

## METHODIST PIONEERS IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

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The first chaplain appointed to New South Wales in 1786 was a Methodist in the secondary sense of being a devout evangelical clergyman, and was deliberately sponsored as such by William Wilberforce, friend and admirer of the Wesleys. The second who arrived under Wilberforce's auspices, Samuel Marsden (1765-1838),<sup>1</sup> was similar in spirituality, but much tougher both in spirit and in body. His Methodism was even nearer to that of Wesley, for he had been born into a Yorkshire Wesleyan family, and apparently became one of their lay preachers.<sup>2</sup> He was educated for the Anglican ministry at the expense of the Elland Clerical Society, an evangelical group founded in 1767 by Wesley's friend the Rev. Henry Venn, vicar of Huddersfield.<sup>3</sup> By them he was sent to Hull Grammar School (aged 23!) and then on to Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he was befriended by Rev. Charles Simeon, after whom he named one of his children.<sup>4</sup>

The dire straits of the Chaplain in New South Wales, however, undoubtedly stressed by Governor Phillip in person as well as by Johnson himself in letters, made Wilberforce and his friends extremely anxious to secure another evangelical candidate as quickly as possible. Therefore they exerted pressure on Marsden, even to the extent of persuading him to leave Cambridge without graduating. His agreement was a measure of his Christian dedication, and also proof that they had indeed chosen the right man, eminently qualified by spiritual gifts, by robust strength, and by practical training. A royal commission for him as assistant chaplain was secured on 1 January 1793. He was ordained deacon on 14 March and priest on 26 May. On the day of his ordination as deacon he wrote proposing marriage to Elizabeth Fristan, and they were married on 21 April by a brother-in-law of Wilberforce. They embarked on their eight months' voyage on board a store ship, the *William*, their first child being born a week before their arrival on 10 March 1794.<sup>5</sup>

Marsden's way was prepared far better than had been that of Johnson. The Archbishop of Canterbury urged that he should be given 'immediate and compassionate consideration' in view of the fact that he was having to provide his own 'gardening and farming utensils', and that in New South Wales 'all the necessaries of life are at a very high price', so that his unspecified and delayed salary could speedily be supplemented; Henry Dundas stressed also that in the colony itself 'whatever tends to increase the respect for the clerical station and character is highly important and necessary'.<sup>6</sup>

Samuel Marsden was 12 years younger than his senior colleague, and from the outset recognized the value of Johnson's experience and leadership. He strengthened Johnson's hands in every aspect of his work. He opened a Sunday School, built a new church in Parramatta, and played an active part in caring for orphans. He attracted the attention of Elizabeth Fry by his concern for female convicts. He added important dimensions in farming, and was known as 'the best practical farmer in this colony'.<sup>7</sup> Marsden was also accepted as an expert in the breeding of sheep, though in this he was far surpassed by John Macarthur (1767-1834), his rival and the main promoter of the Australian wool industry.<sup>8</sup> Many people felt, indeed, that Marsden's pastoral urge was dulled by his absorption in farming. This was worsened by the reputation which he gained for extreme severity as a magistrate. He had lost hope for the redemption of most convicts, or for the improvement of the Aborigines. Yet from these frustrations he turned to what

became his greatest success, missions to the Polynesians, especially the Maori people.

Neither in work among the convicts nor missions to the nations, however, was Samuel Marsden ever deterred by narrow denominationalism. It does not seem fully to have been realized that he helped to shape the ecumenical character of the Australian continent by the way in which he sought like-minded 'Methodist' clergymen for his assistants and successors. While in England from 1807 to 1809 he actively recruited evangelical assistant chaplains: William Cowper (1778-1858), led by Thomas Dykes of Hull (1761-1847) to conversion and ordination; and Robert Cartwright (1771-1856), in another evangelical centre, Bradford, where from the Wesleys he had gone to the major Cambridge 'Methodist' training-ground, St Edmund Hall, and like Marsden did not complete his degree before emigrating.

