

Vanished theocracies

Christianity, war and politics in colonial New Zealand 1830–80

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Introduction

In this chapter, using the operation of Anglican CMS missionaries in south-eastern Waikato as a case study, I trace the complex interconnections between missionary activity and Māori politics in the middle of the nineteenth century. In this region, Christian conversion played an important role in the emerging King Movement and in the land wars of the 1860s. The fraught and multifaceted relationships between CMS missionaries and Māori leaders proved, at times, to be creative, radicalizing, disappointing and frustrating. They serve as a poignant reminder that Christian missionaries in New Zealand did not operate as simple extensions of the colonial state.

While I tell this story through the Anglican CMS, the dominant missionary force in New Zealand in the nineteenth century, Māori also became Wesleyans, Lutherans or Catholics, in a period of intense Māori religious *experimentation*. Confessional division among missionaries may, in part, explain why, under the pressures of war and political and economic change, Māori invented new forms of Christianity for themselves (see generally Lange 2000).²

Christian missions in the south-east Waikato and Taupo 1833–60

The principal tribes of the south-eastern Waikato today are Ngati Haua, based around Matamata, and Ngati Raukawa, who live further south in a wide area north of Lake Taupo. Ngati Raukawa consists of two roughly equal sections, one in their traditional homeland and the other in the Cook Strait region. It is a large descent group, with about 40 *marae* (ceremonial centres) and about 10,000 members. A large section of Ngati Raukawa migrated south in the late 1820s at the invitation of their allies and relatives, Ngati Toa, who, led by their famous chiefs Te Pahi, Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihāata, had also migrated south and established a powerful new polity based on both sides of Cook Strait. In this chapter, I am concerned primarily with the northern section, itself divided into large *hapu* (sub-tribes) such as Ngati Whaita, Ngati Waerangi, Ngati Te Kohera and other descent groups.

In 1833, Anglican missionaries, led by Henry Williams from the CMS base far to the North in the Bay of Islands, visited Ngati Haua's large village at Matamata in the south-eastern Waikato. With him were the CMS missionaries Alfred Nesbitt Brown and John Morgan. To get to Matamata they sailed from Kororareka (Russell) in the Bay of Islands to the Firth of Thames and then went by boat up the Waihou River to the village of Waiharakeke and then were carried by Māori bearers through great swamps to Matamata. There they found the famous warrior chief of Ngati Haua, Te Waharoa, who, wrote Williams, 'was sitting in state in the midst of his nobles' (Vennell *et al.* 1951: 13). He welcomed the CMS party graciously and the first divine service in the region was then held on 15 November 1833. Williams and Brown returned the following year, meeting up with John Morgan at Matamata; the party then travelled via the Waikato upriver to Maungatautari, a prominent mountain of the south-eastern Waikato, where a service was held on 31 August 1834 (Vennell *et al.* 1951: 13).

The CMS mission was formally established at Matamata in 1835, headed by Brown and his wife Charlotte. The mission was built on land near Te Waharoa's village but it lasted for barely a year before being forced to close on account of intertribal fighting between Ngati Haua and other sections of Waikato and their Ngaiterangi allies of Tauranga on the Bay of Plenty coast on the one hand, and the Te Arawa tribes of Rotorua and their Hauraki allies on the other. These bloody conflicts, a part of the so-called 'musket wars', engulfed the region in 1835. Ngati Haua launched attacks on Maketu and on Rotorua, and missionaries fled before the tribes could retaliate. Brown re-established the CMS mission at Tauranga.

Despite moving the mission, Brown maintained close links with Ngati Haua and with Matamata. One of his notable converts from the Matamata area was Katu (Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi), Te Waharoa's son. Wiremu Tamihana became the CMS teacher at Matamata but Brown travelled back and forth from Tauranga frequently. The Anglican chapel at Matamata 'was thought to be the largest Māori building in the North Island at that time (1843–44); it was about twenty-five metres by fourteen metres, and was built entirely by the local Māori men' (Hogan 1994: 85). Wiremu Tamihana was a baptismal name ('William Thompson') and he went on to become one of the great leaders and the most important constitutional theorist of the Māori King Movement. He also played an important role in Waikato resistance when their homelands were invaded by the British army in 1863 (see Stokes 2002).

