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**The Development of Maori Christianity in the Waiapu Diocese  
Until 1914**

By  
**Isla L. Prenter B.A. Dip.Ed.**  
**Massey University**

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## Preface

In making a study and interpreting the development of Maori christianity in the diocese of Waiapu, this work has been confined mainly to the forms and direction assumed by the Maori section of the Anglican Church. Whilst the apparent narrowness of this study is somewhat limiting, this should not prevent its purpose being fulfilled within the given period of the study. Throughout the whole period under survey, that is until 1914, Anglicanism was the predominant Maori religion in the area covered by the diocese. Until the wars in the 1860s it had only one rival for the loyalty of the Maoris in the area, - that of Roman Catholicism, whose adherents were a distinctive minority. By 1914 the Roman Catholic, as well as the Presbyterian Church and the Salvation Army, who were now working in the area, were still minority groups concentrating mainly on various parts of the Bay of Plenty region. Whilst Maori initiative and leadership may also have been emerging here, the emphasis appears, on the surface, to be rather more on the mission aspect. After the wars the Ringatu religion emerged strongly in some areas in the Waiapu diocese, to rank second in numerical strength among the Maori Churches. It would have been impossible within the scope of this thesis to have included more than a brief comparative survey of this religion which has already been the subject of a thesis by Lyons<sup>1</sup> as well as a study by W.Greenwood.<sup>2</sup> Mormonism which developed strongly in the Southern Hawkes Bay area from the 1880s onward, has been treated even more cursorily. However this again has been the subject of a much more recent and detailed thesis by I.Barker.<sup>3</sup> The predominance of Maori Anglican christianity, its longer history and more widespread nature should therefore allow sufficient scope for this type of study. Whilst avoiding too narrow a specialisation for this subject by confining it to Maori Anglican christianity, it has also kept it to manageable limits.

1 E.Lyons "Te Kooti: Priest and warrior and founder of Ringatu church"  
(1931, no location)

2 W.Greenwood The Upraised Hand. (Wellington, 1942.)

3 I.Barker "The Connexion: The Mormon Church and the Maori People"  
(Victoria University, 1967.)

## INTRODUCTION

The study of the phenomenal growth and subsequent stabilisation of Maori christianity in the Waiapu diocese where emphasis was as clearly on the "Maoris" as on the "christianity", throws into relief some interesting features. These were to have far reaching effects on the Maori Church of the 19th century. These features include: firstly an obvious enthusiastic Maori embracing of christianity; secondly a quickly established Maori control over the spread, direction and intensity of Maori christianity; and thirdly, a certain Maori indigenisation of christianity which allowed it to be both adapted to, and expressed through Maori life and customs, thus enabling it to become an integral part of Maoritanga rather than an unnatural European addition grafted artificially on to Maori life and thought forms.

Although there has been little question about the rapid and enthusiastic Maori response to Christianity in the 1830s and early 1840s, it has not often been made clear that much of the impetus for this response, growth and late stabilisation come from Maoris themselves, who took the initiative in promoting and teaching christianity. In the process of doing this they became adept at adopting salient features of christianity and translating them into the terms of their own culture without doing violence to either christianity or culture. Christianity was in this way made so much part of the fabric of normal Maori life, that as long as the normal Maori life-style in the area which was to become the Waiapu diocese, remained intact, so did Maori christianity. When disruption of the former did occur through various pressures, so was the latter disrupted, - but not extinguished. Disruption of christianity, although accompanied often by anti-Europeanism, rarely resulted however in anti-christianity. Rather it took the form of various aberrant styles of religious activity, in which all, even the Hauhau movement, retained certain Christian precepts accepted and valued by their various adherents. Christianity therefore, in the 19th century, had become indigenised to such an extent that even when its European promoters, or rather their fellow compatriots in the government, with whom missionaries were suspected of collaborating, had become discredited in some Maori quarters, the reaction to this was confined largely to the development of rival forms of Maori christianity. These were as genuine in their content of christianity, as the more orthodox Anglican Christianity was genuinely Maori in its texture.

The area which was to become the Waiapu diocese is divided by its mountain ranges into three distinctive areas. Each of these, both during and after the formation period of the 1830s and 1840s, and the critical 1860s, tended to react to christianity and to function as a religious unit in a fairly distinctive manner. Such factors as isolation from, or proximity and exposure to European influence, - be it missionary, trader farmer or community, as well as the degree of competition for Maori allegiance presented by different christian bodies, appear to be influential. The attitudes developed here were later affected and usually deepened by the degree of involvement in the land troubles of the early 1860s, their alignment with, or rejection of the King movement of the same period, and the position taken in the subsequent wars of the 1860s.

The three areas of the diocese are the Bay of Plenty, including Taupo and the Urewera, with a Maori population of 6092 (1901 census), the East Coast and Hawkes Bay to Mohaka with a Maori population of 6266 (1901) and the remainder of the Hawkes Bay district with a Maori population of 2189 (1901).

By 1914 the Bay of Plenty district was still, from the Anglican viewpoint, mainly missionary. The majority of Maoris here, including the Whakatotea tribe at Waimana and Upper Whakatane; the Ngaiterangi at Tauranga, and part of the Arawa at Rotorua, had all become Ringatu, or followers of Te Kooti. This district had had frequent contact with European commercial activity which competed strongly with the missionary activity for the Maoris' time and interest, especially at coastal towns such as Tauranga, Maketu, Matata and Whakatane. Interest in the King Movement was also very keen here, particularly along the western side of the Bay, where anti-government involvement in the wars was to follow, as well as adherence for a while to Hauhauism. Two of the principal centres, Tauranga and Maketu had been occupied in 1835 by missionaries<sup>1</sup> Rev.A.M.Brown at Tauranga and Rev.P.Chapman Maketu. By the 1860s these centres were also able to support two Maori deacons, Rev.Rihara Te Rangimaro at Tauranga and Rev.Ihaia Te Ahu at Maketu. The Roman Catholic Church had established missionaries at Matata, the Presbyterians at Te Puke and the Salvation Army at Tauranga, also by this time.<sup>2</sup> By 1914 however, although Maori Anglican congregations still existed at Maketu, Te Puke, Matata, Whakatane, Rotorua and Taupo, numbers were small, and little was yet being done by them to support their own clergy.<sup>3</sup> At the same time

1 W.L.Williams (ed) The Maori Mission:its past and present (Gisborne,n.d.)

2 Proceedings of the Synod of the Diocese of Waiapu, 1906, p2

3 W.L.Williams (ed) Mission p9

the Urewera country still barely penetrated by Europeans, had by this date become almost entirely Ringatu<sup>4</sup> with the exception of Ruatoki which was partially won back from the Ringatu movement after the establishment of an Anglican mission house there.<sup>5</sup> In 1910 three areas of the Urewera, - Ruatoki, Galatea and Te Whaiti as well as Whakatane were selected as missionary districts by the newly reconstituted Maori Mission Board a Maori missionary was supported by the Board of each of these centres with the aim of winning back each over from Ringatu to the Anglican Church.

The East Coast division, which is often referred to as the cradle of Maori Christianity, in the Waiapu Diocese is the one which remained the most stable and orthodox during the whole period until 1914. By this date it had been divided into eleven separate districts, each served by a Maori clergyman,<sup>6</sup> although also by this date two vacancies had occurred, and neighbouring clergy had to serve the vacant districts. Clergy were supported in part by proceeds of endowment funds raised by the people themselves, together with supplementary grants made from funds available to the New Zealand Mission Trust Board. Beside the predominant Anglican faith however, several Ringatu groups were functioning in Poverty Bay and Wairoa by 1914, whilst a defection to Mormonism had become distinctive at Mahia, Nuhaka and Wairoa. Again it was at these places that greatest contact with Europeans of a non-missionary character was made. Mahia was by the late 1830s and 1840 in close contact with traders and whalers who often employed Maori labour. The competitiveness here of rival European missionaries for Maori souls is indicated by a letter in October 1841 of W.L.Williams,<sup>7</sup> son of the future Bishop William Williams, who at the age of twelve years accompanied his father and cousin on a visit to Table Cape [Mahia], according to the letter, solely on account of his fathers disputation [waiwai] with one of the Pikipo [Roman Catholic] priests who had landed there.

In Southern Hawkes Bay, the area of settlement most greatly prized by European farmers, individual Maori Anglican congregations were still strong by 1914. However Mormonism was also very strongly entrenched there, particularly at Te Hauke and Bridge Pa, added to this was the fact that Maori tohungas were still operating clandestinely in these areas. Of the

4 W.L.Williams (ed) Mission p8

5 Proceedings, 1910, p7

6 W.L.Williams (ed) Mission p9

7 H.Carleton The Life of Henry Williams (Wellington, 1948) p46

three areas Southern Hawkes Bay was the last to be visited by travelling missionaries. Neither was this area included in the diocese from the early days of its formation in 1859, but was a far-off part of the Wellington diocese until it was finally incorporated in Waiapu in 1869.

## CHAPTER I

### Early Indigenisation of Christianity : The 1830s.

During the 1830s and 1840s all three features of Maori christianity - its enthusiastic Maori espousal, Maori initiative and control, and Maori indigenisation of christianity - all became most clearly apparent. Not that this was seen as such at the time, however, for in the nineteenth century, responsibility for the successful growth of Maori christianity was rarely attributed to Maori initiative and effort. Rather it tended to be scored up solely to the work of the missionary (except by the missionary himself), "that noble christian man, who activated by the simple desire of bringing a savage race to the faith of Christ, entrusted himself to their hands and fearlessly lay down to sleep amidst the cannibal warriors by whom he was surrounded ... and then to persevere ... to live on in the midst of a people who seemed more like incarnate fiends than men, with an increasing perception of the danger of their position ...."<sup>1</sup>

Certainly the missionaries were in the first instance responsible for the introduction of christianity into New Zealand, and their journeys were arduous, lengthy and comprehensive, but a more penetrating look at the diocese of Waiapu than the above writer was prepared or able to give, would show that in this area, at least, the lavish and sole attribution of success to missionary efforts against great odds, is simply not correct.

Missionary contact and opportunities for missionaries to consolidate their own work before it was constituted a diocese in 1859, as was the case also for many years afterwards, were at the best, scrappy and tenuous. By 1859, beside the Bishop there were only six other clergy, one of whom was a Maori, in the whole diocese. Had there not been an enthusiastic response and cooperation from the Maori population, as well as Maori initiative in providing their own form of control and leadership in religious matters, it is certain that the impact of christianity would have been infinitely more limited.

Before 1826 Henry Williams had paid four visits to Tauranga and other parts of the district, visiting tribes in the neighbourhood. As a result of these visits he had taken back with him to Paihia several sons of chiefs for instruction in the mission schools.<sup>2</sup> It was as much through the influence

1 Church Missionary Intelligencer and Recorder London, 1860 p219

2 Proceedings of The General Synod of the Church of The Province of New Zealand, 1859, p18



of these young men who returned to live in the area with their new knowledge and skills that enthusiasm for missionary visits with eager attendance at their meetings in the main centres of the Bay of Plenty was manifested on their return in the 1830s.

An early visit in 1831 by H. Williams accompanied by Mr (later Rev.) T. Chapman and a Maori, Rawiri Taiwhanga, to Rotorua was followed up quickly not by missionary, but by Maori initiative. The initiative in this case was provided by the Rotorua chief Pango whose contact with the missionaries had been made when he had previously been rescued by the Rev. H. Williams from Tohitapu, a Maori tohunga. Through this tohunga's agency he had been in danger of losing his life, when on a visit to the north. Pango sent another Rotorua chief, Wharetutu,<sup>3</sup> who, arrived at the Bay of Islands on 27th April 1831, with the request that a missionary might be sent to reside with his tribe at Rotorua. The Rev. H. Williams was able to respond to this request, firstly by making another visit in October 1831 accompanied by Chapman who had volunteered to go south, and later by establishing mission stations in Rotorua and Koutu [Ohinemutu] in 1834.

On the October visit Williams and Chapman, who visited Tauranga, Maketu, Maungatapu, Kaiwhaka, Ohinemutu and Mokoia, found the Maoris whom they had previously visited anxious to acquire a missionary to receive instruction, and attending the missionaries' services in large numbers (400 - 500 at Ohinemutu) and listening with great attentiveness.<sup>4</sup>

Enthusiasm was shown in such instances as the men and women at Ohinemutu turning up when the children assembled to repeat their catechism, and joining the latter in their efforts, the assembling of 150 men and women for their own catechism instruction and the gathering of all for prayer before sunset. Although the new Ohinemutu mission station was destroyed in 1835 as a result of war between the Rotorua and Matamata tribes, recovery was rapid. Progress continued from then on in the Rotorua area, and Chapman and Morgan together with another Maori helper, Zechariah, a baptised Maori from Waimate, found their numbers extending out as far as Taupo and Urewera fastnesses by the late 1830s.<sup>5</sup>

3 W.J. Simpkin "The Founding of the Church in the Diocese of Waiapu" (Unpublished manuscript, 1925) p7

4 Carleton Life p135

5 Simpkin "Founding" p13

Persistent efforts from 1832 onwards to establish a mission station at Tauranga, from where the sons of chiefs had been recruited in 1826, failed throughout the 1830s because of inter-tribal war, mainly with the Ngapuhi, which engaged the attention of chiefs and tribal members alike in that area. Visits by Henry Williams, Kemp and Fairburn in 1832, H. Williams and Chapman in 1833, proved unsuccessful. Another attempt<sup>6</sup> in August 1835 when a new mission station was opened at Te Papa under William Richard Wade, who had been superintendent of the Press at Paihia. Some Maori leadership was provided immediately in the form of a young man called Tengange, son of a chief living at Te Puna. Tengange had been one of the boys taken to be educated at the Paihia mission station, and had been successful in his studies. He could read and write well, was well-versed in the catechism, and knew a good portion of the scriptures by heart as well as most of the church services. He also had made attempts to read and write in the English language.<sup>6</sup> Tengange was shortly to return to Paihia however to die of consumption in December 1835 and Wade remained only until the following month. His replacement, John Alexander Wilson, was at Tauranga only from January to March of 1836 when the mission work was again checked by inter-tribal war. By March 1839 when Tauranga was again visited by Wilson and Stack, accompanied by Henry Williams, it was as unsettled as ever with the Maoris still engaged in warfare. The large congregations<sup>7</sup> who assembled in their kaingas to hear the missionaries during the several days they spent there, testify to the interest and enthusiasm still existing at Tauranga, for the christian gospel, whilst at the same time, the instability of the work established by missionaries there, despite their obviously sincere and persistent efforts, indicate that without the necessary, and elsewhere forthcoming Maori leadership and participation in the direction of the church, European labours were conspicuously unsuccessful. Not until Maori initiative in the area could be channelled by the Maoris themselves from war into the church was there any real progress in the Tauranga district.

6 Simpkin "Founding" p67

7 F.W. Williams Through Ninety Years (Christchurch, 1948) p39



Visits by missionaries to the East Coast region during the 1830s were however to prove extremely productive precisely because indigenous leadership in, and chiefly protection of the embryonic church was available. On January 8th 1834 a missionary party consisting of William Williams, and Messrs. Preece and Morgan and a party of thirty Maoris who had been carried off to the Bay of Islands after the wars in Tauranga dropped anchor in Wharekahika [Hicks Bay]. These had been set free by the Ngapuhi after having been their slaves for several years. On board this vessel was the brother of the East Cape chief, Rukuata, as well as another Ngati-porou, Taumata-a-kura, who although according to one oral tradition was sent by the tribe for education at the mission school at Waimate,<sup>8</sup> is reported by all written sources to have been one of these previously mentioned ex-slaves. Taumata-a-kura had learned to read and write at the mission school, although he had never been recognised as a candidate for baptism nor had ever appeared to have taken any special interest in christianity. On the evening of 8th January, the first christian service ever held by an ordained clergyman (that of evening prayer) was conducted on the East Coast. William Williams describes this attendance as "I have never seen such a wild looking set."

