

Saintly, Sinful or Secular

1814 – 1895

viewed through the lens of

Te Māramataka 1895

and its historical notes

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Mihi

*Tēnei te mihi atu ki a Kingi Matutaera Ihaka nāna i hoatu ki ahau tētahi taonga,
nāna i tono ai kia rangahautia te hōhonutanga i roto i te taonga rā.*

E Matu, ka nui te mihi ki ōu whakaaro rangatira me tōu tono ki ahau.

E waenga o ēnei mea katoa, ka kī tonu koe, 'He tangata, he tangata, he tangata'.

Moe mārie mai, e kara, me inoi atu mō mātou e noho nei i tēnei taha o te arai.

In the 1980s the late Archdeacon Sir Kingi Matutaera Ihaka gave me a copy of *Te Māramataka 1895*. We discussed it on a number of occasions and each pledged to let this 1895 booklet challenge our thinking and acting in relation to people and events of the past and how we might appropriately commemorate them.

One thought we shared was to list those events that were of sufficient interest to be included in a modern Māramataka, using the principles which seemed, to we two, to have guided the 1895 publisher. Non-Anglicans such as Te Whiti and Tohu of Parihaka, and the Ringatū founder Te Kooti Te Turuki had been included. If we were to add similar events from the hundred years since 1895, would people such as Rua Kenana or Tahupotiki Ratana be included?

Sir Kingi undertook another closely related project. He composed a **Poi** to commemorate the Māori evangelists who were clearly missing from the 1895 Māramataka. He included eight Anglican evangelists in the Poi, and they were eventually included with the names of other Māori and missionaries in the Calendar of the 1989 *A New Zealand Prayer Book ~ He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa*.¹ Sir Kingi's **Poi** tells the story of the spread of te rongo pai (the gospel) through different tribal areas. Those he incorporated are: Rota Waitoa the first Māori deacon ordained to the Anglican ministry, Wiremu Te Tauri of Whanganui, Manihera and Kereopa of Ngāti Ruanui, martyrs at Tokaanu, Piripi Taumata-a-Kura of Ngāti Porou, Ngakuku of Waharoa who was an evangelist to Whakatōhea, Ihaia Te Ahu, priest, an evangelist in Te Arawa, and Te Wera Hauraki in Ngāti Kahungunu.

¹ *A New Zealand Prayer Book ~ He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa*, Christchurch: Genesis Publications, 2005 edition, page 10; and Appendix 3.

Introduction

This essay is organized into three chapters and a conclusion.

Chapter One consists of an examination of time and the division of time, and leads on to an analysis of systems for measuring and organising time, to the use of almanacs, and, in the liturgical context, to lectionaries, ordo, and directories.

Chapter Two is in two principal parts. In the first, **Te Māramataka 1895** is examined and analysed. In the second section the set of historical notes is rehearsed and reflected on as the historical view of the author of **Te Māramataka 1895**.

Chapter Three examines for whom **Te Māramataka 1895** was designed, looks at the staff and students of Te Rau Kahikatea Māori Theological college, and others ordained though not trained at Te Rau, and surveys seven individuals to assess their likelihood as the author of **Te Māramataka 1895**.

The *Conclusion* seeks to summarise and determine the questions posed.

The large number of *Appendices* reflects the difficulty of access to the relevant documents and publications and seeks to give the reader the information appropriate to the examination of **Te Māramataka 1895**.

I began with a copy of **Te Māramataka 1895** and set out to see if I could find any explanation of the historical notes it contained. I wanted to know if they were, as it seemed on the surface and in the light of current Anglican lectionaries, a list of persons and events that were to be commemorated in the daily services of the church as of religious significance. Alternatively, if they were not to be commemorated were they to be vilified as examples of sinful persons or events from which the churchgoers of the 1890s might learn and whose behaviour they should avoid. Or, thirdly, were they merely of secular concern and of general and historical interest only. In addition, I sought any indication as to whether or not this list of persons and events was the view of the author, or authors, as they looked back over the previous eighty years and reflected on the story of the Christian mission, and on the events that resulted from the Treaty of Waitangi and subsequent European settlement in Aotearoa. Was this list a lens through which they evaluated all that had happened since the gospel was first preached at Oihi in 1814? In doing this I will compare the writings about the same period by both secular and church historians and look for points of commonality and difference.

Te Māramataka 1895 was the starting point of this quest and though I later found there had been Anglican Māramataka published from 1841 until 1923 and editions with historical notes between 1885 and 1898. I chose to use this particular edition of *Te Māramataka* as the pivot for my research, partly because I had, as I said in my Mihi, been given a copy of that year by the late Archdeacon Sir Kingi Ihaka, and also because it seemed suitably representative, with very few additional items added in subsequent years.

The word māramataka ² in the title of this booklet refers to ‘the month’s, or moon’s, coming around’. It is used to indicate both Calendar and Lectionary. **Te Māramataka 1895** has a title page, followed by one for the dates for the eclipses of the moon, the Calendar with one page for each month of the year, including a Lectionary with headings indicating the scriptural passages to be read on each Sunday and Principal Feast Day, and an appendix of two new Hymns, with first lines ‘E Ihu, reme a t’Atua’, and ‘Ta Ihu poroaki mai’, for general use. ³ It was the custom to add new hymns or other ‘useful information’ to the annual Māramataka. ⁴

As well as the authorised Holy Days and Saints’ Days in the Calendar of **Te Māramataka 1895** there are a number of historical events listed on particular days with the year of occurrence. These fall into a number of categories such as: international events and those relating to the crown, governors and provinces, natural disasters, events of significance to Māori, and those of missionary or settler interest. ⁵

It is these historical notes that are the subject of this essay. Questions I will seek to answer include: Who determined which events would be included? What was the intention for their use? Why are some people and events ‘missing’ from the list? Why are some apparently controversial events or persons included? Who was expected to

² I have throughout attempted to follow the orthographical convention promulgated by *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* in macronising place names and pre-1950 personal names, except when actually quoting from a published source.
http://www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz/maori/pub_m/conventions.shtml Ngā Tikanga Tuhi, whārangi 2 me 13, i whiwhi ki tēnei i te 6 o ngā rā o Hui-tangaru 2011, // http://www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz/english/pub_e/conventions.shtml Nga Tikanga Tuhi_english.pdf, pp. 2, 13, accessed 6 February 2011.

³ These hymns became hymns 181 and 182 in the 1896 hymnal, an enlarged collection (‘fifth edition’) of 186 hymns of which 5,000 copies were printed by ‘R. Coupland Harding, Farish-street,’ Wellington.

⁴ See also the list of these annual ‘extras’ incorporated into Appendix 13.

⁵ Parkinson, Phil G, & Griffith, Penny, *Books in Māori, 1815-1900 - Ngā Tānga Reo Māori: An Annotated Bibliography - Ngā Kohikohinga Me Ōna Whakamārama*, Auckland, NZ: Reed Pub, 2004, #S201, 1895, p. 827. See Appendix 14.

use this resource? What would Church worship leaders, clergy, māngai reimana, kaikarakia, kaumātua, and others make of it?

To achieve this I will seek to find out when and where Māramataka were published. Whether such publications were solely for te Hāhi Mihinare, the taha Māori of the Anglican Church, and whether such historical notes were consistently used throughout the period. I will examine the link, if any, between the publication of annual Māramataka and Te Rau Kahikatea, the Māori theological college, as established in Turanga (Gisborne) in the 1880s. When did the college press begin printing and what material did the college use? Currently, lectionaries and their contents, are the responsibility of the Church's Liturgical Commission. I will seek any record of any Liturgical or other church committee or commission who might have designed and approved the content. If I fail to find such a committee I will look for suitable persons, probably clergy, who might have been the potential originator(s) and author(s), and, by giving details of their lives and backgrounds, seek to show whether or not such an identification is likely. In looking for a target audience I will seek to identify the staff and alumni of the Māori theological college, and any others ordained during the period in question.

Chapter 1 ~ Almanacs, Ordo, and Lectionaries

An **almanac** may be defined as an annual publication containing a calendar with important dates and statistical information such as eclipses and other astronomical data, seasonal weather and agricultural or horticultural information, tides tables, and matters of general interest or relating to a sport or pastime. It might contain information about the timings and dates of court sittings. One for religious and church use would contain the dates of festivals and commemorations.

There are secular and church definitions of the words almanac, calendar, ordo and directory. Some see the almanac as being based on the custom of ancient Rome of posting a notice in a public place so that people would know what religious festivals were to take place in the next month. It is suggested that the name 'the Kalends' given to this public notice put up on the first day of the month, comes from the Greek word *καλεω* (*kaleo*) 'I call'. And so *Calendarium* and *Calendar* come down to us.

John Brady in his 1839 *Clavis Calendaria, or A Compendious Analysis of the Calendar* writes,

The calendar, strictly speaking, refers to time in general, almanac to only that portion of time which is comprehended in the annual revolution of the earth round the sun, and marking, by previous computation, numerous particulars of general interest and utility; religious feasts public holidays; the days of the week, corresponding with those of the month; the increasing and decreasing length of the day; the variations between true and solar time; tables of the tides, the sun's passage through the zodiac; eclipses; conjunctions and other motions of the planets, &c., all calculated for that portion of duration comprehended within the year. . . The calendar denotes the settled and national mode of registering the course of time by the sun's progress. An almanac is a subsidiary manual formed out of that instrument.⁶

Eviatur Zerubavel in *Time Maps* invents the term 'mnemonic communities' and claims,

[an] extremely useful social site of memory in this regard is the calendar. As a cycle of "holy days" specifically designed to commemorate particular historical events, the calendar year usually embodies major narratives collectively woven by mnemonic communities from their past. Examining which particular events are commemorated on holidays can thus help us identify sacred periods in their history.⁷

⁶ Brady, John, *Clavis Calendaria, or A Compendious Analysis of the Calendar*, H. Washborne, 1839. <http://www.archive.org/details/claviscalendari01bradgoog>

⁷ Zerubavel, Eviatur, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003, p. 30.

Zerubavel studies the commemorative patterns of 190 countries and invents another word

commemograms capture the uneven chronological distribution of historical “eventfulness.”⁸

Solidifying such periodic fusion with the past through the establishment of an *annual cycle of commemorative holidays* is one of the main functions of the calendar.⁹

Most “holy days” are symbolically associated, and therefore also calendrically “synchronized,” with certain *days* in a group’s history. [He included Waitangi Day in a list of examples.] Yet even such remarkable effort to literally *synchronize calendrical and historical time* certainly pales compared to the church’s unparalleled sociomnemonic accomplishment of featuring the three calendar months from Ash Wednesday to Pentecost as a perfect calendrical replica of three specific months in the year AD 30!

As one might expect, synchrony of this sort has unmistakably essential connotations given the exceptionally evocative *seasonal identity* of the historical “then” and the calendrical “now.”¹⁰

In *Hidden Rhythms* Zerubavel quotes Plautus to question whether time can adequately be measured by the sun and sun-dials rather than by one’s belly,

The gods confound the man who first found out
How to distinguish hours---confound him, too,
Who in this place set up a sun-dial,
To cut and hack my days so wretchedly
Into small pieces! When I was a boy,
My belly was my sun-dial---one more sure,
Truer, and more exact than any of them.
This dial told me when ‘twas proper time
To go to dinner, when I ought to eat;
But now-a-days, why even when I have,
I can’t fall to unless the sun gives leave.
The town’s so full of these confounded dials . . .¹¹

⁸ Ibid., p. 31. See also *Europa World Year Book 1997*, London: Europa Publications, 1997; Haines, Miranda (ed.), *The Traveller’s Handbook 1997*, 7th edition, London: Wexas, 1997; Henderson, Helene, & Thompson, Sue Ellen, *Holiday, Festivals, & Celebrations of the World Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Detroit: Omnigraphics Inc., 1997; Weaver, Robert S., *International Holidays: 204 Countries from 1994 to 2015*, Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1995; Gregory, Ruth W., *Anniversaries and Holidays*, 4th ed., Chicago: American Library Association, 1983; *Chase’s 1997 Calendar of Events*, Chicago: Contemporary Publishing Co., 1996.

⁹ Ibid., p. 46-7. See also Zerubavel, ‘Calendars and History: A Comparative Study of the Social Organization of National Memory’, in *States of Memory: Conflicts, Continuities, and Transformations in National Retrospection*, edited by Jeffrey K. Olick, Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003; and Eliade, Mircea, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1959, pp. 68-113.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 47.

¹¹ Zerubavel, Eviatur, *Hidden Rhythms: Schedules and Calendars in Social Life*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981, p. 48.

Like some others Zerubavel suggests that monasticism has much to do with the pattern of time and especially the notion of 'clock time',

The common fold characterization of the monk is humourously rendered in a famous French song:

Frère Jacques, Frère Jacques,
Dormez-vous, Dormez-vous?
Sonnez les matines, Sonnez les matines,
Din, din, don, Din, din, don.¹²

The rhythm of the sun and moon and the seasons are named in many cultures as part of the divisions of time. Perhaps the Judaic seven-day week is the most pervading influence in the West and as colonialism spread around the world, so did Judeo-Christian annual cycles of week, month, and year.

The first Christians were Jews and continued to observe the Jewish religious festivals. It was not until Christianity became largely a Gentile movement that new rhythms grew up alongside the Jewish ones.

The date of Easter [being] set following the full moon is to ensure that Easter never falls on a full moon – [and] ought to be viewed within the context of the fact that Passover is always celebrated on a full moon.¹³

When Shabbath was translocated to Sunday, the Day of Christ's Resurrection, some of the Jewish antecedents remained but not all.

Originally the Hebrews called the days ~ 'First in the Sabbath', 'Second in the Sabbath', etc. Modern Hebrew ~ 'First Day', 'Second Day', . . . Shabbath is a feminine word, Jewish personification of the Sabbath as a bride-queen. The association of the sacred with delight is only secondary to its separation from the profane.

This may be symbolised by the prayer,
Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who makest a distinction between holy and profane, between light and darkness, between Israel and the heathen nations, between the seventh day and the six working days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest a distinction between holy and profane.¹⁴

As the early Christians worked out their place in a secular society they allowed the rhythm of the Sabbath to be augmented first by the Easter and then the Christmas cycles of readings and prayers and later the witness of the confessors and martyrs led to prayers at their tombs.

¹² Ibid., p. 32.

¹³ Ibid., p. 77.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 115, 116, 123, 125.

An article on 'Devotion to the Saints' in the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* suggests a Jewish precedent for devotion to the saints,

A Jewish anticipation of the conception is found in 2 Maccabees, where Judas Maccabaeus sees Onias and Jeremiah in a dream 'with outstretched hands invoking blessings on the whole body of the Jews' (15:12). In the NT the gift of special privileges for certain persons in the next world is held to be indicated in Christ's promises to the Apostles (Mt. 19:28), while support for the idea that the dead may intercede on behalf of the living has been found in the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Lk. 16:19–31). Other NT references commonly invoked are the description of the saints of the Old Covenant as a 'cloud of witnesses' (Heb. 12:1), which Christians are to imitate (13:7), and the martyrs who pray before the throne of God (Rev. 6:9 f.) and receive white robes (7:14–17) as a reward of their martyrdom. But the principal theological basis of the practice is the Pauline doctrine of the Body of Christ, in which all members have their particular office (Rom. 12:4–8) as 'fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God' (Eph. 2:19). It is the implications of this teaching about the Church rather than specific references to the subject that are commonly held by its advocates to constitute the biblical foundation of devotion to the saints.

¹⁵

In the period leading up to the Council of Nicaea the main changes in Christian observance relate to the Easter cycle, the Feast of Pentecost, and the development of the Cult of the Martyrs and Confessors. Cyprian is credited with assuring the Church of the efficacy of intercession for the departed, and Origen with a theological explanation of how the intercession to and by the saints was held within the Communion of Saints but that a change of behaviour is required of those who pray.

From the fourth century, devotion to the saints spread rapidly, and there are liturgical developments at the same time. Icons with representations of the saints and lists read out during services began during this time. During the Middle Ages, shrines became places for pilgrimage, and patron saints were considered important. Among other concerns, a number of abuses grew up, driving the move towards reform in the sixteenth century. These related to prayers offered to the saints and money paid to escape the perceived consequences of personal or family members' misbehaviour, these were called 'indulgences' and were also described as buying days out of 'purgatory'.

The essential teaching of the Christian Church provided for the sanctification of time. The principle was based on *pars pro toto*, a biblical idea in which a portion of time was dedicated to God as a symbol of dedicating all time to God. This principle could be applied to differing parts of life not just to saying prayers and attending public worship. Some Christians made it a pattern of their whole way of thinking and

¹⁵ Livingstone, E.A. (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by F.L. Cross, 3rd ed. Oxford: OUP, 2005, entry: 'Saints, Devotion to the', pp. 1454–56.

acting. The monastic movements and the various religious reforms all used this to define their basic purpose. The same idea is found in the offering of first fruits in the Hebrew scriptures and in many religious groups in many cultures over a long period of time.¹⁶

A second basic thesis for Christian prayer and worship is summed up in the proverb or motto *lex orandi lex credendi*, often translated as 'the law of prayer is the law of belief'. This is a shortened version of an almost identical motto *legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi* meaning 'the law of praying establishes the law of believing'.¹⁷

Liturgical theologians from the Eastern Orthodox, Western Catholic and Reformation churches such as Schmemann, Wainwright, Kilmartin, von Allmen, and Lathrop agree on a wide range of liturgical and theological principles that underlie Christian liturgy and worship. This applies to understanding about baptism, the eucharist, ministry, daily and weekly worship and the place of the commemoration of the heroes and saints of the past.¹⁸

The Lectionary was originally the book which contained the scripture readings for the Eucharist. In general, until the Middle Ages, it was the custom to take the readings directly from the Bible rather than to write out collections of selected passages. The Lectionary would be a list giving the first few words at the beginning of the passage (the 'incipit'), and the last few words ending the passage (the 'explicit'). The lists could also be found in lesson indexes, 'capitularies', or catalogues. So for a long time the Lectionary consisted only of biblical references. There were other liturgical books for different services. These included the 'Antiphonary' for the sung parts of the Mass, the 'Sacramentary' for the Eucharist. The full 'Missal' from about the thirteenth

¹⁶ von Allmen, Jean-Jacques, *Worship Its Theology and Practice*, translated from the French by the Rev. Dr Harold Knight & the Rev. W. Fletcher Fleet, London: Lutterworth Press, 1965, especially pp. 237-9.

