognised for the Scottish pioneers. The influence of these two missionaries, with their well balanced judgment, made possible the peaceable acquirement of valuable territory for European settlement. Watkin, whose influence with the Maori chiefs was very pronounced, several times prevented blood from being shed. Creed, and later Rev. G. Stannard, who had a forceful influence over Tairaroa, did much to prevent that chief (who was soured and dissatisfied with the land transaction) from attacking the early settlers, even though to attack them would mean disaster to himself.

## **CHAPTER ELEVEN THE REV. WILLIAM KIRK**

In 1853 the rev. William Kirk was appointed to succeed Mr. Creed, but he was detained in Christchurch to supply an appointment there, and Mr. Creed, writing from Wellington on August 30th, 1853, reported to London: “Mr. Kirk's appointment as my successor I hailed with delight, having heard of his truly missionary spirit, but what must I now add after eight months! ... Otago is without a missionary. Within the last few weeks, I have received several letters from Europeans and natives sorely complaining as sheep without a shepherd. This greatly distresses me. Indeed, but for past ill-health both to Mrs. Creed and myself, we feel so deeply upon the subject, we should not be prevailed upon to wait for another district meeting, but pack up, and take ship immediately for Otago to resume our former labours.”

During the interval the gap was filled by the Maori pastors and lay preachers, who carried on till Mr. Kirk's arrival.

Mr. Kirk was delayed in Canterbury due to the shortage of ministers until the arrival, in January of the following year, of the Rev. J. Aldred, who was the first resident Methodist minister in Christchurch. Previously the work had been supervised by the Rev. J. Watkin from Wellington. Mr. Kirk has written his own story of his arrival in Otago:

“Mrs. Kirk and myself, with two little children, arrived at Port Chalmers in a small vessel belonging to Mr. Swinborne, of Lyttelton, on January 3rd, 1854. We met with the warmest welcome from Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Mansford, and from Mr. J. R. Monson, who was an officer in the Customs Department.

“Through the kindness of Mr. Mansford we obtained the loan of a small hotel, which was at that time without a tenant. Though things were rough and we had to make up our beds on the cases, we were young and very happy. One night Dr. Menzies, whose acquaintance we had made coming over from Lyttelton ... seeing the Thistle Inn on a prominent signboard, opened the door and walked in. Mrs. Kirk was asleep on the cases, and I was absorbed in a copy of the Wandering Jew a kind lady who kept a fine vegetable garden in one of the bays had lent me. Of course the doctor made profuse apologies, and left without disturbing Mrs. Kirk's slumbers. After spending some time in this singular residence, we left for our PAGE 129new home in Waikouaiti, in a native whale boat, and were taken over safely and pleasantly.”

Mr. Kirk was no ordinary man and he possessed singular gifts which fitted him for his work as a missionary. He was born at Epworth, Wesley's birthplace, on September 9th, 1825. His father was a Wesleyan preacher and young Kirk received elementary training for the church. He was designated for missionary work by the English Wesleyan Conference, and after the usual training and tests, came to New Zealand in the ship Triton and arrived at Auckland in 1847. For a time he assisted the Rev. T. Buddle and then removed to Hokianga in order to acquire the Maori language.<sup>1</sup> There (at Hokianga) he accustomed himself to the Maori way of life and modes of expression, under the training of the Rev. John Hobbs,<sup>1</sup> and ultimately married his daughter, a lady well versed in the Ngapuhi dialect, and whose beautiful accentuation of that musical language was, in after years, the admiration of all the southern Maoris. In 1849 upon Mr. Kirk was placed the responsibility of opening a Mission up the Wanganui River, which was no small undertaking for a young man twenty-two years of age, and a newly married wife. They left for their new sphere, accompanied by the Rev. John Hobbs, who was anxious to see them settled in their new home. The schooner, the Leithart, in which they sailed, became a total wreck near the Wanganui Heads. It was night time and the passengers found themselves in a terrible position, with the waves washing over the deck—the worst results were feared. When daylight came, however, it was discovered that the vessel lay on the north bank of the river, and with the falling tide it was possible to reach the land. They settled at Ohinemutu, known afterwards as Te Aomarama. Twelve acres of land were

purchased, and upon this section a whare (parsonage) was erected. This building was constructed of wheat straw and stiffened by poles which were erected in the ground. In this rude shed, for such it was, of thirty feet by fourteen, which Mr. Kirk divided into three rooms, and which had neither floor nor chimney, they lived for twelve months. All their cooking was done in the open air. Later a small weatherboard cottage was erected, and with stone from the river, a chimney was built. In this isolated spot, where for weeks and even months at a time they did not see a white man, or receive a letter, they resided

1 The following information comes from History of Methodism, by Dr. Morley, and In the Beginning, by Rev. T. G. Hammond.

1 The Rev. John Hobbs was a master of the Ngapuhi (North Auckland) tongue, the most perfect form of Maori. The Rev. Thomas Buddle and Alexander Reid were experts with the idiomatic niceties of the Waikato dialect. They were associated with the Anglican clergy in the revision of the Maori Bible.—Robert Maunsell, L.L.D., A New Zealand Pioneer, by H. E. R. Wily and Herbert Maunsell.

PAGE 130for four years. Travelling from the Mission Station to Wanganui was difficult and took four days by canoe. The strain was severe. On one occasion Mrs. Kirk was ill with brain fever and no doctor was available. They struggled on amid discouragement. A few of the Maoris were Mr. Skevington's converts from Waingongoro, but most of them were still heathen, though willing to be taught. Gradually the missionaries won their way and a spiritual change took place. A chief named Ngapara, who had been a great warrior, and was a terror to the whole district, was won for Christ, and became as gentle as a lamb. He built himself a whare close to the Mission Station to be near the missionary. There he learned to read the Bible, and for hours together explored its truths. A large church was built, free of cost, and the public services and class meetings were well attended. Taupo was also under Mr. Kirk's care and he preached at the various villages in that area. After four years of strenuous service he was appointed to Otago, and, as before stated, he was detained in Canterbury for some time, and reached Otago on January 3rd, 1854.

Mr. Kirk's task was to continue and consolidate the work of his predecessors. This involved much travelling, which was no easy matter in those early years. On foot, on horseback, and by boat the missionary persevered in his arduous calling.

During the previous years of the Mission much had happened. The Treaty of Waitangi had been signed; the South Island had been proclaimed a part of the British Empire, valuable Maori tribal lands had been handed over to the pakeha, and the Scottish pioneers had arrived to establish their settlement.

There is nothing spectacular to relate regarding Mr. Kirk's four years of service in Otago, yet he added a very valuable contribution to the history of the Mission. The work among the



Maoris was continued without intermission. One secret of his success was his intimate knowledge of the native mentality and his strict observance of native codes of etiquette. He had a genius for understanding the Maori people and for acquiring their language and manner of expression. He had a certain charm of personality and the natives felt its spell.

Mrs. Kirk, as before stated, was the daughter of the Rev. John Hobbs, who commenced his missionary career at Whangaroa in 1823. Mrs. Kirk, therefore, was inured to the hardships of a missionary's lot from her earliest years, and could tell many stories of hairbreadth escapes in the North Island. Besides being an accomplished Maori scholar, she was well acquainted with the customs and traditions of the Maori people, and consequently won the confidence and affection of the Maori women of Otago. Mrs. Monson, in her *Reminiscences*, tells how Mrs. Kirk, when a child, passed through some very trying circumstances and experiences. When at the PAGE 131 Hokianga Mission Station a taua (war party) had returned, bringing with them a number of slaves, and were preparing to kill them for the oven. Mr. Hobbs went to the victorious party and pleaded for the captives. In anger his request was refused, and they threatened to destroy him and his family and pull down the Mission Station. When it was dark, Mr. Hobbs took his family into the bush for safety. The feast went on and nothing could be done for the unfortunate victims. The victors, however, did not burn down the Mission buildings, and the missionary and his family did not suffer further harm. Mrs. Kirk said that as a child she had often seen from the window of the Mission house at Hokianga the fateful fires of a heathen feast.

Not only did the Maori work in Otago engage Mr. Kirk's attention, but the constantly increasing numbers of Europeans arriving at Port Chalmers claimed his ministrations.

The first resident clergyman of the Anglican Church was the Rev. M. Leeson, 1873–76. The Register reveals that he conducted services in Dunedin, Port Chalmers, Otakou, Waikouaiti, Moeraki, and as far north as Waitaki, and as far south as the Molyneux. One day, April 2nd, 1854, he baptised twenty Maori people at Waitaki. On December 28th, 1856, he baptised thirteen Maori people at Molyneux. Among the names mentioned are Rena Nohorua, Heremaia Wiri, and a very old man, Horomona Te Kihi. On the same day Rauru Tangatauruuru (35) was married to Reita Inewahia (35). On March 8th, 1857, he baptised Jane, daughter of William Alfred and Mary Moseley, at Molyneux River.

On December 30th, 1855, Mr. Kirk baptised twelve persons, among them: Mere Tinou, Heremaia Toitu, Mohi Tuawaiki, and Maraea Kaiaia.

Among the many baptisms conducted at Otakou by Mr. Kirk appear the name of Fanny Weller, aged 19 years, daughter of Edward Weller and Paparu, a chief's daughter. On the same day he baptised Papei Rapatu, son of the chief, Karetai, and Hini Pakia. The following

marriages were celebrated: March 19th, 1854, Patoromu Pu, native pastor, widower, about 40, to Riria Korako, widow, about 38. Mr. Kirk's last Maori baptism took place at Otakou on July 12th, 1857, the person being Te Karira Teute, and the last European baptism being that of Fanny, daughter of Dr. Joseph and Mary Ann Crocombe, at Matanaka, Waikouaiti, on August 27th, 1857.

Mr. Kirk terminated his ministry in Otago in 1857, and left for Kai Iwi, Wanganui, via Wellington, in the ship Ellen. This zealous missionary and his devoted wife worthily sustained the work of their distinguished predecessors, and were an unfailing source of inspiration to Maori and pakeha. After leaving Otago, Mr. Kirk was appointed to some of the most important Wesleyan Methodist charges, including Auckland, Nelson, New Plymouth and, for two PAGE 132terms, Wellington. He was elected President of the Methodist Conference in 1877. In that office, and as chairman of various districts, his duties were discharged with characteristic thoroughness. He died at Petone in 1895 in his 90th year.

## **CHAPTER TWELVE THE REV. GEORGE STANNARD**

The rev. George Stannard arrived by the Southern Cross on the 14th November, 1857, and next day, Sunday, conducted his first service in the Port Chalmers Methodist Church. Mr. Stannard came to New Zealand with a party of settlers in 1841 who intended to take up land and make their homes in Northern Kaipara. On the way to their destination the party put into the Bay of Islands, and Mr. Stannard and a companion decided to leave the ship and walk overland to Kaipara. In crossing the Kaipara bar, the ship was lost and the passengers were drowned. After the disaster, Mr. Stannard, who was a lay preacher, applied himself to study, and to acquire the Maori language. He prepared himself for and passed the regular examinations required from candidates for the Methodist ministry, and was received by the Conference in 1844 and was stationed at Orongata. In 1845–47 he was stationed at Waima, and at Auckland in 1848. Later, when stationed at Taranaki, he purchased a horse, which he called Turi. The Patea Maoris objected to the name, as it was that of the great ancestor of the tribe. This caused a little misunderstanding for a time.

When on one occasion the Maoris were speaking of resistance to the Government, Stannard warned them, saying: “Kia tupato, koutou he kuri, kai kino te Kawana.” “Be careful! The Governor is a dog who eats speedily.” A warning in such language meant much to the Maori mind, and subsequently was often referred to as evidence that Mr. Stannard not only knew what would be done, but showed his regard for the people by letting them know what might be anticipated.

Mr. Stannard was a great student of Maori etymology and excelled in the interpretation of Maori nomenclature. His ample stores of learning enabled him to revel in this subject. He was interested in the education of Maori children, and saw the necessity of providing greater facilities than the institute at Ngamotu could supply. He therefore purchased land at Kai Iwi for school purposes, and there, later on, buildings were erected and an industrial school started. The land is still in the possession of the church and provides a yearly rental. It was purchased from the Government with English Mission money, the Government giving subsidies for the maintenance PAGE 134of the school.1

The missionary had his share of dangers and exposures in the discharge of his duties, and on one occasion he turned up at the Heretua Station, having missed his way in the bush and been lost for a considerable time. Truly he was “in perils often, in weariness and painfulness, in hunger and thirst”, but he persisted and won through.

Arriving at Port Chalmers in November, 1857, in order to succeed Mr. Kirk, Mr. Stannard did not think it advisable to live at Waikouaiti, and Port Chalmers became the head of the Mission charge. He included Waikouaiti in his itinerary and made occasional visits in order to advise and supervise the Maori pastors.

At Dunedin services were held in the Oddfellows' Hall, a small building about twenty feet by twelve feet. For Dunedin and Port Chalmers, Mr. Stannard made a plan which provided for services conducted by lay preachers under his own direction—a noble band of men, among them Messrs. C. Duke, Morris, Hammond, J. Wright, W. Bacon, J. Pow and D. Hall.1 Upon the arrival of the Rev. W. Johnstone in May, 1858, the first Presbyterian minister for Port Chalmers, Mr. Stannard, took up his residence at the Otakou kaika, and the Port Chalmers Methodists, at his request, attended Mr. Johnstone's services, Mr. Stannard paying them occasional visits. An assistant minister was much needed, but there being no prospect of help, Stannard continued single-handed to the end of his term. Although living at Otakou, the Register shows that besides Port Chalmers and Dunedin, services were held at Sawyers Bay, Portobello Purakanui and Moeraki.

It was at this time that the chief, Taiaroa, accepted the Christian faith. He had been much disappointed at the way in which the Maori land claims had been administered or ignored. He was exasperated when he saw the increased value of lands and realised that the promised revenue would not be forthcoming. For a long time he kept aloof from the European settlers, and nursed his grievance with thoughts of revenge, and even bloodshed. The Rev. Charles Creed had considerable influence over the great chief, and it was during the latter part of his pastorate that Taiaroa began to change his attitude towards the pakehas. Under Mr. Stannard's ministry he professed a change of heart and life, and consequently passed into an experience of vital religion. He was admitted into church fellowship by the sacred rite of Baptism in the Ruatitiko Church, Otakou, on April 3rd, 1859. At the same time his wife, Karoraina, was admitted into fellowship. She was a daughter of the chief, Ngatata, who was the father of Wi

Tako, chief of the PAGE 135Te Aro Pa, Wellington. (Ngatata was one of the chiefs who signed the Treaty of Waitangi for and at Wellington.) On the same day and in the same native church, Taiaroa and Karoraina were married according to the Christian usage. Previously they had been married according to Maori custom.

