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Harden Not Your Hearts: An Examination of Conversion to and Indigenization of Christianity Among the Māori of New Zealand

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ABSTRACT

This paper studies the Christianization, and consequent indigenization of faith, by the Māori on the North Island of New Zealand in the nineteenth century. The Christianization of the Māori illuminates the process of indigenization by which foreign faiths are adopted by native populations. In examining the Christianization of the Māori, one can come to understand the process of indigenization, that is the adoption of a foreign faith by a native population. Understanding the conversion process by the British on an indigenous population allows contemporary scholars to not only acknowledge the truth of the past, but also move forward with explanations regarding the current state of relations between settlers (Pākehā) and the indigenous (Māori), as well as between the Māori and their varying faiths. Specifically, in this paper I argue that the process of conversion, as well as the impact of missionization and Pākehā desire for land, contributed to the development of Māori prophetic movements, an indigenized form of faith, which exemplified the complexities of British missionization in the nineteenth century.

Introduction

The conversion to and indigenization of Christianity by New Zealand's Indigenous peoples is a complicated matter, but a critical one to consider if historians wish to understand the intricate history between the Māori and the Pākehā.[1] Christianity was introduced to the North Island of New Zealand in 1814, but did not take root with Indigenous peoples until the 1830s, at which time, several scholars claim, there was a great awakening among the Māori in terms of their relationship with Christianity.[2] As may be expected, there was significant cultural collision between British missionaries and the Māori people, as the Europeans and Indigenous people alike wrestled with foreign customs, traditions, and social structures. However, over time, the Māori began to conform to European customs and selectively adopt Christianity to some extent.[3] This led, in turn, to an internalization of Christianity in the hearts and minds of Māori and, subsequently, to the indigenization of faith.[4] I interpret the Māoris' own prophetic movements, which began primarily in the 1860s, as a result of several decades of internalization and dissatisfaction with Pākehā involvement within New Zealand, including disputes over land and missionary relations. In this paper I will address the conversion of the Māori people, beginning in 1814,

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which in turn led to the internalization of Christianity by the Māori and, consequently, to the founding of the prophetic movements of the 1860s.[5] I will argue that the process of conversion, as well as the Pākehā desire for land, led to the indigenization of Christianity among the Māori. Using the example of prophetic movements, which, being both Christian and Māori, highlight indigenization of a foreign religion, I will demonstrate the natural complexities of spirituality and missionization in the nineteenth century.

Establishing the Nineteenth Century Māori

In order to understand the state of play in Māori-missionary relations in 1814, one should have a basic conceptualization of the Māori people themselves. The Māori are a seafaring people who sailed from eastern Polynesia around 1200-1450 AD and landed on the North Island of New Zealand.[6] While some migrated further south, the majority of the Māori population remained on the North Island. According to scholar Timothy Yates, Māori society was characterized by fishing, agriculture, and flax-making.[7] Social structure was made up of tribes and *hapu*, which were family groupings organized around a meeting house, as well as a leader who had *mana*.[8] *Mana*, as defined by Yates, is an individual's honor, personal sanctity, and personal authority.[9] As well, a chief's *mana* was emblematic of the group's *mana*, illustrating the importance of rank within Māori society.[10] Additionally, *tohunga*, as religious leaders, possessed substantial societal prestige and that they were, Yates argues, essential to the proper functioning of Māori society.[11] Furthermore, in terms of religion, the Māori believed in a pantheon of gods who represented varying aspects of nature. Two of the most prominent gods in the pantheon were Io, the alleged supreme god, and Maui, who was responsible for lassoing the sun in order to make the days long enough to both harvest and eat.[12] Yates states that Māori youth participated in a form of baptism and dedication to the gods, demonstrating the importance of religion to Māori society.[13] It is critical to note that Māori society was reliant on both societal structure and religion; therefore, when Christianity came to the Islands, it was relatively easy to relate the foreign faith with the local traditions. I will explore this further in the next section. When discussing Māori religious customs and traditions, one should also be aware that the knowledge of early Māori traditions are conveyed, in part, by missionaries and their attempt to document native custom; this may have influenced contemporary perceptions of Māori tradition, as well as modern scholarship.[14] Religion was undoubtedly crucial to traditional Māori society, a connection which proved beneficial to the missionaries as they attempted to convert the Māori from their "heathen" traditions, and proved contentious for prophetic movements, as they wrestled with their cultural heritage as well as their Christianity.