On January 10th<sup>9</sup> when they landed off Waiapu they were received well by natives who requested earnestly that a missionary be stationed there to teach them. From Rangitukia (a pa of 560 fighting men) where they spent the night the missionaries proceeded to Whakawhatira (2000 fighting men) and back to Rangituke by Sunday 12th January. Here William Williams held Divine service with a large party of Maoris. Rukuata, whose residence at Paihia had given him some knowledge and experience made all the arrangements for this<sup>10</sup> and instructed his friends in the proper proceedings. From Waiapu the party visited Table Cape, on the Mahia Peninsula, for the first time.

With only this brief visit to establish contact in the area, it is hardly surprising that when three years later in January 1838 another missionary party consisting of William Williams, James Stack and William Colenso and Joseph Matthews, again visited the East Coast, they were astounded to find that they were not preaching to the wholly unconverted, but to those who already possessed rudimentary christian knowledge and followed christian practices. This was conspicuous all along the mission-

8 Oral communication from Wahinitia Huriwai, September 1971.

9 W. Williams Christianity Among the New Zealanders (London, 1867) p71

10 Williams Ninety p25

aries' route, from Hicks Bay to Turanga. Rev.W.Williams' visit had been probably stimulated by a Ngapuhi chief, who after visiting the East Cape district the previous year, had called on him at Waimate to enquire why no missionary was as yet stationed there when the people were so eager for instruction, and already were worshipping God as far as their limited knowledge permitted.<sup>11</sup> The change during these three years appears to have been due to the efforts and influence of Taumata-a-kura, who since his return to his own district of Whakawhitira had passed on his knowledge of christianity and writing. F.W.Williams records that his materials were the simplest possible - only a few texts of scripture and short prayers written on scraps of paper. Writing tablets had been made of flat pieces of wood, greased and dusted with ashes so they could be written on with a sharply pointed piece of stick.<sup>11</sup> Taumata-a-kura's mana appears to have greatly increased during this time and through his influence, he was able to restrain his tribe from the usual savage practices. It then seems to have reached tremendous proportions when, after his tribe's attack on the pa at Takataka, near Te Kaha, he was able to emerge unharmed from the thickest of the fighting there. His preservation was attributed to his new God. Impressed, the people had also then adopted the practice of making Sunday a day of religion and rest.

Interest and enthusiasm for the missionaries was such that on this visit they were met at a pa near Awatere by 240 Maoris who assembled to be addressed and were warmly welcomed at Rangitukia, especially by the chief Rukuata whom they had returned on their last visit. Here, the missionaries noticed that the Sabbath was being observed.<sup>12</sup>

During the next six days, the four missionaries travelling in pairs, left Rangitukia, and visited Whakawhitira, Reporua, Ariawai, Maweta, Whareponga, Tapatahi, Tokomaru and Uawa [Tolaga Bay] addressing groups of Maoris varying in number from one hundred to six hundred. The whole visit including four days spent at Turanga lasted only a fortnight, much of which time was spent travelling on foot, yet Maori interest was high and sustained, and various villages asked for missionaries to come and live with them. The reason for the strength of this response appears to be mainly that Maori converts and those Maoris who had had even slight contact with christianity, had themselves been active in stimulating this interest, and unconsciously preparing the ground for missionary activity.

<sup>11</sup> Williams Ninety p32

<sup>12</sup> ibid p32

The interest in christianity taken by the Maoris of the East Coast region was so impressive that an expansion of the mission to the East Coast was embarked on in October of the same year. This was carried out by Maori christians themselves. Six Maoris, who had been educated in the Bay of Islands, and five of whom belonged to the East Coast volunteered to go, live and teach in the districts appointed them, and be evangelists to their countrymen. Three were to be located at Waiapu and three in the Turanga district.

Four months later W.Williams arrived at the East Coast to take charge of this new expansion and to establish a mission station at Kaupapa, near the mouth of the Waipaoa River in Poverty Bay. This station was in 1847 to be moved to higher ground at Whakato, and in 1850 to Waerenga-a-hika. Already, however, much of the missionary and early Maori christian teaching had been consolidated, and the work had taken on a distinctively Maori character. At Rangitukia for example, the Maori teacher James Kiko was able to give the Rev.W.Williams, in April 1839, an encouraging account of the progress of his work during his three months' residence, as were the resident native teachers who had been stationed at Turanga. Here the outstanding features were the desires of the natives for more teachers and for books, and the fact that they were willing to provide for the maintenance of their teachers, as evidenced by the half-finished home being built by the people for the teachers which William W.Williams and Richard Taylor were able to shelter in for the night.<sup>13</sup>

Evidence of Maori enthusiasm was again evident on this visit for Williams noticed that at many of the native kaingas they had visited with the first teachers a few months previously raupo constructed chapels had already been built for worshipping in, and at Whakawhitira one sixty by twenty-eight feet was in the course of erection and was attended by 500 people who somehow or other managed to cram in. At each kainga Williams noted the keenness of the Maoris for instruction and openly acknowledged that this was the result of the native teachers who had been placed to work among them.<sup>14</sup> The luggage bearers who conducted the missionaries on this visit and carried their parcels from Awatere to Rangitukia, and those who performed the same office from Rangitukia to Whakawhitira all asked for and received prayer books which they said they preferred to any other kind of payment.

<sup>13</sup> Williams Ninety p41

<sup>14</sup> J.A.Mackay Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast (Gisborne, 1966) p65

When the missionary party arrived at Uawa, which had not received one of the six teachers, they found the interest here so high, and the desire not to be outdone by the other regions, that the chief, Te Kani-a-Takirau, had already on his own initiative secured a young Tauranga chief as a teacher. This teacher was evidently one of the earlier group who had been trained in the late 1820s at the mission school at Paihia and whose services could not be fully utilised in the rather chaotic state existing in Tauranga at the time. How long this Tauranga chief remained at Uawa is uncertain, for Selwyn in his journal reports that when he first visited Uawa in 1842<sup>15</sup> the teacher was Wiremu Hekapo (William Jacob), a cousin of the great East Coast chief, Te Kani-a-Takirau, and it was he and his wife who welcomed him. In any event, the enthusiasm of Maori response to christianity, the successful attempts to direct its spread into their midst and the showing of leadership responsibility in and control of religious affairs is easily seen here.

Another missionary visit in January 1840 shows still further evidence of growth under Maori leadership and control. On the first Sunday after Williams' arrival at Tauranga he found an attentive congregation of 1000 who had arrived from neighbouring kaingas on the Saturday assembled in the open air. In the afternoon they assembled again for school, with five classes of men numbering from 50 to 150 each, one of 50 boys and two of women.<sup>16</sup> Williams found that three native teachers stationed here had been giving instruction to well over 1500 people altogether, at schools which had been established in every village. Both books and teachers were evidently in short supply but Williams found already that some could read the New Testament, and others were well instructed in the catechism through the method of repeating the answers after the teachers.<sup>17</sup> A year or so later, on a visit to the East Cape district, in May 1841, Williams found even more progress had been made, and estimated that congregations at Waiapu and Tokomaru aggregated 3,200.<sup>18</sup> The standard of christian knowledge through the work of the teachers here, was so high that Williams saw fit to baptise one hundred adults including most of the leading chiefs, as well as three hundred infants.

15 Mackay Historic Poverty Bay p65

16 Williams Ninety p47

17 Mackay Historic Poverty Bay p163

18 Williams Christianity p288



## CHAPTER II

### Further Maori Initiative and Responsibility : The 1840s

The progress and trend of Maori christianity and its developments in the 1830s on the East Coast, were to be continued with even further emphasis on the Maori contribution in the 1840s. Although the mission established by William Williams in 1840 at Kaupapa was now joined by four others in 1843, at Wairoa (W.Dudley), Rangitukia (J.Stack), Uawa (C.Baker) and Kawakawa (G.Kissling) - and W.Williams had been formally installed by the new Bishop Selwyn, in 1842 as the first Archdeacon of Waiapu, Maori responsibility was also undergoing a quiet but dramatic expansion. This had the advantage of being less subject to changes than were the mission stations of Wairoa and Rangitukia.

The increasing enthusiasm of Maori christians and potential church members can be demonstrated by the fact that Archdeacon W.L.Williams in a paper in 1885<sup>1</sup> claimed that the majority of the adult population were in the 1840s, becoming candidates for baptism. Striking as is this fact alone, it becomes even more significant when it is realised that candidates were in no sense led to believe they would be automatically baptised and received into the church after the elapsing of a certain period of time and instruction. On the contrary, "great care was exercised before admitting them to that sacrament lest it become to be regarded as a mere outward form".<sup>2</sup> Catechumen classes were held regularly and attended by those of different hapus on different days. For younger catechumens a knowledge of reading was also demanded. Testing of candidates' knowledge by teachers and later by missionaries and then the bishop was a further series of hurdles which had to be successfully scaled before the sacrament could be performed. Despite these demands however there were few on the East Coast who were not willing to be baptised if they could only have satisfied their teachers of their fitness for the rite.<sup>3</sup>

The degree of their christian knowledge was testified to by Archdeacon W.Williams who was to say "I can safely affirm that I never baptised any party of natives who possessed on the whole more information. This may in some measure be accounted for by the fact that the natives of the East Cape have, if I may use the expression, quite a propensity for attending school ...

1 W.L.Williams "Progress of Maori Mission Work". Church Herald, October 1858.

2 Church Missionary Intelligencer and Recorder 1858 p180

3 Mackay Historic Poverty Bay p168

Having committed to memory the catechism which contains a precise summary of christian doctrine, it is seldom that a plain question can be put without it being answered".<sup>4</sup>

Attendance at Sunday worship was also not always an easy matter for many groups of Maoris, but their eagerness can be gauged by the way in which they were prepared to spare no effort in being present at Sunday services. In the Uawa district which extended from Tokomaro Bay to Puatai, many Maoris who lived at a distance made a practice of arriving on the Saturday for the Sunday services, and not returning home until the Monday,<sup>5</sup> thus strictly interpreting the Sunday observance. Regularly at daybreak on week days, Maoris came from various nearby settlements to the Mission station to attend early morning prayers, be given scriptural instruction and would then go to their work in the fields, returning for another service at dusk.

Also perceptible in the 1840s and from then on increasingly more so was the positively indigenous flavour which Maori christianity was developing. The fact that missionaries were fairly few and scattered and that visits were of necessity few and far between, meant that Maori christianity had the opportunity to develop under Maori auspices in the context of a culture which was wholly Maori. Those traditionally native and christian customs which were not in essence opposed to each other, and even many Maori values which were rather repugnant to the Victorian evangelical missionary were able to coexist peacefully within the developing christian Maori community. Although doubtless the clergy at the time would have liked the christian Maori to become Europeanised entirely in his customs, the fact of their relative absence from the daily scene, and the increasing presence of the Maori teacher, himself steeped in traditional Maori customs, meant he was not often forced to openly refuse to do so, or to live with a sustained artificial dichotomy between Christian and Maori values. The strands of christian and Maori were becoming in the 1840s so intricately interwoven that christianity, at least on the East Coast, was becoming thoroughly indigenised, and Maori practices were being given a christian context. Even the poetic language of the scriptures was somewhat akin to his own chants, songs and oratory, which had been enriched by quotations from the ancient songs and utterances of Maori forebears.

4 Intelligencer 1858 p180

5 Mackay Historic Poverty Bay p168

The learning of scripture then, was a practice which could be, and was, easily accommodated within the context of the continuing Maori culture. An amusing account by George Clarke<sup>6</sup> who accompanied the Rev.W.Williams on a journey to the East Cape in 1840, indicates the easy marriage that had been made at Whakawhitira between Maori and christian customs. The Maoris here had all arrived with their dogs (several hundred), but these all disappeared when the "bell" ( a musket barrel hanging on a tree) was struck with a stone to announce the holding of a service. Apart from the worshippers being accompanied by dogs, their personal appearance also made an impression on the writer who commented on the red ochre being used on the faces, shark oil on the hair, the "nearly naked" aspect of the "door keepers of the sanctuary" who brandished "murderous clubs". None of this seemed incongruous to the worshippers who simultaneously exhibited the Christian practices of carrying the scriptures, (or any book, pamphlet or piece of paper, if a bible was not available), and singing Maori versions of christian hymns lustily.

Raupo churches were being built or were already built at all main centres by Maoris on the East Coast in the 1840s, and usually schools as well. Some churches were already being constructed in timber, although where this was the case, for example at Whakato, the work was usually supervised by a missionary, for example Archdeacon Williams at Whakato. Ward described how at Whakato<sup>7</sup> the first log, a 40ft. pole measuring three feet in diameter was selected to support one end of the ridge pole, and a hundred enthusiastic Maoris dragged it into place. In all events these churches or whare karakia were superior to the ordinary huts of the people, and certainly by 1850 there would be one in every pa. These were set aside for religious purposes including bible classes as well as church.

A good deal of traditional Maori ornamentation was incorporated into these buildings. Some of this, although inspired by a biblical or pious theme had so much typically Maori freedom of expression that it was highly criticised by European missionaries. Colenso, in describing the new chapel at Rangitukia in 1841, with its native ornamentation and a centre post depicting a carving of Moses lifting up the serpent: obviously disapproved of the "most hideous" drawings there depicting the Rev.W.Williams in the act of preaching.<sup>8</sup>

6 Mackay Historic Poverty Bay p114

7 A.D.Ward A History of the Parish of Gisborne (Gisborne,1960) p8

8 A.G.Bagnall & G.C.Peterson William Colenso (Wellington,1948) p107

The development of Maori responsibility during this period can be seen by examining the role which the teachers were playing in developing a truly indigenous christian faith. Teachers often had status in their own right within the tribe, being in many cases closely related to chiefs e.g. the Tauranga chiefs' sons, and Te Kani's cousin Wiremu Hekapo. Even where they were not, they were however greatly honoured for their teaching role and were able to exercise a great deal of influence. Their numbers appear to have increased quite rapidly in the 1840s, and they came to have influence outside their own tribes as various individuals from areas more advanced in a christian sense were placed in areas at a distance from their own. Several Poverty Bay christians for instance were placed as teachers in Central Hawkes Bay from Wairoa to the Mahia Peninsula, in the larger centres of population after three chiefs from central Hawkes Bay had come 150 miles overland to Kaupapa to ask for further instruction for their people.<sup>9</sup> However their work and the way for christianity in general in Central Hawkes Bay had been made easier by yet another Maori teacher, Matenga Tukaraeho, who like Taumata-a-kura was self-appointed, working in Northern Hawkes Bay<sup>10</sup> before the opening of the Poverty Bay mission station after his return in the 1830s from the Bay of Islands. He preached at both Te Uhi and Turanga before becoming the first christian Maori preacher in the Wairoa district.

Other self appointed teachers were also found in the isolated Urewera area, for Colenso was to find in 1843 at Aropaki, self-appointed native teachers who came to visit him on his journey through there, and who through ignorance were expounding doctrines "largely of their own devising" and which Colenso found obliged to correct.<sup>11</sup>

Besides teaching, catechising and conducting all the Sunday services in some areas, Maori teachers usually had charge, sometimes together with the chief, of the building of rush or raupo chapels. Hekapo at Uawa also had responsibility for building the house for Charles Baker who came to establish a mission station at Uawa in 1842. When Bishop Selwyn visited Tolago Bay in 1842 just prior to Baker's arrival, it was Hekapo and his wife, rather than the chief, who welcomed him.<sup>12</sup> Entertaining and accommodating of persons of prestige, a practice also continued in the 1850s, was therefore at last partly a function of the Maori teacher.

