

Pai Marire: Mission and cultures in technicolour

One of the more dramatic incidents in New Zealand history relates to the hanging of Carl Volkner at Opotiki on the 2nd of March 1865. Interest is heightened by the involvement of the Hauhau (also called Pai Marire) movement and the graphic accounts of Volkner's death. Maori land confiscated by the Government as a result of the hanging figured in the 1996 Waitangi settlement between the Crown and Te Whakatohea. Beneath this potent brew of potential martyrdom, religious passion of Hauhau and missionary and ongoing racial conflict, lie issues in regard to contextualisation, mission and culture and the nature of indigenous religious movements.

The early missionaries are often perceived as invaders and destroyers of indigenous cultures. Similarly, the early missionaries historically perceived the Maori religious movements as a rejection of Christianity. This article will engage such perceptions, arguing that the Pai Marire movement demonstrated a complex interaction between the missionary and indigenous culture. The Pai Marire movement was a response to the missionary gospel and scriptures viewed through the lens of the local Maori context. It will be argued that it is more accurate to view the Pai Marire movement as a non-European interpretation of Christianity, rather than as a rejection of Christianity. The movement

was an adjustment movement that tried to forge a new indigenous Maori identity in a dynamic and changing context. The resultant synthesis achieved by the Pai Marire movement highlighted the cultural captivity and weakness in dimensions of the missionary gospel and thus provided a further opportunity for cultural interaction between European missionary and Maori.

It will become evident that relationships between the two cultures, missionary and Maori, were fluid and inter-related. It will be argued that the interaction between cultures, the interaction between missionary and Maori, is not one dimensional, one colour, one style, a "monochrome" interaction. Rather both cultures engaged in a fluid interplay, displaying a multifaceted, varied, "technicolour" interaction. This distinction can be summed up in the word "technicolour", in contrast to "monochrome".

The Pai Marire (meaning good and peaceful) movement arose from the religious experiences and teachings of Te Ua Haumene. Te Ua experienced a vision in 1864 of the archangel Gabriel which included millennial promises of the restoration of Maori land, to be achieved supernaturally through peaceful means. The religious, ethical, liturgical and organisational teachings of Te Ua and the Pai Marire movement are contained in the writing, *Ua Rongopai*. Distinctives of the movement included the use of *nui* (flag) poles, tongues and prophecy in worship as a vehicle for the wind of the spirit of God to speak news to the faithful.

Although Te Ua urged peace, a violent thread emerged. A British patrol was ambushed in Taranaki on 6 April 1864. The head of Captain Lloyd was preserved and then given to Te Ua. Later that month the British settlement of Te Morere was attacked and then in May, Maori loyal to the British were attacked at Moutoa Island, Wanganui. A party sent to Gisborne by Te Ua disregarded his instructions regarding peace and incited military action, a factor in the death of Carl Volkner. While Pai Marire rituals remained in inland

Maori villages for many years, the movement lost momentum as a consequence of the British military response.¹

Nevertheless, "the militancy of some Hauhaus should not obscure Te Ua's stature as the religious thinker who separated Maori Christianity from dependence on the theology and ritual of the missionary church Hauhauism ... was the root of a tradition of biblical prophecy which has been drawn on by all subsequent Maori religious leaders."² The Pai Marire movement was a watershed for Maori religious movements, given its attempt to be national in scope, its engagement with its context, its synthesis of old and new and its role in pointing the way for other Maori religious movements such as Parihaka, Ringatu and Ratana.³

From were I sit: Maori interaction with the gospel

After minimal initial missionary impact, there was a widespread turning to Christianity among the Maori in the 1830s. A number of reasons for this widespread interest have been posited. There is evidence of Maori enthusiasm for literacy.⁴ Maori perceived the material wealth of European culture as the blessing of a stronger *atua*. Maori came to view an association with Christianity as a *taonga*, a status symbol. These motives demonstrate that the Maori welcomed this so-called "missionary invasion". "For too long the Maoris have been considered the passive agents in the face of Western impact. Much more emphasis in future must be placed on the positive role the Maoris played in the contact situation."⁵ Maori and missionary interaction is in technicolour.