As in other areas, the CMS did not have the Matamata area to themselves. In August 1841, a Marist Catholic mission was established at Matamata under Father Seon but Ngati Haua remained loyal to their Anglican chief and to the CMS, and the Catholic mission was soon moved to Rangiaowhia, about 50 km away from Matamata. Seon was one of a number of Catholic missionaries active in the Waikato and Bay of Plenty region at this time, along with Philippe Viard at Otumotai and Jean Lampila at Whakatane. While not much is known of the Catholic missionary enterprise in the Waikato, it would be unwise to assume that

the CMS was dominant and that the Catholic presence was peripheral. Despite the setbacks at Matamata, both Protestant and Catholic Christianity grew rapidly in the Waikato and the Bay of Plenty in the later 1830s and early 1840s (Breward 2001: 50). By the 1840s Christianity was well-entrenched amongst all descent groups of the south-east Waikato presumably because of their proximity to Matamata and their links with Wiremu Tamihana, chief of Ngati Haua and mission teacher. In 1847, Dr John Johnson, on his way across the remote Patetere plateau, stayed at a poor and remote Raukawa village and found himself to his surprise in what he described as a 'partially Christianized' community, with its own chapel (Johnson 1846-47: 147): this village is likely to have been an example of Māori self-Christianization.

The Māori King Movement

Christianity – particularly Anglicanism – played an important role in the Māori King Movement, which is still a vital force in Māori politics to this day. Prominent early proponents of a Māori King, Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha (Katu), were Christian chiefs linked to the southern section of Ngati Raukawa in the Cook Strait region and were close friends of Octavius Hadfield, the independent-minded CMS missionary at Otaki, north of Wellington. After the death of the great chief, Ngati Toa chief Te Rauparaha, these men, with another devoutly Christian chief named Rawiri Puaha, largely assumed leadership of the Ngati Toa tribe. However, Rawiri Puaha was not Anglican but Wesleyan – he had been brought up in the northern South Island and had been baptized by the Reverend Samuel Ironside, the Methodist missionary based in the Cloudy Bay region of the Marlborough Sounds.

Matene and Tamihana were deeply enmeshed in Anglican missionary networks. Both missed the battle of the Wairau in 1843, when Ngati Toa easily wiped out a party of special constables and militia from the New Zealand Company town of Nelson. They were away on a long missionary journey amongst the former bitter enemies, Ngai Tahu of Murihiku – where their somewhat overzealous Anglicanism annoyed the local Methodist missionary, James Watkin (McLintock 1949: 123). Their visit to Otago was in fact '[t]he earliest Anglican activity in Otago to which we can assign a date' (Booth 1993: 3). In other words, Anglicanism was first taken to the far south of New Zealand by two young Māori chiefs, descended from mortal enemies of the southern Māori people. Both men were married on the same day, 11 September 1843, Tamihana to Te Kapu, daughter of Tawhiri (who was Raukawa) and Matene to Pipi Te Ihurape, with Hadfield officiating. The two lived as Christian gentlemen and adopted European styles of dress and aspects of European material culture. In November 1845, William Williams, another member of the great CMS missionary family, was invited to visit Tamihana's house, finding it to be 'neat with 4 glass windows and is intended to be divided into four rooms' (Porter 1974: 355). Matene Te Whiwhi and Tamihana Te Rauparaha both spent some time at St John's Theological College in

Auckland. Along with Te Rauparaha himself they acted as donors (via the Crown) of a 500-acre block at Whitireia to the Church of England for the establishment of a college in 1848.³

Those networks had important ramifications for Māori politics. Tamihana Te Rauparaha travelled to England with William and Jane Williams and other members of the CMS mission cousinage in 1851-52. On 30 June 1852, he was presented to Queen Victoria.⁴ Tamihana Te Rauparaha was impressed with the British monarchy and began to develop the idea that Māori should have a monarchy of their own. He discussed this with his cousin Matene on his return and the two made a number of journeys around the North Island arguing for a Māori monarchy and for ending the sale of land to the government. Matene Te Whiwhi was a prominent supporter of the building of the great house Taiporohenui – a meeting place to discuss land issues and a symbol of organized resistance to land sales (Oliver 1990: 528-29). These hopes and dreams in no way derogated from Tamihana Te Rauparaha's and Matene Te Whiwhi's perceptions of themselves as prominent Māori aristocrats and well-connected Anglican gentlemen. Nor was the King Movement initially oppositional to the British Crown. In 1858, after a long process of discussion and debate, the Waikato Māori chief, Te Wherowhero, was chosen at a great meeting of the tribes as the first Māori King, taking the name of Potatau. Potatau was replaced by his son Tawhiao, who became King in 1860. Thus began the Kingitanga, the Māori King Movement.