It was a great day for the people of Otago, and there were many guests who participated in the functions. Among the guests present were Mrs. Dick and Mrs. Wilson, daughters of Mr. O. Harwood, who described the ceremony to the present writer.

Taiaroa was now anxious to see a new church erected, and for this purpose offerings were taken up at the church services. The old native church was in a sad state of decay. One day the chiefs and elders ascended the hill Ohinetu, overlooking Ornate, and Taiaroa said: "Why not here, this is my land; it is a good situation and can be seen miles away." Other chiefs were of the opinion that the section was too far away and would involve a stiff climb for the aged people and for little children. Karetai said: "Why not below on the flat of Ornate. That is my land; it is nearer our homes and there is no hill to climb." It was agreed to dedicate ten acres there as a Mission reserve for church, burial ground and minister's residence. Collections had already been taken up at the services for the erection of a church, but as Mr. Stannard was shortly afterwards appointed to the North Island, the church was not erected till 1864 under the direction of the Rev. J. F. Riemenschneider.

It was unfortunate that Mr. Stannard was moved by the Conference so soon, seeing that he had great influence with the Maori people and was beloved by them. Upon his departure the charge was left vacant, but the Maori pastors continued their services with occasional visits from the Rev. Te Kote Te Ratou.

After years of strenuous service Mr. Stannard became a super-numary and lived at Wanganui, but he continued in service, preaching and relieving ministers, travelling as far as Patea and Rangitaiki. In old age his sight failed, but he and his wife enjoyed a quiet eventide in a sunny cottage in the Wanganui Avenue, where visitors were always given a hearty welcome, and heard the English language spoken in its purity; their Maori visitors heard their own tongue in its soft and poetic expression. Mr. Stannard passed to higher life and service in 1888.

1 Mr. David Hall in later years became the City Missionary for Wellington.

# CHAPTER THIRTEEN THE REV. J. F. RIEMENSCHNEIDER

When Mr. Stannard was transferred to the north island in 1859, the work was carried on by Patoromu Pu and other native pastors. Towards the end of the same year a public meeting was held in Dunedin to form a "Society for the elevation of the physical, social and moral conditions of the Maoris". The society had in mind the welfare of the Maori people in the areas from Moeraki to Jacob's River. Money was collected and the Government promised a grant to assist in building a school and teacher's residence at Otakou. Mr. and Mrs. Baker were appointed and brought from Auckland, but little further was done for a considerable time. Up to 1861 no buildings had been erected and Mr. Baker was obliged to take the matter in hand himself and erect a small cottage. After three years' service Mr. Baker resigned and accepted an appointment from the Government in connection with the Native Department. The ship in which he sailed was lost crossing Cook Strait, and Mr. Baker perished with the ship.<sup>1</sup>

In 1862 the Rev. J. F. Riemenschneider took up the work at Otakou and district. He had been stationed at Parihaka, but due to the Maori war he was obliged to leave his native people, they having advised him to do so as they could not guarantee his safety.

John F. Riemenschneider was born at Bremen, Germany, in August, 1817. He early dedicated his life to the service of the church and, feeling "a call" to the Mission Field, applied himself to intensive study. In 1837 he was accepted by the North German Missionary Society. He was at that time twenty years of age. He was ordained at Bremen on September 21st, 1842, and in the following month a service was held in St. George's Church, Hamburg, when four missionaries, Messrs. Trost, Heine, Wohlers and Riemenschneider were finally set apart for pioneer work in New Zealand.

The St. Paul arrived in New Zealand on June 18th, 1843. The missionaries proceeded to Nelson as a probable field of labour. Riemenschneider attended, for some time, to the spiritual needs of Germans in and around Nelson, but in June, 1844, he decided to go to the Lake Taupo district, where there were many Maori villages.

<sup>1</sup> The Story of the Otago Church and Settlement, by C. Stuart Ross.

On his way he visited the Matukaramu people, and was persuaded by the natives to dwell among them. He, however, remained in the district but a short time, not being satisfied to intrude in the Wesleyan sphere, the area being under the care of the Rev. J. Whiteley, of Kawhia. By arrangement with the Wesleyan Church he moved to Warea, near Parihaka, Taranaki, where at the end of the year he had charge of thirteen villages. His nearest neighbour, the Rev. W. Woon, says of him: "He was a most devoted and humble Christian." He very quickly became sufficiently conversant with the Maori language to preach acceptably to the people. He commanded the respect of the chiefs, Te Whiti and Tohu, and gained the confidence and esteem of the Maori people generally. Riemene, or Rimi, as he was variously called by the Maoris, was a constant visitor to his nearest neighbour, Mr. Woon, and ere long proposed marriage to the eldest daughter of the family, and subsequently married her. They were married on October 29th, 1849, at the Wesleyan Mission Station, Waimate, Taranaki<sup>1</sup> A very interesting description of Mr. Woon's station is given in the Wesleyan Miscellany for 1849:

"The Mission house is prettily situated on a point of land jutting into the harbour; a glassy sheet of water extends in front of the house, and beyond it rises the bold and rugged outline of the mountain of Peronguia. The church stands on an elevated terrace behind the house. To the left of the parsonage is a cliff, where the goats belonging to the Mission Station generally browse, and from this elevation a fine, commanding view may be obtained of the Kawhia Harbour, with the ocean breaking foam beyond." Such was the home of the sixteen year old bride. The marriage was ideal; for the lives of the bride and bridegroom were a beautiful example of a true and perfect Christian union of love and mutual happiness. Mrs. Riemenschneider was well versed in the Maori language, and proved a help-meet indeed to the lonely bachelor of Warea. Mr. Riemenschneider proved a good son-in-law, and often visited Mr. Woon and assisted him in his missionary labours. It was a happy marriage. Again and again the grandfather (Mr. Woon) journeyed to dedicate the children to God, which was a source of joy to the grandparents.

The Rev. W. Woon had a notable career. Born in Truro, Cornwall, in 1804, he entered the ministry in 1830. After spending some time on the Tongan Mission field he came to New Zealand in 1834, and assisted in forming the first Mission Station at Kawhia. Later he was stationed at Manukau and subsequently at Hokianga, and then moved to Taranaki. The Rev. S. Ironside regarded him as an expert preacher in English, Tongan and Maori. His diary and

<sup>1</sup> In the Beginning, by Rev. T. G. Hammond.

PAGE 138 letters prove that his knowledge of Maori was abreast of that of most scholars of his day. Mrs. Woon was a mother to the Maori women and girls and won an honoured place in the history of the Church in New Zealand. She made the treatment of the sick and infirm her special care. Her long journeys on errands of love and mercy, and her courage and self-sacrifice, endeared her to the Maori people. Such were the parents of Mrs. Riemenschneider, and she partook largely of the merits and qualities of her father and mother. Thus equipped with a good help-meet, Mr. Riemenschneider was able to prosecute his duties with abundant

success. In 1855 a new Mission building was erected to serve as a church and school. He was so successful that he was able to extend his sphere and toil from Warea southward, until the sad Maori war of 1860 terminated all Christian effort, and he was obliged to abandon the station. For two years he resided in Nelson, but in 1862 he received an invitation from the Otago Society, already mentioned, to undertake work among the Maoris living in the environs of Dunedin. The offer of a salary of £200 a year, free residence and a glebe of ten acres seemed a providential call, although the prospect did not turn out as he expected.

The new missionary arrived at Port Chalmers in June, 1862, with his wife and family and Miss Woon, Mrs. Riemenschneider's sister. Their arrival was accompanied with much sadness. Miss Woon was taken ill and died at Port Chalmers and was buried in the old cemetery. The Riemenschneiders proceeded to Otakou and proved themselves worthy successors of the pioneer missionaries. They entered upon their task with energy and enthusiasm. Many difficulties lay before them, but being conscious of the Divine Call they did not look back. The native churches at Otakou (Ruatitiko and Tahakopa) were very primitive structures and had been abandoned. The native church at Ormate was in a ruinous state, and the new church building had not been commenced. The new missionary urged the need for church buildings which would serve as day schools. Riemenschneider wrote: "The Government had bought up most of the country from the natives for a ridiculous price and had guaranteed them to build schools and churches, but had not kept its promises." The only thing the missionary could do was to postpone the school building question for the time being, but he still hoped for Government aid, and kept the church building project in view.

Things did not go smoothly between himself and the Otago Society, and at his own request he was relieved from his engagement in October, 1863, but he continued his Mission work with an income considerably reduced.

In 1864 he was taken seriously ill and, feeling intensely his isolation, he invited his friend Wohlers, of Ruapuke, to come and PAGE 139 discuss the affairs of the Mission. The two friends had been parted for a long time—a period which had been for both of them heavy with suffering and anxiety. The meeting proved to be a source of strength to the sick man; he recovered, took a holiday, and resumed his tasks. Although there were but few signs of spectacular success, yet the "Word" was silently but surely working in the hearts of the people, and he wrote: "I am not able to speak about such great victories or conversions." Quite true, but the seed had been sown and the harvest was sure.

When Mr. Riemenschneider arrived at Otakou in 1862, he was obliged to provide a residence for his family. His predecessor, Mr. Baker, had erected a small cottage. To this, Mr. Riemenschneider added two rooms, doing most of the work himself. He also planted a vegetable and flower garden and suitable trees. The avenue of hawthorne trees which he planted, marking the roadway to his residence, remains today.

The next task to be faced was the erection of the proposed church. This project had been kept in mind from the time of Tairaroa's conversion to Christianity in 1859, but upon the removal of the Rev. George Stannard, nothing had been done. To meet this task Mr. Riemenschneider applied himself, and the matter of raising funds was by no means easy. Collections had been taken up at the services in Mr. Stannard's time. The Maoris had in hand £57; Tairaroa is said to have given £50, and when the building was started £170 was in hand. The church was opened and dedicated on Christmas Day, 1864. About five hundred persons were present, including one hundred and fifty Maoris. The visitors arrived from Dunedin and Port Chalmers by the Bruce and Golden Age, and were met by the missionary and Maori chiefs at the landing place.

Besides Mr. Riemenschneider, those taking part were the Rev. W. Johnstone, of Port Chalmers, Rev. R. S. Bunn (Wesleyan), the Revs. Connebee, Fraser, Dr. Stuart, and others. The function took place in glorious sunshine and was a pronounced success, filling the missionary's heart with thankfulness. "God the Lord," he said, "has given us a pleasant day; the weather the best one could wish." The interior of the church was 28 feet by 16 feet, and the chancel 8 feet by 8 feet. The Communion altar and pulpit were constructed by Mr. Riemenschneider. Mrs. Parry, wife of the lay missionary and schoolmaster, presented the fancy linen work, presumably for the Communion altar. The neat little sanctuary had seating accommodation for about one hundred and twenty persons. There was a small organ-loft or gallery in which the minister's wife sat to play the organ. She had a sweet voice and led the singing and service of praise. The children of the parsonage sat near the pulpit and assisted with the responses and in the singing of the hymns. The cost of the erection of the church was £250. The outstanding liability after the opening function was £111, which was met later.

The church and parsonage commanded an enchanting view of the harbour, and the well kept grounds of the church and humble residence were admired by all visitors. The glebe of ten acres, known as the Maori Mission Reserve, proved a source of help to the missionary and his family of six daughters and two sons. The area provided pasture for a horse, cows and fowls. The vegetable garden and orchard proved an asset to augment the slender salary of the missionary.

Mr. Riemenschneider continued the practice of his Wesleyan predecessors and the church bell was rung regularly on Sundays and week-days as a call to worship. The Sacraments were carefully observed.

The devoted missionary was heartily supported by his wife who, being a daughter of a Wesleyan missionary, entered into all departments of Christian service. Being a good Maori scholar, she conversed freely with the women and advised them in their domestic affairs. In her husband's absence she was able to exercise an influence for good upon the people. Her pleasant manner and her frank, loving conversation made her at once popular and useful, To



the church she was a “Mother in Israel”, competent, from her intelligent Christian outlook and her deep spiritual experience, to exercise discreetly a wise and happy influence on all around her.

Mr. Riemenschneider was not physically strong, and at times his health caused his wife and family much concern, but he toiled on, sustained by a stern regard for duty, and cheered amid all discouragements by the truth he proclaimed.

Nor were his efforts for the spiritual welfare of his congregation in vain. The people were regular in their attendance at public-worship on the Day of Rest and also on the week evenings. Wet or fine found them in their places. The Maori tracks from Pukekura, Pukehau, Pipikaretu and Kapuketereti (Wickliffe Bay) were often ankle deep in mud, but barefoot and with blanket or great coat, the people honoured the House of Prayer with their regular attendance. The native pastors also were assiduous in their duties and rendered valuable help. Not only at Otakou, but at Moeraki, Karitane and the Taieri they ably supported the Mission.

In 1865 the good missionary's health declined and he was obliged finally, to discontinue his visits to the other centres, and was under the necessity of confining his efforts, as much as possible, to Otakou. He possessed those qualities which go to the making of the true missionary, and only those who knew something of his inner life—his consecration to God, his patience, his indomitable perseverance, his courageous zeal and devotedness—could fully appreciate his value as a missionary.

In 1866 Riemenschneider was conscious that his ministry was drawing to a close. In July of that year, he was taken seriously ill. All that medical skill could do was of no avail, and on the 25th August, after intense suffering, he passed peacefully to be “forever with the Lord”.

He had won the affection of the Maori people, and his name ever afterwards was mentioned with respect. He “walked with God” and he walked wisely towards them that are without; his uniformly happy deportment left upon all associated with him the impression of a noble, God-fearing and God-like character.

He was buried in the old cemetery at Port Chalmers in the same grave as Miss Woon, Mrs. Riemenschneider's sister.<sup>1</sup> The body was conveyed to Port Chalmers by water, many boats following. This took place on August 30th, and the service was conducted by the local ministers, the Rev. W. Johnstone, Dr. D. M. Stuart and the Rev. A. Blake taking part. An

address was given in Maori by the Rev. T. S. Forsaith. "Such a faithful father and teacher," the Maoris said, "we shall never see again."

During Mr. Riemenschneider's ministry, and probably earlier, Mr. Thomas Parry, a lay missionary without salary, gave his services to the Mission. For a short time he lived in the old Ruatitiko Mission house and cultivated a small farm. He felt that Christian work among the Maori people was his particular calling. He became the missionary's right hand man and also held the position of schoolmaster, assisted by his wife. The day school was held in the Ornate Church until a suitable building could be erected. In addition to this, he cared for the physical welfare of the Maori people and was a keen herbalist. His herbal remedies worked wonders for the sick and aged, and they were grateful for his kind ministrations.