¹⁷ ...obsecrationum quoque sacerdotalium sacramenta respiciamus, quae ab apostolis tradita, in toto mundo atque in omni catholica Ecclesia uniformiter celebrantur, ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi ~ Let us consider the sacraments of priestly prayers, which having been handed down by the apostles are celebrated uniformly throughout the whole world and in every catholic Church so that the law of praying might establish the law of believing. This was most clearly expounded by Prosper of Aquitaine, *De vocatione omnium gentium*, 1.12 (PL 51.663D-665A). English Translation: P. de Letter, *St Prosper of Aquitaine: The Call of the Nations*, Ancient Christian Writers 14, Westminster, MD: Newman/London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952, pp. 51-3.

¹⁸ Schmemann, Alexander, *The Historical Road of Eastern Orthodoxy*, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963; Wainwright, Geoffrey, *Doxology*, NY: Oxford, 1980; Wainwright, Geoffrey, *Worship with One Accord: Where Liturgy and Ecumenism Embrace*, NY: Oxford, 1997; Daly, Robert J. (ed.), Edward J. Kilmartin SJ: *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology*, Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1998; von Allmen, Jean-Jacques, *Worship Its Theology and Practice*, translated from the French by the Rev. Dr Harold Knight & the Rev. W. Fletcher Fleet, London: Lutterworth Press, 1965; Lathrop, Gordon W., *Holy Things: A Liturgical Theology*, Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993; also his, *Holy People: A Liturgical Ecclesiology*, Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999; and his, *Holy Ground: A Liturgical Cosmology*, Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003.; Taft, Robert, *Beyond East and West*, Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1984.

century replaced the 'Antiphony', 'Lectionary', and 'Sacramentary'. In a similar way the 'Breviary' replaced another three books, the psalter, the antiphonal and the hymnal.¹⁹

The term 'the Lectionary' expanded its usage to today's two types or basic forms. One is a simple table of readings, which give the liturgical day or date, and the scriptural references for the texts that are to be read out. The other is a full text edition with the passages, pericope, and selections, printed out in full in a particular translation. The former is more common in the Methodist, Lutheran, Anglican, and Presbyterian traditions while the latter is the usual form for Roman Catholics and some Episcopal/Anglican and Lutheran churches in parts of Europe and particularly in North America.²⁰

The printing press had an extensive use in the Christian churches from the mid fourteenth century. Among the first Church books to be printed in England were those known as *Directorum Sacerdotium*. These diocesan directories were guides for the recitation of the daily Offices and Masses according to the needs of a particular diocese or group of dioceses, such as the Sarum or Salisbury directory. The rules would take into account the local and universal saints' days and festivals. The modern title is *Ordo recitandi* and refers to the rules for the recitation of the Office, the Liturgy of the Hours, the Prayer of the Church.

In 1549 the 'first Edwardian Prayer Book' *The Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies after the Use of the Church of England* was authorised. The opening pages included 'A Table and Kalendar for Psalmes and Lessons, with necessary rules pertainyng to the same'.

In the 1552 'second Edwardian Prayer Book' the opening section comprised 'The Table for the order of the Psalmes to be sayed at Mornyng and Euenyng Prayer; The order how the rest of holy Scripture is appointed to be read; An Almanack; and The

¹⁹ Jones, Cheslyn, Wainwright, Geoffrey, & Yarnold, Edward (eds), *The Study of Liturgy*, London: SPCK, 1978, p. 66-8; Lowther Clarke, W.K. (ed.), *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*, London: SPCK, 1954, pp. 296ff; Davies, J.G. (ed.), *A New Dictionary of Liturgy & Worship*, London: SCM Press, 1986, 'Books, Liturgical,' pp. 96ff; Livingstone, E.A. (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by F.L. Cross, 3rd ed. Oxford: OUP, 2005, entry: 'Liturgical books'.

²⁰ Consultation on Common Texts (eds), *The Revised Common Lectionary*, Norwich: The Canterbury Press, 1992, p. 9; Davies, J.G. (ed.), *A New Dictionary of Liturgy & Worship*, London: SCM Press, 1986, 'Lectionary,' pp. 297-9; Jasper, Ronald C.D. (ed.), *The Calendar and Lectionary: A Reconsideration by the Joint Liturgical Group*, London: Oxford University Press, 1967 pp. 15ff; The Standing Liturgical Commission of the Episcopal Church (eds), *The Church Year: The Calendar and the Proper of the Sundays and Other Holy Days Throughout the Church Year, Prayer Book Studies 19*, New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1970, pp. 46-53; Bradshaw, Paul F. (ed.), *Companion to Common Worship, Volume 1*, Vol. 78, Alcuin Club Collections, London: SPCK, 2001, pp. 5-21.

Table and Kalēdar for Psalmes and Lessons, with necesarie Rules apperteynyng to the same’.

After the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 a new Prayer Book was prepared. A section of 18 pages had a similar set of tables and rules printed at the beginning of the 1662 Prayer Book. These were: ‘The Order How the Psalter is Appointed to be Read; The Order How the Rest of Holy Scripture is Appointed to be Read; Proper Lessons to be read at Morning and Evening Prayer on the Sundays and Other Holy-Days Throughout the Year; The Calendar with the Table of Lessons; Tables and Rules for the Moveable and Immoveable Feasts together with Days of Fasting and Abstinence through the Whole Year; A Table of All the Feasts that are to be Observed in the Church of England Throughout the Year; A Table of the Vigils, Fasts, and Days of Abstinence to be Observed in the Year; A Solemn Day for Which a Particular Service is Appointed’; and there were several Tables to Find the Date of Easter, Tables of Moveable Feasts, and also other General Tables.

Anglican Prayer Books were printed in te reo Māori from 1838 onwards. The first ‘complete Book of Common Prayer’ was printed in 1839 ~ *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga, me era atu tikanga, i whakaritea e te Hahi o Ingarani, mo te minitātanga o nga hakarameta, o era atu ritenga hoki a te Hahi; me nga Waiata ano hoki a Rāwiri, me te tikanga mo te whiriwhiringa, mo te whakaturanga, me te whakatapunga o nga pihopa, o nga piriti, me nga rikona*, but it was not till the 1848 edition that it contained any of the Tables found in the English book.

Te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga . . . is commonly called *Te Rāwiri*, the David book, because the words *ngā waiata a Rāwiri*, the Psalms of David, are prominently printed on a line of their own on the title page of the prayerbook.

In his letter of 3 August 1850 to the Church Missionary Society (CMS) Robert Maunsell wrote, ‘I am not satisfied with your views respecting the book published by the Ch. Know. Society.’²¹ The insertion of the responses to the Apocrypha I certainly do regret. For the omission of the ‘preface’ of ceremonies, the non allusion to the homilies in the 2nd rubric after the Nicene Creed, the omission of the Articles, Archdeacon W. Williams & myself are I suspect chiefly responsible. We never intended the book to be a complete counterpart of the English Prayerbook, & we were really too much pressed by other duties to feel inclined after our hard ‘fag’, in

²¹ The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, founded in England in 1698, printed Anglican Prayer books for a number of the colonial churches.

which my health was weakened to proceed with that compendium of divinity so admirable to us but too abstract at present for native minds'.²²

The second 'complete edition of the Book of Common Prayer' published in 1852 contained 24 pages of tables and rules. These were: *Ko Te Tikanga Mo Te Korerotanga o Nga Waiata*; *Ko Te Tikanga Mo Te Korerotanga o Era Atu Wahi o Te Karaipiture Tapu*; *Ko Te Tepara Tuatahi ko nga Upoko i Whakaritea mo te Karakia o te Ata o te Ahiahi i nga Ra Tapu, me era Ra Nui o te Tau*; *Ko Te Tepara Tuarua (mo ia marama)*; *Ko Te Tepara Tuatoru mo nga hakari e kore e tuturu*.

My oldest personal copy of *Te Rāwiri* is that of 1858. Phil Parkinson and Penny Griffith in their *Books in Māori, 1815-1900 - Ngā Tānga Reo Māori: An Annotated Bibliography - Ngā Kohikohinga Me Ōna Whakamārama* state that the 1858 edition is 'a reprint of the 1852 edition of the complete Book of Common Prayer and that 4,000 copies were printed for the SPCK ('te Komiti mo te Whakapuaki i te Mohiotanga a te Karaiti')'. They further note that the Alexander Turnbull copy has *Ko nga himene*, 52 hymns, of 16 pages, tipped in at the end, as does my copy.²³ 'Tepara Tuarua' of 12 monthly pages in that edition shows the set readings for each day of each month.²⁴ This is identical to the equivalent section in the Table from the Calendar with the Table of Lessons from the *Book of Common Prayer* 1852.²⁵

The first major revision of the daily readings since 1549 took place in 1871.²⁶ Most of the changes affect the Old Testament readings with shorter readings and a greatly reduced selection from the Apocrypha. These changes were included in editions of *Te Rāwiri* published subsequently, as for example in Tepara II of the 1883 edition.²⁷ English language editions also made the same 1871 changes.²⁸

²² Papers of the New Zealand mission, 1809-1914, CMS Archive, University of Birmingham; microfilm copy at WTU, Micro-MS-Coll-04-56, Various letters New Zealand mission, CN/O 64(a) quoted in Parkinson and Griffith page 185.

²³ Parkinson, Phil G, & Griffith, Penny, *Books in Māori, 1815-1900 - Ngā Tānga Reo Māori : An Annotated Bibliography - Ngā Kohikohinga Me Ōna Whakamārama*, Auckland, NZ: Reed Pub, 2004. #474, pp. 239-40.

²⁴ For a sample page see Appendix 4.

²⁵ See Appendix 5.

²⁶ Lowther Clarke, W.K. (ed.), *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion*, London: SPCK, 1954, p. 297; Blunt, John Henry (ed.), *The Annotated Book of Common Prayer: Being an Historical, Ritual, and Theological Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England*, London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1895, pp. 112-3; Daniel, Evan, *The Prayer-Book: Its History, Language, and Contents*, Redhill, Surrey: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., Ltd., 26th ed., 1948., p. 135; Cuming, G.J., *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, London: Macmillan St Martin's Press, 1969, pp. 199-200.

²⁷ For a sample page see Appendix 6.

²⁸ For a sample page see Appendix 7.

An example of a modern equivalent would be **The Lectionary Te Māramataka 2011**. This includes a great deal more lectionary and other liturgical information and extends to 129 A5 pages. There are sets of readings for the Sunday and daily Eucharist, Morning and Evening Prayer, alternatives for Sundays and Saints' Days, Special Sundays to highlight a particular theme, information on liturgical colours, precedence in liturgical observance, and some historical notes.²⁹

Te Māramataka 1895 lists the scriptural readings set for Morning and Evening Prayer for the Sundays and principal Holy Days following the tables. The set of readings for the Holy Communion is not included as it is printed in full in a section of its own in *Te Rāwiri*.

A number of minor saints' days, sometimes called 'black-letter saints' days', are included in the English Book of Common Prayer but these are not included in *Te Rāwiri* or in **Te Māramataka** as they were mainly saints relating to the story of the spread of the gospel in England and Europe. What would kaumātua and others make of the English saints such as Chad, Alphege, Bede, Boniface, Alban, Swithin, Augustine, Etheldrede, Hugh, and Edmund, let alone the earlier European saints like Hilary, Prisca, Agnes, Benedict, Cyprian, Hierome, Denys, Cecilia and Lucy, in the absence of a Māori encyclopedia or some other Māori language guide or text? The CMS missionaries did not think it would be useful for Anglican Māori to commemorate these in Aotearoa. Only New Testament saints are included in **Te Māramataka 1895**.

During the second half of the twentieth century there have been revisions of Prayer Books in many parts of the Anglican Communion. Member churches have sought to include commemorations particularly relevant to their nations and contexts.

From 1966 onwards the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia has added special commemorations and produced its own Calendar in *A New Zealand Prayer Book ~ He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* 1989. These include Archdeacon Sir Kingi Matutaera Ihaka's previously mentioned proposals and others from New Zealand, the South Pacific, and the Post Reformation history of the Christian Church.

³⁰ The list includes this comment, 'We remember many people who have provided

²⁹ See Appendix 8.

³⁰ See Appendix 2. See Appendix 3 for the list of those commemorated in *A New Zealand Prayer Book ~ He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa*.

inspiration and an example of Christian living in the history of this country, or who have contributed to the development of Christianity in this country.’³¹

There is a further statement of purpose, ‘We include in the Calendar the names of people whose lives and work give special encouragement to others of all ages, and to those engaged in various aspects of the Church's life and witness. They are not all from remote history. Modern times have also produced men and women whose lives have excited other people to sanctity and deeper discipleship.’³²

There is provision in the New Zealand Prayer Book for further ‘Diocesan, Tribal, Local or other Commemorations: Commemorations of people of local significance whom the community wishes to celebrate.’³³

Within the Anglican Communion it had suggested that there be some commonality for choosing people to be commemorated in new Prayer Books and the **Anglican Consultative Council** meeting in Cape Town, South Africa, in 1993 agreed to guidelines to be followed in selecting appropriate persons to be included in Anglican Calendars.³⁴

³¹ *A New Zealand Prayer Book ~ He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa*, Christchurch: Genesis Publications, 2005 edition, page 10.

³² *Ibid.*, page 11.

³³ *Ibid.*, page 11.

³⁴ See Appendix 9 for the Anglican Consultative Council 9, Resolution 21, with current guidelines for commemorations in Anglican Prayer Books. See also Mitchell, Leonel L., ‘Sanctifying Time: The Calendar’, in Charles Hefling & Cynthia Shattuck (eds), *The Oxford Guide to the Book of Common Prayer: A Worldwide Survey*, pp. 476-83, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006; Buchanan, Colin, ‘Saints in Anglicanism-Inherited and What Others, If Any?’ in M. Barnard, P. Post, & E. Rose, *A Cloud of Witnesses: The Cult of Saints in Past and Present*, pp. 325-32, Leuven: Peeters, 2005; Gray, Donald, ‘Choosing Twentieth-Century Saints for Westminster Abbey’, in M. Barnard, P. Post, & E. Rose, *A Cloud of Witnesses: The Cult of Saints in Past and Present*, pp. 333-44, Leuven: Peeters, 2005.; Booth, Ken (ed.), *For All the Saints: A Resource for the Commemorations of the Calendar*, Hastings: General Secretary, the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, 1996; Bradshaw, Paul F. (ed.), *Companion to Common Worship, Volume 1*, Vol. 78, Alcuin Club Collections, London: SPCK, 2001, pp. 22-51; Brown, Peter, *The Cult of the Saints: Its rise and function in Latin Christianity*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981; A Commission appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, ‘The Commemoration of Saints and Heroes of the Faith in the Anglican Communion’, pp. 86, London 1957; Joint Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury, ‘Revision of the Lectionary’, pp. 66, London, 1917; Church of England Liturgical Commission, *Prayer Book Revision in the Church of England*, London: SPCK, 1958; also ‘The Calendar and Lessons for the Church's Year’, pp. 95, London, 1969; A Select Committee of the Church of India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon appointed by the Metropolitan to review the principles of Prayer Book Revision in the Anglican Communion, ‘Principles of Prayer Book Revision’, pp. 105, London: SPCK, 1958; The Standing Liturgical Commission of the Episcopal Church (eds), *The Church Year: The Calendar and the Proper of the Sundays and Other Holy Days Throughout the Church Year*, *Prayer Book Studies* 19, New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation, 1970, pp. 3-21; The Episcopal Church, *The Proper for the Lesser Feasts and Fasts Together with the Fixed Holy Days*, 3rd ed., New York: Church Hymnal Corporation, 1980; The Anglican Church of Australia, *A Prayer Book for Australia*, Alexandria, NSW: Broughton Books, 1995; The Church of Ireland, *The Book of Common Prayer*, Dublin: Columba Press, 2004; Le Cead Údarás Na hEaglaise, *Leabhar Na hUrnaí Coitinne Agus Mhinieastrálacht Na Sacraimintí*, Baile Átha Cliath: Foilsithe ag Cumann Gaelach na hEaglaise, 2004.

What would a nineteenth century Māori Anglican have seen in the way of secular Almanacs and Calendars for comparison? During that century there were a great number of almanacs published each year in most European countries. The annual day when the almanacs were published became something of an event, and on 'printing day' there was competition to get the latest edition out to the furthest parts of the country to satisfy the desire of subscribers.³⁵ These almanacs contained much local and national information and some were almost mini-encyclopedias. The settlers brought the custom of producing such almanacs to New Zealand. Good examples are the *Taranaki Almanac* and *Stubbs' Poverty Bay and Wairoa Almanac*. Both of these included calendars with notation of previous historical events that had taken place on specific dates. The *Taranaki Almanac* of 1869 included a range of items, astronomical, agricultural, and matters of local interest, as well as a monthly calendar which mentions a number of historical events.³⁶

The Stubbs' publication was called in full *Stubbs's Poverty Bay and Wairoa Almanac: Directory and Guide for [1887]: Handbook for the East Coast Electoral District: Its Statistics, Resources, Etc., Etc., Etc.*[sic] It comprised 200 pages in a hard cover, each calendar page having a blank lined page opposite for notes, and included a huge range of items indexed under 211 line notations. Among them were a 4 page Business Directory, Government and Local Government Directories, 10 pages of Poverty Bay postal addresses, Seasons of the year, Principal Articles of the Calendar, Fixed and Movable Festivals, anniversaries, Etc., A page for each month with New Zealand and international historical events listed, and opposite each of these a blank Memorandum page, Eclipses, Astronomical Phenomena of the Year, Statistics relating to Birth, Death, Marriages, Emigration, Immigration, Public Revenue, Debt, Imports, Exports, Population by Province, Alienation of Crown lands, Stamp Duties, numerous pages of Customs Tariff of Dutiable Goods, Farm and Garden Calendar, Rateable property by county, Shipping and agricultural information, Legislation of the previous year, the 9 members of the Royal Family in line to the throne, Poverty Bay sheep returns listing those of 129 runholders, a Ready Reckoner, Harbour Bye Laws, Travellers' Guide to the East Coast District, Overland distances, the times for local mails, and so the list goes on.³⁷

³⁵ See Appendix 17.

³⁶ See Appendix 10 for a sample page, and Appendix 11 for a list of historical events in the *Taranaki Almanac* of 1869.

³⁷ See Appendix 12 for a sample page.

