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**Kotahi anō te tupuna o te tangata Māori, ko Ranginui e tū nei, ko
Papatūānuku e takato nei**

Colonisation through Christianity

A thesis

submitted in fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

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Abstract

This thesis will look at the role that Christianity and the missionaries played in the colonisation of Māori during the 1800s. With discussion about the colonisation of Aotearoa, it is generally felt within the Christian community that the work of the missionaries and the Crown are separate and therefore the universal belief is that the missionaries are pardoned from the critique of their work here in Aotearoa. However, Christianity throughout history has always been a doorway for the British Empire to enter land that was not their own.

It is widely accepted from the viewpoint of Christianity that it holds a religious superiority over all Indigenous people and their religions dating back to Pope Alexander VI and the issuing of the Papal Bull “Inter Caetera” in 1493 to justify Christian European explorers’ claims on land and waterways they allegedly discovered. Christian hegemony shaped missionary views of the ‘other’ and justified the assimilation of Indigenous people into European Christianity. The negative effects of Christianity on Māori far outweigh the positives as mission stations up and down Aotearoa contributed heavily to the loss of language, religion, and land, the three foundational pillars of Māori and other Indigenous peoples around the world.

The thesis seeks to hold the missionaries and Christianity to account for its contribution to the colonisation and religious assimilation of Māori into a foreign and unrelated belief system.

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Chapter One: Methodology

Introduction

On Christmas day in 1814 at Hohi¹ beach in Peiwhairangi², the English born priest Samuel Marsden of the Church Missionary Society preached the first documented church service in Aotearoa³ where he read from Luke 2:4⁴ in the Bible, New Testament, a verse traditionally used synonymously with the nativity⁵ story. Marsden's sermon represented the arrival of a new religion that had evolved over the centuries into one that represents colonisation and hegemonic structures among Indigenous cultures around the world see: (Deloria, 2003; Taonui, 2005; Twiss, 2015). It also became a marker for the introduction of a monotheistic faith practice that supported the idea of the great chain of being. Marsden, on the early morning of the 25th wrote, "When I was upon deck, I saw the English flag flying, which was a pleasing sight in New Zealand. I considered it the signal for the dawn of civilization, liberty, and religion in that dark and benighted land" (as cited in Elder, 1932, p. 93). This was the first time that new ideas about religion were shared in Aotearoa ideas that over time would look to infiltrate and radically dismantle many

¹ Also known as Oihi in the Bay of Islands.

² Bay of Islands, Northland.

³ The arrival of Kupe is of great importance, and many tribes are at pains to cite a relationship to him. It is said that his wife, Kuramarotini, devised the name of Ao-tea-roa ('long white cloud') on seeing the North Island for the first time. Like Māui before him, Kupe's arrival is a foothold in the land for Māori.

⁴ Luke 2:4 And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judaea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem; (because he was of the house and lineage of David:) 5 To be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child. 6 And so it was, that, while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered. 7 And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn. 8 And there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night. 9 And, 10, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them: and they were sore afraid. 10 And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. 11 For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. 12 And this shall be a sign unto you; Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger. 13 And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, 14 Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men (King James Bible).

⁵ Birth of Jesus "Furthermore, no doubt aided by St Francis' crib or crèche at Greccio, the Christ child in a manger remains at the heart of Christmas devotion and piety"(Corley, 2009, p. 23).

aspects of Māori⁶ communities and change Te Ao Māori⁷ as a whole. Māori always had a religion that was panentheistic⁸ in expression and belief (Moxon, 2019). During the 1820s with the loss of land, desecration of mana⁹ and the introduction of foreign disease including venereal infections, measles, influenza, typhoid fever, dysentery and tuberculosis, these diseases would change the spiritual life of Māori that was intrinsically linked with the body and the natural world. With the Christian Mission Society charged with civilizing the inhabitants of Aotearoa starting in te Tai Tokerau¹⁰, these contributing factors along with others like the suppression of ritual and Māori spiritual practices by the missionaries would lead to the syncretised, counter hegemonic movements of the early and late 1800s.

The overarching research question is; what were the negative effects of Christianity on Māori in the 19th century? Māori being the collective name of the Indigenous people of Aotearoa and Christianity, a religious belief based on the person and teachings of Jesus Christ. Supporting questions will be; how did the power disparities between Māori and Christianity affect Māori communities? How did the Māori prophetic movements look to take back power? Where does Io Matua te Kore fit into this matrix?

The timelines within this thesis are interlocked and easily untethered from each other. However, with a Māori worldview at the centre of this research, it is possible to hold multiple and often-conflicting perspectives together, while using the academic rigor required, producing valuable insights and theories at the junction of Te Ao Māori and Christianity.

⁶ “The modern meaning (coexisting with but somewhat eclipsing the older ones) of a person of Māori descent (i.e. descended from someone ordinarily resident in New Zealand before 1642), or matters pertaining to such persons” (Benton, Frame, & Meredith, 2013, p. 210).

⁷ Te Ao Māori is supported by a Māori world view which Rev. Māori Marsden describes as; “I suspect the Māori had a three-world view, of potential being symbolised by Te Korekore, the world of becoming portrayed by Te Pō, and the world of being, Te Ao Mārama” (Marsden, 2003, p. 20).

⁸ The universal spirit present everywhere, which at the same time "transcends" all things created.

⁹ “A key philosophical concept combining notions of psychic and spiritual force and vitality, recognised authority, influence and prestige, and thus also power and the ability to control people and events” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 154).

¹⁰ Te Tai Tokerau is translated to refer to the Northern part of the North Island.

This thesis will consider the contributing factors that lead to changing attitudes of Māori towards Christianity. First, I will look at the years between 1800 to 1840 in te Tai Tokerau. Te Tai Tokerau is chosen as this is where the missionaries and the gospel first arrives to Aotearoa. It will reveal the relationships between Māori in te Tai Tokerau and the early missionaries whom, at the time, relied on Māori for all but spiritual guidance (Ballantyne, 2015).

I will then look at the years 1840-1860s to show that there is a clear shift in attitudes and relationships between Māori and the missionaries, as the missionaries and their religion moved with them up the country and looked to influence other hapū¹¹ and iwi¹² with greater or lesser success. There are, however, traces of the introduction of religion that can be tracked through the country and examined through a contemporary lens.

In summary, the years leading up to the creation of a Treaty from 1814 to 1830 Māori maintained confidence in their own spirituality and continued to view the missionaries as vassals¹³ that could be contained and managed (Bentley, 2019, p. 195). However, the influence of the missionaries was growing as more Māori from the Northern tribes began to learn to read and write in the English language at the mission schools and because of the strict syllabus, with the bible at its centre. This led to trust between Māori and the missionaries when it came to the signing of Te Tiriti. However, this thesis points out later that the complexity of the Māori worldview and ability of Māori to adopt and adjust to new ideas and absorb concepts and/or combine them with older ways of conducting faith practices, would confuse and frustrate the missionaries up and down the country. Post-Treaty there was a clear rejection of Christian doctrine and a change of attitudes towards the

¹¹ “This term refers to the primary political unit in traditional Māori social organisation at the time of contact with Europe and America, a relatively stable and cohesive grouping consisting of a number of whānau (family) sharing descent from a common ancestor” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 71).

¹² “In his March 1998 submission to the High Court case in which urban Māori authorities were challenging the definition of iwi, Cleve Barlow surveyed the various editions of Williams’s dictionary and noted a change in the meanings given for the word iwi. In earlier editions it meant ‘bone’ or ‘tribe’. In the 1917 edition it continued to mean ‘bone’, but the word ‘tribe’ was changed to ‘nation’ and ‘people’. More recent versions of the dictionary, such as Williams (1957:80), set out the range of meanings for iwi as follows: ‘bone’, ‘stone of a fruit’, ‘strength’, ‘nation’, ‘people’. Through time the association with bone has not changed. And this is important because the metaphor for the social unit above birth (whānau) and pregnancy (hapū) is bone. Relatives are often described as ‘bones’ and, in this sense, the members of an iwi are ‘bones’ which emphasises again the importance of shared whakapapa” (Mead, 2003, p. 219).

¹³ A holder of land by feudal tenure on conditions of homage and allegiance.

missionaries. As the betrayal of Māori by Pākehā¹⁴ became apparent, which included, the continuation of land loss and the eruption of the New Zealand wars, this led to several counter-hegemonic movements. This thesis will make the case that the prophetic movements are a mixture of syncretism and counter-hegemonic movements that created a new Māori centred spirituality which were led in the most part by Māori.

Background

I have chosen the 19th century for several reasons. First, the early 1800s gives this thesis a clear boundary to work from in the lead up to the signing of the Treaty; from here, I can examine relationships between early missionaries and rangatira¹⁵ from te Tai Tokerau. The research will then move throughout the late 1800s and examine some of the prophetic movements that rejected fundamental Christian doctrine.

Breakdown of Chapters

Chapter 2 will cover the early 1800s and look at the arrival of the Christian Mission Society (CMS) and the early impact that missionaries of the CMS had on Tikanga¹⁶ Māori practises that were observed by the missionaries and the negative impact it had on Māori social structures that were inherited through the creation narrative. I will highlight here in this chapter key people of the CMS; Samuel Marsden, Henry Williams, and Thomas Kendall who later rejected his Christian beliefs and te Tai Tokerau rangatira such as Ruatara and Hongi Hika. For this section I will critique and challenge some assumptions presented by the missionaries. It will also move to

¹⁴ “Its origin as a word denoting a class of people is uncertain; possible sources include *Pakepakehā* or *Pākehakeha*, a kind of fair-skinned ethereal being, and also a term denoting a disordered, awkward or outlandish appearance” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 285).

¹⁵ “Chief (male or female), and therefore by extension a person in authority, possessing the expected attributes of a chief; that is, a person of good breeding, being both well-born and exhibiting nobility of character” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 325).

¹⁶ “Tikanga comes out of the accumulated knowledge of generations of Māori and is part of the intellectual property of Māori. The knowledge base of tikanga is a segment of mātauranga Māori. This base consists of ideas, interpretations and modifications added by generations of Māori. Often the modifications are so small as not to be noticed, but in the end, they add to the pool of knowledge about a particular tikanga. Concepts such as tapu (the state of being set apart), mana (prestige), noa (neutrality), manaakitanga (hospitality), take (cause), utu (reciprocation), ea (satisfaction), and many others all play a part in explaining our customary practices” (Mead, 2003, p. 13).

Ireland where we can better understand that the approach to assimilation and colonisation was a template and not accidental. To conclude I will look at Māori attitudes towards Christianity pre-Treaty to set up the thesis discussion platform to generate a foundation for later chapters.

Chapter 3 will cover the He Whakaputanga¹⁷ and Te Tiriti¹⁸ and the words that the missionaries invented to gain the trust of Māori. It will make the claim that Governor Grey is a practising Christian and in doing so will expand the scope of the impact of colonisation to include Christianity. It will also articulate that the loss of sovereignty also incorporates spiritual authority of *tohunga*¹⁹. It will be during this chapter that the research will touch on Māori rejection of mission teachings before going in depth in later chapters. To conclude I will look at Māori attitudes towards Christianity post-Treaty.

Chapter 4 will cover the spread of Christianity through assimilation and Ngā Pākanga (New Zealand wars) starting in te Tai Tokerau and move up Te Ika a Maui²⁰. This chapter will also go into depth regarding key Māori prophets starting at the 1860s and ending with an analysis of the Io tradition. Two new terms are used in this chapter; counter-hegemonic and syncretism to describe the prophetic movements.

Chapter 5 will draw on interviews I conducted with experts in the fields such as academia, religion and Te Ao Māori, some of whom operate in all three worlds. The participants were asked a set of four questions to guide the interviews followed by a summary which highlighted common themes.

Chapter 6 will conclude my thesis by answering the main thesis question and the subsidiary questions by drawing on the themes identified throughout the main body

¹⁷ He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni: The Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand.

¹⁸ Te Tiriti o Waitangi also known as the Treaty of Waitangi.

¹⁹ “This word denotes an expert in any branch of knowledge, religious or secular, and a skilled practitioner of an art or craft. It includes (but is not limited to) those whose function is primarily ritual and priestly” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 434).

²⁰ From a traditional Māori worldview, this term is used to describe the journey from the fin of the fish to the head.

of work. These themes included Pākehā religious system, Hegemony, loss of Māori spirituality, and war.

Methodology

I examine the early work of missionaries who, whether knowingly or unknowingly, were participating in the perpetuation and reinforcing of the hegemonic discourses that ushered in colonisation and assimilation, putting the power into the hands of the coloniser to spread and share Māori stories. Aspects of wider, global colonisation are cross-referenced during the examination of missionary involvement in Aotearoa to explore the similarities and differences between different countries and power shifts between Māori hapū and missionaries with western colonial ideals. By the time Christianity arrived in Aotearoa it held spiritual and authoritative dominance in Europe and much of the known world, which was used by the early missionaries in other countries that were colonised prior. This approach aided the mission here in Aotearoa. These assumptions of power and by the trust gained would inform the Crown on best practises to apply when looking to conquer Aotearoa. I re-examine this display of power and consider whether the missionaries were being wilfully destructive and damaging to a Māori way of life, and whether they were naively participating in their perspective and objective ways, and sought to “redeem” or “save” an “ungodly” people that were then used by the missionaries and the Crown for ulterior purposes. Either way, the current state of attitudes of Māori towards the church is in direct relation to the actions against Te Ao Māori and religious rule placed upon all people in Aotearoa at the time.

As a response to the early records about Māori, this thesis follows a Kaupapa Māori based theory. According to Seed-Pihama (2017):

I argue that what is unique and potent about Kaupapa Māori research is that it aims to put the power in Māori hands. For us to decide what, who, how, when, and why. Any research conducted should assert and honour our tūpuna²¹, our tikanga, our reo²². (p. 56)

²¹ Ancestor. Can be written as tūpuna.

²² Language.

This thesis must be able to go home to my people and have their backing. Therefore, the statements I make and conclusions I draw are not from a singular perspective but represent a collective “we”. The term Māori within this thesis represents “we” as it has led the way to this point and as just another strand in the whakapapa²³ of this research. The term “Thesis” when used, will be used to represent “I” and used to measure up to academic rigor to tease out the who, what, when, how and why from a distinctively Māori centred place.

Kaupapa Māori principles are outlined by Smith (2012) for research from a Māori perspective.

- Tino Rangatiratanga
- Whakapapa
- Te Reo Māori
- Tikanga Māori

Tino Rangatiratanga²⁴ is a relevant component of the research process that allows Māori to shape our own research processes by initiating control of our own language, cultural practices, aspirations and destiny (Rautaki Ltd, 2013).

The aim in using this approach and drawing heavily from the principle of Tino Rangatiratanga was to analyse any literature that has looked to falsify Māori in matters relating to religion during the 1800s such as the language used by the missionaries. Tino Rangatiratanga has been and continues to be a pou²⁵ for all Māori and so is a foundational research method. This will require a close re-reading of academic texts, re-examining their sources and the challenging of the author’s conclusions, and reforming responses with the wealth of Kaupapa Māori Theory and research that has flourished over the last century. Some secondary sources are taken as gospel that upholds a pejorative perspective of Māori and the impact of Christianity such as (Jackson, 1992; Mikaere, 2005). There are pervading views of

²³“One sense of this word refers to the systematic recitation or presentation of a genealogy. In modern Māori or Māori English it is often also used as a verb meaning ‘to trace one’s ancestry back to a particular point of connection’ (Benton et al., 2013, p. 504).

²⁴ Self-determination.

²⁵ Post.

the tensions between Māori and Christianity that will be unpacked and observed from multiple perspectives that is more in line with a Kaupapa Māori research method.

Tino Rangatiratanga as a transformative term challenges the dominant discourse and in turn contests the holders of hegemonic and white privilege, represented in the church. White privilege is built on the tradition of white supremacy that is represented by the dominate structure that was reinforced by Christianity as mentioned in the work of Cone (2011) *The Cross and the Lynching Tree*. Pākehā have colonised Māori physically, culturally, emotionally, economically, spiritually, and psychologically. In every case it has been the abusive power exerted by Pākehā over Māori that has controlled every aspect of life and diminished the four aspects mentioned above to a point of collapse and near extinction. It is through Kaupapa Māori Theory that I aim to deconstruct the early records and reclaim control of the narrative through this method.

Te Reo Māori will be used first in a language hierarchy system within this writing and a comprehensive footnoting system will be supplied for the unpacking or drawing out of meaning within the language of specific words. Especially when using old terms or expressions or words that have changed over time, the English “translation” will give deeper context and understanding to the non-Māori reader. There will be instances where I will offer further explanations as the prerogative of this writer to manage the language where I feel an explanation or translation would breach the trust and impinge on the mana of the speaker and ancestor connections.

The principles of whakapapa and tikanga as a methodological structure are used as a matrix rather than a casual diagram of connection but an interwoven, complex lattice. Whakapapa and tikanga are interwoven with the principles of Te Reo and Tino Rangatiratanga. While Te Reo and Tino Rangatiratanga will be used as a vehicle of transformation, tikanga and whakapapa as principles are used as a guideline for the structure of this thesis. This thesis has been diligent in its approach

towards significant tīpuna²⁶ Māori presented and has kept in mind the descendants of the tīpuna.

Critical Race Theory

Colonisation is far from being a vague memory for Māori, as the effect of colonisation and ongoing oppression is still evident in Aotearoa; socially, politically, economically, psychologically, and religiously. It will be through a Māori lens that I will lean on Critical Race Theory (CRT) to support Kaupapa Māori Theory. According to Delgado (2017) “The Critical Race Theory movement is a collection of activists and scholars engaged in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power” (p. 33). It is, therefore, a theory that looks at the binary relationship of African Americans and Whites in the contexts of law and education and how these relationships are built with white supremacy ideologies. However, I will use it to critically examine the relationships between Māori, Christianity and the missionaries. Using CRT to describe the relationship allows me to highlight the hegemonic advantage that the missionaries held over Māori and will put their decision making into question.

While CRT is applied to the context of America, several Indigenous scholars have added and built on it from their own personal lens to develop a framework of CRT that is unique to their people and their landscape Cristobal (2018, p. 34) adds “Critical race theory (CRT) has created the space needed for Kanaka 'Ōiwi to use theory as a scope with which to view, critique and dismantle the oppressive structures that pervade Kanaka 'Ōiwi livelihood”. This example shows how CRT as a working framework can be applied through the Indigenous lens. However, CRT in a vacuum focuses on race and racism and maybe hard for Māori to apply to the landscape of Aotearoa, as Brayboy (2005) adds:

While CRT serves as a framework in and of itself, it does not address the specific needs of tribal peoples because it does not address American Indians’ liminality as both legal/political and racialized beings or the experience of

²⁶“This term applies to grandparents, other relatives of one’s grandparents’ generation, and their parents and ancestors” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 453).

colonization. CRT was originally developed to address the Civil Rights issues of African American people. (p. 428)

What both Barbooy and Cristobal describe is Tribal Critical Race Theory and Kanaka 'Ōiwi Critical Race Theory. With colonisation at the centre of both 'Ōiwi and Tribal CRT racism is an inherent symptom of the process that is colonisation Smith (2012), but identifying the symptom is different than identifying the process by which power structures are built, refined and evolve over time. It will be the process and the structures that the missionaries and Christianity developed, and that this thesis will examine through Kaupapa Māori Theory and Critical Race Theory.

Syncretism

The word syncretism means the mixing of different religions, philosophies or ideas. According to Richard Twiss (2015) in Western systematic theology, syncretism is not seen as positive, but rather as antithetical to sound doctrine. I use the term in the latter part of my thesis from a Māori worldview and not from a Western worldview, there by changing or ameliorating the connotation from a negative to a positive. As Twiss (2015) explains “mixing is a normative process of positive changed transformation and not always so clear” (p. 29). This is important when thinking through how our tīpuna responded and renegotiated their religion as the missionaries in the 19th century recorded and reported on the prophetic movements through negative language that undermined Māori ways of being and sought to seize more control of the spiritual practices in Aotearoa. The term syncretism in this context will highlight the changing landscape of Māori religion. The positive use of this word will be seen when talking about Te Nākahi, Paimārire, the Kīngitanga movement and Io. The word syncretism supports an Indigenous theological understanding outlined by Twiss (2015) in his work *Rescuing the Gospel from the Cowboys: A Native American expression of the Jesus Way*; however, I will contextualise the term from a Māori perspective and ground this theory in Aotearoa.

Throughout this thesis the terms cosmology, religion, and spirituality will appear, and used to describe the connection Māori have to the world of the atua. Cosmology will be used in conjunction of the word creation, as the two words have similar meanings, however, cosmology in relation to the Christian tradition Fitzgerald

(2013) adds; “In the Christian tradition, the biblical cosmogonies and cosmology have particular importance, because they are foundational theological texts on which the tradition draws to understand God, the cosmos and the place of humans within cosmic structure” (p. 44). This same approach can be used to describe how the word cosmology is used in this thesis when used in the context of the various Māori worldview of creation.

Religion is used both in the perspectives of the Christian and Māori tradition. While some may argue that Māori did not have a religion, this thesis approaches the word in its simplest terms as the belief in the existence of a god or gods, and the activities that are connected with the worship of them, or in the teachings of a spiritual leader. This also means a voluntary acceptance of a divine being or beings. In the structure of religion there a set of rituals and ceremonies that the community partake in to invoke the god or gods. I use the term spirituality to describe the nature of Māori and the relationship between mankind and god/gods, and the use of religion as the organising and structure of invoking of them.

Ritane

I have approached this Thesis with an insider's perspective, both as a Māori and a Christian. I grew up in a non-speaking Māori home and it was my Pākehā mother who enrolled me into Kōhanga Reo²⁷ and Kura Kaupapa²⁸ in Te Waipounamu²⁹. Although my mother is Pākehā she continually reminded me throughout my life that I am Māori and would highlight the injustices and racism that Māori would encounter daily. My Pāpā who is Māori suffered heavily from the effects of colonisation. He wasn't fluent in Māori; he did not support my sister and I attending Māori mediums of education to begin with. He did, however, fight back by re-educating himself and by spending the best part of my teenage life working with

²⁷ The essence of Te Kōhanga Reo was to bring the elders who were fluent speakers together with their mokopuna, the preschool generation, and the parents, following the Māori model of whānau development.

²⁸ Kura kaupapa Māori are state schools that operate within a whānau-based Māori philosophy and deliver the curriculum in te reo Māori. Retrieved from Te Ara website.

²⁹ The South Island, In some traditions, the South Island is known as Te Waka a Māui. It is also important to note that according to Ngāi Tahu tradition Ranginui had several wives, Pokoharuatēpō, mother of Aoraki.

youth and serving our Marae³⁰, Maniaiti Marae, Taumarunui. I hold tightly key memories growing up that I believe have shaped my thinking, for example I remember the significant struggles and fights my kura, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Te Whanau Tahī³¹ had to endure in the establishment of itself and one moving incident involving my Pāpā.