Early Beginnings of Missionization: First Contact and Initial Conversion

With a preliminary understanding of Māori core traditions, I will move towards the conversion of the Māori by English missionaries. Immediate impressions upon first contact, as well as the resulting conversion process, are significant to understanding the Māori's relationship with Christianity and to the missionaries who brought it. Examining how the British viewed the Māori, and vice versa, allows for an understanding of interpersonal relationships, as well as how and why the conversion process occurred. Samuel Marsden of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) founded the first mission station on the Bay of Islands in 1814. Notably, by 1823, the CMS were joined on the North Island by the Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS) under Reverend Samuel Leigh. An Anglican-Methodist alliance was established between the two sects, as they both agreed that they would rather the Māori remain pagan than fall under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, who would arrive in New Zealand by 1836.[15] Neither the missionaries, nor the Māori, viewed the other favourably upon first contact.

Early missionaries believed that, due to the Māori's primitiveness – a perspective based on the fact that they were without a Christian God – they needed to be

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saved through faith. William Yate writes in his 1835 book *An Account of New Zealand*, that the "strange people" were "barbarous in their habits," and considerably isolated.[16] The "barbarism" of the Māori was continually and heavily emphasized in early missionary accounts. This could be due to the need for continued support from England, as dramatic tales would often generate intrigue and subsequent donations for the mission. Scholar William Jennings argues that several priests used the professed cannibalism of the Māori in order to illustrate both the non-Christian otherness of the people, as well as to justify their mission.[17] Jennings contends that an increase in cannibalism was perhaps due to the Musket Wars of the 1820s, rather than a common practice, and that missionaries significantly exaggerated their tales of Indigenous cannibalism.[18] "Barbaric" habits such as cannibalism, perpetual warfare, and polygamous intercourse were viewed as abhorrent to the British missionaries, and validated their "humanitarian" presence within New Zealand. Such observations led to an increase in missionary activity which attempted to alienate Māori customs and traditions.

Despite the vile perceptions of the Māori held by early missionaries, they also considered the Māori people to be a more advanced form of "savage", despite their "inhumanities." George French Angas (1847) notes in his first volume of *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand* that the people of New Zealand were superior to other groups in the Pacific, due to the fact that they were lighter-skinned, spoke a language with a common root, had a form of government, exhibited advanced social and domestic regulations, and possessed "regular and pleasing features."[19] This attitude is indicative of entrenched racism, which was characteristic of the nineteenth century, as well as imperial relations overall.[20] Karen Sinclair comments on British perceptions of the New Zealand "savage". She contends that for the British who were uninterested in land, the Māori "exemplified the noble, if unenlightened savage"; however, for those interested in acquiring land, the Māori were "degenerate reprobates who did not deserve the resources of this bounteous colony."[21] Sinclair's argument is evident in the perspectives of Reverend Samuel Marsden, who writes that the Māori were a "noble race, vastly superior in understanding to anything you can imagine in a savage nation,"[22] and Governor of New Zealand, George Grey, who "having fought and conquered the natives – always an essential preliminary with him – [had] devoted himself to the work of pacificating and civilizing them."[23] One man sought conversion, the other, land. Discussion of Māori "savagery" informed the opinions of missionaries and, thus, the conversion process which they instigated. Due to their acknowledgement of the Māori as a "superior" indigenous race, many missionaries allowed elements of Māori tradition to influence their missionizing, however, others sought to crush barbarity with baptism.

The Māori held several fundamentally different perspectives of foreigners. While seemingly receptive to European traders, they were incredibly cautious when dealing with missionaries.[24] A Dutch expedition in 1642 opened contact between Europe and the Māori for the first time; unfortunately, this venture ended fatally with casualties on both sides.[25] Contact slowed for another century, but was once more invigorated by James Cook's expedition in 1770, which established a healthy relationship between the British and Māori, including fruitful trade and the exchange of ideas.[26] James Belich states in his monograph *Making Peoples* that, "it is often said that Māori believed the first Europeans and their death-dealing ships to be gods. If so, they did not flinch or flee, but fought and traded with gods."[27] This is indicative of the tenacity of the Māori people, who were determined to continue their way of life, despite the disturbance and disruption caused by European's eager desire for their material goods.[28] By 1814, the Māori were well versed in European trade, but were unfamiliar with evangelical Christianity. Thus, their approach to first contact was cautious, but open. Beyond first impressions, the relationship between the missionaries and the Māori was highly contentious. The first mission station, established on the North Island by Samuel Marsden and protected by local Chief Hongi,

