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Whāia te Atuatanga:
theological education, text
books, Te Rau College, cultures
and contexts

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Abstract

This thesis shows that Anglican theological training for Māori in the years from 1883 to 1921 was in te reo Māori at Te Rau College, Gisborne, and surveys, in particular, the text books used, analysing what those text book indicators show about Māori theological education. This is seen in the context of theological training for Māori prior to the establishment of the college, the later period when English language instruction was also offered, and the pressures that led to the college's closure.

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*Me tipu ake te pono i te whenua
Me titiro iho te tika i te rangi.*

*Let truth grow out of the land and
Let the heavens find this truth to be just.*

Ngā mihi ki a Kingi Matutaera Ihaka nana i tono mai tēnei kaupapa. Moe mai e te Matua, kua tae ae ahau ki tēnei whakaotinga.

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Thanks to Alan Davidson for access to his files relating to St John's College and the CMS, and also to Stephen Donald for his local knowledge and Waiapu memory.

I especially thank my supervisor, Associate Professor Peter Lineham, for his encouragement and support of these last few years of study.

The final form of this thesis benefits from Nonie Connor's "diplomatic editorial and aesthetic suggestions".¹

You have all kept me going during my research and enabled me to complete the project.

Thank you.

The appendices, which extend the word count to 82,000, will, I hope, provide useful reference material for others, although the thesis proper contains just over 36,000 words.

¹ This phrase is adapted from Michael Scott, *The Severed Snake: Matrilineages, Making Place, and a Melanesian Christianity in Southeast Solomon Islands* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2007), xxiii.

Prologue

My own experience of theological education is a background to my research for this thesis.

After attending some lectures and joining in the life and worship of Christchurch College (College House) in Christchurch over two years in the early 1960s, I spent the next three years as a full-time theological student at the College of Saint John the Evangelist, Meadowbank, Auckland, where I completed a Licentiate in Theology (LTh 1st class honours). The Board of Theological Studies examinations comprised: Old Testament, 2 papers; New Testament, 2 papers; New Testament Greek; Biblical Exegesis; Christian Worship; Doctrine, 3 papers; Church History, 2 papers; Christian Living; and I did some additional papers in Hebrew and Philosophy of Religion towards overall honours. Non-examined subjects included Homiletics and Speech Delivery.

In 1967 I joined the staff of St Peter's Theological College, Siota, Solomon Islands, as a theological tutor. The college for the Anglican Church of Melanesia, at that time a diocese that was part of the General Synod of the Anglican Church in New Zealand, was made up of about sixty students, some with wives and families, and three academic staff. The work of the college was influenced by the varied forms of preparation for ordination used in previous years in Melanesia.

The first Melanesian deacon, George Sarawia, had been ordained in December 1868.² Sarawia and a few others were trained by Bishop John Coleridge Patteson at the Melanesian Mission school on Norfolk Island and on the *Southern Cross*, the mission boat. They learned in the Mota language. Bishop Patteson chose this from the island of Mota in the Banks Islands, in what is now Vanuatu, to be the mission language for the translation of the scriptures and the prayer book, for daily worship, and all education and communications among the more than 130 languages of the then diocese of Melanesia. The subjects studied included: Christian scriptures, the teachings of the faith, the meaning of the prayer book, and some elementary logic, philosophy, astronomy, and mathematics. In earlier years, students preparing for ordination studied at Norfolk Island. Subsequently a theological college was established at Maka on Malaita in the Solomon Islands, moving some years later to Siota on Gela.

The course developed during Fr Jim Edwards's time as Warden was based on the scheme used at the Society of the Sacred Mission Theological College at Kelham in England, but adapted to local conditions. In addition, in later years, Fr Jim spent time each day explaining in detail the liturgical readings set for morning and evening prayer (Mattins and Evensong). By the time I arrived at Siota, teaching had moved from the Mota language to English, and the subjects taught included Old Testament, New Testament, Liturgy and Worship, Christian Doctrine, and Christian Ethics.

At Siota, in 1967, most of the students were in their mid-thirties and had been district catechists for some years prior to coming to the college. The method of teaching was principally to read a set text in class, sentence by sentence in

² In 1968 on the centenary of George Sarawia's ordination I edited the publication by the diocesan press of a translation into English of his life story with the title *They Came to My Island*.

English, with explanation and discussion as we went.³ There was a change in 1970 when the first group of secondary school leavers arrived. The core subjects ~ scripture and doctrine ~ were taught in a seminar style, with set readings each week from the standard commentaries, essays to be written, and then groups of three would discuss the issues raised and the marked essays would be returned. Other subjects were taught in a lecture style with cyclostyled notes given out and much use of question and answer. I don't remember end of year examinations. I taught biblical studies, liturgy and worship, and New Testament Greek. Though, when other members of staff were on leave, we taught each other's subjects.

In 1971 two associations of theological schools gave accreditation to their constituent colleges to offer certificate and diploma courses. The Melanesian Association of Theological Schools (MATS) comprised colleges in Papua New Guinea, New Britain, the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. The colleges and schools involved were Anglican, Evangelical, three types of Lutherans, Papua Ekelesia, Roman Catholic, and United Church.

The South Pacific Association of Theological Schools (SPATS) had some overlap with MATS and comprised colleges in the South Pacific islands centred on the Pacific Theological College in Fiji (PTC), with English and French speaking schools. Those from the Solomons and Vanuatu belonged to both.

Denominations represented included Anglican, Congregational, Evangelical, Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and Wesleyan. The accreditation was based on staff qualifications and numbers, the number of books in libraries, hours of teaching, and curricula, and there were regular inspections of the colleges in their respective regions.

In the Solomons this led to improved examination standards, increased staff numbers, a larger library, the issuing of certificates and diplomas, and streaming for more advanced students. In 1970 St Peter's College, Siota was transferred to Kohimarama, West Guadalcanal, to become part of the newly established Bishop Patteson Theological Centre (as it was initially named). Courses for a Certificate in Theology, a Licentiate in Theology and a Scholar in Theology were offered. The Scholar in Theology course required a long research essay. Students who had completed their diplomas could be sent to the PTC for their Bachelor of Theology degrees. Hebrew studies were at that time reserved to the PTC.

³ Text books included the following:

A Book of Common Prayer in Simple English, Taroaniara, BSIP: Diocese of Melanesia Press, 1965.
The Bible in Basic English, CUP, 1965.

Boer, Harry R., *The Minor Prophets*, Ibadan, West Nigeria: Daystar Press, 1965.

Hargreaves, John (formerly Warden, Buwalasi College, Uganda), *A Guide to St Mark's Gospel*, TEF Study Guide 2, London: SPCK, 1969.

Hargreaves, John, *A Guide to the Book of Genesis*, TEF Study Guide 3, London: SPCK, 1969.

Parmalee, Alice, *Guidebook to the Bible*, London: English Universities Press, 1951.

Plummer, G., *Who was Cain's Wife? Some Old Testament Questions Answered*, Ibadan, West Nigeria: Daystar Press, 1964.

Stephens, John, *An Introduction to the Life and Letters of St Paul*, Ibadan, West Nigeria: Daystar Press, 1966. [Based on Perry, Raymond, *An Introduction to the Life and Letters of St Paul*, London Missionary Society, 1962.]

Sugin, F.O., *Cry Justice: Interviews with Old Testament Prophets about a nation in crisis*, Ibadan, West Nigeria: Daystar Press. n.d.

Thomsen, Mark W. (Vice-Principal, Theological College of Northern Nigeria), *An Introduction to New Testament Theology*, Ibadan, West Nigeria: Daystar Press, 1964. [Based on Hunter, A.M., *An Introduction to New Testament Theology*, London: SCM Press, 1951.]

During my years as a theological tutor I quickly learned that a lack of facility in the English language is in no way a measure of intelligence. I realised that I needed to ask appropriate questions about local cultures to understand how gospel and culture could interact. These were insights that I was able to use in later years in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In 1975, not long after my return to Aotearoa, the Bishop of Aotearoa, Manuhuia Bennett, asked me to take up the position of vicar of Te Ngae Māori Pastorate in the Rotorua district. Initially I needed to learn te reo Māori and immerse myself in the life of Te Arawa. New kai-karakia had to be trained to provide support to small communities within the pastorate. Two further Māori pastorates and Māori mission districts were added to my responsibility.

A response to the challenges of Anglican Māori mission in Waiapu diocese, led by bishops Manuhuia Bennett and Paul Reeves, involved my participation in a new form of theological education. This was for minita-a-iwi (community priests) for the small, isolated, mostly rural Māori communities on the eastern side of the North Island. As there were insufficient numbers of Māori priests available and the financial base for providing fully stipended clergy had diminished, partly as a result of the migration of Māori families to the cities, the minita-a-iwi scheme sought to provide unpaid priests in local districts. Appropriate candidates were identified, with their training taking the form of bi-monthly weekend block course seminars and weekly bible study sessions. As tutor to a large number of candidates and support priest to an even larger number of newly ordained clergy for the next decade and more, I was able to draw on some of my experience in Melanesia, and immerse myself in the gospel and culture questions facing Māori Christians. I was awarded the Licentiate in Theology (Aotearoa) in 1990 as a result of this work.

From 1991 Te Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa took Māori theological training further with the establishment of five tāpapa (campuses) throughout Aotearoa for block courses and resource support services. Certificate and diploma courses were offered under NZQA, and later, degrees were offered at certain campuses. My involvement was by now only occasional, but I continued to be invited to lead seminars at summer and winter schools and at training weekends.

I believe my long experience in, and reflections on, multi-cultural theological education, both as student and teacher, provide me with a broad base from which to consider Te Rau Theological College in Turanga/Gisborne, and its text books.

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Abbreviations

AJCP	Australian Joint Copying Project
BiM	<i>Books in Māori 1815-1900</i> , Phil Parkinson and Penny Griffith
BTS	Board of Theological Studies
chp.	chapter
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CSJE	College of Saint John the Evangelist (St John's College)
DNZB	Dictionary of New Zealand Biography
HWW	Herbert William Williams
JPS	Journal of the Polynesian Society
Kinder	John Kinder Theological Library
LTh	Licentiate in Theology
M	Microfilm, e.g., M234
NZJH	New Zealand Journal of History
NZMTB	New Zealand Mission Trust Board
PBH	Poverty Bay Herald
r.	rārangi (verse or line)
Sommerville	A.D. Sommerville, "A Supplement to the Williams Bibliography of Printed Maori."
TACSA	Te Aute College Students' Association
Te Pīpī	Te Pīpīwharaua ~ Kupu Whakamārama
Tikanga Māori	The Māori section of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa
Tikanga Pākehā	The Pākehā section of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa
u.	upoko (chapter)
WCG	Waiapu Church Gazette
wh.	whārangi (page)

Glossary

Atuatanga	theology, spirituality
Hāhi	Church
te Hāhi Mihingare/Mihinare	the Anglican Church
iwi	extended kinship group, people(s), tribe(s)
karakia	prayer
kaikarakia	prayer leader, lay-reader
kainga	home
kaupapa Māori	undergirding Māori philosophy, principles
manaaki, -tanga	hospitality
Māramataka	Lectionary
Mihingare, Mihinare	Anglican Church, or Māori Anglican Church
tangata whenua	the people of the land, Māori
Te Kawenata Hou	The New Testament
Te Kawenata Tawhito	The Old Testament
Te Paipera Tapu	The Holy Bible
rangatira	chief(s)
te reo	the Māori language
tikanga	customarily correct ways of doing things, practice, culture
utu, whakautu	reciprocity
wairua	spirit, spiritual
whāia te Atuatanga	the study of theology / theological education
whakairo	carving
whānau	family, extended family
whare karakia	house for prayer, church building

Note: all translations in this thesis are by the author unless indicated otherwise.

Chapter One ~ Introduction

In the 1980s the late Archdeacon Sir Kingi Ihaka discovered a secondhand copy of a published book, written in te reo Māori, on early Church History. He speculated that there must be other books of a similar kind covering a variety of disciplines, all of which might have been used by students at Te Rau College in Gisborne in the 1880s. He suggested to the author of this thesis that it would be a useful undertaking to identify and study them.

Accordingly, this thesis sets out to identify these 'text books' in te reo, to obtain copies of them, or examine library copies, and analyse them with a view to assessing their usefulness for both the task of informing students at a Māori theological college, and preparation for a life of rural pastoral ministry.

Outline and structure of the thesis

Chapter two will survey theological education and training among Māori during the period before Te Rau College was established. It will examine the beginnings of the encounter between Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa, looking in particular at the concept of reciprocity which underlay and determined Māori responses.

The Christmas Day encounter at Oihi in the Bay of Islands where Ruatara, the chief of Rangihoua, invited Samuel Marsden to speak to the gathered iwi, in what looks like, and is generally considered to be, the first formal Christian service of worship in Aotearoa, will be used as an example of this reciprocity.