In 1869, the Presbyterian Church of Otago appointed the Rev. A. Blake, M.A., who had been a missionary in Madras, to take oversight of the Maori Mission. A sum of £50 was paid to Mrs. Riemenschneider for improvements which had been made to the missionary's residence, and the new minister was inducted into office by the Dunedin Presbytery.

Mr. Blake was ably assisted in his work by the Wesleyan pastor, Patoromu Pu. There were also two other Wesleyan native pastors actively engaged in the Maori Mission, Solomon (Horomona Pohio), Watkin's first native teacher appointed to Ruapuke and the far south, and (David) Rawiri Te Maire. These two men were chiefs of rank and were highly respected by the Maori people, and were a source of help to their supervisor. In 1870 he visited the Maori prisoners who were confined in the Dunedin gaol for what were termed, rightly or wrongly, "political offences". It was at this time that the Govern-

1 The Story of the Otago Church and Settlement, by Rev. C. Stuart Ross.

PAGE 142ment took over the management of the day school and a teacher was appointed.

After nearly three years of service, due largely to Mrs. Blake's health, Mr. Blake resigned and accepted a call to the Kaikorai Presbyterian Church. He was a man of considerable gifts and unmistakable devotion, but his mode of conducting the services was not popular with the Maori people, who showed preference for the liturgical form of service.

Patoromu Pu was now in charge, assisted by Horomona Polio, Rawiri Te Maire, Hoani Weteri Koraki, and Tare Weteri Te Kahu. Patoromu was an able pastor and preacher and untiring in his efforts to promote a high type of Christian living in the lives of the people under his charge.

The first mention of his name at Otakou, as shown by the Church Register, is March 19th, 1854, when he married Peti Ineweatea. The Rev. W. Kirk officiated at the wedding, the witnesses, being Tare Weteri Te Kahu and Hopa Paura. The exact date of his arrival from the North Island is not given. After 23 years of service at Otakou, he died suddenly on June 10th, 1877, age stated to be 75 years. His body, according to Maori custom, was laid till burial in the Whare runanga (meeting house), and the funeral took place a few days later. A report in the Evening Star of July 14th intimates that the body was carried by four Maoris from the meeting house to the church, where a service was held, and that the chief mourners were the chief, H. K. Taiaroa, M.H.R., and his sons.

It was said of him that “he watched over the members of his charge with a solicitude and anxiety rarely equalled”.

A memorial tablet to his memory has been placed in the new Centennial Memorial Church, Ornate, Otakou.

In 1877, Bishop Nevill visited Otakou and appointed a native minister, Rev. E. Ngara, from the Diocese of Waiapu, who officiated for about three years. Other Anglican ministers visited the kaika at intervals.

During this interval, and through all the changes that ensued, Watkin's and Creed's native pastors continued their ministrations and their form of service, and although working in conjunction with other branches of the Christian Church, most of them still considered themselves Wesleyans.

During the same period, there being no Wesleyan ministerial appointment in Otago, the work in Dunedin and Port Chalmers was carried on by a noble band of laymen.

## **CHAPTER FOURTEEN**

### **DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MAORI WORK**

Through all the changes it is fitting to mention the name of a stalwart Maori minister who under difficult circumstances accomplished useful work at Otakou and in the south generally—the Rev. Wiremu Te Kote Te Ratou. One secret of his success as a missionary was his intimate knowledge of the native mentality and his strict observance of the native codes of etiquette. But the quality which pre-eminently fitted Te Kote for leadership was his deep spirituality. All who came into contact with him were conscious of this. He knew his spirit to be one with the Great Father of all spirits. He could express his experience in this way: “What a tree is to the leaf, the Great Father is to me; I have everything in my Father.” It was this great spiritual force which gave power to his preaching and ministrations.

Te Kote was born in the Wairarapa about the year 1820. In early life he was enslaved with his parents by Te Rauparaha and taken to Porirua. While living there he was brought into contact with the Wesleyan Mission, and after instruction he, having entered into a Christian experience, was baptised and received into the church. In 1854 he was sent to the Three Kings Native College and was trained for the Christian ministry. After ordination he was appointed to the Chatham Islands, where he worked successfully for several years.

In 1866 the Lyttelton Maori Mission was established, and Te Kote was appointed in charge with Rapaki as his headquarters. This involved travelling from Rapaki to the various Maori settlements in Canterbury and Otago. To mention his name today to the elder people of Otakou elicits expressions of appreciation and gratitude.

On Easter Sunday, 1885, the new Maori Church at Taumutu was opened free of debt. The dedication service was conducted by the Rev. W. Rowse and Te Kote—a most impressive service. Surrounding the church and its hallowed acre can be seen the ramparts and moat of Te Ruahikihiki's pa, reminiscent of bygone days. This chief, a nephew of Te Ake, of Akaroa, was one of the Kai-tahu warriors who wrested Canterbury from the Kati-mamoe tribe.

That Easter Sabbath Day, 1885, as the new sanctuary was consecrated in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, emotions of peace and goodwill to men were quickened in every heart.

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Te Kote's first term in the Canterbury-Otago charge covered twenty-three years. His second term commenced in 1890. When his health failed, he retired to spend his closing years among his own people in the Wairarapa. His useful career came quickly to an end at Greytown on May 4th, 1895. It was said of him that he “was respected as a Christian and a scholar by Maori and pakeha”.

The following appeared in the Dunedin Evening Star on March 13th, 1930:

“An old landmark in Port Chalmers, the oldest Methodist Church in Otago, is to be demolished this week. Closing services were held last Sunday, when the morning service was conducted by Mr. S. G. Macfarlane, M.A., and the evening one by the Rev. T. A. Pybus. The plans of the new church are of Gothic design, and the builder is Mr. C. Knewstubb.”

The foundation stone of the new church was laid on Saturday, April 26th, 1930. The Rev. H. E. Bellhouse, chairman of the Synod, presided. “This stone to Thee in faith we lay” was the opening hymn sung by the choir. The following account of the proceedings is taken from contemporary newspapers:

“The Rev. H. E. Bellhouse, in the course of an interesting address outlining the history of Methodism in Otago, said they had assembled that afternoon to mark an historical event. The old building had been a landmark in the history of Methodism of which they were all proud. The new building would perpetuate the names and the memory of honoured pioneers who did service for the glory of God and the helping of their fellow-men. The Rev. Mr. Pybus had been working hard to raise funds for the new church and they had been all glad to help him  
...

“The Mayor of Port Chalmers, Mr. W. Love, deposited in the foundation a sealed casket containing historical records. The prayer of dedication was offered by the Rev. W. M. Grant, who in his early days remembered both the Revs. Jas. Watkin and Chas. Creed. The choir rendered an appropriate anthem. The Church's One Foundation' was then announced by the Rev. G. Clement, and the Benediction pronounced by the chairman brought to a close a day long to be remembered....

“The foundation stone, bearing the date 1840, taken from the first mission house on the South Island (Waikouaiti), was then laid by Mr. J. B. Shacklock, who also unveiled the memorial tablet.”

The following report appeared in the Methodist Times:

“The dedication service of the ‘Watkin-Creed Memorial Church was held on Saturday, August 2nd, and was conducted by the Rev. H. E. Bellhouse (District Chairman). The door at the main entrance of the church was officially unlocked by Mr. E. W. Isbister, who received the key from Mr. E. Head (Trust Secretary). The building was then filled to overflowing, many being unable to gain admittance.

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“The choir, ably conducted by Mr. Irvine, rendered appropriate music. The lesson was read by the Rev. J. A. Lochore. The sermon was delivered by the Rev. A. C. Lawry from Ps. 144, 15, who said, ‘It is a happy occasion and due to the organising of the local minister and the people of Port Chalmers that the beautiful new church has been opened today. I hope it will be the centre of a beneficial influence that will bring many people into the atmosphere of Christian fellowship.’ The address throughout, which was pointed with striking illustrations from Maori Mission life, will long be remembered.

“The act of dedication of the church was conducted by the Rev. H. E. Bellhouse, who from the Communion rail expressed the hope that the new church, which had a far-reaching historical background, would prove to be a source of blessing to the congregation and to the whole community. After Mr. Bellhouse had conducted the act of dedication the Rev. G. B. Hinton led in prayer.

“The service was attended by the Mayor and Councillors of Port Chalmers, the School Committee and ministers of the city and local churches.

“The church, with its copper spire, is a beautiful building, not elaborate, but dignified and arresting. The Rev. A. C. Lawry has presented to the church a piece of wood from the first wooden church erected in New Zealand (Hokianga) in 1828. This will be inlaid in the Communion rail and suitably inscribed.

“Next day, Sunday, August 3rd, the opening services were continued. The morning service was conducted by the Rev. H. E. Bellhouse, who delivered a very able discourse appropriate for the occasion. The evening service was conducted by the Rev. T. A. Pybus, who took for his text Psalm 27–4. The church was filled at both services. The musical portion of the service was conducted by Mr. Irvine.”

On Sunday morning, December 3rd, 1934, the Creed Memorial Window was unveiled and dedicated by the Rev. H. E. Bellhouse. The window was the gift of the Creed family in Australia, and bears the following inscription:

“To the glory of God and in memory of the Rev. Charles Creed, a pioneer missionary in these parts, 1844–1853, who died in Sydney on February 18, 1879.”

It is a work of art and reflects great credit on the designer.

## **CHAPTER FIFTEEN CENTENARY OF SOUTH ISLAND MISSION**

In view of the centenary of the establishment of the first Christian Mission in the South Island in 1840, of which Otakou was a major part, at the request of the Methodist Home Mission Board, Auckland, the question of the erection of a new church at Otakou to commemorate that event was discussed and approved at the April quarterly meeting of the Port Chalmers Methodist Church. The proposal was also discussed and unanimously approved at a meeting of the Maori people at Otakou in July, 1936.

At a meeting of the Methodist District Executive held in Dunedin in November, 1937, the proposal was introduced by the Rev. T. A. Pybus, who outlined the project. To enable the scheme to come under the Government National Centennial group of memorials, it was necessary to erect the building in Maori design. It would be fitting that a portion of the building should be set aside as a Sanctuary Museum to contain the tribal relics, curios, photographs of the chiefs and pioneers and historical documents. The speaker stated that he had consulted the Maori people at Otakou, that he had corresponded with the National Centennial Committee, Wellington, and with the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Hon. W. E. Parry, and there was a consensus of opinion that the church should commemorate the establishment of the first Christian Mission in the South Island and also the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 by the Otakou chiefs, who were all adherents of the Wesleyan Mission and are buried in the Otakou Cemetery Reserve, the only exception being Tuhawaiki, who perished at sea. Mr. Pybus stressed the importance of the memorial inasmuch as the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi at Otakou had preceded the proclamation of the Sovereignty at Cloudy Bay and the hoisting of the British Flag at Akaroa.

The meeting approved the scheme and appointed the Rev. T. A. Pybus secretary and treasurer, and also convener of any associated committee. It further charged him with the collection of funds.

For the project, collections were taken up in all the Methodist churches in New Zealand, in many Bible classes and Sunday schools, in the various Associated Women's Missionary Auxiliaries in New Zealand and from among the Port Chalmers and Waitati Methodist Church Trusts and Ladies' Guilds. The following English Methodist PAGE 147 laymen contributed—Sir M. Perks, Sir Thomas Rowbotham, Lord Stamp, Lord Wakefield, Lord Rochester, Hon. J. A. Rank, E. S. Lamplough, Esq., Rt. Hon. W. Jordan, High Commissioner for New Zealand, and also the Watkin family in Australia. The Otago Harbour Board subscribed £150 to the fund, the Dunedin Savings Bank £500, and the Koputai Maori Trust £100. Various Dunedin public bodies, business firms and individuals supported the project financially. Many subscriptions from interested people in various parts of New Zealand were received. The Government subsidised the scheme by granting £1 for every three pounds collected. Later a grant of £500 was given by the Methodist Centennial Thanksgiving Fund Committee.

The foundation stone of the Otakou Maori Centennial Church was laid on Saturday, February 24th, 1940. The following appeared in the Monday issue of the Otago Daily Times:

“A red-letter day in its history, the Maori settlement of Otakou was the scene of gaiety and animation on Saturday when the Maori Centennial was celebrated by song and dance and by the laying of two memorial stones, one to mark the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and in memory of the southern chiefs who signed that historic document; the other commemorating 100 years of Christian endeavour. The President of the Methodist Centennial Conference (Rev. L. B. Neale) presided over the function, which lasted all the afternoon. A thousand people, at least, gathered there on the hills overlooking the 1831 whaling station on the harbour to pay homage to the great Maori chiefs of olden times whose names are writ so indelibly in the history of New Zealand and Otago. The function commenced with a Maori welcome by Mr. Hon Kerei Tairaoa, grandson of the famous chief, and Mr. Tirikatene, M.P., both of whom were dressed in Maori style. These were responded to by the Revs. E. Te Tuhi and Matarae Tauroa.

“A solemn procession then made its way to the quiet little cemetery behind the church and reverently laid beautiful wreaths of flowers on the graves of the chiefs who signed the Treaty of Waitangi for the natives of the South, Karetai, Tairaoa and Korako. The body of Kaikoura reposes in the burial ground of the first Mission Church at Ruatitiko, and Tuhawaiki was drowned at sea.

“Following this act of reverence, the foundation stone of the church was laid by Miss Watkin, daughter of Dr. E. Watkin, and granddaughter of the Rev. J. Watkin, the first missionary to the South Island. The inscription on the stone reads:



To the Glory of God in memory of the Rev. James Watkin, who landed at Waikouaiti, May 16th, 1840, and established in these parts the first Christian Mission.'

“The other memorial stone had its wording inscribed in Maori, a literal interpretation of it being: To commemorate the signing PAGE 148of the Treaty of Waitangi at Otago on June 13th, 1840, by the chiefs Karetai and Korako, and at Ruapuke on June 9th, 1840, by the chiefs Tuhawaiki, Taiaroa and Kaikoura.'

“Prayers were offered by the Rev. Matarae Tauroa (in Maori). The singing was led by the Port Chalmers and Ravensbourne choirs,. An address was given by Mr. D. Ellison on behalf of the church. Addresses were given by Mr. Tirikatene, M.P. (on behalf of the Government), Mr. P. Neilson, M.P., Mr. A. H. Allen (Mayor of the City), Mr. W. Begg (on behalf of the Harbour Board), and Principal Haddon, M.A., on behalf of the Council of Churches, Sister Atawhai gave greetings on behalf of the Maori Deaconesse. A programme of poi action songs and hakas carried the festivities into early evening. The Salvation Army Citadel Band rendered selections during the afternoon.