9 A. Atkin "The Missionary Era in the Diocese of Waiapu" (Auckland University, 1934) p143

10 Mackay Historic Poverty Bay p159

11 Bagnall and Peterson William Colenso p175

12 Mackay Historic Poverty Bay p167



Wiremu Bailey who with his wife Ellen, was a servant of Bakers and was a semi-official teacher at the Uawa Mission Station with Baker from 1844 onwards, is reported to have been so zealous during Baker's absences from Tolaga Bay that the Maoris nicknamed him "the vicar".<sup>13</sup>

Leadership and protection offered by Maori chiefs during this period also played a large part in promoting the indigenisation of the Maori church. The services of the young Tauranga chiefs as teachers and the protective attitude of the greatest of the East Cape chiefs, Te Kani are significant. Te Kani was to challenge with his own authority the threat of another chief Te Hango to burn down the mission station at Uawa because of Mr Baker's open disapproval of polygamy. Influential chiefs at Turanga also supported the mission there, and were willing to be envoys for the Rev.T.S.Grace in 1852 on a particularly successful mission to Te Kani when the later had placed a tapu on the Turanga-Tolago road thus stopping intercourse and promoting war.<sup>14</sup> Iharaira Te Houkamau of Kawakawa, after being won over by the Maori teacher, Rota Waitoa, in the late 1860s, (Rev.G.Kissling had tried unsuccessfully a few years earlier to do this), begged to be appointed "church sweeper and bell-ringer to the House of the Lord", and also took a protective role.

In the Heretaunga area of Hawkes Bay, it was under the protection of the leading chief, Pareihe, that the first native teachers from Poverty Bay came to the district.<sup>15</sup> Also in the Urewera area, at Ahikeneru, near Te Whaiti, where by 1843 there was still no chapel, it was at the chief's house that the services were held. Colenso found that sixty-five natives had jammed themselves into it during his visit.<sup>16</sup>

Hostile chiefs demonstrated that their hostility was not towards Christianity as such, but rather to the individual missionary or the government with whom the Anglican church was closely associated. This is borne out by the fact that anti-government chiefs usually offered their protection to representatives of the official religious opposition of the Anglicans, the Roman Catholic church. The chief Te Whata, for instance, appointed a Roman Catholic Ruatahuna Maori as a chaplain and protected him against Renata, a Ruatahuna chief who tried to send him home. The Roman Catholic priest Fr.Lampila was invited to Tolago Bay and paid a two week visit there, by a chief, Rangiuia, whom Baker termed "my most bitter enemy."<sup>17</sup>

13 Mackay Historic Poverty Bay p167

14 ibid p170

15 Bagnall and Peterson William Colenso p165

16 ibid p171

17 Mackay Historic Poverty Bay p175

Chiefs often took leading roles in ceremonies connected with the church or in getting funds and work for churches started. Rawiri Rangikatea of Rangitukia for example, who had shown great enthusiasm for the building of the new St John's, Rangitukia at the erection of the main part of the church performed the ceremonies of depositing a bottle containing coins and a paper, and of erecting the main post. At Waipiro again, it was the chief who apparently feeling the disgrace involved in the lack of a church at Waipiro<sup>18</sup> whilst churches had been erected at Rangitukia, Kawakawa, Te Horo, Tuparoa and Whareponga, said it was time the Waipiro people stirred themselves. He personally saw to it that timber was promised and given by different people whose names were mentioned to Baker. It had been through the influence of a young Maori chief, Romano, who had become a Roman Catholic in the Bay of Islands rather than through European missionaries that Roman Catholicism had spread to the Bay of Plenty. His influence was reinforced by that of Maka,<sup>19</sup> a Bay of Islands chief who was married to a high-ranking girl from Opotiki whilst the marriage of the son of another Roman Catholic chief from Opotiki to the niece of Stack's patron, Puhipi at East Cape, paved the way for some Roman Catholicism in this area.

In the Bay of Plenty region the process of christianising was proceeded much more slowly in the 1840s than it did in the East Coast area. This is despite the fact that as many European missionaries were stationed here, and worked as diligently as did their counterparts on the East Coast. A.M. Brown from Tauranga was working over the whole coastline of the Bay of Plenty, going as far inland as Taupo and the Tuhoe country, assisted by T.Chapman at Rotorua, the Rev.J.A.Wilson at Opotiki, Rev.S.M.Spencer at Tarawera and Mr.J.Preece at Ahikareru. The hindrance here was still basically the same as that which prevailed in the 1830s, that of continuing inter-tribal warfare absorbing the time and energies of the people in the main Tauranga-Rotorua-Taupo area. This continued to make it difficult for Maoris here to consolidate the obvious interest they had shown in christianity and to produce the indigenous leadership which seemed to be an essential component for the flourishing of the Maori church. Chapman's report for the year ending 31st March 1840 speaks of war between Tauranga and Rotorua still raging in the district.<sup>20</sup> A desire by many young men for instruction had been manifested, and many little chapels and Sunday schools had been erected by

18 C.Baker The Journal of Charles Baker 1849-54 p55

19 J. Pompallier Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania (Auckland 1888) pp59-66

20 W.L.Williams East Coast Historical Records 1885-1909 (Gisborne,n.d.) p20

the Maoris here but these were not conducted with the greatest regularity, and little increase in scriptural knowledge was discerned by Chapman, although the demand for books was still high. Even the visit from Bishop Selwyn who had visited Tauranga, Rotorua and Taupo in 1842 and 1843 offered only a temporary stimulation of interest.

Rather predictably the event which gave the greatest stimulation to the church of this region, was one in which the participants were themselves Maoris. This incident involved the martyrdom of two Maori lay evangelists and teachers, Te Manihera and Kereopa. After a prayer meeting which was held on Christmas Eve 1846 between the Rev. R. Taylor and his leading Maori converts in the Wanganui district, these two men considered it their duty to carry knowledge of the Gospel to their own countrymen, and offered to go to Taupo as missionaries despite the fact that Taupo natives were at deadly enmity with their own tribe, the Ngati-ruanui. This had first been Te Manihera's decision but Kereopa said that in former times the apostles had gone out two by two, and so offered to go with Te Manihera. They could hardly have failed to realise they were almost bound to pay the supreme penalty by going. In February 1847 they travelled up the East Coast and then on to Rotorua, calling on the Rev. T. Chapman at Te Ngae. Te Manihera is reported to have preached to the Maoris saying that his time was at hand and that he felt before the sun was up he would be an inhabitant of another world.<sup>21</sup> From here on some controversy exists on the actual procedure leading up to their deaths. Captain Mair claims they reached Roto-aira Lake and were ordered to return by Te Huitahi, a very truculent chief of that place. Refusing this they came on to Pukenuamu a little hill close to Tokoano, and were met by an armed party which ordered them to return, and then on their refusal escorted them to the principal pa on March 12th 1847. They were led to the place of execution on a little ridge outside the pa, given time to pray, as they had asked for, robed themselves in white garments (probably their lay readers' surplices), knelt and prayed the prayer of St Stephen and were then shot. The Rev. H. J. Fletcher however, going by information given him by the Rev. Hoeta Te Hata, who was a child of 7 years when the tragedy occurred, and was one of the five children baptised by Bishop Selwyn at Oroua on November 5th 1842, claims that the two men did not get as far as either Roto-aira or Pukenuamu, and were not taken prisoner,

<sup>21</sup> Archdeacon McMurray, article in New Zealand Herald, 6 April 1916.

but were just killed on sight.<sup>22</sup> However regardless of which version is correct, the fact remains that Te Manihera and Kereopa provided willing martyrs and a Maori teacher speaking of their death later, likened them to a lofty kahikatea tree, full of fruit which it sheds on every side causing a thick grove of young trees to grow up,<sup>23</sup> so that although the parent tree may be cut down its place is more than supplied by those that proceeded from it. This appears to be a Maori way of saying that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church; and this seems to be true in the case of this region. Richard Taylor says that Maitahi, the murderer, later gave land as a site for a mission station, and built a church on it. When Taylor went to conduct the opening service at it, he found thirty Maoris asking for baptism. Later the Rev. Seymour Spencer was transferred to Tarawea and the Thomas T.S. Grace who reached New Zealand in 1850 was given the task of establishing a mission station on the shores of Lake Taupo. This was to be quite a flourishing centre of christianity until destroyed by the Hauhaus in 1870.

Information on Hawkes Bay during this period is scattered and not easily accessible, but what does exist is probably sufficient to indicate a general trend. Christianity in the 1840s in Hawkes Bay appeared to follow a trend midway between that of the East Coast and the Bay of Plenty. Hawkes Bay was not added to the Diocese until 1868, and was part of the Wellington diocese, and the first missionary to the area was not stationed there until Dudley was placed at Wairoa in 1842. Maori responsibility and control however quickly developed here, as seen by the fact that when Bishop Selwyn visited Hawkes Bay in November 1872, calling at Roto-atare, where Te Aute College now stands, and Ahuriri, he found at the latter centre a large christian community was established, and a chapel capable of holding 400 people had been erected,<sup>24</sup> although until this date it had only been visited by a missionary once. As on the East Coast the way had been paved somewhat by the return of liberated Maori-slaves from the North who returned mainly to Wairoa, Mahia Peninsula and other Hawkes Bay areas. During the 1840s developments in Hawkes Bay were again often initiated by Maoris themselves. These included the stationing in the area of three

22 H.J. Fletcher letter to New Zealand Herald 10 May 1916.

23 McMurray letter to New Zealand Herald 6 April 1916.

24 Atkin 'Missionary' p67

native teachers who had been trained on the mission station at Te Ngae on the shores of Lake Rotorua. These teachers were reported by tradition to have been Wiremu Maihi Tarawaru, Wiremu Matenga te Ruru and Hoani te Hauiti. These three had at first a dangerous encounter until Te Hapuku, the chief of Te Hauke, which apparently the brave demeanour of Tarawaru prevented from ending in bloodshed.<sup>25</sup> Poverty Bay converts who had been trained as teachers also were placed in Hawkes Bay at the request of their chiefs in this period. They were later to return here of their own initiative when they found it difficult to work with William Colenso. That the occupation of Ahuriri by the European missionary, William Colenso who had just been ordained deacon November 1844, was not as welcome as it might have been can be ascertained by the fact that he was allocated an extremely unfavourable spot for the new mission station, known by the Maoris as "the dwelling place of an eel", and described by Colenso as impossible.<sup>26</sup>

25 Bagnall & Petersen William Colenso p220

26 *ibid* p261



### CHAPTER III

#### Consolidation Of An Unofficial Maori Church - The 1850s

By 1850 it can be said that christianity in the area that was to become the Waiapu diocese, was a commonly accepted Maori value. Although William Leonard Williams claimed that it could hardly yet be said that there was a native church, it nevertheless appears that a distinctive Maori church was unofficially recognised. True, there were as yet no Maoris ordained to the diaconate or priesthood, and so no official form of autonomy was possible. However, Maori christian communities still continued to evolve a Maori christianity under the guidance of Maori teachers and under the protection of sympathetic chiefs, and with very little organisation in many cases from the official European hierarchy. By the early 1860s the concept of a recognised Maori church was to become officially accepted.

The whole period of the 1850s and early 1860s was one of maturing and sifting of ideas rather than of repeating the phenomenal growth of the previous two decades, although growth continued at a steady pace. It is true that there was an apparent cooling of the first vibrant Maori enthusiasm in some areas, and that there was also some falling away from time to time of former adherents to the church, but this was counter-balanced by a continuation of fervour in other areas.

In the Hawkes Bay area where there were fewer European missionaries and where the arrival of these had been later than on the East Coast than in the other areas, reliance had to be placed largely on teachers who were converts from other areas. These teachers were usually no longer able to keep in touch with the source of their education and spiritual refreshment, with the result that the intensity and keenness of converts appeared to wane. The Rev. James Hamlin in March 1857 noted that in Nuhaka where the Maoris were the first to receive the gospel and were foremost in such knowledge as natives had at that time acquired, "they have now grown cold and are divided among themselves."<sup>1</sup> Apart from the fact that their knowledge had probably not greatly increased during the intervening years, the presence of increasing numbers of Europeans was now being felt. These traded among them and operated whaling parties, which many Maoris from Nuhaka joined, as did those at Mahia. Whaling was bringing in very high returns in the 1850s and was to be a lucrative form of income for many Maoris in this region. Because of the prolonged contact, through the very

1 Church Missionary Record Vol I 1871-2 p326

nature of this work, with the rather gross kinds of Europeans engaged in it, Maoris were bound to partially adopt their habits and to a certain extent to separate themselves from communal control over their actions.

The "lukewarmness" alleged by Hamlin to prevail among the people and teachers at Wairoa and up the Wairoa river appears to have been of rather a different nature. The allegations of Hamlin, who was less experienced in mission work than most of the missionaries, were bound to have been influenced by the expectations associated with Victorian evangelical or devotional practices. On the very first day he held a service in the chapel at Wairoa, it was not the size of the congregation - three hundred Maoris - which was later to be the subject of his comments, but what appeared to be their highly irreligious habits. By about half way through the service half had disappeared and of those who remained, some were playing games throughout the service.<sup>2</sup> Hamlin's attribution of this state of affairs to lukewarmness and the diagnosis of educationalists and psychologists would doubtless be at variance here.

The identifying of social and cultural customs with a lack of evident christianity was repeated in the Waiapu area in a more definite way, where the Rev.C.Baker, with a brashness insensitive to cultural norms, constantly criticised the different aspects of Maori life in Rangitukia he had come in contact with since his arrival there in 1854. Customs such as the tangi or the loud crying over the dead at funerals, which he considered an anti-christian habit on account of the participants' sudden recovery and subsequent feasting at the celebration which followed it, the continued use of Maori medicines and the eating of rotten corn all came in for his condemnation,<sup>3</sup> as much as did the theft of his cart by a party of disgruntled Maoris. By the late 1870s and 1880s however, Maori customs appear to have become accepted as such, rather than treated as major issues of religious significance. Archdeacon W.L.Williams, for instance, in writing about his visit to Te Horo after the death of his father, the former Bishop of Waiapu, mentions the general tangi they had there on his arrival, as he, the recently bereaved, was wept over by the community. His chief comment on the incident was "It was a strange custom, but in their case there was a great deal of genuine feeling."<sup>4</sup>

2 Record Vol I 1871-2 p350

3 C.Baker The Journal of Charles Baker 1849-54 p24

4 W.L.Williams to Jane Williams, 27 March 1878, Correspondence from New Zealand.

At Tauranga, the Venerable A.N. Brown reported that native christians were arguing among themselves, although their teachers were faithfully receiving instruction on Saturdays.<sup>5</sup> In Poverty Bay between Turanga and Tokomaru, Maoris including teachers, were becoming strangely involved in a new spirit religion in which they claimed to have intercourse with the spirits of the departed.