Samuel Marsden was in fact the means, if not the deliberate agent, of Wesleyan Methodism itself being established in New South Wales, even though in this lay the potential for eventual denominational rivalry. He had appealed to Wilberforce that a schoolmaster should be secured for Sydney. It appears that a likely candidate was recommended by Joseph Butterworth (1770-1826), the second Wesleyan Member of Parliament, in whose home the first meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society was held.<sup>9</sup> Wilberforce's letter to Under-Secretary Robert Peel on 22 February 1811, led to the appointment a few days later of Thomas Bowden (1778-1834), master of the Charity School in Great Queen Street, London, and a Wesleyan class-leader; he and his pregnant wife were ready to sail at any time.<sup>10</sup>

Bowden arrived in New South Wales to find other Wesleyans already present, including John Hosking, who had also been brought out by Samuel Marsden, in 1809, as schoolmaster for the Girls' Orphan School. (Hosking's son became the first Mayor of Sydney.)<sup>11</sup> Bowden and Hosking, who each held class-meetings in their own homes, formed themselves into a Methodist Society, and held their first joint class-meeting, of 12 people, on 6 March 1812.<sup>12</sup> Associated with them either then or later was Sergeant James Scott, who was converted and became a Methodist while on service in the West Indies. He was the third class-leader in Sydney, a local preacher, and one of the five members of their first Quarterly Meeting; he built the first Methodist chapel in Sydney, opened in Princes Street in 1819, near The Rocks, at the southern approach to the present Sydney Harbour Bridge.<sup>13</sup> There was also a Wesleyan Methodist in Windsor, one of several outlying townships recently laid out. This was Edward Eager (1787-1866), an Irish lawyer who was sentenced to death for forgery, a sentence reduced to transportation for life upon a death-cell conversion under the influence of some zealous Irish Methodists; he now served as a tutor. Eager formed a class-meeting of six people at Windsor, and on Sundays took his Bible and prayer-book to conduct informal services in neighbouring areas. Later he became the first Wesleyan Circuit Steward in Australia. Frustrated by the mismanagement of his own pardon, Eager proved an important influence in reforming the colony's legal and constitutional systems.<sup>14</sup> In April 1812 the two societies combined for the first Methodist love-feast in the Pacific area, when 'God was eminently present, and gave us (such a) meek, humble, simple, loving spirit that the place was a little heaven!'<sup>15</sup>

In a letter to England on 20 July 1812, Bowden told his Methodist friends what was happening, and appealed to them to send two Methodist preachers of the old school, adding: 'I am sure Mr Marsden would be glad to see the different settlements provided, especially if we proceed in the primitive way of Methodism, not in hostility against the Church, but rather in unison with it; not so much to make a party distinct from the

Church as to save souls in the Church . . . as Mr Wesley, Dr Clarke, and most of the primitive preachers (did).’ In the same letter he spoke of the great potential of the

despised Aborigines, and of ‘the numerous islands in the vicinity of this’, containing ‘thousands of souls’ ripe for Christian harvest. A more formal request to the Missionary Committee in London followed in 1813, stating that the Methodists in Sydney had invested cattle in a trust fund to support at least one preacher; this was ‘Signed in the name and on behalf of the Society, Thomas Bowden, J. Hosking, Leaders’.<sup>16</sup>



The Rev. Samuel Leigh

Providence worked well for Bowden’s and Hosking’s plea. A young Wesleyan minister had volunteered for overseas service, and was embarking for Montreal when word arrived that because war threatened that appointment must be cancelled. This young man, Samuel Leigh (1785-1852) was therefore diverted to New South Wales. He was licensed as a preacher by the Lord Mayor of London on 30 September 1814, and was ordained on 3 October by the President of the Conference, Dr Adam Clarke (assisted by Samuel Bradburn, Thomas Vasey, and John Gaulter). Clarke then sought, and on 19 November received from Lord Sidmouth, Government accreditation for Leigh, though as a schoolmaster only.<sup>17</sup> Leigh sailed from Portsmouth on 28 February 1815, and

arrived 15 August, the first Wesleyan missionary in the South Pacific.

On board the *Hebe* the captain had recognized Leigh as a minister, and invited him to conduct services, and classes for the children, and even restrained his own swearing for four months.<sup>18</sup> The day after landing Leigh went to see the Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel Macquarie, warned by Eager that the governor would not accept him as a missionary. Leigh showed Macquarie his licence to preach, however, refused the offer of a secure Government position as schoolmaster, and left with a warm handshake and the governor’s promised protection. It was clear that New South Wales was not under the thumb of the Home Secretary in London! This was an enormous relief to Leigh, of course, and an important precedent for later Wesleyan missionaries in the Pacific. As might be expected of a man of Samuel Marsden’s evangelical background, no objections came from him, and Leigh was accepted from the outset as a welcome colleague. Through these two men the Church Missionary Society and Methodist Missions worked hand in hand. This was more than Christian courtesy; it was a co-ordinating strategy, although there were occasions when the churchmen, with their greater income, were ‘affectionately condescending’.<sup>19</sup>