War, the missions and the colonial state

The drift to war in the 1850s caused a religious as well as a political and military crisis in the North Island, as Māori converts played important roles in both spheres. The identification between Christianity and the Crown, between God's law and the Queen's law, was placed under severe strain when the British army and Christian Māori people started shooting at each other in Taranaki in 1860. The strain reached breaking point during the invasion of the Waikato in 1863.

The New Zealand wars were not the inevitable outcome of conflict between 'settlers' and 'Māori' over land; they were the consequence of a political breakdown in one pivotal province, Taranaki. The main events were: an early and bloody phase of Māori tribal conflict in the region in the early nineteenth century; the establishment of a New Zealand Company settlement at New Plymouth in 1841; Governor Fitzroy's decision to refuse to the settler community an extensive Crown grant in North Taranaki in 1844; the return of Taranaki Māori exiles from other parts of the country in the following decades; constant settler pressure for land; and a pivotal decision by W.E. Gladstone in 1846 directing Governor George Grey to take measures for the relief of the Taranaki settlers. Added to the volatile mix in Taranaki itself was a violent struggle within the Puketapu hapu of the Te Ati Awa people of North Taranaki, Te Ati Awa being the immediate neighbours of the colonial town of New Plymouth. This 'Puketapu feud' – considerably more than a 'feud' – may not have begun over the core

issue of land but it came to be perceived that way because one party was seen to be willing to sell land to the Crown and the other was resolutely opposed to it.

Taranaki was, thus, a tinderbox ready to explode at the slightest mismanagement. That came in 1859, when the Governor, Thomas Gore Browne, accepted the offer of a chief named Te Teira to sell to the Crown the Waitara block in North Taranaki, Waitara. A fertile river valley immediately to the north of New Plymouth, the block was ardently desired by the New Plymouth settlers as the key to their colony's expansion and prosperity. Teira was prominently linked to one side of the Puketapu feud; the leading *rangatira* (chief) of Te Ati Awa, Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitaheke – an Anglican, as it happens – to the other. Gore Browne not only accepted the purchase but enforced it by sending in survey parties; Wiremu Kingi's peaceful resistance to the survey was followed by Browne's proclamation of martial law. This was perceived by Māori as a declaration of war on them by the Crown. Māori from other regions were amazed when they learned that the government had launched a military attack on Wiremu Kingi and his people in north Taranaki: he was widely known as a Christian and as friendly to Pakeha settlers. Thus commenced the first phase (1860–61) of the New Zealand wars, this being the first of three Taranaki wars.

There were many political meetings to discuss the war and what should be done about it. In areas such as Hawke's Bay, Māori tried to ensure that the war did not spread to their own districts. Other groups petitioned the Crown seeking to have Governor Browne replaced and the war ended. In July–August 1860, many chiefs met at a major *hui* (gathering) at Kohimarama, at which the government tried to explain its actions in Taranaki (see especially Paterson 2006: 153–64). The main topics discussed were the Kingitanga and the Waitara war. Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi, prominent in these discussions, disavowed the proposal to set up a Māori king. They were likely alarmed by the direction of events: certainly they wanted to avoid an interracial war. The Raukawa chief, Parakaia Te Pouepa of Raukawa, another committed Anglican, was also present. He was scathingly critical of the government's handling of the Waitara crisis, blaming it for escalating matters by sending soldiers to Taranaki (Paterson 2006: 158).

In March 1861, the fighting in Taranaki came to a temporary end. Some sections of Waikato had assisted the Te Ati Awa (of Taranaki) chief, Wiremu Kingi, against the British forces and in June Governor Browne sent a proclamation to Tawhiao's capital at Ngaruawahia insisting on their submission to the authority of the Queen, their acceptance of roads and bridges being built throughout the Waikato and an end to 'combinations' against selling land to the Crown. A large *runanga* (assembly) gathered at Ngaruawahia which neither accepted nor rejected Browne's terms (see McCan 2001: 38).