Missionary motives and expectations, tikanga components and Māori agency, and the critical historiography of recent times will be noted. Alternative paradigms will be considered to analyse change, with abandonment, adaptation, and adoption, as useful categories.

After looking at the way the first Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries sought to instruct Māori students, teachers, and catechists, the preparation of Māori evangelists will be considered before noting the arrival of George Augustus Selwyn, the first Anglican Bishop of New Zealand. Bishop Selwyn's educational plans will be explored, including the establishment of St John's College, first at Te Waimate, and then at Tāmaki. The relationship

between the CMS and Selwyn, and their differing views on education, theology, and liturgical practice, and the resulting withdrawal of CMS candidates from the college will be discussed.

The role of St Stephen's School, Parnell, as a place for training Māori ordinands will be appraised. This will be followed by a survey of Māori ordinands in the Dioceses of Auckland, Waiapu, and Wellington, with a note of those ordained by particular bishops, and the provision of appropriate appendices to show various aspects, including date of ordination and any examinations passed, in their respective periods.

The hopes and ideas for theological training and the needs of an indigenous ministry, as expressed by particular missionaries, will lead to a note on Winter Schools, and the events which resulted in the decision by the CMS to announce their impending withdrawal from Aotearoa.

Chapter three will examine the years when the context of theological education was Māori, and the language of instruction te reo. The establishment of Te Rau College, its staff, students, and buildings, will be noted, and then the designated curriculum will determine the order in which the text books will be explored.

Using the categories outlined by W. Leonard Williams, first Principal of Te Rau, under the headings: Bible, Prayer Book, Church History, Christian Doctrine, Pastoralia and General, each of the text books will be discussed in some detail.

This chapter will conclude with an assessment of the usefulness of the text books for the task outlined. Factors in this will be the rural pastoral ministry undertaken by Māori clergy, and the foundation those clergy laid for the life of te Hahi Mihingare (the Māori Anglican Church) for the next fifty years.

Chapter four will investigate Te Rau College during the period when the English language was also used as a medium of instruction. The reasons given for the use of English for this purpose, the pressures experienced, the degree of consultation entered into with Māori, or lack of such consultation, will be considered.

The changes in staff and the student body, the new curriculum under the Board of Theological Studies, and the success, or otherwise, of examination candidates will be analysed. Pressures and changes in society and church will also be noted.

In **Chapter five** the reasons for the closure of Te Rau College will be examined and the motivations of those involved noted.

Comparison will be made with other attempts to enhance the theological education of indigenous candidates, both in Southern Africa and Melanesia, and theological categories explored relating to Māori aspirations and adaptations.

The three-self church theory which seeks to establish an indigenous church characterised as self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-governing, as advanced by Henry Venn, and later restated by Roland Allen, will be noted.

A brief note will be included suggesting similarities between te Hāhi Mihingare experience of theological education and that of the Methodist and Presbyterian Māori sections.

A section will examine views on educational method, in relation to Māori and by Māori, with particular reference to the writings and teachings of Koro Dewes and Linda Smith.

Chapter six will consist of a summary and conclusions, exploring the Māori response to the Christian Gospel, and raising the issue of where the deepest theological questions can be asked. It will also note that no replacement text books have yet been written in te reo.

Available literature

Very little has been written about Te Rau College. This is not surprising in the light of the dearth of writing and research on Māori theological education, and more generally on the Māori church itself.

William Leonard Williams's *The Maori Mission: Its past and present*¹ has eight paragraphs. Though brief, this is important, because he was the first Principal of the college, and he outlines the curriculum and purpose of the college's establishment.

Watson Rosevear's *Waiapu: Story of a Diocese*² has a general section of three pages about Te Rau College.

Chapter six of Rēweti Kōhere's *Autobiography of a Maori*³ is headed "At Te Rau College", and is a helpful personal reflection on his time as student and staff member, but its twenty-four paragraphs are not all about the college itself.

Raeburn Lange has included Te Rau College in a section on New Zealand in *Island Ministers: Indigenous Leadership in Nineteenth Century Pacific Islands Christianity*,⁴ and mentioned the college in two articles in the *Journal of Religious History*.⁵

Allan Davidson mentions Te Rau College, though usually incorrectly calling it Te Rau Kahikatea College, in *Selwyn's Legacy*.⁶

Stephen Donald has four paragraphs in his chapter "A New Era: 1887-94"⁷ in the newer history of the Diocese of Waiapu *The Gift Endures*. It is mentioned briefly elsewhere in that publication.

¹ W. Leonard Williams, *The Maori Mission: its past and present* (Palmerston North: Keeling & Mundcey, 1904).

² Watson Rosevear, *Waiapu: The Story of a Diocese* (Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade, 1960).

³ Reweti T. Kōhere, *The Autobiography of a Maori* (Wellington: Reed, 1951).

⁴ Raeburn Lange, *Island Ministers: Indigenous Leadership in Nineteenth Century Pacific Islands Christianity* (Christchurch: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury, & Pandanus Books, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, 2005).

⁵ Lange, "Indigenous Agents of Religious Change in New Zealand 1830-1860," *Journal of Religious History* 24, no. 3 (October 2000): 279-95; Lange, "Ordained Ministry in Maori Christianity, 1853-1900," *The Journal of Religious History*, 27, 1 (2003): 47-66.

⁶ Allan K. Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy: The College of St John the Evangelist Te Waimate and Auckland 1843 - 1992, A History* (Auckland: The College of Saint John the Evangelist, 1993). Te Rau Kahikatea was the name of Leonard Williams's house in Cobden Street, Gisborne. When the college was built across the road, it was referred to as Te Rau College. Leonard Williams's old house is now the tari (office) of Te Hui Amorangi ki te Tai Rāwhiti and its Te Taapapa, and is still known at Te Rau Kahikatea.

⁷ Stephen Donald, "A New Era 1887-94: The Bishopric of Edward Stuart," in *The Gift Endures: A New History of the Waiapu Diocese*, ed. John Bluck (Napier: Diocese of Waiapu, 2009), 63-65.

Two theses look at Te Rau College in the light of the establishment of Te Whare Wānanga o Te Rau Kahikatea at the College of Saint John the Evangelist at Meadowbank in Auckland. In Jenny Te Paa's thesis "Ka Whakatungia Ano a Te Rau Kahikatea: An Historical Critical Overview of Events Which Preceded the Re-Establishment of Te Rau Kahikatea Theological College of Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa,"⁸ the first Te Rau is mentioned on eight pages. Te Rau College is also mentioned in Susan Healey's thesis "The theology colleges and the Maori."⁹

Among general histories of the Anglican Church, Purchas¹⁰ and Morrell¹¹ also mention Te Rau College, though these and other works of the period make only passing reference to the college and the details of its life.

Significance

While the literature is sparse, the subject is of considerable interest, both for those involved in Māori theological education, especially for te Hāhi Mihingare, and for those seeking a balanced perspective on the relations between Māori and non-Māori portions of the Anglican Church. The dynamics of these relationships are also mirrored in the general attitudes and behaviour of those in other spheres, especially educational and economic.

Lack of reference in the literature belies the importance of Te Rau College as a crucial element in the educational development of Māori, and in the creation of a truly Māori segment of the Anglican Church.

There is further work to be done. This thesis lays a foundation for further exploration of the nature of Māori response to the encounter with Pākehā, and especially of a theological response to Pākehā missionaries and their teachings. The categories of abandonment, adaptation, and adoption could be used to examine and evaluate a number of aspects of Māori Christianity, and the

⁸ Jenny Te Paa, "Ka Whakatungia Ano a Te Rau Kahikatea: An Historical Critical Overview of Events Which Preceded the Re-Establishment of Te Rau Kahikatea Theological College of Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa," (MEd thesis, University of Auckland, 1995), 66-68, 72-76.

⁹ Susan Healey, "The theology colleges and the Maori," (MA thesis, Maori studies, University of Auckland, 1988).

¹⁰ H.T. Purchas, *The English Church in New Zealand*, (Christchurch: Simpson & Williams Limited, 1914).

¹¹ W.P. Morrell, *The Anglican Church in New Zealand: A History*, (Dunedin: Anglican Church of the Province of New Zealand, 1973).

teachings of Māori clergy, in relation to those spiritual exercises outside the realm of missionary teaching and practice.

Chapter 2 ~ Theological education for Māori prior to Te Rau College

Indigenous and Missionary Encounters

Reciprocal relationships characterise most Pacific cultures. Much early writing on contact between Europeans and Pacific Islanders is written in a Eurocentric mode. Anne Salmond¹², Harrison Wright¹³, and Vincent O'Malley¹⁴ are among those who have shown that these contacts and relationships were always reciprocal from a Māori point of view. Obligations and benefits are always part of these relationships, *manaaki* (hospitality) and *whakautu* (reciprocity) being two of the terms used in *te reo* to define these. Some of these relationships between Māori and Pākehā began in Port Jackson as well as in communities around Aotearoa.

Alison Jones and Kuni Jenkins¹⁵ have shown that the first conversations in print indicate a Māori agency in events that has often been forgotten or remained unacknowledged. Importantly, they remind us that a Māori-centric narrative will lead to differing analyses of commonly known events.

In reflecting on what happened at Oihi in December 1814 they posit a Māori action of hospitality which leaves no place for missionary sermonising. Thus, despite describing the prior knowledge and interest that Te Pahi, Ruatara and others had showed in the Christian teaching and worship at Paramatta, they fail to allow the possibility that Ruatara used the *pōwhiri* (welcome ceremony) and *whakaeke* (protocol of welcome and response) of the day, to allow “his missionary”, Marsden, to speak in a sermon-like manner, setting up the cloth-covered bookstand, arranging seats for the visitors as if in Church, and translating the message.

From a directly opposing viewpoint it has been suggested anecdotally that rather than no sermon that day, there were in fact two.¹⁶ The tradition in the

¹² Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges between Maori and Europeans 1773-1815* (Auckland: Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd, 1997).

¹³ Harrison M. Wright, *New Zealand, 1769-1840: Early Years of Western Contact* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967).

¹⁴ Vincent O'Malley, *The Meeting Place: Māori and Pākehā Encounters, 1642-1840* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2012).

¹⁵ Alison Jones, and Kuni Jenkins. *Words between Us - He Kōrero: First Māori-Pākehā Conversations on Paper* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2011).

¹⁶ Sermon by the author at 190th anniversary service at Oihi, January 2004.

North is that Ruatara answered the question, ‘What did he [Marsden] say?’ with, at the very least, the statement ‘You are not to mind that now, but you will understand by and bye’, “and that he would explain the meaning as far as he could”. This is reflected in Marsden’s account of the day in the *Missionary Register*.¹⁷ The northern tradition also includes “Te Hari o Ngāpuhi”, a waiata re-envisaging and commemorating the occasion.¹⁸

Unlike other Pacific communities, there are no tangata whenua autobiographies of those who were participants in the first years of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) Mission in the Bay of Islands and beyond. The autobiography of George Sarawia of Mota, in the Banks Islands, gives a glimpse of one person’s response to the first European contact, the arrival of strangers, later known as missionaries.¹⁹ Astonishment with the ships, the boots, the “Amen” before shared food, led to curiosity, the wish for iron tools, and a desire to learn more of these foreigners. It was not theology but the behaviour of Bishop Patteson when tending sick Melanesians, which led to Sarawia’s becoming the first Melanesian deacon.²⁰

When Ruatara brought Samuel Marsden and his group of missionaries to Oihi in 1814 all of the complications of relationships: misunderstandings, mixed motives, unconsidered outcomes, and unrealisable aspirations were engaged. The nature of their client status, the constraints of being obligated to Ruatara, Hongi and other principal rangatira, characterised the mission’s activities at Oihi, Te Puna, Paihia, Kerikeri, Te Waimate and later mission ‘stations’.

Twenty-first century Māori historians, and other Māori writers, have described this early contact period as colonising. The claim is made that the intention of the missionaries was to replace the Māori religion and value system with European Christianity. In *Decolonising Methodologies* Linda Tuhiwai Smith criticises the colonial enterprise as an assault on indigenous peoples whose

¹⁷ *Missionary Register*, November 1816, 470-71, quoted in Allan K. Davidson and Peter J. Lineham, *Transplanted Christianity: Documents illustrating aspects of New Zealand Church History* (Auckland: College Communications, 1987), 24.

¹⁸ Hoterene Keretene, “Te Kauwhau a Hamuera Matenga”, *Te Ao Hou*, 14, Aperira 1956, 10-11.

¹⁹ George Sarawia, *They Came to My Island: The Beginnings of the Mission in the Banks Islands* trans. Derek Rawcliffe, ed. George Connor (Taroaniara, Gela, Solomon Islands: St Peter’s College, Siota, 1968), 3.