The contentious spirit noted by Brown at Tauranga could have been and probably was, symptomatic of a new spirit of intellectual enquiry seeking after a satisfying theology consonant with their own acculturation and yet tenable with the new European outlook which was being forced on them through their accumulating experience with the white community. Of the "spirit religion" insufficient can be deduced from scanty references to it to ascertain how deviant were the other practices of those adhering to it from the orthodox Maori christians. However the sacrament of Holy Communion was withheld from them for years until they renounced the spirits. Baptism, even for their children, was also withheld as sponsors all refused to renounce the spirits which they believed would give them help. The "spirit religion" could possibly have emerged as a result of the various diseases and deaths to which Maoris particularly in the Turanga area were becoming subject through their contact with Europeans. This could then have been a response comparable to that of some Hawkes Bay Maoris who were having the same experience of diseases. Hamlin noted or rather guessed in 1857 that many Maoris here, including teachers, had been led to join the ranks of the church by the expectation that christianity would save them from the power of native priests and in fact from all diseases to which the body is subject in this life, but when they saw it could not protect them from either, they failed to assemble at christian ordinances.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand earnestness of christian life and great desire for the sacraments was still evident in other places particularly in the Waiapu area. T. Grace, in recording the greater interest shown in religion in the 1850s in the Taupo region, once he had arrived and Maori teachers were flourishing there, speaks of the leadership given by the chiefs at this time. Grace had brought a bell, which the Maoris at Pukawa christened Rawiri (David) on account of its loud voice, from Scotland to Taupo.

5 Record Vol I 1871-2 p363

6 Record Vol I 1871-2 p83



The keepers of the bell were four chiefs who took the names Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Each Sunday these chiefs dressed in Sunday best to perform their bell duties - Matthew in a long coat, Mark in a top hat, Luke in striped trousers, and John carrying the bell.<sup>7</sup>

W.L.Williams recorded an incident which occurred on Bishop Selwyn's confirmation visit in November 1858.<sup>8</sup> The bishop had visited Thames, Waikato, Tauranga, Rotorua, Te Whaiti and coastal settlements in the Bay of Plenty, Hicks Bay, Waiapu, Poverty Bay and Hawkes Bay. At Rangitukia a middle-aged man, Te Wiremu, was rejected for confirmation by the bishop because of his lack of knowledge. Accompanied then by Williams, the bishop proceeded to Te Horo and then on to Reporua. Te Wiremu followed him there, and begged him to confirm him despite his rejection at Rangitukia. Bishop Selwyn was so struck with his earnestness that he confirmed him along with the Reporua condidates. Charles Baker also recorded<sup>9</sup> that in 1856 at Akuaka when baptisms were being performed two women who had previously been refused baptism two months earlier because they could not read the scriptures had since been diligent in learning to read and came forward to acquaint Baker with this fact. This time they were accepted as candidates and went to Waipiro for baptism. Here however only one was passed out of a number of candidates. Baker described the woman's reception after her examination: "She was met by some of her friends who shook hands with her very cordially and bid her welcome to the church of Christ." From this account emerge two important aspects of the Maori church of the period. First, the tenacity with which Maori christians still continued to seek admittance to the church's sacraments despite the obstacles of the high standards still maintained by missionaries, and second the Maori appropriation of the essence of christian community, as seen in the welcome given to the successful baptismal candidate.

This appropriation of essential values of christian community, and identification of the community with the church of God despite the cultural practices objectionable to and beyond the control of European missionaries was evident also in Hawkes Bay. Although Hawkes Bay Maoris sympathised with the King movement in the 1850s and 1860s, this did not affect the strength

7 John Te H.Grace Tuwharetoa (Wellington 1959) p407

8 W.L.Williams East Coast p26

9 C.Baker Journal p85

of their attachment to christianity. A correspondent of The New Zealand Spectator reported how at a meeting called at the Whakaaairo Pa and attended by the chiefs Te Hapuku and Hori Niana as well as by all native chiefs of Ahuriri, Maoris had spoken of their grief at the continuing war in Taranaki, the alleged illegal conduct of the governor, their personal desire to help Taranaki, and their regard for the King. At the same time the correspondent saw fit to comment that "the most sad feature was that of their misapplying scripture and speaking of themselves as the Church". In a speech the chief Renata had said "The Church of God is my name. The scriptures say 'we are all members and if one member suffers, all the members feel'. The Church also is one; therefore I say : "Let me go thither to my own who are being fed with hard food."<sup>10</sup> The ease of identification with the Christian church and community is here most illuminating and speaks for itself as far as the absorption of christian values is concerned. The ease of self identification was such that apparently the educated European response was one of shock.

The role of the teacher came in for some criticism from the period of the 1850s onward with attacks by Hamlin on their lukewarmness and lack of education at Wairoa and vicinity, and reproof by others on their gullibility and backsliding between Turanga and Tokomaru Bay demonstrated in the issue of communication with the dead spirits. At Mahia and Nuhaka native teachers had played an admonitory role in giving severe lectures to the Europeans in the 1840s on the evil lives they were living and the vices such as gambling and drunkenness at the whaling stations, even on the beaches in front of the natives.<sup>11</sup> By the 1850s they appear to have overcome their shock to the extent that some of the teachers who had administered the rebukes had now themselves joined whaling vessels for the economic advantages entailed in this business.<sup>12</sup>

However the authority of Maori teachers and the respect given them still continued in the 1850s. During this period the more recently opened mission stations were gradually abandoned because of the death of one missionary and the retirement of others through failing health.<sup>13</sup>

10 The N.Z. Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian 21 Nov 1860

11 W.L. Williams "The Progress of Maori Mission Work in the Archdeaconry of Waiapu" Church Herald October 1885

12 Record Vol I 1871-2 p370

13 Williams "Progress" Church Herald, October 1885

In Poverty Bay Waerenga-a-hika was the only station left by the end of the decade, and other mission stations still had only one missionary each, so that only one third of the missionaries' time could be spent in visiting native settlements outside Tauranga, Rotorua, Taupo, Waerenga-a-hika, East Cape, Turanga, Mahia and Wairoa.<sup>14</sup> Therefore of necessity more of the work of the former mission stations was devolving on native teachers such as Raniera Kawhia, Pita Whakangau and Hohepa te Rore.

The teacher at Rangitukia, Pita Whakangau who died in 1855, had been acting in this capacity for ten years and had often been left without a missionary on the station. During these periods, one of which lasted for a year, instruction devolved entirely upon him. This included the holding of regular public services, adult school and bible classes. It was through his influence that the Maoris here commenced the erection of the large wooden church of St John's. Baker's comment on Whakangau's death was "my hands are greatly weakened through the death of this excellent man." Baker commented in general on the influence of Maori teachers and especially that of the Rangitukia teacher, Hohepa te Rore.<sup>15</sup> The status of teachers here is indicated by the fact that it was the head teacher Hohepa te Rore who conducted Baker and other guests to the whare minita which was set aside for the use of missionaries and people of distinction who visited the Kainga. Baker records that the teachers in Waiapu (e.g. Hohepa te Rore, Raniera Kawhia, and Wruera Paku from Tuparoa, Whareponga and Waipiro respectively) took church services and classes, encouraging people to build and accompanied clergy on visits including ones to settle disputes. Even as late as 1863, W.L. Williams mentioned that the carpentry of the new carved church at Manutuke was supervised by the old Maori teacher, Aperahama Matawhaitu.<sup>16</sup> At a place called Ti and another called Kaiwhakawa teachers had used their authority to place many people under a ban for their persistence with use of "stinking corn and potatoes".<sup>17</sup>

Besides teachers, there appeared to have been other officers called monitors, of a lesser rank than teachers in the Waiapu region. Baker reported holding weekly classes with teachers and monitors between 1854 and 1856, and these were attended by other teachers within quite a long walking distance.<sup>18</sup>

14 Intelligencer 1856 p158

15 Baker Journal p21

16 Williams East Coast p28

17 Baker Journal p32

18 Baker Journal p47

When in 1854 St John's Church was being erected at Rangitukia, the teacher Pita Whakangau was one of four persons of prestige who had their names enclosed in a bottle put in the foundation. The other three were the chief, Rawiri Rangikatea, the missionary Charles Baker and Nikorima Tamarerekau, the chief builder.<sup>19</sup> Baker found to his disgust, the popularity of the teacher of Kakariki to be so great that when he dismissed him for bad conduct, a large group from that district came over to Baker's residence to protest.<sup>20</sup>

Archdeacon Williams in speaking of the activity and influence of the teacher at Mohaka says "The most interesting feature is that the community is well-ordered mainly through the perserving activity of the teacher whom I would wish to take to our school for further instruction that he may receive ordination."<sup>21</sup> Hamlin also praises the direction given to the Mohaka people by their teacher Hone Te Wainohu,<sup>22</sup> and says also that the Maoris of Te Putere and Te Reinga although possessing many inconsistencies were improving through the diligence of the teacher at Te Putere.

In the Taupo area of the Bay of Plenty region the missionary, Thomas Grace was assisted in the 1850s, which were years of relative peace, by several chiefs who were teachers or lay readers, and were therefore persons of prestige. His major teachers were Matiaha Pahewa, a high-born Ngati-porou chief who was stationed at the Turanga mission station prior to Grace's arrival in Taupo, and who accompanied Grace on many of his journeys, Hoani Te Aramoana, Rawiri Kahia and Honi Hapi, all well born chiefs of the Ngati te Rangitika, Reupena Taiamai, an important leader of the Te Hapuiti tribe of the Lake Rotaira district, Winiata te Rauna and Hoeta Hata, Hare Tauteka, Hakaraia, Te Whetu and others.<sup>23</sup> The Resident Magistrate Turton also records that at Lake Tarawera "a very excellent chief called Te Kepa"<sup>24</sup> was a teacher there under the missionary Spencer. Turton was trying at the time to have Te Kepa released from teaching duties in order to appoint him Chief Assessor, but was unsuccessful in this.

19 Baker Journal p32

20 Baker Journal p76

21 Henry Williams Records of two Brothers, Henry and William Williams p20

22 Intelligencer 1856 p72

23 Grace Tuwharetoa p404

24 Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives, 1862, E5 p8

The calibre of these teachers is evident when it is kept in mind that many of them were later ordained to the diaconate e.g. Matiaha Pahewa, his son Hakaraia (the first Maori canon), Hoeta Mata, Hone te Wainohu, Raniera Kawhia, Rihara te Rangimaro, and Ihaia te Ahu. Others, like Whakangau, would have been had they lived into the sixties when an ordination policy began. It can probably be said therefore that although some teachers were falling away, both in numbers and enthusiasm by the 1850s, those who continued were of increasing quality and skill.

Another feature of the 1850s was the continued building of solidly constructed churches to replace the raupo and rush chapels. Between 1850 and 1857 work was begun and (in most cases) completed on the churches of St John's Rangitukia, St Stephen's Kawakawa (reported to be able to hold 500 worshippers) St Paul's Te Horo, a splendid building with ridge pole and rafters curiously and grotesquely painted, the space between the studs being filled up with diagonal boarding,<sup>25</sup> St Philip's Karariki, St Peter's Whareponga and St Matthew's Tuparoa. A substantial church at Mohaka was reported by Hamlin in 1856 to be in the course of construction, as was the case at Horoera and money was being collected in the same year at Waipiro Bay for a church what was completed at the end of the decade. At Tataruhaki a Charles Gilman was erecting a new wooden church when Baker visited it in 1854 and wooden churches are also reported at Tawhiti (here was a very pretty church which stood North and South instead of East and West which rather surprisingly annoyed some of the Maori congregation), and Reporua which exhibited good native workmanship.<sup>26</sup> Difficulties were often encountered in building these churches which were completely a product of Maori initiative and organisation. At Whareponga for example much labour was required for all the boards had to be cut at a place several days journey away as there was no suitable timber any closer. The road was over mountainous country and was impassable to carts and sledges, so boards had to be carried by Maoris four at a time, two under each arm.<sup>27</sup> Horoera was so anxious to have a church by October 1856 that a party went to Rangitukia to bribe with tobacco and pipes the principal carpenter engaged on the St John's building. The initiative was entirely with the

25 Baker Journal p29

26 Mackay Historic Poverty Bay p173

27 Baker Journal p76

28 Intelligencer 1858 p364



Horoera people for Baker complained that he was not consulted by either the Horoera or the Rangitukia party, and stated his objections strongly<sup>29</sup> though with no apparent success for he was soon to find that Horoera had also enticed away the carpenter who was engaged on the Whareponga church.

Typical Maori festivity was also involved in the commencement of building operations, and particularly in the opening of a church. Bishop Selwyn estimated that 3000 attended the hakari [open air feast] which included every possible available Maori food - following the consecration of St John's Rangitukia in 1854. The people of different villages would arrive for this, especially chiefs and teachers if the village was at too great a distance for the majority to attend.

Church openings were the occasion for large scale donations for the church and for koreros [speeches] which were so much a part of traditional Maori ceremonies and entertainment. The festivities, in Maori fashion, would extend into the following day. Entertainment was also provided for invited guests for the three day period before official ceremonies began as many would be arriving during this period.

Still functioning through the 1850s and developing into great complexity were the arrangements made by the people for the travelling missionary. These had developed into whare minitas and paraires. Paraires consisted of approximately two acres of land set aside for the minister whenever he visited the district, and were planted with crops of corn, wheat, potatoes etc. these were cultivated by the pa on a Friday or paraire.<sup>30</sup> Baker mentions several of these at Te Where, Waiomatatini and Te Horo where he was impressed with the good order of the whare minita and the quality of the paraire's fencing. Responsibility was obviously being assumed in accordance with the Old Testament scriptures of providing for the material needs of the keepers of the temple. Karariki had its church and whare minita standing on the brow of a hill overlooking the whole valley and Baker commented on the Maoris' knack of obtaining the best sites possible for these buildings. Kawakawa had the best whare minita Baker had ever seen and Tuparoa, Horoera and Tuatini all possessed comfortable well planned whare minitas besides their churches. Puatai is the only place Baker records as having no whare minita and this was because the inhabitants were contemplating moving to Uawa.

29 Baker Journal p82

30 ibid., pp22-30

Besides the church, whare minita and paraire at Kawakawa, the Maoris here also supported a flourishing school whose Maori school master Himiona, an intelligent young man who had been educated at St John's College, had been fetched from Otaki by the Rev. Rota Waitoa. Land by the mission house here was laid down in wheat and potatoes to support the school. The high level of indigenous organisation in Kawakawa which had its own Maori clergyman, teachers, separate children's school teacher, and other officers, all under a sympathetic chief, Houkamou, is perhaps best indicated by the fact that the European, Collier, living in the same area, found occasion in December 1854 to complain bitterly to Baker that some self-constituted roias assumed unauthorised powers under pretence of keeping the law. Whilst he had been quietly strolling through the village they had rushed out of church with their books in their hands and demanded a fine from him, - presumably for non attendance at church. Another quaint custom, demonstrating the indigenous nature of the church and its integral relations with the Maori community, is seen in the comment of the Resident Magistrate Baker to the Attorney General in 1863, that in Rangitukia it was the custom to punish offenders in cases of adultery by causing them to weave floor mats for the whare minita and for the whare runanga.<sup>31</sup>

Maori organisation and control and the indigenisation of the church by weaving it comfortably into the fabric of their everyday lives, was therefore approaching a high level in many areas in the 1850s, despite the apparent backsliding and incongruities noted by Europeans. It only remained to bring numbers of Maoris into the ranks of the clergy, before the already existing Maori church could be officially recognised as such. This was begun in the 1850s, but was chiefly accomplished during the 1860s.

31 A J H R, 1863, E4 p50

## C H A P T E R   I V

### Maori Responsibility Culminating in Autonomy : the Early 1860s.

The first Maori to be ordained in all New Zealand was the Rev. Rota Waitoa who was made a deacon in 1853 and a priest in 1860. He was, on his first ordination, given the Maori district of Kawakawa for his parish.