In September 1861, George Grey returned to New Zealand for his second governorship and with a new plan. His so-called 'new institutions' would divide New Zealand into 20 districts, each with a civil commissioner. In December 1861, Grey met the lower Waikato chiefs at Kohanga and Taupari, near Waikato

Heads (McCan 2001: 39–40; Paterson 2006: 174–75).⁵ The discussions were lengthy and robust. Grey asked the Kingitanga leadership how it would deal with *iwi* who were opposed to it and a rangatira named Te Whi Panakawa stated, perhaps reluctantly, that the movement would not threaten those who opposed it. Grey remarked: 'I shall have twenty kings in New Zealand before long.' (*Te Karere Maori* 1862, 5–6, cited in Paterson 2006: 238). In October 1862, Wiremu Tamihana hosted a 'great King meeting' at Peria (near Matamata) at which the primary subject for discussion was the maintenance of Māori independence under the King. Bishop Selwyn, the very High Church bishop of New Zealand, was also present at the meeting which discussed the government's plan to construct a road from the Mangatawhiri to Raglan. During 1862, support for the Kingitanga was also spreading to Raukawa people at Otaki, Raukawa's main base in the Cook Strait region and, in March 1862, a Kingitanga flag known as Tainui, a gift from the King, was flown at Otaki for the first time following an elaborate ceremony (Ramsden 1951: 238).

The Waikato War

In 1862 the New Zealand wars had abated, though not ceased, and it seemed as if the worse of it might be over. 1863, however, brought about renewed conflict. On 9 July 1863 the government, having resolved to subjugate the Māori King Movement, issued an order that all Māori living in the Manukau district north of the Mangatawhiri had to either take an oath of allegiance to the Crown and give up their weapons or move into the Waikato. Those who refused to comply would be forcibly removed (reprinted in Ramsden 1951: 251–52). This imposed a cruel choice on Māori groups living around the Manukau and South Auckland. The proclamation was soon followed by the invasion of the Waikato by the British army and by the great battles at Rangiriri, Orakau and Gate Pa in 1863–64. Waikato and the Kingitanga resisted valiantly but were defeated. King Tawhiao withdrew deep into the interior, taking refuge amongst the Ngati Maniapoto of the region still known as the 'King Country'. There he lived in exile until returning home to Waikato in 1881.

The New Zealand wars shattered the bonds between the Māori people of the Waikato and the Anglican missionaries of the Church Missionary Society. Missionaries themselves, especially English missionaries, were plunged into the most acute difficulties by the outbreak of the war. As Octavius Hadfield, CMS missionary at Otaki, had noted:

Early in 1860 several intelligent natives warned me that this war would prove a sad trial for the faith of the Maori; that they had carefully examined the New Testament from beginning to end, and nothing contained in it could be interpreted to sanction or justify such a war: that either the English nation as represented by its Government was not Christian in the Gospel sense, or Christianity was not true: there was no alternative.

(Murray 1992: 129)

CMS missionaries mostly found themselves to be Englishmen first and Christians second. Perhaps it is asking a lot of an Anglican clergyman to denounce Crown policy from the pulpit but Octavius Hadfield did and Henry Williams, when writing to Hadfield in 1864, saw 'Brown, Stafford, Richmond and co' as being 'under the guidance of the Prince of Darkness' (Benfell 1992: 109). For Māori Christians the crisis was devastating. Missionaries had not only withdrawn during the wars, leaving Māori people in many areas without the missionary clergy to which they had become accustomed. Most of the CMS missionaries, John Morgan prominent among them, had more or less openly supported the invasion of the Waikato (Howe 1983: 94–120). Bishop Selwyn, used to Māori esteem and respect, had become disenchanted with the Māori King Movement and what he saw as its retrograde policy of Māori nationalism and he had felt personally affronted by his inability to make Māori see his point of view at Kingitanga *hui*. While Selwyn had been critical of the Taranaki war, he now supported the government (Howe 1983: 107). Moreover, Māori Christians felt betrayed when Bishop Selwyn, for the best of reasons, made the unwise decision to accompany the British army during its invasion of the Waikato. Tellingly, at the time of the wars, many of the Crown's leading opponents in the Waikato, including Wiremu Tamihana, were actually Anglicans, a truly heartbreaking conflict of culture and allegiance. Another example is Henare Wiremu (i.e. Henry Williams) Taratoa, who had been educated at St John's College in Auckland. Henare grew up on Matakana Island near Tauranga, was taught and baptized by Henry Williams of the CMS, may have attended Octavius Hadfield's school at Otaki, and attended St John's College. Henare Taratoa had worked as an Anglican missionary in the Pacific, travelling around the Pacific with Bishop Selwyn in 1852. He also served with the CMS missionary, William Nihill, on the island of Mare in the Loyalty Group. In 1858, Henare Taratoa became native school teacher and lay reader at the CMS mission at Otaki, working among his Raukawa kin (Ramsden 1951: 248). He ended up fighting and dying on the Kingitanga side in the campaigns around Tauranga in 1864.