²⁰ Sarawia, *They Came To My Island*, 21.

worst excesses must be reversed. The methodologies of research are to be realigned to give proper place to indigenous researchers and avoid the cultural assumptions of the dominant culture.²¹ Further, she writes,

Concepts of spirituality which Christianity attempted to destroy, then to appropriate, and then to claim, are critical sites of resistance for indigenous peoples. The values, attitudes, concepts and language embedded in beliefs about spirituality represent, in many cases, the clearest contrast and mark of difference between indigenous peoples and the West.²²

Reviewing *Decolonising Methodologies* Carla Wilson said

Tuhiwai Smith, however, critiques dominant Western discourses of knowledge and objectivity by demonstrating how Western stories and “regimes of truth” are situated within a particular cultural, social system that needs to be “decolonized”. Western research brings with it a particular set of values and conceptualisations of time, space, subjectivity, gender relations and knowledge. Western research is encoded in imperial and colonial discourses that influence the gaze of the researcher.²³

Ranginui Walker in *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End* speaks of Pākehā missionaries as “the advance party of cultural invasion. Their immediate goal was to replace the spiritual beliefs of the Māori with their own”.²⁴ He reinforces this, stating that “the missionaries also attacked the sacred symbols of the tribe by emasculating ancestral carvings of their genitals, an act that portended the cultural and human emasculation to come”.²⁵ Hirini Kaa, in the 2012 edition of *Te Pouhere Kōrero: Māori History, Māori People* agrees with this basic thesis saying that

²¹ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1999); Smith, “**Nga Aho O Te Kakahu Matauranga**: The Multiple Layers of Struggle by **Maori** in Education,” [bold in original] (PhD thesis in Education, University of Auckland, 1996); Smith, “On Being Culturally Sensitive in the Art of Gathering and Eating Kina Without Pricking Yourself on the Finger,” in *The Issue of Research and Maori, Monograph No. 9*, ed. Te Tari Rangahau o te Matauranga Maori (Research Unit for Maori Education University of Auckland), 71-80 (Tamaki Makaurau: Te Whare Wananga o Tamaki Makaurau, 1992); Smith, “Te Raapunga I Te Ao Maarama: The Search for the World of Light” in *The Issue of Research and Maori*, ed. Te Tari Rangahau o te Matauranga Maori, 7-18 (Tamaki Makaurau: Te Whare Wananga o Tamaki Makaurau, 1992); Smith, “Towards the New Millennium: International Issues and Projects in Indigenous Research,” (Paper presented at the Te Oru Rangahau, Palmerston North, 1998); Judith A. Simon, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, eds. *A Civilising Mission?: Perceptions and Representations of the Native School System*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001).

²² Smith, *Decolonising Methodologies*, 74.

²³ Carla Wilson, “Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, Zed Books, London,” *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, no. 17 (December 2001): 215.

²⁴ Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End* (2nd ed. Auckland: Penguin, 2004), 85.

²⁵ Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*, 86.

in the Māori historiography dealing with ‘colonisation’ perhaps the strongest image of the arrival and imposition of a new value system is that of the missionaries as representatives of that value system implementing the emasculation of whakairo”.²⁶

However, he suggests a nuanced approach by Te Hāhi Mihinare (Anglican Māori) to the intrusive encounter that the Christian mission represents, and proposes ‘abandonment, adaptation, and adoption’ as three categories of response which are not mutually exclusive.²⁷

He argues a cultural development, with Māori thinking through issues in the light of new knowledge and experience.

In following this reading, Māori agency is primary in the decisions, for example, to abandon cannibalism, and in the adaptation of te hāhunga (exhumation and anointing of the bones of the dead), to ceremonies associated with hura kohatu (the unveiling of memorial tombstones), and adoption of monogamy. There are issues of tapu and mana involved, and of alcohol and slavery. The nature of the deity is a key point of discussion. Hirini Kaa is continuing to explore these issues and this very helpful approach deserves to be more widely explored, but it is not the subject of this thesis.

Wiremu Kaa in an article on Ngāti Porou Spirituality talks of the choice that people had to make between traditional Māori Wairua and Christian Spirituality.²⁸ He explains that Mohi Turei wrote the haka “Tihei Tāruke” to explain being Ngāti Porou and Christian at the same time.

Thus, the haka Tihei Tāruke is the metaphor that I am now asserting, was the vehicle that Mohi Turei used to reconcile the theological juxtaposition in which he and many of his Ngāti Porou kin were located. He had grown to enjoy, understand and to love the liturgical rituals of the Anglican faith and the stories of the Paipera Tapu. It gave him and the Ngāti Porou population of that era, a sense of personal satisfaction and peace. Ngāti Porou leaders readily transformed and repackaged various Anglican liturgical rituals with a wairua Māori that satisfied their spiritual needs to the extent that chanting in the moteatea style was a common feature of their karakia. I am also suggesting that the haka Tihei Tāruke is a theological template for discussing and locating the diversity of choices that have emerged and continue to emerge about the range of wairua perspectives within Ngāti Porou. It is a way of redeeming any guilt complex that may exist about the theological choices that individuals make about what they do and how they pray. The haka strongly suggests that the Māori Wairua and Christian Spirituality can symbolically co-exist and live harmoniously within a single tāruke (crayfish pot).²⁹

²⁶ Hirini Kaa, “Sex, Sin and Salvation: Māori Morality through a Christian Lens,” *Te Pouhere Kōrero: Māori History, Māori People* 6 (2012): 27.

²⁷ Kaa, “Sex, Sin and Salvation”, 32.

²⁸ Wiremu Kaa, “Ngāti Porou Spirituality,” *Mai i Rangiatea*, 3 (2007), 66-73.

²⁹ Kaa, “Ngāti Porou Spirituality,” 69.

Adrienne Puckey suggests that economic exchange has been an understated component of the encounter between Māori and missionaries, and that traders might bring goods but missionaries brought access to the means of production, literacy and numeracy skills,³⁰ and states that in the Far North

... most missionaries, aimed to convert Maori to their brand of Christianity and civilise them, in that or the reverse. ... Christianity, once introduced, was adopted quickly in the far north compared with the Bay of Islands' missions, even if it was incorporated into Māori spirituality rather than replacing it entirely. ... Ultimately, just as Christianity became incorporated into Māori spirituality, religious differences were generally subordinated to iwi interests.³¹

The most recent, and a most useful treatment of these issues by a Pākehā historian, is a chapter, called "Subverting Conversion? Religious Encounter", in Vincent O'Malley's *The Meeting Place: Māori and Pākehā Encounters, 1642-1840*.³² In this O'Malley summarises the various theories already put forward and presents a balanced position.

That Christianity did not so much replace pre-existing belief systems as become incorporated into them, being redefined along the way in uniquely Māori terms, seems apparent from the persistence of customs and ideas deemed contrary to Christian thinking by the missionaries. This narrower and exclusionary missionary conception of Christianity was evidently not shared by many Māori.³³

He may be a little hard on what he sees as "self-interest" in missionaries, but makes clear that Māori conversion was on Māori terms and for Māori reasons. Elsewhere O'Malley talks of Māori reflecting on their changing world and states that it was not a matter of the collapse of a pre-existing cultural practices and beliefs "but rather of a conscious process of reflection and re-evaluation."³⁴

O'Malley also suggests that the economic encounter and the reciprocity it entailed has been treated too lightly.³⁵

Let us note that in the adaptation of Christianity by Anglican Māori a series of blessings, ceremonies, exorcisms, and language remain outside the provision of

³⁰ Adrienne Puckey, *Trading Cultures: A History of the Far North*. Wellington: Huia, 2011), 23. "Who You Know: Māori, Missionaries and Economy," in *The Spirit of the Past: Essays on Christianity in New Zealand History*, ed. Geoffrey Troughton and Hugh Morrison (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2011).

³¹ Adrienne Puckey, *Trading Cultures*, 25-6.

³² O'Malley, *The Meeting Place*, 162-194.

³³ O'Malley, *The Meeting Place*, 167.

³⁴ O'Malley, *The Meeting Place*, 109.

³⁵ O'Malley, *The Meeting Place*, 169-70, 181-2.

the missionaries. Further research remains to be done on the nature of those karakia which permeate everyday life: blessing of homes, ornaments, waka (buses and cars as well as canoes), of buildings, takahi whare (re-inhabiting and blessing a home after a bereavement), hiki te tapu (removing the stigma of murder or accident from the place it occurred), rahui and its removal (setting a prohibition on an area for a period in respect for a death or other tragedy, and marking the end of that prohibition), peinga rewera (the driving out of malevolent spirits from places or persons), whakawātea whare or whakanoatia whare (clearing of an impediment, particularly one relating to tapu, from a building, for example after the carvers have finished their work, to allow its general use, or return it to general use), and acknowledging the wairua in places and things. For none of these is there an authorised service in *te Rāwiri* (the Book of Common Prayer), though late twentieth and twenty-first century publications within Te Pihopātanga o Aotearoa (the Bishopric of Aotearoa) make liturgical provision for some.

Reactions to the arrival of the missionaries and the preaching of the Christian Gospel may be found in those prophetic movements which occur from at least the 1830s with Papahurīhia and Te Atua Wera and continue through Te Ua Haumene, Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki, Rua Kenana, and Wiremu Tahupotiki Ratana, among others.³⁶ Bronwyn Elsmore has written extensively about these movements,³⁷ which chose in various ways to reject the Christianity offered by the missionaries and seek a spiritual journey owing something to Christianity and something to traditional Māori wairua.

³⁶ Judith Binney, "Myth and Explanation in the Ringatu Tradition: Some Aspects of the Leadership of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki and Rua Kenana Hepetipa," *JPS* 93, no. 4 (1984): 345-98; Binney, "Ancestral Voices: Maori Prophet Leaders," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, ed. Keith Sinclair, 153-84 (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1990); Binney, *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki* (Auckland: Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books, 1995); Binney, "Papahurīhia, Pukerenga, Te Atua Wera, and Te Nākahi: How Many Prophets?" *New Zealand Journal of History* (2007): 309-20; Kendrick Smithyman, *Atua Wera* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1997); Leo Fowler, "A New Look at Te Kooti," *Te Ao Hou* November-December, no. 20-21 (1957): 17-20; 18-22; Judith Binney, Gillian Chaplin, and Wallace Craig, *Mihaia: The Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu* (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1979).

³⁷ Bronwyn Elsmore, *Like Them That Dream: The Maori and the Old Testament* (Tauranga: Tauranga Moana Press, 1985); Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven: A Century of Maori Prophets in New Zealand* (Tauranga: Moana Press, 1989); Elsmore, *Te Kohititanga Marama, New Moon, New World: The Religion of Matenga Tamati* (Reed, 1998).

The evangelical movement in England which produced the Bible Society and numerous missionary societies led to volunteers going to countries around the world, had at its heart a Protestant faith and ethic. Samuel Marsden persuaded the newly formed CMS to support a mission to Aotearoa. Missionaries were often trained for overseas positions at the CMS training institution at Islington. The first so-called “mechanical missionaries” were King, Kendall, and Yate, and their families.

Later, in 1823, Henry Williams arrived to take charge of the Mission and change the direction from “civilising” to “evangelising” with an emphasis on learning te reo and translating the Scriptures. A procession of others followed including Henry’s brother William who was eventually to chair the translation committee for *Te Kawenata Hou*, and Robert Maunsell who would be the principal translator of *Te Kawenata Tawhito*.

Of concern here is how teachers and catechists were trained and what provisions were made for those who might seek to enter the ordained ministry. The issue of literacy in both te reo and English is at the heart of this.

From very early on in the story of the Anglican Mission in the Bay of Islands it was common for Māori evangelists to visit nearby villages and teach and take prayers. A number of those who had been captured, enslaved, and brought to the North from other parts of the North Island by Ngāpuhi, eventually returned home where they shared what they had learned from the missionaries with their own iwi. In many cases they explained what they had picked up from attending classes and taking part in services at the Mission rather than having received particular instruction.

In the 1980s, Kingi Matutaera Ihaka showed the author *Te Maramataka 1895* (The Lectionary),³⁸ containing a number of historical notes, such as the arrival dates of various missionaries and governors, along with mention of battles and natural disasters. We noted the paucity of Māori evangelists in this list.

Ihaka’s response was to write a poi celebrating the principal Māori evangelists to the iwi of the North Island, beginning from Pewhairangi (the Bay of Islands).

³⁸ George Connor, “Saintly, Sinful or Secular 1814-1895 viewed through the lens of *Te Maramataka 1895* and its historical notes,” (Research essay for PGDip Arts (History), Massey University, 2011).