“The Centennial Gate, fronting the Maori Reserve at Otakou, was opened on Saturday, March 30th, 1940. After a few words of welcome by Mr. Watson, Mr. D. Ellison gave an interesting address on the early Otakou Maori history, during the course of which he traced its origin back to the first Polynesian visitors to these shores. There followed an address by Mr. O. Harwood, whose father was a manager for Weller Bros. He gave a review of the whaling days. Mr. Ansell touched upon the value of the gates and arch as fittingly marking the first 100 years at Otakou. He formally declared the gates open and asked Mr. Hori Karetai, grandson of the noted chief, to cut the ribbon. After the ceremony the visitors were entertained by the Maori girls with action songs and poi dances.

“Between 200 and 300 guests sat down to a banquet in the old meeting house, presided over by Mr. R. Douglass, who was responsible for carrying out this memorial work. With him were seated, among others, descendants of the tribal chiefs, such as Mr. M. Taiaroa, Mr. Hori Karetai, and Messrs. D. and J. Ellison. Mr. Murray Thomson, a pakeha resident of former days, and Mr. W. Begg, chairman of the Harbour Board, were also present. The banquet was a pleasant and informal function; Maori maidens in tribal dress attending to the wants of the guests. Music was supplied by the Kaikorai Band.

“On March 22nd, 1941, the Centennial Church was opened for worship, the President of the Conference, the Rev. W. A. Burley, M.A., presiding over a gathering of some two thousand people including representatives of the Government and public bodies and ministers of the

various Dunedin churches. The ceremony commemorated two events—the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi by the Otakou chiefs, who were adherents of the Mission, and the establishment of the first Christian Mission in the South Island. A welcome by the Otakou Maoris in native costume was given to the official party as they approached the church, the response being given by PAGE 149the Rev. E. Te Tuhi and the Rev. Piripi Rakena, chiefs of the Ngapuhi tribe. The gathering then sang the hymn, ‘O God, our Help in Ages Past’, followed by prayers in the Maori language and a reading from the Scriptures. Mr. D. Ellison (Erihana) welcomed the people on behalf of the Maori residents, and concluded by saying that the church would stand for generations to come as a tribute to the sacrifices of the early missionaries who had brought the Word of God to Otakou. On behalf of the Prime Minister, the Hon. F. Langstone, Minister of Native Affairs, conveyed the greetings of the Government. Mr. Langstone said that it was the fruit of the foundations of Christianity laid by the Rev. James Watkin and his successors which brought them there that day, and in the new church the people of Otakou had a lasting memorial commemorating all that had been done in the past and a memorial pointing the way to the future. Mr. Langstone concluded by paying a warm tribute to the work of the Rev. T. A. Pybus, who, he said, must be a happy man in the realisation of such a beautiful church standing completed as the fruit of so much work. Addresses were given by Mr. Tirikatene, Maori Member of the Parliament, the Revs. Ewen Simpson, representing the Council of Christian Churches, and Dr. McMillan. The Rev. L. B. Neale responded. On behalf of the architects, Messrs. Miller and White, Mr. E. Miller then presented a golden key to Miss A. Karetai, granddaughter of the great chief of that name, with which she opened the door. The first service in the church was conducted in Maori and English by the Revs. E. Te Tuhi and Piripi Rakena. The official sermon was delivered by the Rev. W. A. Burley, M.A., President of the Conference, who also read the Prayer of Consecration according to the ritual of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America. The Benediction was pronounced by the Rev. G. I. Laursen, General Secretary of the Home Mission Department.

“The Otakou Memorial Church is constructed in Maori designs. Into the base of an outside wall is built a stone from the original store of Weller Bros., whalers, dated 1832. At the left side of the entrance is a large greenstone boulder presented by Mr. Devlin, while polished pieces of greenstone form a mosaic to a Maori pattern in the floor of the vestibule and in the steps at the entrance. An outstanding feature of the interior is the memorial window designed by Mr. J. Brock. All the windows have leadlights in three colours, designed after Maori Weaving pattern. The chancel is panelled with tukutuku fibre work in pleasing Maori style. The Communion Altar is the original one from the preceding building which has been newly carved in Maori patterns. The Communion rail and chancel chair are also skilfully designed, the latter being the gift of Mr. N. L. Walton. The pulpit has been reconstructed on the lines of the original one (and contains part of the same) built by the Rev. PAGE 150J. F. Riemenschneider, who was minister from 1862 to 1866. The original stone font has been mounted on a handsome pedestal of New Zealand green serpentine. Inset in the wall above is a brick from the chimney of the manse of the Rev. J. Watkin at Waikouaiti. These bricks were made in Botany Bay and were the first imported to Otago. Also inset in the wall is a piece of stone from the Ven. Bede's Church and Monastery of St. Paul, Jarrow, England, bearing the date A.D. 682—the first church in the North of England.

“The Sanctuary-Museum contains many valuable exhibits, among them being the Kawakawa Stone, which is the heirloom of the southern Maori people, presented by Mr. Hori Kerei Taiaroa, and which had been handed down for about 200 years. This relic shows evidences of primitive workmanship. There is one greenstone mere of very ancient date and two of whalebone dating probably from the Waitaha period, gifts from Miss Muir; the valuable Ellison tribal relics; manuscript notes by Revs. Samuel Marsden and J. Watkin; photos of the chiefs and missionaries of former days; Bibles, and Prayer Books dating from Mission years, and many other exhibits of historical interest.”<sup>1</sup>

The whare runanga (meeting house) is of great importance in a Maori kaika, for there the people assemble to discuss their many problems. Such a building was erected at Otakou many years ago. but unfortunately it was not built in Maori designs. Its history goes back to the dim past.

It was originally erected to provide a place where the people could debate Maori affairs, and particularly for the discussion of the Kai-tahu land claims. The building, due to the passing of time, fell into a sad state of decay, and Mr. David Ellison (Te Iwi Erihana) took a leading part in urging the need for a new building. Unfortunately he died before the proposal matured and the work was left to others. Money was collected from the public, who subscribed liberally. Again the Dunedin Savings Bank Committee, the Otago Harbour Board and public bodies and individuals came to the assistance of the Building Committee. A grant was made by the Koputai Maori Trust. There were also street day collections in the city and the Government subsidised the amount.

On Saturday, October 6th, 1945, a closing social was held in the old building, but unfortunately the proceedings were marred by the sad and sudden illness and death of Mrs. Karetai, the wife of Mr. Hori Karetai. Mrs. Karetai was addressing the people before they departed and was urging the young people to be true to their best Maori traditions and customs; to take an active interest in the affairs of the kaika and to respect and honour the memory of their PAGE 151 ancestors. She could not conclude her address—the Home Call had come.

On Sunday, October 14th, after the usual church service, the congregation proceeded to the old meeting house for the last time. The Rev. T. A. Pybus in his remarks stated that the building would be demolished during the week. He pointed out that it had been a sacred place to their ancestors, for there in that meeting house they had considered their many problems; there their dead had been laid prior to burial, and their tangis solemnised. Their marriage festivities had been celebrated in that historic building following the Sacred Rite conducted in that adjacent church. It was associated with the joys, sorrows and tears of former generations.

Mr. Pybus then asked the people to stand in silence for a few moments and think of their ancestors. Following this he offered a karakia and pronounced the Apostolic Benediction. The elder Maoris pronounced the ceremony a true whakanoa.

The new meeting house was opened at Otakou by the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser, on Saturday, December 7th, 1946. The following appeared in the Evening Star two days later:

“Several hundred Maoris and pakehas gathered before the new whare runanga to await the arrival of the Prime Minister and the official party at 2 o'clock on Saturday afternoon. A band of Maori warriors and wahines in traditional dress watched the entrance gates. On the arrival of Mr. Fraser, accompanied by the Minister of Defence, Mr. Jones, Mr. E. T. Tirikatene, the Rev. T. A. Pybus, and the three Dunedin Members of Parliament, a warrior, armed with a taiaha, pranced down the path to meet him. It was the beginning of a traditional welcome.

“With fierce gesticulations and facial grimaces and brandishing his taiaha, the warrior halted the manuhiri tuarangi and his party. Performing the traditional wero, he placed a small replica of a taiaha at the visitors' feet. If the visiting chief was on a peaceful mission he would pick up the small taiaha; if an enemy, he would not touch it and the wero man would endeavour to destroy him. The wero man on this occasion looked ferocious and was so enthusiastic in his actions that he made the gravel fly around Mr. Fraser's feet and the taiaha was brandished alarmingly close to his face.

“Mr. Fraser picked up the small taiaha, and the wero man led him to the marae, giving the traditional cry of ‘Toia mai te waka, ki te uranga, te waka, ki te moenga e takoto ai te waka’. The waiting Maoris knew then that it was a peaceful mission and the Prime Minister was enthusiastically received on the marae.

“The official welcome to the visitors was given by Mr. Tirikatene, who used both Maori and English in his address. He welcomed the Prime Minister to the historic marae of their great forbears.

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The new meeting house, he said, carried the name of Tamatea, the chief in command of the great canoe Takitimu which took part in the great migration across the Pacific. This famous canoe arrived at the great migration across the Pacific. This famous canoe arrived at the East

Coast, carved the islands apart, and came down to the south, where it rested not far from the marae.

“A brief welcome in English was extended to the visitors to the marae by Mr. G. Karetai, who referred to the historic connections of the marae and the meeting house. It was at the kaika that the Otakou chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi, and on the nearby hill, Ohinetu, the Otakou Maoris discussed the sale of Otago lands at a penny farthing an acre. All but Tuhawaiki were buried on the historic site.

“Mr. T. Wesley spoke words of welcome in Maori and the Rev. E. Te Tuhi, of Auckland, a rangatira of the famous Ngapuhi tribe, responded to the official welcome and then offered the Karakia, the traditional lifting of the tapu, without which, according to Maori custom, the new building could not become a meeting house.

“Maori action songs, traditional hakas, and a Maori hymn preceded a brief speech of greeting and congratulations on behalf of the people of Dunedin by the Mayor, Mr. Cameron. He was followed by Mr. Pybus, who spoke of the history of Otakou.

“‘This kaika is soaked and saturated in Maori history and tradition,’ Mr. Pybus said. ‘It was also part of the first Christian Mission in the South Island, which was established by the Rev. James Watkin in 1840. It brings to mind the ancient tribes—the Rapuwai, the Waitaha, the Ngati-mamoe, and the Ngai-tahu. The meeting house bears the name of Tamatea, and with it are associated, too, the names of the great warrior Tarewai, and the chiefs of more recent days. These chiefs sleep in their graves, but we remember them.’

“The Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser spoke of the great migration of the Maori people in 1350 and of their powers of navigation that baffled the navigators of the present day. The very name of Otakou was historic, he said, just as was the name of the meeting house, Tamatea. He congratulated all those who had been behind the Maori centennial project. At first the project seemed almost too big, but courage and enterprise had made the carrying out of it possible. Mr. Pybus still needed help, and he always would need help, for he was always planning new projects.

“‘This historic meeting house will give the young Maori people an opportunity to understand, assimilate, and participate in the ancient Maori arts and crafts, songs and legends,’ Mr. Fraser said. ‘I recall what George Bernard Shaw said of the haunting beauty of Maori music. The chants and songs of the Maori well up from the hearts of the people and are preserved from a priceless heritage.

Mr. Shaw, who is a great music critic, said that Maori songs and airs were very like Hebridean music. Someone suggested that they were primitive, but Mr. Shaw disagreed. They came, he said, from the deepest emotions of the human heart. It would be a tragedy if this great treasure was lost to us.'

“The Hon. F. Jones, Minister of Defence, added his congratulations to those responsible for the meeting house and thanked the Maori people for what they had done for the servicemen stationed in the district. As their new member, he promised to do everything possible for them in the future, and expressed the hope that the meeting house would be an inspiration to Maori and pakeha for all time.

“According to Maori tradition, no woman is allowed into a meeting house before it is finished. She must reserve her criticisms until the work is finished. It was appropriate, therefore, that at the opening ceremony a woman—the Mayoress of Dunedin (Mrs. Cameron)—should be the first to cross the threshold. She turned the key in the door, the Prime Minister opened it and declared the meeting house officially open, and Mrs. Cameron entered the whare runanga.

“A short programme of Maori songs, graceful pois, and hakas led by an energetic and amusing warrior, Mr. Kio Pollett, was presented, and brief speeches were given by visiting Maoris.

“On behalf of the architects, Messrs. Miller and White, Mr. E. Miller presented the Prime Minister with a carved Maori box and a greenstone adze found not far from the site of the meeting house. Mr. Miller told how a method had been invented to reproduce in concrete Maori carvings—the first time this had been done in New Zealand, although the North Island were now claiming the distinction.

“Mr. Fraser briefly acknowledged the gift and congratulated the architects and all associated with the building on their fine work....

“The next day, Sunday, December 8th, 1946, a service was held in the Centennial Memorial Church at 11 a.m. conducted by the Rev. T. A. Pybus and the senior Maori minister, the Rev.

Eruera Te Tuhi, delivered an appropriate address in Maori and English. Prayers were said in Maori. There was a large and attentive congregation.

“At 2.30 p.m. a large concourse of people assembled at the whare runanga for the dedication of the memorial window in memory of those Maori soldiers who served in the two World Wars. The Rev. T. A. Pybus presided and prayers were offered by the Rev. W. L. Harbour (Anglican). The Maori Choir rendered several musical items.

“Addresses were given by the Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser (Prime Minister), the Hon. F. Jones (Minister of Defence), Mr. Tirikatene, M.P., the Mayor of Dunedin (Mr. D. Cameron), and the President PAGE 154 of the Otago Branch of the South African Veterans' Association, Mr. S. Duncan.

“After a moment's silence a prayer was led by the Rev. W. L. Harbour, and the unveiling of the window was carried out by the President of the Dunedin Returned Services' Association, Mr. S. P. Cameron. The Rev. E. Te Tuhi, chaplain of the Forces, offered a prayer of dedication, speaking in Maori, and the ceremony closed with the National Anthem and the Benediction.”

<sup>1</sup> From reports in the Otago Daily Times, Evening Star, and Methodist Times.

## **CHAPTER SIXTEEN RANGATIRAS AND NATIVE PASTORS**

There were three noted and outstanding chiefs in the far south of New Zealand—Horomona Pohio, Tuhawaiki, and Topi Patuki.

Horomona Pohio, one of Watkin's most efficient teachers, was a chief of the Kai-tahu tribe and descended from the noted Kai-tahu chief, Ruahikihiki, the father of Taoka, Moki and Te Matauirā. Horomona was born at Waihao, South Canterbury, about 1815. His early years were spent at Ruapuke, where his grandfather, Te Kahupatiti, had a large whare runanga, and the area on which it stood is still known as Te Turako-o-Kahupatiti.