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was faced with considerable scrutiny by the Māori. The Māori often stole missionary property in order to maintain the protection of *tapu*, an object which demands reverential avoidance; the missionaries viewed these acts of thievery as either extremely disrespectful or as an act of reverence to Christian God.[29] Belich contends that Hongi protected the missionaries primarily due to economic interests, as the missionaries brought a considerable amount of goods to gift and trade in order to instigate durable relations.[30] Sinclair concurs, asserting that, generally, the Māori were attracted to mission stations due to their material wealth, which included muskets, blankets, and axes.[31] Notably, Hongi maintained a monopoly on Europeans coming to the Bay of Islands and, therefore, on European commodities. This led to significant resentment between Hongi and other tribes in the area, resulting in New Zealand's bloodiest conflict: the Musket Wars.[32] Additionally, many Māori felt betrayed by Hongi's actions, viewing his acceptance of foreigners as an acceptance of their faith and, therefore, an abandonment of traditional Māori customs. Overall, first contact between the Māori and the missionaries was unstable and few Māori were persuaded by the missionaries' message. As a result, the missionaries attempted several avenues by which to convince the Māori to convert, beginning with the relationship between civilization and Christianization.

The status of the Māori as an "advanced form of savage" had to be considered during missionization. Missionaries had to decide whether the Māori's advanced society could accommodate Christian beliefs or if they first had to "civilize" the native people before proceeding, consequently creating tensions between the perception that the Māori were an advanced society and the perceived need for civilizing a foreign people. Under Samuel Marsden's leadership, missionaries first pursued civilization of the Māori, *then* their Christianization. However, as time progressed and conversions remained limited, missionaries began to deviate from Marsden's ideal, favouring Christianization and then civilization.[33] This strategy was endorsed by two separate missionaries of the early 1820s: Henry Williams and William Yate. When asked which process should come first, Williams stated that, "you cannot get a barbarous people to attend to anything of a civilizing process, or to aspire to any European habit, till you give them Christian principle."[34] Yate would concur, advocating that "civilization should never precede Christianity," and that the process of civilization in New Zealand went "'hand in hand with Christianity' from the 'very moment' that the gospel first gained a foothold."[35] As a result, Christianity was promoted before the European way of life, allowing the Māori to maintain many of their customs. Over time the Māori began to feel a connection to both Christianity and traditional beliefs, a contention which prophetic movements of the 1860s would take advantage of.

Addressing historiographic perspectives regarding the increase in Māori conversion will allow for an understanding of Māori Christianity and, therefore, the foundations of Māori prophetic movements. Several scholars claim that it was war-weariness following the 1820's Musket Wars which brought the Māori to accept the message of the missionaries. Harrison Wright, for example, argues that increased conversion was due to a rapid disillusionment with warfare, as well as overall societal change within Māori society.[36] Timothy Yates contends that the turn to Christianity was both an aspect of war-weariness and an effect of the rising number of Indigenous priests who effectively spread Christianity's message across both of New Zealand's main isles.[37] Judith Binney also supports this perspective, but emphasizes the missionaries' indispensability to the Māori; missionaries became crucial agents of trade, as well as welcome peacemakers in the face of growing dissatisfaction with continued conflict.[38] She also contends, in agreement with Wright, that missionary attacks on Māori social customs gradually eroded social traditions until many Māori had little choice but to convert.[39] On this point, Reverend William Yate would agree to some extent; he considers the shift of the Māori's attitude to be due to the CMS change in policy regarding Christianization before civilisation, alongside European interference in Māori society.[40] J. R. M. Owens also has a voice in

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this debate. He disagrees with Wright, and therefore with all scholars who contend that war-weariness was the cause of increased conversion. Instead, Owens asserts that it was the Māoris' continual contact with Christianity which led to the widespread conversion in the 1830's. Owens argues that it was a gradual change, rather than a rapid transition, suggesting that it was only a matter of time before the Māori converted, rather than a direct effect of the Musket Wars.[41]

In contrast to Owens, James Belich entirely eliminates the undermining of Māori tradition by missionaries, the contentions regarding Christianization and civilization, and the invaluable nature of mission stations, as viable arguments.[42] He contends instead that the increase of literacy and the acquisition of European knowledge as it pertained to Christianity, were contributing factors for the conversion among the Māori.[43] Additionally, Belich argues that Māori belief systems were inherently receptive to a 'convincing' new religion, as long as they had sufficient access to it.[44] I would contend that Belich is arguably the closest to finding an accurate justification for an increase in conversion. While war-weariness may have been a contributing factor to an increase of Māori reception to and adoption of Christianity, conversion would have been impossible without the crucial assistance of Māori teachers and priests who provided cultural contact.[45] It should be noted, however, that the "true" reason for increased Māori conversion during the 1830s remains contentious within scholarship, and ultimately unknowable, as neither scholars of the modern age, nor missionaries of the nineteenth century, can truly understand the complexities of a foreign culture or the truth of one's heart.