His *Poi* was later included in *A New Zealand Prayer Book He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa*.³⁹

Starting from Rangihoua and Oihi with the first missionaries, it then mentions how the Gospel message has been 'sown' in other tribal areas, and names Rota Waitoa of Raukawa, Te Tauri of Whanganui, Kereopa and Manihera of Ngāti Ruanui, martyrs at Taupō, Tauamata-ā-Kura in Ngāti Porou, Ngākūkū of Waharoa in Mataatua, Ihaia te Ahu from the north in Te Arawa, and Te Wera, also from the north, in Ngāti Kahungunu. Raeburn Lange mentions a number of these in *Island Ministers*.⁴⁰ Rukuata⁴¹ and Piripi Taumata-ā-Kura⁴² and the arrival of the gospel in Ngāti Porou are both mentioned in *The Turanga Journals: Letters and Journals of William and Jane Williams*.⁴³ Ngākūkū's story is most clearly told in A.N. Brown's Journal.⁴⁴ Kereopa and Manihera's story is told in Sir John Te Herekieke's *Tūwharetoa*.⁴⁵ A short biographical note on each of these and

³⁹ Kingi Matutaera Ihaka, *Poi*, in *A New Zealand Prayer Book The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia = He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa Te Hāhi Mihinare ki Aotearoa ki Niu Tirenī, Ki Ngā Moutere o te Moana Nui a Kiwa* (4th ed. Christchurch: Genesis, 2005), 154-6; Connor, "Saintly ...," Appendix 2, 65-6.

⁴⁰ Raeburn Lange, *Island Ministers*.

⁴¹ Frances Porter, ed. *The Turanga Journals 1840-1850: Letters and Journals of William and Jane Williams Missionaries to Poverty Bay* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1974), 56.

⁴² Api Mahuika and Steven Oliver, "Taumata-a-Kura, Piripi fl.1823-1868," in *DNZB 1769-1869*, ed. W.H. Oliver, 433-4 (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990); "Taumata-ā-Kura, Piripi ōna rongo 1823-1868," in *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau 1769-1869*, Ētita Matua, W.H. Oliver, 164-5 (Te Whanganui-ā-Tara: Te Tari Taiwhenua, 1990); "Piripi Taumata-a-Kura: The Seeds of Christianity," *Ngā Māunga Kōrero, Te Nupepa o te Tairāwhiti*, July 6th 2007, 18; Ken Booth, 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), 168-171.

⁴³ Porter, ed. *The Turanga Journals*, 54, 59.

⁴⁴ A.N. Brown, "Rev. A.N. Brown's Journal 1836-1850 Typescript," (Hamilton: University of Waikato Library), 1835: 24 June, 30 June, 24 August, 1836: 22 January, April, 9 April, 20 October, 1841: 21 June; Porter, *Turanga Journals*, 75n, 97, 98-9; Rosevear, *Waiapu*, 9, 11; A.N. Brown, Journal, June 21 1841, in *The Church Missionary Record Detailing Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for the Year 1840*, Vol. 11, *Australasia Mission* (London: Richard Watts, 1840); Miss Tucker, *The Southern Cross and Southern Crown; or, the Gospel in New Zealand* (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1866), 200; Noeline V. Hall, "I Have Planted..." *A Biography of Alfred Nesbit Brown* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1981); Matthews & Matthews Architects Ltd in association with Lyn Williams, Shirley Arabin, A.R. Skidmore & Associates (eds., *Whakatane Built Heritage Study: Part One*, Issue 3 (prepared for Whakatane District Council, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Environment Bay of Plenty, November 2007), 10, 15; Booth, *For All the Saints*, 166.

⁴⁵ J. Te H. Grace, *Tūwharetoa: A History of the Maori People of the Taupo District* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1959), 415-21; Rosevear, *Waiapu*, 33-4; Booth, *For All the Saints*, 85-8; J.M.R. Owens, *The Mediator: A Life of Richard Taylor 1805-1873* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004), 130, 132-4.

others can be found in the Anglican Church's liturgical resource *For All the Saints*.⁴⁶

Similar stories of indigenous agency are told in other contexts such as that of Bishop John William Colenso and Native ministry in Natal.⁴⁷

CMS training of catechists

The Church Missionary Institution (CMI) at Islington had begun in 1825 and prepared candidates for ordination by the Bishop of London principally for service overseas. This required a thorough grounding in classical languages and the need to satisfy the CMS regulations about the ability to read the Scriptures in the original languages. In addition, the CMS required the candidate to "be acquainted with the entire outline of Ecclesiastical History, both General and English, with Church Polity and Rituals, with Evidences and Doctrines."⁴⁸ This was usually a three year course.

In Principal Pearson's time (1825-38), after two years of Greek, history and geography, and various branches of mathematics and science, students studied the Latin text of *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1562) by Bishop Jewel, the Greek New Testament, Nowell's *Catechism* (1570) in Latin, elementary Hebrew, logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, and the *Analogy* by Bishop Butler.

In Principal Childe's time (1839-58) there was greater attention to church doctrine and polity with time spent on Richard Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1597), John Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed* (1659), Gilbert Burnet's *Exposition of the 39 Articles* (1699), J. L. von Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History* (1726), as well as newer works such as Thomas Short's *Sketch of the History of the Church of England* (1832), E. H. Browne's *An Exposition of the Thirty Nine Articles*

⁴⁶ Booth, *For All the Saints*, 152-181.

⁴⁷ Abraham Mojalefe Lieta, "Colenso and the Emergence of an Indigenous Black Clergy in South Africa," in *The Eye of the Storm: Bishop John William Colenso and the Crisis of Biblical Inspiration*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 242-54.

⁴⁸ CMS Minutes 25 April 1845, 555, quoted in Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries 1789-1858: The Social Background, Motives and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India with Texts of 1. David Bogue's Missionary Appeal, 1794; 2. Charles Buck on Philanthropic Movements, 1800; & 3. Sydney Smith on Evangelical Missionaries, 1808, 4 vols, Vol. 2, Evangelicals & Society from 1750* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984), 195.

(1850), and G.C. Knapp's *Lectures on Christian Theology* (1831-33).⁴⁹ This was all to produce "Men of the Book".

CMS missionaries in Aotearoa had the experience of their own training in mind when they sought to catechise and teach Māori. This was later to be a factor in the setting up of Te Rau College as will be seen in chapter three.

In 1841 a new General Secretary of the CMS Parent Committee in London was appointed. Henry Venn had a clear vision for the missions. This included a native ministry which would grow to become self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-governing. He was one of the first to use the term "indigenous church". He wanted CMS missionaries to evangelise and create local, i.e. indigenous, pastors to care for the new Christians. Missionaries would provide teaching, administer the sacraments, offer initial financial support and oversight, and train local leaders to take over all these tasks.

He was committed to the idea that when the missionaries had done that task they should leave and go to a new un-evangelised country. In his 1851 "*The Native Pastorate and Organization of Native Church*," he coined the phrase "Euthanasia of Mission".⁵⁰ The foreign mission is "like a scaffolding" that should be removed once the community of local believers is functioning.

He and Bishop Selwyn did not see eye to eye on missionary strategy. Selwyn wanted the CMS missionaries to be licensed and placed by the bishop, and available to minister to settlers as well as Māori. The saga, which is not too strong a word, is clearly outlined in Peter Williams's *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy*.⁵¹ Selwyn's role is clearly told in *A Controversial Churchman: Essays on George Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield, and Sarah Selwyn* edited by Allan Davidson,⁵² especially in

⁴⁹ Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, 196.

⁵⁰ Venn, Henry. "The Euthanasia of Missions, First Paper, Minute upon the Employment and Ordination of Native Teachers, CMS, 1851," in *The Church of England 1815-1948: A Documentary History*, ed. R.P. Flindall (London: SPCK, 1972), 138-41.

⁵¹ C. Peter. Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990).

⁵² Allan K. Davidson, ed. *A Controversial Churchman: Essays on George Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield, and Sarah Selwyn* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2011).

Davidson's chapter in that collection "Selwyn as Missionary and Colonial Bishop".⁵³

St John's College at Te Waimate from 1842-1844

After the arrival of Bishop Selwyn, the training of Māori teachers began to take a more institutional form. The provision *Te Rāwiri* and *Te Kawenata Hou* were important resources for Māori teachers and catechists in leading worship and in schools.

The 1844 Synod held at Waimate set down some guidelines for Māori teachers in the proposed archdeaconries: Te Waimate, Waitematā, Tauranga, Waiapu, and Kapiti. There were to be two categories of teacher: Kai Whakaako (teachers) who were to have a role as overseers and inspectors of quite extensive districts, and Monita (monitors) who were to lead daily services, instruct their people in reading and writing, and teach the catechism, in the villages and settlements to which they were appointed. Both kai whakaako and monita were to report to the missionaries and receive instruction from them. In each place there were to be weekly gatherings to test potential candidates for baptism on their knowledge of the catechism. Selwyn's plans included district day schools and central boarding schools. It was expected that the best students would go on to teacher training and some of the teachers would become candidates for ordination.

Selwyn's ideas for ordination candidates included

Divinity lectures, complete sermons in English, Greek, native language, medicine, Latin. Following year: lectures on John Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed* (1659), 39 articles. Selwyn's curriculum for his students was similar to his own preparation for ordination and what was expected in England. Pearson, Hooker, Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*, Butler's *Analogy of Religion*, the Thirty-Nine Articles, *The Book of Common Prayer*, some ecclesiastical history, Latin and Greek formed the staple diet of English students' study before ordination. Students were familiarised with a received tradition with little encouragement to think critically.⁵⁴

But Selwyn had a detailed scheme of an ecclesiastical and educational centre with cathedral, theological college, teachers' college, senior and primary schools, modelled perhaps on a cathedral close, with the bishop's house and all

⁵³ Allan Davidson, "Selwyn as Missionary and Colonial Bishop," in *A Controversial Churchman*, 46-65.

⁵⁴ Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, 31.

the boarding houses grouped around a cathedral. The removal of the college to “Bishop’s Auckland” at Purewa, allowed the opportunity to attempt such an institution.

St John’s College at Tāmaki from 1844

The custom in the Church of England at that time was for bishops to ordain anyone, with or without training, after seeking advice from their examining chaplains. As a result, many lesser clergy had very little training. However, Selwyn himself, and many of the clergy he attracted to New Zealand, were ordained after study in the English universities. Theology was a recognised discipline, and the style of teaching, the text books, and the expectations associated with Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin continued to be considered ‘the norm’, as will be seen when the Board of Theological Studies is set up in the 1870s.

During the nineteenth century, theological colleges began to be established with another model of training for ordination, but still essentially an academic one. There were changes in the role of clergy in English society. What had previously been often associated with the gentry was beginning to become a recognised profession for which training, and not just a university degree was required.⁵⁵ Theological colleges such as St Augustine’s, Canterbury, founded in 1848, and that at Cuddesdon,⁵⁶ 1854, began to model a form of training particularly designed for parish clergy.

Selwyn’s “True Church principles” and his educational philosophy led to the assertion that there must be one Church and that there was not room for a different Māori stream within that. Coupled with this was the view that the English language was essential to Church and education and must be widely used as soon as was possible. In Selwyn’s address to the first session of the General Synod, on 9 March 1859, he encapsulated his consistent view⁵⁷ from the early 1840s, when he said

⁵⁵ W.M. Jacob, *The Clerical Profession in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1680-1840* (Oxford: OUP, 2007); W. Sewell, “Training of the Clergy,” *Church Quarterly Review* 11 (January 1862): 400-50.

⁵⁶ Mark D. Chapman, ed. *Ambassadors of Christ: Commemorating 150 Years of Theological Education in Cuddesdon 1854-2004* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2004).

⁵⁷ Notwithstanding his views expressed in other contexts: his reply to Governor Fitzroy in November 1845, Selwyn to Fitzroy, November 1845, Inwards letters from Bishop Selwyn and

I cannot disguise my conviction that the time has come when a united action between the two branches of our Church is absolutely necessary. Our countrymen are spreading themselves over the greater part of the New Zealand Islands. Japhet is being enlarged to dwell in the tents of Shem. The constant traffic with the English towns brings the Native population more and more into contact with our own race. It will be found impossible to carry on a double government for the Colonial and Missionary Church. But the blending of the one into the other must be a gradual work, and ought to be begun immediately. The Euthanasia of the Mission cannot be a sudden death.⁵⁸

This sentiment and this statement will recur in the debate about the closing of Te Rau College to be discussed in chapter four, though only part of Selwyn's statement was remembered.

Māori were reluctant to send young men away from their families to St John's not only because of the insistence on English language at the college, but because of their disapproval of "useful industry", the industrial scheme which Selwyn thought essential. Māori chiefs thought their sons should not have to spend hours in manual labour and be treated as servants. CMS missionaries were suspicious of Selwyn's alleged high church tendencies. There was 'misunderstanding' of the rosters setting up the duties for various students in the chapel, in particular "the institution of the rank of 'Sacrists'", which gave "a complexion to the whole scheme at variance with the spirit of the English Church", and the CMS doubted "the expediency of uniting secular trades with clerical education".⁵⁹ This led in 1847 to the decision of the CMS to withdraw of all its protégés from the college and return to teaching at Te Waimate with Robert Burrows as Principal.⁶⁰

Settlers, too, were sometimes unhappy with Selwyn's collegiate institution and somewhat unwilling for their sons to attend schooling with Māori on an equal footing.

other clergymen (16575) 1845-1860, Archives New Zealand, quoted in Warren Limbrick, "Bishop Selwyn as Bishop of New Zealand: Recovering Apostolicity in a Colonial Church," in *A Controversial Churchman*, 42; and to Governor Browne, Memorandum of the Bishop of New Zealand, 8 My 1860, as quoted in Grant A. Phillipson, "'High and even holy purposes': Bishop Selwyn in Treaty History," in *A Controversial Churchman*, 112-3.