From Te Waipounamu I moved north to Te Matau-a-Māui³² to attend Te Aute College under the tutelage of some influential teachers and students. Te Aute³³ had given time and space for me to grow and mature. Whilst heavily steeped in Te Ao Māori, Te Aute is traditionally an Anglican Māori boy boarding school. It was while I was at Te Aute that I saw glimpses of the lasting effects of colonisation had on Māoridom as a culture but also saw an approach to syncretism through the practises of tikanga.

I use the term Christian here in my story as someone who tries to follow the teachings of Jesus. Although I did not grow up in the church, my conversion to Christianity was a progression of several years of searching and asking questions during my early twenties. My whānau³⁴ and I found a small local church community at Te Rautini in Hamilton, Waikato. It was there I became a husband, a baptised Christian and part of various leadership teams all whilst exploring what it means to be Māori and Christian, a question that I believe remains unanswered.

While at Te Rautini, I began to learn more about the church history here in Aotearoa. I found while I enjoyed my early teachings of the history and the ongoing dialogue, I still had many questions that few, if any including Māori, could answer. The answers to many of these questions were vague at best and lacked in depth explanation for what I was looking for. It was from these questions that the ideas motivated me to begin this thesis journey on behalf of my whānau.

³⁰ “The enclosed or bounded space in front of a meeting house or chief’s residence where ceremonies of greeting and encounter take place, or other similar space designated for community purposes of this kind” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 218).

³¹ Located in Ōtautahi, Christchurch.

³² Hawkes Bay.

³³ Located in Pukehou, Central Hawkes Bay.

³⁴ Family.

Chapter Two: Initial Response

Introduction

This chapter explores the absence of universality in terms of Māori spirituality and religious belief structures. It emphasises that Māori had various creation narratives that were unique to hapū, many of which have been lost since the colonial era³⁵ of Aotearoa. It also explores how the missionaries played a role in the loss and colonising of Māori lore.

This chapter also attempts to find the similarities in the historical methods used by the Anglo colonial powers in Ireland and the British colonial powers in Aotearoa to suppress the local cultures and to undermine the already present religious structures. The main objective for this is to locate how the template that the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) used in Aotearoa was originally from Ireland and that the predatory nature of Christian conversion was a practise of power and domination. This thesis seeks to expose the roots of British colonialism and observe how the CMS paved the way for the assimilation of Northern Māori into the culture of the grand British imperial scheme. It reflects upon the reaction to a notion of a supreme being by Northern Māori and how this idea was widely rejected as it was counterintuitive to how Northern Māori perceived the world and spirituality within it. Chapter Four will expand on this idea through an analysis of the Io tradition.

Finally, this chapter highlights the CMS and their relationship with Hongi Hika and Ruatara³⁶ and how they used this relationship to benefit and solidify the status of their people. Furthermore, it shows how Māori during the early period of their relationship with Pākehā were superior, as early settlers including missionaries were dependent on Māori. This section will also have an in-depth section on Thomas Kendall, who, through building relationships with Hika and Ruatara, came to reject his Christian beliefs.

³⁵ The start of the colonial era begins in the 1800s and move into the 20th century.

³⁶ Two of the many important contact leaders of the early 19th century.

Pre-Colonial Māori Beliefs and the Origins of Colonial Christianity

The primary agenda of colonisation is the assimilation of a people into the social, political and religious views of the coloniser. While the coloniser saw this as a successful rehabilitation or an improvement to the lives of the colonised, the colonised would come to recognise this as a significant loss. One example of what has truly been lost is the widely accepted Māori pantheon and belief systems within our contemporary understanding of Māori culture, applied to all Māori and was as universally accepted prior to colonisation as it is today. The ideas, lore and opinions that existed among all the hapū who have come to call themselves Māori was indeed very diverse, as Buck (1950) explains in reference to Māori religious beliefs “An attempt on the part of any student to pick and choose from the various tribal versions in order to provide a more perfect list would create a perfection which never existed” (p. 435). It would be folly then to diagnose universality anywhere within the subject of precolonial Māori belief as this would also have negative effects on hapū and iwi as it would be generalising the complexities of hapū independence.

Pākehā missionaries took little interest in studying Māori cosmology, as they believed it was of little or no use to them. This belief that they held was a product of the British colonial processes itself as Yates-Smith (1998) writes on the topic of Māori goddesses:

In the early years of Māori and Pākehā encounter, Māori keepers of celestial lore possessed a wealth of knowledge which still formed a solid foundation for a Māori way of life. Had a major study of Māori goddesses been made at that time, a vast amount of information could have been gathered. The reality, however, was that the early Pākehā visitors and settlers in this country had other more pressing interests; the explorers were intent on recording their observations regarding geographical features of the country and the general lifestyle of the Māori people encountered on their journeys. The language barrier, too, would have prevented closer examination of specific aspects of Māori culture. (p. 28)

The indifference towards cultural details that seemed inconsequential to the explorers Yates-Smith speaks of has led to the preservation of a limited portion of

the information available during that period. This attitude towards Māori and the consequential lack of information available today extends into the topic of Māori pre-colonial religious beliefs. Yates-Smith (1998) continues:

Although the early missionaries studied the language, they were intent on replacing the current religious beliefs of the Māori with their own Christian doctrine. To have spent time and energy investigating Māori religious beliefs might have validated the very belief system they were attempting to supersede. It is ironic that the very group of people who, on a philosophical level, might have been most able to investigate this area did not do so. Consequently, the missionaries' early writings focussed principally on converting the Māori to Christianity. Indeed, most early Māori writings were translations of hymns, prayers, the scriptures and other matters pertaining to the Church. (p. 28)

The eventual arrival of Pākehā and the missionaries saw the beginning of colonisation, a previously unknown force. In time, this would lead to the disestablishment of many Māori spiritual traditions, kawa³⁷ and tikanga as well as an assimilation into a European way of living in the world. This led to the careless retelling, lazy recording and cavalier editing of our people's creation traditions. In part this was because the Christian religion holds to many doctrines that run contrary to concepts within Māori spirituality. For example, the notion of a single pre-existent creator was entirely foreign to the Māori worldview. The missionary, Richard Taylor (1855), wrote as follows:

Properly speaking, the natives had no knowledge of a Supreme Being. They had a multitude of gods, and these were said to have been the fathers, each one of some department in nature; and these gods are mixed up with the spirits of ancestors, whose worship entered largely into their religion, that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other. In fact, their traditions of the creation go back far beyond. (p. 13)

³⁷“In modern usage, the term often indicates the protocol governing ceremonial conduct on a particular marae and in formal contacts between social groups” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 128).

The common spiritual belief system amongst Māori starts with the creation of the universe from Te Pō, Te Kore, and Te Ao Marama³⁸ (John, 1887; Mikaere, 2005). Te Pō and Te Kore are personified through the birth of all things including thought itself, Schwimmer (1966) reasons that “Among the peoples of the world, Māori mythologists have the distinction of peering most deeply into the infinite darkness that existed before life began. Kore was timeless, perfect and uncreated. For as soon as the epoch of Te Kore begins, we are no longer, of course, in an uncreated universe; time has begun in earnest, and the first of the philosophers problems is solved” (pp. 13 - 14).

Te Rangikaheke of Te Arawa³⁹ writes “Kotahi te atua o te tangata Maori ko Ranginui ki runga ko Papatuanuku i raro” (as cited in Grey, p. 22). What Te Rangikaheke shares here is the tangible and panentheistic realm of the God. However, with his use of the word “kotahi” he is making the connection that both Ranginui⁴⁰ and Papatūānuku⁴¹ are not separate Gods but one God – a stark contrast with popular conceptions of Ranginui and Papatūānuku today⁴². This way of understanding the creation of the universe informed the ethical and moral behaviour of Māori between female and male. The argument of ethical and moral foundations only available via biblical studies was informed by the assertion that the Christian religion is an essential part of the colonial project. This was not only a breach of the Māori way of life but also a breach of Māori practices. Mikaere (2013) supports this claim by adding “with the arrival of the missionaries there began a concerted campaign of attack on Māori belief systems”(p. 218). Moana Jackson (1992) describes this process of colonisation as “the need to attack unrelentingly the indigenous soul” (p. 33). The missionaries refused to acknowledge the Indigenous soul that existed alongside Māori spiritual beliefs but rather saw their own Christian beliefs as superior. This was a common tactic for the missionaries not only here in

³⁸ All three together form what according to some traditions *te orokohanga* or the beginning. While it is difficult to compartmentalise Te Pō, Te Kore, and Te Aomarama, these events are not linear but are rather moving pieces that intertwine and dance with each other.

³⁹ Te Arawa rangatira.

⁴⁰ Sky father.

⁴¹ Earth mother.

⁴² Yates-Smith (1998) in her Thesis, *Hine! E Hine E! Rediscovering the feminine in Maori spirituality* talks about the importance of education in the reconstruction and revival of tradition states: “Change is already evident within the education system; the young are being taught about Rangi and Papa, although the emphasis is still placed largely on their male descendants” (p. 273).

Aotearoa but in many other countries that were colonised by the British Empire. Prior to the arrival of the missionaries, Māori interactions and relationships with children was also linked to an understanding of the creation narrative. As Patterson (1992) states, “In Māori society children were under the spiritual protection of the gods therefore treated with the utmost respect, respect due any taonga⁴³, with the respect due the gods themselves” (p. 97). The religious tradition after the birth of a child is known as tūā or tohi⁴⁴. This involved the separation of the child from Te Pō and its passage into Te Ao Marama. The separation centred on the cutting of the umbilical cord, and was a moral and cosmological separation, “when a child’s iho⁴⁵ is severed the priest recites certain karakia⁴⁶ to cause mārama⁴⁷ to enter the child and also to cause all pōuritanga⁴⁸ to be cast out with the severed pito”⁴⁹ (Best, 1899, p. 630). This practice was a focal point that connected the spiritual elements that guided Māori from birth, and their connection to the atua which was manifested through ritual and ceremony.

In the pre-colonial era, Māori ways of being were informed by the unique creation narrative that the hapū followed. However, they are interconnected through the whakapapa that Māori share between ourselves. As Barlow (1994, p. 173) puts it, “Whakapapa is the genealogical descent of all living things from the gods to the present time; whakapapa is a basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect to the creation and development of all things”. The understanding of whakapapa and the connection Māori make, going back to the creation of the universe allowed for cognisant environmental practises, which had the underpinnings of Māori religious methods that were also conversant with kawa and tikanga as customary law.

⁴³ “A socially or culturally valuable object, resource, technique, phenomenon or idea. In the phrase taonga tuku iho, taonga generally denotes tangible and, especially, intangible valuables (such as values, traditions, and customs) handed down from antiquity” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 396).

⁴⁴ “In respect of childbirth, however, Hine-titama and her daughter Hine-rau-whāangi are remembered and respected as a mother and daughter model. The mother followed the tikanga laid down by Tāne and the result was a beautiful daughter. They were the first, according to some traditions, to undergo the tohi ceremony” (Mead, 2003, p. 290).

⁴⁵ Umbilical cord.

⁴⁶ “A set form of words to state, confirm or make effective the intent of a ritual activity, and the reciting of these words, thus often translated by terms such as ‘incantation’, ‘charm’, or ‘spell’” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 124).

⁴⁷ Used to describe enlightenment.

⁴⁸ Used to describe the night of the womb.

⁴⁹ Navel.

Before the arrival of Pākehā, Māori had developed their own diverse cultural worlds as each hapū had its own *atua*⁵⁰ and interpretations of the creation narrative. Māori suddenly encountered the world brought by British explorer Captain James Cook in 1769. Cook followed in the footsteps of Dutch explorer Captain Abel Tasman⁵¹ who renamed Aotearoa ‘New Zealand’ after a Dutch province⁵², beginning the erasure of what Māori had already established.

Those who then followed in the footsteps of James Cook came from a culture with a long colonial history. The British Empire by the 18th century had refined their colonising approach before their invasion of Aotearoa, using methods that have roots in early European colonial theory. Immediately upon the discovery of sea routes around Africa and to the ‘new world’, Europeans sought to use various advantages they held to repress and proselytise the natives of the new lands they had stumbled upon. Hosne (2014) reflects on the writings of the missionary Jose De Acosta and what would become contemporary doctrine amongst Catholic Jesuit missionaries⁵³ of that period:

In the Proemio, the preface of *De procuranda indorum salute* finished in 1577 in Peru and published in Spain in 1588 José de Acosta established distinctions between different categories of ‘barbarians’ which in turn would lead to different modes of evangelization for their salvation, the ultimate goal. Acosta placed the Indians from Mexico and Peru after the Chinese and Japanese. The latter belonged to the first category of ‘barbaric nations’ because of their judgment [*recta razón*] and its application, common to the human species, to a stable republic, laws, fortified cities and most importantly, according to Acosta use and knowledge of letters. The ‘nomads’ that is, the Indians in the Caribbean ‘similar to beasts,’ belonged to a third and last group. The second group,

⁵⁰ “The primary meaning of ‘divine being’ is at the core of this term, and other associations flow from this. An *atua* is normally invisible but may have visible symbolic or tangible manifestations” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 49).

⁵¹ The first European to arrive in Aotearoa was the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman in 1642. The name New Zealand comes from the Dutch ‘Nieuw Zeeland’, the name first given to the land by a Dutch mapmaker.

⁵³ Member of the Society of Jesus (S.J.), founded in 1541, a Roman Catholic order of religious men founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola. The order has been regarded by many as the principal agent of the Counter-Reformation and was later a leading force in modernizing the church. Although they did not land in New Zealand, they contributed to the view held by many of the missionary who landed in Aotearoa.

according to Acosta, may have had empires and republics, laws and institutions, but they lacked a writing system a key characteristic of the first group of Chinese and Japanese. (p. 178)

This worldview would eventually be used by Europeans upon other Europeans. Most notably and most relevant to the colonisation of Aotearoa and the proselytisation of Māori was the treatment of Irish Gaelic and Irish Catholic People in the Anglo-Scottish colonisation and Anglican reformation of Ireland.

Canny (1973) writes “those sixteenth-century Englishmen who pondered the Irish problem did so in secular terms, and that through their thinking on the social condition of the Irish they approached a concept of cultural evolution no less "advanced" than that of the Spaniard Jose de Acosta in his writing (1590) on the indigenous population of the New World” (p. 576). The roots of British colonisation lie in Ireland and it was here some of the recurring trends in their methods included; the privation of colonisation efforts into the hands of companies established by the political elite; the confiscation of native land by the Crown; the subjugation of native peoples who resisted and the arrest of their leaders as Rebels, most notably when the Irish Noble O’Neill of Clondeboye invited the 1st Earl of Essex and his men to parley over a Christmas feast in Belfast. This led to two hundred of O’Neill’s followers being killed during the feast as well as O’Neill, his wife, and his kinsmen being seized, later to be executed in Dublin as rebels (Canny, 1973). The treatment of Irish Catholics in the attempted reformation and then replacement of their number by Anglicans is also of worthy of remark. The religious reforms that arrived in Ireland started with implementing policy that was hostile to Roman Catholics such as the confiscation of land from Catholics and the forbidding of Catholic land ownership, as well as moving back and forth between periods where only a minority of Irish parliamentary seats could be held by Irish Catholics to periods where Irish Catholics were forbidden from holding a seat. A significant amount was also done to undermine and change Catholic religious doctrine to being in line with Anglican theological tastes. As Jefferies (1988) explains:

The Anglican reformers were adamant that it is 'plainly repugnant to the word of God and the custom of the primitive church to have public prayer in the church, or to minister the sacraments, in a tongue not understood of the

people'. As early as 1550 the Crown authorised the publication of an Irish language edition of the Book of Common Prayer. In the mid-1560s Elizabeth, never known for her largesse, granted £66 13s. 4d. to the Irish bishops for the publication of the New Testament in Irish. (p. 133)

This would effectively undermine the Roman Catholic Church by removing control of the interpretation of the scriptures from the Latin fluent Ecclesiarchy of the Catholic Church. But impassioned resistance to the religious reformations combined with the often-violent reactions to English tyranny only served as confirmation of the bias amongst the more prejudiced political and church elite, and nearly 400 years of oppression and exile for the Irish people.

Despite the geographic and cultural differences between the Irish and Māori it is easy to see parallels in the approach taken by the 15th and 16th century English colonial powers and the Anglican Church in Ireland, and the 19th century British colonial powers and growing church in Aotearoa; they understood that to rob a people of their cultural identity they must first rob them of their religious identity. As Klink (2019) writes:

Pākehā were certainly not protectors of native language, traditional beliefs or cultural practices and during the nineteenth century moved to ‘civilise’ their heathen hosts, albeit with a sometimes self-congratulatory benevolent humanitarianism that barely masked their desire to remake their New Eden — and its peoples — in their own image. (p. 19)

The arrival of Pākehā and the CMS at the turn of the century saw the beginning of colonisation; the disestablishment and the slow assimilation of Māori religious traditions to align with the British model as the CMS arrived with the fixed assumption that they would be ‘saving’ a ‘pagan’ people.

The Arrival of the Christian Mission

Prior to the arrival of the CMS to Aotearoa, Ruatara a rangatira from Ngāti Rāhiri⁵⁴ and Ngāti Tautahi⁵⁵, had left Aotearoa in 1805 as a crew member on board the

⁵⁴ Sub-tribe affiliated to the Ngāpuhi confederation, located in the Northland region.

⁵⁵ Sub-tribe affiliated to the Ngāpuhi confederation, located in the Northland region.

whaling ship *Argo*. Ruatara had found his way to Sydney, Australia, and by October 1808 sailed on board the *Santa Anna* to England with the request of meeting King George. However, upon arrival the request was refused on multiple occasions, and Ruatara was then transferred to the *Ann*⁵⁶. While Ruatara was on-board the *Ann* he fell ill and reconnected with Marsden who he had met three years prior, and it was through the care of the ship's captain, surgeon and Marsden that Ruatara was nursed back to full health. It was during his time in Australia where Ruatara had seen the advanced Pākehā agriculture practises and planned to bring agricultural techniques back to Aotearoa. Ruatara is often credited with inviting the CMS to te Tai Tokerau but even Ruatara had his regrets as the mission itself led by Marsden would be destructive to the independence of his people (Binney, 2005). While in Sydney, Ruatara had seen how the Aboriginals of Australia had been mistreated and feared that the echo of that mistreatment would find its way to Aotearoa. Binney (2005) also adds that “the missionaries would become so powerful, as to possess themselves of the whole island and either destroy the natives, or reduce them to slavery” (p. 46). It would be the missionaries who would carry imperialistic superiority into Aotearoa for the first time. Prior to the arrival of the missionaries and up until the mid-1860s Māori still held monopoly and control over resources such as land and fisheries, along with an absolute population majority (Bentley, 2019, p. 198). While our numerical and economic dominance was maintained, Māori also maintained our traditional cosmological identities and cultural practises.

In 1814 Marsden instructed Kendall and others to establish themselves as missionary mechanics as an attempt to civilise the Māori and establish a colonial presence here in Aotearoa (Sharp, 2016). Through their relationship with Ruatara and Hongi Hika, a tohunga and rangatira of Ngāti Rāhiri, Ngāti Rēhia⁵⁷, Ngāti Tautahi and Ngāi Tāwake⁵⁸, the CMS settled in Rangihoua on the north-west shore of the Bay of Islands in te Tai Tokerau. While the hapū were curious about Europeans, the hapū were uncertain about the virtues of having the missionaries among them (Salmond, 2017). Despite the altercation in Thames where two English

⁵⁶ “As an added insult he was once more cheated out of his wages. When he first went on board the *Ann*, the young rangatira was virtually naked and very sick, coughing up blood and seeming close to death” (O'Malley, 2015b, p. 59).

⁵⁷ Sub-tribe affiliated to the Ngāpuhi confederation, located in the Northland region.

⁵⁸ Sub-tribe associated with the Ngāpuhi confederation, located in the Northland region.

men and many of the hapū were killed, the missionaries were not wavering in their desire to stay in Aotearoa even though the people of Rangihoua blamed the missionaries for the transgression that happened at Thames. Salmond (2017) says of the event “In September 1815, when news came that the *Trial* and the *Brothers*⁵⁹ had been attacked near Thames, and two European sailors for ill-treating the iwi (tribe) from Thames. They feared that the Thames people would attack the missionaries and take utu⁶⁰ on them for inviting Europeans to live in New Zealand” (p. 98). Despite the fear that the Rangihoua hapū had, the missionaries continued to occupy the area as Kendall and others were unwilling to leave.

One of the first actions of the CMS was to strengthen trade relationships between Māori and the British colonial establishment, most notably with Port Jackson in New South Wales. The second was to set up mission schools for Māori; the first school was set up in 1816 at Hohi, to teach Māori how to read and write, by 1818 Kendall had managed to acquire the catechism⁶¹ in the Tahitian language which the Māori found much easier to follow. Kendall’s use of the catechism in the school at Hohi was an attempted act to assimilate Māori and disenfranchise them from their spiritual beliefs. The school also used paintings of King George the 3rd, William Wilberforce, Adam and Eve and the president of the Christian Missionary Society, Lord Gambier, which portrayed Pākehā as superior in contrast to that of Māori. As Ballantyne (2012) explains, “The New Zealand version of ‘the fatal impact’ school, identifies literacy as a corrosive force that undermined the vitality of Māori oral tradition, and, as a result, played a central role in the construction of Pākehā hegemony” (p. 140). By 1823 the growing missionary presence around Rangihoua and Paihia⁶² was visible, alongside the mission stations more schools were established under the guidance of Henry Williams and his wife Marianne Williams with the focus being converting Māori to Christianity supporting the process of

⁵⁹ Both are ships.

⁶⁰ “Although in popular imagination the term utu is linked closely to notions of vengeance, it also has quite neutral or even benign connotations of reciprocity in many contexts” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 467).

⁶¹ A catechism is a summary or exposition of doctrine and serves as a learning introduction to the Sacraments traditionally used in catechesis, or Christian religious teaching of children and adult converts. However, as (Smith, 2014) explains “the overall goal for catechizing and converting slaves was to make them better slaves. Catechists deposited doctrines, dogmas, and creeds into the “souls” of African slaves by rote memorization, the obedience to which constituted evidence of Christian conversion” (p. 67).

⁶² Small town located in the Bay of Islands, Northland.

religious assimilation as the “Society’s brief was to proselytize the Māori” (Campbell & Sherington, 2007, p. 134). The school established by Williams taught instructions in Te Reo Māori and the school also taught Christian religion in the form of prayers and hymns. It was through contextualizing the Christian narrative through Te Reo Māori that the missionaries could begin to shift the ideas of Māori religion and their spirituality to one that was fully Christian.