Laying the Foundations of Prophetic Movements: Conversion

From a missionary perspective, the process of conversion itself was, at least outwardly, a fairly simplistic one. There are several crucial aspects that can be examined with regards to conversion across the South Pacific; however, most prominent in regard to this discussion are literacy and the Māori themselves. In the nineteenth century, literature was the primary avenue by which to expose others to new ideas, therefore, it was a critical resource for the missionaries to bestow their teachings. By the 1830s, the Māori had developed a thirst for reading and writing, according to Raeburn Lange.[46] Leader of the CMS, Reverend Henry Williams observed that the literacy of the Māori was a key component in their conversion process and, consequently, increased the number of prayer books, as well as the Bible, which were translated from English into Māori.[47] Moreover, in mission schools, translation of English into Māori was a large aspect of the education curriculum, consequently establishing both an ease in communication and the exchange of ideas.[48] This allowed for a stronger understanding of Christian dogma, as Christian concepts could be related in a language that the Māori fully understood. Additionally, Christian concepts, such as the Trinity (God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit) could be related to Māori concepts such as *mana* and deities. This relationship strengthened Māori understanding of Christianity and, therefore, promoted a process of conversion, as well as an indigenization of the content presented. As such, literacy was fundamental to the missionization process, alongside Māori missionaries.

While conversion appeared to be simplistic on the surface, the reality of its complexities can be observed when one considers the importance of Māori missionaries themselves. Timothy Yates contributes to this discussion, stating that "a Māori conversion of Christianity was apparent from the first. Not only was it used as a means of obtaining literacy and *mana*, but it was also adjusted by its Māori missionaries."[49] Thus, one can conclude that it was not only literacy which was responsible for an increase in Indigenous conversions. The administration and interpretation of Christian texts by Christianized Māori aided the population in understanding and accepting foreign dogma. K. R. Howe discusses the influence of Māori missionaries on the content of Christianity as selective changes, contending that:

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> The Māoris did not reject one set of religious values and adopt another. By mutual instruction and endless group discussion, they selected and manipulated the most exciting, useful or relevant Christian ideas and rituals. The missionaries were well aware of this selectivity and the combination of old 'superstitions' and Protestant doctrine, and they adequately documented the lack of spiritual rebirth.[50]

Māori missionaries were critical to the indigenization process, allowing a process of adaption and adoption of faith to take place. Furthermore, their selectivity is paramount, as this selectivity of beliefs continued into the 1860s, and was taken up by the founders of prophetic movements in that they selected which aspects of Christianity to incorporate with Māori tradition.[51]

It is also important to note that foreign missionaries were well aware of Māori missionary actions, and their deliberate complacency in an effort to gain more converts laid the foundations for religious dissent. Reverend William Williams writes of Taumata-a-kura's teachings as "a mixture of truth and error, superstition and of gospel light."[52] He acknowledged that alterations occurred, but did little to correct them. This passivity may be due to the naïveté of the missionaries, in that they believed the Indigenous missionaries would not set a dangerous precedent for altering Christianity, but rather aid in the conversion of their fellow Māori. However, Māori missionaries also possessed substantial societal influence within Māori culture. Lange asserts that these Indigenous teachers took up a role similar to *tohunga*, identifying themselves closely with Māori traditions.[53] George Selwyn, the first Anglican bishop of New Zealand, noted that the native teachers appeared to hold more power and influence than the Māori chiefs.[54] This was a substantial change from only twenty years prior, when chiefs with *mana* controlled tribes and *tapu*. This change in dynamics contributed to an internalization of faith by the Māori as they contended with the relation of Christian teachings to Māori tradition. It should be noted that the internalization of faith, much like conversion, cannot be easily documented, and one can only make assumptions of another's inner thoughts based on outward empirical evidence. Within the confines of my argument, I will examine the internalization of faith in the outcomes of prophetic movements, which deliberately sought to combine Māori heritage and Christian dogma.

When discussing conversion, one must assess the ability to accurately measure such a complex internal process. Conversion numbers were reported by missionaries and sent back to England; however, their perspective is highly biased. Increased numbers of converts, recorded by the number of baptisms performed, allowed missionaries to report home that they were fulfilling their missions, but, notably, they had no physical evidence of conversion. Simply stating that individuals had converted did not mean that these "converts" had altered their entire belief system. That is not to say that true converts did not exist, as generations of religions across the globe prove that they do; however, it must be acknowledged that missionaries did not and could not know if their converts were entirely honest, or if they truly understood what was meant by "conversion." As was previously mentioned, the Māori may have desired closer contact with missionaries due to material wealth or protection from the Musket Wars, instead of religious considerations; equally, they may have begun to truly believe in the word of God presented to them by evangelical missionaries. Some would argue that a true Māori conversion did not occur because there was little significant change to Māori culture and that the Māori fundamentally misunderstood Christianity.[55] However, Binney contends that an "inadequate comprehension of the new religion does not in itself indicate an equivalent lack of social 'impact' on the native society."[56] I would concur with this sentiment, as even if full conversion was not achieved, the impact of the new religion on the Māori and their consequent internalization of certain Christian elements cannot be discounted. However, "true" conversion is something to be mindful of when discussing the reasons why the Māori increasingly converted to Christianity, particularly in the early decades of missionary involvement in New Zealand.