War, the CMS and Pai Marire

The disenchantment of Anglican converts goes some way to explaining the receptivity of Māori to adjustment cults, if that is a justifiable term to use, such as Pai Marire, Ringatu and Tariao during and after the period of the New Zealand wars. In August 1864, Tawhiao, now in exile after the end of the Waikato war, went with a large party of Waikato and Maniapoto people to Taranaki to meet a Taranaki prophet named Te Ua Haumene. Te Ua met the King, baptized him and gave him the name Tawhiao ('Encircle the Earth'). Until this time his name had been Matutaera.⁶ Te Ua was the prophet and leader of a new Māori religious movement, Pai Marire. Māori religious history in the Waikato had moved on to a new phase.

Paul Clark, author of the main study of the subject, sees Pai Marire as an 'adjustment cult', with parallels elsewhere in the world amongst indigenous groups battered by the forces of change and colonization in the nineteenth century (see generally Clark 1975). There is a large literature on 'adjustment cults' of this kind, which took many forms in various colonial societies – though this history has yet to be told comparatively. In north-eastern Brazil in the sixteenth century, for example, arose the *santidade* movement amongst the Indians of Ilhéus and Bahia (Schwartz 1985: 47–50). Like Pai Marire, *santidade* was a religious protest movement which mixed Christian and indigenous elements; it was forcibly suppressed, with considerable difficulty, by the Portuguese authorities. In North America examples of the same phenomenon include the Longhouse Religion founded by Handsome Lake amongst the Iroquois, Quanah Parker's Peyote Road Movement, John Slocum's Indian Shaker Church and, most famously, the Ghost Dance religion founded by the prophet Wovoka (the Ghost Dancers believed, like Pai Marire adherents, that they were immune to bullets). Peter Webster's biography of Rua Kenana suggests the importance of relative deprivation and 'anomie' (which he understands as a kind of collective depression and frustration) to adjustment cults (Webster 1979: 43–72). He notes that 'all my informants who had been followers of Rua stated that he had offered them hope at a time when they had been without anything to look forward to in their lives'; and perhaps this is true of Waikato and Raukawa in the immediate aftermath of war and confiscation.⁷ In contrast, Māori ministers of the contemporary Ratana church reject the use of the term 'adjustment cult' to describe Pai Marire. They have little doubt that Te Ua Haumene and Tawhiao would have seen themselves simply as Christians, albeit belonging to a new and specifically Māori variant of Christianity.

Pai Marire had an impact on the Ngati Raukawa. As supporters of the Kingitanga, and given King Tawhiao's formal acceptance of the new faith, many of Raukawa switched their allegiance from the CMS, departing from the Waikato, to Pai Marire. Details of the movement are sketchy given the disruptions caused by the wars but one distinctive aspect of Pai Marire ceremony was the use of the *niu* pole, a tall wooden pillar set upright on the marae which formed a centre point of religious ritual. Few of these now remain but one which does is in Raukawa territory on the site of an abandoned village on the slopes of the Kaimai range. This *niu* has been evocatively described by Evelyn Stokes:

At Kuranui, the site of an abandoned kainga on the slopes leading to the rugged, bush-covered ridges at the eastern end of the Kaimai ranges, there stands a *niu*, a substantial totara pole with a carved figure near the base. Nearby is an old house and shed, the dwelling of the last guardian of the *niu*, Motai Te Pakuru, but unoccupied and abandoned since his death in 1968.