However these suggested motivations are primarily secular. "In current historiography it is common to assert that the reasons were secular and ulterior - a means of access to the power possessed by Europeans or of acquiring desirable things dispensed from that source." Worldwide, religious movements have been characterised as

an indigenous search for identity. This is consistent with the changing context the Maori faced in the 1830s. Rather than dismiss this search for identity as secular, it should be recognised as "a thoroughly religious motive, even if it is not the one to which [early] missionary preaching has been addressed".⁶

Fundamental differences lay between the message the missionaries thought they were sending and the Maori perception of the message. "Their [Maori] concept of the new deity was usually not the same as that cherished by the Pakeha preachers."⁷ The Maori could only make sense of Christianity within their own worldview. Analysis of William Williams' *Christianity among New Zealanders* reveals the missionary proclamation of a gospel of sin, hell and Jesus Christ. Contemporary missiologist, Harold Turner argues that the missionary emphasis on sin, judgment and laws contributed to the development of indigenous Maori movements.⁸

Christianity can only be accepted in terms of a traditional worldview and traditional goals. "It is impossible for any of us to take in a new idea except in terms of an idea we already have."⁹ Elsmore agrees, stating,

*The Maori, in the adaptation of his [sic] own views in order to accommodate the new, naturally had to build on his [sic] own foundation in order to understand the introduced teachings, and the resulting understanding could not be expected to coincide completely with that of others made on a quite separate basis.*¹⁰

The Maori religious movements were an inevitable response to the missionaries given that where you are determines what you see. The thinking of current leading missiologists is demonstrated in this "technicolour" interaction between missionary and Maori.¹¹ "Africans [and Maori] responded to the gospel from where *they* were, not from where the missionaries were; they have responded to the Christian message as they heard it, not to the missionaries' experience of that

message."¹² This approach acknowledges the technicolour interaction between the two cultures and the deep religious search that was inherent in the Maori religious movements. It is an attempt to walk in sympathy with indigenous people, rather than importing Western secular perspectives.

This is what I heard: Pai Marire adaptation of the gospel

We have detailed the "technicolour" nature of Maori hearing the gospel from within their own worldview. We can now turn to examine the evidence that the Pai Marire movement was an interaction with Christianity. Maori religious movements, including Pai Marire, placed great emphasis on the Old Testament. A one volume edition of the Bible in Maori was published in 1868. "The most crucial factor affecting the [Maori] responses of the period 1860 to 1890 must be the translation and distribution of the volume containing ... the Old Testament."¹³ Missionary T.S. Grace wrote of his interaction with Maori, "Hauhau or not, they all appeal to the Word of God".¹⁴ The Pai Marire called themselves *Tiu* (a Maori transliteration of "Jews") and New Zealand "the New Canaan".¹⁵ A deep interaction with the Old Testament is evident in the Pai Marire movement.

The notion of a Maori link with the Hebrews came from the missionaries, who had absorbed a prevailing European understanding that the Pacific nations were linked to the Israelites. A similarity between the Hebrew and Maori languages was proposed.¹⁶ A touch of irony is present. This message sent by the missionaries, albeit underlying and unintentional, was received by the Maori.

Such reception is logical when we understand the Maori context, when we listen to where they sat. The Hebrew people were "a ready-made model for their [Maori] situation."¹⁷ The Maori could identify with being a landless people under foreign rule. The Hebrew concepts of theocracy, revenge, sacrifice, hereditary priesthood, tribal

structure, sacred places, relationship with the land, genealogy, polygamy, together with their oral culture, resonated with Maori religion and culture. The Maori were "exceedingly fond of reading the books of the Old Testament, in which they [found] described a state of civilization not unlike their own."¹⁸ "[T]hey likened their own trouble with the pakehas over land to the captivity of the Israelites and their escape to the wilderness."¹⁹ The Maori shared an affinity with another nation searching for independence and armed with a vision for a better future.

In addition, Maori could have perceived Judaism as an alternative biblical religion. Thus for Maori to align themselves with the Hebrew people and Judaism would differentiate them from missionary Christianity.²⁰ This would explain the burning of missionary books and the renaming and rebaptising which occurred in the Pai Marire movement. By identifying with Judaism, Maori could maintain a religious expression, yet could reject missionary Christianity. According to Leonard Williams, the Ringatu faith "[sprang] from a desire ... to find for themselves a religion ... different from that which is professed by those with whom they have been at war."²¹ A similar motive could have underlain the Pai Marire movement; an identification with a model of dissent, ironically mined from the text provided by the missionary.

The delay in the translation of the Old Testament was perceived by Maori as a withholding of special knowledge by the missionaries. In addition, Maori believed that the more senior a deity, the more powerful it was. Therefore the God of the Old Testament would be more powerful than Christ. Thus if the Maori were descended from the Hebrew people then they were divinely blessed, God's chosen people. This enabled European attitudes of superiority to be inverted and Maori spirituality was affirmed, in contrast to the attitude of the missionaries.

The Hebrew God "Yahweh" was interested in everyday things, which resonated with Maori understandings of how their deities acted. "God" in the Maori Old Testament was translated as *atua*; and Jehovah as *Ihowa*, paralleling Maori words for their deities.²² However, Jesus Christ was translated *ariki*, merely a high chief. Old Testament concepts of justice, righteous war and the fear of God were more familiar to the Maori than New Testament concepts of grace and salvation.²³ The Maori struggled to relate to Jesus Christ who was not perceived to be a successful warrior given the nature of his death. "So [for Maori] the Christ of Christianity was seen in a very much lesser position than was the God of the Hebrews."²⁴

Yet it is a grave misunderstanding to view the Pai Marire movement merely as a syncretistic, Old Testament based movement. The Pai Marire movement was a creative, contextual synthesis of Hebraic notions, the Old Testament, Maori tradition and Christianity.