The death of Ruatara had Marsden worried about the protection of the missionaries and settlers of Rangihoua. Part of the reason they settled at Rangihoua was that Ruatara provided protection from the surrounding hapū. In 1815 during the tangihanga⁶³ process several practises took place, one being where “Hongi (Hika) with tears running down his face, began a lament for the dead or pihe and everyone else joined in” (Cloher, 2003, p. 92) a symbolic mōteatea⁶⁴ appropriate for the occasion as Hongi mourned the death of Ruatara. Rahu, the wife of Ruatara also engaged in the practise of whakamomori⁶⁵ or hanging herself. This was a common practise for Māori, with the passing of Rahu she joined Ruatara in death (Cloher, 2003). Thomas Kendall in his journals of 1815 describes several descriptions of death bed conversion “which were countered with explanations of the indigenous beliefs about existences after death” (Binney, 2005, p. 81). This is important to note, as key disparities between Māori and Christian beliefs, that life after death looked vastly different. Kendall also makes commentary about the suicide of Rahu citing the death as a product of the effects of superstition (Binney, 2005, p. 82). However, for Rahu, she was merely responding to the request of Ruatara, which was in accordance with the common belief of the time that they would then ascend to the sky together and become atua. Kendall, describing the death of Rahu, displays the depth of missionary ignorance and the view that Māori spiritual practices were

⁶³ “The circumstances or occasion of mourning, and the customs related to this” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 379).

⁶⁴ Mōteatea is a tradition of chanted song-poetry that has been maintained in Māori communities for hundreds of years. Mōteatea were composed for innumerable purposes and reasons. (Royal, 2014).

⁶⁵ Translated suicide, but as (Prytz-Johansen, 1954, p. 57) described: “The typical suicide, however, is that of the widow. In the northernmost part of New Zealand, it was nearly an institution. The consequence was, of course, that every decent widow made an attempt at suicide. In elderly widows it was undoubtedly at the same time the consequence of their inner ‘weakening’; but in younger widows it must have been a more complicated matter. Presumably, they often felt driven towards suicide while at the same time they felt that life might still offer possibilities for them. The fact that suicide was an institution then decided the matter”.

fallacy and in need of conversion to Christianity. For Māori, death was seen as a means to return home to their tīpuna.

By gaining the friendship and trust of many rangatira, the missionaries helped lead the way for the British Empire to lay its eventual claim to sovereignty with the Treaty in 1840. As the missionaries began to settle in Aotearoa, they began to purchase land, the land was gifted and traded to the missionaries and their families, as a means to support themselves independently from Māori. This loss of land contributed to the desecration of culture, language and religion. The loss of land would be felt up and down the land after the signing of the Treaty. The missionaries along with the Crown would benefit from the confiscation of land. With the loss of land and the establishment of the Christian mission, Pākehā brought with them to Aotearoa a historical transformation of Aotearoa into another British colony.

The Bible, used to teach Māori how to read and write, would also be used to justify the disestablishment of Māori spirituality as the Bible was believed to be the all authoritative word of the Pākehā god. In doing so it would be the wāhine who would suffer as their mana, tapu and ability to carry out rites would be diminished through Christianity which sought to blame the concept of original sin on women through Eve. As Rose Pere (1987) observed:

My Māori female forbears, before the introduction of Christianity, and the “original sin of Eve”, were extremely liberated as compared to my English tupuna...the women were never regarded as chattels or possessions; they retained their own names on marriage. Retaining their own identity and whakapapa was of the utmost importance and children could identify with the kinship group of either or both parents. (p. 60)

The original sin concept would have a lasting impact on wāhine as shown through the creation stories. The sacred connection between wāhine and whenua played a pivotal role in pre-colonial Māori thought. Wāhine were considered superior and primarily held the ability to reproduce and this was seen as mirroring the creation narrative that is observed through Te Kore, and the womb and the process of birth being played out through wāhine. For the missionaries, however, wāhine were

seen as not to possess such a mana or tapu, and instead saw the Māori male as superior.

The Relationship in the North

The missionaries held fast to their belief in Christianity and their desire for Māori to convert to the new religion. Missionary tactics saw themselves develop relationships between key rangatira at the time. In te Tai Tokerau, Marsden and the other CMS missionaries strategically aligned themselves with Ruatara and Hongi Hika. Both rangatira saw the benefit of trade and agricultural technologies to benefit their people, but at the time were un-favouring in converting to Christianity. The missionaries representing the colonial ideologies that saw Māori as ‘other’ or ‘lesser’ would then use these relationships to benefit their primary cause in converting the Māori. However, Hika was seen by many in his hapū and by some missionaries as the protector of Māori spirituality in te Tai Tokerau. As Kemp summarises, “Hongi [Hika] supported his own superstition and would not believe anything we said about our God. Hongi [Hika] is not at all favourably disposed towards our religion but considers his own superior”(Cloher, 2003, p. 237). While Kemp here is right in his view of Hongi - that Hongi did see his own spirituality as superior - this conviction of its superiority was likely based on the reality that Māori held a monopoly over land and resources and many Pākehā of the time were dependent on forms of Māori hospitality and generosity. The sophisticated connection between Māori spirituality and whenua⁶⁶ was based on a cosmological understanding surrounding certain landmarks that tohunga would use to carry out the rituals pertaining to Māori spirituality. One of the critiques Hika had with Christianity, was that Christians would worship their God anywhere and ignore the tapu⁶⁷ and noa elements of spirituality. The self-determination Māori held would soon be lost in both a spiritual

⁶⁶ “This word has two complementary meanings: (1) land, ground or country; and (2) placenta or afterbirth” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 540).

⁶⁷ “The term is thus used to indicate states of restriction and prohibition whose violation will (unless mitigated by appropriate karakia and ceremonies) automatically result in retribution, often including the death of the violator and others involved, directly or indirectly. Its specific meanings include ‘sacred, under ritual restriction, prohibited’. In modern Māori it has also acquired the meaning ‘holy’, as a conflation with Christian notions of holiness and sanctity. In relation to God, this usage is not entirely inappropriate in respect of the older meanings, utu in relation to people it ignores the dangerous and restrictive aspects of tapu” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 404).

and a physical sense, coinciding with the missionaries beginning their contribution to the writings and opinions of the settler communities that were to come.

Very few missionaries were willing to explore Māori spirituality the same way Kendall did. While being tasked as magistrate of New Zealand, he was mocked by visiting sailors and resented by fellow missionaries Hall and King. Both men accused him of getting drunk and looking only to benefit himself. The CMS also asked him to send back Māori artefacts to contribute to the London Missionary Society museum (Binney, 2005, p. 14). Kendall, before he died in the 1830s, would become an advocate for Māori spirituality. This is evident in the questioning of his own faith and in him putting emphasis on the structures of the three states⁶⁸, rather than on a supreme creator. This change in thought for Kendall came about by fully immersing himself into the Māori community he befriended, which involved both Hika and the tohunga Rākau, whose daughter, Tungaroa, he later married. Burdon (1945) writes that “By living as a Māori he [Kendall] hoped to see beyond the ordinary range of a white man’s vision’ and ‘to obtain accurate information as to their religious opinions and tenets which he would in no other way have obtained” (p. 64). Kendall and Hika had met early on Kendall’s arrival, landing in Aotearoa in 1813. Kendall, like most settlers was struck by the gentle manner that Hika displayed. “He is a Warrior but apparently a man of mild disposition.” There was a certain quality about Hika that missionaries found appealing.

In 1820, Kendall had arranged a trip back to England with Hika and Waikato who was another Ngāpuhi⁶⁹ leader, was to join them also. The reasons for Kendall’s return to England are unclear but there are a few common ideas about why he returned, despite the instruction of Marsden not to do so for such a long period of time. Hika, along with Waikato and Dr Lee⁷⁰ of Cambridge University, helped to put together the Māori alphabet that we know today (Binney, 2005, p. 64). While there are no known records of the conversation’s that Kendall, Waikato and Hika

⁶⁸ “Kendall described his drawing of Nukutawhiti as a ‘Deity’ in the ‘First State’ of existence. He wrote that Māori conceived of three states of existence, through which all life passed. The first state was the primal state of undistinguished matter, chaotic, and before the separation out of either kind or form” (Binney, 2016, p. 29).

⁶⁹ Ngāpuhi is the largest tribe in New Zealand. Their heartland lies at te Tai Tokerau (the northern tide) in the far north. The territory stretches west to east from Hokianga Harbour to the Bay of Islands, and southward to Maunganui Bluff and Whāngārei (Taonui, 2017).

⁷⁰ Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge University, Samuel Lee.

had while in transit to and in his travels around England, it can be assumed that Kendall would have been privy to vast amounts of Māori spiritual practice and knowledge through the rangatira. This may help explain how Kendall was able to write about Nukutawhiti, who is interpreted in Kendall's recording as the supreme being of Rangihoua.

In summary, Kendall was one missionary who was able to transcend the worldview barriers between Christianity and Māoridom. Binney (2005) writes that in 1822 one Māori at the Bay of Islands had remarked to the Reverend Samuel Leigh, 'Kendall is no more a missionary. He is now one of us, a New Zealand Tangata' (p. 127). It was through his willingness to deconstruct his previously held religious beliefs and cultural assumptions that he was able to fully integrate himself into the hapū. This would be in contrast to settlers and missionaries who came after him, in the way that they continued to bring with them assumptions of moral supremacy and self-righteousness above Māori spirituality.

Initial Resistance to Christianity

Māori spirituality since before the arrival of Pākehā had been the foundation of Māori identity. It was through a rich oral tradition that Māori primarily were able to articulate the cosmology of Māori ways of living, a practice that stood the test of time and offered the generations a framework to live in connection to each other. Early observations of Pākehā about Māori spirituality claimed that an oral tradition was inferior to literature as noted in themes incorporated in the literature see: (Cloher, 2003; Mikaere, 2013; Taonui, 2005). Because of this comparison it can be seen from 1814 there was a deliberate attempt to civilise Māori before they could understand Christianity. This idea is rooted in imperialism and cultural superiority. However, there seemed to be no desire for Māori in te Tai Tokerau to convert to Christianity, due to the perception of the inferior status that Pākehā and Pākehā beliefs could hold within their society, Bentley (2019), explains:

Hierarchical and assertive Māori tribal societies considered all Pakeha (Europeans) living within their power and under protection as chattel slaves (personal property) or vassals (demi-slaves). For Māori, the sailors, convicts, missionaries, traders, whalers, and sawyers who were captured or welcomed were

viewed as the property of their chiefs and existed primarily to serve their masters, claimed by rangatira (chiefs) who referred to them as taku (my) Pakeha, European slaves and vassals lived on Māori terms and the customary laws of mana, tapu, utu, and muru⁷¹ that applied to Māori, were applied to them. (p. 12)

Open vassalisation was the way that Māori rangatira Hongi Hika interpreted his relationships with the missionaries at Rangihoua. He considered them the slaves of King George IV that were under his protection. This attitude is reflected in the interactions many missionaries had with Māori, where Māori would debate with confidence from a position of superiority. In a letter from Marsden in 1819 to the CMS office in Parramatta he writes:

When I told them there was but one God, and our God was theirs, they asked me if our God had given us any sweet potatoes. I replied, “No.” They answered, “Our God has given us sweet potatoes, and if He had been your God also, He would have given you some.” I told them our climate was too cold, they would not grow, and therefore He knew it would be no use to give us any. They said, “Your God has given you cattle and sheep and horses and many other things, which He has not given us. Were He our God as well as yours, He would not have acted so partially? He would have given us cattle, etc., as well as you.” This brought us to the creation of the world and to Noah’s flood, from which I showed them how the different animals came to be spread over the world, and told them that England was for a long time without cattle, etc., but in due time God had given them to England and now He was going to give all these things which we had to them....they then replied, “ But we are of a different colour to you, and if one God made us both He would not have made such a mistake as to make us of different colours.” This I endeavoured to explain also, and told them when they could read the book which God had given to us and which they would soon have, they would then believe what I told them to be true. Many other arguments they used to prove that there must be more than one

⁷¹ “The core meaning of this word is to wipe or rub, which includes both rubbing off and smearing something on, as well as the plucking off or stripping leaves from a branch or twig. By extension, the term included the act or institution of ritual seizure or ‘stripping’ of goods from the guilty individual or his whānau or community for an alleged offence (often rather misleadingly glossed as ‘plunder’). What Williams lists as a ‘modern’ meaning of ‘to wipe out’ or ‘forgive’ an offence has probably arisen from the metaphorical use of the word in the Anglican version of the Lord’s prayer” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 254).

God. Their reasoning faculties are strong and clear and their comprehension quick. When once they obtain a true knowledge of the Scriptures, they will improve very fast, and may then be ranked with civilized nations. Their improvement is not doubtful, but certain, and the Society are not labouring in vain. (as cited in Elder, 1932, p. 231)

Marsden's letter quickly shows how resistant Hika and his followers were to fully convert. While Marsden continued to dismiss any validation of the tikanga that was displayed by Māori, describing them as "obscene customs and notions of the natives" (Elder, 1932, p. 347), Marsden however is correct in the observation of the reasoning and faculty of Māori during this time as they are arguing from confidence that not only comes from social status above the Pākehā missionaries, but also from generations of reasoning passed down through oral traditions.

Although Hika remained friendly with the missionaries he constantly resisted baptism into the Christian faith. He did, however, see a material benefit which he confidently and actively pursued by befriending the missionaries. While travelling with Kendall in 1820 to England, Hika met briefly with King George IV and upon meeting him Hika found that King George IV knew nothing of the missionaries and that the 'great lords' had not banned musket trading. On his return, Hongi told his people that the missionaries were no better than the slaves of King George and that they were only a set of poor cooks (Cloher, 2003, p. 198). He also acquired the new technologies of the musket to aid his people in the war against Ngāti Whātua o Kaipara⁷², also known as Te Ika-a-Ranganui a war in which they had previously lost in 1807. While the missionaries attempted to assimilate Māori into their religion, Hika, though a sceptic and an outspoken critic, took them under his protection and looked to take advantage of the naïve missionaries as he continued to barter for muskets.

⁷² Ngāti Whātua o Kaipara is a name chosen by the hapū and whānau of the five mārae of south Kaipara (Reweti, Haranui, Kākānui, Araparera and Puatahi).

The name Ngāti Whātua o Kaipara is not traditional but has been adopted to avoid confusion between Ngāti Whātua in Ōrakei and Ngāti Whātua in south Kaipara (New Zealand Land information, 2020).

Conclusion

To summarise and conclude, this chapter examined the nature of pre-colonial religious beliefs amongst Māori and unpacked the intentions that the missionaries had in participating in the colonisation of Māori and attacking the Indigenous soul, as mentioned by Moana Jackson. Through the assimilation of Māori into Christianity this process ignored the already established tikanga that were formed by the creation narrative through Rangī and Papatūānuku. This gave all Māori including wāhine, the mana that was different to the Euro-centric way of viewing the world which viewed women as mere possessions. This chapter also examined the root of British colonialism in Ireland and how the *Zeitgeist*⁷³ of Aotearoa during the colonial era has recurring themes that were a template in relation to the role of Christianity in the process of colonisation. It touched on the introduction of a supreme being and the Māori case against notions of a supreme being and how the idea was incompatible with a Māori pantheistic spirituality. It then looked at how the missionaries brought with them clear biases and doctrines that were built on arrogance that was part of the colonial plan, and a perceived cultural superiority over Māori. This chapter then moved towards the relationships in the North most notably that of Kendall and Hika, as Kendall represents an out of the ordinary and uncommon Christian who fully integrated into the hapū, Māori spirituality and was able to deconstruct his view of Christian religion. The chapter then looked at how Māori resistance to Christianity was layered in truths and facts sought out by a superstitious Hongi Hika. His leadership and spiritual guidance continuously challenged doctrine and teachings and sought material and benefits in his relationships with the Christian missionaries.

To conclude in the case of the Northern Māori who did not fully embrace the Christian religion, the groundwork for religious and cultural assimilation had been made by the extensive relationships that were being built between Māori and missionaries. We will see in the following chapters, how this impacted Māori communities around Aotearoa.

⁷³ *Zeitgeist* is a concept from eighteenth- to nineteenth-century German philosophy, meaning "spirit of the age".

Chapter Three: Power

Introduction

In order to demonstrate the role of Christianity in colonisation this thesis will argue two points in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi. Firstly, this research argues through several examples that it was not birthed out of an idea to unite as some in the Christian community suggest, but rather was symbolic of Eurocentric ideology of power and control. Secondly, I make a case that the Treaty was breached by the legitimising of Acts such as Constitution Act of 1852 which was supported by Governor George Grey who was not an acting missionary but a devote Christian believer. It will also demonstrate that this Act supported the English translation of the Treaty and the disestablishment of tikanga Māori, especially regarding whakapapa. It is through our whakapapa that we make our connections to place, land and atua. It will also emphasise the different ways in which Pākehā and Māori view land.

The next section will focus on the loss of sovereignty and its many dimensions pertaining to atua and tohunga. This section compliments the first, with more details and examples given in order to gain a deeper understanding of the hegemonic power structures which influenced change in Māori society, through the teaching of the Bible and the view that it has authority as the word of God which then puts everything that exists outside of that authority as 'lesser than'. It will also go through highlighting the role that death and disease played in Māori questioning their own atua, that would have a psychological impact on Māori converting to Christianity.

In Aotearoa, the first of the prophetic movements recorded in the 1830s centred on the beginnings of the Papahurihia movement in te Tai Tokerau. The last section of this chapter, therefore, will focus on Papahurihia and Te Atua Wera. While a short timeline will be given throughout the section, the emphasis will be on how missionaries wrote and recorded information about Papahurihia using selective language that shaped and empowered ideologies that looked to dismiss the work that Papahurihia was doing in the te Tai Tokerau area. In support, I also continue to explain how European Christian hegemonic worldviews tainted Papahurihia and his

influence. The section of Papahurihia is set separate to the other prophetic movements, as this movement is set pre-Treaty and the others are explained further on as post-Treaty, in direct response to the New Zealand wars.

I will conclude this chapter by suggesting that the mission here in Aotearoa, was an unwelcomed cultural invasion of tikanga and mana. Additionally, I articulate the perspective that the prophetic movements starting with Papahurihia are a response to the injustices of the time and search for justice and sovereignty.

Power Imbalances

The Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of Aotearoa, it was signed between Māori and the Crown on the 6th of February 1840. There are several problematic issues that are connected to the signing of the Treaty. Not only did the translation of the Treaty serve as an issue but missionary involvement with the translating and the lack of Māori contribution to the signing of the document. It is also important to note that prior to the Treaty, He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tirenī⁷⁴ was signed in October 1835 by Māori. The Treaty was drafted by Hobson and Busby who also had knowledge of the He Whakaputanga from Hobson's earlier visits in 1837. They drew on experiences that the British Empire had trialled previously in other countries⁷⁵ as they were not handed a draft from the colonial office. While problematic, Hobson did understand the actions and wishes of the British government. With the advice of local

⁷⁴ “He Whakaputanga was the document that Busby assisted certain Ngāpuhi Rangatira in the setting up of the Confederation of United Tribes of New Zealand by the Declaration of Confederation and Independence of 28 October 1835, to thwart the territorial ambitions of Baron de Thierry. Made by the Rangatira as ‘hereditary chiefs and heads of the tribes of the northern parts of New Zealand’, the document declared the independence of our country’ (clearly the ‘Northern parts’ referred to, not the whole of New Zealand) and constituted it an ‘Independent State’, naming it ‘The United Tribes of New Zealand’” (Brookfield, 1999, p. 96).

⁷⁵ “Indeed, political institutions developed by the East India Company provided an important range of models for the construction of British colonial authority in New Zealand prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Most notably, the blueprint for colonisation developed by Captain William Hobson in 1837 was based upon the ‘factory system’ of coastal enclaves initially used by the British East India Company in India. James Busby, the British Resident in New Zealand, discounted Hobson’s plan as he felt the factory model was ill suited to the dispersed nature of New Zealand’s settler communities and trading stations. But Busby also drew on South Asian models, suggesting the creation of a protectorate system where an appointee of the Crown would administer the affairs of New Zealand in trust while traditional tribal leaders were tutored in ‘good government’. Busby envisaged that this protectorate system would eventually envelop the whole country to arrest ‘the miserable condition’ of the people through fair and beneficent government” (Ballantyne, 2012, p. 37).

missionaries including Henry Williams, his secretary James Freeman and Collector of Customs, George Cooper – neither of whom were lawyers (Orange, 2015) the Treaty was drafted. Busby, who received the draft on the 3rd of February felt it was inadequate, redrafted it and added that Britain would confirm and guarantee Māori possession of their lands, their forests, their fisheries and other properties, for as long as they wished to retain them. Busby knew that Māori would be hesitant in signing the Treaty if they were expected to give control of natural resources to the Crown. He also failed to properly address the key aspects of the first and second articles, which outlined in the English version that Māori would give up sovereignty, and in the third article, that Māori were offered protection and all the rights and privileges of British subjects, with some requirements such as loyalty to the Crown (Orange 2015).

Regarding the translation, Ross (1972) argues, “The language of the Treaty of Waitangi is not indigenous Māori; it is missionary Māori, specifically Protestant missionary Māori” (p. 136). The text was translated based on Henry and Edward Williams understanding of the Māori language, Henry Williams five years earlier had been involved in the translation of He Whakaputanga and was not a stranger to translation, however, although both documents are seen as Crown documents Carpenter (2009) makes comment on Henry Williams involvement with the translation “The Māori texts were missionary-Māori documents, rather than Crown documents. As such, they incorporated Williams’ perception of what the English texts meant, in language that he considered Māori would best be able to understand” (p. 171). The missionaries were considered in-betweeners bridging the gap between Māori and the Crown but by applying both the imperial and structural power that Henry Williams was afforded in translating both He Whakaputanga and Treaty documents, then it would be important to reconsider the term in-between, as the missionaries were British subjects and acted formally for the Crown as interpreters or translators for Government officials. They also possessed a loyalty to their own country and doubted the goodwill of other foreign powers such as the French, when it came to the interests of Māori and the mission.

In translating the Treaty, the key words that have caused much of the debacle are the following words with partially improvised meanings: “kāwanatanga” - used to

describe governance, and “rangatiratanga” - used to describe possession. In the New Testament, Kāwana and Kāwanatanga were used to refer to the title and authority of the Roman governors. In Te Kawenata Hou, Kāwanatanga is used to translate a Roman province (Acts 23:24). We see the word rangatiratanga first appear in 1818 as Kendall translated the Lord’s prayer, he uses the sentence “Kia tae mai tōu rangatiratanga” Williams in 1835 then uses it in the full of address of He Whakaputanga as, He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni. By applying the suffix -tanga to the kāwana and rangatira and using both words in a way unfamiliar to Māori in a traditional sense, Williams turned to the Bible to explain the new words to Māori in relation to both He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti. Regarding the word mana the strongest contextual argument for why it should have been in the Treaty is that the word mana was used in He Whakaputanga, in article two “Ko te Kīngitanga ko te mana I te wenua o te wakaminenga o Nu Tireni”. What Ross (1972) highlights in respects to Henry Williams and his translations is the power dynamic that are present during the drafting and signing of the Treaty, where entrusting two Pākehā missionaries in translating the Treaty. The trust and power that the missionaries were privileged to is the same power that supported the colonial project that was reinforced by Crown agents who also identified as Christians including George Grey.