(Stokes 1980: 1)

There is a strong local tradition that Wiremu Tamihana was present when the *niu* pole was raised in 1865, but Stokes has suggested that this is unlikely and that people may confuse him with a certain Te Tiu Tamihana, a known Pai Marire tohunga and prophet at this time. Whether or not this is so, the details provided by Stokes are certainly suggestive and interesting in their own right, testifying to the expansion of Pai Marire in the Raukawa area in the mid-1860s (Stokes 1980: 45).

The colonial government of the day, however, did not see Pai Marire as a benign Christian sect. Following the murder of the Reverend Carl Volkner at Opotiki on 2 March 1865, Grey issued a proclamation against Pai Marire on 29 April which referred to 'a fanatical sect, commonly called Paimarire, or Hau Hau', which was 'engaged in practices subversive of all order and morality', specifically 'murder, the public parades of cooked heads of their victims, in cannibalism, and other revolting acts'.⁸ Grey proclaimed the government's intention to:

resist and suppress, by the force of arms if necessary, and by every other means in my power, fanatical doctrines, rites and practices of the aforesaid character; and I will cause to be punished all persons, whenever they might be apprehended, who may be convicted of instigating, or participating in, such atrocities and crimes.⁹

The Governor called on 'all well-disposed persons, whether Native or European' to assist the government in suppressing the movement. Grey's action may have served further to politicize what was, arguably, essentially a religious movement but it failed to prevent its spread in any significant way.

The King and the prophets

In February 1868, a large meeting took place at Tokangamutu, Tawhiao's community near Te Kuiti, at which it seems Hape (a Kingite Raukawa rangatira based at Otaki) made a bid for power or unity within the Kingitanga (*Daily Southern Cross* 1868 'The great native meeting', 3 February). Tawhiao and the Kingitanga leadership were trying to keep their political movement from foundering in the wake of the New Zealand wars. They had to deal with a number of self-styled radical prophets who wished to push the movement in a more extremist direction. Hape seems to have been one of these prophets. Te Kooti was another, the most audacious, a radical and a visionary who had become dissatisfied with the caution and moderation of the leading Kingites. The political difficulties faced by Kingitanga leaders such Rewi Maniapoto, Tamati Ngapora and Tawhiao were challenging because, on the one hand, they had to assert authority over the radical prophets like Hape, Te Kooti, and Hakaraia; on the other, they wanted to prevent key *iwi* such as Tuwharetoa and Raukawa from removing their lands from the mana of the king altogether – they feared that

these *iwi* would return to an engagement with the Pakeha world generally and with road-building and the Native Land Court specifically. Such a defection of these powerful *iwi* would significantly weaken the movement. To manage this complex situation required great political finesse. The Kingitanga chiefs neutralized the radical prophets to their left but were unable to prevent Raukawa and Tuwharetoa from going their own way. Later, however, ties were successfully re-established between the King and Raukawa.

Warfare broke out again on the North Island frontiers in 1868. In south Taranaki, Titikowaru and his followers inflicted a sequence of defeats on the government forces and advanced to the outskirts of the colonial town of Whanganui. Also in 1868 the Rongowhakaata leader and prophet Te Kooti and his *whakarau* (exiles) escaped from the Chatham Islands – used as a penal colony for 'rebels' from the East Coast – and conflict reignited in the region (see generally Binney 1995). Then in January 1869 Te Kooti escaped at the last minute with some of his supporters from Ngatapa, a hilltop fortress between Turanga and Te Urewera (Binney 1995: 132–47). After attacking Whakatane and Opotiki in March and Mohaka in April, Te Kooti set out for Lake Taupo, where he based himself at Tauranga-o-Taupo on the lake's south-eastern side for a time. He then met with the Tuwharetoa chief, Horonuku Te Heuheu, and seems to have taken him prisoner. On 7 July, Te Kooti and a large group of armed supporters arrived at Kaiwha, near Titiraupenga, where he seems to have forced Raukawa's chief, Hitiri Te Paerata, and others of Ngati Raukawa to accompany him to Tokangamutu, King Tawhiao's residence near Te Kuiti. Te Kooti reached Te Kuiti on 10 July, intending either to challenge Tawhiao or to induce Tawhiao to make common cause with him (Binney 1995: 177). Tawhiao refused to see Te Kooti, telling him, through an intermediary, to go away. After being defeated at a number of battles in the southern Taupo area by government forces and the Crown's Māori allies, Te Kooti crossed Raukawa territory, meeting with, and gaining the support of, a number of Raukawa people. Te Kooti's new religious covenant may have appealed to many who had become disillusioned with the apparent failure of the Kingitanga and of Pai Marire. In any case, Te Kooti did not stay in the area long enough to consolidate local support.