When Watkin arrived at Waikouaiti in 1840, Horomona journeyed by boat to see him, anxious to learn the Scriptures and to know the truths of Christianity. He was an apt pupil, was intelligent above the average, and became the first authorised native Christian apostle to Ruapuke and the far south. He was a forceful preacher and was highly respected by the people. In March, 1844, Watkin, during his southward visitation, attempted to visit Ruapuke Island, but due to a high sea was unable to land. He wrote on March 5th, 1844: "I was obliged to return without achieving my principal object. I wrote to and sent a package to Solomon (Horomona Pohio), my principal teacher there, which would lessen the disappointment. I will try again shortly."

Bishop Selwyn wrote regarding his visit to the island in 1844: "I found some natives able to read, and one especially intelligent party, under the care of a well informed teacher." The Bishop does not name the "well informed teacher". So far as the records go, there was only one capable, authorised teacher, namely, Horomona Pohio. Horomona performed his duties not only at Ruapuke and Stewart Island, but on the mainland, as recorded in the Church Register.

Mr. Ferens, Creed's assistant, during a visit to Otakou (July 26th, 1848), refers to the Ruapuke men who were on a visit as follows, "Saw some of the finest and best men who had come from the south," and mentions Horomona as preaching at Waikouaiti and calls him Mr. Solomon, his baptismal name. In 1849 his name appears in the Mission records of that place. In March, 1854, his name appears in the records of Moeraki as assisting the Rev. W. PAGE 156Kirk. In 1871 he is reported as performing Christian duties at the Bluff and Aparima. He possessed tribal lands at Waimate. The Wesleyan Church today at Waimate is built on ground he set aside from his Waimate reserve.

Mr. G. H. Graham, in his *The Book of Waimate* (1929), writes of the Maoris there in the old days as a "gentle and lovable people", but he continues, "I sometimes fear that their contact with us has not inspired them, rather to the contrary"; and again, "I hope our people will more and more cherish a feeling of kindness, love and gratitude towards these gentle people, whose ancestors roamed along these coasts long before our people knew of such a place as New Zealand." He also speaks of their chief, Horomona Pohio, who lived near Point Bush. He remarks about the little Maori Church which stood on rising ground in front of the native village.

Horomona was very dissatisfied with the smallness of the native reservation in Otago made by Mr. Tuckett, who, ignoring the just claims of the chiefs, ran his survey pegs through their sacred places and burial grounds. His interest at Otakou came from his Kai-tahu blood. He was one of the signatories to the Deed of Purchase in the original Waikouaiti and the further Waikouaiti reserves of 1868, also of Hawea, 1868. He petitioned Parliament for compensation for land between Kaiapohio and Kaikoura which was purchased in 1848 from Ngati-toa. Ngati-toa had no recognisable title of occupation to this land and therefore the



purchase money should have been paid to Kai-tahu. The petition was dismissed as it was considered that too great a period had elapsed between the sale of Ngati-toa and the petition of Horomona. Horomona having received a good education from the missionaries, was perhaps the only chief of his time fully to appreciate the value of lands which were being surrendered to the Government. He was appointed a native assessor, or magistrate, and in that capacity he went to Hawke's Bay and assisted in the adjudication of the Ahuriri land case. On February 6th, 1867, he was the official spokesman welcoming Governor Grey to Arowhenua.

The Register shows that he was married more than once, first to Mata Mauhe, at Otakou, who died, and then on February 9th, 1846, to Wikitoria Korako at Waikouaiti by Rev. Charles Creed. In later years he married Hiro Pororere Tau, daughter of the Kaiapohia chief, Paora Tau, who was the first cousin of Tawaka, principal chief of that pa at the time of the attack by Te Rauparaha. It is worthy of note that Tawaka was the uncle of Tamiaharanui, the late upoko ariki of the Kai-tahu tribe. One son, Hoani Horomona, by his wife Mata Mauke, was baptised at Otakou by the Rev. Charles Creed on November 9th, 1845. Horomona Pohio died at his residence at Waimate on March 12th, 1880, and was interred in the Wesleyan portion of the cemetery. The Rev. T. Fee officiated. He left a PAGE 157widow, five sons and three daughters.<sup>1</sup>

Rawiri Te Maire was a rangatira of considerable standing in the Mission days. He was born at the Punaterakao pa and belonged to the Ngati Kuriapa hapu of the tribe. As a boy he lived at Lake Hawea, but had to flee with his people from the invader Te Puoho, who, bent on exterminating the southern natives, had travelled overland from the West Coast with a taua party, leaving a trail of blood and desolation as he passed on to Tukurau in 2

He became the constant companion of Watkin on his visitation tours by sea and land, and became, after training, an acceptable preacher and pastor. He was married by Mr. Watkin to Heikura on June 19th, 1841. As a teacher and preacher he faithfully discharged his duties and watched his charge with a solicitude and anxiety rarely equalled. It was due to Te Maire that the name of the hill Hikororoa, near Waikouaiti, was changed to Mt. Watkin. Upon the removal of the Rev. George Stannard, the mission station being vacant, he assisted the Anglican Church. Te Maire died on August 16th, 1899, said to be 91 years of age, and was buried in the Karitane Cemetery, a few feet away from the old Wesleyan Mission Station.

Merekiheka Hape was a respected chief and friend of the missionaries. He was baptised upon confession of faith on September 10th, 1843. Mr. Watkin, in his report, pens a brief and simple sentence: "Yesterday baptised a youth Melchisedic" (Merekihireka Hape). This young man now applied himself to study and proved himself to be an apt pupil. To study the Scriptures was his delight, and he sought to be "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed". He was a good preacher and powerful in refuting erroneous doctrine. His task was by no means easy, for although many of the people had embraced the Gospel, some of them were still in the grip of their old beliefs. He laboured patiently and persistently, trusting in the

power of God, knowing that the final result was sure. He not only ministered in the various hapus of Otakou and Puketeraki, where he spent his early years, but he travelled to the distant kaikas.

He was married by the Rev. Charles Creed to Hira Keramate on August 15th, 1844. He died at Puketeraki on September 21st, 1890, and was buried in the cemetery near the church. Hape led an exemplary Christian life, and had strong and healthful influence on the Maori and pakeha people of Otago.

Hoani Weteri (John Wesley) Korako was a cousin of the chiefs, Karetai and Taiaroa, and was himself a chief of outstanding gifts and graces. He had great influence with his people and was well known from Moeraki to Stewart Island and Ruapuke. He

1 Authorities: Mr. W. A. Taylor, Dr. D. J. Sinclair, Watkin and Creed Journals, Church Register.

2 Pioneering Days in Southern Maoriland, by M. A. Rugby Pratt.

PAGE 158 signed the Treaty of Waitangi, and in 1844 at Koputai he was one of the signatories to the sale of Otago to the New Zealand Company.

Mr. Watkin took great interest in him and after due instruction he was set apart as a teacher and preacher. He possessed a keen intellect and was a born mathematician. One showing was quite enough for him. In one year he was able to use his pen with credit, as the Church Register shows. He had a building erected at his own hapu at Otakou, which he used as a school and chapel. This neat building was erected on the slope of Tahakopa and did duty for many years. Hoani was the first native schoolmaster in the district. Even pakeha children were glad to avail themselves of his services. As a preacher he could charm and fascinate an audience, playing upon their feelings like a master musician on an organ. He not only preached by word of lip, but his whole life was eloquent with the rhetoric of a good example. He was one of Nature's gentlemen and possessed a pleasant and commanding personality and with his easy bearing, impressive calm, and voice majestically sweet, he won many of his tribe for Christ and His Church. Mr. Watkin wrote in his diary regarding him: "December 26th, 1843. In the evening heard Hoani Weteri (John Wesley) Korako address the congregation, and was pleased. Afterwards I held a sacrament service and had a large number to partake." He also remarked, "May they all be partakers of spiritual life through the death of Christ, which we then commemorated."

Hoani was ably assisted in his work by his wife. Moheko was an elect lady of striking presence and Christian graces, to whom he was married by Watkin on March 14th, 1844, the

witnesses being Merekihireka Hape and Mate Pi Mutu. Hoani died at an advanced age in 1873, and was buried in the cemetery behind the church at Ornate, Otakou. A memorial brass plate has been placed on the wall of the Otakou Centennial Church bearing his name, and also that of Tare Weteri Te Kahu.

Tare Weteri (Charles Wesley) Te Kahu deserves an honoured place in Maori history, and also in the history of the Wesleyan Mission. He was one of the diligent students under the care of James Watkin, and after training became an efficient teacher and preacher. He is referred to by Mr. Percy Smith in his book *Hawaiki* as a very learned member of the Kai-tahu tribe, and is quoted as an authority upon the early history of the South Island Maoris. In the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. X, page 8, there is an article, dictated by him, giving an account of the wars with Te Rauparaha, and also of the battle of Tukurau. He is stated to be "One of the survivors of those fateful days".

He is also mentioned in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, page 65, in which he gave information regarding the origin of the Kati-mamoe. This chieftain claimed that his father PAGE 159 took part in the Murdering Beach affair in 1817 when Captain Kelly, of the ship *Sophia*, was attacked by the Maoris. The mere with which his father fought and killed one of Kelly's men is now in the possession of his grandson.

In the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, No. 163, September, 1932, an article by Mr. D. Teviotdale refers to Te Kahu as an authority in Maori matters as follows: "Weteri Te Kahu told me that Arowhenua (Horo-whenua) was the southern limit of the cultivation of the kumara."

Te Kahu was baptised on June 18th, 1843, when he chose for his name Charles Wesley. After his baptism Watkin appointed him as preacher to his own people. To mention his name today to the elder Maori people brings forth expressions of respect. On the day of his baptism he was married with the ritual of the church to Riria Wharekauri; she also that day accepted Christian baptism. Their home was at Te Taupo, Otakou, overlooking the sea. Tare Weteri was a man of perseverance and gentle insistence whose life told powerfully upon the people. He was an eloquent preacher and delivered his message in a solemn, level voice, sometimes saying an important sentence over and over again. Neither the sarcasm of the pakeha nor the opposition of certain of his own race could turn him aside from his sacred calling. Sometimes he was accosted by people who were perplexed with the various sects of the Christian Church. He would pause, draw a circle on the ground with his stick, and then, pointing to the centre of the circle, call it "Heaven". He would draw a number of crooked lines and trace them as they ultimately made for the centre of the circle. "This one," he would say, "is the Church of England, winding its devious course to the centre, Heaven." Another winding track he would name as the Presbyterian Church; but the straight and direct line represented the Wesleyan Church, which made at once for the centre, but all, at last, reached the desired goal.

Tare Weteri was dignified in manner, fluent and forceful in speech, and could hold an audience with ease. When native magistrates or assessors were appointed in 1843, his name appeared on the list. For a short time he lived at Waitaki, but most of his life was spent at Otakou. His body reposes in the little "God's Acre" behind the church at Ornate, Otakou.

Matiu (Matthew) Kehepani was another eminent character, who was not only a chief but also a tohunga. It was the duty of the tohunga to preserve in his memory the Maori theology, heroic sayings and genealogy, and to pass them on to his successor. The Maori "oracle" was much in repute, and the tohunga was the medium through which it was accomplished. He had charge of the ceremonies connected with the burial of the dead and all other important functions. Upon his conversion Matiu became a Christian tohunga, and PAGE 160 sought to carry out his duties on the high level of gospel teaching. He denounced sorcery, and kindred superstitions, and led his people to renounce their old practices.

He was baptised by Watkin on June 18th, 1843. He proved himself not only capable of understanding and receiving the truth of Christianity, but of communicating it to his fellow-countrymen. In addressing audiences, his pathos and humour were simply irresistible. He was thoroughly original and he could also be sarcastic and pungent. He erected a native church at Pukeleraki which for some years was a centre of Christian activity. Unfortunately, his last years were clouded by mental infirmity, but to the last he was loyal to the Mission.

It is claimed that the noted chief, Tuhawaiki, was born at Tauhinu, Inchclutha; but the senior Maoris regard Port Molyneux as his birthplace. His parents lived in the old village Murikauhaka, Port Molyneux, at the mouth of the Mataau 1 Tuhawaiki was born about 2 His parents were Te Kaihaere and Kura. It appears that Kura, the daughter of the Kai-tahu chief, Hone Kai, and of the Kati-mamoe chieftainess, Hokiwai, fled from Ruapuke to Molyneux and married Te Kaihaere. Her brother was Te Whakataupuka, described as "a horrid cannibal, celebrated as much for his cunning as his courage". He had one distinguishing feature, namely, six toes on each foot. He was almost supreme in Murihiku (the tail of the fish), and upon his death from measles in 1835 his man a passed to his nephew, Tuhawaiki. Whakataupuka sold to Peter Williams in 1832, for 60 muskets, the land from Dusky Bay to Preservation Inlet.

Tuhawaiki was of Kai-tahu and Kati-mamoe blood. He was an influential chief who, without owing anything to the superiority of his birth, had sufficient address to gain the ascendancy over the chiefs of the southern tribes. This, with the backing of the numerous predominating Kati-mamoe population of the south, who had been reunited under his vigorous uncle, Te Whakataupuka, gave him 3 Tuhawaiki had two sons, Poko and John Frederick Kihau. Poko died, and the other, who was baptised by Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers, married Medeline Kurukuru

and had three children. S. F. Kihau was drowned and his widow married Topi Patuke and became the ancestress of Topo's as well as Tuhawaiki's 4

Watkin writes regarding this chief: "October 19th, 1840: The principal chief of this island, who is labelled 'Bloody Jack', is now on a visit (to Waikouaiti)... His name is Tuhovaiki. He appears

1 History of Port Molyneux, by Hon. F. Waite.

2 King of the Bluff, by F. G. Hall-Jones.

3 Manuscripts of Dr. D. J. Sinclair.

4 Waite and Hall-Jones.

PAGE 161 to be very superior to most of his countrymen. He has a strong taste, if not a passion, for European improvements. He has a bodyguard of soldiers clad in old soldiers' jackets which he was able to procure when he was in Sydney. His sergeant is a New Zealander who has travelled a good deal and spent many years in the Sandwich Islands, where he was one of the regiment of native soldiers... Tuhovaiki has a splendid captain's uniform and when worn he might not be ashamed of standing alongside the first dandy or he to him. He has got quite a military air."

Another quotation: "The chief, 'Bloody Jack', is here, but he is brutalised by the intercourse he has had with our 'respectable' countrymen. He, however, told me that if a European missionary were stationed at his place the people would attend his instructions."