The Taranaki Almanac and *Stubbs' Poverty Bay and Wairoa Almanac* belong to a tradition which some think goes back to Roger Bacon's use of the term in 1267, or at least to the first printed almanac at the Gutenberg press at Mentz, Germany in 1457.

Almanacs, especially Farmers' Almanacs, were printed in America in the 17th century. 'An Almanack for New England for 1639', was compiled by William Pierce and printed by Stephen Daye in Cambridge, Massachusetts on the year-old Harvard University Press. This was the first American almanac and Stephen Daye brought the first printing press to the English colonies.³⁸ The same website states that Benjamin Franklin published 'Poor Richard's Almanac' from 1732 to 1758.

There seems to have been a tradition in eighteenth century England to print and distribute the annual almanac on or about 22 November each year. In the same spirit as getting the first Bluff oysters to restaurants in Auckland at the beginning of the season there was competition to get almanacs distributed to subscribers throughout Britain on the 'Almanac Day'.³⁹

The Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers (better known as the Stationers' Company), one of the Livery Companies of the City of London, was founded in 1403. It received a Royal Charter in 1557, and long held a monopoly over the publishing industry. Furthermore it was officially responsible for setting and enforcing copyright regulations until the passage in 1709 of 'An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by vesting the Copies of Printed Books in the Authors or purchasers of such Copies, during the Times therein mentioned', commonly called the 'Statute of Anne'. The short title of the statute is the 'Copyright Act 1709'. The Stationers' Company maintained their monopoly of the printing of almanacs until 1775 when Thomas Carnan successfully contested that right.⁴⁰

We may speculate ~ Was **Te Māramataka 1895** influenced by these secular Almanacs?

³⁸ http://inventors.about.com/od/bstartinventors/a/Banneker_5.htm accessed 3 June 2011.

³⁹ <http://www.thebookofdays.com/months/dec/19.htm>. See Appendix 22, Almanac Day at Stationers' Hall, accessed 3 June 2011.

⁴⁰ <http://www.thebookofdays.com/months/dec/19.htm>, accessed 3 June 2011.

Chapter 2 An examination of Te Māramataka 1895, and the historical notes

I set out to find if **Te Māramataka 1895** was the only example of its kind. Bishop Herbert Williams's *Bibliography of Printed Māori to 1900* ⁴¹ had some information but most useful was *Books in Māori, 1815-1900 - Ngā Tānga Reo Māori: An Annotated Bibliography - Ngā Kohikohinga Me Ōna Whakamārama* compiled by Phil Parkinson and Penny Griffith. ⁴² I discovered that at least one Māramataka was published each year from 1841 to 1923, a total of 82 years. ⁴³ I prepared a list showing the year each Māramataka was published, noting the printer, whether any additional material was included, whether historical notes were listed, where I had obtained or sighted copies, and where copies are held. ⁴⁴

I was able to view 50 copies of Te Māramataka in the Grey Collection at the Auckland Public Library. This was particularly interesting as some of the copies had hand written notes on them including one with 'Bishop of Waiapu' written on the cover. This would have been William Williams, first bishop of Waiapu. His hand written notes indicated where he was on particular days. It was possible to imagine him journeying around his diocese and often stopping one day at a time at each church or marae community.

Some further 16 editions were available at the Library of the Auckland War Memorial Museum. Again it was interesting to see the handwritten notes of the people who had owned and used the various Māramataka. Whilst going through one box I was amazed to find a copy of a booklet not mentioned in H.W. Williams or Parkinson & Griffith. It was a translation of some chapters from the Apocrypha into Māori, printed by H.W. Williams at the Te Rau Press in Gisborne in 1901 and comprised the chapters that were set, in the 1871 lectionary, to be read at Morning and Evening Prayer during October and November. I was surprised because I had always been told that none of the Apocrypha had been translated, as the 'British and Foreign Bible Society will not print the Apocrypha, and an edition in Māori without financial assistance from that society seems unlikely'. ⁴⁵ I have been delighted to transcribe and macronize the text and make it available for use.

⁴¹ Williams, Herbert W., *A Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900 and Supplement*, Wellington: A.R. Shearer, Government Printer, 1975.

⁴² Parkinson, Phil G, & Griffith, Penny, *Books in Māori, 1815-1900 - Ngā Tānga Reo Māori: An Annotated Bibliography - Ngā Kohikohinga Me Ōna Whakamārama*, Auckland, NZ: Reed Pub, 2004. (Hereafter BiM)

⁴³ Ibid., BiM S201, pp. 817-31.

⁴⁴ See Appendix 13, pages 1 to 5, columns 1 to 6.

⁴⁵ Rosevear, Watson, *Waiapu: The Story of a Diocese*, Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade, 1960, p. 170.

As an aside to the issue of Anglican Māramataka ~ whilst at the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library I also came upon two copies of Wesleyan Māramataka published in 1851 and 1854 respectively. Very few were published, those that were, being produced early in the 1850s.⁴⁶ There were some similarities to the Anglican Māramataka. No scriptural references for readings were provided though themes were provided for Sunday, such as 'He is coming in the clouds and we will see him face to face', 'Kiss the child and don't be angry', 'The friend of the worthless person will die', 'Bow your heads before him in the desert, and his enemies will be consumed in the dust'. The 1851 edition had a list of Kings and Queens of England and some agricultural advice. There were a number of historical notes, 12 to do with the Wesleys, 3 with Martin Luther, as well as reference to the Queen and Prince Albert and various Governors. There is mention of Ruapekapeka, and the burning of Bishop Cranmer by the Church of Rome in 1556, a long fulmination against the Romish Gunpowder Plot of 1605 on 5 November, and the invention of the printing press on 14 August in 1437. It is hard to see a close connection to the Anglican historical notes, which did not appear until 1885, more than 30 years after the last Wesleyan Māramataka was published.

To return to the main Anglican enquiry ~ I was able to obtain further photocopies of Te Māramataka for 1882, 1883, and 1888 through library inter-loan. Some of those were from the Alexander Turnbull Library.

As well as copies being available at the Auckland Public Library, the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library, the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, and the Hocken Library, Dunedin, a few are held by Australian libraries. For Te Māramataka 1861 see NZETC website.⁴⁷

Appendix 13 also lists the **additional material** printed at the end of individual Te Māramataka for 41 of the 82 copies. These vary from astronomical information to Old Testament chronologies. Agricultural hints alternate with Synod resolutions. A number of new hymns are introduced in this way, and clergy are informed about their stipends.⁴⁸ Te Māramataka by its annual appearance was able to act as a means of communicating interesting information. Extracts from the Church Catechism made learning the catechism easier. In 1844 a table of the chronology of the people of

⁴⁶ Parkinson, Phil G, & Griffith, Penny, *Books in Māori, 1815-1900 - Ngā Tānga Reo Māori: An Annotated Bibliography - Ngā Kohikohinga Me Ōna Whakamārama*, Auckland, NZ: Reed Pub, 2004, BiM S211, pp. 832-35.

⁴⁷ <http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-BIMs201Pamp.html>

⁴⁸ Appendix 13, pages 4 to 6.

faith since the Creation of the world in 4000 BC sits alongside a version of the Lord's Prayer, which is set on a separate page so that it could be taken off and kept separately, presumably for family teaching purposes. In 1864 a translation by W.L. Williams of the hymn 'Veni Creator' was printed on single sheets with Te Māramataka for use at ordination services. In 1890 five prayers for children were printed. Unlike every other year, 1889 was remarkable for there being no eclipses, and the only addition was a comparative summary with statistics of adherents to Christianity and other religions. In 1892 a timetable of Jewish months, feasts, and Bible lessons appeared in tabular form. In 1894 there was a table of distances between places mentioned in the Bible. In 1896 a table of the miracles of Christ with New Testament references was followed, in 1897, by a similar treatment of the parables of Christ, and in 1898 by a list of mountains in the Bible. 1901 was an opportunity to explain the purposes of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, known as the SPG, and in 1915 there was an explanation of the colours of altar cloths for various seasons of the church year.

More technical advice in this additional material included William Martin's explanation of English jurisprudence. Others included: a Wellington doctor's advice on the care of women and babies; a table of distances from Auckland; a cure for smut in wheat (a serious disease); how to make leaven; recipes for curing bacon and cooking wheat; instructions for sharpening a mill; six ways to improve Māori villages; and a table of forbidden degrees of relationship affecting marriage.

Of particular interest in **Te Māramataka 1895** was the number of **historical notes** attached to certain days of the year. Archdeacon Sir Kingi Matutaera Ihaka and I had remarked on these when we first looked at the copy he gave me. On examining the annual publications I was surprised to find that such inserted historical notes were only to be found in the editions for the years 1885 to 1898.⁴⁹ I then made a list of all these historical notes on the dates concerned, noting where an entry was inserted or removed, and where there were minor changes in the attribution.⁵⁰

I then divided these historical notes into categories, with a translation into English, and added a summary by categories in chronological order.⁵¹ The pattern for 'Missionary arrivals and clergy deaths' appeared selective. The date of a missionary's arrival in the country was apparently significant and there are 7 named arrivals plus

⁴⁹ Appendix 13, pages 3 to 4, 4th column.

⁵⁰ See Appendix 15. All translations are mine unless noted otherwise.

⁵¹ Appendix 14.

the item relating to the arrival of the first missionaries in 1814. Seven deaths are also listed. I will return later to the question of what criteria there might be for some to be included and others not. The mission events other than arrival and death are the first baptisms and ordinations, the death of the first baptismal candidate and the return of Bishop Selwyn to England.

The category I have called 'arrivals, deaths and departures of governors' has a surprising seven items, but again the logic for selection is not immediately obvious. In Appendix 14's list of other deaths there are 12 items as diverse as Captain Cook killed by the people of Hawaiki, the execution of Kereopa, and the deaths of Prince Albert and Wiremu Kingi Te Kawau. Also included from 1894 is the death in 1893 of Te Kooti to which we will return later when asking questions about why these people are listed. The tone of the Māori language used to identify each item will need to be examined to try to assess the 'flavour', whether of approval or approbation.

In Appendix 14 I make the comment that some of these historical events seem to us from our perspective both somewhat political and rather gloomy or depressing. And many of them seem most unusual to find in a Church Calendar. One of the questions that I will look at later is ~ what was the intention of those who put these events into the dates and months for year after year? Was it to praise or to blame? Was it to encourage prayer for the dead or a warning to the living? Are those praying to think of the consequences of sin, or to be encouraged to repent?

Next, looking at the three categories Civic, Church, and Māori events, I sought answers to the following questions; Did the distribution of the Māori events favour the East Coast? What further breakdown could I make of the types of Māori events? and, Was there any apparent pattern to the year in which items were added? ⁵² To the first of these questions my conclusion was that Māori events were distributed across the tribes and the list did not specially favour the East Coast. ⁵³ To the second question my response was that the Māori events could be easily grouped as (i) he whawhai, he horonga, he kohuru (battles, sieges, and murders) of which there were 27 examples; (ii) te matenga o tētahi tangata (the death of a named person) 11 examples; (iii) ētahi atu mea (another general category) 5 examples. ⁵⁴ For the third question, the answer was less conclusive with the majority of entries being added in

⁵² Appendix 16.

⁵³ Appendix 16, pages 3 & 4.

⁵⁴ Appendix 16, page 4.

the first two years.⁵⁵ The lone entry for 1841 was Queen Victoria's birthday on 24 May which appears throughout the series and which I have not included in my calculations.

The total for the number of historical notes included in Te Māramataka for each year ranged from the lowest of 34 in 1885 and 33 in 1886 to 87 in both 1896 and 1897. There is a trend towards increasing numbers as time goes on.

The question could be asked: as the Book of Common Prayer had been printed in te reo Māori with the essential Tables for readings why was it necessary to print a Māramataka? I have a mental picture of a kaumātua in a small rural community lighting a candle in the church and ringing the bell for Morning or Evening Prayers. Or, perhaps, taking his kerosene lamp across the fields and down the road. Morning and Evening Prayers in the whare karakia with a bell rung would have been the norm for any who could manage to get there. This would probably be at daybreak and dusk or else, just before and just after.

Those who were not able to attend would have family prayers on rising and in the evening. 90 per cent of Māori were living in their rural homelands during that period. Most would not see a daily newspaper though Ngā Niupepa Māori had an avid subscriber clientele. Some might have owned a pocket watch but most rural people of the time would have governed their lives by the sun and the seasons. So having a Māramataka may well have enabled the local community, the māngai reimana, kaikarakia, or other leader to have kept the weekly rhythm of the church's liturgical year on track. This might well have been especially useful for Sundays when most of the community would make an effort to attend.

An ordained minister would have had a series of communities, hapū and whānau to relate to, and may have made regular visits perhaps with a day's walk between each church or marae community. Such a circuit or pattern of church services might mean that when the priest arrived at a particular place it became their festival day, their extra Sunday, and Holy Communion could be shared in, marriages and baptisms celebrated, and the sick visited. The annual Māramataka could well have been a very useful adjunct to *Te Rāwiri* and *Te Paipera Tapu*.

One of the traditional way of thinking about those who die is that the date of their death can be thought of as their birthday into God's keeping and into resurrection,

⁵⁵ Appendix 16, page 5.

their birthday into eternity. In that tradition, remembering a family member on the anniversary of their death can be a positive occasion. We may think of their hopes for us. We may expect them to hold us in their prayers in the same way we would hold them in ours if they were just out of the country or even permanently overseas. And we might hold them in our thoughts in much the same way. When it comes to the saints and holy ones of past generations, it may be that we hope for their prayers for us, or it may be that there is something about what they have said or written that attracts us to them. We may want to remind ourselves about them and what they achieved, and the way they thought, to encourage ourselves. When we add names of people to the Anglican calendar they are usually persons who had some characteristic we would like to emulate.

But there are two difficulties if we apply this logic to **Te Māramataka 1895** and that 14-year series of Māramataka. The first is the general teaching of the CMS missionaries and the mission to Māori from 1814 onwards about the dead, and the second is that with some of the people named it is not immediately obvious what we might praise, enjoy, be encouraged by, or copy in our own lives. We know that the translation of the English Book of Common Prayer into te reo Māori did not mention any of the English and European 'black-letter saints'. The New Testament apostles and evangelists have their days in the Prayer Book cycle and appear in the Tables in the te reo Rāwiri. It is not clear how their 'days' were observed. It is probable that on those days the special scripture readings would be used at Morning and Evening Prayer and that, if there were a scheduled service of Holy Communion on such a saint's day the set readings from the Prayer Book would be used. It is unlikely, in view of their evangelical, anti Roman Catholic, and anti Tractarian views, that the CMS missionaries would 'engage' in any sense with the named saint. They might, however, look for some benefit to be obtained from reading a scriptural passage mentioning the person, and note the identified good in prayer or sermon.

It has been suggested that the historical notes might have been placed in Te Māramataka as a note of admonition or warning. Before I comment on that I would like to look at what may be the modern equivalent of these historical notes.

A sample page from **The Lectionary Te Māramataka 2011** is shown in Appendix 8. It is not easy to show from one page the multiple levels of remembrance, commemoration, observance or non-observance available to a 2011 Anglican congregation and worship leader.

There is at least one heading for each Sunday or Saint's day alongside the day of the week. The day of the month comes next in the first column, and the readings for the daily eucharist in the second column. For a minor saint's day there may be a third column with a special set of readings for the day, and then columns four and five are the readings for morning and evening prayer.

Underneath each day's entry there may be a line in square brackets with the text in small capitals. This is a non-liturgical note. It may refer to a national festival or public holiday. It may refer to an event in the past. To see a list of these non-liturgical listed dates in current **The Lectionary Te Maramataka 2011**, see Appendix 18. There are 43 national and regional public holidays, including all the territories of the Pacific.

There are eleven international events of annual days and 10 unofficial church annual events. The beginning and ending of daylight saving and of school terms are noted.

There are three international church events and a couple of general notes. The nearest to the 1895 historical notes are: Māori Declaration of Independence, 1835; New Zealand Land Wars began at Waitara, 1860; Signing of the Kohimarama Covenant, 1860⁵⁶; Parihaka Peaceful Resistance, 1881; Suffrage Day, 1893; Human Rights Day, 1948; Sinking of the Rainbow Warrior, 1985; and Coronation of Tuheitia, the Māori King, 2006.

There are levels of authorisation for the various commemorations. The highest level is for a day to have a set of 'propers', i.e., special prayers and readings ~ a sentence of scripture, a collect or collects (prayer of the day), a psalm or psalms, a readings from the Old Testament, another from the Epistles, then a Gospel reading, and sometimes a post-communion sentence from scripture. These would usually take precedence over any other prayers and readings on that day. These are usually Sundays and principal saints' days.

A second level is for an authorised but optional commemoration. Special prayers and readings would be provided but it would not be compulsory to use them. These are usually minor saints' days.

The third level is for a Day or Sunday set aside for an optional theme or purpose such as Bible Sunday, or Sea Sunday. This would be only just less authorised than the second level.

⁵⁶ Orange, Claudia, 'The Covenant of Kohimarama. A Ratification of the Treaty of Waitangi', *NZJH* 14 (1980), pp. 61-80; Paterson, Lachy, 'The Kohimarama Conference of 1860: A Contextual Reading', in Angela Wanhalla, Lachy Paterson & Tony Ballantyne (eds), *Journal of New Zealand Studies, Special Issue: Communicating Culture in Colonial New Zealand*, (2011, forthcoming), pp. 17.

The non-liturgical notes in small capitals within square brackets have no authorisation, and no prayers or scriptural readings are commended or provided in relation to them. They are notes, reminders, not a formal authorisation for use in worship. However, as I said above, they are reminders of events that might be included in general intercessory prayers or mentioned in a sermon.

As an aside, during the days when the Anglican Church of Melanesia (comprising the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and New Caledonia) was part of the New Zealand General Synod, prior to its independence from New Zealand and its becoming a member-church of the Anglican Communion in 1975, an annual prayer list included the date of death of all well known or perhaps particularly worthy Melanesian clergy and church workers who had died over the previous one hundred plus years. This list also included missionaries, both those who had died while still in Melanesia and those who had finished their time in Melanesia and returned home. They were all considered part of the story of the mission and the gospel in the islands and remembered in the prayers during the daily services when their day occurred. Perhaps there was an element of this in the naming of the date of arrival and date of death of the first missionaries to Aotearoa.

To return to the main theme and the historical notes in **Te Māramataka 1895**. It struck me almost immediately that it was a list of events that was remarkable not only for who and what was included but also for who and what were left out.