We have explored Hebraic notions and the Old Testament. Let us explore the synthesis of Christianity. Maori supporters of the missionary work of Leonard Williams urged him to allow Christianity and the Pai Marire movement to coexist.²⁵ Te Ua Haumene believed himself called of God. Calling himself a prophet of God, he wrote, "The prophet is Tunoi, a prophet of God who sent forth the glory to the Canaan".²⁶ Clark writes,

*The recorded speeches of Te Ua to runanga in Taranaki are full of Biblical allusion and linguistic similarities The prophet's description of the proofs of his divine selection, essential to his credibility to his Maori audience, is basically Scriptural The abundance of Christian references can be explained if it is accepted that the missionaries' teaching, as interpreted by their converts, was the most comprehensive body of systematised spiritual understanding known to the Maoris.*²⁷

This points to the way the missionary gospel shaped the Maori worldview. A technicolour cultural interaction is evident.

Ua Rongopai contained New Testament references.²⁸ Tongues, prophecy and angels enjoyed a prominent role in Pai Marire worship. Te Ua expounded a Christian doctrine of peace. Clark calls this element of pacifism the "clearest and most consistent element of Pai Marire belief."²⁹ It is in contrast to other Maori religious movements which expressed an admiration for the harsher, more warlike characteristics of the Old Testament.

The modifying of Christian millennial beliefs in the Pai Marire movement was further evidence of their interaction with missionary Christianity. The movement echoed Christianity in basing the future on scriptural history and promises, but adapted Christianity to their cultural framework. Millennial hope was applied communally, in contrast to the Western individuality of the missionaries.³⁰ There was an expectation, not of the return of Jesus Christ, but of the return of land which would usher in a millennial reign of peace and freedom from oppression.

The adaptations of Christianity made by the Pai Marire movement demonstrate the indigenous and synthesistic elements of the movement. The Pai Marire "speaking in tongues" can be seen as an attempt to access the divine without European intermediaries. Perhaps the fusion of the angels Gabriel and Michael with *atua* like Rura show a similar contextualisation to that of Catholics with Mary in the Middle Ages, an intermediary to make the inaccessible (the European God) accessible. Elsmore writes that "[t]he Maori of the time were not so much rejecting the Christian message outright, but insisting that they were able to formulate their own religious response based on the part of the scriptures they believed to be more relevant at the time."³¹ In terms of the development of an indigenous contextual theology, this is to be applauded.

The availability of the scriptures in Maori gave Pai Marire a model for an alternative response. "To this end, the older scriptures gave the pattern for protest, and the religious ground on which it could

be based."³² The scriptures became a powerful tool that enabled a Maori religious expression. From a missiological perspective, this demonstrates the tremendous liberating power of scriptural translation; a compliment to the scriptures, the missionaries who translated them and to the Maori for their creative interaction with them. Perhaps the Maori religious movements were the only way the Maori could speak in a context that was inexorably moving toward assimilation.

The Pai Marire response showed the level of penetration of the missionary worldview, the depth of technicolour interaction. "The influence of the scriptures can be noted in all aspects of the Pai Marire movement - biblical notions combining Maori tradition to produce a synthesis which was both acceptable and necessary to the people in their current situation."³³ Surely this is the first step on the road to contextualisation; a contextual response with a Maori expression that sought to interact with a Biblical worldview. Research into African independent religious movements has demonstrated the dynamic role of charismatic religious leaders with little connection to the church who read scripture "in a way quite different from that of the missionaries but one quite intelligible within his [sic] own frame of reference."³⁴ Based on the missiological understandings gleaned from the African context, one must hesitate to dismiss new interpretations of scripture, but rather seek to respect and understand the context and richness of these indigenous perspectives.

A monochrome analysis of missionaries as destroyers of culture fails to account for the evidence cited above, and makes necessary a more nuanced and technicolour approach. The Pai Marire movement is an indigenous interpretation of Christianity, a message heard from where the Maori sat. This is one strand of the technicolour framework. So, given that the Pai Marire movement served as a creative non-European interpretation of Christianity, what specifically in missionary Christianity was being rejected?

This is what I saw:

Dimensions of the missionary message rejected by Pai Marire

The Pai Marire movement was a response to the cultural captivity of the missionaries in areas like their interrelationship with the state and their attitudes to justice, sexuality, contextualisation and the supernatural.