In 1857 Bishop Selwyn was anxious to impress on the Maori people the importance of making some provision for the maintenance of clergy of their race. A very clear response to this was made in the East Coast. Here the area had been divided up into parochial districts, each of which was urged to raise a sum of at least £200 towards a Native Pastorate fund which would help support a Maori pastor.<sup>1</sup> The idea of this endowment fund, to which the C.M.S. gave a grant of £1000, appears to have been taken up very eagerly by the Maori people, who also set aside 700 acres of land at Manutahi, near Tuparoa, for a school.<sup>2</sup> This gave a great stimulus to the Maori Church and provided a new goal to work for. It probably also accounts for the fact that in the area along the Waipapu River where this was most heartily taken up little or no interest was shown in religious aberrations. The raising of endowment funds for their own clergy seems to have become their most important religious objective and this absorbed their energies. With the objective of a native pastorate in mind, a training school had been established at Whakato in Poverty Bay where suitable young men could be prepared for the ministry. This was afterwards moved to Waerenga-a-hika in 1857, but was closed in 1866 because of the wars. Of those who trained there during that period thirteen were admitted to Holy Orders. In 1860 when the use of St Stephen's in Auckland as a Maori girls' school had come to an end, it was used to train Maoris for the ministry, as well as being a school for Maori boys. St Stephen's continued to give all subsequent training to potential Maori ordinands after Waerenga-a-hika was closed until Te Rau was opened at Gisborne in 1884. At St Stephen's more time for study was given than at Waerenga-a-hika, and the students there had the benefit of considerable tuition from Sir William Martin. Men from Waerenga-a-hika would often go to St Stephen's in the 1860s to get the advantage of his help.<sup>3</sup> These Maori ordinands, who had previously shown their abilities as teachers, together with Synod and later Native Church

1 Williams East Coast p24

2 Williams "Progress" in Church Herald October 1885

3 W.L.Williams to Purchas 12 April 1912. Correspondence from New Zealand.



Board organisation, gave the final consolidation to the Maori church. Former teachers ordained to the diaconate were Raniera Kawhia in 1860, Ihaia Te Ahu in 1861, Tamihana Huata in 1861, Matiaha Pahewa in 1863, Hare Tawhaa in 1864, Mohi Turei in 1864, Watene Moeka in 1864, Rihara Te Rangamaro in 1866 and Raniera Wiki in 1867, who all followed Rota Waitoa. During the 1870s further ordinations of Hone Pohutu in 1870, Wiremu Katene Paraire in 1870, Hone Te Wainohu, Kerehona Piwaka and Rutene Te Ahu in 1878 took place.

Tremendous efforts were made in some areas from the 1860s through the 1870s and 1880s to raise money for endowment. By June 1871 £700 had already been raised and Williams said that the movement had been at the instance of Rota Waitoa. The normal procedure was for a chief to hold a hakari and for a collection to be taken up for the endowment fund. Henare Potae's hakari at Tokomaru had 2000 present including representatives of all tribes within a ten day journey. Maoris from as far distant as Turanga, Omaio and Okeka, were present showing the high level of interest. Clergy like Rota Waitoa, Raniera Kawhia, Tamihana Huata and Matiaha Pahewa were all supported in this way. William Williams in describing the way a Waiapu village had handed him £102.17.11 for an endowment fund for a clergyman said "You must think our people wondrously rich but it is not so. They are making sacrifices in giving".<sup>4</sup>

After the wars villages on the East Coast were still wanting native clergy, even though hard feelings existed here from the war, and reduced congregations were evident in Waiapu churches. The competition which still existed for the services of the Maori clergy, even during and after the wars, can be illustrated in the struggle for the services of Hare Tawhaa, who was ordained a deacon in 1864 and priest in 1870. Tawhaa, who belonged to Tuparoa, had for some years before his ordination been a teacher at Turanga, and because of his outspokenness his own people were at first indifferent to his return. By 1870 however, Tuparoa wanted him back, and the Native Church Board meeting read a letter from the Tuparoa church in November 1870, urging the Board to arrange his return. Whakato, where he had been serving, naturally did not want to lose him as they admired his maturity and his ability to speak out. As a result of Tuparoa's letter, Whakato hastily handed over to Williams the £61 needed to complete Tawhaa's endowment fund.<sup>5</sup> This was fortunately made possible by the fact that the Government had recently given the people a gift of money for their assistance, when the vessel, Evening Star had been wrecked.

4 W.Williams to Kate Williams 27 August 1864, Correspondence from New Zealand

5 W.Williams 'Journal' Vol 10 pp71-73

Raniera Kawhia of Whareponga, whom Williams reports as being "one of our best native teachers" was ordained and returned to his own people in 1860. Williams comments on the striving among the tribes to have him. Maoris from other areas in putting forward their case for his services tried to point out that it was unwise for a man to go back to his own people when ordained. They claimed "if we are to have a native pastor let it be a person from a distance not one of our tribe, for we shall not otherwise treat him with respect". Williams' answer to this was "He is fixed among those who have greatest claim".<sup>6</sup> The same pattern was repeated when Tamihana Huata was admitted as deacon in July 1861, and placed at Wairoa. Several districts in Wairoa offered to pay the whole endowment sum of £200 at once if they could obtain him.

Great prestige was attached to the office of deacon by Maoris and Europeans who all expected him to give a lead in local affairs, to give moral direction, to act as a liason officer between Maoris and Europeans, and to entertain people of distinction. This was additional to the performance of the parochial duties which normally entailed looking after more than one church. The Resident Magistrate at Rangitukia, J.G. Baker, wrote that Maori clergy salaries were insufficient to cover all the expenses connected with the established custom of all visitors of distinction being received and entertained by the clergy. In addition, he mentions that they were expected to keep up a respectable style of dress and habitation.<sup>7</sup>

At Tuatini [Tokomaru] Henare Potae the chief, evidently expected Matiaha Pahewa to be giving a lead politically, as well as spiritually. Potae in speaking to Bishop Williams (9 April 1864) was very downcast about his people and said that they had shown quite some interest in the King movement and were going to Waikato to support the King, despite his reasoning with them. He then blamed Pahewa for not having included this amongst his duties and spoken out about it. Pahewa nevertheless hardly seems to have been idle at this time as he was constantly working between Tuatini, Ariuru, Tangoio, Araura and Mangatuna. His activities for the next two days after Potae's condemnation, included on 10 April, the baptism of candidates at Ariuru, on 11 April the baptism of Maoris at Tangoio followed by administration of the Holy Communion, the examination of candidates for baptism at Anauroa followed by their baptism and a visit to Mangatuna after the sun had disappeared.<sup>8</sup> At Waiapu, by 1862, Williams reported to the C.M.S. that

6 W. Williams to Kate Williams 12 March 1860, Correspondence from New Zealand.

7 A J H R , 1863, E 4 p48

8 Williams East Coast p43

serious quarrels had broken out because some tribes sided with and some against the government, and that it had been the role of the native clergy to act as peace makers in doing their utmost to check these quarrels and the ensuing religious indifference. Matiaha Pahewa continued to visit the Kingites as long as they continued to receive his ministrations, even after the commencement of hostilities when most other native clergy had gone to their pas to minister to their own people. In so doing, he again incurred the hostility of Henare Potae, who looked on his action as identifying himself with them.<sup>9</sup> The fact that the Kingites accepted his ministrations, however, shows it was not christianity as such which was being rejected, even though a great deal of repudiation of missionaries had taken place already in places such as Opotiki, the Tuhoe country and parts of the East Coast and Hawkes Bay. However, Mohi Turei reported that though the bells of Pukairomiromi rang out, only those who supported the government, entered there to pray. Nevertheless on the whole it was the connection between the European missionary himself, as distinct from the message of christianity, and the Government which was condemned and repudiated. To the Maori the christian message seemed as relevant as ever, and appeared to support their case rather than to be at variance with it.

Maori clergy also found the law, in the form of district magistrates, collaborating quite freely with them, seeking their advice on important matters. The Resident Magistrate, Baker, for instance speaks of starting out for Whareponga from Rangitukia, a whole day's journey, for the purpose of conferring with Raniera Kawhia on the fitness of certain individuals for the Native Jury List, and adds that on his return he would be visiting Kawakawa to consult with Rota Waitoa on the same subject. Clergy were also being called on at meetings to express opinions on the causes of the war. William Williams reported to the Colonial Secretary in February 1864 that Mohi Turei, (shortly to be ordained a deacon) had been called on and had given a clear account of the causes leading to the breach between the Government and the Waikato Maoris, at a runanga in Petane. Turei, a strong government supporter, appears to have been very persuasive and the meeting ended, to Williams' mind, satisfactorily. Mohi Turei was then sent to Waiapu where a chief, Pourourangi, had just returned from Waikato, in order to exert his influence there.<sup>10</sup>

9 Mohi Turei to W.L.Williams 16 July 1864. Official Papers.

10 A J H R, 1864, E 3 p21

During the wars the Maori clergy appear to have been very active in their correspondence with each other and with the Rev. W.L. Williams, as they reported on the progress of the wars in their district, offered each other encouragement and passed on general news. Letters from Raniera Kawhia, Hare Tawhaa and Mohi Turei to W.L. Williams were particularly informative on the issues of the fighting between loyalist and Hauhau Maoris at Nuhu-ki Tii and Te Horo, Kawakawa and Pukemaire in 1865. Kawhia's respected position was evident in his comment that "I am holding peace with the heads of the Maoris and Pakehas".<sup>11</sup>

The first synods held after the Waiapu diocese was formed in 1859 brought the Maori church into organic connection with the synodical system of the Provincial church. As Napier and the southern portion of Hawkes Bay still belonged to the Wellington Diocese and the English population was scanty, the diocese was a Maori one. The first diocesan synod met therefore at the Maori centre of Waerenga-a-hika in December 1861, and was attended by the Bishop, two of the five English clergy, the three Maori clergy (Pota Waitoa, Raniera Kawhia and Tamihana Huata) and seventeen Maori laymen. Similar meetings of Synod were held in January 1863, March 1864 and January 1865. The Synod proceedings were conducted entirely in Maori, and at the first Synod meeting that the Bishop emphasised the importance of raising up a native ministry and of provision by the people for the support of their clergy, so that they could be left free to carry out their religious duties. The provision was to take the form of a collection being made by the inhabitants of any district wishing to have a clergyman, and the money then being invested so an income of at least £20 per annum could be derived from it. Although Maoris were hampered a little at first by the unfamiliar Synod procedure, this strangeness was soon overcome and evidence of real involvement is plain to see despite the fact that no earth-shattering decisions were made. Mohi Turei (later a clergyman) was together with William Leonard Williams appointed secretary for the session. Turei moved and Henare Potae seconded that a committee be chosen to consider what steps should be taken for the maintenance of the clergy, and a precise amount to be collected was agreed upon. Also agreed to was the plan that a clergyman's parish should assemble on a Friday to cultivate food for him,<sup>12</sup> as had already been done in some

<sup>11</sup> R. Kawhia to W.L. Williams 15 August 1865, Official Papers.

<sup>12</sup> Proceedings, 1861, p2

areas for the missionary. That teachers were still regarded as important can be gleaned from the motion put forward by Rota Waitoa, seconded by Ropata Wahawaha - that the inhabitants of the different localities should have consideration for their teachers and that Friday in each week should be a fixed day in which any work that may be required by the teachers should be done. Other recommendations were made regarding the appointment of people to keep order in divine service, the building of decent churches, a method of choosing laymen to attend synod and the need to charge marriage fees.

It is interesting and relevant to note that the Native Synods with their proportion of Maori chiefs like Henare Potae, Hirini Te Kani, Wiremu Pere, Anaru Matete, Ropata Wahawaha, clergy and teachers appear to have created a good deal of interest in many quarters. The second Synod had twenty-three laymen some of whom were very intelligent men and William Williams reported that their conversation was very animated.<sup>14</sup> The Maori clergy had dined with the Bishop throughout the Synod and had other meals with W.L. Williams, whilst the lay members were invited in small parties to each meal. By the time of the meeting of the third Synod in March 1864, neither clergy nor laymen from the Bay of Plenty were present and many of the intelligent men of the second Synod were missing. Alienation through the wars probably accounted for this. New members required a great deal of prompting until accustomed to the procedure. However by this time the form of Synod had become standardised according to Maori patterns, for Bishop Williams mentions "the usual ceremony of whaikorero [welcoming speeches] being prepared after the arrival of the party from Waiapu"<sup>15</sup> and speaks of the prayer meeting after the Synod committee meeting taking place at the Te Pohe a Mahaki meeting house.

After 1865 there was a break in the meeting of Synods in the Waiapu diocese until 1872, but in the meantime Synod had made provision for the constitution of Native Church Boards composed of all clergy, whether Maori or English, who were ministering to Maoris and of Maori laymen, under the presidency of the Bishop. Although theoretically subordinate to Diocesan Synod, these Church Boards did in effect manage their own affairs, which is a measure of the degree of autonomy of which the Maori church was by then capable. The first of these was held from 31 October to 2 November

13 Proceedings, 1861, p23

14 Papers Re the Anglican Church in New Zealand No 4 p3

15 W. Williams to Kate Williams 18 March 1864. Correspondence from New Zealand,



and was attended by six clergy and nine laymen, and others which followed met annually in Maori centres such as Waiapu, Turanga and Pakowai. On the whole these Church Boards were found to work well and Bishop Williams reported that the resolutions made by them were regarded by the people with the greatest deference,<sup>16</sup> and that the Maoris felt the Boards were sufficient for their needs. Therefore very few Maori clergy attended the Diocesan Synods when they resumed in 1872 as the Boards were considered sufficient for their needs. The only exemption was when subjects affecting their own race were under discussion, and Synod was then attended only by the few who were sufficiently familiar with the English language.

The exercise of this autonomy through the Boards enabled the Maori church, which through force of circumstances and Maori initiative had begun as a thoroughly indigenous organisation, to remain Maori even though the diocese was rapidly becoming populated with Europeans. Decisions could continue to be made within the social context of Maori cultural life. For example the proposals accepted at the first meeting to supplement the income of Maori clergy and for the payment of native school masters was a thoroughly Maori one. Funds were to be raised by having a common cultivation for maize, wheat and potatoes, and this was to be worked by all the Maoris of the whole district.

The official beginnings of this autonomy in the early 1860s with the endowment schemes for native clergy and Maori synods, appeared to coincide with new enthusiasm in Maori church life, and various clergy spoke of a revival in the younger Maori people. This revival is reflected in a sudden increase of numbers at church, bible classes and teachers' classes as well as a renunciation, in some quarters, of liquor. Williams in speaking of the increased congregations mentions that he was regularly able to count over 100 dogs waiting outside the church for their owners on Sundays in the Turanga area, where numbers had previously fallen away. He noted that whereas normally less than a quarter of the congregation had attended the school which was held, following the church services now the whole congregation stayed for it. The Monday morning bible class which normally numbered 20 at Turanga in the 1850s increased phenomenally to more than 150.<sup>17</sup> Thursday morning classes to which teachers were

16 Papers Re the Anglican Church in New Zealand No 4 p3

17 W.Williams to Kate Williams 13 November 1860, Correspondence from New Zealand.



invited rose from three or four to between twenty and thirty. Few of these were teachers, but most simply attended to listen to the advanced discussion. Afternoon classes consisted of about 300 members and the evening class for the repetition of the collect and gospel, with catechising, had about 150.<sup>18</sup> At Wairoa a similar reaction was noted.