From the outset Leigh established a true Methodist itinerancy. After the first year he

reported to London: ‘My Circuit extends 150 miles, which distance I travel in ten days. I preach at 15 places, and in every place there appears to be a desire to hear the Word of God . . . I have seen four Sunday Schools established, which are now in a flourishing state . . . A poor man walked 14 miles a few days since to consult me about the salvation of his soul’.<sup>20</sup> The societies continued to grow. Leigh’s itineraries brought him to the door of John Lees at Castlereagh, a soldier turned farmer, who built there the first Australian Methodist Church, opened 7 October 1817.<sup>21</sup> Nor was Leigh confined to denominational activities. On his own initiative, but supported by Marsden, ‘he founded in Sydney the first Benevolent Society in Australia, as well as a Bible Society (and) a tract society’.<sup>22</sup> Leigh also formed the first Methodist Missionary society in the South Seas, and begged his parents back home that any money being saved for him should be handed over instead to the infant Methodist Missionary Society in England. His own plea for four additional missionaries was rewarded by only one, however, Walter Lawry (1793-1859), a Cornishman, who not only built the first Methodist Church in Parramatta (1821), but played an important part in spreading Methodism to the surrounding islands.<sup>23</sup>

There can hardly be any question that the birthplace of Methodism in the South Seas was New South Wales, and that two Anglican missionaries, Richard Johnson and Samuel Marsden, laid the foundations for Wesleyan outreach. Norfolk Island, a penal offshoot of Sydney, was visited by both Johnson and Marsden, but its population has remained small. From Norfolk Island, however, there was an overflow of free colonists to Tasmania from 1806 onwards, and there the Cornish Methodist missionary, Benjamin Carvosso (1789-1854), landed and preached for a few days in 1820, *en route* to Sydney, to such good effect that within a few months a small society had begun under Corporal George Waddy. This fitfully increased, especially under the supervision of a Staffordshire man, Nathaniel Turner (1793-1864).<sup>24</sup> The first Methodist preacher to land on South Australian shores was Joseph Orton of Hull (1795-1842), who during a ten years’ ministry, from 1831 until his death at sea in 1842, revived Methodist work in New South Wales and Tasmania, and became the father of Victorian Methodism.<sup>25</sup> South Australia was colonized in 1836 by a contingent from England brought over by an emigrant company managed by a Methodist, of which the first ship to arrive was under a Methodist captain; on the way out they organized a Methodist society, held preaching services, conducted a Sunday School, and even arranged for work among the Aborigines. Bible Christians came in 1850.<sup>26</sup> In Western Australia also Methodism came in with its founders, a barque chartered by two Yorkshire Wesleyan families joining in 1830 a small group who had come in 1829. They formed a church under the pastoral care of a local preacher, Joseph Hardey.<sup>27</sup> Moreton Bay, later Brisbane, had its first Methodist Church in 1848, but Queensland did not become a separate colony until 1859. The integrating of Australian Methodism was forwarded by the appointment in 1845 of a great scholar-administrator, William Boyce (1803-89), as General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in Australia. He prepared for and presided over the first independent Australasian Conference in 1855.

The Aborigines in Australia have known a very chequered history. Cook, Johnson, and Marsden were sympathetic, as were their Wesleyan successors. Samuel Leigh wrote in 1815 seeking ‘a zealous, holy, patient, and persevering missionary to be devoted entirely to the native tribes’, but the attempts of William Walker, John Harper, Joseph Orton, Roberts Mansfield, and others failed for various reasons, as had those of other missionary societies. Perhaps the greatest reason was the terrible example set by those brutal pioneers who were naively accepted as true representatives of Christianity.<sup>28</sup>

New South Wales long remained the natural embarkation point for New Zealand, and Samuel Marsden (says the *Dictionary of National Biography*) was the Apostle of New Zealand. In spite of the many years which he spent in Australia, his 'absorbing interest as a missionary' was New Zealand, especially the Maori there, although the Polynesians in general fascinated him. Over 90% of Elder's biography of Marsden deals (by means of his journals) with Marsden's seven visits to New Zealand. His plans were matured during a sojourn in England, 1807-09, but the project was abandoned when the killing and eating of the crew of the *Boyd* in February 1810 was followed by the massacre of many Maori, including some of Marsden's friends, in Whangaroa.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless Marsden himself eventually purchased a brig, the *Active*, so as to be relatively independent in his ventures. He set sail for New Zealand on 19 November 1814, with several friendly chiefs, and on 17 December sent Ruatara and other Maori people ashore in the Bay of Islands. On the following days he himself also landed, enquired about the background of the *Boyd* incident, and pleaded that the local Maori people should seek peace among the warring tribes. He even spent the night ashore among the cannibals. On Christmas Day he began a service among them by singing the Old Hundredth Psalm, and preached from St Luke 2, with Ruatara interpreting afterwards.<sup>30</sup> Having loaded some flax and timber for possible trade, he made a treaty purchasing some land for a settlement, and accompanied by friendly sightseeing chiefs returned to Sydney, arriving on 23 March 1815. He was enheartened by the happy prospect, though greatly saddened that Ruatara was obviously dying, and breathed his last on 3 March.<sup>31</sup>