The missionaries failed to take adequate cognisance of the Maori context. By 1858 European exceeded Maori in population. Pressure on land was increasing. For Maori, loss of land resulted in a loss of unity, identity, spirituality and tradition. The Maori blamed the missionary, hence the saying that the missionaries pointed the Maori to heaven and when the Maori looked up they lost their land. "As problems created by social tension between the two cultures escalated, the Maori tended to relate them all to the alienation of the land."³⁵ This was the context for the development of the Pai Marire movement. In the 1860s, with land grievances at Taranaki at a peak, the Pai Marire movement offered an alternative, religious solution, born out of an analysis of their context.

Could not the missionaries have done more for Maori in this context? Brian Stanley documents Evangelical missionary involvement in social justice issues in other missionary spheres.³⁶ Yet in the specific New Zealand context, limited options were available to the missionaries. Grace wrote "I can do nothing but use any little influence I may have against the principle of selling their land".³⁷ Octavius Hadfield was hated by the settlers and was even accused of treason, for his role in trying to safeguard Maori land. With hindsight we might wish the missionaries had done more. Yet we must be realistic in regard to the limitations the missionaries faced. Further, the gospel as proclaimed by Te Ua had the same emphasis on peace as that of the missionary. "Te Ua appears however not to have taken sides in the controversy, preferring to go about preaching his gospel of peace."³⁸ He, like the missionaries, offered peace as a solution to the Maori loss of land.

Greater awareness of the supernatural is inherent in the Maori religious movements, a focus missing from the rationalistic and Enlightenment worldview of the missionaries. The missionaries condemned the use of the *tohunga*, the practice of divination and the linking of spirituality with the land. In contrast, the Pai Marire movement was birthed when Te Ua reported a visitation by the angel Gabriel. Angels "figured more prominently in Pai Marire than in missionary teaching".³⁹ Walls writes of African religious movements "searching for the demonstration of God's power amid human devastation and spiritual depression."⁴⁰ Pai Marire employed a similar search, evidence that the supernatural dimension was not a component of the missionary gospel.

The missionaries tended to be puritanical in their attitudes to sexuality. In contrast, the Pai Marire movement portrayed sexuality in a positive light. *Ua Rongopai* used the Old Testament to argue for polygamy. However, contrary to public perceptions, Pai Marire did not advocate adultery.⁴¹ "What [the Pai Marire movement] did do, was to deny the missionary condemnation of sex as evil, stating that it is natural for men and woman to desire each other."⁴²

The missionary gospel focused around Evangelical concerns of human depravity, atonement of Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit for inward, personal transformation.⁴³ These elements can tend to nurture an introverted, guilt-laden spirituality. "[T]he missionary was of very sober demeanour, not given to levity or laughter - a characteristic which was not suited to the Maori."⁴⁴ In response, Pai Marire encouraged the waiata, haka, lullabies and tattooing and rejected missionary strictures on card playing and liquor.

The modern Protestant missionary movement was a product of its time. The missionary worldview integrated the throne and altar, Christianity and civilisation, God and Queen, missionaries and British law. This explain actions such as missionaries acting as chaplains to government troops. Yet for Maori this paralleled their *tohunga* who

helped them defeat the enemy. One of the reasons Maori cited for the killing of Carl Volkner was that they viewed him as spy, accusing him of complicity between the church and the government.

Settlers and traders demonstrated alternative morals to those the missionaries wished to portray. Government troops attacked Maori on the sabbath. "As discrepancies were noted between the principles and the practices of the Pakeha as a race, so the faith of the converts was affected."⁴⁵ The Maori religious movements were a response to the hypocrisy they saw.

The missionaries deserve applause for learning the language and translating the scriptures. "Missionary adoption of the vernacular ...was tantamount to adopting indigenous cultural criteria for the message, a piece of *radical indigenization* far greater than the standard portrayal of mission as Western cultural imperialism [italics mine]."⁴⁶ The missionaries made some attempt at contextualisation. Williams writes of a church with Maori carvings, and the use of *karakia* by missionaries.⁴⁷

Yet the missionaries lived apart from the Maori, building fences to protect their possessions. Churches were built separately from the marae. They were constructed from wood, not the *raupo* used in Maori houses. "On the whole, they [the missionaries] sought to convert the Maori from an external standpoint, rather than becoming one with them."⁴⁸ Maori teachers were given little responsibility, decreasing the potential for contextualisation to occur. This mission policy forced contextualisation outside the sphere of missionary influence.⁴⁹ Richard Taylor commented that the Pai Marire movement arose when the missionaries were banned by the government from visiting the Maori. The inability of the missionary to contextualise the gospel is evident.