From 1845 to 1853 George Grey⁷⁶ served as the third governor of New Zealand. His appointment was made after his governorship of South Australia after the signing of Te Tiriti, Aotearoa had then become a colonial state according to the British Crown under the rule of England and her Majesty. This would have a great impact on the Christian mission in Aotearoa. Although Grey was an agent and representative of the Crown his appointment would reinforce the alignment of Christianity and the Crown as Grant (2005) describes “Grey understood himself as a Christian governor ordained to civilise Māori and join them with British settlers in accordance with God’s divine plan for improving humankind” (p. iii). Grey believed Maori could be civilised quite quickly, and that establishing British sovereignty in New Zealand depended on a strict imposition of law on both races.

⁷⁶ “Governor Grey as the hit-man of colonisation heralded the extension of Pākehā power into Maori districts” (Walker, 2004, p. 103).

According to Grant (2005) “Lord Stanley’s⁷⁷ instructions to Grey urged respect for Māori culture, but also endorsed the use of civil and military measures to enforce submission to British law” (p. 139). The political, social and economic elements of Grey’s plan for civilising Māori were all closely connected to his idealism and ideologies seen in South Australia prior to his arrival to Aotearoa and in his presenting of the New Zealand Constitution Act 1852⁷⁸. The Act was built on Grey’s ideology of a united nation that supported Christian imperialism as he was a strong believer in cultural and religious assimilation. He saw the approach of a ‘one law for all’ to be beneficial for Aotearoa moving forward, ignoring tikanga and kawa that had guided Māori from the beginning of time.

The Loss of Sovereignty

The above section outlined the validation of colonisation through law that led to the eventual loss of sovereignty. This section will now look at the causes and effects of colonisation through the European Christian religious hegemony that led to Māori prophetic movements. The arrival of the Bible is symbolic of the arrival of colonisation to Aotearoa, as the Bible contributed heavily to the teachings that were foreign to Māori. The Bible is used to justify many of the beliefs held by the Christians at the time, which included missionaries and other European settlers who arrived in Aotearoa. While many would agree that the missionaries were on instruction by the Clapham sect⁷⁹, as a group their influence seems to be negligible in Aotearoa during the 19th century. Their influence also appeared to hold no weight in the minds of Māori as the church and missionaries still represented hegemonic imperialistic ideologies towards Māori.

⁷⁷ The 14th Earl of Derby was an influential figure as he served as secretary of state, he would often advise Grey. See *The Forgotten Prime Minister: The 14th Earl of Derby* (Hawkins, 2008).

⁷⁸ This was the first major breach of the Treaty, in fact, it was at this point that the Treaty disappeared legislatively speaking because it was signed between Britain and the Chiefs and was not made binding on the settler government. Adult European males who owned a small amount of property got the vote and were eligible for election, but the equal rights and privileges of Maori males were denied because their land was owned communally.

⁷⁹ “Clapham presented a new crystallization of power: Parliament, the Established Church, the journals of opinion, the universities, the City, the civil and the fighting services, the government of the Empire, Clapham found a place in them all” (Spring, 1961, pp. 35-36). For more regarding the Clapham Sec, see *An Evangelical Culture*, in Macaulay and Son (Hall, 2012) Making philanthropists: entrepreneurs, evangelicals and the growth of philanthropy in the British world, 1756–1840 (Allpress, 2016).

Newman (2010) would suggest that the supposed “*move*” of God which swept through the land in the 1830s was the cause of Māori converting in large numbers to Christianity. However, as Wright (2011) suggests “For nearly a generation, the missionaries had hammered away at the task, while Māori nodded politely, learned all they could about written and spoken English, declared that they were Christian- and went on fighting” (p. 190). For many Māori this was a devastating time we cannot ignore the part that Pākehā played in the decline of Māori from 1820-1830 with the introduction of diseases and muskets. Over this period 20,000 Māori died, which “led to a belief that their atua had abandoned them” (Bentley, 1999). With Māori interpreting the new world through a different lens than Pākehā, the new technologies and sicknesses brought by the Europeans began to be seen as a demonstration of power by the Pākehā God. Bentley (1999) supports this claim by adding:

Maori believed that the new diseases were the work of the Pakeha God who sent the lizard of death, the ngarara⁸⁰, to gnaw out the vital organs of their faith in the ability of Europeans to heal their sick and wounded. Increasingly the tribes began to put their faith in the ability of Europeans to heal their sick and wounded. (p. 111)

This reality increasingly contributed heavily to Māori conversion to Christianity. With the mana of tohunga⁸¹ in decline, a clear power shift was happening in Māori society. Māori found themselves unable to heal the sick and wounded through traditional methods including the intervention of tohunga, whilst simultaneously witnessing Pākehā successfully treat their own sick and in some cases Pākehā were not getting sick at all. People would then take these stories back to their hapū, which led to many rangatira wanting Pākehā – in particular, missionaries – in their villages. With the mana of the tohunga being compromised and death ever present, Māori had no choice but to negotiate their spiritual and religious beliefs in an attempt to save their hapū and whānau. With the conversion of Māori into Christianity taken place simultaneously as the frequency of death was increasing, through sickness and the musket as Wright (2011) adds, “The settlers, often suffused in their own

⁸⁰ Lizard often regarded as the cause of pain or disease.

⁸¹ Bentley (1999) supports this claim in his book Pākehā Māori.

ideals of Christian Zeal, made assumptions about Māori evangelism. Successive iwi had, it seemed, finally found God” (p. 187). Pākehā looked to take advantage and spread the message of God even more aggressively into the Māori communities. This assumption that the missionaries were responsible for conversion radically altered the mana of tohunga and many aspects of Māori religion and spirituality that were considered tapu.

A case must be made here in relation to the disregard of whakapapa, that it was the signing of the Treaty which led to the breaches and loss of land through the mistranslation of the Treaty. The injustices that was felt by Māori and loss of land and customs from colonisation, as well as the possibility not to be colonised, unlikely as it may have been, was only realised many years after the effects were felt, often via subsequent generations. The gas lighting of many indigenous peoples via religion and education is well documented. Henry and Edward Williams had been responsible for the translation of the Treaty, while Newman (2010) claims that Edward had become a scholar of language and custom. This, however, is highly unlikely the case, as there is little evidence to suggest that Edward fully immersed himself into every aspect of Māori culture and spent the majority of his schooling in England before returning to Aotearoa. Rather, this comment is another example of Pākehā hegemonic Christian assumption. It was these events in 1840 that led to the introduction of the Native Land Act 1862, one of the main aims being to individualise land title and have all land lodged and debated for in the native land court. This in turn took ownership of land away from Māori as a collective. This travesty was a clear assault on our mana and whakapapa, and no less than a direct attack on our sovereignty and right to rule over our land. Not only do we see the physical impacts on colonisation on natural resources but there are also the effects that conversation to Christianity had on Māori and how it leads to the colonisation of the mind. As David Frawley describes:

Missionary activity always holds an implicit psychological violence, however discretely it is conducted. It is aimed at turning the minds and hearts of people away from their native religion to one that is generally unsympathetic and hostile to it. Missionary activity and conversion, therefore, is not about

freedom of religion. It is about the attempt of one religion to exterminate all others. (as cited in Stanley, 2003, p. 315)

This was achieved by the introduction of the mission school, missionary involvement in the translating and forming of the Treaty, and a Christian governor who introduced laws that validated the process of colonisation of Māori. Claims to land were then in court proved by whakapapa and the mana of that whakapapa was shared among the hapū as they did not have individual land titles which was introduced in law through in the Native Lands Acts of 1862⁸², Pākehā on the other hand did not fully care about whakapapa and the many facets associated with it, as Wharehuia Milroy (Kāretu & Milroy, 2018) says:

He tapu tō te whakapapa, ka mutu kia ū ki tērā whakaaro, kei haere koe ki te whiuwhiu haere i tō whakapapa i roto i te pāparakāuta, i roto i te wharekai, i hea rānei, kei te kai koe i ngā kōiwi o ō mātua, o ō tīpuna. (p. 55)

Pākehā, who did not care about the tapu of whakapapa would force Māori to break the tapu of whakapapa in numerous ways, one being by assigning a limited number of hapū members on land titles. In doing this Pākehā failed to recognise inherent value of each individual that was tapu and made tapu through the connection back to Rangī and Papa that connected whānau and hapū. From 1840 onwards Māori saw that the Treaty was being ignored, which would leave many Māori who saw the missionaries as allies begin to question their intent. As Italian academic Silvia Federici writes “the conquistadors strove to subdue those whom they colonized, and what enabled the latter to subvert this plan and, against the destruction of their social and physical universe, create a new historical reality” (2004, p. 220). As the missionaries could not slow the process of land confiscation down and the Christian Governor Grey determined more than ever on his return to Aotearoa in 1862 to wield his power, this would lead to the prophetic movements of the 19th century.

These movements were not only prophetic, but they were counter-hegemonic movements that were both necessary and appropriate for their time. The prophetic movements show us how Māori adapted and synchronised to the new Pākehā

⁸² To break up communal ownership, which was making Māori land hard to buy, a land court was set up to individualise Māori land ownership. An amendment, moved by Russell, also allowed Māori owners to sell land to whoever they wanted. The crown’s right of sole purchase was cast aside.

religion while also attempting to hold onto our sovereignty. This would become increasingly important. As Taonui (2005), writes, “the seeds of the European monopoly were sown during early colonisation as explorers, missionaries, traders, travellers and administrators collected and published snippets of the traditions” (p. 476). Missionary Henry Williams in the 1830s commented on Papahurihia⁸³ and his followers that they were “two-fold more the child of the Devil than they were before” (Williams as cited in Elsmore, 2011, p. 112). Williams here strengthens the colonial understanding that both demonised Māori syncretism and reinforced the superiority of European power that prevented counter-hegemonic expression in Aotearoa in the 19th century. Māori, however, never saw Papahurihia as an expression of evil nor did they believe they were the children of the devil.

Papahurihia

Most of the prophetic movements during the span of the 19th century were centred around the need to hold and maintain ownership of whenua and were counter-hegemonic in nature. In essence, most of the prophetic movements were movements based around mana motuhake. The outlier here is Papahurihia, who in the 1830s combined aspects of Māori and Christian theology. This section will focus on Papahurihia, who is also known as Te Atua Wera, and Te Nākahi who is known as the ariā⁸⁴ of the movement. The first recorded writings of Papahurihia are by CMS missionary Yate (1835) who wrote, “It may here be observed, that various means have been used to thwart the designs of the Missionaries; and, among other artifices, one was adopted, which would have had the effect of confusing the opinions of the Natives” (p. 220).

Henry Williams also gives a description of Papahurihia a year later in 1834, when he noted that the people used the name Nākahi⁸⁵ which he identified with the serpent in Genesis 3:1. Williams also wrote, “They observe a Sabbath, but not with us, as it is on the Saturday – they have services and baptism and profess to know

⁸³ “Papahurihia its prophet, later became a famous Māori Tohunga known as Te Atua Wera the Red God” (Parr, 1967, p. 38).

⁸⁴ Physical representation of an atua, visible material emblem of an atua.

⁸⁵ Authors also use the serpent in Genesis 3. Now the serpent was craftier than any of the wild animals the Lord God had made. He said to the woman, “Did God really say, ‘You must not eat from any tree in the garden?’” and in John 3: 14-15 Just as Moses lifted up the snake in the wilderness, so the Son of Man must be lifted up that everyone who believes may have eternal life in him.”

the scriptures” (Williams & Rogers, 1961, p. 388). Williams here suggested that Papahurihia spent time in the missionary school. It is also most possible that Papahurihia gained some type of knowledge as part of the Bible was available from 1814. Other accounts by Davis suggest that after the Battle of Ōtūihu, which lasted from 1837 until the last assault in 1845, Papahurihia relocated from the Bay of Islands to the Hokianga⁸⁶, where his influence grew along the lower Hokianga river. His teachings at this time were a mixture of ventriloquism⁸⁷ and sermons as Yate (1835) adds, “The particular instance to which I refer had in it such plain marks of Satanic ingenuity and malignity, that I am induced to digress a little, in order to relate it” (p. 220).

The accounts by missionaries look to discredit Papahurihia. As the CMS were struggling at the time to baptise Māori, their mission here in Aotearoa seemed to be failing. With the near arrival of the Catholic Church⁸⁸ in 1837, an element of added discord was evident. Buller (1880) recounts, “The missionaries might reasonably hope that they were to rejoice in some fruit of their labour. True, as yet, darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the minds of the people” (p. 48). While the exact number of followers were not recorded it looks to be enough to disrupt the progress of all denominations in the Upper North. While the CMS were not fond of Papahurihia at the time, he took to the Catholic teachings. Father Servant, who spent time in the Hokianga recorded some of Papahurihia’s teachings, encouraging Hurai to turn to the Bishop as long as he gave them clothes. However, if they accepted Catholic baptism “they would suffer the penalty of Satan’s fire”. This approach was not acceptable in the eyes of the CMS, although it seemed fine in the eyes of Māori at the time and in particular Papahurihia.

Papahurihia was not restricted to giving advice to his fellow Hurai, as noted by the Frederick Manning he also acted as consul for Hone Heke during the Ahuahu battle in 1845:

⁸⁶ Located in the Hokianga district on Northland’s west coast.

⁸⁷ The word mentioned here is used to accommodate Pākehā and their lack of understanding in Māori tohungaism. Wilson (1965) argues that as readers we should take these terms in an objurgatory rather than a literal sense.

⁸⁸ The catholic church was represented by the French, CMS and Wesleyan England.

Ngakahi spoke in the night to Heke and his people, by the mouth of the Atua Wera, 'Be brave and strong, and patient. Fear not the soldiers; they will not be able to take this fort—neither be you afraid of all those different kinds of big guns you have heard so much talk of. I will turn aside the shot, and they shall do you no harm; but this pa and its defenders must be made sacred (tapu). You must particularly observe all the sacred rites and customs of your ancestors; if you neglect this in the smallest particular, evil will befall you, and I also shall desert you. You who pray to the god of the missionaries, continue to do so, and in your praying see you make no mistakes. Fight and pray. Touch not the spoils of the slain, abstain from human flesh, lest the European god be angry, and be careful not to offend the Māori gods. It is good to have more than one god to trust to. (Maning, 1973, p. 267)

Three other contemporary writers, who lived in the Bay of Islands during the period of Papahurihia and his religious mission, wrote brief accounts of him as well. Yates (1835) in his book devotes a page or so to an exposure of Papahurihia and the so-called fraudulent claims, though curiously, he had never mentioned the man or the cult in his New Zealand journals. Papahurihia, he wrote in his book, had been on several voyages with a seaman skilled in ventriloquism. Apparently, the seaman taught him the art and put it into his head that he could by this means claim to be the mouthpiece of a god. Papahurihia did as instructed, but despite his successes, Yate (1835) wrote:

Some very strange things were asserted, which, notwithstanding the wonderful display of his ventriloquism, convinced the Natives, almost universally, that he must be an imposter. We thought the better way was, to watch its progress in silence, lest by much interference we should give a notoriety to the subject, convinced, at the same time, that, as it was not of God, it must soon come to nought. (p. 221)

Although Yate undermined the influence of Papahurihia by making the claim that he was Ventriloquist and that his power was no more than sleight of hand and tricks he had learned by a Jewish captain⁸⁹ Wilson (1965) argues against the remarks

⁸⁹ Jews were seen as trouble by missionaries as the fundamental beliefs in a messiah vary considerably.

made by Yate, claiming, “Yate's story that Papahurihia learnt the art of ventriloquism from a seaman is probably pure invention” (p. 485). The comments made by Yate reflect and reaffirm the belittling attitude that Pākehā held at the time in regard to Māori prophetic movements. The power these prophets possessed were continually dismissed by the missionaries as nothing more than “tricks” to lure Māori away from Papahurihia.

However, as we can see by Manning’s writings, Papahurihia gave counsel concerning war. Manning wrote of his own internal struggle with Papahurihia and his power, “I was for moment stunned. The deception was perfect. There was a dead silence at last, ‘A ventriloquist,’ said I; ‘or-or-perhaps the devil” (Manning, 1973, p. 165). While something must be made of the internal struggle that Manning’s honesty displays, you cannot shy away from the missionary downplaying any supernatural acts as works of the devil. This of course changes the narrative of how Papahurihia is viewed.

While writers of the CMS and the Wesleyan church try to view Papahurihia as a child of the devil and an enemy of the missionaries, we see a different view expressed by Aperahama Taonui⁹⁰ during the 1850s. It was during this time that the two become close and Aperahama spent time in the whare wānanga⁹¹ under the tutorship of Papahurihia. His teachings emphasised peace-making and unity, which was the underlying desire of Papahurihia. He saw what Pākehā brought in the way of muskets, sickness and “civilisation”, and saw the need for a response. Papahurihia and his unique insight saw what was to come and produced a response which combined elements of Christian teachings and unique Māori interpretation. Papahurihia spoke of a tree that represented the afterlife where Māori would follow the upright branch to the heaven while the missionaries were to follow the bent over branch to hell. While the missionaries promised harmony and the CMS promised

⁹⁰ “Āperahama Taonui was the visionary leader of Ngāpuhi hapū Te Popoto of Utaura in the upper Hokianga, and a founder of the Kotahitanga movement, which evolved into the Māori parliaments of the 1890s” (Binney, 1993).

⁹¹ “In classical Māori, this term indicated an institution of higher learning such as a whare wananga, primarily for the education in sacred matters of selected members of the aristocracy” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 539).

that they wanted no more settlers in Aotearoa, the years that followed would prove these promises to be empty.

Conclusion

This chapter began with an unpacking of the Treaty and how the signing of the Treaty led to a loss of mana and loss of Māori sovereignty not only by resources but by language and the choice made by Pākehā by excluding Māori in the process of forming the Treaty and ignoring He Whakaputanga. I highlighted the arguments and elements of its translation resulted in terminology which was not authentic Reo Māori but borrowed from the Bible, making the Treaty a Christian document. It also made mention that the establishment of Acts that were legitimised through a Christian governor were not only breaches of the Treaty but the Acts themselves choose to ignore tikanga and tapu rites around whakapapa. Primarily, as Māori land ownership moved from a collective land title to individual land title, the different layers of whakapapa were not taken into consideration and in doing so Pākehā began to shape Aotearoa in the way Christianity had desired.

This chapter also looked at the loss of sovereignty not only in terms of resources but from a spiritual standpoint. Through death and disease Māori began to question the mana of their own atua and resulted in the pollution of tohunga mana. This would be a devastating blow to the spirituality aspect for Māori through land loss that included wāhi tapu⁹² and tuahu⁹³. The bias demonstrated by the language and actions of Pākehā from their arrival by exposing the way in which Williams chose to speak about Papahurihia, he embodied European Christian attitudes of religious, cultural and spiritual superiority.

The next section unpacked the life of the prophet Penetana Papahurihia. What we can take away is that Papahurihia was written about in two contrasting perspectives. The first is by the missionaries who preferred to talk about him as a child of the devil and an embodiment of evil, with Manning presenting a rather honest dualistic take in this section. The second perspective was provided by Aperahama Taonui,

⁹² “A place subject to serious and long-term ritual restrictions on access or use, for example the site of a battle or massacre, or an area of particular historical, ceremonial, or cultural importance” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 477).

⁹³ Tuahu were used as altar by tohunga.

who after spending time under the tutorship of Papahurihia concluded that Papahurihia desired peace. What is evident from these two divergent views of Papahurihia is that, for Māori, what was non-negotiable was the need to express themselves, their beliefs and spiritual practices in a Māori way. However, and to great harm, the missionaries called for total assimilation into their own Western ways of knowing and living.

In summary, the 19th century missionaries came to Aotearoa with the impression that they were to ‘save’ Māori from themselves. However, misguided the premise of their mission, what was infinitely more harmful was that they continued to act on ignorant assumptions. Regardless of the cultural destruction enabled by the poor assessment of the value and nature of Māori spirituality and law and order practices, Māori continued to resist and adapt. Contrary to their assessments, Māori did not meander aimlessly around the land, for Māori society was governed by tapu⁹⁴ and noa,⁹⁵ and for every action there was a reaction, an utu⁹⁶ or an ea.⁹⁷ Because the true aim of the missionaries was to recreate Māori in the image of the missionary, they continued to remain ignorant to these realities.

⁹⁴ be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under atua protection.

⁹⁵ to be free from the extensions of tapu, ordinary, unrestricted, void.

⁹⁶ to repay, pay, respond, avenge, reply, answer.

⁹⁷ be satisfied (an account, score, etc.), satisfy, settled, avenged.

Chapter Four: The Spread of Christianity

Introduction

This chapter will examine the spread of Christianity through religious assimilation, and Pakanga as being key motivators of Christianity entering the different regions around Aotearoa, starting in te Tai Tokerau and moving out into Hauraki⁹⁸ and its surrounding areas. The section regarding the connection between Ngā Pakanga⁹⁹ and the spread of Christianity will start in Te Tai Rawhiti, as it was through pakanga between iwi that caused Taumata-a-Kura to reconsider the use of old tikanga influenced by his learnings of Christianity in te Tai Tokerau. It will then move to Waikato where Te Awa-i-taia then converted to Christianity, changed his name to Wiremu Neera and the role he played in the spread of Christianity. It will then move to the connection Te Rauparaha had to Christianity through his son and nephew and the spread of Christianity into Te Tau Ihu¹⁰⁰. Assimilated Māori contributed to the spread of Christianity, evident through the laying of old Tikanga and the adoption of translated Christian names which this section examines.

It will talk to the events that the Paimārire faith participated in, and touch on the Kīngitanga movement along with Titokowaru and his war as examples of syncretism used as a positive. It was through a counter-hegemonic approach for Māori in the 1850s and 1860s that sought to resist the colonial power and influence that was present. As it was such movements that tikanga was revived and Christian names were rejected, it will also bring light to the lasting influence that Paimārire had on many rangatira of the time.

Lastly this chapter will offer a critical examination of the Io tradition and question its authenticity as a pre-colonial concept, while at the same time arguing that the Io tradition can be used as a positive when an analysis of the 1860s is taken into consideration.

⁹⁸ Located south-east of the Auckland region.

⁹⁹ The New Zealand wars were a series of 19th-century campaigns involving some Māori tribes and government forces, which included British and colonial troops and their Māori allies. The two major periods of conflict were the mid-1840s and the 1860s (Keenan, 2017).

¹⁰⁰ Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka-a-Maui is the prow of the demigod Māui's canoe – the top of the South Island.

Religious Assimilation

Many missiology and history scholars will point to the resistance of the missionaries in Aotearoa towards the Crown. However, Critical Race Theory and Kaupapa Māori Rangahau support the notion of post-colonialism work to expand the scope of colonisation. As Vallgård (2016) writes, “The broader notion of colonialism as a cultural, epistemological and even psychological as well as economic and military endeavour that rests on and supports particular political rationalities and social hierarchies” (p. 870). The epistemological and psychological impacts of colonial mission work would include the religious assimilation of Māori beliefs but conversion into Christianity also meant assimilation into the European Christian culture. Through the assimilation of Māori into Christianity, some would fuse into a syncretistic approach of Christianity that the missionaries would not approve of and whilst not spread directly by missionaries, the process of religious assimilation and missionary dominance was evident.