I made a list of the people whom I thought might have been included and then a list of the events that I thought could well have been considered for inclusion but were not. I found out the year of birth and death for individuals, and the year of their arrival in New Zealand if of European descent. I included them alongside those individuals and events mentioned in *Te Māramataka*.⁵⁷ Some people may have been excluded because they were still alive at the time of publication. These may include Charles Abraham, Octavius Hadfield and Seymour Spencer. Others are 'missing' perhaps because they had fallen out of favour with the main Missionary group. William Colenso, Thomas Kendall, and perhaps Thomas Samuel Grace might be in this category. It is harder to understand why Benjamin Ashwell, George Clarke, Richard Davis, James Hamlin, George Kissling, John Morgan, and Richard Taylor are not included. There are few Māori names in the list. I noticed that almost all of those Māori evangelists mentioned in Archdeacon Sir Kingi Ihaka's *Poi* and now

⁵⁷ Appendix 19, page 1, lists 'missing' people alongside those included in *Te Māramataka*, and pages 2 to 9 events that might have been considered.

commemorated in *A New Zealand Prayer Book ~ He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* were missing. Were Mokena Kohere, and Matene Te Whiwhi also thought not appropriate to list?

Almost no South Island persons or events are included.

Events which might be thought to fit the general style of those deemed appropriate to be incorporated, include the arrival of the printing press and the first printing of portions of the scriptures,⁵⁸ and the settlements in Wellington, Nelson, New Plymouth and Whanganui. The opening of the Putiki church in 1842, and the magnitude 7.5 earthquake in 1843, also in Whanganui might have been mentioned. Dates such as those of the Canterbury and Otago settlements, of the telegraph cables between the North and South Islands in 1866, between Auckland, Wellington and the southern provinces in 1872, and from Cable Bay, Nelson, to Australia and Great Britain in 1876 seem innocuous. Māori membership of Parliament from 1867, of the Legislative and Executive Councils in 1872 might have met the general interest in Māori matters. The list of interesting and important social and political events which might have been considered goes on.⁵⁹

I next made a comparison between events mentioned in Rusden's *History of New Zealand* and William Pember Reeves's *Long White Cloud* to see if I could find any suggestion that the set of dates might show any link to either of those books. I found that while Te Māramataka, Rusden and Reeves had 42 items in common, out of 170 events in Rusden he had only 47 additional items in common with Reeves. There did not seem to be any use of one by the other.⁶⁰

I also looked at general church histories of New Zealand searching for common entries. Comparisons between Jacobs's *Colonial Church Histories* and Purchas's *New Zealand Church History* did not give any evidence of borrowing.

⁵⁸ Lineham, Peter J., 'Tampering with the Sacred Text: The Second Edition of the Māori Bible', in Penny Griffith, Peter Hughes and Alan Loney (eds), *A Book in the Hand: Essays on the History of the Book in New Zealand*, pp. 29-45, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000.

⁵⁹ See Appendix 19.

⁶⁰ See Appendix 20.

The historical notes in Te Māramataka 1895 as a lens to look at the first 81 years of the Anglican Mission in Aotearoa ⁶¹

In the following paragraphs and sections, the year each historical event is commemorated in Te Māramataka 1895 will be highlighted, but the day and month will not usually be mentioned.

If this Māramataka is to give an overview of the years before 1895 for the Māori part of the Anglican Church, does it have to start with the visit to Aotearoa in **1642** of Abel Tasman and his crew? Perhaps it does, yet it seems immediately to be very euro-centric in its style despite using a Māori term, Pākehā, for the visitors.

The next four items relate to Captain Cook: his birth in **1727**, leaving England in **1768**, arriving at Turanganui (a fuller name for Gisborne) in **1769**, and his death in **1779**. The people of Turanga, where **Te Māramataka 1895** was used at Te Rau Kahikatea Māori Theological College and in the surrounding district, were the first to be killed by gunfire from Cook's crew. At Uawa (Tolaga Bay) 40 kilometres north of Turanga there were happier memories and this was also true in Māori communities at a number of places in the northern parts of Aotearoa. What it was that attracted Māori to Cook is not quite clear, but a number of individuals named themselves or were named after him.

Aotearoa in pre-European times was essentially a place where you travelled by coastal waters rather than overland. This continued during the early missionary period. Henry Williams had been a naval officer in the Napoleonic wars ⁶² and the Battle of Waterloo in **1815** was also among those dates listed. Perhaps here, we see here Henry's influence. What significance Waterloo might have been expected to have for worshippers in 1895 it is hard to imagine. Another reading is that this is part of a celebration, conscious or unconscious, of Britishness. I will address this in particular when we reach dates where Māori and imperial forces were in conflict and try to examine the behaviour of missionaries when their loyalty was suddenly pulled in two directions.

⁶¹ See Appendix 22 for a chronological timeline of the historical notes.

⁶² Rogers, Lawrence M., *Te Wiremu: A Biography of Henry Williams*, Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1973, pp. 31-4.

Civic events were to be part of this list of historical notes and 1819 was marked by the birth of Queen Victoria and the birth of Prince Albert, while 1820 saw the arrival of the first ship at Waitemata still noted 75 years later. Loyalty to the monarchy was a presupposition for nineteenth-century Englishmen. Whatever that may have meant in political terms it was, for them, part of the fabric of society. We will return to discuss this further in relation both to Te Tiriti o Waitangi (i te reo Māori) ~ The Treaty of Waitangi (English text) and the behaviour of missionaries and others during the wars of the 1860s.

1814 is an important year for the story of the New Zealand mission. Samuel Marsden has been seen by some as the instigator of the mission, while others emphasise the role of Ruatara as the one who invited Marsden. Marsden had long hoped to extend the work of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) to New Zealand. His visit to England in 1807 had support for such a mission as one of its hopes. When founded by a group of evangelical Christians in 1799 the missionary society had been named *The Society for Missions to Africa and the East*. In 1812 it changed its name to *The Church Mission Society to Africa and the East*. The first ordained missionaries did not leave England till 1815.⁶³

There had been a number of specifically Anglican religious societies prior to this. *The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* had been founded in 1698 and distributed a wide variety of literature including Bibles and Prayer Books. *The British and Foreign Bible Society*, founded in 1804 by evangelicals within the Church of England and Nonconformists as a pan-evangelical organization to distribute Bibles, deliberately limited its mission to Bibles without any additional commentary.⁶⁴

⁶³ Glen, Robert (ed.), *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand 1814-1882*, Christchurch: Latimer Fellowship of New Zealand, 1992; Davidson, Allan K., 'Culture and Ecclesiology: The Church Missionary Society and New Zealand', in Kevin Ward & Brian Stanley (eds), *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799 - 1999*, pp. 198-227. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000; *Church Missionary Society papers, 1814-1899*, Auckland: John Kinder Library; Porter, Andrew, ' "Cultural Imperialism" and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 25, no. 3 (1997), pp. 367-91; Porter, Andrew, *Religion Versus Empire?: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004; Porter, Andrew (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914*, Grand Rapids, MI, & Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2003.

⁶⁴ Atherstone, Andrew, *Charles Simeon on 'The Excellency of the Liturgy'*, Norfolk: Joint Liturgical Studies 72, Alcuin Club and The Group for Renewal of Worship, 2011, p. 47; Martin, Roger H., *Evangelicals United: Ecumenical Stirrings in Pre-Victorian England, 1795-1830*, Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1983; Howsham, Leslie, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, chaps 1-2; Lowther Clarke, W.K., *A History of the S.P.C.K.*, London: SPCK, 1959; Lineham, Peter J., *Bible & Society: A Sesquicentennial History of The Bible Society in New Zealand*, Wellington: Bible Society in New Zealand and Daphne Brasell Associates Press, 1996.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was founded in 1701 with an initial emphasis on the Americas. It was later to assist the New Zealand Anglican Church especially in subsidising the stipends of Bishop Selwyn and others. These grants were to continue till 1879 in most dioceses.⁶⁵

While the CMS had been concentrating their efforts on Africa, using Lutheran missionaries, Marsden persuaded them to include New Zealand in their plans and the first missionaries to New Zealand were William Hall, John King, and Thomas Kendall, their wives and families. These were 'mechanic' missionaries who were expected to teach Māori their trades and begin the process of 'civilizing' their converts and neighbours. In the years before Marsden returned for his second visit in 1823, the range of occupations had increased to cover a joiner, a blacksmith, a coach builder, a nurseryman, some carpenters, two 'small farmers', a shopkeeper, a boat's captain, and a teacher. Initially they were at Oihi, Rangihoua, then later also at Kerikeri, Te Puna, and Waimate.⁶⁶ More missionaries were to arrive and Te Māramataka notes some of those later arrivals.

The next missionary event to be mentioned was the arrival of 'Williams the elder brother in New Zealand' in August 1823. The mission was at a point of imminent collapse. Kendall and Butler were removed by Marsden.⁶⁷ The new factor was Henry Williams, 'indomitable and bristling with energy, a man trained by the Navy to lead men, a man for the hour'.⁶⁸ Henry, an ordained clergyman, with his wife Marianne Williams, was to lead the mission for the next many years, help establish peace in the North, and later be instrumental in the signing of the Treaty.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ O'Connor, Daniel, and others, *Three Centuries of Mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 1701-2000*, London: Continuum, 2000; Davidson, Allan K., 'Colonial Christianity: The Contribution of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to the Anglican Church in New Zealand 1840-80', *Journal of Religious History* 16, no. 2, December (1990), pp. 173-84.

⁶⁶ Glen, R., *Mission and Moko*, has an interesting list of all the trades represented during the CMS mission in New Zealand, p. 34; Middleton, Angela, *Te Puna - a New Zealand Mission Station: Historical Archaeology in New Zealand*, New York: Springer Science+Business Media, LLC, 2008.

⁶⁷ Binney, Judith, *The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall*, Auckland: Oxford University Press for the University of Auckland, 1968.

⁶⁸ Glenn, op.cit., p. 44.

⁶⁹ Rogers, Lawrence M. (ed.), *The Early Journals of Henry Williams: Senior Missionary in New Zealand of the Church Missionary Society 1826-40*, Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1961; Rogers, Lawrence M., *Te Wiremu: A Biography of Henry Williams*, Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1973; Fisher, R., 'Henry Williams, the Leadership of the CMS Mission in New Zealand', *NZJH* 9, no. 2 (1975), pp. 142-53; Fitzgerald, Caroline (ed.), *Letters from the Bay of Islands: The Story of Marianne Williams*, Penguin Books, 2004; Fitzgerald, Caroline (ed.), *Te Wiremu Henry Williams: Early Years in the North*, Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2011.

The next mission events noted in **Te Māramataka 1895** were the baptism and death in September **1825** of Karaitiana Rangi, described as ‘the beginning of baptism of Māori’. Much has been written about the length of time between the missionaries’ arrival and the first baptism. Some have suggested that their evangelical beliefs led them to place unnecessarily high prior demands on potential candidates. Questions of learning te reo Māori, creating an orthography, a written text, and translating the scriptures and catechism were important prerequisites.

Whatever our judgement may be, in September 1825 Henry Williams thought the dying chief ready to be baptised before his death, and all the Paihia missionaries agreed. Rangi was considered to understand that baptism meant ‘a cleansing of the heart from sin’ and the chance of ‘eternal life in heaven’. Henry performed the sacrament with William Puckey interpreting. Rangi received the baptismal name ‘Christian’ which he apparently repeated several times with great energy.⁷⁰ It was considered a turning point for the mission and the opening of the door to many more baptisms in the years ahead.

The protection of the inaugural patron of the mission, the Ngā Puhi chief Hongi Hika, had been essential to the survival of the infant mission in its beginning, and he continued to be important to their plans in relation to Kerikeri and the Waimate (Waimate North). Although feared throughout the north of the North Island as the musket-wielding revenger, he was not a conqueror and made no effort to annexe, appropriate or occupy the territories where he fought. In fact, at home, he was considered a mild, gentle and even courteous man who involved himself with his people in their food planting and fishing activities. Until his death in March **1828**, he remained interested in the work of the mission and sought to attract a resident missionary at Whangaroa.⁷¹

A series of arriving missionaries are mentioned next: the Reverend Charles Baker in **1828**, the Reverend Alfred Nesbitt Brown in **1829**, the Reverend Thomas Chapman in **1830**, the Reverend Joseph Matthews in **1832**, and the Reverend Robert Maunsell in **1834**. These were the senior missionary clergy of the next 60 years. Charles Baker and his wife Hannah were stationed at Uawa in 1843 and at Rangitukia on the East Coast

⁷⁰ Glen, *ibid.*, p. 47.

⁷¹ Ballara, Angela, ‘Hongi Hika’ in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769-1869*, Vol. 1, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990; ‘Hongi Hika’ in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau 1769-1869*, pukapuka tuatahi, Te Whanganui-ā-Tara: Te Tari Taiwhenua, 1990; Sissons, Jeffrey, Wi Hongi, Wiremu & Hopeha, Pat, *Ngā Pūriri O Taiamai, a Political History of Ngā Puhi in the Inland Bay of Islands*, (first published as *The Pūriri Trees are Laughing*, Polynesian Society, 1987), Auckland: Reed: in association with the Polynesian Society, 2001; Binney, Judith (ed.), *Te Kerikeri 1770-1850, the Meeting Pool*, Wellington: Craig Potton/Bridget Williams Books, 2007.

in 1854.⁷² Alfred Nesbitt Brown and his first wife Charlotte were at Matamata in 1835 and Te Papa (Tauranga) from 1838.⁷³ The Browns were known as the teachers of Tarore and her father Ngakuku, and later at The Elms (Tauranga), as the father of Alfred Marsh Brown the student who died young, and Celia who married John Kinder. Alfred remarried after the death of his wife, and he and Christina remained at Te Papa after the battle of Pukehinahina (Gate Pā) though the mission never regained its first popularity.

Thomas and Maria Chapman are best known as pioneer missionaries at Te Ngae (Rotorua) in the 1830s and 1840s.⁷⁴ Joseph and Mary Ann Matthews were at Kaitaia from 1833. Joseph did not die till 1895 when he was one of the longest serving missionaries.⁷⁵ Robert and Susan Maunsell were stationed at the Waikato Heads. Robert was Archdeacon of Waikato in 1859 and later when they moved, Archdeacon of Auckland in 1869. A graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who awarded him an honorary LLD, Robert was a linguist and responsible for the translation of the Old Testament into te reo Māori and a number of other books in Māori.⁷⁶ This completes the list of those missionaries who are remembered in Te Māramataka 1895.⁷⁷ We have already asked why some apparently equally worthy missionaries were not included, but have no clear answers.

1830 is marked with the baptism of Karaitiana Taiwhanga also known after his baptism as Rāwiri. He became a preacher and ‘apostle of his new faith’.⁷⁸

⁷² Baker, M., *Never the Faint Hearted: Charles Baker Pioneer Missionary 1803-1875*, Heritage Press, 1986.

⁷³ Brown, A.N., *The Journals of A.N. Brown C.M.S. Missionary Tauranga Covering the Years 1840 to 1842*, Tauranga: The Elms Trust, 1990; Brown, A.N., *Brief Memorials of an Only Son*, 4 ed. Tauranga: The Elms Trust, 1991; Vennell, C.W., *Brown and the Elms*, Tauranga: The Elms Trust, 1984; Ross, Cathy, ‘Charlotte Brown (née Arnett)’ in *Women with a Mission: Rediscovering Missionary Wives in Early New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin, 2006.

⁷⁴ Andrews, Philip, *Ko Mata: The Life in New Zealand of Anne Chapman, Missionary at the Bay of Islands, Rotorua and Maketu. 1830-1855*, Rotorua: Rotorua & District Historical Society Inc., 1991; Andrews, Philip, *No Fear of Rusting: A Biography of the Rev. Thomas Chapman*, Rotorua: Rotorua & District Historical Society Inc., 2001; Andrews, P., ‘Chapman, A.N. & Chapman, C.’, in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769-1869*, Vol. 1, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990.

⁷⁵ Matthews, S.C. & L.J., *Matthews of Kaitaia: the Story of Joseph Matthews & the Kaitaia Mission*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1940.

⁷⁶ Garrett, Helen, *Te Manihera: The Life and Times of the Pioneer Missionary Robert Maunsell*, Auckland: Reed, 1991; Nathan, J.M., ‘Maunsell, R.’ in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769-1869*, Vol. 1, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990.

⁷⁷ Honoré, Christopher, ‘Foundations: From Mission to Te Hāhi Mihinare, 1814-45’, in Alan K. Davidson (ed.), *Living Legacy: A History of the Anglican Diocese of Auckland*, pp. 23-49, Auckland: Diocese of Auckland, 2011.

⁷⁸ Orange, C. & Wilson, O. ‘Taiwhanga, R.’ in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769-1869*, Vol. 1, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990; Oliver, W.H. (ed.), *Ngā*

Queen Victoria's accession to the throne was listed as 20 June 1837. Civic observance of her marriage in 1840 took place in the days after the signing of The Treaty of Waitangi, the declaration of her rule over New Zealand in May that year. The birth of the Prince of Wales is listed in 1841. Prince Albert's death in 1861 is the only other royal commemoration in **Te Māramataka 1895**.

Marsden's death in 1838 is noted. In *A New Zealand Prayer Book ~ He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa* Marsden's death is observed on the anniversary of his death, 12 May, and he is described as 'Samuel Marsden, Priest and Missionary, the Apostle of New Zealand, 1838'. The previous day commemorates 'Ruatarua, Te ara mo te Rongopai "The gateway for the Gospel"'. The concept of Ruatarua's inviting Marsden who then becomes the 'apostle' of the mission is linked by their proximate dates. Other Māori evangelists and leaders are commemorated on the succeeding days in May without following the convention of observing the Christian dead on the anniversary of their death. May becomes a Māori evangelism remembrance month clustered around Ruatarua and Marsden.⁷⁹

1840 is a busy year in the lectionary, with the arrival of Pākehā in Wellington in January, the arrival of Hobson in the Bay of Islands at the end of the same month, and after the signing of The Treaty of Waitangi there is the settlement of Auckland in September.