⁵⁸ H.W. Tucker, *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), vol. 2, 126.

⁵⁹ Venn to Selwyn, CMS House, 30 September 1846, AML, SP, MS 273, 3/13, quoted in Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, 66.

⁶⁰ First Meeting of Central Committee of the New Zealand Mission, 14 September 1847, AML, MS 273, 2/9, quoted in Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, 66.

Over the period from 1847 until 1921 a small number of Māori attended St John's College. It is harder to identify them as they tended to use Pākehā names or a Pākehā version of their names on enrolment.

St Stephen's School, Parnell⁶¹

George Adam Kissling⁶² was appointed as the founding headmaster of St Stephen's School in 1844. He continued in this task in its various manifestations until his stroke in 1861.

George Kissling had been a theological student at Basle in 1823, was ordained in the Reformed Lutheran Church in 1826, and went initially to Liberia as a member of the Basle Missionary Society. He was ordained as an Anglican priest on 20 December 1841 in St Paul's Cathedral, London, and set out for Aotearoa on 8 January 1842, serving at Te Kawakawa (Te Araroa) from 1843, where a day school was started, and moving to Auckland in 1846 due to ill-health.

George and Margaret Kissling started a Native Girls' School at Kohimarama (Mission Bay) in buildings which Bishop Selwyn had purchased from William Spain. Early in January 1848 the buildings were destroyed by fire and the school continued in a large house in Sarawia Street, Parnell. Margaret Kissling organised the New Zealand Aborigines Washing Establishment, which took in washing from Auckland settlers to support the school.

In December 1850, Bishop Selwyn opened a new building in Parnell named "The Aboriginal Female Establishment", later, "St Stephen's School for Native Girls". Kissling also was in charge of the Māori Mission at St Barnabas' Church, Mt Eden, where Margaret taught in the Sunday School and helped with pastoral duties.

Māori students from more remote parts of the North Island came to prepare for St John's. They boarded at St Stephen's and Margaret Kissling looked after the formal and 'domestic' education of their wives. Writing to the CMS on 6 November 1855, Kissling said this "institution is now recognised as a training school for native candidates for Holy Orders, as well as a Native Girls'

⁶¹ Brian M. Old, "A History of St Stephen's School 1844-1974," (MA thesis in Education, University of Auckland, 1974); Old, *St Stephen's School: Missionary and Multiracial Origins* (Auckland: Concept Print, 1994).

⁶² T.G. Kissling, *The Ven. George Adam Kissling, A Memoir and a Family Tree of the Descendants in New Zealand 1842-1972* (Auckland, 1972).

Institution.”⁶³ Sir William Martin, Anne, Lady Martin, and Sarah Selwyn also assisted with instruction.

Kissling comments in reports to the CMS on the character, proficiency and potential usefulness of some of the students such as this on Hohua Te Moanaroa. “Hohua te Moanaroa of Kohanga School, placed under my care by the Rev. R. Maunsell. This is a man of about 26 years of age, conducts himself as a consistent Christian, has great alacrity of mind, intelligent in his studies. . . The closer the gospel comes home to the heart the greater becomes the contest with old habits and customs of sin and corruption.”⁶⁴ In 1858 there were eight ordinands with wives and children.⁶⁵

Allan Davidson notes

Kissling rejected the often-repeated charge that a knowledge of either Hebrew or Greek was required, acknowledging the Bishop’s right to modify standards “in favour of such candidates as have already in an inferior capacity rendered service to the Church”.⁶⁶ The qualifications for Māori ordination were a number of years of satisfactory service, “a good knowledge of Scripture history”, ability “to compose, in his own tongue, simple essays on the fundamental doctrines of the gospel”, familiarity with the New Testament in Māori, sufficient English to enable the use of the English Bible and its marginal references, some geography and arithmetic and a means of financial support. The problem for Kissling was not the standards but the lack of suitably qualified candidates and the inability of the missionaries to develop a unified system of primary and central schools and a training institution for clergy.⁶⁷

From 1860 it was called “St Stephen’s Native Boys’ School”.

From 1861 to 1871 the school was without a headmaster.⁶⁸ During the land wars the buildings were used as accommodation for imperial officers and members of the Armed Constabulary. The Revd Thomas Chapman, with his second wife Mary, came for a period, to take charge of the school’s domestic section. Mary was Margaret Kissling’s sister.

J.E. Davies, a practical teacher with a good grasp of the Māori language, was headmaster from 1871-1904. During this period, prominent clergy served as teachers when the school was training candidates for the ministry. They

⁶³ GA Kissling to CMS, 6 November 1855.

⁶⁴ GA Kissling annual report to CMS, 30 September 1857.

⁶⁵ Brian Old, “A History of St Stephen’s School,” 35.

⁶⁶ Kissling to Selwyn, 7 May 1856 (SJC, Misc. Arch. 15/1, Kissling Letters 1850-1960), 103-4; Davidson, *Selwyn’s Legacy*, 80.

⁶⁷ Kissling to Venn, 30 September 1857 (SJC, Misc Arch 15/1). Davidson, *Selwyn’s Legacy*, 80.

⁶⁸ Brian Old, “A History of St Stephen’s School,” 39.

included Leonard Williams (later Bishop of Waiapu), Archdeacon Robert Maunsell, and the Revd Charles Abraham, afterwards Bishop of Wellington.⁶⁹ Some, but not all, students who attended the theological classes at St Stephen's, were eventually ordained. Some, like Rota Waitoa, would occasionally return for further instruction and to take lessons at St Stephen's.

Those ordained in Auckland, Waiapu and Wellington dioceses

In the years before the establishment of Te Rau College in Gisborne in 1883, forty Māori were ordained. Appendix 19 lists these under the name of the ordaining bishop with the year. Appendix 2 lists Māori ordained before 1921 who did not attend Te Rau College. Appendix 1 lists Māori ordinands up to 1930 by the year of deaconing.⁷⁰ In 1868 when Bishop Selwyn left Aotearoa to become Bishop of Lichfield, after twenty-six years as Bishop of New Zealand, he had ordained only ten Māori deacons and two Māori priests. William Williams, first Bishop of Waiapu (1859-76), ordained ten deacons and six priests⁷¹ (including Henare Waitoa the first Māori ordained by Selwyn). Edward Stuart, second Bishop of Waiapu (1877-94), ordained five deacons and two priests in the period prior to 1883. Bishop William Cowie, who succeeded Selwyn, became first Bishop of Auckland (1869-1902), and ordained ten deacons and twelve priests (including three deaconed by Selwyn). During the same period, Octavius Hadfield, second Bishop of Wellington (1870-93), had ordained four deacons and three priests, while J.H.C. Harper, the Bishop of Christchurch (1856-90), had ordained one deacon. The diocesan totals for the period are Auckland twenty ordained, Waiapu fifteen, Wellington four, and Christchurch one. Of these, fifteen had spent time at St Stephen's School, Parnell.

⁶⁹ Brian Old, "A History of St Stephen's School," 39.

⁷⁰ Michael Blain, "Blain Biographical Directory of Anglican Clergy in the South Pacific," (Project Canterbury, http://anglicanhistory.org/nz/blain_directory/); Peter J. Lineham, "Appendix: Biographical Index of Church Missionary Society Workers," in *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand 1814-1882*, ed. Robert Glen (Christchurch: Latimer Fellowship of New Zealand, 1992), 193-217; Lange, "Ministry in Maori Christianity," 51-55; Lange, *Islands Ministers*, 150-2, 163-6.

⁷¹ Some of these had attended the school at Waerenga-a-hika prior to the wars of the 1860s.

Adrienne Puckey suggests that a disproportionate number of ordinands come from the Far North and the East Coast. She lists these as a combined 65% of ordinands by 1882, of whom 42% came from the East Coast and 23% from the Far Northern tribes.⁷² She notes that more of the children of the missionaries in the East Coast had been ordained and that there was better secondary schooling there.⁷³ She states that “The missionaries established a modest priesthood training school in 1867, which the CMS did not fund.”⁷⁴

Winter Schools

Archdeacons and other senior CMS missionaries were in the habit of holding Winter Schools for the purpose of further training for those seeking ordination. This was the case in Tūranga and each of the archdeaconries.

Leonard Williams writing his annual letter to the Secretaries, CMS, in January 1880 had spoken of the need for the supply of candidates for the ministry to be coupled with a suitable training institution. He expressed the hope that young men from Te Aute or any other superior school might offer themselves but that in the meantime

there are a few men of mature age who are anxious to improve themselves, and who, for lack of better educated men, might do good service in the ministry if they could have a systematic course of instruction for 2 or 3 years. For the last two winters I have had two such men from Hawkes' Bay, under instruction for 4 months at a time; but this is a very unsatisfactory substitute for more regular and continuous training. During the last winter three of our Native clergy were here for a course of reading along with the two men above mentioned.⁷⁵

Thomas Samuel Grace wrote extensively throughout the 1850s to 1870s about the need for Māori clergy. The most accessible account is in David Grace's biography *The Driven Man*⁷⁶ in a section on “Raising A Maori Ministry”.⁷⁷ This

⁷² Adrienne Puckey, “Who You Know: Māori, Missionaries and Economy,” 90; Puckey, *Trading Cultures*, 98.

⁷³ “None of the Far North missionaries' descendants entered the ordained ministry of the Anglican Church. Compared with the East Coast, this lack of continuity weakened the connection between the Church and Māori. On the other hand, the Far North mission was similar to the East Coast's in that, from the outset, basic education was a priority, and from an early stage, preparation of Māori for ordained ministry was a goal.” Puckey, “Who You Know”, 90.

⁷⁴ Puckey, “Who You Know”, 90.

⁷⁵ Leonard Williams, *Annual Letter to CMS, 3 January 1880* (Letters 1857-1880, AJCP M234), 2-3.

⁷⁶ David Grace, *A Driven Man: Missionary Thomas Samuel Grace, Battling for Maori Causes Amid Controversy, Hardship and Danger* (Wellington: Ngaio Press, 2004).

⁷⁷ Grace, *A Driven Man*, 274-82.

collects a range of his letters and reports. At one time he made the suggestion that

they must be prepared to give up all interest in the pecuniary transactions of the native villages. I have found with my own Maoris that this has an uplifting effect. Those who lacked love for the work would be found to fall off, while those who remained would become attached to us by having one common object with ourselves.⁷⁸

As regards the standard of their education, we ought not, I think, to go one step beyond what Scripture requires. If we can find men who have been well tried as native teachers, who are willing to go to any part of the island, men of piety possessing a good knowledge of God's Word, with an aptness to teach and a desire to save souls, I think we should be content.⁷⁹

Grace proposed what might be called a father-and-son model located in Māori communities and not sending students a long distance away. The clergy should stay close to the people and the tutor should be neither too far nor too close. Māori clergy should receive adequate financial support or they would not be independent enough to do their job.

He expected funds to continue to come from England. There should be a Māori bishop appointed as soon as possible. He instanced Hauhau and Ringatu as examples of how Māori were capable of writing liturgies suited to their own needs. All this was to allow the Māori Church to develop an independent self-governing and self-perpetuating life which would eventually become self-sustaining.

Some of Grace's ideas are like Venn's ideas of a Three-Self Church. Henry Venn had died in 1873 and these ideas were not taken up again until Roland Allen wrote *Missionary Methods* in 1912.⁸⁰ Allen made a number of points:

"everywhere Christianity is still exotic; everywhere our missions are dependent; everywhere we see the same types." He deduces two main reasons for this failure: "We have allowed racial and religious pride to direct our attitude towards those whom we have been wont to call 'poor heathen'", and "Want of faith has made us fear and distrust native independence."⁸¹

⁷⁸ Grace, *A Driven Man*, 114.

⁷⁹ Grace, *A Driven Man*, 115.

⁸⁰ Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours? A Study of the Church in the Four Provinces* (London: Robert Scott, 1912); Hubert J.B. Allen, *Roland Allen: Pioneer, Priest, and Prophet* (Cincinnati, Ohio and Grand Rapids, Michigan: Forward Movement Publications and Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1995).

⁸¹ Allen, *Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?*, 187-9.