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Laying the Foundations of Prophetic Movements: the Desire for Land

New Zealand was granted international recognition in 1840 under the Treaty of Waitangi which placed the Islands under the official rule of the British crown. In the twenty years following, an increase of Pākehā settlement slowly began to outnumber the Māori for the first time in New Zealand's history.[57] The result of the increased influx of non-indigenous and non-missionary individuals was a rise in tension between the Māori and colonials, specifically regarding the ownership of land. Pākehā desired more land on which to settle and pressured the Māori into selling or moving from their land; many Pākehā resorted to confiscating land outright, which contributed to the instigation of the land wars of the 1860s.[58] Reminiscent of the 1820s Musket Wars, the land wars were increasingly violent, divisive, and ruinous for colonial relationships. Once more, the Māori were motivated to alter their faith, as they sought to distance themselves from Europeans and reclaim their own narrative, while simultaneously maintaining their newfound Christian faith. Scholar Jonathan Te Rire contends that,

> These religious movements were in effect a response by the Māori to the land wars and confiscation, and their belief that the Church had aligned itself with oppressors. While most Māori felt uncomfortable returning to pre-contact belief and practice, these new religious responses allowed a spiritual response that allowed them to exist culturally as Māori in the face of colonialism.[59]

Te Rire clearly illustrates the Māori perspective during the 1860s: the Māori wanted to retain their cultural traditions, particularly with the constant threat of division and extinction, and yet were unwilling to abandon their Christian faith. Due to this dichotomy, Māori-led prophetic movements began to develop as the Māori appropriated Christianity further than their own missionaries had done previously transforming it from a "means of submission into a weapon of resistance." [60]

The Internalization of Faith: Māori Prophetic Movements

Steven Kaplan states that "Christianity repeatedly absorbed elements from the cultures it entered, and thus numerous local or national Christianity's emerged."[61] This occurred within Māori society, as individuals adopted Christianity and, consequently, adapted it. The interaction between Christianity and Māori traditions occurred in the hearts and minds of the Māori and are thus immeasurable; however, what resulted were prophetic movements. Lange illustrates this transition, aptly stating that,

> Furthermore, it is clear that the Old Testament was particularly attractive to Māori hearers and it is likely that Hebrew religious stories and ideas were given greater emphasis in what Māori missionaries taught than in the preaching of the Europeans. As time went on, Māori prophets emerged; in many cases their Christianity strayed from orthodoxy in the eyes of the missionaries, but in some cases mission teachers in good standing were leaders or supporters of prophetic movements.[62]

This demonstrates the relationship between the God of the Old Testament and Māori tradition, which formed the basis of Māori prophetic movements. In addition, Lange's assertion that Māori missionaries themselves supported prophetic movements is indicative of their own internationalization of faith, as the Christianity they espoused was not identical to the desired form of European Christianity.

Māori prophetic movements developed as a result of conversion to Christianity through a deep understanding of Christian faith through literacy, the altering of Christian dogma by Māori missionaries, and an increased threat to the Māori way of life by the numerous land wars of the 1860s. These movements

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were a hybrid of Christianity and Māori tradition, illustrating the complexities of spirituality and the internalization of faith. Notably, such movements became an avenue by which the Māori could activate their agency, particularly in the face of imperial dominance demonstrated by both the colonial government and the Pākehā settlers. Sinclair states that "Māori prophets were a logical response to an increasingly irrational situation…For Māori, prophetic voices articulated both problems and solutions. For Pākehā, they represented the underside of a culture that the settlers and missionaries themselves had rescued from barbarism."[63] The development of the Pai Mārire and the Ringatū Church were the outcomes of Māori prophets' dissatisfaction with the supremacy of European Christianity. Te Ua Haumēne and Te Kooti, the respective founders of these movements, sought to combine the Old Testament with elements of Māori tradition.[64] As Māori Christians, the two men had internalized their understandings of Christian faith, which they in turn indigenized into a combination of Christian doctrine and Māori tradition. These movements began as a direct result of the bloody land wars and, as such, resonated with many Māori Christians across New Zealand. Examining these two prophetic movements in closer detail will allow for a firmer understanding of the indigenization of faith.