Meantime Samuel Leigh's Wesleyan mission in New South Wales made steady progress, the governor insisting that any time Leigh wanted a site for a church or schoolhouse he had simply to ask; Marsden reprimanded the obstructionist tactics of a junior church chaplain.<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately Leigh's long rides and sleeping on the ground had undermined his constitution. For his recuperation Marsden offered free passage and hospitality at his settlement in New Zealand, at the same time asking for suggestions to improve the work in the Bay of Islands. Leigh was still deliberating this offer on 1 May 1818, when the second Wesleyan missionary arrived from England, Walter Lawry (1793-1859), a Cornishman. Lawry also was warmly welcomed by the governor and Marsden, as well as by his own senior colleague. In the early days Leigh and Lawry resolved: 'We are agreed to live upon two meals a day if we may have another missionary and a printing-press.'<sup>33</sup>

With Lawry, however, had come a new breed of Wesleyan missionaries. He had been born after Wesley's death, and grew up taking for granted the idea planted by the Plan of Pacification of 1795, that Methodism was no longer an evangelical Society within the Church of England, but a completely independent Christian denomination. He was an able man who had married money, and felt no need to kowtow either to Marsden or to his own senior, who was clearly uneasy both about Lawry's perhaps superior abilities and about his disturbing ideas. Such tensions apparently led to the decline in the spiritual health of the New South Wales Wesleyan mission, but also strengthened the desire of both parties to venture farther afield.<sup>34</sup>

Leigh now felt free to accept Marsden's invitation to New Zealand. Arriving in the Bay of Islands, he was distressed to find that there was dissension in the settlement, and that (to his mind) far too little emphasis was being placed upon spiritual advance. He healed the differences, organized daily meetings for Bible study and prayer, and engaged Marsden's lay workers in a circuit plan of teaching for the surrounding villages, whose inhabitants seemed to welcome these efforts. This period turned out to be far from a rest

cure for Leigh, but his enthusiasm was fired to bring the gospel to the Maori people ahead of Marsden's preliminary industrial training. The following year Marsden again visited New Zealand, bringing more settlers and a clergyman, John Butler, who proved unsatisfactory.

By 1820 Leigh's health had so deteriorated that he returned to England as the advocate (on his own account) of the evangelization of the Maori people and (on behalf of Walter Lawry) of the Polynesians in the Friendly Islands. (He bore also a special message of support from Marsden's Anglican colleague, Robert Cartwright, who asked him to greet the Wesleyans in Bradford, from whom he had sprung). His enthusiasm was dampened by the financial practicality of the Missionary Secretaries.<sup>35</sup> Eventually he gained permission to make a public appeal in the Methodist Societies of the industrial north for physical support for work among the cannibals. He spoke at enthusiastic missionary meetings in Louth, Hull, and York, and eventually persuaded the Liverpool Conference to back his scheme. The redoubtable Jabez Bunting sent a circular calling for the support of all Methodist ministers at missionary rallies; two Maori chiefs sent over by the Church Missionary Society made colourful demonstrations; Leigh spoke at the Anniversary meeting of the London Missionary Society. The result was a spate of enthusiastic missionary volunteers, and a generous outpouring of money and goods which supported the Wesleyan mission for almost five years.<sup>36</sup> Samuel Marsden assured Joseph Butterworth, M.P., that although the prospect was daunting, he would stand by Leigh, as he had before.<sup>37</sup>