The primary commemoration for 1840 is 'Ka takoto te Tiriti o Waitangi, 1840' (The Treaty of Waitangi is laid out/set down, 1840). The missionaries were heavily involved with its translation, printing, and interpretation. They were engaged in encouraging Māori to sign at numerous locations. It was the hope or covenant for a peaceful future, which they earnestly desired. So much has been written about the Treaty and Te Tiriti in the last 30 years that it is not possible to review all that literature in this essay. Many themes remain controversial. Should we postulate a Whig reading of the period? Did Hobson go beyond his instructions? Did Henry Williams deliberately translate 'sovereignty' by 'kawanatanga' rather than 'rangatiratanga' or 'mana'? Or was he insufficiently proficient in te reo Māori? My reading and my experience lead me to believe that the integrity of the chiefs of that generation ought to be respected notwithstanding the disastrous outcomes and

Tāngata Taumata Rau 1769-1869, pukapuka tuatahi, Te Whanganui-ā-Tara: Te Tari Taiwhenua, 1990, entry consulted: Taiwhanga, Rāwiri.

⁷⁹ Elder, John Rawson (ed.), *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden 1765-1838*, Dunedin: Otago University Council, 1932; Booth, Ken (ed.), *For All the Saints: A Resource for the Commemorations of the Calendar*, Hastings: General Secretary, the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, 1996.

contradictory behaviour of successive generations of governors and political leaders.

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The year **1841** notes the episcopal ordination of George Augustus Selwyn, and **1842** his arrival in New Zealand. Later that year Governor Hobson died in Auckland.⁸¹ Selwyn's plan, which he implemented almost immediately upon arrival, changed the nature of the mission of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa. Numerous books, articles, lectures and expressions of opinion have sought to evaluate his contribution to the church and the nation. In **Te Māramataka 1895** he appears twice more: in October 1868 when he departs for England the final time, and in April 1878 when he died.

While there was concern before his arrival that a bishop would not respect the mission to Māori, Selwyn generally persuaded the missionaries that a bishop was necessary for the development of the church, especially as the arrival of settlers threatened to disrupt the pattern of mission life. He was concerned that the church be established on 'Church principles' or 'true principles'.⁸² His prodigious journeys saw him visiting the whole country and offshore islands. He was committed to 'one church united under one bishop' though determined to support Māori rights.

During the wars, Selwyn was accused by Māori of favouring the soldiers when he acted as their chaplain, and by the military as a potential spy when he acted as

⁸⁰ Orange, Claudia, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin Port Nicholson Press, 1987; Colenso, William, *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand, February 5 and 6, 1840: Being a Faithful and Circumstantial, Though Brief, Narration of Events Which Happened on That Memorable Occasion; with Copies of the Treaty in English and Maori, and of the Three Early Proclamations Respecting the Founding of the Colony*, Wellington: George Didsbury, Government Printer, 1890; Tucker, H.W., *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn, D.D. Bishop of New Zealand, 1848-1869; Bishop of Lichfield, 1867-1878*, 3rd ed. London: Wells Gardner, Darton and Co., 1900; Bagnall, A.G., and Petersen, G.C., *William Colenso, Printer, Missionary, Botanist, Explorer, Politician: His Life and Journeys*, Wellington: Reed, 1948.; Ross, R.M., 'Te Tiriti O Waitangi: Texts and Translations', *NZJH* 6 (1972), pp. 129-67; Kawharu, I.H. (ed.), *Waitangi: Māori and Pākehā Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi*, Auckland: OUP, 1989; Spence, Richard, *Whakaaria Mai: The Biography of Canon Wiremu Wi Te Tau Huata*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1994; McHugh, Paul, 'Law, History and the Treaty of Waitangi', *NZJH* 31, no. 1 (1997), pp. 38-57; Moon, Paul, & Fenton, Sabine, 'Bound into a Fateful Union: Henry Williams' Translation of the Treaty of Waitangi into Maori in February 1840', *JPS* 111, no. 1 (2002), pp. 51-64; Laurie, John, 'Translating the Treaty of Waitangi', *JPS* 111, no. 3 (2002), pp. 255-58; Grace, David, *A Driven Man: Missionary Thomas Samuel Grace, Battling for Maori Causes Amid Controversy, Hardship and Danger*, Wellington: Ngaio Press, 2004; Carpenter, Samuel D., 'A Question of Mana: The Relationship between Henry Williams and Hone Heke', pp. 58, Massey University, 2004; Bell, Rachael, '“Texts and Translations”: Ruth Ross and the Treaty of Waitangi', *NZJH* 43, no. 1 (2009), pp. 39-58; Carpenter, Samuel D., 'Te Wiremu, Te Puhipi, He Wakaputanga Me Te Tiriti: Henry Williams, James Busby, a Declaration and the Treaty', A report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, 2009; O'Malley, Vincent, Stirling, Bruce, & Penetito, Wally (eds), *The Treaty of Waitangi Companion: Māori and Pākehā from Tasman to Today*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2010.

⁸¹ Moon, Paul, *Hobson: Governor of New Zealand 1840-1843*, Auckland: David Ling, 1998.

⁸² Limbrick, Warren E., 'Selwyn's understanding of the Church's apostolic character', & Davidson, Allan K., 'Selwyn as a Colonial Bishop', in *Selwyn Symposium, Marking the Bicentenary of the Births of George and Sarah Selwyn*, Compact Disk Recorded at St John's College, Meadowbank, 3 April 2009.

bishop to Māori. Wiremu Tamihana accused him of being ‘part of the war party’.⁸³ Whatever happened at Rangiaowhia it seems clear that Māori blamed Selwyn and the Anglican Church. Grace, for example, shows that attitudes towards the missionaries were changed immediately for the worse. The legacy of Rangiaowhia in the murder of Carl Völkner belongs later in the list of dates, but some would link the events in the village outside Otawhao (Te Awamutu) not only to Ōpōtiki, but Matawhero and beyond. Selwyn on his deathbed is said to have said ‘They will return’, thought to be referring to those Māori who left the church, and his last words, in te reo Māori ‘It is light’.⁸⁴ Now we have passed the bicentenary of his birth in 2009 a balanced analysis of his contribution may at last be possible.⁸⁵

The ‘Deaconing of Rev. Rota Waitoa’ in May 1853, the first Māori to be ordained, is the only other mention of an ordination.

June 1843 is the first of a list of entries that relate to killings, wars, sieges, battles, abductions, and the movement of troops. ‘Killings at Wairau by Te Rauparaha’ in June 1843, ‘Beginning of war, Bay of Islands’, January 1844, and in the same year ‘Taking of Kororareka by Hone Heke’ in March, ‘Battle at Okaihau’ in May, ‘Battle at Ohaeawai [sic]’ in July. In January 1846 ‘Taking of Ruapekapeka’ is listed, and in July ‘Abduction of Te Rauparaha’. Most of these events relate to ‘the Northern war’,

⁸³ Quoted in Davidson, Allan K., ‘Selwyn as a Colonial Bishop’, in *Selwyn Symposium, Marking the Bicentenary of the Births of George and Sarah Selwyn*, Compact Disk Recorded at St John’s College, Meadowbank, 3 April 2009. See also, *A Controversial Churchman: Essays on George Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield*, edited by Allan K. Davidson, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, (Forthcoming December 2011).

⁸⁴ Tucker, op.cit., page 373.

⁸⁵ Limbrick, Warren E. (ed.), *Bishop Selwyn in New Zealand 1841-68*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Ltd, 1983; Selwyn, George Augustus, *New Zealand Part I, Letters from the Bishop to the SPG Together with Extracts from His Visitation Journal from July 1842 to January 1843; Part II, Journal of the Bishop’s Visitation Tour from August to December 1843, to Which Is Prefixed an Extract of a Letter from the Bishop to a Friend in England; Part III, Journal of the Bishop’s Visitation Tour from December 1843 to March 1844 Including an Account of His Visit to the Southern Island; Part IV, a Letter from the Bishop of New Zealand to the SPG Containing an Account of the Affray between the Settlers and the Natives at Kororareka; Part V, a Journal of the Bishop’s Tour through His Diocese, Including a Visit to the Chatham Islands in the Year 1848*, CUP 2010 digitally printed version of London: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1844, 1847, 1851, 1847, 1851; Evans, John H., *Churchman Militant: George Augustus Selwyn Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield*, London & Wellington: George Allen and Unwin Ltd; A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1964; Davidson, Allan K., *Selwyn’s Legacy: The College of St John the Evangelist Te Waimate and Auckland 1843-1992 : A History*, Auckland: The College of St John the Evangelist 1993; Limbrick, Warren E., ‘Diocesan Genesis: Bishop and Settler Church, 1842-70’, in Allan K. Davidson (ed.), *Living Legacy: A History of the Anglican Diocese of Auckland*, pp. 50-81, Auckland: Diocese of Auckland, 2011; Jacob, W.M., ‘George Augustus Selwyn, First Bishop of New Zealand and the Origins of the Anglican Communion’, *Journal of Anglican Studies* 9, no. 1 (2010), pp. 38-55; Limbrick, Warren E., ‘Selwyn’s understanding of the Church’s apostolic character’, & Davidson, Allan K., ‘Selwyn as a Colonial Bishop’, in *Selwyn Symposium, Marking the Bicentenary of the Births of George and Sarah Selwyn*, Compact Disk Recorded at St John’s College, Meadowbank, 3 April 2009.

though Te Rauparaha's arrest and imprisonment without trial was the first of a series of imprisonments to effect policy, and has been criticized by recent writers.⁸⁶

1848 brings the first of a very small number of significant natural disasters. On 16th October that year there was an earthquake in Wellington. There was another in January 1855. In February 1863 an earthquake is recorded for Heretaunga (Hawkes' Bay). Another disaster remembered is 'The Eruption of Tarawera' in June 1886.

Governors come and go, and some are noted. Grey arrives in November 1845, and departs in December 1854. Browne arrives in September 1855. His departure is not noted. Grey arrives again in September 1861. Lastly Fitzroy dies in April 1865. Perhaps, like royalty, these frame the narrative of the years, or perhaps the coming and the departing are celebrated because of approval of the governors themselves.

The year 1860 begins a list of events that affect Māori and go through to 1872. 20 February 1860 is marked as 'Ka peia nga kai-ruri i Waitara' (The driving out of the surveyors at Waitara). 'Peia' is the word used in *Te Paipera Tapu* for exorcisms of evil spirits. What flavour does it have here? Many missionaries and church leaders opposed the actions by governors and others in relation to the sale of land at Waitara. The entry for 16 March is 'Beginning of the war, Taranaki', the land wars. These were to continue perhaps till the battle at Te Porere in October 1869.⁸⁷ 1860 also notes the death of Potatau Te Wherowhero. The year 1863 notes in July 'The soldiers cross the Mangatawhiri' and invade the Waikato, and 'the battle at Koheroa'; in November 'the battle at Rangiriri'; and in December the 'Arrival of troops at Ngāruawāhia'. 1864 continues with the 'battle at Rangiaohia' [sic] in February, at

⁸⁶ Oliver, S., 'Te Rauparaha', in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769-1869*, Vol. 1, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990; , 'Te Rauparaha', in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau 1769-1869*, pukapuka tuatahi, Te Whanganui-ā-Tara: Te Tari Taiwhenua, 1990; Burns, Patricia, *Te Rauparaha: A New Perspective*, Wellington: Reed, 1980; Ward, Alan, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995; Collins, Hēni, *Ka Mate Ka Ora! The Spirit of Te Rauparaha*, Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2010; Williams, David V., *A Simple Nullity? The Wi Parata Case in New Zealand Law and History*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2011.

⁸⁷ Hadfield, Octavius, *One of England's Little Wars: A Letter to the Right Hon. The Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies*, London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1860; also *The New Zealand War: The Second Year of One of England's Little Wars*. London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1861; and *A Sequel To 'One of England's Little Wars' Being an Account of the Real Origin of the War in New Zealand, Its Present Stage, and the Future Prospects of the Colony*. London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1861; Belich, James, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*: Penguin Books, 1986; Riseborough, Hazel, *Days of Darkness: Taranaki, 1878-1884*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin Historical Branch, 1989; Belgrave, Michael, *Historical Frictions: Maori Claims and Reinvented Histories*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2005; Wright, Matthew, *Two Peoples, One Land: The New Zealand Wars*, Auckland: Reed, 2006; *Wars without End: The Land Wars in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, North Shore, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2009; Day, Kelvin (ed.), *Contested Ground ~ Te Whenua I Tohea: The Taranaki Wars 1860-1881*, Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2010.

Orakau and Pukehinahina (Gate Pa) ⁸⁸ in April, and the 'battle at Te Ranga' in July. January 1865 records 'Beginning of war, Whanganui', then 'the death of Völkner' in March, ⁸⁹ 'the battle of Moutoa, Whanganui', in May, 'the beginning of the war in Waiapu' in June, 'the fall of Pakairomiromi' in August, and the 'Taking of Waerenga-a-hika' in November. This series of battles is completed by 'the fall of Omarunui' in October 1866.

Henry Williams died at Pakaraka in July 1867, John Coleridge Patteson ⁹⁰ died at Nukapu in the Solomon Islands in September 1871, William Williams, brother of Henry and first bishop of Waiapu died in February 1878, and Archdeacon Brown in September 1884.

The next series of events involved Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki. Most, if not all, are unhappy affairs. On 5 July 1868 the entry is 'Ka rere mai a Te Kooti ma i Wharekauri' (Te Kooti and others flee from the Chatham Islands). On 10 July 'Ka u mai nga Hauhau o Wharekauri ki Whareongaonga' (The 'Hauhau' from the Chathams arrive at Whareongaonga), 18 kilometres south of Turanga. In November of the same year is listed 'Matenga o Turanga i a Te Kooti' (Deaths in Turanga caused by Te Kooti). This refers to the killings at Matawhero. ⁹¹ Following this is the entry for January

⁸⁸ Gifford, W.H. & Williams, H. Bradney, *A Centennial History of Tauranga*, Tauranga: The Tauranga Centennial Committee, 1940; Stokes, Evelyn, *A History of Tauranga County*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1980; Dixon, N., 'Taratoa, H.W.', in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769-1869*, Vol. 1, The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990; 'Taratoa, Hēnare Wiremu' in *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau 1769-1869*, pukapuka tuatahi, Te Whanganui-ā-Tara: Te Tari Taiwhenua, 1990; Macdonald, Tui, 'Heni Pore, Jane Foley' in Macdonald, Charlotte, Penfold, Merimeri, & Williams, Bridget (eds), *The Book of New Zealand Women: Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991, pp. 531-3; Foley, Alfred D., *Jane's Story: Biography of Heeni Te Kirikaramu/Pore (Jane Foley): A Woman of Profound Purpose*, Auckland: A.D. Foley, 14 Vipond Road, Whangaparaoa, 2003.

⁸⁹ Clark, Paul, *'Hauhau': The Pai Marire Search for Maori Identity*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1975; Howe, Earle, *Bring Me Justice*, Auckland: Anglican Provincial Bicultural Education Unit, 1991; Walker, Ranginui, *Ōpōtiki-Mai-Tawhiti: Capital of Whakatohea*, North Shore: Penguin Books, 2007; Donald, Stephen, 'Legacy of Conflict 1865-76: War in Waiapu and Its Aftermath', in John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures: A New History of the Waiapu Diocese*, pp. 27-56, Napier: Diocese of Waiapu, 2009.

⁹⁰ Yonge, Charlotte Mary, *Life of John Coleridge Patteson Missionary Bishop of the Melanesian Islands*, Vols 1 & 2, London: Macmillan & Co, 1875; Armstrong, E.S., *The History of the Melanesian Mission*, London: Isbister & Co Ltd, 1900; Fox, C.E., *Lord of the Southern Isles: The Story of the Melanesian Mission*, London: Mowbray, 1958; Gutch, Sir John, *Martyr of the Islands: The Life and Death of John Coleridge Patteson*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1971; Hilliard, David, *God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849-1942*, St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1978; Hilliard, David, 'The God of the Melanesian Mission', in Phyllis Herda, Michael Reilly & David Hilliard (eds), *Vision and Reality in Pacific Religion: Essays in Honour of Niel Gunson*, Canberra: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury, NZ, and Pandanus Books Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, ANU, 2005, pp. 195-215.

⁹¹ 'J.M.', 'On the Late Massacre at Matawhero', *Evening Post*, 16 November 1868; A Poverty Bay Survivor, *A Dark Chapter from New Zealand History*, Capper Press reprint 1974 ed. Napier: James Wood, 1869; Mackay, Joseph Angus, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, N.I., N.Z.*, Gisborne: J.G. Mackay, 1949; Wilson, Ormond, *War in the Tussock: Te Kooti and the Battle at Te Porere*, Wellington: Government Printer in conjunction with the National Historic Places Trust, 1961; Binney, Judith, *Redemption Songs:*

1869 'Taking of Ngatapa'. Then in February 'Killings at Pukearuhe' and in April 'Murders by Te Kooti at Mohaka'.

A series of deaths of notable people are noted: Te Puni ⁹² at Pitoone in October 1870, Tamati Waka Nene ⁹³ in 1871, Kereopa's execution ⁹⁴ in January 1872, Donald McLean ⁹⁵ at Napier in January 1877, Renata Kawepo ⁹⁶ in April 1888, Wiremu Kingi Te Kawanui in August that year, and Wi Tako Ngatata ⁹⁷ in November 1890.

There are two further dates in **Te Māramataka 1895** both of which are interesting and difficult. Difficult in the sense of not knowing exactly what the creator had in mind. The first is 'Hopukanga o Te Whiti, o Tohu, ki Parihaka, 1881' (The seizing of Te Whiti and Tohu at Parihaka, 1881). ⁹⁸ Here is the remembering, perhaps

A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki, Auckland: Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books, 1995; Soutar, Monty, 'Ngāti Porou Leadership - Rāpata Wahawaha and the Politics of Conflict', Thesis PhD in Māori Studies, Massey University, 2000; Crosby, Ross, *Gilbert Mair: Te Kooti's Nemesis*, Auckland: Reed, 2004; Beaufoy, Betty, *Conflict: The Story of Te Kooti and the Settlers*, Wellington: Dorset Press, 2005; Bowater, Margaret M., *The Dunlops of Poverty Bay – Pioneer Settlers in New Zealand, with the Annotated Diaries of James Dunlop for 1889, 1895, & 1896*, Birkenhead: The author, Revised edition, 2010; Collingwood, Patti, and Shaw, Sally, *Edward Ogilvie Ross: New Zealand Soldier and Settler Scottish Enigma*, Whakatane: Mann Printing, 2010.