The renunciation of liquor accompanying this upsurge of interest appeared to have begun with the initiative of a young chief who had formerly been a heavy drinker, calling on his people to refrain from buying spirits from traders along the coast who had been making immense profits from this sale. At a meeting called to discuss the subject he asked the people to impose a fine on anyone who drank spirits whether he became intoxicated or not. Eventually, after debate nearly everyone in the district joined the compact. Another older chief pointed out the necessity for letting this work be carried out in dependence on God, in order to prosper. The meeting was followed up by the principal trader being sent for, and he expressed his assent to give up dealing in spirits to the Maoris henceforth.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> W. Williams to Kate Williams 17 March 1861. Correspondence from New Zealand.

<sup>19</sup> W. Williams to Kate Williams 13 November 1860. Correspondence from New Zealand.

## CHAPTER V

### As By Fire : the Post War Maori Church Until 1914

The war, followed by the Hauhau movement which interrupted life so abruptly in some parts of New Zealand, was to have its impact on Maori christianity and church life in the Waiapu diocese. During the middle and late 1860s a waning of religious fervour discernible ten years earlier was evident and understandable. Although in some East Coast pas there was little falling away from the churches, in most areas there was for a while quite a large decrease in attendance. Also general enthusiasm as displayed by attendance at bible classes, prayers and instruction classes, was less apparent. These activities were bound to be interrupted by war time activities. Another upsurge of alcoholism, beginning in the mid-1860s and lasting into the early 1880s, despite half-hearted attempts by the church to control it, was further evidence of this 'cooling off' period. Many of those who fell away in this period, were never to return to the Anglican fold. Once having said this however, it is necessary in taking a close look at what was happening in the diocese in the post-war years to allow certain facts to register. Firstly, the "cooling off" period or time of actual hostility to christianity was a short one. Second, Maori christianity soon stabilised itself again in the area, but not everywhere in the same form as before the wars. Third, Maori christianity was again to have its revivals but they were to be crystalised into rival orthodox and unorthodox forms, as those terms are understood by Europeans. Both, while generally apparently rejecting each other were to have some features in common. The most important of these is the fact that all varieties of religion remained truly Maori in their form and character, including their typical Maori community involvement.

That Maori religious orthodoxy was to stabilise itself and hold its ground after the setback of the wars, is probably due to the indigenous character, and the reliance on community involvement, already strongly developed within the church. The facts that it continued to exhibit these features after the wars, that the structures built up in pre-war years remained, were further developed or built upon and in some cases adapted to suit altering circumstances, that numbers returned to the church and

that attempts were made from within it to overcome apathy and doubtful practices and to be an outgoing community with an extended sense of responsibility, are proof that the Maori Anglican church continued to hold its own and to register periodically its revivals.

Both an indication of the continuity of the Maori Anglican community and of the strength of its indigenous nature is the fact that the whole of the native clergy in the Diocese maintained their faith and allegiance to the Church during the serious trials of the wars and continued their ministrations to those who would receive them. Those who did receive them increased rapidly after the wars ended and Hauhausm was discredited, and in places like Rangitukia, former Hauhaus and loyalists lived amicably together with the Rev. Mohi Turei as their pastor.

The Native Church Boards which were established in 1870, and consisted principally of Maori clergy and laymen, were to prove helpful in keeping the church's work coordinated,<sup>1</sup> as well as in making tentative approaches towards the eastern section of the Bay of Plenty between Opotiki and Cape Runaway. The people here were described by the Church Herald as having been in a state of "utter indifference in religious matters",<sup>2</sup> in the late 1860s. This contact was to pave the way eventually for the organisation of a Native Church Board for this district in 1880. The Church Boards besides planning normal domestic affairs constantly used their sessions to plan their strategy for evangelism of lapsed tribes.

A further step forward in native responsibility and organisation came in 1890 when the Maori Church Boards had a united meeting which was to prefigure the now well-established Hui Topu of the Maori Church. Maori congregations had by now become increasingly interested in the work of the church especially as the number of ordinands increased (10 were in training in 1894, and 17 in 1899),<sup>3</sup> and so took great interest in these gatherings at which church and cultural activities were interwoven. In 1911 another united Native Church Board Meeting or Hui Topu held at Waiomatatini attracted over 1000 Maoris. A collection produced £500 for Hukarere School and £150 for the church at Manutuke. Included

1 W.Rosevear The Story of A Diocese (Sydney 1960) p73

2 Williams "Progress" in Church Herald October 1885

3 W.Rosevear Story p95

amongst the activities was the licensing of twelve lay readers. A statement by Bishop Averill at Synod in the same year highlights the indigenous nature of these meetings. The Bishop claimed that "a tendency is always to make these gatherings a centre of enjoyment, and the expenses must inevitably absorb a large sum of money which should be devoted to worthier objects."<sup>4</sup> The disapproval registered here in itself indicates that control was in Maori hands and that affairs were being handled in an entirely Maori way despite the European predisposition to greater thrift.

The establishment of a centre devoted solely to the training of Maori ordinands, in a Maori area was another factor which ensured that prospective Maori clergy maintained their sense of cultural priorities and continued in the tradition of the indigenous church. The Te Rau Maori Theological School was established at Turanga in 1883 under Arch-deacon A.O. Williams as superintendent and a few years later was enlarged and maintained as a Maori Theological College for the whole island. This superseded the role formerly played by Waerenga-a-hika and St Stephens' Auckland. The curriculum at Te Rau was entirely in Maori and although the complaint of the Rev. Herbert Williams in 1901 that the college was academically of such a low standard that there were difficulties of recruitment from Te Aute and St Stephens' was probably justified, it suited the needs of candidates in the 1880s and early 1890s. Recommendations were made in a special report to Synod by Herbert Williams. This stated that "the bulk of the work is directly upon the Bible and the Prayer Book; lessons are given in Church history, and singing is taught on a modification of the sol-fa system. Those students who are fit for it receive instruction in the Greek of the New Testament."<sup>5</sup> These recommendations led to widening of the curriculum and an encouragement of students to take the same theological examinations as offered at St John's, Auckland.

The Te Rau students continued their identification with the Maori community by taking services at various Maori centres close to Turanga. The Rev. Reweti Kohere, a Maori and former Te Aute boy and student of Canterbury University who worked for several years as a lecturer at Te Rau, gives an amusing instance of the Maori approach to time in his Autobiography of a Maori. Kohere would give his students an outline of

4 Proceedings, 1911, p10

5 Proceedings, 1901, p113

the sermon to be preached for next Sunday after the students had worked out the subject for themselves. One Sunday a student at a centre five miles from Gisborne left his notes at college. When he could not find them in his pockets he returned to college to get them. By the time he had arrived back with his notes, the people of his congregation had had their lunch, and so they settled down quite happily to hear the lost sermon.<sup>6</sup>

The loyalty to the church of Maori priests and deacons in being willing to accept a salary which was far lower than their European counterparts, is quite noticeable. Although increasing contributions by Maoris for the support of their clergy through endowment schemes were raised over the years, so did the number of clergy to be supported increase. This together with the fact that Maori incomes in the Waiapu diocese were generally agriculturally based and were of a much lower order than those of Europeans, meant that Maori clergy were continually at a disadvantage economically compared to the Europeans. By 1890 for example the stipend of approximately £40 per annum, and between £47 and £55 by 1900 for Maori clergy was extremely small when compared to the average of £200 per annum received by European clergy. The minimum of £100, or £200 if educated to European level, recommended for Maori clergy by the committee established in 1901, took many years to be realised. When Reweti Kohere first went to Te Araroa (formerly Kawakawa) in 1908 as a priest educated to European standards, his stipend was only £75 per annum. Despite the paraires still maintained by some pas, clergy were often forced to do some form of farming such as keeping sheep or cattle or growing vegetables in order to supplement their incomes. Reweti Kohere after years as a lecturer at Te Rau took on the job of carrying the mail to the lighthouse on East Island when at Te Araroa, as this had the added advantage of being a suitable site for fishing and gathering shell fish.<sup>7</sup>

The discrepancy between Maori and European clergy salaries and their training by the 1890s is also a reflection of the discriminatory attitude prevailing in some quarters against the rights of the Maori section of the Church. An example of this can be seen at the special meeting of the Anglican Synod in 1894, to elect a bishop to succeed Bishop Stuart. Here a lay member of Synod, was reported as saying he thought it disgraceful that the three Maori clergymen who were present should be allowed

6 R.Kohere The Autobiography of a Maori (Wellington 1951) p140

7 *ibid*, p109



to participate in the elections.<sup>8</sup> This was the first attendance of Maori priests at Synod in 14 years. Provision had been made for them to attend, but no event prior to this was considered by the Maori clergy as being sufficiently urgent or applicable to their situation to attract them. Although the editor of the Poverty Bay Herald decried the invidious and degrading distinction made by this lay Synodsmen it was upheld by the Wairoa Guardian whose editor criticised the principal of Te Aute, John Thornton, for believing "the uneducated Maori fit to be a clergyman and to take part in the proceedings of Synod."<sup>9</sup> He advocated a "reform" which would reduce their representation by clergy and missionaries alike from thirteen and nine respectively to seven and eight collectively. "The aid of the Maori clergy can always be effectively enlisted to support the policy of the party of stagnation" was its unsympathetic and hide-bound comment. This attack, however, did not prevent the regular attendance of Synod from then on by the Rev. Frederick Augustus Bennett and the Rev. Hemi Petiti Huata, both young men, whose attendance encouraged others and resulted in a more frequent Maori attendance. In 1898 Maori laymen were also given seats, with one representative being allocated to each of the Maori Church Boards of Heretunga (Hawkes Bay, Turanga (Poverty Bay) and Tauranga (Bay of Plenty).

As the institution of Maori clergy and Native Church Boards had been very satisfactory to both Maori cultural and religious needs, and demands, and as autonomy had for all practical purposes been achieved, it is not very surprising that the question of further Maori responsibility in the form of a Maori Bishop was discussed as early as the 1870s. The European missionary T.S. Grace who certainly had as good an insight as any European into Maori social needs, wrote in 1876 that if the Maoris had a bishop of their own, who could for a while be under missionary guidance it would prevent any further splitting of the church. (Ringatu was gaining a hold in Grace's area at this time.) Grace claimed also that in allowing for a Maori bishop at this time, the Church would be taking its stand on scriptural ground, on apostolic practice and on common sense."<sup>10</sup> In 1876 E.C. Stuart (soon to be Bishop Stuart of Waiapu) reported to the C M S in England that some Maoris at a Tolaga Bay meeting had asked why the Maori church should not have a Maori bishop, and the example of the

8 Poverty Bay Herald 30 April 1894

9 Wairoa Guardian and County Advocate 12 May 1894

10 S.J. Brittan and F.O.W. and A.J. Grace A Pioneer Missionary Among the Maoris (Palmerston North, nd) p256



native Samuel Crowther, an African ex-slave who had been consecrated bishop in 1864, had been given. In 1877 a writer in the Church Missionary Intelligencer and Recorder suggested the appointment of a native Bishop for a Native Church, "as a suffragen to the other three bishops of New Zealand, with a certain jurisdiction over the Native Christians." This he claimed would attract back to the Church disaffected tribes.<sup>11</sup> Great interest in the matter was naturally taken by the Maori Church Boards. However a request from the Church Boards to General Synod for the appointment of a Maori as a Suffragen Bishop for the Maori part of the church was refused on the grounds that funds were lacking. This appeared effectively to put an end for some time to this line of enquiry. It was also acknowledged that no Maori clergyman at that particular time had yet the sufficient combination of age, experience and academic qualifications to assume this role. However the very fact that this question was being debated and that a Maori bishop was being seriously sought in the 1870s shows the extent to which the Maori race and the church in the Waiapu diocese had mutually absorbed each other without violence to the integrity of either.

Although all these important institutions in the Maori Anglican Church were developing strongly during the 1870s and 1880s, the institution of native teachers, which had been the back-bone of the Maori church in former years, appeared to be disintegrating to a certain extent however. Yet this disintegration again appears to have been another surface phenomenon. Although it was quite outstanding in some areas, the Maori talent of adapting institutions to altering circumstances was just on the verge of asserting itself. Outmoded as the teacher system was becoming with the institution of the Maori clergy with its superior training and status, in areas where the population remained strongly Anglican a transformation was coming about. By the 1870s and 1880s, probably through the agency of the Native Church Boards, the teacher system was slowly evolving into the Maori lay reader system whose functions were more applicable to a more sophisticated and educated people than existed four decades previously.

In the Bay of Plenty where the Maori church had suffered heavy casualties in the loss of congregations during and after the wars, a concomitant loss had also occurred with the Maori teachers. In this region, which included the infrequently visited Urewera, needs were somewhat different, and Maori teachers would have still had a useful rôle to play could they have been

11 Intelligencer 1877, p680

obtained. Grace claimed in the early 1850s that the scarcity of Maori teachers was a serious problem in this area and said that the most pressing need throughout the greatest part of the country (i.e. the Bay of Plenty) was for native teachers. Altering economic circumstances had also taken their toll for Grace pointed out that teachers could no longer work gratuitously as formerly and funds had to be raised to allow them small payments.<sup>12</sup> Maoris acknowledged that their faith was not growing and said it was "because we have neither Minister nor Teacher."<sup>13</sup> Because of these conditions Grace agreed to pay the teachers Theophilus of Rangitaiki, near Matata, and Hari Reweti at the north end of Taupo £6 per annum each for their services. These men were each to itinerate between their own districts and two others. They were to work in their own districts one Sunday out of three, and were to record where other Sundays were spent. For the whole of the Urewera country and Matata, only three teachers were available at this time and only one according to Grace, presumably Theophilus whom Grace considered worth paying, was able to teach efficiently.<sup>14</sup> Poverty Bay and Hawkes Bay were in a different position despite many defections from the church. Here the term "Maori teacher" appeared to apply by this time to those teachers who in the 1870s were given permission together with Maori clergy to go into Board schools and give religious training at stated times.<sup>15</sup> A lay reader system had developed here to such an extent that Bishop Stuart at Synod in 1879 commented that "Maori clergy minister to those of their own race, assisted by a large number of lay readers." The 1880s saw the flourishing of the lay reader movement in these areas, and the continuity between it and the older teacher system is brought out in the bishop's address to Synod in 1880, "It is an interesting feature of the Maori church that it has from the first been so largely indebted to a lay and voluntary agency for the instruction of the people, and the maintenance of a united worship and Sunday daily services." He continued that it was to the "well instructed native pastors" they would have to look for the further development of the Maori church, and "the system of lay readers is found to prepare the way for their appointment."<sup>16</sup> By 1881 lay readers were plentiful: in the Bay of Plenty Opotiki had twelve lay readers, Nukutaura [Mahia] five, Mohaka five, Wairoa twelve, and the rest of Hawkes Bay had eighteen. In Poverty Bay

12 Record Vol I 1871-72 p254

13 Brittan and Grace Pioneer p199

14 ibid, p196

15 W. Williams to the C. M. S., 19 December 1872, Official Papers.

16 Proceedings, 1880 p9

Turanga had fourteen, Rangitukia had eighteen, Kawakawa five, and Whangara had nine. This was an impressive total of eighty six in all. Like the ordinands of the 1860s and 1870s, most of the ordinands of the 1880s had been lay readers previously e.g. Rutene Te Ahu, Manahi Te Aro and Nirai Runga who were ordained at Omahu in 1886 and had also been lay representatives at Native Church Board meetings.

In 1910 when reporting at Synod on a "Quiet Day" spent at Te Aute for Maori lay readers, the Bishop said he found it a "revelation of the earnestness and keenness of the men who were doing such useful and satisfactory work for the church." In the same year Bishop Averill arranged for Maori lay readers of "long and faithful service" to wear the surplice and tippet at ministrations, thus giving them further officially recognised status.