Leigh returned to Sydney in September 1821 with the title of 'General Superintendent of Missions to New Zealand and the Friendly Islands'. By the end of the year he was on his way to the Bay of Islands, only to find that the paramount chief, Hongi—uncle of Marsden's friend Ruatara, and one of the two Maoris lionized in London—was preparing to wipe out Hinaki's Maoris, among whom Leigh was planning to settle. In desperation he settled instead in Whangaroa Bay, the scene of the *Boyd* massacre, giving it the name of 'Wesleydale'. Here he was joined in 1823 by Nathaniel Turner, who felt that Leigh's spirit had failed. Marsden remained loyal but troubled. In effect the younger men took over, but could not agree among themselves. A year's rest in England did not help Leigh, and after the death of his wife in 1831 he retired to England for good. Richard Watson, one of the Missionary Secretaries, spoke of Australia as 'the only mission which has been a disgrace to us', and the tide began to turn only with the appointment of Joseph Horton as Superintendent in 1831.<sup>38</sup>

In New Zealand relations with the Church missionaries remained cordial, but in Wesleydale the Wesleyan missionaries were doing little more than hanging on in expectation of abandonment, especially after the death in 1825 of their Maori protector Te Aara ('George'). Tribal warfare eventually combined with suspicion, and on 10 January 1827, Hongi wiped out the Wesleydale mission while he massacred the Maori people of Whangaroa. This tragedy, however, became the turning point which led eventually to new beginnings and a gradual success, in opposition to the advice that the Wesleyans should now leave New Zealand to the Church Missionary Society, and concentrate upon the other Polynesian islands.<sup>39</sup> Not until this century, however, has paternalism between Pakeha and Maori begun to give way to *whanaungatanga*—the Maori translation of the Greek *koinonia*.

Samuel Marsden had clearly seen that Sydney was the necessary base for settling and Christianizing the many Pacific island groups: 'The exiles of the British nation are sent before to prepare the way of the Lord.'<sup>40</sup> Both the C.M.S. and L.M.S. had withdrawn

from abortive missions to Tonga. The widow of one pioneer, William Shelley (1774-1815), however, lived in Parramatta, and she fired Walter Lawry with a great zeal to evangelize Cook's Friendly Islands. On 16 August 1822, Lawry became the first Christian minister to set foot in Mu'a, on Tongatapu, the largest island in the most southern of the three constituent Tongan groups.<sup>41</sup> He and his wife left in October 1823 with no converts but with a host of friendly Tongans eagerly awaiting his frustrated return.

Through a series of problems it was almost three years before his successor came, John Thomas (1796-1881), a devout blacksmith from Worcestershire, married and ordained for this very task in 1825. He came to Hihifo in the central Ha'apai group of islands. Although he had some success in learning the language, his unfamiliarity with native culture led him to damaging errors in tact.<sup>42</sup> He and his companions were on the point of leaving in despair when new heart was given to them by Nathaniel Turner, the Chairman of the whole Pacific area, who commandeered a group of missionaries to save the Tongan mission—to be reprimanded but later applauded by the Missionary Committee in London.

The mission was saved. Turner was wiser and more understanding, and actually developed the alphabet still basically in use to this day. His colleague William Cross (d. 1842) devoted himself to translating the Bible and schoolbooks. Turner switched the mission centre to Nuku'alofa, in Tongatapu, where a church had been built by some Tahitian teachers. This developed with amazing speed. A whole people, scattered over 150 islands, was directed to Christianity, much aided, of course, by the conversion of some of the chiefs. On 11 October 1829, the first Tongan love-feast was held, an enormously popular occasion which Tongans would have experienced in no other denomination. The successor to the Ha'apai chief who had rejected John Thomas became an enquirer, taking Thomas back into favour, and being baptised on 7 August 1831, as George, after the King of England. Under his influence the whole of the remaining northern group, Vava'u, accepted Christianity.<sup>43</sup> Nor was this merely nominal. As normally true with Methodists, a host of Tongan lay officers were incorporated into the church, one of the most helpful being Pita Vi, one of the first seven converts. Eventually King George (Taufa'ahau) became the paramount king of the whole area, the founder of a line of Methodist monarchs still highly respected throughout the world.<sup>44</sup>

From Tonga, Methodism spread to other groups of islands. Interchange between the various groups was fairly common. The first Samoan Christian was a chief from the largest island, Savaii, converted in Nuku'alofa on a visit in 1828. He evangelized his neighbours back in Samoa, aided by Tongan Methodists. By 1835, when the first official missionary landed—Peter Turner (d. 1873), no relation to Nathaniel—there were 2000 professing Christians, and the number was doubled in the course of his tour. Revivals brought the number to 13,000 in four years. By agreement, this work was handed to the L.M.S., but for a period those Methodists who refused to join were lost, until the newly independent Australasian Conference restored the lagging work in 1857.<sup>45</sup>