The spread of Christianity in the early part of the 1800s from 1815 onwards coincides with the spread of war, although the inter hapū battles of Ngāpuhi eventually lead to the death of Hongi Hika¹⁰¹. It was with the introduction of the musket that Ngāpuhi and its ally’s raided iwi and hapū as a response to utu and muru¹⁰², Binney (2005) says:

But the fundamental object for Hongi was the acquisition of muskets and powder, which would enable him to reverse the defeats of Ngāpuhi by the tribes of the Hauraki Gulf at Puketona about 1793 and at the hands of Ngāti Whātua in the unforgettable Battle of Moremonui¹⁰³ about 1807. (p. 69)

¹⁰¹ In 1827 during a battle at Hunuhunua on the banks of Mangamuka of the Hokianga river. Hongi was shoot in the chest by Maratea of Ngāti Whātua and Ngāti Pou. Hongi was carried back to his home at Whangaroa and died from the gun shoot wound on the 6th March 1828.

¹⁰² One exception to this was Te Amiowhenua which was led by Patuone and Te Rauparaha respectively as Murphy (2017) describes “Ko te Āmiowhenua tuatahi i a Patuone mā nei, i a Te Rauparaha mā nei, kua hoki ake ki ō rātou whenua” (p. 46).

¹⁰³ Also known as Te Kai-a-te-karoro and Te Haenga-o-te-one.

In 1814 Marsden encounters a Tahitian known as Jem¹⁰⁴ who lives among Te Aupōuri¹⁰⁵ who tells him that in the last five years Te Aupōuri had travelled down to Ngāti Porou¹⁰⁶ three times to wage war. As Ballara (2003) states “it seems unlikely that Te Aupōuri in those years had access to more than one or two muskets, if any” (p. 402). However, Marsden’s own curiosity of the state of the wider landscape saw Marsden venture outside of te Tai Tokerau as he began to interfere with iwi and hapū conflict. In 1815 Marsden had set out to visit the Hauraki hapū to establish relationships there, inviting Te Morenga¹⁰⁷ onto his brig, *Active*. They set sail and made their way down the west coast of the Thames and into the Hauraki area. As Smith (1910) writes:

The knowledge of the introduction of Christianity into the North, and some idea of the new tenets, had spread to Waikato and other parts. The Ngati-Paoa tribe of the Thames had more than once visited the Bay of Islands between the years 1815 and 1820. They were related to Korokoro, the well-known Ngāpuhi chief, and could thus do so in safety. (p. 165)

Marsden had fostered a relationship between himself and rangatira of Hauraki, always a strategic move for missionaries who entered into hapū in an attempt to build trust between themselves and the Rangatira. Marsden in 1815 remained active in traveling and noted the encounters he had with several Rangatira from Hauraki (Elder, 1932).

Through the influence of Christian doctrine that had entered Māori hapū and individuals, we find by 1824 a prophet arising in Waikato, named Te Toroa, who

¹⁰⁴ "Society Islanders, doubtless inspired by Tupaia and Omai, were also beginning to settle in New Zealand from an early period, among them the Tahitian, 'Jem', at North Cape from 1809. He spoke excellent English, having been at Parramatta, near Sydney, with Marsden" (Anderson, 2014, p. 137). For more see (Elder, 1932, p. 129) and (Bentley, 2019, p. 188).

¹⁰⁵ The iwi of Te Aupōuri have their primary tūrangawaewae at Te Kao at the southern end of the Pārengarenga Harbour, with Te Oneroa-a-Tōhē (Ninety Mile Beach) to the west and Tokerau (Great Exhibition Bay) to the east. (Te Aupouri iwi, 2017).

¹⁰⁶ The Ngāti Porou homeland is the most easterly region of the North Island. It sits inside the two canoe boundaries of Horouta and Tākitimu. The traditional *Horouta* canoe territory is from Te Taumata-ō-Apanui in the north to Paritū in the south, then inland to Ngāti Ruapani territory and to Waikaremoana. It then runs north along the Raukūmara Range. The Gisborne region is regarded as the overlapping boundary between the two canoes (Reedy, 2005).

¹⁰⁷ Te Morenga was the principal chief of the Urikapana hapū of the Ngāpuhi tribe and had his pa at Tai-a-mai, which lay inland from Kerikeri (McIntock, 1966).

introduced a new god named Wheawheau¹⁰⁸. Full of enthusiasm for his new god, Te Toroa went to introduce Wheawheau to the Urewera¹⁰⁹ to the iwi in Ruatahuna¹¹⁰, who declined to have anything to do with it and passed him on to the Ngāti Kahungunu¹¹¹. Te Toroa would unfortunately meet his death in Wairoa, and his death was payment for utu¹¹². It would be difficult to gauge the depth of conversion and knowledge of Christianity Te Toroa had. A lack of language and reference to anything similar in Māori religion would have been a barrier, as Elsmore (1999) adds:

Marsden's visits were not likely to have contributed directly to the people's knowledge of the new message, as his Maori language was not sufficiently good to be understood by them at this time. But the contact with the northern mission station and with their relatives who had learned something of Christianity, could well have inspired a notion of an alternative religious system. (p. 44)

It is hard to tell if Wheawheau gained its influence from Christianity or not, however, both Smith and Elsmore mention the enthusiasm of Te Toroa towards this new god, and his evangelical behaviour in spreading the name of Wheawheau as a clue for its origins in Christian influence.

The progress of Christianity and the complexity of conversion of Te Tai Rāwhiti into Christianity is accredited to Taumata-a-Kura from the Te Whānau-a-Te-Uruahi¹¹³ hapū. Upon capture by Ngāpuhi in 1823, he was taken back to te Tai Tokerau and attended the Waimate Mission School where he was taught to read and write. It was during his time in the mission school that Taumata-a-Kura along with

¹⁰⁸ While there is little information regarding Wheawheau, from what we do know is that Te Toroa went on to share his knowledge with Tūhoe at Ruatahuna, Wairoa, and Waikato (Elsmore, 1999).

¹⁰⁹ "As a hapū name it includes the descendants of Murakareke. The origin of the name is said to be an accident that happened to Murakareke, when living at Putauaki" (Best, 1996, p. 224).

¹¹⁰ Principal Tūhoe settlement in the heart of Urewera, on State Highway 38, 116 km south of Rotorua. Retrieved from (McKinnon, 2015).

¹¹¹ Ngāti Kahungunu is the third largest tribal group in New Zealand. Although it is generally referred to as an iwi (tribe), like a number of other iwi it is perhaps more correct to consider Ngāti Kahungunu a grouping of tribes and hapū (sub tribes), all of whom are descendants of Kahungunu (Whaanga, 2017).

¹¹² Ngāti Kahungunu had recently suffered at the hands of Waikato and as Te Toroa and Rangiwaitatao (Tūhoe) entered the Wairoa region were killed by Rangaika at Orangimoa (Smith, 1910).

¹¹³ Sub-tribe affiliated to Ngāti Porou, located in the East Coast, North Island.

others from Te Tai Rāwhiti¹¹⁴ were exposed to some of the Christian doctrines. It was through the medium of copying biblical text that Taumata-a-Kura began to learn the doctrine of Christian religion and was attempting to understand it for himself. After the death of Hongi Hika Ngāpuhi released a number of slaves in an act known as hohou rongo¹¹⁵ that holds through time. “During the 1830s, thousands of prisoners were released to return to their homes-first by Ngāpuhi, then by Waikato. They included the leading Māori theologians of the day” (Belich, 2001, p. 168). In 1833 the *Fortitude* returned carrying Taumata-a-Kura, Rāwiri Rangikātia, Rangi Whakatamatama, Te Rukuata, Te Whakamarama and William Williams. After a service at Wharekahika¹¹⁶, Williams and the other Pākehā returned to te Tai Tokerau. It is significant that Williams would return home as it shows the level of trust that was left with Taumata-a-Kura during that time.

In 1834, two years before the Battle of Toka-a-kuku in 1836, Taumata-a-Kura began to preach The Good News¹¹⁷ and ran weekly organised church services at Rangitukia¹¹⁸. Mohi Turei described this day as a new beginning, when words about a new God would come to be heard by Ngāti Porou ‘Te Atua hou tēnei ko Ihu Karaiti te ingoa’¹¹⁹ (Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou, 2019). Taumata-a-Kura preached from biblical stories spanning the Old and New Testaments, with the message that military and political success would be guaranteed if the iwi worshipped exclusively the One True God, ‘Ihowā’; that is, Jehovah. This effected the way in which Taumata-a-Kura would have responded to his hapū and their approach to war as Mackay (1982) writes, “while Fighting would be conducted in accordance with the principles adopted by Christian nations” (p. 92). One of the tikanga that Taumata-a-Kura laid to rest was kaitangata¹²⁰. This represented the growing influence of Christian doctrine on Māori society and while Christianity

¹¹⁴ East coast of the North Island.

¹¹⁵ “To make peace. “The word which clarifies the process is hohou and its primary meaning is to bind and lash together. This is the aim of negotiating a peace agreement that holds through time. The objective is to bind the parties together, to lash them together so that each side accepts a responsibility to uphold the agreement. When it does hold, the statement made is this: ‘Kua mau te rongo.’ Such a peace might be called a rongomau, a peace accord that is properly bound and lashed together” (Mead, 2003, p. 167).

¹¹⁶ Modern day Hicks Bay.

¹¹⁷ The gospel is widely referred to as the good news.

¹¹⁸ Located in the area of Tikitiki, East Coast.

¹¹⁹ Te Atua hou is referring to Jesus Christ.

¹²⁰ Cannibalism.

was credited for putting an end to practises such as kaitangata, according to Soutar (2000) “Taumata-a-Kura set the new rules for war. There was to be no cannibalism, no fighting on Sundays, prayers morning and night, care for the wounded and no wanton destruction” (p. 108).

Over time Māori who were assimilated into Christian doctrine began to turn their thinking away from tikanga that clashed with the Christian teachings that they had learnt in the mission schools. The aim of the mission school in te Tai Tokerau was to integrate Māori into a religious system that taught them that salvation was the only way to eternal life. However, Māori had no concept of heaven and hell, so there was no use in Māori religious systems for salvation. As the spread of Christianity entered into different iwi, hapū and whānau the depth of conversion and understanding of conversion was vastly different across Aotearoa. As Elsmore (1999) points out “the influence of the new teachings was often secondary and not primary” (p. 88). What Elsmore is suggesting here is that whilst Māori accepted the changes to some tikanga, it would be hard to see Christianity as the reason for the changes, as there were many contributing factors for Māori for their conversion to Christianity, such as military, tools and clothes.

Christianity and Pākanga

Inter hapū and iwi warfare was present in Aotearoa before the arrival of the missionaries, however, with the introduction of the musket and the distribution of the muskets by missionaries and others most notably Thomas Kendall¹²¹, this led to an alarming death toll amongst iwi and hapū. The atua Tūmatauenga is credited with being the god of war, while iwi and hapū also had personal gods for war¹²².

¹²¹ While Marsden held the position that the musket should not be traded, “Kendall countered with the argument which Marsden himself had once used that the musket were ‘civilizing’ weapons, used by Christians. The savage weapons would keep Māori in a ‘savage state’, he argued; the settlers therefore parted with ‘merciful weapons in preference to savage ones”. Kendall to Marsden, 26 February 1822, ms. 57/73 as cited in (Binney, 2005, p. 93).

¹²² As the case in Tūhoe as Best explains: “Thus it was that Uhia became the medium, instigator, and mouthpiece of the new *atua*, which he named Te Rehu-o-Tainui. This *atua mo te riri*, or war-god, became the most famous inferior god among the Tūhoe Tribe and their principal war-god. In such cases the tutelary being Tu still retained his *mana* (power and influence), but Te Rehu was consulted in all cases bearing on divination and the activities of war-parties. So successful were the prophecies or oracles delivered by Te Rehu in regard to proposed raids, as given through Uhia the medium, that the hill-bred bushmen had the greatest confidence in both *atua* and medium” (Best, 1924, pp. 206-207).

Looking for an advantage to defeat opposing hapū, Christianity and more precise the god of the old testament was seen as a god who would defeat enemies. This would explain the conversion of Māori in the midst of war, as mentioned in the previous chapter Te Nākahi was present with Heke in battle at Ahuahu. The same characteristics and symbolism given to the Christian god, where the Christian god was then seen to give an advantage to the hapū who worshiped him, it was not uncommon for pages from the bible to be used as a defence tool against opposing taua¹²³. Later in the century the same tactic applied against the musket throughout the New Zealand wars, as Sinclair (1961) adds:

For the European civilians, war lay in the background of life; among the Māoris it was a part of the regular pattern of experience. The influence of Christianity among the Māoris had not entirely dissipated their admiration of the warriors virtues. (p. 18)

It was through war that many transgressions were answered through the concept of utu, as not only did utu allow Māori to be hospitable to other hapū and iwi but if their mana was taken for granted then revenge would be carried out. There were two main reasons utu would manifest; whenua¹²⁴ and wāhine¹²⁵. That was because Māori had a holistic understanding of the two, whenua and wāhine, that they were one in the same. Christian teaching did not teach this and was vastly different to how the CMS and the missionaries understood land and women.

The continued spread of Christianity was also carried out by Wesleyan missionaries who entered the Waikato area. John Whitley in 1835 was sent to Kāwhia, and upon reaching Kāwhia he was meet by Te Awa-i-taiaa of Ngāti Māhanga who two years earlier had been introduced to Christianity¹²⁶. John Whitley established a mission station in the Kāwhia area, which would become the same mission station where

¹²³ War party.

¹²⁴ “This word has two complementary meanings: (1) land, ground or country; and (2) placenta or afterbirth. It also acquired the meaning ‘womb’; however the meaning was extended still further, to include a ‘persons mother or birthplace’, thus closely paralleling the meanings of whenua” (Benton et al., 2013, p. 540).

¹²⁵ Women, female, wife.

¹²⁶ It is important to note that Te Awa-i-taiaa took on the name Wiremu Nēra (William Naylor) and was labelled a kūpapa for aiding colonial troops during the Waikato War (Crosby, 2015, pp. 147-148).

Te Ua Haumeene¹²⁷ would be baptised with the name Horopāpera. Te Awa-i-taia would be influential in Ngāti Māhanga and their acceptance of Christianity. The Ngāti Māhanga iwi were located on the Waipā¹²⁸ River and while the Bay of Islands was ripe with Pākehā influence during the 1820s the Māori of Waikato had little experience dealing with Pākehā. Several flax traders journeyed into the Waipā district for the first time during the years 1829-1830. One trader travelling up the Waipā River described how the Māori came from miles around to gaze in awe at the atua. “We were,’ he said, 'looked upon more in the light of Celestials” (Marshall as cited in Howe, 1973, p. 29). Te Awa-i-taia would have had seen and heard the growing impact and influence that Pākehā were beginning to have on Māori in the Waikato and Waipā areas, however, whether or not this had an impact on Te Awa-i-taia and his conversion to Christianity is not trackable.

Much like Taumata-a-Kura, Te Awa-i-taia laid to rest some of the behaviours unliked by the missionaries at the time. Before his baptism he had nine wives but he later let go eight of the nine, and also adopted a more Christian name going later by the name Wiremu Nēra (William Naylor). The years prior to his baptism Te Awa-i-taia was famed for his skill with his taiaha in the Waikato campaign against Te Rauparaha, at Kāwhia about 1820.

Te Awa-i-taia was a leader of the war party that pursued Te Rauparaha on his migration south through Taranaki. In late 1821 or early 1822 he took part in the battle at Motunui¹²⁹. In northern Taranaki, where Waikato were beaten and retreated north. He returned to Taranaki in 1824 with Te Waharoa¹³⁰, Te Waharoa's son

¹²⁷“Te Ua Haumeene was the founder and prophet of the Hauhau church, the first organised expression of an independent Māori Christianity. He was born into the Taranaki tribe at Waiaua, in South Taranaki...His career as a prophet spanned the last four years of his life; during this period, he discarded his baptismal name, Horopāpera (Zerubbabel). He used the names Tuwhakararo Tutawake in late 1862, and in 1864 he took the spiritual name Haumeene” (New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, p. 511). In 1826 Waikato raided the Te Ati Awa iwi where Te Ua along with his mother and other members of his iwi were taken back to Kāwhia.

¹²⁸ Many hapū who align themselves with Tainui waka can claim ties to the Waipā River.

¹²⁹ Motunui was the location of the battle between Te Āti Awa and Waikato.

¹³⁰ “As a chief of Ngāti Haua, Te Waharoa not only retained his tribal territories against threats from neighbouring tribes but also consolidated their mana in the Waikato region. He strengthened his military and diplomatic alliances against the disruptions of musket warfare, a new Pākehā religion, and economic changes wrought by traders. Te Arahi, the eldest son of Te Waharoa and Rangi Te Wiwini, succeeded to the leadership of Ngāti Haua, but was soon supplanted by his younger brother, Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi” (New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, p. 515).

Tarapīpipi¹³¹ and a large party, at the request of Ngātata-i-te-rangi of Te Āti Awa¹³², to fight against Ngāti Ruanui¹³³ at Waitara. In 1831 Te Awa-i-taia was again in Taranaki with Te Wherowhero¹³⁴, to exact revenge for the defeat at Motunui. While Te Awa-i-taia was not a stranger to pakanga the years following his baptism, he became a protector of the missionaries and built the first church in Whāingaroa¹³⁵ and encouraged many of his Ngāti Māhanga iwi to convert to Christianity.

In the case of Aotearoa it is easy to see that with the help of Māori converts of rangatira status, as was the case with Taumata-a-Kura and Te Awa-i-taia, how they influenced their hapū and iwi, this is a sign and power of the colonial project and how colonisation is not limited to excessive resource such as land and fishery's but how it strategically aligns itself with power to gain an advantage over the people who are being colonised that Christianity and Pākehā authority is recognised even accepted, and becoming established. Colonisation looked to suffocate indigenous religious and spiritual practises by enforcing a foreign belief system on to Māori who in turn were unaware of the effects that Christianity would have on Māoridom.

A point must be made on the spread of the Christianity into Te Waipounamu, Te Tau Ihu. Many Māori living in Te Tau Ihu had strong ties to Taranaki, Kāwhia, Kapiti Coast and Wellington. The missionaries began visiting the region briefly on several occasions during the 1830s and in the case, William White was blown into the Marlborough Sounds by chance in 1836. In 1837 Wesleyan missionary Richard Lyth (as cited in Mitchell, 2004, p. 72) wrote: "...Poor New Zealand – occupied by a fine race of savages... They are without Bibles or a Missionary. The Sabbath return brings no rest to them. They sing no anthem to their redeeming God. Their music is the yell of war, or polluting song of lust". However, Lyth was only there for three days as he was on route to Tonga along with his wife. The first missionary

¹³¹ "Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi Te Waharoa was a man of peace forced into war. He lived by the principles of Te Whakapono, Te Ture, Te Aroha: be steadfast in faith in God, uphold the rule of law, show love and compassion to all" (New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1990, p. 518).

¹³² The traditional lands of Te Āti Awa of Taranaki stretch from the coast north of New Plymouth, to Mt Taranaki (Mt Egmont), and to the Matemateaonga ranges in the south.

¹³³ The Ngāti Ruanui ancestor Turi fled the island of Rangiātea to save his life. In a canoe laden with plants and animals, Turi and his people sailed across the Pacific. After many tribulations they arrived in New Zealand. They established their tribal area in south Taranaki, between the Whenuakura River and the Ōeo Stream, where they lived for many generations (Sole, 2017).

¹³⁴ Pōtatau Te Wherowhero accepted the kingship and was installed at Ngaruawahia in 1858.

¹³⁵ More commonly known as Raglan.

to arrive with the agenda of conversion was John Bumby and John Hobbs, Wesleyan missionaries who brought twenty Māori teachers on board the *Hokianga* in 1839. While the spread occurred a great deal later, and by the time the missionaries arrived at Te Tau Ihu they were surprised that the whaler influence on Māori was minimal, as it seemed that Māori from Te Whanganui-a-Tara¹³⁶ through to Te Koko-o-Kupe¹³⁷ were already converted to Christianity. The missionary also noted the practise of the Sabbath. Bumby also found that few young Māori could read, and we were anxious to learn.

Samuel Ironside was the first missionary to take up residence arriving on 20th of December 1840 as both Bumby and Hobbs were merely visitors and observers, while Ironside permanently makes Kakapo Bay, Marlborough his home. His appointment by the Wesleyan Church was in direct response to Rawiri Waitere and his journey to Kāwhia; so that he could actively seek a missionary for Te Tau Ihu. Upon his arrival Ironside noted that the whalers influence could be seen and heard, and he was not impressed with what Māori were learning from the whalers. Ironside mentioned that Māori needed no convincing when the proposal of a mission station at Ngakuta Bay¹³⁸ was presented (Mitchell, 2004, p. 77). The same format and approach to Te Tau Ihu was no different to Te Ika a Maui, as the missionaries arrived, they observed and began to evangelise according to Mitchell (2004) “Ironside began mission work on Christmas day 1840, preaching to Maori in the morning on angles and shepherds at the nativity” (p. 78). Ironside, like Marsden, used the story of the nativity to mark the beginning of his mission.

The CMS would also impact and aid in the spread of Christianity in the summer of 1839 -1840 when Octavius Hadfield visited the Te Tau Ihu area. Prior to the visits of Te Tau Ihu he had stations set up in Otaki with Ngāti Raukawa and Waikanae with Te Āti awa¹³⁹. Both stations were positioned strategically for easy access to Te Tau Ihu via Te Moana o Raukawa¹⁴⁰. The tension between the Wesleyan Church and the CMS was noticeable as Hadfield did not take much delight in seeing

¹³⁶ Port Nicholson, Wellington.

¹³⁷ Cloudy Bay, Marlborough.

¹³⁸ Located in Queen Charlotte Sound, Marlborough region. Affiliated to Te Āti Awa iwi.

¹³⁹ The traditional lands of Te Āti Awa of Taranaki stretch from the coast north of New Plymouth, to Mt Taranaki (Mt Egmont), and to the Matemateaonga ranges in the south (Addis, 2017).

¹⁴⁰ Cook Strait.

Ironside already attracting Māori to his station. What had worked in Hadfield favour was his relationship with Tamihana Te Rauparaha¹⁴¹ and Matene Te Whiwhi¹⁴² who early in 1839 travelled back to the Bay of Islands seeking a missionary for the Kāpiti area and it was Hadfield who returned to the Kāpiti with them. Te Rauparaha himself was not a stranger to Christianity as he had previously heard about it through Te Pēhi, and his own visit to Sydney. However, he was not interested in converting to Christianity, unlike his son who learnt about the scriptures by Matahau¹⁴³ who was taken by Matene Te Whiwhi and Katu to Kapiti Island where they had learnt to read the scriptures. However, Te Rauparaha viewed the missionaries in the same light as many of the other rangatira did, and that was material relationship that would allow Te Rauparaha to advance his iwi.