Major Bunbury, who visited Ruapuke Island in 1840 to obtain Tuhawaiki's signature to the Treaty of Waitangi, has written: "The chief was named 'Bloody Jack', an epithet of which he is now ashamed and disowns; he has resumed his nativename of 'Toviaki'. He came on board the Herald in the full-dress staff uniform of a British aide-de-camp, with gold laced trousers and cocked hat and plume, in which he looked extremely well. His behaviour at Captain Nias' table, where he took tea, showed that the examples he had seen had not been lost upon him." Dr. Shortland, when visiting Otago in 1843, was favourably impressed: "A chief of very intelligent and pleasing address. He spoke a little English, of which and his English dress he was evidently proud. His influence over all the natives present was decided and appeared to be very beneficially exerted for all parties."

Dr. D. Monro<sup>1</sup> also gives his opinion of this chief: “Tuawaike is probably one of the most Europeanised natives in New Zealand. He was most correctly and completely dressed in white man's clothes, even to the refinement of a cotton pocket handkerchief. His outward and investing garment was an excellent drab greatcoat; and no stage-coachman in England could have thrust his hands into his pockets with a more knowing air.... In the evening we had him in the cabin, where we both profited and were much amused by his conversation.... After shaking hands he pulls out his watch, and asks you what time you make it, and having satisfied himself on this point, he pulls out a dollar, and orders the steward to fetch him a bottle of wine.”

The Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers, missionary at Ruapuke, has given his impressions of <sup>2</sup> “He had long seen that the knowledge of the Europeans was better than the narrow views of his countrymen, and had, therefore, made connections with them.... He had

<sup>1</sup> Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand, by Dr. Hocken.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Dr. D. Monro; Life of Wohlers, by John Houghton.

PAGE 162also adopted European customs, such as those he was in the midst of, but more on the bad than on the good side.... He could not read himself. When in his dealings with Europeans he had to sign important papers, he drew the beautiful spiral curves and lines with which he was tatoed.”

Mr. J. W. Barnicoat, assistant surveyor to Mr. Tuckett, has written: “He is a man of intelligence and property, and professes Christianity as a Protestant. He has a knowledge of our mode of measuring time by hours and distances by miles.”

Bishop Selwyn, in January, 1844, sailed from Otakou to Ruapuke and Stewart Island on Tuhawaiki's schooner Perseverance. The chief was his own navigator, and the Bishop was of the opinion that the vessel could not have been in better hands. The Bishop had assigned to him a little cabin 9 feet by 5 feet. The chief reserved only the right of way for himself and his wife when passing to their berth amidships. Arriving at Ruapuke, the Bishop writes:

“My lodging was in Tuhawaiki's house, which he had vacated for my use. It contained two rooms, in one of which was a large fireplace and chimney; in the other, a boarded bed-place, which the Countess of Ruapuke had carefully spread with two beautiful new red blankets, furnishing also the room with a carpet and a looking glass. I regret to add that another part of the furniture of the room was a large barrel of rum, which the chief kept for the use of his

English sailors, and for sale to the whalers—a vile practice into which he had been led by his English companions, and against which I duly remonstrated.”

An article appeared in the Otago Witness, February 13th, 1864, which depicts another side of the chief's character. The occurrence took place on Ruapuke Island in 1839. At that time, Tuhawaiki stood in the height of his ill-gained reputation as ‘Bloody Jack’ and when he was a terror to his enemies. He had returned from one of his war excursions in the north and had brought to Ruapuke several prisoners he had taken in battle. With the exception of four, all of them were women, and highly valued by the captor.

During his temporary absence from the island, a white man who had lived there and owned a boat determined to set these women at liberty. After getting these creatures into his craft, he succeeded under cover of darkness in sailing from the island. When Tuhawaiki returned to Ruapuke in company with Mr. George Green, who went to the island on business, learning that the women had escaped, was furious and vowed that he would have his revenge on his male prisoners. Green tried all in his power to prevent its execution, but all in vain. A strong man was ordered to put these doomed men to death. Green, with difficulty, got permission to bury the bodies, and thus prevented the customary banquet of human flesh. He also succeeded in saving the life of a fourth prisoner, who was PAGE 163away at the time, and who on his return was to share the fate of his countrymen. By signing a bond, Green engaged the man as his cook and ultimately set him free.

Tuhawaiki is noted for his expeditions against Te Rauparaha in Marlborough in 1832, and also for his attack upon Te Puohu, the invader, at Tukurau in 1836.

Tuhawaiki signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. He also signed the Deed of Purchase for the Otago Block with the other chiefs at Koputai (Port Chalmers) in 1844. Prior to the signing of the Deed he made his impassioned speech on the hill Ohinetu, Otakou. He had a remarkable memory and possessed a wide knowledge of the geography of the South Island. He had a reputation for integrity and straightforwardness. He was above middle height, well proportioned and intelligent. Bold and skilful sailor as he was, he lost his life in November, 1844, whilst steering his boat through a stormy sea when approaching Timaru. He was thrown overboard by a huge wave and was drowned.

Tione Topi Patuke was the son of Wairua and Marama and was born at Waipate, and for many years lived at Kaiapohia, though his real home was Ruapuke. It is claimed that he was the nephew of the famous chief Tamaiharanui, who was persuaded by the wretch Stewart to go on board the Elizabeth at Akaroa, and was handed over to Te Rauparaha, an act of base treachery.

Topi succeeded to the local mana (Ruapuke) on the death of John Frederick Kihau in 1853. He, with Tuhawaiki, Taiaroa and Haereroa, attacked the Ngati-toa, Te Puohu and his warriors, at Tuturau, on the banks of the Mataura River, in 1836. As Te Puohu urged on his men he was shot by Topi Patuke. Topi signed the Deed of Purchase of the Otago Block in 1844. He was appointed as native assessor for Ruapuke in 1844. He was trained as a Wesleyan teacher and preacher by the Rev. Charles Creed and was baptised at Otakou on September 15th, 1844. For a short time only he served in the capacity of a lay preacher. The Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers mentions this chief: "Soon after my arrival I made the acquaintance of the still young high chief, Topi, who stood next in rank to Tuhawaiki—a friendly man, but a little unstable, so that one could not always rely upon him. He was kind enough to offer me a house, but I could not enter it where it stood. It was tapu—holy—because his first wife had died there, and beside me, he dare not speak to anyone who was not of high birth."

In 1850 Topi served as a pilot and interpreter on the survey ship H.M.S. Acheron in Foveaux Strait. He died on September 28th, 1900, said to be 90 years of age. His son, John Topi, became a member of the Upper House, 1918–1

1 Authorities: Journals of Rev. Charles Creed; Dictionary of New Zealand Biography; King of the Bluff, by Hall-Jones; Port Molyneux, by Hon. F. Waite.

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The present writer remembers seeing Topi the elder at a military and civic function held at Invercargill shortly before the chiefs death. He wore his Maori cloak and held his taiaha in his hand.

Karetai is mentioned by Dr. Shortland as being the paramount chief of Otakou. He belonged to the Kai-tahu and Kati-mamoe tribes. As a Kai-tahu he belonged to the Ruahikihiki hapu, whose son, Moke (a half-brother of the famous Taoka), became the chief of Pukekura in the early part of the 18th century.

Karetai was a son of Kakatuaheka and Te Thutakara. One of his ancestors, Pokeni, mentioned by Shortland, had a remarkable wife. One half of her face was tattooed in every respect like that of a man, while the other had no more marks than those to which her sex entitled her. Shortland states that he afterwards met several aged women of this tribe who had similarly engraved their laces, a type of ornamentation not seen among the North Island women.



Karetai was brave in battle and took part in several campaigns against Te Rauparaha. He was wounded in one of his legs at Oraumona and became permanently lame. He also had the misfortune to lose an eye. He accompanied Taiaroa and Tuhawaski to Sydney in 1839–40, and waited upon the Governor relative to their land sales. Karetai returned to New Zealand in the Magnet in March, 1840, with the first company of settlers for Mr. Jones's settlement at Waikouaiti. On June 13th, 1840, when the H.M.S. Herald (Major Bunbury) entered the Otago Harbour, he signed the Treaty of Waitangi. He also, with Tuhawaiki, Taiaroa and others, signed the Deed of Purchase for the Otago Block on July 31st, 1844.

Due to the influence of the Wesleyan Mission, Karetai became interested in the Christian way of life. He abandoned the harmful practices of his ancestors, gave up his slaves, and had his family trained in the principles of Christianity. The following entry appears in the Register regarding the baptism of his youngest son: “No. 714, Papei, six years, son of Karetai and Hini Pahia (William Kirk, Minister).”

Canon J. W. Stack gives an account of a visit to Otakou in 1852: “He (Karetai) lived on the brow of a hill overlooking the sea, about two miles away, in a small weatherboard house consisting of one room, only partly floored. His family consisted of a stout young half-caste woman” (the Canon was not correct; Hine Pakia was a full Maori), “who was his second wife, and her sturdy child, just two years old. We all slept and took our meals together in the one room, the cooking being done in the large fireplace, which took up half one side of the building. I found old Karetai a particularly interesting man to talk to.... He had taken a leading part in the fights with Rauparaha when he invaded the South Island, etc. I thought it spoke well for the sincerity of his Christian faith that he PAGE 165 was so desirous to show his old enemy's son (Tamihana, Te Rauparaha's son, accompanied Stack) some proof of his kindly feeling towards him by doing his best to entertain him. He had procured some special delicacies and charged his wife in our hearing to bestir herself and cook a good meal for our refreshment. She commenced by baking a loaf of excellent bread in a camp oven. That, and boiled potatoes and fried meat, and tea made in a great kettle and sweetened with brown sugar, tasting rather like weak rum and water, formed our repast, which I really enjoyed, in spite of the strange way in which the food was served and the soiled and untidy look of everything about it. It was impossible to feel critical when one's host and hostess were evidently actuated by feelings of hospitality and doing their best. During the night a violent storm sprang up, with pouring rain, which continued for three days. During all that time we were confined to the house and soon found that we had exhausted the food supplies.... Fortunately, just before sunset on the third day, it cleared up and we had a visit from Timothy, Karetai's son, who lived half a mile off, and who, on finding the plight we were in, went in search of a pig. The sound of a gunshot soon afterwards told us that he had found one. Before nightfall Timothy appeared with a large joint of pork, and our hostess soon had some tempting cutlets frizzling on the glowing embers and emitting a most appetising smell ... a most enjoyable meal.”

Karetai died in 1860 and was buried in the Otakou cemetery. His headstone bears the following inscription:

“In memory of Karetai of the Kai-tahu and Kati-mamoe tribes in the South Island who died 30th May, 1860, aged 76 years. Under the shelter of the authority of Queen Victoria, his conduct to the people of the Maori and European races was kind and liberal.”

He was of medium height and of manly bearing, and yet of a retiring nature. His face was strongly tattooed. He was a father to his tribe and won not only their esteem but also their affection.

Timoti Karetai was the son of the paramount chief. He took an active part in contesting the Land Court decision regarding the Maori claims. He, with the Hon. Hori Kerei Taiaroa, contended for the whole of the Otago Peninsula as far as Andersons Bay, as reserved in 1865. He had previously signed the Deed of Purchase on 31st July, 1844. He accompanied Sir George Grey on a tour of the Colony. He died due to injuries received when falling over a precipice at Pukekura. There was a drop of some 70 feet. Timoti Karetai is stated to have been baptised on March 19th, 1 The minister at that time was the Rev. W. Kirk. The following entry is from Kirk's Register regarding his marriage: “March 19th,

1 Early History of Missions in Otago, by P. W. Fairclough.

PAGE 1661854, Timoti Teote, bachelor, about 22 years, to Ariata Kareweko, spinster, about 20 years. Witnesses, Tare Weteri Te Kahu and Hopa Paura.” He died at Otakou on July 20th, 1893.

In the list of the principal men of Otago and Southland, in 1864, the name of Timoti Karetai appears.

Timoti Karetai had three brothers, Korako, Te Ao and Papei Rapatu. The latter was born in 1848 and was baptised by the Rev. W. Kirk. He died in early manhood.

Taiaroa was a born warrior, having come from the old fighting stock, and took part in many a hard fought campaign.

He was the son of Korako and Wharerauaruhe and belonged to the Ruahikihiki hapu of the Kai-tahu and to the Kati-moki hapu of the Kati-mamoe tribe. Although his name is usually linked with Otakou, he hailed from Tamutu and Akaroa, and Shortland speaks of him as a great man of the place—Hakaroa and Pigeon Bay. When the discussion took place regarding

the proposed settlement at Akaroa, Captain Lethart claimed that he had, in 1839, purchased from Taiaroa the Port of Akaroa, and a further block covering fifteen miles of coast from the south-east point of the Peninsula going northward, but Captain Lavaud, of the French ship L'Aube, claimed that the Akaroa Maoris did not recognise the sale, saying "they got nothing out of it."

When the Canterbury land claims were discussed in 1848, known as the Kai-tahu purchase and "Kemp's Deed", Lieutenant-Governor Eyre called together the leading chiefs from north and south at Akaroa and successfully negotiated the purchase, being cordially assisted by Taiaroa, who was then universally acknowledged as "the leader of a somewhat decimated Kai-tahu people"<sup>1</sup>

Although Taiaroa's land claims were excessive, the above shows that he had important rights.

Taiaroa took a prominent part in the war against Te Rauparaha. Some historians claim that he was the ablest of the southern chiefs and 'showed a real capacity for leadership; that when he returned to Otakou from Maryborough, the Maoris lost their most capable leader. Another writes "that Taiaroa stood above any of the leaders of his time in energy and military ability".

Canon Stack goes much further and says: "The Ngai-tahu chiefs who exercised the greatest influence on their people were Te Mai-hara-nui, Taiaroa and Tuhawaiki ... all three took a prominent part in the history of the south. Te Mai-hara-nui was the highest in rank, while his cousin Tuhawaiki came next." (This is doubtful) "Though slightly superior by birth, both were inferior in mental qualities to Taiaroa ... whose conduct stands out in pleasing contrast to those of the two former chiefs, for while they will be

<sup>1</sup> The French at Akaroa, by T. Lindsay Buick.

PAGE 167remembered only by their cruel and evil deeds, he will always be esteemed for his brave and generous actions in war and his wise and kindly counsels in peace." This is a somewhat exaggerated and perhaps fulsome statement. One thing is certain, however, that so far as military strategy is concerned, Te Rauparaha was glad to escape Taiaroa's clutches.