Nevertheless, Te Kooti's lasting imprint on the Raukawa people was his own brand of religious faith, Te Hahi Ringatu. From 1872–83, Te Kooti had to live as an exile in the King Country. After being pardoned by John Bryce, Native Minister, Te Kooti moved to Otewa in 1883, on the banks of the Waipa near Otorohanga, which became a centre of Te Kooti's new faith. 'Here', wrote James Cowan, 'the ex-guerilla chief lived a peaceful life, and inculcated in his followers the virtues of industry and religious observances' (Cowan 1901: 519). In 1889, the community at Otewa was described as follows:

Since his pardon at Mangaorongo in 1884, Te Kooti has been living quietly at his settlement, Otewa, on the Waipa river, some twenty miles beyond the 'frontier' township of Kihikihi. Otewa is, perhaps, without exception the

fairest sample of what discipline and good management will effect amongst the Maoris. The whares are well-built and clean, the fertile soil is under careful and systematic cultivation, the people observe very regular habits daily in their domestic duties and their *karakia*, and go about the labours of their *kainga* with commendable industry. At the settlement the greatest hospitality is shown to European visitors, and those in outlying districts near Otewa have many acts of kindness for which to thank the erstwhile outlaw on whose head a heavy price had more than once been set. Te Kooti is a remarkably clever and intelligent man, and a thorough organiser. No 'loafer' can live at Otewa, as every man, woman and child has to do eight hours' labor each day, while two hours a-day are spent in prayer after their own religion, which is partly Hauhau and partly a compilation of Karakias by Te Kooti himself.

(*Marlborough Express* 1889: 3)

Otewa was not far from Raukawa territory, and Ringatu began to have an impact in the south Waikato. Otewa must have seemed like something of a model community and a beacon of sobriety and order compared with the chaos, disruption and realities of the Native Land Court town of Cambridge at the time. In the 1880s, the Native Land Court turned its attention to the south-eastern Waikato and many large land blocks that affected Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Haua and their neighbours were dealt with by the Court from 1879–86. The Native Land Court process created new pressures to sell land to private purchasers and led to a very abrasive encounter with modernity and the cash economy: the order and calm of Otewa must have seemed a welcome contrast.

I have been informed by Raukawa *kaumatua* that a number of Raukawa families turned to Ringatu at this time and remained so until T.W. Ratana's new political and religious message reached Raukawa in the 1920s, leading to the rise of the Ratana Church. Unlike Te Kooti's Old-Testament based Ringatu Church, the Ratana church was a self-consciously modernizing political movement allied to the Labour Party. The leading Māori politician, Sir Apirana Ngata, who came from the East Coast region, was politically opposed to Ratana and his own parliamentary connections were not with Labour but with the Liberal party, which fused with the more right-wing Reform party to create the National Party during the 1930s. To affiliate with Ratana was thus a political step of real significance, linking religious affiliation with the socialism of the Labour Party and with affiliation to working class organisations such as the Timberworkers' Union. The politicization of such a change in allegiance was especially acute if it put groups at odds with their sitting Māori electorate Member of Parliament, who was a vital spokesperson on land grievances and political matters. The shift from Ringatu to Ratana seems to have caused debate and anxiety.

Today Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Haua share in the rich picture of Māori religious affiliation mentioned earlier. New religious movements such as Mormonism have also come to the Waikato (the Mormon Church's main base in New Zealand is in the Waikato, located just outside the city of Hamilton). The Māori King

Movement retains its vitality and Ngati Raukawa and Ngati Haua are both closely affiliated with it. The national Catholic Māori marae is based at the town of Tokoroa, now the main urban area with Ngati Raukawa's traditional tribal territory in the Waikato.