Unfortunately, for Hadfield only three years after his arrival, the Wairau¹⁴⁴ massacre would lead to the decline in mission efforts; New Zealand Company surveyors sent to the area in early 1843 met with immediate opposition from Ngāti Toa¹⁴⁵. Te Rauparaha was adamant that this land had not been included in the company's 1839 purchases. Accompanied by his nephew Te Rangihaeata¹⁴⁶ and Te Hiko, Te Rauparaha went to Nelson for talks with Arthur Wakefield. Ngāti Toa wanted the matter to be investigated. When Ngāti Toa ordered a halt to the survey, William Wakefield instructed his brother Arthur to continue with it and a fresh survey party arrived in the Wairau Valley in April 1843. The company hoped that once settlers occupied the land, the Crown would have little choice but to retrospectively recognise its claims.

¹⁴¹ Son of Ngāti Toa Rangatira Te Rauparaha.

¹⁴² Who is sometimes called Te Whiwhi-o-te-rangi was baptised by CMS missionary Octavius Hadfield in 1843, he contributed in a major way to the formation of the King movement.

¹⁴³ "Matahau was a former slave who had learnt about Christianity through Ngāpuhi. "He had joined a war party to Rotorua in 1836 and had participated in the dramatic conversion of the war-leader Uira. Uira had killed the 12-year old Tarore, daughter of Ngāti Haua chief Ngākuku, and then been affected by the copy of St Luke's Gospel which had been taken from her body and read to him by Matahau" (Collins, 2010, p. 124).

¹⁴⁴ The Wairau massacre was the only battle ever where Māori outnumbered Pākehā.

¹⁴⁵ Ngāti Toa remained at Kāwhia until the early 1820s when, with members of related tribes including Ngāti Rārua, Ngāti Koata and Ngāti Te Akamapuhia, they decided to leave their homeland permanently because of ongoing conflict there. They moved to the Cook Strait region and eventually settled mainly around the shores of the Porirua Harbour (Pōmare, 2017).

¹⁴⁶ Europeans who encountered him in the late 1830s or 1840s tended to regard him as Te Rauparaha's 'fighting general' or as his lieutenant. Te Rauparaha was credited with the greater cunning, but Te Rangihaeata was thought to be more ferocious (Ballara, 1990).

In early June 1843 Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata evicted the company's surveyors and burnt their temporary shelters – taking care to protect their personal property and provisions. Though the timber and bedding materials destroyed in the fire had been taken from land claimed by Ngāti Toa, Nelson settlers sensed an opportunity to put Te Rauparaha in his place. Some said that as Ngāti Toa had acquired the land through conquest, it was not theirs to sell. This argument was a thin one: how Te Rauparaha had acquired the land was irrelevant if he had not included it in the sale to the company. Nevertheless, a decision was made to arrest Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata on charges of arson.

An armed but militarily inexperienced posse of 49 Europeans, including Nelson's Chief Constable Henry Thompson and Arthur Wakefield, arrived on the eastern side of the Tuamarina¹⁴⁷ Stream on 17 June 1843. Nearly twice as many Māori, including Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata and several women and children, had gathered on the opposite bank.

After eight of the Europeans crossed the river on a makeshift bridge formed by a canoe, the excitable Thompson made two attempts to place handcuffs on Te Rauparaha – an insult to his mana. Meanwhile, Te Rangihaeata, who was also to be arrested, shouted that he was on his own land and that Māori did not go to England to take Pākehā land. As the tension rose, a musket shot rang out. It may have been accidentally fired by a European attempting to hastily recross to the comparative safety of the eastern bank. In the confused fighting which followed, about nine of the posse were killed or fatally injured. So were two Māori – including Te Rongo, one of Te Rangihaeata wives. After a disorganised retreat during which four more Europeans were killed, the survivors were surrounded and forced to surrender.

Though Te Rauparaha seems to have been willing to spare the captives, he gave his consent when Te Rangihaeata insisted on obtaining utu for his wife. Nine European prisoners, including Arthur Wakefield and Henry Thompson, were killed on the spot, with Te Rangihaeata playing a leading role in the executions and in doing so completed the utu process. Prior to this Katu and Matene Te Whiwhi had become evangelical missionaries to Te Waipounamu travelling as far as Ruapuke and

¹⁴⁷ Located north of Blenheim, lower Wairau area.

Wharekauri, and although Katu knew that his father would disagree he went along spreading the message of the gospels. This was cut short when he had heard about the Wairau massacre and returned home. He returned the following year with Bishop Selwyn and continued his work.

1860s and Syncretism

As Christianity spread through Aotearoa and Māori began to see their land in decline, Māori began to resist the Eurocentric view of Christianity and revived old Māori tikanga and syncretise it with aspects of old testament teachings. One of the more well-known examples of this was the Paimārire faith lead by Te Ua Haumeene. As mentioned above Te Ua Haumeene was baptised at the mission station that Te Awa-i-taia helped established alongside John Whitely in Kāwhia. Te Awa-i-taia in 1836 was a leading voice in convincing Waikato to release the slaves back to their homes in Taranaki. Among those to return was Te Ua Haumeene where he began to serve in the Wesleyan mission station in Waimate, and on his return to Taranaki Te Ua had a good understanding of the bible. The 1852 Constitution Act would also be one of the primary drivers for land confiscation and would result in Māori rejecting missionary Christianity and ushering in new syncretistic movements such as Paimārire lead by Te Ua that were counter-hegemonic at heart.

Te Ua had taken teaching from the Old Testament with tikanga Māori, and also identified Māori with the Jewish people driven from their lands and promising deliverance and a return to Canaan for true believers. The religion itself had several atua, Jehovah¹⁴⁸ been the central figure, while Rura and Riki who were twin atua represented peace and war. As Belich (2010) explains:

Pākehā always associated Paimārire Pao with Riki; ‘Hauhau’ became a synonym for hostile Māori, and it is true that subordinate prophets sometimes

¹⁴⁸ One understanding of Te Ua and his using of Jehovah as the primary god of the Hauhau can be seen in Best's description of Jehovah: "It gradually becomes clear to the inquirer that, in cases where man is confined to the worship of one God, he brings about the degeneracy of highly pitched concepts pertaining to that deity. This is what happened in the case of Jehovah, who was practically reduced to the level of a tribal war-god, a being that assisted in massacres and other objectionable practices" (Best, 1924, p. 158).

used it as a militant creed, as they did at Te Morere (Sentry Hill)¹⁴⁹. But in Te Ua's own thinking, Rura always dominated Riki. (p. 55)

However, in 1864 a group of Hauhau attacked a party of British soldiers on a crop-destroying expedition near Tātaramaka, four soldiers were killed and the head of Thomas Lloyd, decapitated¹⁵⁰. The head was carried by Matene Rangitauira¹⁵¹ back to Ngāti Haua in upper Whanganui. The decapitated heads were also used as a symbol of victory for the Hauhau and confirmation that they were the chosen people of god. The head of Captain Lloyd was kept as a medium between man and god (Gudgeon, 1986, p. 29). In 1865 Te Ua asked Kereopa Te Rau and Pātara Te Rakatauri to carry the head into the four quarters Whanganui, Taupō Te Urewera and finally to Ngāti Porou. A year earlier in 1864 Kereopa Te Rau witnessed the murderous raid on Rangiaowhia¹⁵² where his wife and two daughters were burnt alive in the church there, and where Bishop Selwyn along with Carls sided with the British troops. This act of brutality by both the British troops and Church leaders lead to the eventual death of Völkner in Ōpōtiki. These actions showed the church, their loyalty to the Crown and their unwillingness to help Māori, lead to the eventual division that was not helped by the fact that missionaries were being used as spies and informants by government agents such as Governor George Grey. As Clark (1975) suggest in relation to Völkner, “No other missionary was such a consistent viceregal correspondent. In February he informed Grey of a blockade set up against Völkner taking information to the Governor. Later the same month, he made a lengthy plea for the secrecy of his communications to be preserved by Grey” (p.

¹⁴⁹ “This the second event in the introduction of the new cult to Europeans took place. This was an attack on the redoubt at Te Morere (Sentry Hill), between New Plymouth and Waitara” (Clark, 1975, p. 14).

¹⁵⁰ This attack occurred on the day Māori fled Ōrākau, its timing was probably to split the imperial troops surrounding Ōrākau to relieve those in Ōrākau, little did Te Ua know that Ōrākau would be vacated on the very day.

¹⁵¹ In May 1864, Matene Te Rangitauira led 300 anti-European Paimārire supporters (Hauhau) from the upper Whanganui River in an attack on Whanganui town. Their path was blocked at Moutoa, a small island in the river near Rānana (London). There, on 14 May, they faced kūpapa led by two chiefs from Pūtiki, near the river mouth, Hōri Kīngi Te Ānaua and Hoani Wiremu Hīpango. For more on this see (Cowan, 1969, p. 30).

¹⁵² “On 21 February 1864, a combined force comprising British regular infantry and two colonial units, Captain Gustavus von Tempsky's Forest Rangers and Colonel Marmaduke Nixon's Cavalry, attacked Rangiaowhia after dawn. Rangiaowhia's defenders engaged the approaching British. Houses were set on fire, with defenders shot as they sought to escape. When news of Rangiaowhia reached Pāterangi, the pā was abandoned, allowing Cameron's army to occupy the fortifications unopposed. Kīngitanga forces sought to establish a defensive line along the Hairini ridge. Cameron rushed his forces to engage Māori at Hairini, forcing their further retreat” (O'Malley, 2016, p. 293).

37). The justification for the murder of Völkner in the eyes of Kereopa¹⁵³ was utu. Followers of Te Ua Haumeene saw the Colonial church only as agents of the government.

Te Ua had also built a relationship with the Kīngitanga movement that was established in the year 1858. The Kīngitanga movement like many other of the prophetic movements was a counter-hegemonic and syncretistic approach to resistance. Within the establishment of the Kīngitanga is Christian symbolism borrowed from the Old Testament. This was influenced by Wiremu Tamihana, while his father Te Waharoa had opposed Christianity only wanting a missionary to better advance Ngāti Haua. Wiremu Tamihana was known by Pākehā as the kingmaker, who came under Christian influence through the CMS who set up a mission station in the Matamata area and inherited the mana of Te Waharoa when he died in 1838. Tamihana was unique as it seemed he did not have a syncretistic approach but rather converted fully to Christianity. In 1856 at a hui held in Pūkawa, Taupō called ‘Hinana ki uta, hinana ki tai’, Te Heuheu Tukino¹⁵⁴ threw his support behind Pōtatau and Waikato by saying “Hinana ki uta, Hinana ki Tai, Tirohia te wai i noho ai nga taniwha, Tirohia te waahi I noho ai nga Rangatira, Tukuna ki Waikato”¹⁵⁵ (Kirkwood, 2000, p. 36). It was then in 1857 that Tamihana approached Pōtatau Te Wherowhero to accept the mantle of King in Aotearoa. Although hesitant, his coronation would be held at Ngāruwahia in 1858, the coronation ceremony led by Tamihana which was Christian in nature with the anointing of oil¹⁵⁶ and the use of the Bible as the crown, a symbolic exchange showing that the Kīngitanga movement would be committed to the Pākehā God and

¹⁵³ “Kereopa is said to have ordered Māori assembled at a meeting later that evening to execute their missionary, and the following morning Völkner was taken to a nearby willow tree and crudely hanged for more than an hour, before his dead body was taken down and dragged to the side of the church, the head hacked off with a tomahawk under Kereopa’s supervision and carried inside, where Kereopa plucked out the eyes and swallowed them. According to differing accounts, Kereopa is said to have labelled one eye the Queen and the other British law or in other versions the governor and the general. What is beyond dispute is that Kereopa was among the crowd assembled around the willow tree, that he had assented to the killing and that he swallowed the missionary’s eyes, a ritualised and symbolic act of contempt for which he would later earn the sobriquet ‘Kaiwhatu’ (‘Eye-eater’)” (O’Malley, 2015a, p. 169).

¹⁵⁴ Rangatira of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, who declined the offer to become the Kīngi Māori.

¹⁵⁵ Search the land, search the sea. Look to the river where live the monsters, look to the places where live the Chiefs, offer the Kingship to Waikato.

¹⁵⁶ The primary purpose of anointing with oil was to sanctify and set the anointed person apart as holy (Exodus 30:29).

his 10 commandments. On the death of Pōtatau it was Tāwhiao who became the second King in 1860.

Tāwhiao by the 1860s inherited the Kingship at a time when the tension between Māori and Pākehā were high, this was the same time as what has been come known as the Taranaki wars which Tāwhiao was hesitant to support. After the Battle of Rangiriri¹⁵⁷ in 1863 Tāwhiao and his hapū found themselves in the Maniapoto where he established Miringa Te Kakara. It was on his journey into the Taranaki area that he made contact with Te Ua Haumeene who believed in the divine mandate that Tāwhiao carried. Tāwhiao, who was known as Matutaera, along with other rangatira from Waikato travelled to Taranaki to learn more about the Paimārire faith, Tāwhiao then said “E Ua kei roto i te kapu o taku ringa ko nga taonga e toru, ko te Weteriana, ko te Romana, ko te Ingarangi, ko tau ka wha. Homai kia Kotahi ai taku ringa hei pupuru i nga taonga nei”¹⁵⁸ (Kirkwood, 2000, p. 115). Tāwhiao, who had growing up around Christian influence was no stranger to the denominations who were present in Aotearoa. Although the missionaries saw themselves as separate from one another, in the mind of Tāwhiao and many other rangatira and Māori they were also the same and all shared in the common goal of converting Māori. Te Ua explained to them that the doctrine predominantly came from the old testament and that they were guided by Riki and Rura. Te Ua gifted the Paimārire karakia to Tāwhiao and Waikato to be used as a declaration of peace and commitment to the Paimārire, Te Ua also believed in returning to more traditional names and held a ceremony renaming Matutaera as Tāwhiao. On his departure from Taranaki Tāwhiao left with this “E Whiti e Tohu, takato, rapua te mea ngaro. Hoki ake nei au ki ta Rawiri, he roimata taku kai i te ao i te po. Me whakatupu ki te hua o te rengarenga, me whakapakari ki te hua o kawariki”¹⁵⁹ (Kirkwood, 2000, p. 94). By 1875 long after the death of Te Ua, and after the war of Titokowaru, Tāwhiao introduced a new interpretation of the Paimārire known as the Tariao¹⁶⁰ the basic understanding of Tariao can be seen as counter-hegemonic and as syncretistic. As

¹⁵⁷ The Battle of Rangiriri was supported by Grey who fabricated an attack on Auckland

¹⁵⁸ O, Ua, within the cup of my hand are three treasures, the Wesleyan, the Roman, and the Anglican; add yours, there will then be four.

¹⁵⁹ To you Whiti and Tohu, I urge you to contemplate that which is lost. But I return to the psalms of David and mourn our fate by day and by night. We will survive on the fruit of the rengarenga and be nurtured on the produce of the kawariki.

¹⁶⁰ The Tariao was in reference to the morning star, which was symbolic of a new day and time for Māori (Elsmore, 1999).

Tāwhiao used both the concept of peace which was shared from Te Ua and also prayers dedicated to God, he also made room for Rangī, Papa, Tawhirimātea, Tānemahuta, Tiki, and Uenuku. Members of the Kīngitanga movement also referred to Tāwhiao as Te Ā as an acknowledgement of his divine status. The Tariao was a combination of scripture, and atua Māori, later becoming known as Paimārire as an acknowledgement to Te Ua and his original message of peace.

Post Hauhau

Following the death of Te Ua in 1866 the view of the Colonial office had not changed. To them the movement was a movement motivated by violence, a result of the outbreak of the militant arm of Paimārire in 1864. Kereopa Te Rau contributed to this view with the killing of Völkner, however, as discussed above it was the process of utu which is neither a positive nor a negative according to tikanga Māori. The Paimārire faith was founded on non-violent resistance that Matutaera¹⁶¹ and prophet Te Whiti o Rongomai carried on with their respected movements. It was Riwha Titokowaru¹⁶² who continued the teachings of the Paimārire faith, Titokowaru who joined the Horeta mission station in 1842 and who was baptised Hohepa Otene. Adopting Pākehā names was not uncommon amongst Māori during this period. Titokowaru spent the next decade spreading the message of peace and by 1854 turned to the issues of his hapū and opposed actions of the Crown. He then became a follower of the Paimārire faith in 1866, reviving old tikanga pakanga much the same way that Te Ua had, incorporating Tūmatauenga, Maru and Uenuku into his belief system. As Belich (2010) explains, “Like Te Ua’s before him and Te Whiti’s after him, Titokowaru’s religion was originally pacifist” (p. 77). Although,

¹⁶¹ “Matutaera latter become known as Tāwhiao, successor of Pōtatau Te Wherowhro the first Māori kingi. He was baptised in the Inaha stream by Te Ua Haumeene” (Kirkwood, 2000, p. 79).

¹⁶² “Titokowaru was born about 1823 near the southern slopes of the lone mountain, Taranaki. He traced his descent from the legendary ancestor Turi, captain of the Aotea canoe, and his lineage embraced the Nga Rauru tribe and two of Ngati Ruanui’s three subtribes, Tangahoe and Nga Ruahine. Nga Ruahine was his primary subtribe and Ngati Manuhiakai was his hapu, or clan. His father, the elder Titokowaru, was one of the leaders of Nga Ruahine at the great victory of Waimate about 1834, when they and their allies of the Taranaki tribe finally repulsed the invasions of the Waikato confederation – an achievement sometimes credited to his eleven-year-old son. The elder Titokowaru became Christian around 1845, but his ‘conversion’ was not the sort of which missionary tales are made. He seems to have been baptised simultaneously into the Anglican and Methodist churches, the former as Teira (Taylor, honouring the influential missionary Richard Taylor), the latter as Hori Kingi (George King). Hori Kingi Titokowaru died in 1848, as one of the leading chiefs of the whole Ngati Ruanui tribe” (Belich, 2010, p. 33).

Titokowaru understood the concepts of peace he was most famous for war, however his actions of war were in retaliation to the ongoing surveying and settling of confiscated lands that were a result of the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863. Titokowaru encouraged his hapū to participate in non-violent resistance by removing survey equipment and destroying fences and huts a similar action that was carried out in Parihaka.

General Trevor Chute who in February 1866 launched an attack on the Ngāti Ruanui settlement, attacked unarmed pā and villages burning them to the ground and in the process murdered unarmed Māori¹⁶³. By the end of 1866 through Chute and McDonnell Ngāti Ruanui and Ngā Rauru had been driven from their land back inland where they were pressured into submission, concede and lost land. While colonial and kūpapa¹⁶⁴ troops remained in the area, and the tension between hapū had not stalled, it was Titokowaru who advocated for peace and in 1867 Titokowaru rebuilt his pā known as Te Ngutu o te Manu¹⁶⁵ which was built in six days keeping to Scriptural command ‘Six days shalt thou labour’ (Belich, 2010). One of the whare at Te Ngutu o te Manu would be called Wharekura and would be used as a tuahu for karakia. Titokowaru along with his hapū and supporters enjoyed a period of peace, although aware that the Crown had not yet finished its confiscation of land. On the 6th of June 1867, Titokowaru and his followers set off on a hīkoi of peace and reconciliation, however, the peace that Titokowaru and his followers wanted would soon be in danger of becoming undone as on June 19th, 1867 Titokowaru and Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas McDonnell meet face to face at Manutahi (Belich, 2010). After a ceremony of breaking bread and an exchange of koha, Titokowaru began to pray, and prayed for the Māori king Matutaera. In McDonnell’s mind the Kīngitanga movement was a symbol of resistance and took offence to the prayer and returned the koha. The following day Titokowaru, motivated by his desire for peace, joined McDonnell’s parade as a sign of good will and commitment to reconciling the fractured relationship. As Belich (2010) puts into perspective, the deeds of peace that were carried out by Titokowaru;

¹⁶³ “This was the terrible strategy known as ‘bush-scouring’-sudden attacks on soft targets, even deep in the bush” (Belich, 2010, p. 88).

¹⁶⁴ “Pro-government Māori (originally passive or neutral)” (Belich, 2015, p. 337).

¹⁶⁵ The Beak of the Bird located in the south of Taranaki.

Between January 1867 and March 1868, Riwia Titokowaru had performed remarkable deeds for his people – deeds which should have made him famous had he done nothing else. He had taken a knot of great suspicion and danger and patiently untangled it. He had spared no effort in the cause of peace and reconciliation, stretching his subtribe's resources to the very limits to host at least five great intertribal hui, taking the whole of his people, men, women and children, on a long and dangerous journey, eventually renouncing King Matutaera, and meeting and converting the most hostile of his enemies. (p. 23)

Titokowaru and his commitment to peace was largely influenced by his time as a Christian and the teachings he learnt while at the mission school under the instructions of Reverend John Skevington¹⁶⁶. This is evident in Titokowaru referring to 1867 as the year of the lamb, as the lamb in Christian teaching was used as a symbolic name for Jesus used to describe peace, and the teaching he had learnt from his brief time with Te Ua. Titokowaru for several years would do his best to maintain this peace between the colonial empire and his iwi, however, as Pākehā continued to push the boundaries of confiscation Ngāti Ruanui become restless agreeing instead to retaliate through the process of muru. Agreeing to this would set into motion a chain of events that would lead to Titokowaru giving up on any sense of peace that he had previously hoped for.

The muru parties would be led by Toi and Haowhenua. News reached McDonnell that this was taking place and decided to arrest both Toi and Haowhenua. McDonnell while on his way to arrest Toi and Haowhenua and retrieve the items taken through muru, arrived at Te Ngutu o te Manu only to be told that the two were not present, however, to defuse the situation and avoid any escalation of war Ngā Ruahine sent the horses back. Although the possessions were returned including the horses, the muru parties continued to raid Pākehā houses and farms as a response and act of defiance against the ongoing land loss. This reached high tension when after several raids on Te Ngutu o te Manu led by Booth become unbearable for Titokowaru and Ngā Ruahine. Haowhenua in an act that would be symbolic of war on June 9th killed three Pākehā who were out working at Te Rauna in the Ketemarae area. Three days

¹⁶⁶ Titokowaru would spend three years at the mission station with John Skevington and would follow him to Auckland, it was while he was in Auckland that Skevington suffered a seizure and died on the spot leaving Titokowaru and others from Ngāti Ruanui stranded (Belich, 2010).

later on the 12th of June a separate party killed a Pākehā and brought the upper half of his body back to Te Ngutu, and carried out the practice of whāngai hau and dedicated the smoke of the singed heart to Tū, and in a ritual dedicated to Uenuku part of the human flesh was cooked for eating¹⁶⁷. Whāngai hau would become a part of the war process as Titokowaru and his followers would look to Tūmatauenga for courage in the battle at Turuturu Mokai lead by Haowhenua who would again return to old tikanga by taking the heart of Richard Lennon who was the Mata Ika¹⁶⁸. The whāngai hau was carried out by Tihirau who in the middle of the war removed the heart and set a match to it and as the smoke rose cried, “Tu, The God of War, is with us” (Belich, 2010, p. 89). The battle of Turuturu Mokai in 1868 was a victory for Titokowaru as his mana and tapu began to grow with each victory. His taua known as te tekau ma rua¹⁶⁹ would be sent off with the tapu of Uenuku Titokowaru would gather them inside Wharekura and with his taiaha named Te Porohanga would begin to karakia. As Cowan (1911) notes “again this strange method of divination was repeated, the balanced weapon indicating – to the perfect satisfaction of the superstitious Hauhaus – the men whom the Maori war-god desired as the instruments of vengeance on the whites” (p. 115). As the tekau ma rua would leave Titokowaru would farewell them by yelling “Patua, kainga! Patua Kainga! E kai mau! Kauga e tukua kia haere! Kia mau ki tou ringa”¹⁷⁰ (Cowan, 1911, p. 116). Despite being outnumbered by the colonial forces he continued to outsmart them and found victory again at the battle of Moturoa where the colonial force exceeded Titokowaru 900 to 200.