The Fiji Islands also became a natural extension from Tonga. Here the name Cannibal Islands had been earned by greater savagery than in any other area, and their knowledge of white men was tainted as in New Zealand and Tonga by wandering desperadoes. Two Tahitian Christians had been landed in the Fijis by John Williams in 1830, but were unsuccessful. Wesleyan missionaries had been designated since 1832, but their arrival had been postponed by the needs of the rapid growth in Tonga. In 1835

David Cargill (d. 1843, one of those designated in 1833), left Tonga for Lakemba (which had a large Tongan population), accompanied by William Cross; both were veterans, both scholars active in the essential work of translation, and indeed Cargill had already prepared a Fiji primer and a catechism. From the outlying Lakemba, Cross moved in 1838 to the largest island, Viti Levu, and was soon joined by John Hunt (1812-48) and James Calvert (1812-92, a missionary-printer). A remarkable work of transformation was aided by a revival in 1845, so that in this largest group in the Pacific, 85% of the population became Methodist. Incorporated in the church at Bau was the sacred stone on which the brains of human victims were battered out—as a baptismal font.<sup>46</sup>

A much later offshoot came most markedly from Fiji, the linking of Methodism with the L.M.S. under George Brown (1835-1917). In 1875 he led a band of helpers from Tonga, Samoa, and Fiji to New Guinea, a venture which culminated in 1968 with the formation of the United Church of Papua, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands. This now has the largest membership in the South Pacific after The Uniting Church in Australia and the Methodist Church in Fiji.<sup>47</sup>

We have tried to see the position as it was in the South Pacific before the middle of the nineteenth century, with minimal reference to statistics. Perhaps it is appropriate, however, to attempt an honest summary of the results of the last 150 years. The population has grown, of course, and become much more mixed, the flooding of Indians into Fiji outnumbering the Fijians and creating a major problem—and challenge. Altogether there are some 25 millions, of whom about ten percent are linked with Methodism, though many of these belong to churches of united denominations. Where populations are basically white those with lively Methodist roots are comparatively few, about ten percent in Australia, three percent in New Zealand. Where populations are predominantly Polynesians or their kin, the percentage of Methodist Christians is usually much larger, nine percent in New Guinea-Papua, 20 percent in Samoa, 37 percent in Tonga, almost 40 percent still in Fiji. The total numbers of native Methodists of non-European background remain comparatively small, about 17 percent, a mere 800,000 out of 4,500,000. Yet this constitutes a powerful Christian leaven, for which we must surely give thanks to the providence of Almighty God in using the sacrificial commitment of those first two generations of lowly-born men and women of toil and soil, of Methodists both Anglican and Wesleyan, who brought the warm-hearted message of John Wesley to the South Pacific.<sup>48</sup>

#### Notes:

- <sup>1</sup> *The Dictionary of National Biography (DNB)*, followed by *Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB)* give the year as 1764, but this seems less satisfactory than the evidence given in John R. Elder, *Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden*, Dunedin, Otago Univ. Council, 1932, 17, which was followed by *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Wellington 1940—DNZB.
- <sup>2</sup> DNZB; cf. G.G. Findlay and W.W. Holdsworth, *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, London, Epworth Press, 5 vols., 1921-24—henceforth *WMMS*—1.16; cf. also Elder, *Marsden*, 17-19. Alexander Strachan, *The Life of the Rev. Samuel Leigh*, London, Wesleyan Mission House, 1870, 51, states: 'Marsden... was a native of Leeds. He was in early life a member of the Wesleyan society in that town; and several branches of his family still remain in connexion with that body'.
- <sup>3</sup> Marsden constantly acknowledged his debt to the Elland Society, and from 1796 onwards subscribed generously to its funds. (Elder, Marsden, 19.)
- <sup>4</sup> For his warm recollections of Simeon and other evangelical friends at Cambridge see Elder, *Marsden*, 529 and n. for Charles Simeon Marsden, his third child, but first son, see *ibid.*, 25n.
- <sup>5</sup> Elder, *Marsden*, 21-25.
- <sup>6</sup> *Historical Records of New South Wales (HRNSW)* 2.45-46, 49-50. For Grose's grudging acknowledgement of the order, April 29, 1794, with a reference to the 'disorderly behaviour of the Rev. Mr Johnson,' see 2.209.