I will begin with the Pai Mārire who were, arguably, the largest prophetic movement of the 1860s. Te Ua Haumēne, the founder of the Pai Mārire, was influenced by Christian missionaries following his capture by Waikato Māori in 1826, during the Musket Wars. He was taught to read and write in Māori, in addition to biblical lessons. In 1862, Te Ua Haumēne founded the Pai Mārire, meaning "good and gentle;" however, they were anything but.[65] The archangel Gabriel allegedly spoke to Te Ua and revealed a new religion which would replace Christianity, a faith which gave power to the Pākehā; from the beginning, this movement was evidently anti-missionary.[66] Te Ua selected, as Māori missionaries before him had done, the aspects of Christianity that he desired, while discarding elements he found incompatible. Te Ua placed significance on the Old Testament in that he changed the Sabbath to Saturday, worshipped Jehovah over Jesus, and identified himself and his followers as *Tiu* or Jews.[67] Te Ua espoused the notion that his followers would one day gain the land of Canaan, and that upon attaining supremacy over New Zealand, the Pai Mārire would be granted the languages and sciences of the white man.[68] Jean Rosenfeld claims that Te Ua was a watershed figure within New Zealand history, in that "he established a religious ritual that democratized access to sacred knowledge and allowed commoners to assume the leadership of disaffected groups."[69] While Te Ua focused primarily on cementing his movement within the confines of Christian dogma, he also embraced elements of Māori tradition. This is evident in the *niu* ceremony and the chanting of new hymns in Māori.[70] It should also be noted that the Pai Mārire was created as a direct response to the Pākehā invasion and subsequent land wars of the 1860s. They posed significant and violent physical resistance to the settlers. While the founding principles of this prophetic movement were primarily peaceful, their actions rarely reflected such belief. Further, both Europeans and Māori were threatened by this movement and despite attempts to unify all Māori against the white man, the Pai Mārire were suppressed, often by force. Te Ua's alterations to Christianity and simultaneous use of elements of Māori culture are indicative of his internalization of the Christian faith and indigenization thereof; as well, this prophetic movement was made possible by both the literacy of its founder whilst he was imprisoned by Māori missionaries and as a consequence to Pākehā continued and forceful desire for land.

Secondly, the Ringatū Church was another serious prophetic movement founded in the middle of the land wars and exemplifies the internalization and indigenization of Christianity. Te Kooti, the founder of the Ringatū Church, was a Māori guerilla leader who was captured in 1867. During his imprisonment, Te Kooti undertook an intensive Bible study and, in a dream, he was inspired by a spirit to found the Ringatū Church, meaning "upraised hand." Much like Te Ua five years earlier, Te Kooti strongly identified with the Old Testament. As such, he emphasized

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Jewish festivals, such as Passover, as well as the Egyptian exile myth.[71] Te Kooti also incorporated several Māori traditions including the influence of *tohunga*, faith healing, and sorcery as an explanation for strange dealings.[72] Rosenfeld contends that Te Kooti attempted to bridge the gap between the old Māori religion and a new form of Māori Christianity, citing Te Kooti's emphasis on traditional Māori myths in relation to Christian dogma.[73] Similar to the Pai Mārire, the Ringatū Church followers also participated in demonstrations of violence against the Pākehā, but were less widespread and were able to continue practicing their faith without official governmental suppression. Notably, this movement was based on Te Kooti's literacy of the Bible, as well as his resistance to Pākehā settlements. Te Kooti and the Ringatū Church embodied the internationalization of Christian faith and indigenization through their hybrid form of practice, balancing Christian myths with Māori traditions. One can clearly observe the complexities of faith within New Zealand, as Māori traditions and Christian doctrines combined within the hearts of Māori people and gave rise to new, integrated traditions.

Conclusion

The process of conversion and civilization has had a significant impact on the Māori people of New Zealand. Through their interactions with British missionaries, the Māori were able to internalize and indigenize the Christian faith, as is evidenced by the development of prophetic movements. While stimulated by the contention over land, and the consequent wars which followed, the Pai Mārire and the Ringatū Church movements are prime examples of such an internalization of Christianity due to conversion, and its consequent indigenization within Māori heritage. These prophetic movements are illustrative of the inherent complexities of spirituality which resulted from Christian missionization of the nineteenth century. This investigation is by no means a complete summation of the intricacies of these prophetic movements, and for the sake of brevity, I have excluded several elements surrounding these movements. However, I included key aspects which I believe most clearly illustrate the indigenization of Christianity. This study is critical to understanding the conversion process by the British on an indigenous population and allows contemporary scholars to not only acknowledge the truth of the past, but also move forward with explanations regarding the current state of relations between Pākehā and Māori, as well as between the Māori and their faiths.