Taiaroa again figures in the conflict, not this time with Te Rauparaha, but with Te Puoho at Tutarau, in 1836, the latter being defeated. Taiaroa proved himself an able supporter of Tuhawaiki and performed no inconspicuous part in the undertaking. Taiaroa seems to have made a poor impression upon the minds of the early visitors to Otago. D'Urville was visited by Taiaroa on board the Astrolabe in 1840 and spoke disparagingly of him. From his contact with the whalers he had acquired the habit of drinking. Mr. Tuckett, the surveyor, described

him as an uncivilised Maori of Jewish physiognomy. Dr. D. Monro remarked upon his Jewish cast of features, and gave no flattering account of him.

Watkin was not favourably impressed at first, and may have modified his opinion upon further acquaintance.

Taiaroa on his part, upon his first contact, had but little love for Europeans, and would have exterminated them if he could. During Watkin's term at Waikouaiti he made threatening raids upon the pakeha. On one occasion, when an American brig was at Otakou, he mustered his canoes for the purpose of capturing her. Finding the ship prepared for attack, he gave up the attempt. Taiaroa was under no illusion regarding the designs of the pakeha. He was a far-seeing man and took in the situation of affairs. He knew what was happening and could see that his people, with the passing of time, would be outnumbered by the influx of settlers. It was also evident that the presence of the missionaries, Watkin and Creed, put restraint upon his threatening attitude. Later, seeing what was inevitable, and desiring to make the best of the situation, he signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 and was one of the signatories to the Deed of Purchase signed at Port Chalmers in 1844 whereby the Otago Block, with the exception of certain reserves, passed into the possession of the pakeha.

Much has been said and written about him as “a skilful rogue”, and also about his acts of cannibalism and avarice. It must be remembered, however, that Taiaroa was a man of his times and that he followed the customs of the age in which he lived. It may be added that the first Europeans he met were no help to him for they were expert in “the tricks of the trade”. It was said, a Maori accused of a dishonest action, in excuse for his breach of integrity, replied, “Pakeha say A.B.C., why not Maori say A.B.C.? If pakeha can steal, why not Maori do the same?”

Late in life Taiaroa made a profession of Christianity. At that particular time the Rev. George Stannard was living at Otakou. Coming into direct contact with the missionary, Taiaroa abandoned his evil habits. Disappointed and disillusioned, he made the best of his declining days and became deeply interested in the Christian way of life. On April 3rd, 1859, he made a public confession of faith in the Ruatitiko Church and was baptised by the Rev. G. Stannard. On the same day, and in the same church, he was married according to the rites of the Christian Church to the chieftainess, Karoraina, daughter of the Wellington chief, Ngatata, and sister of the chief Wi Tako. The entry in the register is as follows: “No. 171, Te Matenga and Karoraina were married at Otakou on the 3rd day of April, 1859.” Prior to the marriage ceremony Karoraina was received into church fellowship by the rite of Christian 1

Taiaroa died on February 2nd, 1863. In his last moments he urged his people to live at peace with the pakeha and to observe their undertakings. Missionary Riemenschneider conducted

the funeral service on February 17th. His tombstone in the Otakou cemetery bears the following inscription: "In memory of Taiaroa of the Ngai-tahu and Ngati-mamoe tribes in the South Island, who died on February 2nd, 1863, aged about 80 years His direction of his people was eminently good and his attachment to the Queen's rule was great."

Taiaroa was of medium height and of great strength. He was the cousin of Karetai and Hoani Weteri Koraki. Karoraina, his wife, died at Wellington in the Te Aro Pa in 1879.

The Hon. Hori Kerei (George Grey) T. Taiaroa was the youngest son of Te Matenga Taiaroa. In early life he attended the Mission school at Otakou, applied himself to study and took advantage of his opportunities for education. In 1871 he became a Member of Parliament as a Maori representative. From 1871 to 1878 and from 1881–85 he represented the Southern Maori District. In 1879–80, and again from 1885 till his death, he was a member of the Upper House. In 1888, when a joint committee was appointed to enquire into the South Island land claims, he took a leading part. He believed that his father and other chiefs made a mistake in signing Kemp's Deed (1848) and the Murihiku Deed. He died on August 4th, 1905, and is buried in the Otakou cemetery. The funeral was attended by a large concourse of people from all parts of the Island.

Raniera Ellison (Erihana), Senr., belonged to the Ngati-awa tribe of Taranaki and came to Otago in early manhood. He married Hana Wera, a granddaughter of Taiaroa, who had been baptised by

1 Authorities: Journals of Watkin and Creed; The Times of Taiaroa, by Dr. H. D. Skinner (in Centenary of the Otago Settlement, Otakou, 1831–1931); Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, edited by G. H. Scholefield.

PAGE 169the Rev. J. Watkin on December 24th, 1843. For some time Raniera (Daniel) was engaged in the whaling business. It is on record that in the whaling days a ship was wrecked off the Otago Heads and that Raniera swam out and rescued seven or eight persons of the crew. At the time of the gold rush he engaged in gold prospecting. He and another Maori, as before stated, discovered gold at Maori Point, on the Shotover River. One of them went to help his dog which was in difficulties in the current. He saved his dog and found gold in his dog's hair.

In later years Mr. Ellison engaged in farming at Otakou, where he died on May 16th, 1920.

Hoani Matapura Ellison (Erihana) was the eldest son of Raniera Ellison and was born at Otakou in 1864. He was educated at the Otakou and Karitane native schools and at the Otago Boys' High School. A first-class licensed interpreter, he conducted major cases before the

Native Land Court. Mr. Ellison in early manhood was a member of the Otago Hussars, and won several championships. He spent most of his life at Puketeraki, near Karitane, where he engaged in farming. Mr. Ellison died in Dunedin in March, 1949.

Thomas Rangiwahia Ellison was born at Otakou in 1866 and was the son of Raniera Ellison, and accordingly descended from the leaders of the Ngati-awa tribe of Taranaki and from Taiaroa and Hinewhareua, the sister of Karetai. He was educated at the Otakou native school and at Te Aute College, where he matriculated. He studied law in the office of Brandon and Hislop, Wellington, and was admitted as the first Maori solicitor in New Zealand. In his early years he gained distinction as a footballer. He petitioned Parliament in 1901 for consideration of the claims of the Kai-tahu tribe, but the petition was not granted. He died in 1904.

Edward Pohau Ellison, O.B.E., M.B.Ch.B., was a brother of the above-mentioned. He graduated in 1919; studied at the Otago Medical School 1913–1919, and achieved distinction. Studied leprosy at Makogai Leper Station, Fiji. Later was associated with Dr. Peter Buck in the question of Maori hygiene in the Department of Health. Became the chief medical officer of the Cook Islands and Director of Division of Maori Hygiene. At the time of writing, he is following his profession as a medical doctor in the Taranaki district.

Te Iwi Ellison, J.P. (David), another brother, was born at Otakou in 1881. He was educated at Te Aute College. As an oarsman he took part in several important contests, and was one of a crew which won the Edmond Shield. For some time he served in the Government Survey Department. Mr. Ellison was a Justice of the Peace and also took a prominent part in public life. Being a fluent speaker in the Maori language, he was in great demand on civic occasions. For some years he was a member of the Otakou PAGE 170Heads Road Board. Mr. Ellison, being keenly loyal to the Maori race and concerned in all their land arid tribal interests, was much perturbed with the result of the early land transactions. He was deeply interested in the erection of the Otakou Maori Centennial Church, being of great assistance to the present writer in an advisory manner in formulating the scheme, also serving as a trustee and church official. Mr. Ellison was regular in attending the Sabbath services and at all church functions. He died on February 6th, 1943, aged 62 years. His death was the result of an unfortunate accident. At the time of his decease he was engaged in farming at Otakou.

Mr. Ellison was predeceased by his wife Olivia, who died on January 29th, 1938. Mrs. Ellison was the daughter of the chief, Timoti Karetai, and granddaughter of the paramount chief of Otakou, Hoani Karetai. She was a much esteemed lady and took an active part in all good concerns, particularly in connection with the Women's Division of the Farmers' Union. She was a devoted member and active worker in connection with the Maori Church.

Mrs. Maaki Karetai was a well known and respected resident of the Otakou kaika who died suddenly on October 7th, 1945, aged 77 years. She was the third daughter of the late Tame Parata, M.L.C., and a chieftainess in her own right. Mrs. Karetai was born at Puketeraki and belonged to the Te Ruahiki-huirapa and Kai-tahu tribes. She took a prominent part not only in the affairs of the Maori people, but also in the general social activities of the community at the Otakou Heads. Mrs. Karetai was a past president of the Otakou Women's Division of the Farmers' Union and a member of the Patriotic Committee. She was twice married, her first husband being the late Mr. George Taiaroa, and her second Mr. George Karetai. Mrs. Karetai was attached to the Otakou Maori Church and took an active part in its welfare.

In September, 1864, five native assessors or magistrates were appointed for Otago and Southland. They were all members of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission. Here are their names, salaries and dates of baptism:

1. Matiaha Tiramorehu: Waikouaiti, £50; July 30th, 1843.
2. Horomona Pohio: Waitaki, £30; June 18th, 1843.
3. Tare Weteri Te Rahu: Otakou, £30; June 18th, 1843.
4. Horomona Pukuhete: Jacobs River, £30; June 29th, 1845.
5. Tione Tope Patuki: Ruapuke, £50; September 15th, 1844.

All these except No. 4 appear as claimants to land from Stewart Island to beyond Kaiapoi. No. 1 received a special reserve as an important man. He was known to the Mission as Matthias (Matin). He was said by Commissioner Mantell to be “well up in their traditional history.”

Some historians, unfortunately, have written thoughtlessly and PAGE 171disparagingly of the early missionaries and their work.

Regarding the North Island, Marsden's lay missionaries have been criticised, and perhaps, in some respects, not without reason. But it must be remembered that they were mechanics, and some of them not capable of being spiritual advisors.

These men caused Samuel Marsden much pain of heart. There have been failures in all walks of life, and Marsden was unfortunate in his selection. The great missionary's plan was to teach the Maoris the arts of civilisation, to be followed by intensive Christian teaching. The venture was not altogether a success, but no one can deny or ignore the good that resulted from their endeavours. The natives of New Zealand were unfortunate in their first contact with the white man. Mr. Eric Ramsden has written in his book, *Marsden and the Missions*, regarding these first contacts:

“Hardened, vicious, loose-living, resentful of law and order in any form, the scum of Port Jackson and the Pacific generally had, before 1837, congregated in the Bay of Islands. Grog-shops, that vied in evil reputation with any in the notorious Rocks area in Sydney, dotted the waterfront at Kororareka. For years prostitution had been a highly organised business from which, unhappily, many prominent chiefs drew lucrative incomes. Firearms, liquor, infanticide, venereal disease, were obvious causes of depopulation among the Maoris. The appalling rate at which the Maoris were disappearing had caused Busby, the British Resident, to ask himself if he could in any way prevent the total extinction of that race.”

A very strong indictment is also found in the Letters and Journals of the Rev. T. S. Grace, Anglican missionary at Tauranga and Taupo (1850). He writes:

“Again and again have I heard thoughtful Maoris lament the evils we carry amongst them. It is a sad fact, sad for us as a people, sad for those who are sufferers, that we, a highly civilised and professed Christian people, stand reproved by those we esteem barbarians and savages! These people have petitioned and protested that public houses and spirits should not be allowed them! I have heard them say, ‘Why do you tempt us? Why do you bring these evils among us? We cannot restrain our young people.’”

In writing to the Secretary of the C.M.S., London, he writes: “Drunkenness, gambling, desecration of the Sabbath, and adultery are now rampant wherever the Maoris have come in contact with European communities.” These quotations tell their own story.

No doubt the missionaries were a snag in the way of the white adventurers and a thorn in the side of those whose one object was to exploit their victims. In such cases the missionaries



naturally took the part of the unfortunate and the oppressed, in consequence of which they suffered abuse and misrepresentation.

Even Robert Louis Stevenson, who in his last year made his home in Samoa and “had conceived a great prejudice against Missions”, wrote: “I had no sooner come to Samoa than the prejudice was at first reduced and at last annihilated. Those who speak strongly against Missions have only one thing to do—to come and see on the spot.”

Charles Darwin, the author of *The Voyage of the Beagle* (1831), wrote about what he saw in the Pacific Islands: “It is admirable to behold what the missionaries in New Zealand have accomplished. I firmly believe they are good men working in a good cause. I much suspect that those who have abused or sneered at the missionaries have generally been such as were not very anxious to find the natives moral or intelligent beings.<sup>1</sup>”

Both Watkin and Creed, the pioneer missionaries in the South Island, were subjected to the opposition and derision of men who found the missionaries a thorn in their side and a rebuke to their avaricious designs and their evil conduct. Those Europeans whose purpose was to exploit the Maori for the sake of gain and to make him a victim of their debased habits found the missionary an unsurpassable impediment in their way.

There were great men in the company of the pioneer missionaries, both of the North and South Islands of New Zealand, and it is doubtful if even yet full justice has been done to them—Marsden, Henry Williams, William Williams, Bishop Selwyn, Volkner the Martyr, Samuel Leigh, John Hobbs, John Whiteley, Walter Lawry, J. F. Wohlers, James Watkin and Charles Creed—a galaxy of devoted men. These missionary heroes and their successors have left a tradition of courage, self-denial and devotion almost comparable with the Apostles. They were men of vision, cast in the heroic mould, undaunted by difficulty, unawed by danger, their names and records are clearly bound up with the early annals of New Zealand colonisation and evangelism.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Darwin gave a subscription to the Tierra del Fuego Mission and wrote of it as he had previously done of the Christian Maoris and Japanese: “I am now convinced that what the missionaries have done in Tierra del Fuego, in civilising the natives, is at least as wonderful.”

# APPENDIX THE REV. SAMUEL IRONSIDE

The rev. samuel ironside (te haeana) was closely associated with the Rev. James Watkin, for they were the first Christian missionaries to reside in the South Island of New Zealand.

Watkin was appointed to Otago early in 1840 and Ironside to Marlborough in December of the same year. Though separated from each other by miles of coastline, these two devoted servants of the Christian Church, by letters, kept, as far as possible, in close contact with each other and thus shared their burdens.

The Revs J. H. Bumby and John Hobbs had visited Marlborough in 1829 and had left several native teachers there as pioneers.

In order to reach Marlborough, Ironside, 26 years of age, and his wife not yet 23, left Kawhia in the Hannah, a schooner of 28 tons. Unfortunately the little craft was wrecked soon after her departure, but the two missionaries were among the survivors. Their next venture was in the Magnet which, after a passage of seven days, arrived at Cloudy Bay on December 20th, 1840. The vessel anchored off Kakapo, better known as Guard's Bay, and landed the missionaries and their goods on the beach, and afterwards sailed for Port Nicholson. These two young people of "gentle birth and good upbringing" applied themselves to their difficult task. The place was a whaling station. Men of various nations were living there and some at least were the dregs of society. The only shelter available for the missionaries was a disused native cookhouse that had neither chimney nor door. It was roofed with rough slabs of timber. Generous gaps showed between the slabs which enabled them to view the stars. The problems that the missionary had to face were enough to chill the zeal of a strong man, but with heroic faith and sublime devotion, he and his wife faced up to their difficult calling and persevered with indomitable courage.

