

Gospel Power for Civilization:
The CMS Missionary Perspective on Maori Culture
1830-1860

By Sarah Dingle

**A Thesis submitted
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in History
at the University of Adelaide**

March 2009.

Contents

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements.....	v
Notes and Abbreviations:.....	vi
Maps.....	vii
<i>Introduction: Limited Missionaries and the Limits of History?</i>	1
<i>Chapter One: Missionary Perceptions of Maori Christianity and ‘Saving Faith’</i>	15
<i>Chapter Two: Religion and Culture</i>	40
<i>Chapter Three: Gospel and Attitudes to Culture</i>	62
<i>Chapter Four: The Nature and Meaning of Civilization</i>	84
<i>Chapter Five: Christianity the Means of Civilization</i>	109
<i>Chapter Six: Swords into Ploughshares, Part One: War and Peace</i>	131
<i>Chapter Seven: Swords into Ploughshares, Part Two: Industry, Agriculture and the Home Front</i>	149
<i>Chapter Eight: Godly Governance</i>	170
<i>Chapter Nine: Learning to Live: Education and Civilization</i>	191
<i>Chapter Ten: Europeanization and Cultural Change</i>	212
<i>Conclusion: The CMS Missionary Perspective of Maori Culture</i>	228
<i>Appendix 1: Glossary of Maori terms</i>	235
<i>Appendix 2: Names and Locations of Major Missionaries</i>	236
Bibliography	238

Abstract

This thesis is an historical analysis of nineteenth century Protestant Christian mission in New Zealand, with a particular focus on religion and theology, and their role in shaping the perceptions of Church Missionary Society missionaries as they observed and related to Maori people and their culture between 1830 and 1860. It showcases theology as the primary paradigm in which missionaries understood and commented upon Maori, as opposed to other culturally received frameworks. It argues that historians have given too little attention to this theological paradigm and have therefore failed to grasp its significance for accurately portraying the missionary perspective on Maori culture.

The significance of religious worldview is highlighted by an examination of the meaning and role of the Christianity-Civilization nexus in missionary thinking. The following pages explore the relationship between the two terms: why and how they were linked, both in general, and in a New Zealand-specific context. The arguments of this thesis are put forward through a close examination of CMS missionary documents, particularly letters and journals, as well as published source materials. This study highlights the moral and religious basis of CMS missionary notions of civilization, and emphasises their theological outlook as the most powerful factor that impacted on missionary 'civilizing' activities in New Zealand. It underscores the reality that missionaries were religious people and often viewed the world around them in a religious way. The implications of this fact mean that historians must give significant attention to the missionaries' religious worldview in order to portray missionary perceptions of Christian mission, Maori people, culture and civilization in an accurate light.

For family and friends at Coro.

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

Signed:

Date:

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to acknowledge the efforts of my supervisor, Associate Professor Rob Foster, and thank him for his support, encouragement and feedback throughout the process of writing this thesis, and acknowledge and thank Dr Paul Sendziuk, and Rob Linn, for wading through various stages of my manuscript.

Special thanks must also go to the History department at the University of Auckland for hosting me for six months during my research. Thanks to Professor James Belich and Associate Professor Peter Lineham for helpful comments during my stay in New Zealand, and also to Samuel Carpenter for valuable discussion, the insights of his thesis on 'civilization' in New Zealand parliamentary debates, and continued encouragement. Thanks must also go to the staff in Special Collections at the University of Auckland, and also Auckland City Library and Auckland War Memorial Museum Library for their help during my research. I also wish to acknowledge the Endeavour scholarship team and the Department of Education, Science and Training, and thank them for their support and funding to carry out my research in New Zealand.

And last, but importantly, my thanks to Dr Vesna Drapac, without whose 'gentle push' this work would not exist.

Notes and Abbreviations:

Abbreviations

AUL Auckland University Library

APL Auckland Public Library

AML Auckland War Memorial Museum Library

NZETC New Zealand Electronic Text Centre at Victoria University of Wellington.

NZJH New Zealand Journal of History

Notes on the text:

Most Maori words have been written in italics, except where they form part of a direct quotation. Although Te Reo Maori is not considered to be a foreign language in New Zealand, because this is an Australian PhD thesis I have decided to italicise the words. Meanings may be located in the glossary in the appendix at the end of this thesis. Also, I have chosen to spell civilization with 'z' rather than 's' (this is the preferred form of spelling in the online Oxford English Dictionary), although some quotations which appear in the text use 's' in spelling the word. Also, I have referred to the movement commonly known as the Enlightenment with a capital 'E' in order to distinguish it from a general experience of 'enlightenment.'

Within quotations capitalisation, spelling and punctuation, or seeming lack thereof, have been left as they appear in the documentary source.

Maps

Maori Tribal Areas ¹

NOTE:

This map is included on page vii of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

¹ Source of map: Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand Illustrated*, Penguin, Auckland, 2007, p.80.

Location of Mission Stations to 1845²

NOTE:

This map is included on page viii of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

² Source of Map: Malcolm McKinnon, (ed.), *New Zealand Historical Atlas Ko Papatuanuku e Takoto Nei*, David Bateman, Auckland, 1997, Plate 36.