Another sign of renewed vigour in the Maori church after the wars was the energy and enthusiasm again put into the construction of new churches. From the late 1870s onwards these appeared once more all over the diocese, accompanied by the usual Maori celebrations. Church building had not entirely died out during the wars. Even when feelings were at their most sensitive stage in 1864, Williams records that on a visit to Tangoio he found nearly all the people had gone up to Tokomaru to take up the kumaras of the sawyers who were cutting timber for the church.<sup>17</sup> Churches which were wholly paid for by the local Maoris themselves were built in the Hawkes Bay area, at Whakaki (1000 attending its opening evensong) in 1877, at Taradale and Mohaka in 1878, at Omahu (the chief Renata Kawepo assisted with expenses here), and at Wairoa, Hatepe and Nuhaka in 1879. By 1881 the Hawkes Bay villages of Waihiki, Porangahau and Petane had handsome new wooden churches and the older church at Moteo was enlarged. These were attended regularly and in fact it was recorded that Hawkes Bay churches of 1876 were having daily services which were well attended. In the Bay of Plenty region funds being collected for the construction of a new church at Ohinemutu, Rotorua, by the Maori clergyman Rev. Ihaia Ahu in 1880 -81 took a sudden jump when the Bishop, speaking of this at a tourist hotel in Rotorua,<sup>18</sup> suggested that Europeans might help financially with the building which could be used also then for English services. By 1883 St Faith's Ohinemutu was constructed and opened and shared by Maori and Europeans, as was the church of Matata after it was repaired in 1885. In

17 Williams "Journal" Vol I p16

18 Proceedings, 1881, p7

1889 the Maori Church of the Holy Nativity in the Taupo district was dedicated, all costs being defrayed by the local Maoris themselves. At Te Kaha the Maoris erected a large elaborate whare to double up as a church and a meeting house and installed chandeliers down the centre. The Ngati-Porou of Poverty Bay exhibited this church building fever even more fervently and in 1885 alone, erected three churches. Churches were built at Turanganui (1883), Whangara (1883) and Anaura (1884). The church at Tokomaru built in 1886 was furnished with the addition of a large American organ, which was ably performed on by a Hukarere Maori girl.<sup>19</sup> During the 1890s to the early 1900s new Maori churches were opened in the Bay of Plenty at Torere, Makotuke and Te Kaha. Maoris at Te Kaha raised much of the money by pulling maize for settlers and gave the proceeds from whaling expeditions.<sup>20</sup> In Hawkes Bay churches were established at Awamate and north Taupaki (near Mahia), Te Ngae, Mouteo and at Tokaano and Waipawa (St Philips). In Poverty Bay churches were built to replace others at Te Horo, Tuparoa and Rangitukia. In the early 1900s in Poverty Bay, churches were built at Mangatuna, Parehemanihi, Waerenga-a-hika and Puketapu. A beautifully carved one, decorated by Tuhoe carvers was constructed at Manutuke to replace the original one burnt by a fire. One was also built in Hawkes Bay at Nuhaka.

Maori community life continued to have its religious life woven into its fabric even in places where churches were in a state of disrepair. For example at Kawakawa the whole community in the 1880s would have a common breakfast in the meeting house, Hinerupa, on Sunday morning followed by a religious service and evensong was also held daily there.<sup>21</sup>

Religious enthusiasm and a resurgence of vitality from within the church was also manifested by the growth of youthful movements associated with it. In the Bay of Plenty where the hold of the church was far more tenuous than in the rest of the diocese and where Ringatu was predominant, an organisation known as the Choir became a force from about 1905. The Choir represented the Young Maori Party in the church and its work far from being limited to singing extended to a concern for the moral and spiritual welfare of their people.<sup>22</sup> Kohere mentions a Students' Christian Union being established in about 1888 at Te Aute. This was opposed within the

19 A J H R, 1886, E 12 p4

20 H.W.Williams A Short Report of the Church Work Amongst the Maoris during the year 1900. (Gisborne 1901) p5

21 R.Kohere Autobiography p40

22 Proceedings, 1909, p51

school by another group styled the Te Kooti gang, one of whose leaders was Henare Wepiha Wainohu who was later priested and became padre of the Pioneer Battalion in World War 1.<sup>23</sup>

Maori missions to stimulate those within the church also became a feature of church life in the early years of the century. In 1907 a mission at Pakipaki and another at Moteo were conducted jointly by Archdeacon W.L. Williams and the Rev. Henare Wepiha Wainohu of Wairoa and produced an enthusiastic response, resulting in a renewed interest in the ordinary services, the church's work and a desire to renovate their churches.<sup>24</sup> Other Maori clergy, Rev.W.Paraire (Nuhaka), Rev.W.T.Pereihe and a mission worker, Hiss Hera Stirling, assisted Wainohu with another at Tangoio the same year. In 1910 a mission at Waipawa, Takapau and Te Aute, and in 1911 missions at Gisborne and Muriwai all conducted by Maori clergy again produced similar results.

Another outgoing aspect of the Maori church further reflecting its vigour was the interest being shown in missions, both overseas and amongst their own people in the Bay of Plenty. An interest in Melanesian missions first became apparent in 1883 when a subscription was taken up by the representatives of the Melanesian Mission. Some of the interest appears to have been due to the enthusiasm of the Rev.Kerehona Piwaka of Whangara, who accompanied Bishop Stuart as his chaplain, to Norfolk Island in 1880. Here he took part in the ceremony of the consecration of the church of St Barnabas, erected in memory of the martyr Bishop John Coleridge Patterson. Piwaka's commanding presence and engaging disposition delighted the Melanesians. This liking appeared to have been mutual, for he had exclaimed, "they are Maoris, real Maoris,"<sup>25</sup> recognising the Tahitian element of their mixed origin. On his return to New Zealand, his narration of the missionary work he had seen at the headquarters of the Melanesian Mission did much to kindle the interest of the Maori church in that Mission.

In 1879 in Synod the bishop noted the contrast between the East Coast with its native clergy and churches and work of a settled pastoral character, and the Bay of Plenty<sup>26</sup> where the hold of Hauhauism and Te Kooti's religion meant that the work from the Anglican viewpoint was of a distinctively missionary aspect. Moreover, as a European onlooker, the Resident Magistrate of Opotiki, Herbert Brabant saw it, missionaries no longer influenced the Maoris there to any great degree.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> R.Kohere Autobiography p8

<sup>24</sup> Proceedings, 1908, p8

<sup>25</sup> Proceedings, 1885, p3

<sup>26</sup> Proceedings, 1879, p3

<sup>27</sup> A J H R, 1872, F 3 p18



As early as 1876 missionary efforts were being made on the part of the Maori church to win back some of the lapsed tribes of the Bay of Plenty. Two native deacons Ihaia te Ahu and Rihara te Rangamaro stationed at Maketu and Tauranga were making journeys among tribes of the Lakes and the coast, for several months of 1875. Archdeacon Brown commented that although these tribes paid Te Ahu marked respect and listened attentively to his preaching, more work on the spot was needed for this to be really effective.<sup>28</sup>

A missionary responsibility was also recognised by the Native Church Board of the Waiapu district of the diocese, when it held its annual session at Turanga in November 1879. They recognised their duty to make "a distinct effort for the evangelism of the tribes which have lapsed or apostatized from the Faith."<sup>29</sup> The discussion which followed led to the practical result of a native clergyman and layman being appointed to accompany Archdeacon W.L. Williams on an extensive and arduous missionary journey later in the summer, amongst the scattered portions of the Urewera people and amongst other tribes along the coast of the Bay of Plenty. During the 1880s some of the less disaffected tribes of the Bay of Plenty at the eastern end did return. This appears to be at least partly due to the pressure and leadership provided by chiefs such as Mokena Kohere, Hatawera Houkamau, Te Meihana, and Wiremu Kingi who had remained Anglicans, and partly due to Maori clergy efforts. In 1880 the Resident Magistrate R.S. Bush reported that the pressure from these chiefs had not dissuaded Bay of Plenty Maoris from the Te Kooti religion.<sup>30</sup> Yet by 1883 - 84, a movement against Ringatu involved the Ngaitai at Torere (Wi Kingi's people), the Ngatira section of the Whakatohea at Waioeka, the Whanau-a-Ihuta at Te Kaha and the Whanau-a-maru at Raukakore. Wi Kingi's influence in having the Te Kooti form of church service eradicated was strong but it may have been used for reasons of tribal rivalry rather than for the missionary "saving of the souls". At the meeting of the Church Board in 1883, two men belonging to the Whanau-a-Apanui were introduced as a deputation from the Bay of Plenty. This tribe had defected from the Church during the wars, and these two men had been professed Hauhaus, one of them acting as a leader in their services. Now they wished to return to the Anglican church and came at the request of

28 Record 1871-72 Vol I p337

29 Proceedings, p8

30 A J H R, 1884, A 1 p15



their people with a subscription of £250 towards an endowment for the support of a native clergyman whom they wished to live amongst them. The Ngati-porou shortly afterwards increased their own missionary effort to augment this fund by their own contributions. This movement back to the Anglican church appears to have had at least one other source, the visits that another of the Maori clergy, the Rev. Wiremu Katena Paraire, had been making from Kawakawa where he had been stationed since his ordination in 1870. From then until his death in 1884 he had made periodic visits to the Bay of Plenty. After his death responsibility for these visits was assumed by the Rev. Mohi Turei of Rangitukia, until the first Maori deacon could be placed at Te Kaha in 1885.<sup>31</sup>

In the Hawkes Bay at Petane and Tangoio where a number of Maoris had become adherents of Te Kooti's religion, others were reported by Preece to be exerting missionary efforts by building a church at Petane and endeavouring to win back "te Kooti-ities", or Ringatu as the religion was now being called, to their former faith.<sup>32</sup>

In the 1890s there was further missionary work among the Bay of Plenty tribes and the Urewera, and a Maori Mission Fund was established to provide clergy and workers for lapsed areas. The aim was to send Maori missionaries to Tauranga, Maketu, Whakatane, Opotiki, Rotorua, Taupo and the Urewera, and to affected parts of Hawkes Bay. Advantage appears to have been taken of the death of Te Kooti in 1893, for missionary visits were paid to the Bay of Plenty from December 1893 to January 1894 by students of Te Rau College. The bishop acknowledged to Synod that the people here were more ready to listen to these earnest missionaries of their own race than to Englishmen.<sup>33</sup> During the next few years these mission target areas were gradually staffed with Maoris. The Rev. R. Haumia was placed at Maketu to work among lapsed Maoris there and at Tauranga and the Rev. Ratema te Awekotuku went to work among the Maori population at Rotorua and its neighbourhood. In 1898 the Rev. Tapeta Timutimu and the Rev. Aperahama Tamihere were ordained to undertake work of a missionary character among the Urewera, and the Ringatu at Whakatane. Tremendous success can hardly be claimed here. In Tauranga difficulty still existed through Maori attachment to the Ringatu church and through the variety presented to them by the Mormon Elders, the Salvation Army officers (with their oil launch and

31 Proceedings, 1884, p4

32 Proceedings, 1880, p7

33 Proceedings, 1880, p8

fish-curing factory), the Roman Catholic priest and the Anglicans. This as Synod put it mildly, "to say the least, is very bewildering."<sup>34</sup> Although the clergy's addresses were listened to attentively wherever they travelled through the Urewera, and occasionally their own Ringatu services were handed over to them, generally they would repeat their own prayers and ask the clergy to address them afterwards. Much more contentious disputation developed after 1906, with the advent of Rua Kenana.

However it is obvious that some encouraging results eventuated from these missionary activities of Maori clergy. These visits occasional as they were, encouraged the re-institution of the earlier custom of erecting whare minitas in these areas. These took the shape of native whares of Maori design and architecture, and from 1907 onwards were erected in three centres. These enabled Maori clergy to rest after their work, and not to have to sleep in a crowded wharepuni inhaling tobacco all night.<sup>35</sup> At Ruatoki, also in the Urewera country, a mission was established in 1906 with a small hostel for Maori girls, led by Deaconess Doyle, but assisted by Rotu, the daughter of Kereru, the chief of Ruatoki, and an ex-pupil of Hukarere. In 1908 the Rev. Pene Hakiwai and his wife arrived to take charge of the Mission House and the small boarding school, and by 1910 the missionary success in the area was such that three young men from the district were at Te Rau College.

By the time the wars ended in the 1860s the legacy of drunkenness which had been building up two decades earlier, and was checked by chiefs in some areas just prior to the wars, had broken out again throughout the Waiapu Diocese. Of the Ngati Porou who had remained loyal to the Government and the Church in greater numbers, the Resident Magistrate Captain Cudgeon was to say as late as 1879 that he could not report favourably on their sobriety, although it was improving somewhat of late.<sup>36</sup> Efforts by the Maori church to control this drunkenness were at first, to say the least, feeble, despite strong disapproval by missionaries, but by the 1880s a drive to check its spread through the institution of the Good Templars was having some success. The Resident Magistrate for Waiapu in the 1870s, T.H.Campbell, who was responsible for the successful enactment of the Sale of Spirits in Outlying Districts Act, found that it was impossible to restrict the number of liquor licenses between Poverty Bay and Hicks Bay to five, as in previous years, and so appealed to the Rev. Raniera

<sup>34</sup> Proceedings, 1909, p49

<sup>35</sup> Proceedings, 1907, p2

<sup>36</sup> A J H R, 1879, F 3 p6

Kawhia of Whareponga to give him assistance in checking as much as possible the habit of drinking spirits. These appeals were of little avail for cultural-tribal demands were too strong. Kawhia explained to Campbell, that on his own wife's death, he himself was obliged to supply a large quantity of spirits for the tangi otherwise he would be disgraced by having no guests.<sup>37</sup> A Whareponga chief indicated in 1878 the extent of the drinking in this area when he told Gudgeon that his hapu alone had received £12,000 from land sales, and that nearly all of this had gone in spirits. Captain Porter, in turn, reported to the Under-secretary of the Native Department that in 1876-77 there were no less than 52 houses for the sale of spirits between the Turanganui River and Hicks Bay, 42 of which were kept by natives. Heavy drinking habits also affected the people of Tauranga, Opotiki and the Urewera, where by 1874 drunkenness was more prevalent than ever.<sup>38</sup>

By 1874 a start was being made by the church to control this heavy drinking and Brabant, a Resident Magistrate, reported favourably in May 1874 on the temperance movement initiated by the Good Templars amongst the natives of the West Coast. Four years later Porter noted that this organisation had tended to greatly remedy the drinking evil, and equated it with a return to religious observances in general and to collecting of funds for churches and stipends for clergy.<sup>39</sup>

By 1878 Henare Potae who had been a heavy drinker had turned teetotaler, and although suffering from gout, was present at a karanga to the new bishop, F.C. Stuart. Here he spoke out decidedly against liquor, and was supported by many other leaders who had formerly also been heavy drinkers.<sup>40</sup> In the early 1880s the Maori drinking problem was decreasing consistently, due to the efforts of the Maori church. In 1884, the Resident Magistrate of Tauranga reported the sobriety of the Tauranga Maoris was improving remarkably, and claimed it was due in great measure to a total abstinence society established among them by the Bishop of Waiapu. At Whakatane also, there was reported a marked improvement and in 1887 over 70 Maoris in one day took the abstinence pledge. Drinking of spirits at gatherings was said to be now "almost a thing of the past".<sup>41</sup> On the East Coast by 1892 J. Booth, the Resident

37 A J H R, 1872, F 3 p12

38 A J H R, 1874, F 3 p18

39 A J H R, 1878, G 3 p56

40 W.L. Williams to Jane Williams, 27 March 1878. Correspondence from New

41 A J H R, 1881, G 1 p6

Magistrate, said that "natives on the Coast, as a whole, have almost entirely given up drinking. It is very rarely now that a native is brought up on a charge of drunkenness."<sup>42</sup> By 1908 the temperance movement in the Church was actively involving women, for this year saw the beginning of the Women's Christian Temperance Mission led by Miss Hera Stirling, a part Maori and a mission worker, with branches established at Moteo, Pakipaki and Tangoio.