The European whalers sadly needed the missionary's influence, but the natives needed it more, for to them he had been sent. He felt that the Ngati-toa people "needed the Gospel more than any other tribe in New Zealand".

He remarked in his Journal:

“Grafted upon their original heathenism were the vicious and unclean habits they had acquired from the example of the white men of the whaling establishments. Maori women were hired, very frequently for the fishing season, by payments such as a half keg of tobacco or rum. Some of the chiefs were living upon the proceeds of this vicious traffic. The narrative of their drunken, wretched orgies, given me at times by competent witnesses, revealed a most disgraceful state of affairs. Their language was vile in the extreme, though a few wished for better things.”

Mr. Ironside commenced his ministry on Christmas Day by marrying five traders to native women. The work prospered, but it was necessary, for the sake of the Maori people, to move to Ngakuta Bay and thus be freed from the influence of the whaling establishment. The site chosen was at the head of the inner harbour of Port Underwood. A narrow range separated it from one of the coves of Queen Charlotte Sound. This, which meant about an hour's walk over the hill, provided facilities for considerable extension. From twenty to thirty native villages were formed into a circuit, in addition, Mr. Ironside made occasional visits to D'Urville Island, Nelson and Motueka.

At Ngakuta a temporary church about 25 feet square was built of raupo. It answered the purpose of church, school and dwelling-house. The bedroom was a corner partitioned off from the rest of the building by rugs. Provision for home comforts was very meagre, and in the frequent absences of her husband, the position of Mrs. Ironside, left alone, was no small trial of faith and patience. But extracts from her Journals show her to have been a woman of unbounded faith, bent always on doing what she could to uplift her Maori sisters. In the portrait gallery of the heroines of the New Zealand Missions, no obscure place must be assigned to Mrs. Ironside.

The British and Foreign Bible Society sent to New Zealand an edition of the Maori New Testament of 5,000 copies. Of these, 400 copies were sent to Cloudy Bay. On the day appointed for their distribution, 700 Maoris assembled, each one eager for a copy. The books were set in heaps near the pulpit. The names of the teachers were read out, village after village, and each received the portion for his people. Mr. Ironside proceeds to say: “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 the 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 heads of those who 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.”<sup>1</sup>

Two or three weeks later the Maori people gathered from far and near to express their appreciation of the gift of the Word of God. They brought 600 baskets of potatoes, Indian corn, pumpkins, and seven good-sized pigs.

At the end of the pile of good things there was a parcel, and Hoani Koinaki, chief of the Wekenui village of the Sound—the place of honour having been ceded to him by the Ngati-toa chiefs of Cloudy Bay—sprang to his feet and, with his taiaha in his hand, said: “Here is our feast. Take it and give it to our loving fathers in England; it is all we can do to show our love to them for their great kindness in sending us the Pukapuka Tapu” (Holy Book). Mr. Ironside wrote: “In the little parcel at the end of the pile (to which the chief had pointed) 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 used as ornaments by the women. But they were freely sacrificed on this occasion. They amounted to £9 17s. 6d. The 600 baskets and the pigs I sold to one of the traders for £25. I had the pleasure of remitting to the British and Foreign Bible Society £34 17s. 6d. as our Cloudy Bay contribution in return for their splendid gift.” Then the missionary, remembering the sad state of the natives but a short time before, exclaimed: “So mightily grew the Word of God and prevailed.”

The Mission prospered to such a degree that it was necessary to face up to the problem of erecting a large and permanent church. The missionary became architect, bush-feller, carpenter and supervisor of the whole. About one hundred Maoris gave their labour. Trees were felled in the bush on the nearby hills, rolled down the slopes, split, and prepared for the building. The frame was of long, huge slabs of pine, two or three inches in thickness. Saw pits were constructed and each trunk was cut into three or four slabs. These were adzed to a perfect smoothness as though done by a carpenter's plane, and then set up for walls. The women gave their best skill. They lined the interior walls with tall reeds. These were stained with various pigments and the combination of colour added to the beauty and dignity of the House of God. The doors and window frames were purchased in Port Nicholson.

No wonder the missionary was proud of his people, and no wonder that they looked forward with eager anticipation to the dedication of the church.

Mr. Ironside recorded in his Journal: “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 Island, as well as those in Cloudy Bay, furnished their quota of worshippers. After the morning prayers and lessons, a sermon was preached from I Samuel 8:12, ‘Ebenezer! Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.’ No collection was made; the people had not PAGE 176 silver or gold to give. They had been willing workers in the building of the church in the preceding five months. They had also exhausted their monetary resources for the New Testaments. Saturday, the 6th, was devoted to the examination of candidates for baptism, who had been meeting in class on probation for more than twelve months and had given satisfactory proof of discipleship. The majority of them could read the New Testament; all of them were well acquainted with our second Catechism, and repeated the first seven chapters verbatim. This panuitanga (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 rung, and the mass of people flocked in. Between the prayers and the sermon I received into the visible church 163 adults and 34 children. After dinner not the least interesting of our opening services was the marriage of 40 couples who had been living together in a heathen state, but were desirous now of being united 'in the holy estate of matrimony'. To meet the needs of these, Mrs. Ironside sacrificed a number of brass curtain rings which she had brought with her from England. Afterwards we joined together at the Sacrament Table, and thus closed one of the most interesting Sabbaths the Middle Island of New Zealand had ever witnessed."

The success of the Cloudy Bay Mission and its widespread influence was enormous. In less than three years, sixteen churches were erected in the various settlements by the Maori converts, thirty native teachers were spreading the evangel, 680 adult Maoris and 168 children received Christian baptism and 188 couples had been united in Christian marriage. Then came the shadow of disaster—the land dispute!

The trouble originated in a land dispute between Te Rauparaha and Colonel Wakefield, of the New Zealand Company. The area in question was occupied by the Rangitane tribe, which had been conquered by the Ngati-toa under Te Rauparaha. Wakefield claimed that the land had been sold to the New Zealand Company. This was denied by Te Rauparaha and his kinsman, Rangihaeata. The ownership of the land was also claimed by the chiefs living at Wairau.

One of these was Rawiri Kingi Puaha, a Wesleyan native teacher who had been baptised by Ironside. Captain Wakefield a brother of the Colonel, approached Puaha with the offer of a small schooner and some goods if he would state that the disputed land had been purchased by the Colonel. This, Puaha refused to do. Despite protests, Wakefield proceeded with the survey of the land. Ironside knew how keenly the natives clung to their rights in landed property. He strove to his utmost to induce the representatives of the New Zealand Company not to be precipitate in endeavouring at that critical moment to include the Wairau in the Nelson survey. He expressed his fears that the consequences might be serious in the extreme. He also informed the chief surveyor and the Company's agent that the resident natives and Te Rauparaha were already at issue about the land to such an extent that the former, if left to themselves, would withdraw from the Wairau and treat with the agent for the sale of it. The wise counsels of the young missionary were disregarded by Magistrate Thompson. Blunder followed blunder and ended in the tragedy of June 17th, 1843. It is not necessary to relate the details of that tragedy. They are found in every New Zealand history book. In all, twenty-two fell in this misguided attempt to obtain forcible possession of the land.

The following day the fateful news reached the Rev. Samuel Ironside, and he at once hastened in a boat to Ocean Bay and met Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata. The missionary asked permission to go and bury the dead. Rangihaeata said it would be better to leave them to the pigs, but gave his permission. Ironside then, with his Maori crew, proceeded to Tua Marina in order to inter the bodies of the slain. "We made a large, deep grave," says the missionary, "and laid them side by side in sadness and tears, which none of us could restrain, reading over them the solemn yet comforting and hopeful words of the funeral service."

It was a heart-breaking experience to Mr. and Mrs. Ironside after the years of toil and achievement, and they could only wait patiently the issue of events. Their one consoling thought was the fact that their converts had not taken part in the regrettable affray.

Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, flushed with their success, determined to return to their North Island territory and forestall the reprisals they felt sure would follow. The people of Wellington feared an attack upon their settlement from Kapiti and the West Coast.

After the excitement of the massacre had died down, a meeting of the natives was held, at which the missionary was present. Te Rauparaha informed the meeting of his intention to return to the North Island. The Ngati-toa, the principal tribe, agreed to follow him. The Ngatiawa, at Queen Charlotte Sound, had for some time been anxious to return to Taranaki, whence they had been driven by the Waikato many years before.

As a temporary measure, Mr. Ironside, who found it necessary to take his wife to Wellington by reason of her failure in health, put the Mission Station and the few natives left in the vicinity under the charge of Paramena, one of his teachers. A District Meeting (Synod) was held at Ngamotu, when all matters in connection with the massacre, and its probable effects upon the Mission, were considered. The Natives from Queen Charlotte Sound who PAGE 178 had come to Taranaki were hopeful that Mr. Ironside would follow them and still be their missionary, but it was resolved, for the time being, that he should live in Wellington, and along with the Rev. G. Smales, who was then in Porirua, do what he could for the Ngati-toa, who had returned to that pa from Cloudy Bay.

Mr. Jenkins, a lay missionary, was sent to Cloudy Bay to take care of the station. Three months later Mr. Ironside reported: "I have very good news from Mr. Jenkins. The natives have received him with open arms, and are quite delighted with the appointment. It should be observed that the Cloudy Bay natives have removed to this side of the straits, sixteen miles from Wellington, but about twenty stragglers remain. The large body of the natives belonging to the circuit are in Queen Charlotte Sound, and to them Mr. Jenkins devotes his chief attention."

The Cloudy Bay Mission has been described by some writers as “The Mission that failed” and as “The wasted endeavours of Missionary Ironside”. It was certainly disappointing, but did it fail? It lives today. Some of Ironside's native teachers assisted James Watkin in Otago. The Ngati-awa who returned to Taranaki would be able to join up with the Wesleyan Methodist Missions in those districts. The Ngati-toa, who returned to Kapiti and the West Coast, would be able to link up with the Mission Stations functioning in those areas and, as before stated, the Ngali-toa who located themselves at Porirua came under the direct influence of Messrs. Ironside and Smales.

Samuel Ironside served for five years at Wellington, for four of which he was Mr. Watkin's colleague, then five years in Nelson, where he met, no doubt, many natives who had known him in the Cloudy Bay Mission days, and then three years in New Plymouth. In 1858 he left New Zealand for Australia, where he continued in active service for another twenty years. On becoming a super-numary in 1878 he went to reside in Hobart, where his long and useful life closed in 1897. He was 83 years of age.

Samuel Ironside was born at Sheffield, York, England, on 9th September, 1814. In his early life he was influenced by Dr. Adam Clarke, the noted Bible commentator, and the Rev. Richard Reece, who was President of the British Wesleyan Methodist Conference in 1835. In 1836, Ironside was accepted by the Conference as a candidate for the ministry and entered the Hoxton Wesleyan College, London, for training. There he made the acquaintance of Rev William Arthur, the gifted author of the Tongue of Fire, and John Hunt, who was known afterwards as “the Apostle of Fiji”. Hunt and Ironside were preparing themselves for missionary work in Africa, but Watkin's plea, Pity Poor Fiji, widely circulated in England, resulted in Ironside's appointment to New Zealand and Hunt's appointment to cannibal Fiji.

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Ironside was married to the lady of his choice, Sarah Eades, little more than twenty years of age, in the Trinity Church, Sheffield, on the 24th August, 1838.

On the 20th September they sailed from Gravesend in the James with a missionary party of 23 persons. They arrived at Hokianga on 19th March, 1839, and were welcomed by the resident missionaries. On the sixth Sunday after his arrival, Samuel Ironside delighted the Maoris by reading the morning service to the congregation in their own language. It was read perhaps imperfectly but the Maori people understood. He preached his first extempore sermon in the native tongue five months after his landing.

With his mastery of the language, Ironside began to exert an ever-widening influence. Ten months after his coming to New Zealand, Captain William Hobson was negotiating for the cession of these islands to the Sovereignty of Queen Victoria. He summoned the chief to council at Waitangi on 5th February, 1840. A contingent of chiefs from Hokianga set out for the meeting place, led by Tamati Waaka Nene and his elder brother, Patuone. It was deemed expedient that some of the missionaries should accompany them. Samuel Ironside was chosen and John Warren associated with him. Ironside foresaw that the signing of the Treaty might well be the most important event in the history of New Zealand and he did much to convince the natives that the British Government would throw the shield of protection over the Maori people and preserve them from certain threatening evils.

When the Hokianga party arrived at Waitangi, proceedings had already begun. From the outset it was clear to Ironside that sinister influences were at work. Much of the day was spent in warm and spirited debate. Hone Heke violently opposed the signing of the Treaty and told Hobson to return to his own place. Tamati Waaka Nene came to Ironside and said he was grieved at the way Captain Hobson was being treated. Grasping the opportunity for which he had waited, Ironside replied, "Well, if you think so, say so." Acting on the impulse furnished by the missionary, Tamati sprang up. Mr. Lindsay Buick states that "as he stepped into the arena of debate the storms were laid still and a general calm suppressed the rising excitement". Tamati's fervid and impassioned declaration that too long had they been at variance with each other and needed a guardian and a guide, produced an effect that was electrical, won the day for Hobson and his cause, and led to Ironside next day being asked to attach his signature as one of the witnesses to the signatures of the chiefs on the historic document.

The Rev. T. G. Hammond, who for many years was the Superintendent of Maori Missions, has written regarding Samuel Ironside as follows:

"My first recollections of Mr. Ironside were when I was a PAGE 180 little lad; he came to the Richmond day school and gave the teacher one shilling to buy marbles for the boys (characteristic of the man). The same morning he celebrated a marriage, and in mounting his horse after the ceremony he fell and broke his leg. I met him ... afterwards when he visited New Zealand from Australia, and I always regarded him as an exceptionally fine type of man, who could have sustained any position in life had he not been called to the work of a missionary."

Samuel Ironside was a keen student and book-lover. As a preacher he had considerable ability, often remarkably instructive, graphic, pointed and powerful. He possessed the benevolence and humility which always accompany eminent piety. Self-sacrificing and unassuming, he was an example to the younger men in the ministry with whom he associated. Those who knew him best loved him most. He could claim in the lines of Charles Wesley:



“All my treasure is above,

All my riches is Thy love:

Who the worth of love can tell?

Infinite, unsearchable!”

1 Centenary Sketches of New Zealand Methodism, by W. J. Williams.