⁹² Ballara, Angela, 'Te Puni-kōkopu, Hōniana', in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769-1869*, Vol. 1, The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990; 'Te Puni-kōkopu, Hōniana', in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau 1769-1869*, pukapuka tuatahi, Te Whanganui-ā-Tara: Te Tari Taiwhenua, 1990.

⁹³ Ballara, Angela, 'Nene, Tamati Waka', in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769-1869*, Vol. 1, The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990; 'Nene, Tamati Waka', in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau 1769-1869*, pukapuka tuatahi, Te Whanganui-ā-Tara: Te Tari Taiwhenua, 1990.

⁹⁴ Oliver, Stephen, 'Te Rau, Kereopa', in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769-1869*, Vol. 1, The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990; 'Te Rau, Kereopa', in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau 1769-1869*, pukapuka tuatahi, Te Whanganui-ā-Tara: Te Tari Taiwhenua, 1990.

⁹⁵ Fargher, Ray, *The Best Man Who Ever Served the Crown?: A Life of Donald Mclean*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2007.

⁹⁶ Parsons, Patrick, & Ballara, Angela, 'Kawepō, Renata Tama-ki-Hikurangi', in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769-1869*, Vol. 1, The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990; 'Kawepō, Renata Tama-ki-Hikurangi', in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau 1769-1869*, pukapuka tuatahi, Te Whanganui-ā-Tara: Te Tari Taiwhenua, 1990; Hogan, Helen (translated, edited, and annotated), *Renata's Journey: Ko Te Haerenga O Renata*. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1994.

⁹⁷ Cairns, A.R. 'Ngātata, Wiremu Tako', in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769-1869*, Vol. 1, The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990; 'Ngātata, Wiremu Tako', in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau 1769-1869*, pukapuka tuatahi, Te Whanganui-ā-Tara: Te Tari Taiwhenua, 1990.

⁹⁸ Scott, Dick, *Ask That Mountain: The Story of Parihaka*, Auckland: Heinemann/Southern Cross, 1975; Riseborough, Hazel, *Days of Darkness: Taranaki, 1878-1884*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin Historical Branch, 1989; Booth, Ken (ed.), *For All the Saints: A Resource for the Commemorations of the Calendar*, Hastings: General Secretary, the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, 1996; Walker, Peter, *The Fox Boy*, Allen & Unwin, 2002; Hohaia, Miringa, O'Brien, Gregory, & Strongman, Lara (eds), *Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance*, Wellington: Victoria University Press & City Gallery for Parihaka Pā Trustees, 2001; Sole, Tony, *Ngāti Ruanui: A History*, Wellington: Huia Publications, 2005; Day, Kelvin, (ed.), *Contested Ground ~ Te Whenua I Tohea: The Taranaki Wars 1860-1881*,

commemoration, of non-Anglican religious leaders. The missionaries seem to have been sympathetic to the non-violent teachings of the leaders at Parihaka and to have supported the call for trial or return, rather than imprisonment with hard labour without due recourse to the law.

The second and perhaps most challenging entry is that of 17 April 1893, 'Matenga o Te Kooti ki Ohiwa, 1893' (Death of Te Kooti at Ohiwa, 1893). I will attempt to examine this entry more thoroughly in the next chapter.

Jeffrey Cox writing in *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700*⁹⁹ challenges the 'traditional, understood dichotomy of missionaries as imperialist conspirators or heroic antiracists'. But concludes that 'most failed to create the 'multiracial Christian commonwealth of missionary fantasy'.

So far, no history of the nineteenth century has been written entirely from a Māori point of view. It seems that, while the historical notes in **Te Māramataka 1895** seek to represent or contribute to a Māori Anglican world view, they appear instead to represent more closely a limited missionary perspective on the first 81 years of the New Zealand mission. In Chapter three I will seek to address that issue more directly.

Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2010.

⁹⁹ Cox, Jeffrey, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700*, New York: Routledge, 2010.

Chapter 3 By whom and for whom was Te Māramataka 1895 written?

As I showed in Chapter One, **Te Māramataka 1895** contained a number of historical notes. The question as to who decided that there would be historical notes inserted in the Māramataka, and who selected the particular historical notes, and had them inserted, has been mentioned earlier. The further question of the purpose or intention for their use also needs to be explored. In this chapter I will try to answer those questions.

1885 was the year that the annual Māramataka began to have historical notes inserted.¹⁰⁰ The editions of 1885 to 1890 inclusive and 1892 were printed at *Nepia: Te Haaringi, Kai-ta Pukapuka, kei Hehitingi Tiriti* (Napier: The Harding, Book printers, Hastings Street). R.C. Harding printed a number of items for the diocese of Waiapu. Those of 1891, and 1893 to 1897 inclusive were printed in *Kihipane: Na te Muri i ta ki tona Whare Perehi Pukapuka* (Gisborne: By the Muir [this] was printed at his Book Press House). A.R. Muir ('te Muri') also printed a number of items for the diocese of Waiapu. The 1898 edition of Te Māramataka was printed at *Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki te Rau Kahikatea* (Gisborne: By Williams Herbert [this] was printed at Te Rau Kahikatea). This was the last to have the historical notes included.

The editions from 1899 to 1921 were printed by Herbert Williams at Te Rau Kahikatea. In those for 1899, 1920 and 1922 the printer is described as *Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta, ki te Perehi i Te Raukahikatea*, while those for the years 1900 to 1919 have the words *H.W. Williams, Te Rau Press, Gisborne*. The last two in 1922 and 1923 were printed at *Turanga: Na Hone Mahani i ta, ki te Perehi i Te Raukahikatea* (Gisborne: By John Mahoney [this] was printed, at Te Rau Press, Gisborne).

Did Bishop William Williams instigate these historical notes in Napier where he lived and where the first editions were printed, or was there a Gisborne connection?

Te Rau Kahikatea Theological College was set up in Turanga (Gisborne) in 1883, and Archdeacon Leonard Williams was appointed its first principal in 1885. I have found no evidence of a committee's being formed for the liturgical task of adding historical notes to Te Māramataka, but I am left thinking that there is some connection with the College. Perhaps the new principal, the staff and/or the students of the College, or senior Māori clergy were involved. A list follows of the staff during the years that the College existed in Turanga (Gisborne).

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix 13.

Te Rau Kahikatea Theological College Staff during the period 1885-1921

Williams, Samuel	In charge 1883.
Williams, William Leonard	Principal 1885-1894. <i>[1877-94 residing at Te Rau, 1895 became 3rd bishop of Waiapu, son of William Williams.]</i>
Williams, Herbert William	Tutor 1889-94, Vice-Principal 1894, Principal 1894-1902. <i>[son of W Leonard Williams.]</i>
Chatterton, Frederick William	Principal 1902-1918.
Ensor, Ernest	briefly Principal in 1904 while F.W. Chatterton was on leave. <i>[drowned in February 1904.]</i>
Nield, Alfred	Principal 1918-20 [or, from 1 Jan 1919], he was principal when Te Rau closed and students incorporated into College of Saint John the Evangelist, Auckland. <i>[Selwyn College, Dunedin 1900-05, Archdeacon of Dunedin 1907-13, Chaplain Hukarere Māori Girls' School 1933-45.]</i>
Williams, Alfred Owen	1883-5, eldest son of Henry Williams, under local connexion as a CMS tutor, with Samuel Williams, at the then 'new' Te Rau College
Jennings, Edward	Tutor 1885.
Kohere, Reweti	Assistant Tutor 1898-1908.
Hawkins, Hector Alfred	Tutor 1898-1900.
Long, Frank Clendon	Staff member, n.d. <i>[deacon 1907, priest 1908 (Waiapu)]</i>
Rangihuna, WKP	Assistant Tutor 1913-16.

I will write a little about each of the primary contenders, from the above list, for the role of 'inserters of historical notes'.

William Williams, Pioneer Missionary in Turanga from 1840, Archdeacon of Waiapu 1842-59, Bishop of Waiapu 1859-76

In the opening chapter of the recently published new history of the diocese of Waiapu ¹⁰¹ I described William Williams as follows,

Born on 18 July 1800, the ninth and youngest child of Mary Marsh and her husband Thomas Williams, William Williams was the brother of CMS missionary Henry Williams who was already in New Zealand. He was apprenticed to a Southwell surgeon before gaining a BA in classics from Oxford in 1824. He was ordained deacon and then priest later that year. In 1825 he attended the CMS training institution in Islington, was married to Jane

¹⁰¹ Connor, G.H.D., 'Mission Statements 1840-65: CMS Missionaries and Establishing the Diocese at Waerenga-a-Hika', in *The Gift Endures: A New History of the Waiapu Diocese*, edited by John Bluck, pp. 9-25, Napier: Diocese of Waiapu, 2009.

Nelson in July and in August the couple sailed for New Zealand on the *Sir George Osborne*, arriving on 25 March 1826. They would have nine children.

Initially at the English Boys' School in Paihia, Williams was also, till 1837, the mission doctor. A gifted linguist, he was soon fluent in Māori. As his brother Henry noted, 'it seems to flow naturally from him'.¹⁰² In September 1826 William began to translate the scriptures into Māori. By the end of 1837 he had finished the New Testament and most of the Book of Common Prayer. On 10 December 1837 he wrote,

the printing of the New Testament by Mr. Colenso will be completed in another week, and I bless God that I have been spared to see the work thus far advanced, and that I have been permitted to take part in this glorious undertaking. The revision has given me close occupation for nearly the whole of the last two years, during the times I have not been employed with the school. The next work to be attended to will be the publication of a small grammar and a dictionary of the language . . .¹⁰³

The New Testament, published in 1837, was 356 pages in length; 5000 copies were printed. Williams' *Dictionary of the New Zealand Language and a Concise Grammar* came out in 1844.

In May 1835, the Williams moved to Waimate North when the school was relocated there. When fellow missionary Richard Taylor took over the school at the end of 1839, Williams and his family moved to Turanga (Gisborne) on the East Coast, where, apart from an 1851-2 trip to England, he was based until 3 April 1865. The conditions Jane and William Williams initially encountered at Turanga are clear in this 22 January 1840 excerpt from William's journal:

Went up the river with Mrs Williams in search of our habitation, which we found to much exceed our expectations. The workmanship of the house is good, and it has the advantage of a good verandah 7 feet wide extending its whole length of 45 feet. The house itself was too well tenanted with fleas to admit of our entrance, and we took our first meal on the verandah, to the great satisfaction of the assembled crowd. The natives set to work and first lighted fires on the floor, and then cleared out the rubbish, and by this means diminished the number of our enemies to within the bounds of endurance. We then set to work and made one end of the building habitable which has boards laid down, and proceeded to get our luggage into the other part. In the evening held service with the natives.¹⁰⁴

What is not clear from this narrative is that the house was a mere shell made of raupo, with a dirt floor and without windows or doors.

In July 1842 William Williams was advised by Selwyn that he was to be appointed archdeacon of the East Cape, 'extending from the 176 degree of latitude eastward and therefore including Tauranga, Rotorua, & Taupo', similar to the 1859 boundaries of the future diocese. He was inducted into this post during the bishop's visit to Turanga in November 1842. Williams's archdeaconry was subsequently renamed Waiapu following Alfred Brown's appointment as archdeacon of Tauranga. As the only ordained missionary in

¹⁰² Porter, Frances, 'Williams, William 1800-1878, Missionary, Linguist', *DNZB, Volume One*, p. 598.

¹⁰³ Williams, Frederic Wanklyn, *Through Ninety Years 1826-1916: Life and Work among the Maories [sic] in New Zealand, Notes of the Lives of William and William Leonard Williams, First and Third Bishops of Waiapu*, Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, n.d., p. 33.

¹⁰⁴ Porter, Frances (ed.), *The Turanga Journals 1840-1850: Letters and Journals of William and Jane Williams Missionaries to Poverty Bay*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1974.

the area, Williams had to cover big distances, on foot, to East Cape, Hawke's Bay and Waikaremoana. From Turanga he occasionally went south to Wellington and north to St John's College in Auckland.

It was on 3 April 1859 that William Williams was consecrated bishop of Waiapu, a new diocese created, along with Nelson and Wellington, in September 1858. The Waiapu boundaries were fixed as 'all that part or portion of the Northern Island otherwise called New Ulster which is bounded in the South by the Province of Wellington and on the West by the one hundred and seventy sixth degree of east longitude together with the island adjacent thereto'.¹⁰⁵ At that stage there were six clergymen in the diocese - Alfred Brown, Thomas Chapman, Seymour Spencer, Thomas Grace, Leonard Williams (William's son) and Rota Waitoa, who had been ordained priest on 4 March 1860.¹⁰⁶

One hundred and seventy years after the gospel was first shared with the tribes of what is now the diocese of Waiapu, it is hard to evaluate the impact of each of those who brought that gospel. The Elms in Tauranga is the house in which the Browns lived; a window in St Peter's, Owhata commemorates Chapman; another in Te Whakapono, Ohinemutu (St Faith's), pictures Spencer and his umbrella, and the Galilee Chapel in that church commemorates the missionaries; Spencer's mausoleum is at Kariri at Lake Tarawera; a replica of Grace's house has been built at Pukawa; broken crockery still appears after ploughing at Waerenga-a-hika. But these and places associated with other missionaries have not been the object of pilgrimage by Māori over the years and in almost every case the hapu and iwi remember some positive and some negative aspects. Although Bishop Selwyn is reported to have said, in, near the time of his death, 'They will all come back' and 'It is light', he, Alfred Brown and other missionaries are sometimes recalled because they appeared to side with the Crown during the land wars; Völkner is thought of by some as a spy; William Williams is remembered by some as having deserted the Rongowhakaata leaders in their time of need.

It is easy, however, to criticize from our perspective and we must be careful not to judge with 21st century eyes. We are still learning to be 'bi-focal', and need to remember the cultural context from which the missionaries came. Grace's children married into the senior families of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Some of the names of the missionaries have been carried on as Christian names – Herewini, Hapimana, Wiremu, Paraone, Mokena, and Manihera are examples. Less widely remembered, too, is the positive and enormous role the missionaries played by being mediators in disputes between hapu and between iwi. And not so often recalled is that William Williams was a linguist who produced *The Dictionary of the Maori Language*, first published in 1844. He chaired the translation committee for *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga* (the Book of Common Prayer, psalms and hymns in Māori), first published in 1840 and known to Māori Anglicans as 'Te Rāwiri' (from Nga Waiata o Rāwiri, the Psalms of David) and *Ko te Paipera Tapu*, of which the New Testament was completed 1837 and the Old Testament in 1868.¹⁰⁷ And, despite the influx of

¹⁰⁵ Rosevear, Watson, *Waiapu: The Story of a Diocese*, Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade, 1960, p.50.

¹⁰⁶ Rosevear, Watson, *Waiapu: The Story of a Diocese*, Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade, 1960, p. 55.

¹⁰⁷ Parkinson, Phil G, & Griffith, Penny, *Books in Māori, 1815-1900 - Ngā Tānga Reo Māori: An Annotated Bibliography - Ngā Kohikohinga Me Ōna Whakamārama*, Auckland, NZ: Reed Pub, 2004, #92, p. 86; #45, p. 58, William Williams signed and corrected proofs 1837; #716, p.34. [Hereafter BiM]

Ringatu and Ratana, the whole of the eastern part of the island is essentially Mihinare – belonging to the Missionary Church, Anglican.¹⁰⁸

William Williams, known in te reo Māori as ‘Parata’ (Brother), had the experience and the opportunity to be the instigator of the historical notes in Te Māramataka but nothing that I have come across in his writings suggests an interest in liturgical calendars. Furthermore, though he had been involved with training Māori for ordained ministry he had moved to Napier leaving matters in the hands of his son Leonard and grandson Herbert. The conclusive reason for not believing the notes were William’s idea is that he had died in 1876.¹⁰⁹

Edward Stuart, Bishop of Waiapu 1877-94

Edward Craig Stuart was born in Scotland in 1827 and educated at the Edinburgh Academy and Trinity College, Dublin. He received the Vice Chancellor’s prize for English prose and the Downe’s prize for divinity in 1849 and graduated with a BA in 1850 and the Divinity Testimonium (1st class). In 1880 he received a DD *iure dignitatis* from his alma mater. He was ordained deacon by the bishop of Cashel for the

¹⁰⁸ Connor, G.H.D., ‘Mission Statements 1840-65: CMS Missionaries and Establishing the Diocese at Waerenga-a-Hika’, in John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures: A New History of the Waiapu Diocese*, pp. 13-15, 24, Napier: Diocese of Waiapu, 2009.

¹⁰⁹ **William Williams ~ Select bibliography:** Williams, William, ‘Letters 1825-1842’, ‘Journals 1841-1855’, ‘Papers, misc’ (unpublished), [John Kinder Library, Microfilm AJCP M234, M235, M236]; Porter, Frances (ed.), *The Turanga Journals 1840-1850: Letters and Journals of William and Jane Williams Missionaries to Poverty Bay*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1974; Williams, William, *Christianity among the New Zealanders*, London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, 1867.

Brittan, S.J, and Grace, G.F., C.W, and A.V. (eds), *A Pioneer Missionary among the Maoris 1850-1879*, Palmerston North: G.H. Bennett & Co. Ltd., n.d.; Connor, G.H.D., ‘Mission Statements 1840-65: CMS Missionaries and Establishing the Diocese at Waerenga-a-Hika’, in John Bluck(ed.), *The Gift Endures: A New History of the Waiapu Diocese*, pp. 9-25, esp. pp. 13-15, 21-5, 53, 56, Napier: Diocese of Waiapu, 2009; Davidson, Allan, *Christianity in Aotearoa: A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*, Wellington: Education for Ministry, 1991; Fitzgerald, Caroline (ed.), *Te Wiremu Henry Williams: Early Years in the North*, Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2011; Glen, Robert (ed.), *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand 1814-1882*, Christchurch: Latimer Fellowship of New Zealand, 1992; Grace, David, *A Driven Man: Missionary Thomas Samuel Grace, Battling for Maori Causes Amid Controversy, Hardship and Danger*, Wellington: Ngaio Press, 2004; Morrell, W.P., *The Anglican Church in New Zealand: A History*, Dunedin: Anglican Church of the Province of New Zealand, 1973; Porter, F., (Williams, J.; Williams, W.) in W.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769-1869*, Vol. 1, The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990; Purchas, H.T., *The English Church in New Zealand*, Christchurch: Simpson & Williams Limited, 1914, pp. 69, 88, 113, 166, 193, 203-4, 219; Rosevear, Watson, *Waiapu: The Story of a Diocese*, Hamilton: Paul’s Book Arcade, 1960, pp. 14-21, 26, 37-43, 47-83; Sanderson, K. M., ‘“Those Neglected Tribes”: A Study of the East Coast Maoris and Their Missionary, William Williams, 1834-1870’ (unpublished), MA Thesis in History, University of Auckland, January 1980; Tucker, H.W., *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn, D.D. Bishop of New Zealand, 1848-1869; Bishop of Lichfield, 1867-1878*, 3rd ed. London: Wells Gardner, Darton and Co., 1900; Williams, Frederic Wanklyn, *Through Ninety Years 1826-1916: Life and Work among the Maories [sic] in New Zealand, Notes of the Lives of William and William Leonard Williams, First and Third Bishops of Waiapu*, Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, n.d., esp. chapters 1-31.