While contextualisation is a recent word, it is not a recent concept. Early Jesuits like de Nobili and Ricci are noteworthy examples

of missionaries engaged in contextualisation. However the Protestant missionaries must be understood as acting out of a context that had for centuries lacked any serious interaction with other cultures. Walls argues that Evangelicalism itself was a northern hemisphere, Protestant contextualisation of Christianity.⁵⁰

The Pai Marire movement provided a critique of the cultural captivity of the Evangelicalism of the missionary gospel. Lamin Sanneh proposes a fascinating approach in dealing with potentially syncretistic theologies.⁵¹ He argues that all theologies need the renewal and challenge of being placed in new missionary contexts. Sanneh's thesis is validated in New Zealand missionary history where the placing of a contextual Evangelical theology in this new missionary context allowed its syncretistic elements to be displayed.

The question we now need to consider is whether the missionaries did allow renewal and challenge to occur. Could the missionaries' cultural understanding of the interrelationship between throne and altar be separated from their understanding of the gospel? Could their cultural attitudes to justice, sexuality, contextualisation and the supernatural be open to the challenges evident in the development of the Pai Marire movement? This is the question a technicolour cultural analysis must ask.

How did you respond?

Missionary response to the Pai Marire movement

The next major strand of the technicolour framework that warrants investigation is the missionary response to the Pai Marire movement.

Protestant missionaries had historically dismissed Maori culture and religion. Cultural practices of *tapu*, polygamy and tattooing were condemned.⁵² Many missionaries were "lacking in understanding, and intolerant of the traditional beliefs of the Maori".⁵³

The arrival of the Pai Marire movement did not alter this stance. In fact the reverse occurred. "As these [Maori religious movements] arose, the churches took a more strictly orthodox stance, particularly regarding services which dropped their former allowances to Maori custom and became more in line with English practice. So the gap between the established churches and the new movements became more pronounced."⁵⁴ Selwyn wrote that the Pai Marire response was "simply an expression of an utter loss of faith in everything that is English, clergy and all alike." Robert Maunsell described them as "largely adopting a new superstition, in which they reject Christ".⁵⁵ Taylor labelled the movement a "blending of Mormonism and mesmerism" and as an abandonment of Christian faith.⁵⁶ He "was hopeful that the Hauhauism, which took its rise from political causes, would soon die out, and the Maoris would return to Christianity."⁵⁷

William Williams said that Maori had "given up on the way of the Son and adopted instead the way of the Father [They have] renounced Christianity though they professed to regard Jehovah as their Father."⁵⁸ He wrote of "the development of the Hauhau fanaticism with all its horrid rites, and the cruel murder of poor Volkner". Any move outside narrow missionary orthodoxy was not acceptable. As well as dismissing it, Williams demonised the movement.⁵⁹ In general, the Protestant missionaries perceived the Pai Marire movement as a rejection of Christianity.

However this response was certainly not uniform. Thomas Grace, a supporter of the Maori King movement who was deeply concerned about land sales, had markedly different attitudes from those represented above. He visited the Pai Marire after Volkner's death to "assure them I still regard them with feelings of affection." He was keen to learn about their religious beliefs and thought that the Pai Marire movement was evidence of the missionary failure to build an indigenous church. "Hauhau is clearly an attempt, under the bitterest feelings occasioned by the war, to adopt Christianity to their changed

circumstances, and to have their worship apart from us." Yet Grace still labelled the Hauhau as "fanatics" and "lunatics".⁶⁰

Hadfield argued that Pai Marire was a political, not a religious, movement. "Should not Maoris find a new religion, to strengthen their resistance to the seizure of their land?"⁶¹ The Bishop of Wellington is another rare defender of Pai Marire, viewing the movement "merely as a political engine for upholding their nationality....They have established a Maori National church."⁶² These approaches, while deserving applause for not demonising the Pai Marire movement, nevertheless ignore its religious dimensions.

Strikingly, Protestant missionary James Stack argued that the Pai Marire movement was a contextual acknowledgement of God. He described the movement as a non-European indigenous expression of Christianity; "conforming in great measure to the ritual prescribed by the English, to which they superadded many forms of their own invention compiled from ancient and modern sources."⁶³

Similarly, the perception of Catholic missionaries seemed more understanding. They had a more relaxed attitude to Maori dress and customs. The Pai Marire movement was seen as "their own interpretation of Christianity." The Hauhau attack on Moutoa Island was seen as resulting from a mix of old tribal loyalties, land and religion. This endorses the technicolour nature of cultural interaction proposed in this article. Perhaps the Catholic response is due to the greater openness of their missionary thinking in which "[a] certain synthesis of traditional and Christian customs and values was a stage on the path to the new faith."⁶⁴

A contemporary missiological response is that advocated by Harold Turner. He warns against focusing on missionary orthodoxy in contrast to heresy - Williams' approach - and against calling for a need to repent - Taylor's approach. Turner calls for an open minded attitude so that religious movements will not be driven away.

*The needs that local peoples feel most urgently and how they actually hear the new Gospel as an answer to these needs are important starting points for mission work.... They have, therefore, a vital but neglected contribution to make to discussions of cross-cultural mission, indigenization, contextualisation, enculturation.*⁶⁵

This requires missionaries to be listeners and learners.