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Notes

1. The term "Pākehā" is the Māori word for European settlers and New Zealanders of European descent; see *Collins English Dictionary s.n* "Pākehā, n." accessed October 29, 2020, https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/pakeha.
2. I reference a great awakening similar to those which impacted the Thirteen Colonies in the 1730s and 40s in which individuals returned to Christianity from secularism. J. M. R Owens, "Christianity and the Māoris to 1840," *The Australian Journal of Politics and History* 13, no. 1 (1968): 20.
3. Raeburn Lange, "Indigenous Agents of Religious Change in New Zealand, 1830-1860," *The Journal of Religious History* 24, no. 3 (2000): 291.
4. Indigenization can be defined as "the act or process of rendering indigenous or making predominantly native; the adoption or subjection to the influence or dominance of the indigenous inhabitants of a country." Within this paper, indigenization refers to the Māori adoption and adaption of Christianity brought forth by various British missionary groups. See *Collins English Dictionary s.n.* "Indigenization, n." accessed October 29, 2020, https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/indigenization.
5. Prophetic movements refer to religious movements which began through the creation of a prophecy by a prophet. These movements are based in a specific faith, in this instance, Christianity, but focus heavily on a higher prophecy for guidance. In the case of the Pai Mārire, the prophet is Te Ua Haumēne and his prophecy is led by the angel Gabriel for a overthrow of colonisers; with respect to the Ringatū Church, Te Kooti is the prophet and his prophecy is the reestablishment of Māori traditions with Christian myths in order to reaffirm Māori heritage in the face of threatened extinction.
6. Timothy Yates, *The Conversion of the Māori: Years of Religious and Social Change, 1814-1842* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2013), 1.
7. Ibid., 2.
8. Ibid., 2-3.
9. It should be noted that *mana* was derived from one's forebears, also indicating the significance of ancestors. See Yates, 3; James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders From Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 81.
10. Belich, 81.
11. *Tohunga* individuals are of particular importance when discussing the prophetic movements of the 1860s, as the prophet's Te Ua and Te Kooti took on this role in their leadership of their respective movements. On this issue, see Yates, 6.
12. For further specifics on Māori deities, see Belich, 108-109.
13. Yates, 5.
14. In order to engage with honest and accurate scholarship, instead of biased accounts, one should consult materials produced by Māori scholars themselves or Māori oral histories, particularly as traditional Māori histories are oral based. For an example of early British documentation of Māori religion, see Edward Shortland, *Māori Religion and Mythology* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1882). For Māori scholarship, see Jonathan H. A Te Rire, "The Dissipation of Indigeneity Through Religion," (master's thesis, University of Otago, 2009), chapter four, https://ourarchive.otago.ac.nz/handle/10523/5188.
15. Belich, 135.
16. William Yate, *An Account of New Zealand and of the Formation and Progress of the Church Missionary Society's Mission in the Northern Island* (London: R.B Seeley and W. Burnside, 1835), 3.
17. William Jennings, "The Debate Over *Kai Tangata* (Māori Cannibalism): New Perspectives from the Correspondence of the Marists," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 120, no. 2 (2011): 140.

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18. The Musket Wars were incredibly violent and primarily tribal; they resulted in mass starvation and death, therefore driving a desperate need for sustenance which often was fulfilled by cannibalism. It should also be noted that Māori cannibalism did exist within Māori society prior to European contact. There is also significant debate regarding cannibalism, with some scholars arguing that cannibalism transferred *mana,* while others contend that cannibalism had little do with *mana*. There is also continual debate as to whether cannibalism was fact or fantasy; on this issue, see Gananath Obeyesekere, *Cannibal Talk: the Man-Eating Myth and Human Sacrifice in the South Seas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) and Paul Moon, *This Horrid Practice: The Myth and Reality of Traditional Māori Cannibalism* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2008).
19. George French Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand: Being an Artist's Impressions of Countries and People at the Antipodes* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1847), 303-304.
20. This is a broad topic in of itself. For a more expansive discussion on colonial racism and attitudes, see Douglas Lorimer *Science, Race Relations and Resistance: Britain 1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).
21. Notably, not all first impressions across New Zealand held by either party were emblematic of other interactions; however, one can draw similarities and general conclusions between varying accounts. On this issue, see Karen Sinclair, *Māori Times, Māori Places: Prophetic Histories* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2003), 17-18.
22. Quoted in William Williams, *Christianity Amoung the New Zealanders* (London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 1867), 3.
23. This is in reference to Governor Grey's assimilation policies enacted to gain more land; on this issue, see James Collier, *Sir George Grey, Governor, High Commissioner, and Premier: An Historical Biography* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1909), 59.
24. Belich, 137.
25. Ibid., 120.
26. Ibid., 122.
27. Ibid., 111.
28. Of particular interest to the Europeans was New Zealand flax, which Māori produced en masse. Due to the disruption of regular trade routes by European conflicts, including the Napoleonic Wars, timber and flax were in short supply, but still essential to the military. As well, whaling and sealing were of considerable interest to Europeans and generated significant contact; on these issues, see Belich, chapter 5.
29. *Tapu,* according to Yates, is something sacred which demands reverential avoidance; on this issue, see Yates, 3; Henry Thomas Purchas, *A History of the English Church in New Zealand* (Christchurch: Simpson and Williams, 1914), 25.
30. It should be noted that missionaries did not trade as liberally in muskets as whalers did, but nevertheless offered Hongi a significant advantage in material goods in comparison to other local tribes; on this issue, see Belich, 157-158.
31. Sinclair, 18.
32. The Musket Wars were prompted by entrenched tribal rivalry and the increased availability of muskets. The Māori carried on their centuries-old tribal conflicts, however, by 1820, they had access to muskets and gunpowder, which consequently escalated the level of warfare. The Musket Wars are crucial to this argument because of what immediately followed the decades of conflict: an increase in baptisms and conversions to Christianity. These wars, to some scholars, created the conditions which made the Māori receptive to Christianity, and thus the process of a internalization of faith. By the 1830s, warfare slowed, and the Māori population began to accept missionaries for their Christianity, instead of solely for their