- 7 *HRNSW* V.450. By 1805 he ran a farm of 1730 acres a few miles from Parramatta, 67 acres in wheat, 40 in maize, 15 in barley, 6 in oats, one in legumes, two in potatoes, 13 in orchard and gardens, and 186 fallow; he also had 1035 sheep, 44 cattle, 190 pigs, 30 goats, and 14 horses. He was assisted by six convicts, victualled by the Government because he was a magistrate at Parramatta and superintended the public works (ibid., V.686-87, dated August 1805).
- 8 *ADB* for both men; cf. *HRNSW* V.698-708.
- 9 Strachan, *Leigh*, 24. For Butterworth see *Encyclopedia of World Methodism*.
- 10 *ADB*; *HRNSW* V11.497-99. Actually Wilberforce seems to imply that he himself had discovered Bowden: 'I have at length found the schoolmaster for whose going over to New South Wales the Chaplain ... expressed so strong a desire.'
- 11 Strachan, *Leigh*, 24, who states that he also was recommended by Butterworth; cf. *WMMS*, 111.18, 19, 27, and *ADB* for the son. Of especial importance is Bowden's long letter home of July 20, 1812, which first appeared in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (henceforth *WMM*) for January 1814, 75-78, entitled, 'Extract of a Letter from a Settler at Botany Bay'.
- 12 *WMMS*, 1814, 76. Hosking's class consisted of six women, including 'three of the senior girls in the school' and his wife; Bowden's was for men, including 'T.J.', husband of one of the women in Hosking's class and 'a soldier or two of the 75th regiment'. These were in effect band-meetings.
- 13 *WMMS*, 111.20, 32; cf. Strachan, *Leigh*, 44-45. For a valuable description of the old Methodist sites in Sydney see F.R. Swynny's article in *Journal and Proceedings of The Australasian Methodist Historical Society* (henceforth 'AMHS'), No. 43 (Jan. 1945), especially p.620.
- 14 *WMM*, 1814, 76; Strachan, *Leigh*, 25; cf. *WMMS* 111.19.
- 15 *WMM*, 1814, 76; cf. *WMMS* 111.17.
- 16 *WMM*, 1814, 557-59, endorsed 'received March 1814', noting an increase in class-membership to 19, and that 'a fourth chaplain, the Rev. Henry Felton', had been 'very recently appointed'—*ADB* shows that Henry Fulton (1761-40) was a transported Irishman who had been conditionally pardoned, had served Marsden for a time, then acted as private chaplain to Governor Bligh, whom he accompanied to England in 1810, and returned to Sydney as a chaplain in May 1812; cf. *WMMS* 111.17-19; Strachan, *Leigh*, 23-24.
- 17 Strachan, *Leigh*, 25-27. Cf. *WMMS* 111.22-23. Clarke's original letter had asked that Leigh should be authorized as both preacher and schoolmaster; Sidmouth's memo offered support and a free passage as a schoolmaster, but added that to go as an ordained missionary it would be necessary for him to apply to the S.P.G. Clarke replied that he had already booked a passage before receiving the letter, and wondered whether Sidmouth might yet support him in a double capacity. This the Home Secretary—who had a few years earlier brought in a bill apparently aimed at disabling Wesleyan ministers as Dissenters, which had eventually been withdrawn because of strong Wesleyan pressure—foreseeably but courteously declined to do. Nevertheless Leigh made it clear to the committee that he went at their charge, and as a missionary, not as a schoolmaster, come what might.
- 18 Strachan, *Leigh*, 27-34.
- 19 *ibid.*, pp.34-36, cf. *WMMS* 111.22-23. For Anglican-Methodist co-operation see J.D. Bollen, 'A Time of Small Things—the Methodist Mission in New South Wales, 1815-1836' (*Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 7 (1972-73), pp. 225-47). Note especially pp. 240-43, with Bowden's Sunday plan in 1816: '7 a.m., prayer meeting; 10 a.m., Sunday school; 11 a.m., preaching at Church by chaplain; 3 p.m., preaching at Church by chaplain; 7 p.m., preaching by Mr Leigh (who preaches in the country during the day)'. The phrase 'affectionately condescending' was in fact used by the less than successful George Erskine of Archdeacon Thomas Hobbes Scott in 1825 (p.242).
- 20 *WMMS* 111.23-24.
- 21 *WMMS* 111.24-26; cf. Strachan, *Leigh*, 45-48.
- 22 *DNZB*; cf. *WMMS* 111.26-29, which shows that in spite of some opposition the chief officers of these groups remained the Wesleyan originators.
- 23 *WMMS* 111.29-30; cf. *ADB*, *DNZB*.
- 24 *WMMS* 111.63-73; cf. *DNZB* for Turner. For much fuller details see R.D. Pretyman, *A Chronicle of Methodism in Van Diemen's Land, 1820-1840*, Aldersgate Press, Melbourne, 1970.
- 25 *ADB*; *WMMS* 111.85. Cf. Swynny, AMHS, No. 43, pp. 622-23, who points out that a claim to be the first preacher in Victoria had been made for Mr Reed of Launceston.
- 26 *WMMS* 111.102-5. The Bible Christian pioneers were James Way and James Rowe. Way's son, Samuel James Way, followed his father to Adelaide in 1852 and became a Chief Justice. (Cf. Swynny, AMHS, No. 43, p.623.)
- 27 *WMMS* 111.120-21. Cf. Swynny, AMHS, No. 43, p.625, who notes from Hardey's diary: 'Sunday, June 6, 1830. Went to Perth and received permission of the Governor to preach. Spoke under a tree.'