By 1869 Titokowaru had united most of Taranaki, had regained mana from the Kīngitanga movement although they did not directly assist him, and continued to frustrate the Crown, as they had yet to make a mark against him and his followers. By this time, they had gathered more than 2,000 troops to attack Titokowaru and his 500 strong taua. At Turangaika, a pā designed by Titokowaru, troops would

¹⁶⁷ “Titokowaru never ate human flesh himself, and one of his warriors later strongly denied that anyone did. But Kimble Bent and others recalled that a few selected warriors did eat of it, on this and subsequent occasions” (Cowan, 1911, p. 144).

¹⁶⁸ The Mata Ika is the first person killed in battle, and it is their heart used in the whāngai hau ceremony.

¹⁶⁹ This was an old Hauhau name; the name is also borrowed from the 12 apostles.

¹⁷⁰ “Kill them! Eat them! Kill them! Eat them! Let them not escape! Hold them fast in your hands” (Cowan, 1911, p. 116).

be left confused when they attempted a raid on the pā and would find it completely empty.

Titokowaru was detected in a liaison with another man's wife. This misdemeanour was, in Maori eyes, fatal to his prestige as an ariki [high chief] and a war-leader. He had trampled on his tapu, and his Hauhau angel, who had so long successfully guided his fortunes, now deserted him. His run of luck had turned. A council of the people was held to discuss the cause célèbre, and many an angry speech was made. Some of the chiefs went so far as to threaten Titokowaru with death. At length, a chieftainess of considerable influence rose and quelled the storm of violent words. She appealed to the aggrieved husband's people not to attempt Titoko's life; but urged that the garrison should leave the pa – it would be disastrous to make a stand there after their tohunga, their spiritual head and their war-leader, had lost his mana-tapu (Belich, 2010, p. 251). This met with the general approval, and on the night of the attack the people packed their few belongings on their backs and snuck quietly into the forest.

His loss of mana-tapu, would be a great loss not only to him but his followers as well. According to one account his Hauhau followers believed his tapu to be so great that even the wind were his, part of the success of Titokowaru and his resistance came not only in strategic thinking but also in his belief of Uenuku as it was customary for Titokowaru to wait for the whakarua which was the breath of Uenuku and a tohu of victory¹⁷¹. The Crown would then launch a man hunt for him, and a bounty placed on his head. By 1875, however, the Crown would then loose that battle as well, as Titokowaru went undefeated and unpunished, and he instead would allied himself closely with Te Whiti and his followers at Parihaka. While there, he returned to his message of peace and along with Te Whiti and Tohu Kakahi would be known as the prophets of Parihaka, and it was in 1881 on the 5th of November that the army invaded Parihaka arresting all three prophets. Titokowaru soon would die in 1888. Titokowaru had been a student of both the Christian teachings and Te Ua Haumeene, continuing the approach of syncretism

¹⁷¹ "When the 'whakarua', the north-east breeze, blew it was a fitting time for the war parties to set out, for the Whakarua was the breath of Uenuku, Titoko's deity, and his familiar spirit, and it was an omen of succes in battle" (Cowan, 1911, p. 72).

and counter-hegemonic in a fast-changing world that was present in all prophetic movements of the time.

The Io tradition

This section will now examine the Io tradition through a syncretistic approach. This section does question the authenticity of the Io tradition as a pre-colonial concept while at the same time will use it as another example of counter-hegemonic and syncretism as a positive when resisting the actions of colonisation.

The Io tradition is an example of Māori taking the idea of a monotheistic God and replacing the Christian God with a Māori expression, practice, theology, and cosmogony and making it our own. In some hapū Io is woven into whakapapa and seen as the Supreme Being from which all things are birthed. The idea of a monotheistic god in Māori cosmology counter acts traditional Māori creation stories which values the female role. This was mentioned in Chapter Two and supported by Mikaere (2013) as she states; “Instead of creation beginning with the womb symbolism of Te Kore and Te Pō, and the female-male partnership of Papatūānuku and Ranginui, the balance was turned on its head by the introduction of a supreme male god, Io” (p. 144). The concept of monotheism was a new idea that had only been introduced with the arrival of Christianity, however, in the adoption of the Io tradition Māori removed the female element from the creation of the universe and thus reinforced colonial ideologies towards the value of Indigenous females. In supporting the claim that the Io tradition was a new concept for Māori, Buck (1950) explains “The discovery of a supreme God named Io in New Zealand was a surprise to Māori and Pākehā alike. For years we had accepted the pattern of a number of co-equal gods, each attending to his own department” (p. 526). While the scepticism and effect of the Io tradition has been noted by both Mikaere and Buck respectively the Io tradition remains a paradox of both negative assimilation and positive syncretism for Māori.

By the end of the 1860s, Māori had felt the full effect of European colonisation and Christian assimilation. It is also during the 1860s as discussed above that the

Paimārire movement was established, and a movement known as Te Pao Miere¹⁷² was present in the Tiroa area. King Tāwhiao at the time entrusted Ngaharakeke of Ngāti Rereahu to return home and build a house dedicated to Io. As Elsmore (1999) notes “ The great house was dedicated to Io; the name of the movement associated with it being Io Matua-Kore-o-te-Runga-Rawa – Io the Fatherless of the Highest” (p. 185). The design of the house was built by tohunga Te Ra Kereopa, and his knowledge of astronomy was evident in the orientation of the four points of the whare all pointing to certain stars Elsmore (1999) also goes on to add that “religious worship was centred on the supreme figure Io, as a single all-powerful god” (p. 186). As the movement appears as a separatist movement which Māori are rejecting the values of European society, including European values, culture and abandoning the God found throughout the Bible, Māori adopted the idea of a monotheistic approach to religion. The whare itself was built completely without Pākehā materials a statement that there would be nothing of the new culture incorporated into the Io tradition.

The purpose of the response was directed towards the well-being of the people in a way that reflected old tikanga, with no reference to the faith brought by the missionaries. The rites practiced were according to tikanga. Similarly, the karakia employed by the tohunga when dealing with instances of sickness due to makutu were karakia of pre-colonial contact and had no reference to any Christian content.

The idea of the whare was traditional, as was its construction, but its design owed something to Christianity. Miringa Te Kakara was built in the form of a cross – a form which did not follow earlier tradition. The model was familiar to the Māori, however, cruciform churches had been built in the island before this time. St Stephens Chapel, Parnell, which was completed in 1857, was built in the shape of a Greek cross, as is Te Miringa Te Kakara. St Stephens was the planned venue for the signing of the Constitution of the United Church of England and Ireland in New

¹⁷² “The name Pao Miere, by which the movement was known, is said to have been bestowed on the group by the other Ngāti Maniapoto tribes when the house was built. It is a difficult term to translate and yet appreciate the meaning. A literal rendition could be to beat or rob a beehive, which leads to one interpretation of ‘tap the sweetness’. Another notion suggested is ‘Refuse the Honey’, an allusion to the fact that this people did not participate in the sale of any land in the Waikato district and so missed out on the money which came to others from this source” (Elsmore, 1999, p. 186).

Zealand, and its factor influenced its choice of design. It can only be wondered if this significance had any bearing on the house at Tiroa also.

What does seem likely, is that the movement evolved during its period of existence, with the emphasis altering. The response appears to have begun in the mid-1860s as a separatist movement provoked by disillusionment, its purpose being healing, and its religious basis in the acknowledgement of the supreme figure of Io. By the 1880s, however, because of provocation of further encroachment by the settlers into local territory and recognition of the necessity for active protest, a more political phase occurred by Māori. This would appear to be backed up by the evidence of the two names by which the movement was known. In its earliest days it was referred to as Io Matua Kore o Te Runga Rawa, the name attesting to the religious ground on which it was based. It was not long, however, before the emergence of the name Pao Miere appeared, reflecting the growing concern with the problem felt by the followers.

Elsmore (1999) makes the case that the Io tradition, although a Māori idea, had European influence present through the design of the whare, and the adoption of a single supreme being. Her claims also support the idea of the Io tradition as a movement against Christian colonisation, as Taonui (2005) supports “The origins of the Io paradigm are twofold: a general tendency for Māori to incorporate Christian beliefs into their traditions from first contact, and a particular mid-nineteenth century response against colonisation and Christian Europeans” (p. 55). Although many of the movements were a reaction and a resistance to colonisation, the long effects of assimilation into a European religion were seen throughout the movements, as each movement incorporated an aspect or element of the foreign religion. It is, however, only the Io tradition that the authenticity of this particular atua is hard to trace. The first recorded manuscripts of the Io tradition appear in the edited manuscripts of Te Whare Wānanga¹⁷³. As Buck (1950) explains “The extent of this claim was not realized until an extraordinary amount of detail was furnished by Percy Smith and Elsdon Best through the publication of copious extracts from the Matorohanga manuscripts” (p. 55). Both Smith and Best in their publication of

¹⁷³ “The evolving Io 'traditions' culminated in the work of Hoani Te Whatahoro Jury, Te One Tikao, the Mahupuku brothers and Stephenson Percy Smith. When Jury and Percy Smith published *The Lore of the Whare Wananga: Kauwae Runga* (1913, Vol. 1)” (Taonui, 2005, p. 37).

Te Whare Wananga knowingly partook in what Simpson (1997) describes as “intellectual colonization”¹⁷⁴ and as Buck later adds regarding the suspicion of the Io tradition “The doubt grew when it was considered that both Te Matorohanga and his scribe Te Whatahoro had been converted to Christianity before the detailed story of Io was committed to manuscripts” (p. 55). Buck and others at the time reasoned that the resemblance to the opening chapters of the Te Whare Wananga manuscripts bore similar resemblance to the opening lines to the book Genesis. But as both Buck and Mikaere has pointed out in the opening paragraph this would be highly unlikely as the Io tradition, as a monotheistic creator, would go against Māori interpretation of the creation narrative.

As the tradition was based heavily on rejecting any form of Eurocentric Christianity and maintained its mana through its adoption into the Kīngitanga movement, the spread of the Io tradition was aided heavily by anti-political Māori groups such as the Kotahitanga Parliament that was set up in the 1890. Te Papawai Pā, a whare built in the Wairarapa area by the Mahupuku whānau played a pivotal role in hosting Hui there. The Kotahitanga aided the wide spread of the Io tradition by providing a forum for tohunga from around the country to meet and discuss the oral traditions, genealogy and religion (Taonui, 2005). Members who arrived there included Hoani Te Whatahoro Jury, and Te One Tikao who would later contribute profoundly to the publication and spreading of the Io tradition. Most iwi who were members of the Kotahitanga incorporated Io into the creation narrative by simply placing him at the top. Taonui (2005) adds:

Io was presented as a more sophisticated construct complete with genealogies and narratives. Io was said to be the Supreme Being of Māori who created the heavens and earth, the first man and from him the first woman. Whiro, usually

¹⁷⁴The Māori became embedded in texts through the work of the early missionaries, philologists, ethnologists, and bureaucrats. Their will to textualize was part of an overt will to colonize and ‘civilize’ the ‘savage’ Māori. Textual strategies used to domesticate the savage mind included the list, table, index, and cosmology, each in its own way enabling the colonizer to divide, deploy, schematize, and record everything in sight. Print set in place a hermeneutical principle quite alien to the thought of the orally steeped tohungas. A corpus could only be created as Europeans drew ontological and epistemological boundaries between themselves and the Māori, using language that encoded these distinctions, distinguishing their own “civilization” from the “savagery” or “barbarism” of “the Māori” (Simpson, 1997, p. 56).

a navigator in Polynesian traditions, was transposed as the devil. There was a heaven and hell, and angels in the form of apakura. (p. 37)

This method may be usefully termed post-prior validation¹⁷⁵, and was used not only by the iwi who were associated to the Kotahitanga but both Smith and Te Whatahoro claimed to receive manuscripts that Te Whatahoro scribed pertaining to the Io tradition through Te Matorohanga between 1850 and 1865. The absence of Māori awareness prior to the claims made by Smith and Whatahoro is cause for suspicion and puts in question the authentic nature of the Io tradition as pre-colonial belief. As Mead (2003) argues:

I have great difficulty with the concept of Io and with the very notion that Io was so exalted that the people did not know about him and were not supposed to hear his name. There was no evidence that so important a matter was kept secret or could have been kept secret. There is little or no evidence in the Bay of Plenty area that there was a supreme being organizing Ranginui and Papatū-ā-nuku. Nor does Io appear in genealogical tables linking to Rangi and Papa. ...I cannot really envisage a supreme God above the primeval parents. Rather there was Te Kore, The Void, The Nothingness. (p. 309)

The claims that were made that Io was unknown due to the tapu associated to Io by Smith and Whatahoro were wrong, the Io tradition was never secret because it was sacred, Io was a secret because it was an invention (Taonui, 2005). Although this thesis supports the claims of the Māori scholars who question the Io tradition not being a pre-colonial concept, I argue that with the establishment of Miranga Te Kakara Io must be a positive through syncretism and counter-hegemonic display by Māori despite the attempts to incorporate the Io tradition as pre-colonial.

Conclusion

The spread of Christianity had many different contributing factors. Starting in the te Tai Tokerau, then by 1815 moving out up into Hauraki and its surrounding

¹⁷⁵ “The practice of falsely ascribing a precontact authenticity to new post-contact traditions by attributing prior dates for manuscripts, prior authorship to already deceased tohunga, and prior sanctity that previously unknown traditions had kept secret because they were tapu” (Taonui, 2005, p. 37).

regions, reaching the Waikato and Kāwhia. We see that te Tai Tokerau becomes a nest for mission activity, teaching and conversion. As the captives who were brought back after the Ngāpuhi raids were allowed access into the schools to learn how to read and write through the Bible. Some captives such as Taumata-a-Kura gravitated towards the new teachings, absorbing them and returning to Ngāti Porou with new insight and new skills. However, Te Awa-i-taia had a different experience as it was through the relationship he formed with Whitely that he then converted to Christianity. The spread of Christianity in the context of Aotearoa is both an assimilated experience which is negative as it also meant a rejection of some tikanga and assimilation into a Eurocentric way of being, and a syncretistic experience which is positive as they opposed the Eurocentric way of being and signalled a return to the old ways, as in this case it was expressed by the Paimārire movement. The negative experience of assimilation and conversion as the story of both Taumata-a-Kura and Te Awa-i-taia are re-told predominantly by Pākehā historians who continue to glaze over the small nuances such as tikanga that form and strengthen Māori identity and Māori religious knowledge. In the case of the Hauhau movement, the term 'Hauhau' was given to those who rebelled against Crown activity, allowing members of the Crown to implement strategic targeting of Hauhau and wrongfully convicting Hauhau members and ignoring the Paimārire religion that Te Ua had envisioned.

As mentioned in this chapter, it is difficult to analyse with accuracy the level of understanding and conviction that Māori had in relation to Christianity in the early stages, although the Gospel had spread into the Te Tau Ihu area, Te Rangihaeata who knew the message of the Gospel through Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi still sought the process of utu when his wife was shot. However, as Māori rangatira who had converted influenced and encouraged their hapū to do so, I make the argument that Māori from 1815 to around the 1850s drew from Christianity to advance themselves through material benefit, and from the 1850s onwards Christianity began to lose its grip on the Māori community who in turn, syncretised their tikanga with some teachings of Christianity to form new religions such as the Paimārire and the Io tradition to gain a spiritual advantage over the invading Pākehā and missionaries who had turned their back on Māori.

Chapter Five: Interviews

Introduction

This chapter will focus on the mātauranga¹⁷⁶ and mātauranga Māori that each participant in this research has gathered through both a lived experience and dedication to forms of learning in their respected fields. The mātauranga gathered from the interviews are considered a part of whom they are and treated in a way that is reflective of taonga that they were willing to share. The interviewees selected come from an insider perspective as they are either active in church leadership roles or Māori academics or occupy both spaces as church leader and academic.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the methodology for this thesis is through Kaupapa Māori Theory and Critical Race Theory. By applying both methods to the gathering of mātauranga and the redistribution of that mātauranga, I was able to filter through the responses and apply them appropriately to form a robust chapter that examines the different responses.

The interviews answered are a set of four questions that would help aid this rangahau in finding a conclusion to the questions proposed at the start of this Thesis.

Theses are:

1. How did you see the relationship between Māori and the missionaries in the lead up to the signing of the Treaty?
2. Do you believe that the missionaries benefited from the signing of the Treaty?
3. Do you think that the 1850s – 1860s showed the true intent of the missionaries?
4. How do you view the Io Tradition?

¹⁷⁶ Translated knowledge, however, According to (Mead, 2003) “The term Mātauranga Māori encompasses all branches of Māori knowledge, past, present and still developing”.

I used these questions as a guide to conversation and as the kōrero flowed, I allowed space to ask sub-questions when the opportunity arose.

Question 1: Relationships

How do you see the relationship between Māori and Pākehā in the lead up to the signing of the Treaty?

This question was asked to see how each participant interpreted the unique relationships that were formed during the arrival of the missionaries, although the question does not have the word “*missionary*” in it, the intention of the question was to highlight missionary relationships and action during the lead up to the Treaty.

Tuhiwai Smith: In this period of time Māori were the dominant population, but up north it was starting to change at Kororareka (*Russell*) it was becoming more influenced by Europeans who were really out of control.

I think it was a complicated relationship. I don't think the missionaries were politically in a position of power because I think any of the chiefs could've taken out any missionary at any point in time if they wanted too.

So that leaves us to say, well why didn't they just do that? And I think they did that because they saw some potential in trying to get access to things like literacy, they embraced knowledge, they embraced technology, they were trading they were forward looking.

I think when they converted to Christianity the world was still a tikanga Māori world that they lived in and I don't actually think that we had an organised religion in the same way as Christianity, so it would have been novel for a lot of whānau.

Moxon: I want to say i te tīmatanga, tino pai! (*in the beginning, very good*), te tīmatanga o ngā kauhau a te Karaiti (*The beginning of the sermons of Christ*), those things were essentially positive. When Ruatara died not long after that power shifted to Te Pahi, his uncle, and Te Pahi continued protection of the Pākehā missionary cohort including the King family at Oihi and again they could see advantages both ways. Te Pahi put his korowai (*feathered cloak*) as it were around the gospel and those missionaries, and that was a good relationship as well, again a

little bit mixed. It would be true to say that some of the missionaries thought that British commerce and British interest would arrive as well as the gospel, they weren't thinking colonisation at that point, but they were thinking Pākehātanga offering something to Māoritanga, and Te Pahi who was totally in control.

Then you had a wave of missionaries that followed them that, ran a printing press, developed agricultural, horticultural potential that Ruatara had originally wanted on Māori terms and they delivered that.

Kaa: Māori encounters with missionaries were a different type of relationship. There were disputes over whenua, and those disputes were part of the lead up to signing of the Treaty in the North and some of that was to do with the missionaries.

Whereas our relationship on Te Tai Rāwhiti would be very different in Ngāti Porou our first encounters were when Selwyn and William Williams came down the coast, they came up through Tai Rāwhiti it was hard country for them to get through, it was distant. So, our camps were very different from the north so there's one thing.

Māori and the missionaries, there not homogenous, either side of the relationship is very different and I think it's actually quite important to think about that.

But to the substance of the question, I think in the lead up to the signing of the Treaty, the relationship was one of building relationship, building understanding it was encounter, from both sides. I think iwi were encountering this new message that was just something very new, very challenging the idea, for example, of a God who would manifest in human form and then be willing to be so degraded to the point of sacrifice for love, not even for gain. It is quite a spectacular notion in any culture.

Maxwell: The missionaries, they had a good relationship with our people, in the lead-up to the signing of the Treaty in 1840 and the Treaty was signed in Ōpōtiki 27th of May 1840. It was brought to Ōpōtiki by the Crown agent James Fedarb, who was commissioned by Governor Grey to bring the Treaty to the Bay of Plenty. Seven rangatira of Te Whakatōhea signed, three of those rangatira Te Rangihaerepō, Rangimātānuku, and Tuātoro when they signed the Treaty, they wanted to put the

cross next to their names to show that they were Pikopō (*Catholics*) so, that is the influence, and the missionaries had a major influence on our people.

Summary

Upon arrival of the missionaries the relationship between Māori and Pākehā as Kaa (2019) states; “Was a different type of relationship” the complexity of relationship was one that also included a slow assimilation into Pākehā ways of thinking and behaving that were first introduced through Christianity. As Maxwell (2019) mentions although the Treaty arrived in Ōpōtiki several months after the initial signing the influence was clear as some of the rangatira chose to mark the Treaty with a cross. Smith (2019) added in regard to Māori religion “If I look at where Maori were at, most Māori living south of Whāngārei really were still quite embedded in their own belief system and I think even those Māori in the north the dominant belief system was still Māori”. Smith’s comments adds to the narrative that although Māori were the dominant people group of Aotearoa it was becoming evident that there was change among the Māori happening that was due to a religious transformation that was slowly assimilating Māori into Pākehā Christian culture.

Question 2: Missionaries and the Treaty

How do you believe the missionaries benefited from the signing of the Treaty?

I was interested to note if the participants in their study of that time noticed whether or not the missionaries benefited after the signing. In addition, how they interpreted that particular event and the effects it had on Māori.

Tuhiwai Smith: The English ones definitely benefited because they got rid of the French. They got rid of the French influence. I think they (missionaries) were able to position themselves between the government and Māori because they were fluent in the Māori language. They became the key interpreters and they gained political advantage. They also had access to land; it’s not an accident that missionaries ended up with large acres of land. So, they did benefit immediately, from the signing of the Treaty

Moxon: The Pākehā missionaries thought that it would be, certainly Henry Williams will be the definitive version, which now the United Nations recognise as the determinative version of Tino Rangatiratanga, not just possession full chiefly rule, and the right of freedom prayer mission and so on. Henry Williams believed it (the Treaty) would be beneficial to the missionaries as well because it would give them the peace and stability they needed to spread the gospel. He also believed the Treaty, the gospel was consistent with the spirit of Christ because a fair arrangement between two partners, he thought it was essentially fair, but of course later on he died and huge numbers of Pākehā came.

They didn't want to be rich; they didn't want to benefit themselves; it is very clear now from their journals that they wanted a stable base and they wanted farms for their children to live off because there was no other way of living. They didn't see England as their home anymore, so they brought farms, they brought mission stations, they brought to sustain themselves. They were not interested in becoming millionaires, they are fairly clear from their journals. They wanted a base from which the gospel would spread. Later the third generation started to think the British Crown was useful and in the end a number of them took a colonising view, but I think even then you had other critics of the colonising process who said this is not what the Treaty intended, this is the usurpation of partner responsibilities.