Hubert Allen in *Roland Allen: Pioneer, Priest, and Prophet* suggests that Roland Allen also was not listened to. Vincent Donovan sixty years later concluded

I do not think he would have expected us, or wanted us, to come to the identical conclusion on every point that he himself reached over sixty years ago ... But the main and general insights and questions of this remarkable man are as valid today as they were when they first stunned and disturbed the Church of his day.⁸²

A person who watches Māori television any night of the week will hear echoes of the same problems recurring as they have since 1814. Māori are clear as to what their needs are. In the church there is separation but not support, and in society at large there is no commitment by the Pākehā majority to allow Māori to develop in their own way in their own context.

Towards the end of 1882 a general conference of the CMS missionaries in New Zealand was held to discuss the planned withdrawal of CMS and the future of the New Zealand Mission. This conference resolved to set up a New Zealand Mission Trust Board (NZMTB) to handle any monies from the CMS parent committee, to act as trustee for any lands and properties held by the CMS, and to make such distributions as were required. Its actions in relation to theological education will be the subject of the next chapter.

⁸² Vincent J. Donovan, *Christianity Rediscovered: An Epistle from the Masai* (London: SCM Press, 1978), 32.

Plate 1. A page from *Te Kawenata Hou*, 1894 edition.

[illegible]

Plate 2. A page from the translation from the Apocrypha, 1901.

TE WHAKAARO-NUI A IHU, TAMA A HIRAKA.

Nowema 4, Ata.

UPOKO 1.

THE whakaaro-nui katoa, i ahu mai i te Ariki, kei a ia tonu hoki a ake tonu atu.

2 Te onepu o nga moana, me nga pata o te ua, me nga ra o te wa mutunga-kore, ma wai e tatau?

3 Te teitei o te rangi, me te whanui o te whenua, me te poka torere, me te whakaaro-nui, ma wai *enei* e whakataki?

4 No mua i nga mea katoa te hanganga o te whakaaro-nui; me te mahara o te ata whakaaro, no tua whakarere.

6 I hurahia ki a wai te putake o te whakaaro-nui? Ko wai hoki i matau ki ona uhumanea?

8 Kotahi te mea whakaaro-nui e wehinga rawatia ana, ko te Ariki e noho nei ki runga ki tona torona.

9 Nana ia i whaihanga, i kite, i ata tatau, i riringi hoki ki runga ki ana mahi katoa.

10 Kei nga kikokiko katoa te whakaaro-nui, he rite ki tana homaitanga; i whakawhiwhia hoki e ia ki te hunga e aroha ana ki a ia.

11 Ko te wehi ki te Ariki, he kororia, he whakamanamana, he koa, he karauna no te manahau.

12 Ma te wehi ki te Ariki e whakamanawareka te ngakau, e homai hoki te koa, me te hari, me te whakaroanga o nga ra.

13 Te tangata e wehi ana ki te Ariki, ka whai pai i nga whakamutunga, ka kite hoki i te aroha noa a te ra o tona matenga.

Nowema 4, Ahiahi.

UPOKO 2.

ETAKU tamaiti, ki te whakataata koe hei pononga ma te Ariki, kia takatu tou wairua ki te whakamatauranga.

2 Kia tika tou ngakau, kia u; kaua hoki e kaikā a te wa o te aitua.

15

3 Piri tonu ki a ia, kaua e ma-wehe; kia whakanuia ai koe a ou whakamutunga.

4 Nga mea katoa e whakapangia mai ki a koe, kaua e hoea atu; kia manawanui hoki ina whiti koe ki te whakaitinga.

5 Ta te mea e puta ana to te koura pai i roto i te ahi, me to nga tangata e wairekatia ana i roto i te oumu o te whakaitinga.

6 Whakawhirinaki ki a ia, a ka awhina ia i a koe; whakatikaia ou huarahi, tumanako atu hoki ki a ia.

7 E te hunga e wehi ana ki te Ariki, taria tana mahi tohu; kaua e peau ke, kei hinga koutou.

8 E te hunga e wehi ana ki te Ariki, whakawhirinaki ki a ia, a e kore e hemo ta koutou e tawhai na.

9 E te hunga e wehi ana ki te Ariki, tumanako koutou ki nga mea pai, ki te koa mo ake tonu atu, ki te mahi tohu.

10 Titiro ki nga whakatupuranga o nehera, ka kite ai koutou; ko wai koia i whakama i te mea e whakawhirinaki ana ki te Ariki? ko wai i whakarerea i te mea e u ana te wehi ki a ia? ko wai i whakaparahakotia i te mea e karinga ana ki a ia?

11 Ta te mea he atawhai te Ariki, he mahi tohu tana, e muru ana i te hara, e whakaora ana i te tangata i te wa e tamia ai.

12 He aue ma te ngakau tautauā, ma te ringaringa kopīpī, ma te tangata hara e rua nei ona ara haerenga.

13 He aue ma te ngakau kopīpī, ta te mea kahore ona whakapono; ma konei ka kore ai he whakaruru mona.

14 He aue ma koutou, ma te hunga kua kore na te manawanui;

Plate 3. A page from *He whakamakoha i te Pukapuka a Paora Apotoro ki te Hunga o Karatia* (Commentary on Galatians)

TE PUKAPUKA A PAORA

KI TE

HUNGA O KARATIA.

Te kauwhautanga o te rongopai ki Karatia no te haerenga tuarua o Paora (Mah. xvi. 9); i haere tahi nei ratou ko Hira (Mah. xv. 40), ko Timoti. (xvi. 1-3.) Kahore pea ona hiahia noho roa i tona tuenga ki reira, engari he hiahia haere ki Ahia; heoi, na te mea i rokohanga e te mate ki reira, i roa ai tona noho, i kauwhau ai i te rongopai ki reira. (Kar. iv. 18.) Kakama tonu mai nga tangata o Karatia ki tana kauwhau. (Kar. iv. 14, 15.) Ko nga tangata i whakapono, ehara i te mea no te pa kotahi, engari he maha nga pa, nga kainga; koia i tuhituhia ai o ia tenei pukapuka "ki nga hahi o Karatia."

I tae ano ia ki reira i te toru o ona haerenga ki te kauwhau, me taua whakau ano i nga hahi katoa. (Mah. xviii. 28.)

Te take i tuhituhia ai e ia tenei pukapuka, he mahuatanga no te rongopai o Te Karaiti i nga hahi o Karatia (i. 6, 7), he tahuritanga kotanga ki te ture a Mohi, he mea o whai tikanga ai te ratou whakapono ki a Te Karaiti. (iv. 21; v. 2, 4.) Tirohia hoki Mah. xv. 1. I rokohanga pea o ia tenei whakapono he, o timata ana, i te rua o ona taenga ki Karatia; ina hoki taua ki i. 9, kua puta i mua tana kupu whakaha me taua tikanga.

Te takiwa i tuhituhia ai tenei pukapuka, no tona haerenga atu i Makoronia, i tae atu nei ia ki Irurikuma (Rom. xv. 9), a puta atu ki Kariki, ara ki Koriniti. (Mah. xx. 2.)

UPOKO I.

1. *Apotoro.* Te tikanga o tenei ingoa, o te Apotoro, he tangata i tonoa; na Te Karaiti hoki i hua te tekau ma

Chapter 3 ~ Theological Education at Te Rau College in te reo Māori.

On 12 October 1881 a general conference of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in New Zealand met to decide the best way forward for the mission in New Zealand as the Parent Committee of the CMS had announced that they were not sending any more missionaries to New Zealand and would diminish their annual grant to the mission each year for twenty years ending in 1902. The conference passed a number of resolutions and agreed to a *Scheme for the Future Management of the New Zealand Mission*.⁸³ All the lands held by the CMS in New Zealand would be handed over to a local board to be called the *New Zealand Mission Trust Board* (hereinafter NZMTB). This board would manage the properties, direct missionaries to the places where they were most needed, and also see to the distribution of the annual grant from the parent society. A resolution was passed recommending that theological students for the ministry be trained at one central location.

The London Secretaries of the CMS responded on 26 October 1882 to the Revd Robert Burrows, the secretary of the CMS New Zealand committee agreeing to the proposals of the conference. The NZMTB was made up of the Bishops of Auckland, Waiapu, and Wellington (the North Island dioceses), three missionaries, three lay persons, and a secretary. The first meeting of the new board was held at Napier on 5 and 6 February 1883. Those present were: "The Right Rev. the Bishop of Auckland in the chair, the Right Rev. the Bishops of Wellington and Waiapu, Ven Archdn Clarke, the Rev. R. Burrows and S. Williams, Messrs Larkins, Clarke, and Tanner, and Archdn Williams, Secretary."⁸⁴ As a result of this meeting, a decision was made to found Te Rau College in Gisborne.⁸⁵

⁸³ *Scheme for the Future Management of the New Zealand Mission adopted in 1882, with the amendments agreed to by the Committee of the Church Missionary Society*, (Gisborne: Printed at the Herald Office, Gladstone Road, 6pp, n.d.).

⁸⁴ NZMTB minutes 5 February 1883. [Note that this was in anticipation of the college year.]

⁸⁵ "Theological Students. The matter of the training of Theological Students having been considered in connexion with the Resolutions of Conference 12 Oct. 1881, and the P.S. of the Secretaries' letter to Rev. R. Burrows of Oct. 26, 1882, it was Resolved That this Board adheres to the Resolutions of Conference above quoted, and that the efforts of the Board in this direction be concentrated upon one Central Institution at Gisborne." New Zealand Mission Trust Board Minutes (NZMTB), 5 February 1883, Kinder: 1883-1938 ANG129/2.00/1 #29 folio.

Te Rau College Staff⁸⁶

As well as arranging for the college to be set up under the direction of Archdeacon W. Leonard Williams⁸⁷ the NZMTB appointed the Revd Alfred Owen Williams 'to the tutorship of the theological class' as from 1 January 1883.⁸⁸ Alfred Williams was a son of Henry Williams's oldest son Edward. Before his appointment to Te Rau, he had studied at Bishopdale Theological College in Nelson from 1876 to 1879, been ordained deacon on 18 September 1880 by the Archbishop of Canterbury on behalf of the Bishop of Nelson, and ordained priest on 25 January 1882 by the Bishop of Nelson. From 1880 to 1882 he served as curate-in-charge Suburban North in Nelson. He was to serve just over two years at Te Rau College before his appointment to the Putiki Māori mission in Whanganui on 26 April 1885, where he was also superintendent of the Māori Mission north of the Rangitikei river for the Diocese of Wellington from 27 June 1885 till the end of the century.

Initially the college operated using Leonard Williams's house as its base. *Te Rau Kahikatea* was the name of the principal's house. When college buildings were in use across Cobden Street the name Te Rau College was used.⁸⁹ There were nine students in 1883, including two clergy 'who spent time at the College for retreat and spiritual refreshment'.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ See Appendix 3 for details of Te Rau College Staff.

⁸⁷ Frances, Porter, "Williams, William Leonard 1829-1916," in *DNZB 1870-1900, volume two*, ed. Claudia Orange (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, Department of Internal Affairs, 1993), 580-2.

⁸⁸ NZMTB minutes 5 February 1883.

⁸⁹ Jenny Plane Te Paa, *Ka Whakatungia Ano A Te Rau Kahikatea: An Historical Critical Overview of Events Which Preceded the Re-Establishment of Te Rau Kahikatea Theological College of Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa*, (MEd thesis, University of Auckland 1995).

When Te Wananga o Te Rau Kahikatea was set up at St John's College in Auckland at the end of the 20th century the spirit of Te Rau College was invoked.

In the *Waiapu Diocesan Year Books*, *Waiapu Church Gazette*, *Poverty Bay Herald*, and other contemporary sources in English 'Te Rau College' is used. A possible exception is where mention is made of "the Rev. H.W. Williams of the Native College at Te Rau Kahikatea, Gisborne," *PBH* 28 April, 1899, 2. After Herbert Williams ceased to be the principal of the college, the *Poverty Bay Herald* noted "... a garden party at the grounds of the Rev. Herbert Williams' residence, Te Rau Kahikatea, Cobden Street," *PBH* 29 October, 1901, 2.

⁹⁰ Leonard Williams, *The Maori Mission*, 14.

Early in 1883, the NZMTB arranged for the building of a house for the tutor⁹¹, and the work was carried out during that year. ⁹²

At the Annual Meeting of the New Zealand Mission Trust Board in January 1884 the Revd Sam Williams offered one and a half acres of land adjoining his cousin Leonard Williams's residence in Cobden Street, Gisborne as a site for the theological college buildings.⁹³ This was accepted. The main college building was built during 1884 and ready for occupation in February 1885.⁹⁴

Writing on 25 June 1887 to Dean Jacobs of Christchurch who was preparing his *Colonial Church History* Leonard Williams said,

Up to the present time we have had twenty students, of whom eleven are now here. Two of the twenty were deacons preparing for priests' orders. Three have been ordained deacons, and one of the two deacons has been ordained priest, the other having died. Four of the unordained have left, owing to ill health and other causes. We have no rule about length of course, but those who have been ordained deacons have been studying either three or four years.

Four of the whole number are married. Of these two have been ordained, and the other two are with us still. The wives attend to household matters, and have instruction as well.