Public perceptions in the mid 1800s undoubtedly influenced missionary perceptions. Thus we return to a theme introduced at the start: the public perception of the events surrounding the death of Carl Volkner. "European settler reaction to Pai Marire 'superstition' and Hauhau 'rebellion' (the terms were synonymous) was little short of hysterical."⁶⁶ A government proclamation in 1865 stated that the Pai Marire movement was unorthodox and should be resisted and suppressed, by force if necessary.⁶⁷ "'Hauhau' was a label used by Pakehas to designate any allegedly anti-government Maori."⁶⁸

Given these public perceptions it is not easy to construct an accurate picture of the events surrounding Volkner's death. The accounts of Volkner's death were "exaggerated from [their] first reporting".⁶⁹ Contrary to public perception, as fuelled by the newspapers, it was not the cold blooded murder of an innocent missionary by religious fanatics. Careful analysis of the events point to the fact that Volkner was killed because the Maori considered him a spy. Volkner sent letters informing Governor Grey of Maori movements. He requested that they be kept confidential, aware of the Maori response if they found out.⁷⁰ Perhaps Volkner's German background meant he desired to prove his loyalty to the British government. The death of Volkner can not be attributed to Maori seeking revenge for the removal of the Catholic priest, Father Garavel, from Opotiki given that Catholic Maori refused to participate in Volkner's death.⁷¹ Kereopa, the Maori who achieved notoriety by eating Volkner's eyes, wanted to be friends with William Williams soon after Volkner's death, thus disproving the notion that Kereopa

killed Volkner because of his hatred of the Europeans. Neither is this claim consistent with the fact that Thomas Grace, held with Volkner, was not killed. Garavel wrote that Volkner's death, "despite the assertion of all the newspapers, had nothing to do with religion or his position as a minister, and proceeded in reality from the conviction in the Maori mind of his being a Government spy."⁷² "Any religious overtones in the killing were secondary to the primary political reasons for Volkner's death."⁷³

The killing of Carl Volkner highlighted the violence that had tainted Te Ua's peaceful ideals. And thus a further nuance of technicolour dynamism was evident in the Pai Marire movement. Where other Maori sat, what other Maori believed, what other Maori heard, influenced how they responded to Te Ua's message. "Individual motivation should not be overlooked in discussing responses to Pai Marire. Here status, age, and religious affiliation can be expected to have an influence." The positive response among East Coast Maori to the Pai Marire movement occurred primarily among younger chiefs who wanted to usurp the *mana* held by older chiefs loyal to the government. "The desire to accept or reject Pai Marire, like the earlier response to the missionaries' teachings, rested very much on secular considerations."⁷⁴ It is important to remember this and not reduce the Maori response to the Pai Marire movement to a simplistic, monochromatic analysis.

Conclusion

Admiration for this religious movement that could so creatively deal with the complexity of life in the 1860s must be expressed. It was a unique, creative and critical encounter that showed the weaknesses of evangelical missionary Christianity. The Maori religious movements were the first attempt at an indigenous New Zealand contextual theology. They were not a climax, but needed

ongoing missionary sensitivity and listening, necessities which apart from isolated individuals, they never received.

The Pai Marire movement has insights for contemporary missiology. The potential of Scripture translation for indigenous expression is evident. Today the telling of the Christian story runs the same risks our missionary forebears faced, of having images misunderstood and misappropriated. If the gospel is heard through the listeners' worldview, then missiological engagement will require an attitude of open mindedness, of being a listener and a learner, of letting people journey in their search for the gospel as rooted in their context, and of respecting and understanding the context and richness of indigenous peoples.

The necessity for seeking historical accuracy has been demonstrated. Attempting to be historically accurate, we have been made aware that the Pai Marire movement was a Maori response to the missionary gospel. Hence the effect of the missionary movement, especially through translation, is much more widespread and dynamic than is often perceived. The rise of Maori religious movements, in particular Pai Marire, was an indication of the gulf between two cultures, and yet at the same time, of the dynamic interaction that occurred between them. The Pai Marire movement demonstrated that people respond from where they are and as they hear. Cultural interaction is multifaceted, fluid and dynamic. It is "technicolour".

Steve Taylor

NOTES:

1. Evelyn Stokes. "Pai Marire and Raupatu at Tauranga 1864-1867." *New Zealand Journal of History* 31, 1 (April 1997), p.83.
2. Lyndsay Head. "Te Ua Haumene." *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* Vol 1 1769-1869. Wellington, Allen and Unwin, 1990, p.513.