Kaa: I think it's actually pretty important to track the role of the Clapham sect and the work of evangelical Christians in England, and their thinking that underpinned the Treaty. It was James Stephen in the Colonial Office who came up with the instructions that were underpinned by this idea that, "Let's acknowledge their culture. Let's acknowledge their property rights."

So, one way of thinking about it is, yes, I don't know if the missionaries benefited, but I think Christianity benefited because it was present and inherent in the Treaty the faith benefited it manifested in some ways in the Treaty itself.

I think that they (Pākehā) did benefit from the signing of the Treaty, because practically, it moved the Pākehā position forward in New Zealand and the missionaries benefited from that.

Summary

From the responses it is clear to see how entwined into the Treaty are elements of sacredness and materialism that would eventually only benefit the Pākehā missionaries also, although in some interpretations it was seen as a sacred covenant. As Moxon (2019) explains:

“You can trust it (the Treaty) because it’s sacred, we’re preaching it (the Treaty) because it’s sacred so when you start to breach the Treaty, you are engaging in sacrilege, you are betraying a sacred trust and that’s what got some of the missionaries really distressed”.

We all see from a Māori viewpoint, the loss of land through purchase became more apparent after the signing of the Treaty as the missionaries gained access to land, and the Treaty afforded them a privilege that was supported by the signing of the Treaty. In the case of Te Whakatōhea after the signing of the Treaty in te Tai Tokerau Maxwell mentions “i whakatū whare karakia rātou, i roto i a au Te Whakatōhea, kua huri kē rātou e nui ngā whenua i tuku ki a rātou ngā mihinare, mano eka 10,000 eka. Engari ki tā te Māori titiro he nui ā rātou whenua I taua wā”. *(They the missionaries opened churches in Te Whakatōhea, they were given 10,000 acres, but from a Māori perspective Māori had a lot of land at that time).*

He also adds “the missionaries needed somewhere to stay and establish their mission station for the church. The old people handed over the land in bulk because they had heaps. For those Pākehā they thought of land as a commodity, as opposed to the hapū they were part of it. So that's what the missionaries benefited from they got land and they were given Atua status”.

Question 3: 1850 - 1860

How did the 1850s - 1860s show the true intent of the missionaries?

From the 1850s to the 1860s there is a lot of tension building between Māori and Pākehā, but also between Māori who assimilated into Christianity and Māori who rejected Christianity. From the participants perspective I wanted to know how they read and understood the tensions building up during this time, and if they believed that this time period showed the true intent of the missionaries.

Tuhiwai Smith: Its interesting because when we get up into the Land Wars the missionaries played quite interesting roles in terms of trying to be the voice of Māori to the Crown it was seen as a allegiance to the Māori. So, the settler government were suspicious of some of the missionaries because they saw them as being too aligned with Māori, whereas other missionaries were more aligned with the Crown. Māori needed interpreters or bridges in one sense but were also sceptical probably and a bit rightly suspicious of the role that the missionaries played. They were under attack from the Crown; however, there were missionaries and church people who stood up for Māori in that process.

Moxon: No, the covenant of the Treaty which Williams and the Māori chiefs called it a sacred covenant which they were using the word covenant from the bible; you promise this I'll deliver that, you share this (covenant) back with me. A covenant between God and people is sacred, the Old Testament is sacred, a new covenant in Christ is sacred, and you don't break it, its sacrilege if you break it. Williams, as Claudia Orange has demonstrated and the chiefs who signed and those who signed later in missionary hosted hui where there were kauhau, karakia, te paipera tapu, its sacred.

Those years you mentioned, 1850s-1860s it collapses. Again, it's a mixed scene for example you have Völkner from Ōpōtiki, who sided with the Crown and Völkner gave espionage information to the colonial troops. So, that was sort of a massacre of women and children near Ōpōtiki.

Kaa: Like multiple moving parts in the whole relationship by the 1850s and even in February 1840, no one's thinking about mass migration it wasn't on anyone's radar, it wasn't even feasible. Then you get industrialization picking up speed in England, which the missionaries were not responsible for, and then you get this huge flood of poor people pouring out of England and all over the world and we only got a tiny portion.

Everyone is responding, Māori and Pākehā so their intent was evolving. Then in the 1850s there was some good stuff happening, places around the country are getting good like in Ngāti Porou we had a fleet of schooners selling wheat in the Victorian goldfields, it was just golden and wonderful, a huge Māori economy.

But I think really the invasion of Taranaki, in particular Waikato, forced the missionaries to pick a side and that's when they picked the wrong side from a Māori perspective. Until then, they were strongly opposed to the Waitara purchase but at the end of the day they made their choices in 1860. Just the betrayal, really, was quite spectacular in some respects and you can't pretend it came out of nowhere. It was obviously an attitudinal thing that had been always sitting there with them it seems that they were waiting for the opportunity almost which, again, in 1840 wasn't a possibility but by the 1860s was. That sad betrayal of the missionaries of what they set up shows that they took advantage of the concept and the situation was unfortunate as it allowed some of their negative traits to fully flourish.

Maxwell: Yes, well Ōpōtiki built Völkner's church for him but then he was a spy. He was accused of being a spy for Governor Grey, so when the Paimārire arrived, they arrived November 1864 but they were given the direction of the Te Ua Haumeene to go and preach the new faith. But because Kereopa Te Rau was one of his āpotoro he had his own motive because his daughter and wife had been killed at Rangiaowhia in February 1864 incinerated in the church at Rangiaowhia. He was going to Ōpōtiki to exact revenge for the murder of his daughter and wife plus his other daughter had been killed at the battle of Hairini¹⁷⁷. That was his agenda for going to Ōpōtiki to exact revenge. And when they arrived, Völkner he was away in Auckland seeing Grey, and it was Rakataura who was one of the apataki a Te Haumeene¹⁷⁸. He had written to Grey to warn Völkner not to return because there is a lynch crew waiting for him to hang when he arrived back. On March 4, 1865, he was taken prisoner and hung, by Kereopa Te Rau. In addition, from that was the loss of the Whakatōhea being rendered a landless people.

Summary

By the 1850s as Kaa (2019) states, "In Ngāti Porou the economy for Māori was growing and Māori were benefiting from the ability to till and farm their own land thanks to the agricultural technology that Pākehā brought with them". Not only in Ngāti Porou was this case but other hapū, and iwi were benefiting from the accessibility to trade overseas. However, as the interviews highlighted when the

¹⁷⁷ The battle at Hairini took place the morning after following the raid at Rangiaowhia.

¹⁷⁸ The term apataki was used to describe the followers of Te Ua.

New Zealand wars loomed in Taranaki and Waikato, we see the missionaries begin to strategically align themselves with the Crown to protect their best interest, as was the case with Völkner¹⁷⁹. We also see in this time as mentioned previously in the rise of Māori movements that looked to regain their mana motuhake.

Question 4: The Io tradition

How do you view the Io tradition?

For the majority of Māori who identify as Christian the Io tradition is interpreted in different ways, but mostly understood to be a Māori way of understanding the Christian God. I was interested to ask this question so I could gather the different interpretations from the various experiences that each participant had encountered.

Tuhiwai Smith: In the search for wairuatanga to put our spirit at ease, we did a lot of time to articulate something that was not Christian and its where words start to really matter. You talk about Tāne Mahuta and Christianity says “Ooh you’re not allowed all these Gods” but actually that’s just a word – “atua”; they were our ancestors; they weren’t really how we saw them as gods. So, I think the language and the role of language is so important as Māori moved into English and then we moved into having to defend our belief system because basically Pākehā told us we believed in other gods whereas that was not our belief systems. I think the whole idea of Io was a strategy for saying no there is still a supreme entity, but they were like humans actually, whereas Christianity does this conceptual trick of creating a human out of an immaculate conception, where most indigenous people understand the physical reality where to make a baby, it comes out of two humans.

Moxon: Io Matua Kore tradition probably did develop in certain esoteric wānanga in very particular places but not in other places, so it is an iwi-based experience. Pā Henare says, of course kei te pai they didn’t develop it that way, but he says in the appendix to his book; He Puna iti i te ao marama, there were iwi whose tohunga

¹⁷⁹ In a trial the following day three charges were laid against Völkner: 'His going to Auckland as a spy for the Government'; that 'A cross had been found in his house, and therefore he was a Romanist and a deceiver'; and that he had returned to Opotiki despite instructions to stay away. The evidence that Völkner acted as a spy is well documented in letters he sent to Governor George Grey in January and February 1864.

developed an Io Matua te Kore tradition before the Pākehā came, before they heard the gospel.

They got it, and again this is oral tradition from five Māori scholars over time I've heard they got it probably from Hawaiki the view that Io like a high-flying bird with a vast wingspan is a metaphor for the overarching tapu for everything. The one Supreme Being who holds everything like a high-flying hawk overarching everything.

The Io tradition in the Pacific is from Hawaiki. This argument goes and into Aotearoa a thousand years ago or maybe earlier in certain wānanga where they developed it. Māori are natural theologians creative, imaginative, evolving theologians all the time. They're constantly experimenting, describing, adapting conceptualisations and because they had to adapt when they came here.

Henare Tate, I tend to think is probably right. So, when the gospel comes along you get people like Pohuhu in Kahungunu who had the Io tradition, which he said was pretty Pākehā and pre-Christian according to the people who recorded him. I think Io Matua Kore is exactly the same conceptualisation description not the same thing but the same method as the early German's developed when they started using the word "Gott" which became the word God.

Kaa: Every creation story is evolving. I don't think it's quite that simple, so whether Io is mapped on, or whether it's probably not as important as what people are trying to do and how they are reading. Because again, you go back into whakapapa and find what you need in a particular time and context that is not saying it's about integrity either as traditions. In some ways I interpret these traditions as both, as responses to context, which in some ways when we arrive in Aotearoa, we hop off the waka and we needed atua that can help us understand what we are encountering. So those atua started preparing for us and I'm not saying we're not just making them up, I'm saying this is what happens in this process. So, we needed Io perhaps. But all those movements, is the spirit moving amongst our people in a time of need and then manifesting in different ways.

Theologically, you say that is the work of the spirit moving amongst our people and having a multitude of manifestations amongst us. Too often these histories, these

stories are told as political responses and encounters whereas our first response is always going to be spiritual and theological our politics just would come out of that not the other way around. It is here that you ask what is this Wairua saying to us, what are we going to do about it? It gets told the wrong way around. Because we read the signs first and then respond to them, rather than make up the signs. Te Kooti of course is the classic case of that, he sees these signs and decides what to do. We were always going to read and respond to the signs we saw spiritually it was going to happen and it's not controllable, and it's not predictable.

Maxwell: Well, I can only talk for Te Kooti and he was a freedom fighter he was an innocent man, but he was accused of being a spy as well. He wasn't given a trial and he was sent into exile, incarcerated on the Chatham Islands. His coming to be had been long foretold before, when Te Toiroa tohunga of Mahia told of this boy who will be born “Tiwhatiwha te pō, tiwhatiwha te pō, ko te Pakerewha, ko te Pakerewha, ko Arikirangi tēnei rā te haere nei”¹⁸⁰. And he prophesied that three years before Captain Cook landed on these shores.

So, this child that would be born in the time of upheaval and turbulent times. He was foretold to be, to come to the fore at that time.

Te Toiroa also said about Te Kooti:

“Tērā ētahi tamariki e rua ka whānau mai ki Te Pa-o-kahu ki roto Ngāti Maru ki Rongowhakata, ki te mate tā te Turuki ka ora tā Te Rangipatahi ka pā he aituā nui ki te whenua”

“Ka kite au i a koe e potere mai ana i waho i Papahuakina e tū ana tō ringa he whakapono kei roto i tō ringa, tahitahi ana ngā kirikiri me ngā rimurimu o Nukutaurua i ō waewae”

And what he (Te Toiroa) was saying Nukutaurua at Mahia there the Tākitimu canoe came in they brought sand from Hawaiki and put it there. So, what he was saying was “tahitahi ana ngā kirikiri me ngā rimurimu o Nukutaurua i ō waewae” he was

¹⁸⁰ Dark is the night, there is the Pakerewhā, there is Arikirangi to come.

saying leave the old ways behind leave ngā Atua Māori ki a ia, he atua hōu tō hau, he whakapono hōu tō hau.

Te Kooti was timely in his coming to the fore because he had lost all his land and his struggle was to the return of Mana Motuhake and the return of our lands.

Summary

While the Io tradition is difficult for some people to understand, what the interview showed was different access points, approaches, and respect for the topic surrounding Io. This was evident in the way Moxon (2019) spoke about Io in regard to the traditions that had been heard and learnt in different settings by respected Theologians such as Pā Henare Tate. Then we read how Maxwell (2019) approached the question, out of respect he acknowledged that he could not talk about Io, however, chose instead to talk about Te Kooti and what Te Kooti represented at the time not only for Te Whakatōhea but for Māori who were experiencing similar issues of land loss and colonisation through force.

Conclusion

These interviews drew from the different experiences of the participants to expand the scope of this research. It produced a unique set of answers from a Christian perspective and a Te Ao Māori perspective. The interviews in various parts complimented and built on some of the claims made throughout the Thesis.

The relationships were complicated and offered a complex interpretation of history. That prior to the lead up to the Treaty there was issues of power structures at play. However, the role of the Clapham Sect was of interest and mentioned briefly by both Moxon and Kaa. That does not mean that we allow the missionaries to go unaccounted for regarding the colonisation and religious assimilation of Māori. One of the ways these interviews contributed to that was the way each participant answered the questions regarding the way in which colonisation impacted Māori and the participants all agreed to some extent that by the 1860s the influence and intentions of the missionaries were felt around Te Ika-a-Maui and Te Waipounamu.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This chapter concludes the thesis by providing the findings of the research, by answering the main question: What were the negative effects of Christianity on Māori? The subsidiary questions being as follows: How did the power disparities between Māori and Christianity effect Māori communities? How did the Māori prophetic movements look to take back power? Where does Io Matua te Kore fit into this matrix? The themes that arose through searching for the answer to these questions included Pākehā religious systems, hegemony, loss of Māori spiritual identity and war. These themes will be formatted in order as a guide to answer the main research question. The methodology for answering these questions were Kaupapa Māori Theory and Critical Race Theory.

Conclusion of Thesis

The first theme covered is Pākehā religious system and how this system invaded the Māori traditional system. The Pākehā system of religion was monotheistic in expression and supported the power structure that was demonstrated through a lack of care in understanding Māori spirituality. The missionaries on their arrival to Aotearoa were motivated by the belief that in order to Christianise they first had to civilise the Māori, which meant that they saw Māori unable to mentally comprehend the Christian religion. This approach to the mission in Aotearoa reinforced the supremacist views held by Christianity, the monotheistic nature of Christianity uses the Bible to empower the missionaries and discredit the culture in which it is colonising. This led to viewing Māori traditions as pagan. To add, the introduction of a singular god would lead to the disestablishment of many Māori spiritual traditions informed by the creation narrative that all things began with Ranginui and Papatūānuku. This relationship that Māori had with their traditional atua also set the ethical and moral guidelines that Māori followed in their hapū and iwi. In conclusion to the question, how did the power disparities between Māori and Christianity effect Māori communities, Maoridom would be affected on a communal level through the introduction of monotheism and Christianity. This thesis also found how these new ideas affected wāhine through the removal of their tapu and mana. It is found that Christianity paid no attention to atua wāhine, this idea reinforced by ideas that missionaries were all male and viewed their wives as

mere possessions. The adoption of Christian names also contributed to the supremacist views, when Māori converted to Christianity, they were also required to adopt a Christian name as was the case with Te Awa-i-taia who was also known by Wiremu Neera (William Naylor), Tāwhiao who was named Matutaera, (Methuselah) and Te Ua Haumeene who was known as Tāmāti Horopāpera, (Thomas Zerubbabel). By introducing the concept of monotheism into the hapū and iwi, Christianity began to establish itself as the dominant religious system in Aotearoa, however, as this was progressing this also began the process of assimilation into the British Empire.

The second theme that will aid in answering the questions, is hegemony. The display of hegemonic attitudes through Christianity was seen through process, language and law making, and the psychological attack Christianity had on Māori. However misguided the premise of their mission, what was infinitely more harmful was that the missionaries continued to act on ignorant assumptions of power. During the process of forming the Treaty and translating the Treaty, Māori were not consulted, implying that the missionaries involved in the translating process chose to act through a hegemonic assumption that they could make decisions for a people group that they were colonising. It was missionaries who chose to exclude words from the Treaty that Māori were familiar with knowing that they would be reluctant to sign. Regarding language, the missionaries used selective language that was negative and destructive for Māori that they were recording. This thesis used their documenting of Papahurihia and his followers to prove this point. Furthermore, it is important to note that the Christian project in Aotearoa is indistinguishable from the British colonial project. Together they strengthen, reinforce, intensify and support one another. It was the arrival of Governor Grey who himself was a Christian that hegemony through law become apparent Grey's arrival in particular is the height of hegemonic union with both Crown and Christianity looking to colonise Māori. Grey exploited the trust gained by the missionaries to further his agenda of assimilating Māori into a Euro-centric world view that held Christianity as the supreme religion. Christianity prior to its arrival to Aotearoa was a hegemonic belief that fused into the framework of colonisation, which expands the scope of colonisation to include Christianity as part of the process. It was also this notion of

colonisation that worked against Māori and was reinforced through law that further oppressed Māori.

The loss of Māori spirituality was a theme that continued to occur throughout this thesis. The loss of Māori spirituality supports the themes previously mentioned through assimilation into a Pākehā religious system that was monotheistic and reinforced by the hegemony that Christianity demonstrated. The loss of spirituality that changed once Māori were assimilated, meant the loss of a spiritual identity that connected Māori to atua Māori, their environment and community. The actions made by the missionaries to position Māori into accepting Christianity included and was not limited to, the establishment of schools which used propaganda such as imagery to aid the converting of Māori. As the introduction of Pākehā diseases reached Aotearoa and death ran rampant amongst hapū, Māori began to question their own atua and tohunga. As Pākehā were not getting sick, death contributed to the conversion of Māori. Māori then assumed that they had the protection of their monotheistic god, this in turn led them to seek aid from the missionaries who were only too willing to help. With reference to the main question: What were the negative effects of Christianity on Māori, this thesis concludes that in order to fully colonise a people, the coloniser must build into the psyche of the colonised a dependence that only they could fill. The colonial project is complete once the spiritual realm is handed over to them, reinforcing the idea that colonisation is not limited to resources but includes the mental and spiritual aspects of a people. With death abundant this then forced Māori into a conversion where atua Māori were no longer seen as the foundation of Māori spirituality, but the foundations began to shift to incorporate a monotheistic interpretation of the world. Therefore, in conclusion to the question where does Io Matua te Kore fit into this matrix, this thesis concludes that the Io Matua te Kore tradition was a final counter hegemonic movement that looked to incorporate the framework of monotheism as an attempt to regain a spiritual identity within Maoridom.

The final theme to be discussed is war. War was a result of Pākehā systems of power, this power included Christianity. It was through the destruction of culture, language and spirituality, that laid the foundation for the violence, bloodshed and war that

would develop post-Treaty. Christianity when fused with the colonial project has the ability to destroy any traces of a thriving culture, as it was Grey who would orchestrate the invasion of Waikato using the trust gained by missionaries as an advantage. While Rangiaowhia would only be one example, it was through the war that the prophetic movements looked to aid Māori in regaining their own mana. Therefore, it is through such prophetic movements as Paimārire and Te Pao Miere that this thesis answers the question of how the Māori prophetic movements looked to take back power. It was in their nature to be counter hegemonic to regain mana that was polluted through assimilation into Christianity. War showed the true intentions of the Pākehā colonial project and by the 1850s was in full effect. For Māori the wars allowed themselves to realise that the trust was broken, and that the only way forward was by returning, and reviving traditional ways of being. This would be done by the numerous movements that arose during this period of the 1800s.

Original Contribution to Knowledge

In the undertaking of this thesis, I was able to add to Kaupapa Māori Theory, and as an insider of Christianity was able to critique the work conducted by the missionaries and Christianity itself. As a Māori it was important that this thesis was reflective of that as much as possible by bringing to light, themes that were carried out by the missionaries and their contribution to the demonisation of Māori spirituality, religion and Māori as a people group.

Regarding power imbalances, this thesis highlighted through the research that the first demonstration of Pākehā supremacist power and hierarchy was the bias comments made by Samuel Marsden on his arrival to Aotearoa, his language and attitude were not uncommon among Pākehā during that time, and this theme would be carried out throughout the 19th century. This research is unique as it presents a methodology that included both Kaupapa Māori Theory and Critical Race Theory to analyse the negative effects of Christianity on Māori. This allowed for the thesis to show the power dynamics at play that led to the destruction of the creation narrative of Māori prior to the arrival of Pākehā and made room to describe the prophetic movement as counter-hegemonic, which leads to a positive expression of syncretism rather than the negative which is prominent in orthodox Christianity.

Barriers to Research

One barrier that may compromise this thesis is my affiliation to the Christian religion. Although I may strive to incarnate the teachings of Jesus, a pure Māori academic may separate him/herself from the confinement of such a religion as Christianity. While throughout the body of work, this thesis attempted to remove itself from any religious bias, one cannot help but think that this would be a barrier when critiquing their own spirituality and conversion to Christianity. This would lead into the barrier of limited understanding of Māori spirituality which to a fault I am guilty of. Throughout this thesis while I have been critical of my investigation of Christianity it is only through the insight of my supervisor Ēnoka Murphy that I am able to comprehend the complexities of Māori spirituality and religion that is expressed through him and that I am able to decolonise the views of Christianity for myself.

Another barrier that I must consider is the availability of scholarly work affecting this field. While there has been much work done on the negative effects of Christianity in other countries, and other Indigenous people groups, the work published by Māori scholars is limited. Throughout Māori communities there is an overarching understanding of colonisation, however, there seems to be a limited amount of work specifically dedicated to answering this thesis question. While I attempted to answer the question, it was difficult to find information that supported my claims outside of my methodology approach that explicitly named and stressed the themes running through this thesis.

Future Research

This thesis provided a starting point for future research in the analysis of the negative effects of Christianity by applying both Kaupapa Maori Theory and Critical Race Theory to the mentioned timelines. The space for further research can be built on in several aspects. The first is syncretism as positive, while this field has been articulated in large by Twiss (2015) and Rangiwai (2018). There is still room to add to the literature of positive syncretism from a Māori and Indigenous perspective that carry on the tradition of tīpuna. Much like the Paimārire, are we able to recreate a religious practise that uses a Māori world view to start? The

second is how to reclaim Māori spirituality, as counter hegemonic. To achieve both it will require developing a framework or action that will move out of theory and into practice. A body of work is required to move such ceremonies into the everyday practice of Māori to form a truly Māori identity that incorporates a pre-colonial spirituality and is counter-hegemonic and leads to a reclaiming of spirituality that is authentically Māori in expression and practise. This can be lived by an individual, whānau, or hapū. However, the nature of this must expand outside the realm of formalities and embody the individual, this might require the individual to reject pre held notions of Christian superiority. This will require further research to obtain the relevant data to examine a cohesive study into these patterns.

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