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economic benefit. The conditions of this transition are contentiously debated between scholars seeking to explain why many Māori abandoned their traditions in favour of a foreign faith. On this issue, see Belich, 157-159; Yates, 46.

33. Yates, 20-21.
34. Quoted in Brian Stanley, “Christianity and Civilization in English Evangelical Mission Thought, 1792-1857,” in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids: William. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2001), 192.
35. Quoted in ibid.
36. Harrison Wright, *New Zealand, 1769-1840: Early Years of Western Contact* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959), 159, 164.
37. Yates, 52-53, 62.
38. Judith Binney, “Christianity and the Māoris to 1840: A Comment,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 3, no. 2 (1969): 152.
39. Ibid.
40. Quoted in ibid., 148, 151.
41. Owens, 30.
42. Belich, 165.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. It should be noted that it is only by being willing to accept a new faith that one can begin to internalize it and, consequently, promote it to others; in this case, gradual acceptance of faith was done by increased cultural contact vis-à-vis trade and education.
46. Lange, 281.
47. It should be noted that Māori written language was done through symbolism until European contact. See Sinclair, 18.
48. For further discussion of missionary education of the Māori, see Ian W. G. Smith, “Schooling on the Missionary Frontier: The Hohi Mission Station, New Zealand,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 18, no. 2 (2014): 612-628; Angela Middleton, “Missionization in New Zealand and Australia: A Comparison,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 14, no. 1 (2010): 170-187.
49. The acquisition of *mana* through Christian conversion is a fascinating discussion; on this issue, see Yates, 122.
50. K. R Howe, “The Māori Response to Christianity in the Thames-Waikato Area, 1833-1840,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 7, no. 1 (1973): 44.
51. James Gump, “The Imperialism of Cultural Assimilation: Sir George Grey’s Encounter with the Māori and the Xhosa, 1845-1868,” *Journal of World History* 9, no. 1 (1998): 102.
52. Quoted in Lange, 283.
53. Ibid., 290.
54. Quoted in Lange, 288. For a more detailed exploration of Māori missionaries, see Raeburn Lange, *Island Ministers: Indigenous Leadership in Nineteenth Century Pacific Islands Christianity* (Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, 2006), chapter 8.
55. Binney, 159.
56. Ibid., 160.
57. Sinclair, 20.
58. There was also significant confiscation by the government during these wars, as land was awarded to Pākehā and loyalist Māori soldiers for their service. On this issue, see Te Rire, 35.

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59. Ibid. Sinclair, 21.
60. Steven Kaplan, ed., *Indigenous Responses to Western Christianity* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 2-3.
61. Lange, 291.
62. Ibid.
63. Paul Clark, *'Hauhau:' The Pai Mārire Search for Māori Identity* (Trentham: Auckland University Press, 1975), 5; Johannes Anderson, "The Upraised Hand or the Spiritual Significance of the Rise of the Ringatū Faith," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 51, no. 1 (1942), 20.
64. Clark, 6.
65. Sinclair, 21.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Rosenfeld, 87.
69. The *niu* ceremony involved chanting around a ceremonial mast with traditional body paintings; on this issue, see Sinclair, 22-23.
70. Sinclair, 23-24.
71. Ibid.
72. Rosenfeld, 91, 94.

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