Two of our students received their previous education at St. Stephen's, Parnell, and two at Te Aute. We hope in time to have none but such as these, but, at present, we are obliged to take others. None as yet are able to study Latin or Greek. The students are housed and fed by means of our Trust Funds, but have to find clothing, &c., for themselves.⁹⁵

⁹¹ NZMTB minutes 7 February 1883. "*Residence for Tutor at Gisborne. Resolved:* That a sum not exceeding £500 from the proceeds of the sale of property in Conquest Place, Parnell, Auckland be held available for the erection of a residence for the Tutor of the Theological Institution at Gisborne."

⁹² "It was later decided to build a house for him to occupy. In due course timber was procured, and a contract was signed with Skeet the builder for its erection. The house was ready for occupation in February, 1884." Frederic Wanklyn Williams, *Through Ninety Years 1826-1916: Life and Work among the Maories in New Zealand, Notes of the Lives of William and William Leonard Williams, First and Third Bishops of Waiapu* (Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, n.d.), 320.

⁹³ "The Rev. Samuel Williams having offered to give 1 ½ acres of land adjoining the residence of Archdeacon Williams at Gisborne as a site for the Theological College, it was resolved ~ That this Board thankfully accepts the generous gift by the Rev. Samuel Williams of 1 ½ acres of land at Gisborne as a site for the Theological College; and that so much as may be required of the sum accruing from the sale of the property in Conquest Place, Auckland be appropriated for the immediate erection of the necessary buildings, plans of which have been submitted to and approved by the Board." NZMTB minutes 28/29 January 1894. ['Adjoining' referred to the other side of Cobden Street.]

⁹⁴ "Timber for erecting the main building as quarters for the students then began to arrive, and Skeet's tender of £1,359 for building it was accepted on April 18th. The College was ready for occupation and the students entered at the beginning of February, 1885." Frederic Williams, *Through Ninety Years*, 320.

⁹⁵ Henry Jacobs, *Colonial Church Histories: New Zealand: Containing the Dioceses of Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin, Nelson, Waiapu, Wellington, and Melanesia* (London: Society for Promoting

Speaking of those early years of Te Rau College, Leonard Williams wrote further,

The subjects of study are (1) Holy Scripture, both Old and New Testaments; (2) Church History, General and English; (3) the Thirty-nine Articles; (4) the Prayer-book; (5) Elementary subjects, as required; (6) Singing.

The hours are--Prayers, 7.30 to 8 a.m.; Lectures, &c., 10 a.m. to 12.30 p.m., and from 4.30 to 6 p.m.; Evening Prayers, 6 p.m.⁹⁶

In 1885 the Revd Alfred Williams was replaced by the Revd Eric Jennings. Jennings like Alfred Williams had studied at Bishopdale Theological College, Nelson. He had been there from 1880 to 1882, then ordained deacon on 28 December 1881 by the Bishop of Nelson and priest on 6 March 1887 by the Bishop of Waiapu. In Nelson, Jennings had held the position of schoolmaster in a 'native school' and had then served from 6 April 1882 as assistant curate for the Māori people at Otaki and its neighbourhood in the Diocese of Wellington. From 8 November 1882 he was stationed at Otaki as head of the mission school and curate at Rangiaitea. Jennings was to be Tutor at Te Rau College until 1890⁹⁷ when he moved to Waerenga-a-hika Māori Boys' School.

As well as his duties as Principal, Leonard Williams continued his work in the East Coast region visiting Māori villages and supervising the resident clergy and teachers.⁹⁸

Throughout the period 1886 to 1893 he continued his regular weekly native services, and as Principal of the Te Rau College managed and directed the course of its work.

Over the wide district he controlled he also yearly made some five to seven journeys north and south directing and supervising the native ministers and teachers. Each year these journeys covered periods of from twelve to fourteen weeks, when he would pay visits to from one hundred to one hundred and fifty places annually.

On every suitable occasion he held Church Services for English settlers as well as Maoris.⁹⁹

Christian Knowledge, 1887), 474.

⁹⁶ Jacobs, *Colonial Church Histories*, 474.

⁹⁷ NZMTB minutes 17 February 1890.

⁹⁸ Frederic Williams, *Through Ninety Years*, 321.

⁹⁹ Frederic Williams, *Through Ninety Years*, 330-1.

The Revd Herbert William Williams,¹⁰⁰ a son of Leonard Williams, returned from England arriving in Gisborne on 13 January 1889 and began assisting at Te Rau College when the students assembled on 22 January. He also shared in the conduct of Māori religious services.¹⁰¹ He formally joined the Te Rau College staff in 1890 as Tutor,¹⁰² and became the second Principal in 1894 when his father was elected third Bishop of Waiapu. Herbert Williams had gained a New Zealand BA (Canterbury College) in 1880, a Cambridge BA in 1884 (Jesus College), and a Cambridge MA in 1887. He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of St Albans on 21 March 1886, and priest by the Bishop of Ely on 25 September 1887. Whilst in England he had acted as assistant master at Haileybury College in Hertfordshire in 1885 and 1886 and was assistant curate in the parish of West Wrating, Cambridge in the Diocese of Ely from 1886 to 1888.

Like his father, Herbert Williams continued the pattern of ministry to Māori communities and accompanied his father on longer journeys during college vacations. These journeys were even to Taupō and the Bay of Plenty.¹⁰³

Other staff members during this period were a Mr R. Heatly,¹⁰⁴ who was appointed Assistant after Herbert Williams became the Principal, before the arrival of the Hector Alfred Hawkins who was Tutor from 1898 to 1900, and Rēweti Kōhere as Assistant Tutor from 1898 to 1908.

Hawkins had attended Te Aute College, then in 1893, was at Bishopdale Theological College in Nelson, and later the first president of the Christian Union at Canterbury University College. He attended Te Rau College in 1898 and passed the fourth grade. The Bishop of Waiapu ordained him deacon on 28 December of that year. On leaving Te Rau College he was ordained priest on 10 June 1900 by the Bishop of Auckland. He appears later in this thesis in relation to the closing of Te Rau College. He was, in addition to being the superintendent of the Māori Mission in the Diocese of Auckland from 1900, an

¹⁰⁰ Bruce Biggs, "Williams, Herbert William 1860-1937", in *DNZB 1901-1920*, volume 3, ed. Claudia Orange (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1996), 570-1.

¹⁰¹ Frederic Williams, *Through Ninety Years*, 325.

¹⁰² NZMTB minutes 17 February 1890.

¹⁰³ Frederic Williams, *Through Ninety Years*, 331.

¹⁰⁴ Leonard Williams, *The Maori Mission*, 14.

examining chaplain to the Bishop of Auckland (1903 to 1940), and Archdeacon of Waimate (1912 to 1938).

Rēweti Tūhorouta Mōkena Kōhere¹⁰⁵ attended Te Aute College in the 1880s, matriculating in 1890. He attended Canterbury College where he studied for but did not complete a BA. He was a student and Assistant Tutor at Te Rau College gaining a second class in the third grade in 1902, a third class in part 1 of the fourth grade in 1903, and a third class in part 2 of the fourth grade in 1908, thus becoming one of the first Māori to complete the Licentiate in Theology (LTh) of the Board of Theological Studies (BTS).¹⁰⁶ Kōhere was ordained deacon on 2 December 1907, and priest 28 August 1910 by the Bishop of Waiapu. Though he later had to teach those Māori students who did not study in English for the BTS grades we shall see that he not only advocated the purity of the Māori language but also the need for students to learn in English as well. He followed the Revd Frederick Bennett as editor of *Te Pīpīwharau* ~ *Kupu Whakamārama*¹⁰⁷ from August 1899¹⁰⁸ until December 1908.¹⁰⁹ Kōhere along with Maui Pomare, Te Rangi Hiroa, and Apirana Ngata wrote strongly supporting the Tohunga Suppression act in 1907.¹¹⁰ Ngata Kōhere wrote in Māori and English for Māori newspapers such as *Te Kopara* and *Te Toa Takitini*, contributed to the *Poverty Bay Herald* (later the *Gisborne Herald*) and *Te Ao Hou*, and made submission to various commissions especially the 1906 Royal Commission on the Te Aute and Wanganui School Trusts. Lachy Paterson seeks “to position Kōhere as a leading intellectual within TACSA, perhaps only

¹⁰⁵ Rarawa Kōhere, “Kōhere, Reweti Tuhorouta 1871-1954” in *DNZB 1901-1920*, volume 3, ed. Claudia Orange (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1996), 266-8; Rārawa Kōhere, “Rēweti Tūhorouta Kōhere”, in *Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau 1901-1920*, pukapuka tuatoru, ētita matua Claudia Orange (Te Whanganui-ā-Tara: Te Tari Taiwhenua, 1996), 64-70; Wiremu Kaa, and Ohore Kaa, etita, *Nga Kōrero a Reweti Kōhere Mā* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1994).

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix 7 for a list of Māori candidates and their BTS grades.

¹⁰⁷ *Te Pīpīwharau*. Accessed May 7, 2011, Niupepa Māori, <http://www.nzdl.org/cgi-bin/library.cgi?a=p&p=about&c=niupepa>

¹⁰⁸ *Te Pīpīwharau*, Nama 18, Akuhata 1899. Accessed May 7, 2011, Niupepa Māori, <http://www.nzdl.org/cgi-bin/library.cgi?a=p&p=about&c=niupepa>

¹⁰⁹ *Te Pīpīwharau*, Nama 129, Tihema 1908. Accessed May 7, 2011, Niupepa Māori, <http://www.nzdl.org/cgi-bin/library.cgi?a=p&p=about&c=niupepa>

¹¹⁰ Raeburn Lange, *May the People Live: A History of Maori Health Development 1900-1920* (Auckland: University of Auckland Press, 1999); M. Voyce, “Maori Healers in New Zealand: The Tohunga Suppression Act 1907.” *Oceania* 60 (1989): 99-123; Māmari Stephens, “A Return to the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907,” *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review*, no. 17 (2001).

behind Āpirana Ngata.”¹¹¹

Te Rau College Students

The college was available for Māori candidates for ordination from the North Island dioceses¹¹² and students from all three North Island dioceses attended. Appendix 4 shows in which diocese students were ordained. This is the primary indicator of which bishop sponsored their attendance at the college.

Writing in 1904 about Te Rau College in a longer survey of the Anglican Māori Mission, and reflecting on the earlier years of the college, Leonard Williams stated,

The number of students in 1883, the first year of the College, was nine... Since that date the numbers have fluctuated between seven, in 1900, and twenty-one, in 1901; though these latter were not all in residence together. The highest number in residence at any one time has been eighteen in 1889, and again in 1898.

Up to the present date 82 students, from all parts of the North Island, have had their names upon the books, and of these 41 have been ordained, 32 still appearing on the list of active service.

The life at the College [is] a simple one, the endeavour having always been made to see that the style of living should be wholesome and regular, superior to what most of the students are accustomed to, but not in any way luxurious. In order that no promising student should be shut out, the students have been received free of all expense,¹¹³ having only to clothe themselves. In order, too, that an opportunity might be found for influencing the wives of the Native clergy, it has been customary to receive the wife also when the student was a married man. This brought the actual numbers up to 28 in the years 1889 and 1898 mentioned above. In some ways this arrangement complicates the college, but it has compensating advantages. The wives take the work of cooking in rotation, and thereby remove a source of very great difficulty: and, on the other hand, they themselves are better fitted for their future position by regular instruction and the methodical habits of the place.

The period of residence for a student has always been a very variable one. In some cases men have come with no intention of being presented for ordination; but simply to make them more efficient lay-readers. These men have, as a rule, been somewhat older than the generality, and their residence has seldom extended beyond a year. But in one

¹¹¹ Lachy Paterson, “Rēwiti Kōhere’s Model Village,” *NZJH* 41:1 (2007): 27, 30.

¹¹² Leonard Williams, *The Maori Mission*, 14.

¹¹³ The annual NZMTB grant paid for the general expenses of the college.

or two cases such men have, after their short training, been considered by their Bishops suitable men for the ministry, and have proved themselves so. As a rule, however, the course is seldom less than three years and often as long as five. The work done has also of necessity varied almost as much as the length of residence, according to the intellectual attainments of the student.¹¹⁴

Te Rau College Buildings

The Waiapu Diocesan Year Books for 1889 and 1892 list Te Rau College under Church Institutions in the diocese and describe it as,

The Theological Seminary.

The Theological Seminary, at Gisborne, was founded in 1883 by the local board of management of the C.M.S., with the object of affording a suitable education to native candidates for Holy Orders. 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 accommodation for some twenty students. Efforts are now being made to erect a college chapel.¹¹⁵

Leonard Williams's 1904 chapter on Te Rau College is more poetic.