- 28 *WMMS* 111.145-61, etc. An excellent study of this whole theme is J.D. Bollen, 'English Missionary Societies and the Australian Aborigine', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 9, pp.263-91.
- 29 Elder, *Marsden*, 59-62.
- 30 Elder, *Marsden*, 93-94.
- 31 Elder, *Marsden*, 92-142. His second visit did not take place until 1819.
- 32 Strachan, *Leigh*, 66-68. Strachan's 'J.Y.' was John Youl (1773-1827), a Congregationalist minister who had received ordination and was assisting Marsden in a temporary capacity in Liverpool (*ADB*).
- 33 Strachan, *Leigh*, 78-79, 82-83, 88-89. For Lawry see *ADB*, *DNZB*.
- 34 J.M.R. Owens, *Prophets in the Wilderness*, Auckland Univ. Press, 1974, 15-18. Cf. *WMMS* 111-37-41. In any case numerical growth in New South Wales (and elsewhere) was sluggish, with occasional surges usually coming only in response to special nurture (see Bollen, *Journal of Religious History*, 7: 234-37).
- 35 Strachan, *Leigh*, 91-93, 96-97; *WMMS* 111.170-71.
- 36 Strachan, *Leigh*, 97-104; *WMMS*, 171-73. For a valuable study of the lowly-born but converted men of natural talent whose highest education was at Hoxton Academy see *The Wesleyan Missionaries to New Zealand before 1840*, by J.M.R. Owens (Auckland, Wesley Historical Society, 1982—No. 38).
- 37 'Mr Leigh has returned to us improved in health. He is about to enter upon an arduous sphere of labour in New Zealand. I have known him long; and no man, in my opinion, is better suited to begin such a mission. It will give me much happiness to forward his views, as far as I can ... I stood by him when the highest authority in this land would have banished him from the country; and will do it again, if necessary'. (Strachan, *Leigh*, 109-10).
- 38 Owens, *Prophets*, 42-45; *WMMS* 111.39-49.
- 39 *WMMS* 111.197-253; cf. Owens, *Prophets*, a carefully documented study both of the facts and of the motives and outcomes of the venture.
- 40 Strachan, *Leigh*, 72-74.
- 41 *WMMS* 111.266; Louis B. Wright and Mary Isabel Fry, *Puritans in the South Seas*. New York, Holt, 1936, 6.30.241-43, 256-76.
- 42 Sione Latukefu, *Church and State in Tonga*, Honolulu, Univ. Press of Hawaii, 1974, 44-49.
- 43 Latukefu, *Tonga*, 50-67.
- 44 Latukefu, *Tonga*, 14, and *passim*.
- 45 *WMMS* 111.339-62; cf. *Encyclopedia of World Methodism*, 'Samoa', 'Turner'.
- 46 *WMMS* 111.363-469; J.W. Burton and Wallace Deane, *A Hundred Years in Fiji*, London, Epworth Press, 1936. As samples of a vast literature see also Joel Bulu: *the autobiography of a native minister in the South Seas* (translated and introduced by G.S. Rowe), London, Wesleyan Mission House, 1871, and Allen Birtwhistle, *In his Armour: the life of John Hunt of Fiji*, London, Cargate Press, 1954.
- 47 World Methodist Council, *Handbook of Information*, 1976, 116-18, 175-76.
- 48 The source of the general statistics is the *Britannica Book of the Year*, 1987, and the source of the Methodist community figures (much larger than the actual membership figures) is the *Handbook of Information* of the World Methodist Council, 1987. The figures have been rounded, of course.