3. Paul Clark. *Hauhau: The Pai Marire Search for Maori Identity*, Auckland, Auckland University, Oxford University Press, 1975, p.111-112. While it was an attempt to be national, in reality it was a North Island movement. The only South Island equivalent is discussed in Buddy Mikaere. *Te Maiharoa and the Promised Land*, Auckland, Heinemann, 1988.
4. "To the Maori the new art of literacy was a further proof of the divine source of the missionaries' teaching." Bronwyn Elsmore. *Like them that Dream*. Tauranga, Tauranga Moana Press, 1985, p.26.
5. K.R. Howe. "The Maori Response to Christianity in the Thames Waikato Area, 1833-1840." *New Zealand Journal of History* 7, 1 (April 1973), p.46.
6. See for example Andrew Walls. "The Evangelical Revival, The Missionary Movement, and Africa." In Mark Noll, David W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk (eds) *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 301-330, pp.317-8, 319.
7. Clark, *Hauhau*, pp.1-2.
8. Harold W. Turner. "The Maori and the Jews: Maori Religious Movements since 1820." *South Pacific Journal of Mission Studies* 11 (July 1994) pp 30-39.
9. Walls, "The Evangelical Revival", p.318. See also Robert McAfee Brown. *Theology in a New Key*. Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1978.
10. Bronwyn Elsmore. *Mana from heaven. A Century of Maori Prophets in New Zealand*. Tauranga, Tauranga Moana Press, 1989, p.34.
11. Wilbert R. Shenk. "Toward a Global Church History." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 20, 2 (April 1996) pp 50-7. Lamin Sanneh. *Translating the Message. The Missionary Impact on Culture*. Maryknoll, Orbis, 1995. Walls, "The Evangelical Revival".
12. Mark Noll. "The Challenges of Contemporary Church History, the Dilemmas of Modern History and Missiology to the Rescue." *Missiology* 24, 1 (January 1996) pp 47-64 13. Elsmore, *Mana from heaven*, p.188.
14. Letter to CMS Secretary July 19, 1877. T.S. Grace. *A Pioneer Missionary Among the Maoris 1850-1879*, Palmerston North, Bennet and Co, p 256.
15. When Volkner was killed, the Opotiki chiefs wrote to the government, "according to the laws of the New Canaan". Letter dated 6 March 1865. Earl Howe, *Bring Me Justice*, Auckland, Anglican Provincial Bicultural Education Unit, 1991.
16. This factor had a major bearing on Thomas Kendall's approach to the completion of the first Maori grammar. Kendall wrote to the CMS secretary, 3 July, 1820. "I am deeply indebted to Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon." - John Elder, *Marsden's Lieutenants*, Dunedin, Coulls, Somerville, Wilkie Ltd and AH Reed, 1934, p.162.
17. Elsmore, *Like them that Dream*, p.62. Turner comments on the Maori as having an unusual predominance of Hebraist type movements. Turner, "The Maori and the Jews".
18. John Gorst. *The Maori King*, London, 1864, p.103. Cited in Elsmore, *Like them that Dream*, p.86.
19. Robin Winks, "The Doctrine of Hauhauism", *Journal of Pacific Studies* 62, 2, p 230.

20. James Belich. *Making Peoples. A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century.* Auckland, Penguin Press, 1996, p.221.
21. Frances Porter. "W.L. Williams." *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* Vol 2 1870-1900, Wellington, Allen and Unwin, 1993, p.582.
22. Scholarly debate exists about the origin of *Io*, and whether its origin was pre-European or a very early interaction with Christianity.
23. Elsmore also includes the New Testament concept of love, but it seems arguable that this has strong resonance with the Maori concept of *aroha*. Williams wrote; "There was no idea of a beneficent Being who might bless and prosper them, but of one who was austere and revengeful, ever ready to punish for a violation of the accustomed rites." William Williams, *Christianity among the New Zealanders*, Edinburgh, Banner of Truth, 1867, rev edn 1989, p.19.
24. Elsmore, *Like them that Dream*, p.72.
25. Porter, "W.L. Williams", p.581.
26. Elsmore, *Mana from heaven*, p.194.
27. Clark, *Hauhau*, p.63.
28. Referring to Acts, Hebrews, 1 John and Revelation.
29. Clark, *Hauhau*, p.98.
30. "All the Pakeha church does is split our tribe - brother against brother, father against son, daughter against mother." Heretaunga Pat Baker. *The Strongest God*. Whatamongo Bay, Queen Charlotte Sound: Cape Catley Ltd, 1990, p.52.
31. Elsmore, *Mana from heaven*, p.392.
32. Elsmore, *Mana from heaven*, p.205.
33. Elsmore, *Mana from heaven*, p.200.
34. Walls, "The Evangelical Revival", p.316.
35. Elsmore, *Like them that Dream*, p.29. This was common for many of the Maori religious movements. It is interesting to note that Maori religious movements arose mainly in the North Island, where Maori suffered the most from land alienation.
36. Brian Stanley. *The Bible and the Flag. Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Leicester, Apollon and InterVarsity Press, 1990, Ch. 4.
37. Grace, *A Pioneer Missionary*, p.11.
38. Clark, *Hauhau*, p.16-17. Referring to when Te Ua lived at Pakaraka near Wanganui, a town at the centre of a land dispute.
39. Clark, *Hauhau*, p.83.
40. Walls, "The Evangelical Revival", p.320.
41. "Should a man commit fornication with a woman, do not say it is evil. If they desire each other, it is right they should; these are our feelings." *Ua Rongopai*, 22, Rule 1. "It is right and proper that a man have two or three wives and that you preach accordingly. Consider Abraham and Solomon for example." *Ua Rongopai*, 22, Rule 3. "Tamper not with another's wife." *Ua Rongopai*, 22, Rule 2. Clark, *Hauhau*, Appendix.