Some conclusions

In this paper, I have described some of the complex Māori entanglements with Christianity. Regional studies of Māori responses to missionaries might provide a window into wider processes of Māori transformation and response to settlement from first contact through to the present day. The 'social impact' research commissioned for the Waitangi process has not concentrated on religious change but rather on land tenure, health and the articulation and resolution of political grievances. While these issues are important, religious orientation was also an important dimension of Māori life.

The story told in this chapter makes clear that we should not equate Christian expansion in New Zealand with the expansion of the colonial state. Wiremu Tamihana did not imbibe from his mission education and his committed Christianity any sense of political subservience to the colonial authorities. This brief exploration of Waikato history shows that Māori engagement with Christianity was deep and multifaceted. The land wars broke the nexus between the missionary bodies and Māori Christianity in this region. Māori remained as Christians, but experimented with new forms of religious authentication of their own devising. Thus, as has happened in so many times and places, engagement with Christianity and the Bible set in train transformations which no one could predict or control.

Notes

- 1 Professor, Faculty of Law, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.
- 2 For a brief analysis of the CMS in New Zealand see Davidson (2000). The New Zealand literature on missions and missionaries is very extensive, including numerous biographies of individual missionaries and scholarly editions of missionary correspondence.
- 3 See Boast (2009) on the legal history of Whitireia, which includes the well-known decisions in *Wi Parata v The Bishop of Wellington* (1877) 3 NZ Jur (NS) SC 72 and *Wallis v Solicitor-General* [1903] AC 173.
- 4 Tamihana Te Rauparaha was in London from 30 April 1851 to 22 July 1852. A detailed, if somewhat outdated account, is in Ramsden (1951: 172–93). The audience with Queen Victoria was arranged by the CMS, which had influence at Court (Ramsden 1951: 177).
- 5 *Speeches of Governor Sir George Grey and Native Chiefs at Meetings in Waikato*, December 1861, Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1862 Session I, E-08. The debates were also printed in *Te Karere Maori*, 5 February 1862 (a.k.a. *The Maori Messenger*). It is unclear whether Raukawa were present. Some Raukawa were certainly present at the meeting with Fox later in the month.
- 6 On Tawhiao's visit to Taranaki see the report by John White in *Speeches of Governor Sir George Grey and Native Chiefs at Meetings in Waikato*, December 1861: 12–13.

7 I am wary of 'anomie' and other such presumed psychological states as a useful category of historical analysis generally or as helpful in understanding the Māori predicament in nineteenth-century New Zealand specifically (Boast 2008: 257–58).

8 *New Zealand Gazette* 1865 No 14, 29 April.

9 Ibid.

When settlers went to war against Christianity

Norman Etherington

Introduction

Missionary Christianity has too often been assumed to be the unproblematic partner of the colonial state. At different times and places it found itself at loggerheads with authority when its defence of indigenous aspirations to autonomy and self-governance clashed with official agendas. The most bitter confrontations occurred where white settlers seized the levers of power. Natal, South Africa provides a striking illustration of a settler war on Christian evangelism at the turn of the last century, provoked by fears of self-governing indigenous churches led by educated black clergy.

Such clashes were replicated throughout European colonial empires, although with variations that reflected local contingencies. The civilizing mission was very much a metropolitan project. It resonated most powerfully among elites at the imperial centre and, to a lesser degree, in the great cities of the dominions. It never generated much enthusiasm among officials, plantation owners, farmers or mining companies. As settler regimes at the periphery threw off the trammels of imperial authority, they adopted postures ranging from indifference to outright hostility towards groups committed to Christianizing and civilizing indigenous populations. Allocation of land, support for missions and provisions for governance varied widely according to the economic, ideological and administrative objectives of the state.

Where land for settlers was the priority, the state moved to expel indigenous populations, ignoring the protestations of local missionaries. Under United States President Andrew Jackson, the government attempted the wholesale removal of all Native Americans to wastelands west of the Mississippi River, in the episode remembered as the Trail of Tears (Jahoda 1995). When, in 1889, another United States government decided that the designated Indian territory of Oklahoma should be opened for white settlement, it crowded the remains of many former Indian nations into small reservations (Strickland 1980: 31–68). Such brutal measures proved impractical where indigenous populations could resist land grabs. Governor George Grey's attempt to seize Waikato during New Zealand's Māori Wars of the 1860s was abandoned in the face of a determined armed struggle (Belich 1986: 119–200). Much land coveted by white farmers remained in