Bishop of London in 1850. Through his brother James Stuart, the secretary to the Church of England Zenana Society (CEZS) he went to India in 1850 to teach at the newly opened St John's College in Agra. (The principal was Thomas French, who later, in the same month and year that Stuart was installed in Waiapu, became the first bishop of Lahore in Pakistan.) Because of his wife's ill-health Stuart moved to Calcutta where he was priested in 1852 by the bishop of Calcutta. In 1856 he was a missionary in Jabulpur, in 1860 at the Calcutta Mohammedan Mission and Mirzapore school and also acted as Secretary for CMS Calcutta and to the bishop of Calcutta. Returned to England he was for a time acting secretary of the CMS in England before going to Sydney, Australia, where he served in 1875.

Edward Stuart travelled round New Zealand on behalf of CMS in 1876 and then began teaching at St Stephen's Māori college in Auckland where he learned the basics of te reo Māori. So when he became bishop of Waiapu in December 1877 he was already known in the diocese. Stuart made extensive visits to the East Coast in 1878 and ordained a number of Māori clergy. Confirmation tours followed, new churches being opened, Native Church Board meetings attended, and visitations to all parts of the diocese undertaken.

It was a difficult time with disagreements about Pai Marire and Ringatū adherents in the Bay of Plenty but in Hawke's Bay some progress was made and a new church was opened at Omahu. The 1880s were years of economic depression and ongoing clergy shortage but the growing Pākehā population, especially in Hawke's Bay, with rail and new roads, brought new challenges. Woodville was able to be divided from the Dannevirke parish and a new parish was formed in Rotorua. They were years also of social controversy: temperance, religious instruction in public schools, and votes for women were the live issues. Waiapu synod petitioned the parliament for an amendment of the law to allow religious instruction within school hours, and within the diocese there was interest in Sunday schools, confirmation and Bible classes. Stuart encouraged parishes to give women voting rights at parish meetings and with the synod's hesitant support took the matter to the General Synod in 1892. Sadly, despite clear support from the lay members, the bishops and clergy managed to delay full voting rights until 1919.

When Stuart resigned in January 1894 his intention was to 'set forth once more to preach in "the regions beyond" the unsearchable riches of Christ'. He spent some time with the CMS in Persia, with 'whose people, their religion and language' he was familiar. He died in England in 1911, aged 83.

Despite the publication under his authority of *He Katikihama kia akona e nga tangata katoa keiwha kawea ki te Pihopa kia whakaukia* (a new version of the church catechism) ¹¹⁰ in 1878, a pastoral letter to the clergy and laity of the diocese in 1883, a sermon on *The Bible in Schools* in 1887, there is little to show Stuart's involvement with the training of Māori clergy and the details of the life of the Māori church. A resolution at his final synod stated that 'no risk of travel has been too great, no distance too long, no hardship too severe in order that you might convey the ministration of the Church to the Maoris [sic]' ¹¹¹ but it was on Leonard Williams's experience and ability that the bishop relied, ¹¹² and it was Leonard Williams who revived Māori ministry training with the setting up of Te Rau Kahikatea Theological College in Turanga during his episcopate. ¹¹³ There is nothing that clearly associated Edward Stuart with Te Māramataka. ¹¹⁴

W. Leonard Williams, Archdeacon of Waiapu 1862-94, Principal of Te Rau Kahikatea 1877-94, Bishop of Waiapu 1895-1909

Born at Paihia in 1829, William Leonard Williams is the classic child of the mission. He was baptised in August 1829 at the first baptism of Māori infants. The eldest son and third child of William and Jane Williams he attended the English Boys' School at Paihia and later at Waimate North. When the family moved to Turanga (Gisborne) in 1840, Leonard attended the Turanga mission school before going to the College of Saint John the Evangelist, Purewa, the grammar school in Auckland, from 1844 to 1847. He then went to England and from November 1847 to 1852 attended Magdalen Hall, an evangelical college, now called Hertford, at Oxford, where he graduated with BA 3rd class honours in Classics. He was at the CMS College at Islington until he was ordained deacon by the bishop of London in May 1853. He and Sarah Wanklyn were married in Westmoreland that year and arrived in Auckland in November.

¹¹⁰ BiM 908

¹¹¹ *Waiapu Synod Proceedings*, 1893, p. 33.

¹¹² Rosevear, op.cit., p. 87.

¹¹³ Donald, *ibid.*, p. 63.

¹¹⁴ **Edward Stuart ~ Select bibliography:** Donald, Stephen, 'A New Era 1887-94: The Bishopric of Edward Stuart', in John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures: A New History of the Waiapu Diocese*, pp. 57-80, Napier: Diocese of Waiapu, 2009; Purchas, H.T., *The English Church in New Zealand*, Christchurch: Simpson & Williams Limited, 1914, pp. 104-5, 115, 117, 131; Rosevear, Watson, *Waiapu: The Story of a Diocese*, Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade, 1960, pp. 85-6, 91-8, 125, 186, 222-3, 226.

From December he was licensed as resident deacon at Turanga and assistant to his father. In December 1856 he was ordained priest by Bishop Selwyn in Lyttleton and appointed officiating minister at Rāpaki pā until he returned to the East Coast and was inspector of schools based at Waerenga-a-hika in 1857.

In 1862 Leonard was appointed archdeacon of Waiapu, a role he would maintain until becoming the third bishop of Waiapu having previously turned down the opportunity to follow his father in 1876. Sarah and Leonard initially lived at Waikahua, Kaiti, near the Turanga-nui-a-Kiwa river and moved to Cobden Street, Gisborne, in 1877 to a house which is known as Te Rau Kahikatea where they lived till moving to Napier when he became bishop of Waiapu in 1894. The college with the name Te Rau Kahikatea was formed around his home with a number of college buildings across the road.¹¹⁵ 1883 Te Rau Kahikatea was officially instituted as a Māori Theological college.¹¹⁶ Leonard followed his father as a scholar, translator and writer in te reo Māori. Among his publications are: *First lessons in the Māori language with a short vocabulary*, 1862;¹¹⁷ Introduction to William Williams's third edition of *A dictionary of the New Zealand language*, 1871;¹¹⁸ New version of *Te Pukapuka o nga Inoi*, . . . , 1878 (with WW);¹¹⁹ Translation of Lady Martin's *He kohikohinga no roto i nga Karaipiture Tapu no te hanganga o te ao tae noa ki te whanautanga o to tatou Ariki*, 1882;¹²⁰ Collection of 172 Anglican hymns, *He himene mo te karakia ki te Atua*, 1883;¹²¹ Corrections to R. Maunsell's *He kupu ma te ngakau inoi "Kei whakamutua te Inoi"*, 1885;¹²² Editorial work on 2nd edition of the Bible, *Ko te Paipera Tapu, ara, ko te Kawenata Tawhito me te Kawenata Hou*, 1889;¹²³ Commentary on Galatians, *He whakamakoha i te Pukapuka a Paora Apotoro ki te Hunga o Karatia*, 1891;¹²⁴ Fourth edition, Māori-English

¹¹⁵ The buildings have been specially erected for the purpose, and are very complete; they comprise lecture rooms, dining hall, and tutor's residence, and provide accomodation for some twenty students. Efforts are now being made to erect a college chapel, *Waiapu Synod Proceedings*, 1889, p. ix.

¹¹⁶ Donald, *ibid*, p. 63.

¹¹⁷ BiM 593

¹¹⁸ BiM 768

¹¹⁹ BiM 909

¹²⁰ BiM 1035

¹²¹ BiM 1073

¹²² BiM 1122

¹²³ BiM 1241

¹²⁴ BiM 1315

English-Māori dictionary, *A dictionary of the New Zealand language*, 1892;¹²⁵ Eighth edition NT with references, *Ko te Kawenata Hou a to tatou Kai Whakaora a Ihu Karaiti: He mea whakamaori mai no te reo Kariki*, 1894;¹²⁶ Fourth edition of *First lessons in the Maori language of New Zealand*, 1894;¹²⁷ He carried on his father's work and kept improving the texts. After his retirement he published in 1913 a guide for preparation of confirmation, *He Ako mo te Whakau: ara, he Tohutohu mō te Whakaako a te minita i te Hunga e hiahia ana ki te Whakapānga Ringaringa a te Pihopa*,¹²⁸ and left the typescript of *East Coast (N.Z.) Historical Records*, his account of his life.

As a liturgical aside, Leonard's great grandson, the Reverend Jon Standish Williams, has told me of a box of Sunday and Seasonal collects from the Book of Common Prayer which he inherited. They were to be changed each week and the current one being in the frame to be seen. These showed signs of regular use, perhaps not surprising given his long years as a Christian, as a priest, and as a bishop.¹²⁹

As well as being Principal of Te Rau Kahikatea Theological College Leonard continued to be involved at all levels with the mission and ministry to Māori around the East Coast.

There were many critics when the 66-year-old Leonard Williams was elected bishop of Waiapu. Stephen Donald names his chapter on Leonard's episcopate 'Back to the Future'. Leonard was not only an old man by the standards of the time but a known conservative on the very issues his predecessor had championed including the issue of votes for women. But in January 1895 he became the second member of his family to be bishop of Waiapu. He received an Honorary DD from Oxford in 1897, resigned in 1909, and died in Napier in 1916.

¹²⁵ BiM 1348

¹²⁶ BiM 1394

¹²⁷ BiM 1420

¹²⁸ Na Te Wiremu, Pihopa, *He Ako mō te Whakau: arā, he Tohutohu mo te Whakaako a te minita i te Hunga e hiahia ana ki te Whakapānga Ringaringa a te Pihopa*, Turanga: Na Te Wiremu Hapata i ta, ki te Perehi i Te Raukahikatea: 1913, pp. 78; Sommerville, A.D, 'A Supplement to the Williams Bibliography of Printed Maori', pp. ii, 40, 3, 5, Wellington: Library School, 1947, #1118.

¹²⁹ Williams, J.S., Personal communication, 7 November 2011, 'Bishop William Leonard Williams owned a set of prayer cards, in fact the Sunday and seasonal collects from the Book of Common Prayer. As Bishop Leonard was my great grandfather this item came down to me through the family. I was struck by obvious signs of use and wear. These Prayer Book collects must have formed a regular part of his devotions. They were contained in an open topped box, designed to stand upon a desk like a portrait, with the words showing inside a red imitation leather frame. I think the initial letter for each collect was large, red and in illuminated style. The intention was to have showing the collect for the current week.'

It seems to me that Leonard Williams, known in te reo Māori as ‘Renata’ (a transliteration of ‘Leonard’), is the most likely person to have inserted the historical notes into Te Māramataka. But if so, why, when he was known to be very conservative, and, as I have shown, a child of the CMS mission? I think his position as Principal of the Māori Theological College, expert in te reo Māori, son of the first bishop of Waiapu, and person of influence as a former teacher of all senior and junior Māori clergy, makes him the most likely person. I will leave a discussion of what the intended purpose might have been till I have considered other possible candidates.

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Herbert W. Williams, Tutor Te Rau 1888, Vice Principal Te Rau 1889, Principal Te Rau 1894-1902, Archdeacon of Waiapu 1907-1930, Bishop of Waiapu 1930-37

Born in October 1860 at Waerenga-a-hika, Herbert William Williams was the son of W. Leonard and Sarah Williams. He attended the Church of England Grammar School, Parnell, the Grammar School Napier, and from 1874 to 1878 Christ’s College, Christchurch. Resident at College House, Christchurch, he graduated with a BA in 1880 from the University of New Zealand. At Jesus College, Cambridge, 1881 to 1884 he graduated with a BA in 1884, MA in 1887. He later received an LLD from the

¹³⁰ **Leonard Williams ~ Select bibliography:** Williams, William Leonard, ‘Letters, 1857-1880’ (unpublished), [John Kinder Library, Microfilm AJCP M234]; ‘Letters, 1857-58, 1865-6, 1868-9, 1871, 1876’ (unpublished), [John Kinder Library, Microfilm AJCP M236]; ‘Journals, 1865-1875’ (unpublished), Wellington: Alexander Turnbull [MS-Micro-0628]; ‘Te Hahi, to Tatou Taonga Tupu’, handwritten text, Alexander Turnbull, n.d. [ca. 1900?], pp. 13; *Church Work among the Maories [sic], 1891-8*, Napier: W.L. Williams, 1898; *The Maori Mission: Its Past and Present*, Palmerston North: Keeling & Mundcey, 1904; *East Coast (N.Z.) Historical Records*, Compiled and Left Typed by the Late Bishop W.L. Williams, Gisborne: Poverty Bay Herald, 1932.

Donald, Stephen, ‘Legacy of Conflict 1865-76: War in Waiapu and Its Aftermath’, in John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures: A New History of the Waiapu Diocese*, pp. 27-56, esp. pp. 34-39, 43, 53-4, Napier: Diocese of Waiapu, 2009; Donald, Stephen, ‘A New Era 1887-94: The Bishopric of Edward Stuart’, in John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures*, p. 63; Donald, Stephen, ‘Back to the Future: W. Leonard Williams 1895-1909’, in John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures*, pp. 81-104; Glen, Robert (ed.), *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand 1814-1882*, Christchurch: Latimer Fellowship of New Zealand, 1992; Morrell, W.P., *The Anglican Church in New Zealand: A History*, Dunedin: Anglican Church of the Province of New Zealand, 1973; Orange, Claudia, (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1870-1900*, Vol. 2, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1993, entry consulted: Porter, F. (Williams, W.L.); Purchas, H.T., *The English Church in New Zealand*, Christchurch: Simpson & Williams Limited, 1914, pp. 170, 227; Rosevear, Watson, *Waiapu: The Story of a Diocese*, Hamilton: Paul’s Book Arcade, 1960, 84-109, 162-3; Tucker, H.W., *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn, D.D. Bishop of New Zealand, 1848-1869; Bishop of Lichfield, 1867-1878*, 3rd ed. London: Wells Gardner, Darton and Co., 1900; Williams, Frederic Wanklyn, *Through Ninety Years 1826-1916: Life and Work among the Maories [sic] in New Zealand, Notes of the Lives of William and William Leonard Williams, First and Third Bishops of Waiapu*, Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, n.d., esp. chapters 32-6; Williams, J.S., personal communication about the box of collects, 7 November 2011.

University of New Zealand in 1924, and an LLD from the University of Cambridge in 1925.

Herbert was assistant master at Haileybury College, Hertfordshire, 1885-1886, then ordained deacon at St Albans in 1886, followed by a curacy at West Wrating, Cambridge in the diocese of Ely, 1886-1888. In 1887 he was ordained priest at Ely, marrying Bertha Mason in 1888 before returning to New Zealand.

Herbert was a tutor at the CMS Te Rau Kahikatea College, Gisborne, 1889-1894, Vice-Principal in 1889, and Principal 1894-1902. In 1890 he joined the local connexion of CMA (New Zealand). In 1902 a persistent throat complaint forced his retirement, but he continued as missionary for East Coast district, 1902-1929, and archdeacon of Waiapu from 1907-1930.

Herbert Williams was a prolific writer. His works include: *The Maori whare: notes on the construction of a Maori house*, 1896; *Tu-whakairi-ora*, 1896; *A System of Shorthand for Māori*, 1896; *A Short report of church work among the Maoris during the year 1900*, 1901; *He whakamahara mō te hunga e uru ana ki te kāinga tahitanga tapu* (manual for Holy Communion), 1901; *Greek in type; an essay for printers*, 1903; *Maori Matter at the Cape of Good Hope: some notes on the Grey collection in the Capetown Library*, 1906; *He whakatauki he titotito he pepeha na Wiremu Hapata*, 1908; *Maori bird names*, ca1910; *Te Paipera: kia akona e nga tamariki* (on Christian education), 1913; *Te Taua Maori* (prayers for the Māori contingent in WW1), 1914; *Te iriiri tapu* (tract on baptism), 1916; *Fellowship: an address delivered at the annual service of the G.F.S. in Napier Cathedral, June 22, 1916*, 1916; reviser *A Dictionary of the Maori language*, 7th edition, 1917; *The Ministry of Healing and Ratana*, 1921; *The Marriage Question*, 1923; *A Bibliography of Printed Maori*, 1924; reviser *Ko te Paipera Tapu, ara te Kawenata Tawhito me te Kawenata Hou* (1887 Māori bible), 1924; with W.J. Durrad, compiler of *A Tikopian Vocabulary* (Wellington: Polynesian Society), 1926/1927; *Some observations on Polynesian verbs*, 1928; *A bibliography of printed Maori to 1900, supplement*, 1928; *Some elements of Polynesian grammar*, 1929; contributor, *The Story of the Maori Mission: arranged in eight lessons for the use of Sunday School superintendents and teachers* (Wellington Diocesan Sunday School Association), 1929; *Translating the Bible into Maori*, 1930; (with W.J. Simkin) *The dioceses of the Church of the Province of New Zealand and the associated missions*, 1934; *The reaction of the Maori to the impact of civilization*, 1935; *The Maruiwi myth*, ?1937. He also became a member of the Royal Society of New Zealand in 1923.

Herbert Williams chaired the electoral synod of the diocese in 1930 on the retirement of William Walmsley Sedgwick, bishop of Waiapu from 1914, and was elected as the sixth bishop. He died in office in 1937.