42. Elsmore, *Mana from heaven*, p.196.
43. Walls, "The Evangelical Revival".
44. Elsmore, *Like them that Dream*, p.88.
45. Elsmore, *Like them that Dream*, p.46.
46. Sanneh, *Translating the Message*, p.3.
47. Williams, *Christianity among the New Zealanders*, p.194.
48. Elsmore, *Like them that Dream*, p.17.
49. This seems to be a contrast with Africa where Andrew Walls calls the local catechist "the terminal connection through which the Christian faith passes into the African village society." See Walls, "The Evangelical Revival", p.316.
50. See Walls, "The Evangelical Revival", p.313-4.
51. Sanneh, *Translating the Message*.
52. "Baker portrays the Maori anger over missionary condemnation of tattooing. Baker, *The Strongest God*, pp.50ff.
53. Elsmore, *Like them that Dream*, p.15.
54. Elsmore, *Mana from heaven*, p.166-7, 207 and citing Tucker, *Memoirs of Selwyn*, Vol 2. p.208.
55. Helen Garrett. *Te Manihera: The Life and Times of the Pioneer Missionary Robert Maunsell*, Auckland, Reed Books, 1991, p.274.
56. Richard Taylor, *The Past and Present of New Zealand*, London, William MacIntosh, 1868, pp.63, 66.
57. A.D. Mead, *Richard Taylor, Missionary Tramp*, Wellington, A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1966, p.255.
58. Cited in Elsmore, *Mana from heaven*, p.168-9.
59. Williams, *Christianity among the New Zealanders*, Preface, p.366.
60. Grace, *A Pioneer Missionary Among the Maoris*, p.76-77, 150, 256, 135, 141.
61. Octavius Hadfield to CMS, 6 April 1865. Cited in Clark, *Hauhau*, p.66.
62. *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 3 October 1865, p.3. Clark, *Hauhau*, p.73.
63. James Stack. *Notes on Maori Christianity*, Paper read before the Church Meeting, held in Christ's College Library, Canterbury, 30 October, 1874, p.3. Cited in A.K. Davidson. "Religious Studies in Dialogue with Missionaries." in M. Andrews, P. Mattheson and S. Rae (eds), *Religious Studies in Dialogue: Essays in Honour of Albert Moore*, Dunedin, Faculty of Theology, University of Otago, 1991, pp.112-125. p.122.
64. Jessie Munro. *The Story of Suzanne Aubert*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1996, pp.64, 75, 149.
65. Harold W Turner. "New Mission Task: Worldwide and Waiting." *Missiology* 13, 1 (January 1985), p.15.
66. Stokes, "Pai Marire and Raupatu", p.61.
67. Elsmore, *Mana from heaven*, p.161. Also "The settlers, alarmed at the unorthodoxy and alleged barbarity of the movement, responded also, usually with arms." Clark, *Hauhau*, p.5.
68. Clark, *Hauhau*, p.49.
69. Clark, *Hauhau*, p.32. Also "More has been made of the 'horrible doings' attendant on the murder of Mr Volkner than the facts bear out." Grace to CMS 7 August 1865. "We cannot rely on anything we read in the papers; therefore

Europeans cannot for the most part guide us." Grace, *A Pioneer Missionary Among the Maoris*, p.158.

70. Volkner to Grey, 16 February 1864. Howe, *Bring Me Justice*, p.12.

71. For a perspective of the Catholic involvement in the Volkner incident and subsequent hanging of Kereopa, see Munro, *The Story of Suzanne Aubert*, p.122-3.

72. Garavel to Octavius Hadfield, 12 December 1865. Cited in Clark, *Hauhau*, p.38. However, perhaps Garavel might have been trying to absolve his guilt over denominational rivalry.

73. Howe, *Bring Me Justice*, p.16. And also "Study of available sources suggests that the case against Volkner the spy is stronger than usually acknowledged, and may be a sufficient explanation, in the context." Clark, *Hauhau*, p.32.

74. Clark, *Hauhau*, pp.47, 27.