Responsibility for this issue affecting Maori people then seems to have coincided with so many other aspects of revival within the Maori church.

42 A J H R, 1892, G 3 p8

## C H A P T E R VI

### Other Sheep: Post-War Unorthodox Movements until 1914

Besides the stabilisation and revitalisation of Christianity which took place by orthodox means within the Anglican church after the wars, another type of religious revival outside the church took place. Why this religious fervour, which was often unfairly criticised by missionaries as unchristian, could not be directed into the orthodox religious channels then available depended on several factors ranging from accumulated prejudice to lack of clergy and teachers, at the most vital time. By 1872, for example, when Te Kooti's church was just beginning, the Urewera area had no clergyman of any christian religion in the district, either Maori or European. Religious revival here would then be forced into different channels. At the same time parts of the coastal area, even the western end, of the Bay of Plenty were showing a tendency to want to return to former religious habits after a period of apathy and outright hostility from Hauhau followers. Brabant, the Resident Magistrate of Opotiki, reported that christian baptism was again being sought for their children by those who only a few years or months ago had professed Hauhauism. Christian worship was again becoming custom at many settlements. However, the same problem existed, that clergy visits were few and far between and teachers were scarce, a situation which a new indigenous religion as was supplied by Ringatu could and did remedy.

In 1872 the Maori response at Ruatahuna, in the Urewera country to the lack of organised church life there was to attend a new service which was just beginning to establish itself. One of the Ngatihuri named Paumata was conducting services morning and evening, according to what was called the Te Kooti Karakia. This consisted of chanting portions of the Psalms, and saying prayers some of which were from the English Prayer book.<sup>1</sup>

At Tauranga where Ringatu also developed in the 1870s there was also a dearth of clergy and teachers, and a good many deaths had resulted from outbreaks of measles, typhoid and consumption amongst the Maoris. Here the Resident Magistrate Brabant commented that the Hauhau prayers (meaning Te Kooti prayers) had been adopted from the belief these would

<sup>1</sup> A J H R, 1872, F 3 p18

prevent the sickness that was rife among them. A strong belief in witchcraft magic and wizards (probably meaning tohungas) which accompanied this sickness at Maketu and Wairoa 1876-77, resulted in Te Kooti being visited by various chiefs from these places to have wizards' powers neutralised by some charm Te Kooti was supposed to possess.<sup>2</sup> To be fair, it must be acknowledged that Te Kooti himself insisted to his followers that he was no "god" as some believed, and that he could not cure their physical ailments. These visits were soon after followed up by the institution of Te Kooti's Karakia in these places and in 1880 the Resident Magistrate in Opotiki, R.S. Bush, reported that the whole area from Whangaparoa to Maketu, and inland from there to the Urewera as well as part of Wairoa and Taupo, adhered to Te Kooti's form of church service.

The fervour of Ringatu and its satisfaction value can then be gauged by the speed with which the movement developed especially in the Bay of Plenty area. Its eligibility to be classified as christian can be determined by the high content of biblical matter and christian prayers used in its services and the assessments given by the less prejudiced of their strongest competitors, the Anglicans. Bishop Stuart, who in 1878 criticised the "newly invented modes of worship" conceded that nevertheless "a great reverence even among these is still professed for God's Word ... and this might yet disperse the mists of prejudice and passion which distort and refract its beams".<sup>3</sup> In acknowledging the disposition to "seek the old paths of Gospel truth" on the part of Ringatu, Bishop Stuart in effect acknowledged that christianity was still evident among Ringatu adherents although divorced from European missionary and traditional authority. Bush, the Resident Magistrate at Opotiki, could also say by 1879 of the various forms of worship in vogue among the natives, "I am of the opinion that next to that of our own church, Te Kooti's is by far the most sensible."<sup>4</sup> It is also quite illuminating that the experienced missionary Grace could say "I have been present several times at their modified Hauhau [i.e. Ringatu] worship. The wonder of it is that there is so little in it to object to ... Hauhaus or not, they all appeal to the Word of God especially in Church matters."<sup>5</sup>

2 A J H R, 1877, G 1 p11

3 Proceedings, 1878, p3

4 A J H R, 1879, G 1 p6

5 Brittan and Grace Pioneer p256



A genuine christian content and purpose appears to have characterised the form and procedure of the Ringatu church from the time of its inception. Although its negative features are immediately obvious in that there were and are no vestments, no separate church buildings, no stipendiary clergy, no formal creeds or doctrinal tenets based on controversial interpretations of scripture, no written traditions and no baptismal ritual, its positive features were remarkably christian and orthodox. The procedure followed by the karakia [service] was thoroughly christian in that its whole content was biblical, consisting of inois, [prayers] waitas, [psalms] panuis, [passages of scripture] and himine [hymns] taken from both the Old and New Testaments. Six or more services would be held through a night during the monthly meetings on the 12th of each month. Every portion of these services had to be learned by heart both by the leader [tohunga] and those taking part. One of the services included prayers for the sick in the form of psalms, scripture readings, or occasionally extempore prayer. Faith healing was also engaged in by the takutas, who were one of the three classes of tohungas. A love feast, similar to the early christian agape was also an important feature, and this was followed by the most important service of all, referred to as communion, but lacking the elements of bread and wine. This through Te Kooti's insistence took the form of a spiritual communion, probably because of the revival of cannibalistic practice by Te Kooti's contemporaries in one or two places on the West Coast. Baptismal services, sometimes without the use of water were also held.

Various innovations to orthodoxy introduced by the Ringatu religion were themselves based upon scripture. A holy day was established by Te Kooti on the twelfth day of the month on the grounds that this number had spiritual significance in that there were twelve children of Israel, twelve tribes, twelve apostles and twelve gates with twelve pearls in the book of Revelation. The use of the sign of the upraised hand, used in Hauhauiism to ward off enemy bullets, was carried over into the Ringatu religion. Te Kooti gave this sign a new interpretation, that of an act of homage to God. Warrant was found in scripture for this, in Nehemiah 8:6 where "the people answered 'Amen, Amen' with lifting of their hands." Psalm 141:2 provided another basis, as well as references to the lifting up of the hands of Moses in order that God's people might prevail. Saturday was recognised as the Sabbath of the Lord in accordance with the Old Testament custom. Various

other festivals were also derived from the Old Testament. The growth of the Ringatu church itself was regarded by the Ringatu as the counterpart of the wanderings of the Children of Israel, after being born in bondage in Egypt (Chatham Islands). Te Kooti's pardon in 1883 was paralleled with the final settling in the land of Canaan.<sup>6</sup>

By the 1880s the Ringatu religion had become both standardised and popular, and during the next thirty years was engaging the devout attention of its adherents and involving them in their own missionary efforts. Ringatu church building activity was also at its height, and several large whares were erected during the 1880s for Te Kooti's use if and when he made his projected visits to various districts.<sup>7</sup> At the same time Ringatu adherents were prepared to respect, receive, listen to, and even invite visiting Maori Anglican clergy to address them and take their services. Until 1908 in Whakatane they were still receiving ministrations from Maori clergy.<sup>8</sup> Visits from the Bishop of Waiapu to the Bay of Plenty were the occasion for considerable numbers of Maoris, including Te Kooti followers, to collect at various villages to meet him and hear him preach. Even though all this may have only been to them as Bishop W.L. Williams put it "Like the prophet of old is unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice and can play an instrument, for they hear his words but do them not",<sup>9</sup> it certainly implies a Ringatu willingness to allow a relationship to exist. Rather paradoxically the period of rising enthusiasm among the Ringatu members did not coincide with any great hostility to the Anglican church, its missionaries or its clergy. Te Kooti is in fact alleged to have told his followers that if they did depart from his karakia, they should return to their parent, the Anglican church.<sup>10</sup>

This attitude was not reciprocated, however, on the part of Bay of Plenty Anglican Maoris. Throughout the 1880s these claimed that sooner or later the Ringatu religion might be the cause of trouble between different sects of natives, and therefore urged Government intervention.<sup>11</sup> Some

6 W.Greenwood The Upraised Hand (Wellington 1942) pp38-62

7 A J H R, 1887, G 1 p6

8 Proceedings, 1908, p57

9 Papers re the Anglican Church in New Zealand, 1908-10 p5

10 Greenwood The Upraised Hand (Wellington 1942) p67

11 A J H R, 1886, G 1 p13, 1887, G 1 p10

Maoris at Raukokere and Te Kaha went as far as to order (successfully) a few Ringatu Maoris to remove to one or other of the Whanau-a-Apanui kaingas. At Mohaka, in Northern Hawkes Bay, the Maori pastor, Hoani te Wainohu had to urge the people to restrain themselves in 1875 when Te Kooti and an entourage of two hundred passed through en route to Wairoa. Previous appeals by Mohaka Maoris for the Government to stop this passage had failed. However, if this is seen against a background where rivalries were tribal as well as religious, and where, in the case of the Bay of Plenty, the tribes supporting the Anglican church were a definite minority, this attitude of seeking government support under the guise of religious protection, and in this belligerent form, can be understood.

The missionary efforts directed by Maori Anglican clergy and Church Board members towards the Ringatu in the Bay of Plenty and the Urewera, as described in the previous chapter, were an indication that these Maori leaders saw little of religious value in the Ringatu faith, and regarded it as an apostasy from the Christian religion. Their efforts were directed not towards reaching an agreement upon common ground, but towards winning back the Ringatu to their former orthodox faith. When the period of co-existence between the increasing fervour and growth of Ringatu and the comparative freedom of its relations with the Anglican church is compared chronologically with the post-war period of Maori Anglican revitalisation, it can be seen that the two movements coincided. This then is a justification for the assertion that Maori christianity as a whole continued, revived and stabilised itself into various forms after the wars had ended. Equally important is the fact that both the "Maori" and the "christianity" aspects remained intact and yet were interwoven through cultural adaptation. All forms of Maori religion gained increasing support and numbers of adherents from the late 1870s onwards. That the revived interest in religion appears to have been so easy to channel into any religious movement with a Maori flavour, whether it had an anti-establishment bias or not, does not detract at all from the stated thesis. It merely indicates that other factors which were not present before the wars, or that were then less significant, were now at work. Whatever these factors were, and in whatever combination, the result always seemed to be until 1914, that the reception accorded to priest, prophet or tohunga was equally cordial, and in some places where orthodoxy had receded this reception could be given to all three simultaneously.

Mormonism which from the outset offered concepts which were satisfying to Maori needs, particularly to those of the defeated Maori, also emerged in the 1880s and grew stronger throughout the period. Doctrine which explicitly equated the Maoris with the lost tribe of Israel, the descendants of Abraham, favoured above all others by God, and destined to be restored to greatness, which emphasised in religion the blood ties and the extended family upon which Maori life was patterned, rather than the individualistic emphasis of evangelical christianity, and which allowed for the incorporation of ancient Maori religious beliefs instead of their rejection,<sup>12</sup> all helped to make this religion easy to indigenise. Visits to Nuhaka, Mahia, Tahaenui, Te Hauke and Bridge Pa from several American Mormon Elders in the 1880s were followed by the quick growth of this religion in these areas, because of their insistence on total abstinence from alcohol. Less resistance to Mormonism, interestingly enough, appears evident from Maori Anglicans than to Ringatu. Unable as they were to obtain a permanent footing in Poverty Bay, little antagonism from Maoris was apparent. There R. Kohere, while a priest at Kawakawa, states that a Mormon elder staying with him and his family was invited to say prayers with them, as well as to teach them all how to make toffee.<sup>13</sup>

Various primitively regressive types of Maori religions with a very high content of superstition also affected various parts of the Waipapa Diocese from the 1860s onwards. In 1881 Captain Preece reported on the growth of a new religion in Hawkes Bay which had been promulgated by a Paora Potongaroa from Wairarapa.<sup>14</sup> A good number of Maoris from Porangahau and Waipawa became his disciples despite the opposition of several chiefs in the area. Various exciting new doctrines were proclaimed and in 1881 three hundred Hawkes Bay Maoris attended a meeting in Wairarapa at Paora's invitation for the purpose of being cured of their ailments and listening to an exposition of his new religion. However Paora's death in 1882 ended the movement entirely. This movement was followed in 1885 by another religious stir at Muriwai when another Maori prophet, Te Tatana, professed also to have a gift for healing the sick,<sup>15</sup> and once again large numbers were attracted to the new karakia which he formed - until it too in turn died out. By 1888 at Maketu a great number of Maoris, especially the Ngati-Rikiao under Pokiha, were following a religion of their own with

12 I. Barker "The Connexion: The Mormon Church and the Maori People" (Victoria University 1967) pp124-6

13 Kohere Autobiography p140

14 A J H R, 1881, G 4 p13

15 A J H R, 1885, G 2 p9

Himiona Te Orinui as their prophet. This was similar to Te Kooti's religion, and appears to have been nothing more than a pale reflection of it. The 1890s saw an amazing increase of influence of the Maori tohungas, and even Maori christians of perfectly orthodox standing attached themselves to them for protection. The activity in Hawkes Bay in 1906 of two Maori tohungas who greatly influenced many Maoris and ordered spirits as a cure for all ills, caused Arthur T. Williams to say "as soon as one tohunga is exposed, another is ready to hand with new remedies and powers".<sup>16</sup> Maori practices involving tohungas were then obviously co-existing with christianity in both its orthodox and unorthodox forms, and many Maoris steadfastly refused, or were unable, to see any inconsistency in this state of affairs. Perhaps the fact that the strongest development of tohungaism coincided with the lowest ebb of Maori population which was at the time declining from the ravages of European diseases, is in itself significant. Fears of sickness and dying and a strong sense of self-preservation may have operated to make even orthodox Maori christians tolerant of the traditional protectors of the Maoris' physical well-being, the tohungas.

Between 1830 and 1914 Maori christianity in the Taiapu diocese had undergone many changes. As a corollary to this, social and economic life had also changed vastly, and race relations between Maori and European had in some areas become at the worst embittered, and at the best, impaired. These changes, which from time to time and from area to area, altered life, also meant corresponding alterations or adaptation in the practices of both the Maori church in Taiapu and the whole of Maori christianity.

These alterations and adaptations were not of themselves entirely indicative of any increase or decrease in the volume or intensity of Maori christianity. They merely registered the fact that changes had occurred in Maori life. Where the adaptation or alteration was one which fulfilled the need created by the changes, the intensity of christianity increased and various indications of revival and revitalisation soon followed. Throughout the period, the pattern is then one of growth in Maori christianity, steady at times, erratic in other periods, progressing rapidly in spurts at some points of time and regressing somewhat at others. Over all, a progression in strength over the whole broad

<sup>16</sup> Proceedings, 1909, p47



spectrum of Maori christianity is discernible. Progressing, adapting, changing with the times, circumstances and cultural life which nourished and was nourished by it, Maori christianity was never stagnant. Two aspects only remain unaltered throughout the period, and they are that religious life practised by the Maoris in the Waiapu Diocese remained truly christian and truly Maori.

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