In the light of this scholarship and in acknowledgment of his teaching and printing skills is Herbert, known in te reo Māori as 'Hapata', the most likely candidate as the author of the historical notes for Te Māramataka? He was obviously about as a staff member at Te Rau Kahikatea. He was the son of the Principal. It was while he was the printer of Te Māramataka that the historical notes disappeared. In fact he printed only one edition with them included. So I think there is strong evidence against his being the initiator of the project.¹³¹

Mohi Tūrei, Senior Māori Priest

Mohi Tūrei was born in about 1829. He was the only child of Te Omanga Tūrei of Ngāti Hokuapu and Makere Tangikuku of Te Aitanga-a-Mate, both hapu of Ngāti Porou, and brought up at Te Kautuku near Rangitukia. In the 1830s he was probably a pupil at the Rangitukia school under teacher Hemi Kiko. Another teacher was Raniera Kawhia. He then went to the Waerenga-a-hika school, and after that to St Stephen's College, Auckland. He may have taught at Rangitukia school in the 1850s. Mohi attended Te Whare Wananga at Paerenui under Pita Kāpiti, tohunga.¹³²

In the mid 1860s Mohi married Meri Awhina-a-te-rangi. Later he was married a second time to Kararaina Korimete (Caroline Goldsmith), a schoolteacher.

Mohi was ordained deacon by William Williams in September 1864 and priest in October 1870. He was a synod member for Waiapu diocese in 1861 and between 1864 and 1909 served as the priest at Rangitukia. In 1865 he was one of eight Māori and six

¹³¹ **Herbert Williams ~ Select bibliography:** Glen, Robert (ed.), *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand 1814-1882*, Christchurch: Latimer Fellowship of New Zealand, 1992; Morrell, W.P., *The Anglican Church in New Zealand: A History*, Dunedin: Anglican Church of the Province of New Zealand, 1973; Orange, Claudia, (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1901-1920*, Vol. 3, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs: Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996, entry consulted: Biggs, B. (Williams, H.W.); Rosevear, Watson, *Waiapu: The Story of a Diocese*, Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade, 1960, 100-3, 110-11, 129, 131-7, 162-3, 169; Williams, Frederic Wanklyn, *Through Ninety Years 1826-1916: Life and Work among the Maories [sic] in New Zealand, Notes of the Lives of William and William Leonard Williams, First and Third Bishops of Waiapu*, Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, n.d., esp. chapters 33-6; Williams, Jon S., 'Hard Times 1910-47: War, Depression and Earthquake', in John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures: A New History of the Waiapu Diocese*, pp. 105-37, esp. pp. 63, 85-6, 115-18 Napier: Diocese of Waiapu, 2009.

¹³² Reedy, Anaru [translated, edited and annotated], *Ngā Kōrero a Pita Kāpiti: The Teachings of Pita Kāpiti*, Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1997.

Pākehā clergy in the diocesan synod for Waiapu. With Matiaha Pahewa and Raniera Kawhia and former synod lay members Rapata Wahawaha and Henare Potae he was a leader in a movement to hold regular Church Boards to organise affairs for the Ngāti Porou rohe from the 1870s on. Henare Potae later converted to the Mormon persuasion a group strongly opposed by Mohi who led a concerted effort to prevent Mormon missionaries preaching among the tribe.¹³³ In 1904, Mohi was appointed as the first vicar of the Waiapu Māori pastorate and supervised the building of the second church there. He retired after suffering a kind of paralysis in 1909 and died in March 1914.

Mohi Tūrei was a renowned composer of haka, an orator, a writer, and a carver. His carved houses included the meeting house Hinerupe at Te Araroa. In 1912 he was the author, with Pita Kāpiti, of the history of the Horouta canoe and the introduction of the kumara into New Zealand.¹³⁴

Mohi was a leader amongst those fighting against the Hauhau forces and supporters of the Pai Marire religious movement, but was not, initially, a supporter of the settlers.

Stephen Donald writes,

The Pai Marire leaders were believed to be planning an attack on the bishop's house. After long consultation with his son Leonard and nephews Samuel and Henry Williams jnr, and his staff and senior students, the bishop decided to leave by night. Henry reported that Mohi Turei was keen that force should be met by force, but armed resistance was an anathema to the missionaries. 'At least', said Mohi, 'do not go by night. If you do, you will be overtaken and tomahawked. Go in the face of day.'¹³⁵

In about 1871 Mohi's house at Te Rapa was burned down and he was driven from the land by another hapu. He moved to Waikoriri, where his fences were torn down. During the 1870s he helped organise native land court hearings in the Waiapu district, and for the 1875-1876 election acted as agent for Hotene Porourangi in the disputed election.

Mohi Tūrei's writings were published as *Mohi Turei: Āna Tuhinga I Roto I Te Reo Māori*, 1996.

¹³³ Donald, 'A New Era', in John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures*, p. 67.

¹³⁴ Blain Biographical Directory, 'Turei, Mohi'.

¹³⁵ Carleton, Hugh, *The Life of Henry Williams, Archdeacon of Waimate*, vol. 2, Auckland: Upton, 1877, p. 349 quoted in Donald, Stephen, 'The Legacy of Conflict', in John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures*, p. 29.

As a synod member and a priest Mohi was a participant and leader in Anglican worship. There is no indication that he was interested in historical commemorations, though he would have been the ideal older Māori priest to have advised Leonard Williams and the staff of Te Rau Kahikatea on liturgical or pastoral matters.¹³⁶

Rēweti Tūhorouta Kōhere, Tutor Te Rau 1898-1908

Rēweti Kōhere was born in 1871 at Orutea, Horoera, East Cape. He was the brother of the Revd Canon Poihipi Kōhere, and grandson of the Honourable Mokena Kōhere, M.L.C., a chief of Ngāti Porou.

After early years of schooling at Waiomatatini, Kōhere came to Te Aute in 1885. He matriculated in 1890 and attended Canterbury College in 1892. He was assistant tutor at Te Rau Kahikatea theological college from 1898 to 1908, ordained deacon in 1907, and priest in 1910. He obtained his LTh in 1911.

His later distinguished career does not need to be outlined here, but he was an editor of some Niupepa Māori, a licensed Māori interpreter, a parish priest, a founder member of Te Aute College Students' Association and the Young Māori Party, and a writer in English and Māori on Māori subjects. Most well known are his books: *The story of a Maori chief, Mokena Kohere and his forbears*, 1949; *The autobiography of a Maori*, 1951; *He Konae Aronui or Maori Proverbs and Sayings*, 1951. In 1994 Wiremu and Ohorere Kaa published his writings as *Nga kōrero a Reweti Kohere Mā*. Rēweti died in 1954, aged 83.

Why include him in this consideration of those who might have influenced the insertion of historical notes into Te Māramataka? Rēweti from an early age was a leader and thinker. He taught at Te Rau Kahikatea before his ordination. He was one

¹³⁶ **Mohi Tūrei ~ Select bibliography:** Donald, Stephen, 'Legacy of Conflict 1865-76: War in Waiapu and Its Aftermath', in John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures: A New History of the Waiapu Diocese*, pp. 27-56, esp. pp. 29, 39, 46, 53, Napier: Diocese of Waiapu, 2009; Donald, Stephen, 'A New Era 1887-94: The Bishopric of Edward Stuart', in John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures*, pp. 57-80, esp. pp. 57, 67; Donald, Stephen, 'Back to the Future: W. Leonard Williams 1895-1909', in John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures*, pp. 81-104, esp. pp. 88, 100; Glen, Robert (ed.), *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand 1814-1882*, Christchurch: Latimer Fellowship of New Zealand, 1992; Kaa, Wiremu, & Kaa, Ohorere [etita], *Mohi Turei: Ana Tuhinga I Roto I Te Reo Maori*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1996; Tamahori, J.T. (Turei, M.) in Oliver, W.H., (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1769-1869*, Vol. 1, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990; *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau 1769-1869*, pukapuka tuatahi, Te Whanganui-ā-Tara: Te Tari Taiwhenua, 1990, entry Tūrei, Mohi; Rosevear, Watson, *Waiapu: The Story of a Diocese*, Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade, 1960, pp. 60, 73, 79, 122, 180-1; Williams, Jon S., 'Hard Times 1910-47: War, Depression and Earthquake', in John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures: A New History of the Waiapu Diocese*, pp. 105-37, esp. p. 105, Napier: Diocese of Waiapu, 2009.

of the young leaders of the day. If I am right in my supposition that Mohi Turei acted as a kaumātua advisor for Leonard Williams, then Reweti, despite his youth, might also have been encouraged to express an opinion.¹³⁷

The Target Audience

Who was this **Te Māramataka 1895** designed for? Who was the ‘target audience’? Appendix 21 lists all those students who trained at Te Rau Kahikatea Māori Theological College. It also enumerates those ordained in other parts of Aotearoa who did not attend Te Rau Kahikatea in Turanga.¹³⁸

Māori clergy trained at Te Rau Kahikatea, Turanga, by the time of the closure of the college in 1921 numbered 64. Of those, 30 were from the Waiapu diocese, 29 from the Auckland diocese, and 5 from the Wellington diocese. Of the 64, the number ordained prior to 1895 was 20, comprising 13 from Waiapu and 7 from Auckland.

If we take into account all Māori clergy ordained before the closing of Te Rau Kahikatea, both those trained there and those not, the number was 126. Of these, 59 (20 from Te Rau Kahikatea and 39 from elsewhere), were ordained prior to 1895.

These are the leaders of congregations and communities of faith around the country in those years. These are the people most likely to have a copy and the use of **Te Māramataka 1895**.

There may have been copies of **Te Māramataka 1895** placed in whare karakia (church buildings) around Aotearoa in addition to personal copies held by the clergy. It is probable that some māngai reimana (worship leaders) and kaikarakia (layreaders) also had personal copies. By the 1890s Waiapu alone had 70 whare karakia and Auckland perhaps 86. There were also whare karakia in the Waikato,

¹³⁷ **Rēweti Kōhere ~ Select bibliography:** Donald, Stephen, ‘Back to the Future: W. Leonard Williams 1895-1909’, in John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures: A New History of the Waiapu Diocese*, pp. 81-104, esp. pp. 88, 93-4, 96, 98, 100, Napier: Diocese of Waiapu, 2009; Kaa, Wiremu, & Kaa, Ohore [etita], *Ngā Kōrero a Reweti Kōhere Mā*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1994; Orange, Claudia, (ed.), *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1901-1920*, Vol. 3, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs: Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996, entry consulted: Kōhere, R. (Kōhere, R.); Orange, Claudia (Ētita Matua), *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau 1901-1920*, pukapuka tuatoru, Te Whanganui-ā-Tara: Te Tari Taiwhenua, 1996, entry consulted: Kōhere, Rārawa (Kōhere, Rēweti Tūhorouta); Paterson, Lachy, ‘Rēwiti Kōhere’s Model Village’, *NZJH* 41, no. 1 (2007), pp. 27-44; Rosevear, Watson, *Waiapu: The Story of a Diocese*, Hamilton: Paul’s Book Arcade, 1960, pp. 103, 162, 180; Williams, Jon S., ‘Hard Times 1910-47: War, Depression and Earthquake’, in John Bluck (ed.), *The Gift Endures: A New History of the Waiapu Diocese*, pp. 105-37, esp. p. 133, Napier: Diocese of Waiapu, 2009.

¹³⁸ See Appendix 21.

Taranaki, Manawatū, Poneke, and quite a number in the South Island. There seems to be no record of the numbers of māngai reimana and kaikarakia for the pre-1900 period. All of these persons and places may well have used **Te Māramataka 1895**.

Summary

In the *Mihi* section I talked about how Archdeacon Sir Kingi Ihaka acted liturgically in response to the historical notes. He saw the need to commemorate those who were our predecessors in the mission in Aotearoa, especially the Māori evangelists, continue to evaluate the missionaries and their apparent dual loyalties, and seek to learn from the past. The continuing question for that Anglican Church is whether its the three-Tikanga authority structure has redressed the historic imbalance between Māori and settler interests.

In examining **Te Māramataka 1895** I looked not only at its liturgical components but also at the set of historical notes it contained. My initial reading, out of the experience of using current Lectionaries and Māramataka, lead me to think they were for commemoration, what I have called 'saintly'. However, an alternative reading was suggested that they were for vilification, as 'sinful'. A third option was that they were of historical interest only, 'secular'.

Because the suggestion was made that the purpose of the historical notes in **Te Māramataka 1895** was not religious at all, in *Chapter One* I looked at the origins of calendars, almanacs, ordo, directories and lectionaries. I undertook an analysis of liturgical lectionaries, including secular and liturgical examples from the New Zealand context.

In *Chapter Two* I outlined the results of research as to the years in which **Te Māramataka** was published and the finding that editions spanned the years 1841 to 1923. I found, however, that the historical notes appear only in the years 1885 to 1898. I noted that 1885 was the year that W. Leonard Williams was appointed principal of Te Rau Kahikatea which had been established in Turanga in 1883.

Next I showed my analysis of **Te Māramataka 1895** as representative edition.

I analysed the historical notes in categories both monthly and chronologically to show the range of interests involved.

A suggestion had been made that 'the author' may have borrowed the set of historical notes from Rusden's *History of New Zealand* so I reported my comparison with Rusden and also with W Pember Reeves's *Long White Cloud* as examples of secular historians. I also made a comparison with church historians writings choosing Jacobs's *Colonial Church Histories: New Zealand* and Purchas's *New Zealand Church History* as examples. I was looking for signs of possible commonality but found no evidence of it. I surveyed the major events and persons which seemed to be 'missing' from the selection of historical notes in **Te Māramataka 1895**.

A major section of chapter two addressed the question ~ Was ‘the author’ giving his view of the important events and persons of the first 80 years of the Christian mission in Aotearoa? Was it possible that this set of notes could be considered as a lens giving the restricted view of ‘the author’ for those 80 years?

Chapter Three looked at the target audience. The staff and students of Te Rau Kahikatea Māori Theological College were listed, as were others ordained prior to that period who had not been trained at Te Rau Kahikatea. The clergy were surveyed on the grounds that the daily and weekly services of te Hāhi Mihinare largely depended on them, and they would have influenced how **Te Māramataka 1895** would have been used.

I found no evidence of a liturgical committee, a printing committee or any other committee to whom the task of organising the annual *Te Māramataka* might have been given. Because the Te Aute College Students’ Association was not founded until 1897 I was not able to get help from what would otherwise have been a useful source. I found no comment in *Niupepa Māori* on these Church *Māramataka*.

In seeking an answer to the question of who might have been the originator(s) or author(s) I used short biographies of all the possible candidates to evaluate their likelihood. So I examined in some detail the lives of those who seemed to me possible candidates for the role of ‘the author’: William Williams, pioneer missionary and first bishop of Waiapu; Edward Stuart, second bishop of Waiapu; W. Leonard Williams, mission child, first principal of Te Rau Kahikatea, and third bishop of Waiapu; Herbert W. Williams, theological tutor, principal of Te Rau Kahikatea; Mohi Tūrei, senior Māori priest; and Rēweti Tūhorouta Kōhere, at the time a student, later staff member at Te Rau Kahikatea.

The question I posed at the outset of this thesis was whether the purpose of the historical notes was to commemorate the saintly, learn from the sinful, or note the secular. In the *Conclusion* I give my view of that.

Conclusions

How and when would these clergy, lay worship leaders, and other lay persons have used **Te Māramataka 1895**? There would have been daily morning and evening services in the whare karakia of many communities during those years. There would have been an even greater number of communities and whare karakia where Sunday services, morning and evening, would have taken place. In addition to these, the Holy Communion would also have been celebrated in whare karakia, in homes, in hospitals, and in marae. Perhaps the greatest number of morning and evening services would have taken place in the homes of those who were unable to attend services in the whare karakia because of distance or inaccessibility.

It is easy to imagine the use of **Te Māramataka 1895** for determining the scriptural readings for Sundays and Saints' days throughout the year and for learning the new hymns. It is less clear how those we have identified as the 'target audience' might have used the 'historical notes' that appear in **Te Māramataka**.

In Chapter One I mentioned lectionaries and liturgical calendars, and also talked about the secular almanacs which were popular in Europe, and the fact that some examples were found in New Zealand.

In Chapter Two I wrote about the different categories of historical notes in **Te Māramataka 1895**. I listed these as Civic, Settler, Māori, and Missionary events.

I also mentioned the non-liturgical dates listed in the current *Te Māramataka The Lectionary 2011*. I spoke of how these non-liturgical dates are understood in a number of ways ~ as information, an opportunity for prayer, the possible subject matter of sermons, prayers or reflections, and reminders of the special days of others in our country / countries and communities.

I think it is easy to categorise more than 90% of the historical notes in **Te Māramataka 1895** in these terms. Praying for the Queen, for Governors, birthdays, and anniversaries of arrivals, seem uncontroversial. Likewise, within an Anglican context, remembering the arrival of missionaries, the first baptisms, and ordinations, is straightforward. Remembering the date of the death of a missionary, of prominent Māori, or even of royalty, would be dealt with in differing ways according to the worship leader but is quite possible in the context.

The historical notes listing the dates of battles and sieges, of natural disasters and the escaping prisoners are more difficult and could presumably be the occasion of sorrow, and prayer for reconciliation, peace and stability.

This leaves perhaps four items that are not so easy to deal with liturgically or in the course of a church service of worship. They seem more political than religious. In chronological order they are: The driving out of the surveyors from Waitara; the execution of Kereopa for Völkner's murder; the capture of Te Whiti and Tohu at Parihaka; and the death of Te Kooti at Ohiwa. The first and second of these, Waitara and Kereopa, might be treated as were the battles and murders spoken of in the previous paragraph. The matters relating to Parihaka might be used to talk of peace and reconciliation though there are several unresolved issues that Māori worshippers would understand. The hardest item on the list remains: Te Kooti's death. Might the compiler have thought that those who used **Te Māramataka 1895** would see Te Kooti's death in terms of the end of the long years of warfare, or as a 'judgement' on him? On the other hand, might they have intended the users to reflect on Te Kooti's change of life from 'rebel', 'murderer', to 'religious leader'? Or might they have thought his life and death an important part of Aotearoa's history? We don't know and it is unlikely that we will discover their exact intentions.

I think, in the light of all that has been written above, Leonard Williams was the most likely person to have been both the instigator and author of the historical notes.

Others, such as the Te Rau Kahikatea staff, may have suggested additions from time to time. It also seems probable that Herbert made the decision to stop printing them.

However, I have no proof of the identity of the people responsible, or their motives.

In our efforts to interpret the available evidence, our enthusiasm must not lead us into the trap of ascribing twenty-first-century attitudes and intentions to our nineteenth-century predecessors. Unless a yet-to-be-discovered document comes to light, we must accept that we are left with a fascinating puzzle.