The Buildings of the institution consist of the College itself, a two-storeyed building with high-pitched roof, the residence of the principal, and between them the pretty little Chapel with its red-tiled roof, which was erected last year. In this Chapel the students meet for Matins and Evensong on week days, while on Sundays, after a Celebration at 7, they scatter to take services at the various kaingas [sic] within easy reach.¹¹⁶

These buildings were in Cobden Street, Gisborne, opposite the principal's residence, "Te Rau Kahikatea", two blocks away from Holy Trinity Church¹¹⁷ which was attended by the English-speaking settlers and residents, and a short distance from the centre of town.

Te Rau College Curriculum

What does a theological education in the vernacular look like? What notion of education might underlie the curriculum and teaching methods? The tradition

¹¹⁴ Leonard Williams, *The Maori Mission*, 14-15.

¹¹⁵ *Waiapu Diocesan Year Book* 1889, and identical record in 1892, ix.

¹¹⁶ Leonard Williams, *The Maori Mission*, 15.

¹¹⁷ Holy Trinity Church was consecrated by Bishop William Williams on 11 April 1875. Rosevear, *Waiapu*, 244.

in the English universities, and the new theological colleges which had been established during the nineteenth century, was based on expounding the authorities that had been built up in English, Latin and other writings over a number of centuries. In the same way that lawyers look for precedence to give strength to an argument, theologians in Europe looked for comments in the known and trusted authors of antiquity. Depending where they were on the scale between catholic and protestant, evangelical or traditionalist, those theologians may have made an appeal to one or more of the writings of Clement, Origen, Tertullian, Athanasius, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Anselm, the Greek theologians and the General Church Councils, or, on the other hand to Cranmer, Hooker, Luther, Calvin and the Reformation writers.

With few “authorities” in this European sense it was necessary to create some. This task started with *Te Paipera Tapu* and *Te Rāwiri*, and includes all the books and booklets identified for this thesis. Some of these prove to be translations of English language books. Some were written especially to fit the circumstances of the Māori context.

The bishops who sent candidates to Te Rau College expected the staff to assure them that on the completion of the students’ studies it would be appropriate to ordain them and place them in a pastoral charge anywhere in their respective dioceses.¹¹⁸

It is hard to know what exactly was taught at Leonard Williams’s “winter schools” but the subjects addressed would have been those consistently followed from the beginning of the CMS mission, as he may have been influenced by what was taught at the CMS training institution at Islington. It is likely that the basic subjects would have been similar in all university theology courses and in the independent theological colleges.

Leonard Williams notes that the language of tuition continued to be Māori, but suggests, writing in 1904, that some students have a knowledge of English. The final clause of the following quotation refers to the period nearer to his time of writing and will be the subject of the next chapter of this thesis.

¹¹⁸ Lange, “Maori Ordained Ministry”, 57-60.

Until recent years the tuition was all, or almost all necessarily in Maori, but recently some of the students have had a fair knowledge of English, and the experiment has been made of preparing them for the examination under the Board of Theological Studies.¹¹⁹

Williams in his report outlines both the purpose of the training and the subjects studied.

The success or otherwise of this experiment is a matter for the opinion of the expert, but in any case the object of the training has always been the same; viz: The equipment of the student with a sound knowledge of the Bible and Prayer Book, and enough Church History to enable him to have an intelligent grasp of Christian Doctrine; and at the same time the giving of such practical training as may fit him to take charge of the district which may be assigned to him.¹²⁰

Clearly the purpose is to provide Māori clergy with the knowledge and skills to enable them to fulfill the task of ministering in a district, parish or pastorate. The implication is that this will be a sole charge and they will need to be appropriately equipped for that.

In the next part of this chapter consideration will be given to the “text books” available for use by staff and students under the categories outlined. The following major sections will be used to allow careful examination and analysis of all the available Māori language books. The sections will be divided to consider books related to the Bible, books related to Liturgy and *the Book of Common Prayer*, also to Church History, Christian Doctrine, and Pastoralia, concluding with a General category.¹²¹

Section on the Bible

In the section on the Bible four categories or sub-sections will be considered.

Firstly an examination will be undertaken of books relating to the Biblical text: Table 3.1 below; secondly the books of Biblical Harmonies: Table 3.2; thirdly to

¹¹⁹ Leonard Williams, *The Maori Mission*, 15.

¹²⁰ Leonard Williams, *The Maori Mission*, 15.

¹²¹ See Appendix 5 for Ngā Pukapuka (text Books) listed chronologically.

books of Biblical Commentaries: Table 3.3; and fourthly books on Biblical History: Table 3.4.

Table 3.1 ~ Books of the Biblical Text

Ko te Kawenata Hou o to tatou Ariki te Kai Wakaora a Ihu Karaiti. He mea whakamaori i te reo Kariki. Paihia: He mea ta i te Perehi o nga Mihanere o te Hahi o Ingarani. 1837, 356pp. BiM 45. The first edition of the complete New Testament in Māori, translated mainly by William Williams.

Ko te Paipera Tapu ara, Ko te Kawenata Tawhito me te Kawenata Hou. He mea whakamaori mai no nga reo i oroko-tuhitia ia. Ranana: He mea ta ki te Perehi a W.M. Watts, ma te Komiti ta Paipera mo Ingarangi mo te Ao Katoa. 1868. 1199pp. BiM 716. The first complete Māori Bible.

Ko te Paipera Tapu, ara, ko te Kawenata Tawhito me te Kawenata Hou. He mea whakamaori mai no nga reo i oroko-tuhituhia ai. London: Printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1887, 855pp., 270pp. BiM 1241. Second edition and revised translation of the complete Bible.

Ko te Kawenata Hou a to tatou Ariki a te Kai Whakaora a Ihu Karaiti. He mea whakamaori mai no te reo Kariki, London: Printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1894, 250pp. BiM 1394. Eighth edition of the New Testament, with scriptural references added.

Ko te Kawenata Hou a to tatou Ariki, a te Kai Whakaora, a Ihu Karaiti. He mea whakamaori mai no te reo Kariki, London: Printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1897, 619pp. BiM 1483. Ninth edition of the New Testament in Māori.

He Upoko No Nga Pukapuka E Kiia Nei He Apocrypha: Kua Whakaritea Hei Korerotanga I Roto I Nga Inoi O Te Ata O Te Ahiahi, Turanga: Na Te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1901. 34pp. Sommerville 1023. A translation of certain chapters or portions of chapters from the *Apocrypha*.

When William Williams visited the Ngāti Porou rohe (region) in 1838¹²² he discovered that Piripi-taumata-a-kura and Rukuata had taught them the responses to the Anglican daily services and the words of some psalms and hymns commonly in use throughout the Mission. The memorizing of prayers, hymns, canticles, and portions of scripture was common in Anglican Māori communities until the present generation. A kaikarakia (lay-reader) would often, with many of the older members of the community, be able to 'say' rather

¹²² Bluck, *The Gift Endures*, 3-4; Booth, *For All The Saints*, 168-9; Joseph Angus Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, N.I., N.Z.* (Gisborne: J.G. Mackay, 1949), 156-7; Tamahori, J.T. Tamahori, "Turei, Mohi ?-1914," in *DNZ 1769-1869*, ed. W.H. Oliver (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990), 557; "Rukuata, Chief of Rangitukia," accessed 16 October 2012, <http://www.geni.com/people/Rukuata/6000000015073226671>.

than ‘read’ the epistle and gospel for the particular Sunday when there was a service of Holy Communion.¹²³

Scripture portions were traditionally part of daily morning and evening prayers in the home, and at the Service of Morning and Evening Prayer in the local whare karakia (church building). The daily scripture readings followed the annual *Te Māramataka* (Lectionary) and the tables of readings in the front of *Te Rāwiri* (Anglican Māori Prayer Book). These would cover the majority of the chapters of the Old Testament during the course of each year and all of the New Testament twice each year.¹²⁴ The Sunday Holy Communion readings were the same for each year. They were printed out in full in *Te Rāwiri*, and used whenever there was a Service of Holy Communion, and therefore more familiar.

All students would be expected to become familiar with the text of the whole Bible. This would assist them in explaining the scriptures to the people, in preparing their sermons, in teaching children and confirmation candidates, and as background for any theological discussions.

The College timetable included daily prayer, morning and evening, and classes may well have used time to study the meaning and usefulness of the various passages or pericope.

Table 3.1 ~ ‘Books of the Biblical Text’ mentions only some of the possible editions of *Te Kawenata Hou* (the New Testament) and *Te Paipera Tapu* (the Holy Bible) that students may have owned or had access to. Appendix 10 lists editions that were printed up to the year 1900 some of which will be available to students. It includes nine editions of *Te Kawenata Hou*, three divisions of *Te Kawenata Tawhito* (the Old Testament), two editions of *Te Paipera Tapu*, and 18 portions, gospels or whole books in print.

The first full edition of *Te Paipera Tapu* was published in 1868, second item in Table 3.1, but all the books of *Te Kawenata Tawhito* had been available since

¹²³ At an ordination held at Wairaka marae, Whakatane, on 19 November 1977, the reader of the Gospel, one of the candidates, ‘spoke’ the reading rather than actually reading. Personal observation.

¹²⁴ See discussion below comparing the 1549 and 1871 lectionaries.

1858, and *Te Kawenata Hou* was in its sixth edition by that time. For some it was an important step to have a copy of the whole *Te Paipera Tapu* able to be placed in each whare karakia.

In 1887 a second edition of *Te Paipera Tapu* was published, the third item in Table 3.1. This caused anxiety in some quarters. Though it was considered a better translation by the translators it made changes to a text that was well known and often known by heart. Introductory comments were added at the beginning of chapters, and the layout of sections of the text in paragraphs rather than single verses, however helpful it may have been for sense, was different. Peter Lineham has dealt fully with this in his “Tampering with the sacred text”.¹²⁵

It needs to be noted that the text, though not necessarily the layout, of the 1894 and 1897 editions of *Te Kawenata Hou* follow the second edition of *Te Paipera Tapu*. These are items four and five in Table 3.1. Which edition of *Te Paipera Tapu*, and which edition of *Te Kawenata Hou* a student might have used and/or owned at the end of the nineteenth century cannot be determined. Matters of preference are often complex. The 1894 edition of *Te Kawenata Hou* has the considerable advantage of extensive cross-references to other parts of the Bible here introduced for the first time, and is a slim volume.¹²⁶ See Plate 1 for a typical page, showing the layout and the extensive cross-references available. However it does have the text printed in paragraphs. The 1897 edition, on the other hand, is much smaller, though thicker, and would more easily fit in one’s pocket. It has the verses printed singly, and has two coloured maps at the back. Portability may well have been the deciding factor.

The sixth item in Table 3.1 relates to the Apocrypha. In the lectionary certain passages from the Apocrypha were set down to be read at Morning and Evening Prayer, principally but not exclusively, on certain days in October and November each year. Watson Rosevear in a chapter on the Māori Bible, and its 1952 revision, in *Waiapu: the story of a diocese* states,

¹²⁵ Peter Lineham, “Tampering with the sacred text: The second edition of the Māori Bible,” in *A Book in the Hand: Essays on the History of the Book in New Zealand*, ed. Penny Griffith, et al. (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000), 29-45.

¹²⁶ The 1894 edition is, to the present, the only edition of *Te Paipera Tapu* or *Te Kawenata Hou* to have cross-references printed alongside the Māori text.

The Apocrypha has not been translated into Maori and it is doubtful if it ever will be. The British and Foreign Bible society will not print the Apocrypha, and an edition in Maori without financial assistance from that society seems unlikely.¹²⁷

This seems to have been the commonly held view in Te Hāhi Mihinare (the Anglican Church) in recent years. Greatly to the surprise of this researcher, when looking through a box of Māramataka material at the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library, a printed booklet with *Apocrypha* on the cover was found mixed in with other material. This is item six in Table 3.1. Further research was to show that A.D. Sommerville had known of it and included it in his 'A Supplement to the Williams Bibliography of Printed Maori'.¹²⁸ A further copy was found in the Auckland University Library. Printed by Herbert Williams at Te Rau Kahikatea Press, Gisborne in 1901, this volume of thirty-four pages provides a translation of the passages, chapters or parts of chapters from certain books of the Apocrypha which are set to be read in the 1871 lectionary. See Plate 2 for a typical page. There are thirteen passages from *The Wisdom of Solomon*, twenty-eight from *Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach*, and three from *Baruch*. If this translation had taken place earlier a much greater range of passages would have been translated. In 1871 the readings from the Apocrypha were reduced, from the 132 in the 1549 and 1662 tables, to forty-four.¹²⁹ Where copies of this Māori text were not available to Māori clergy, kaikarakia and in whare karakia, presumably the Apocrypha readings were taken from an English Bible.

While questions have been raised as to what happened to all the copies of the scriptures printed in Māori in the 1840s, it would be normal for each ordained person and kaikarakia to have a copy, and for copies to be available in the various whare karakia around the dioceses. Many were passed down in families and some contain family information such as births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths.

What did students make of the Bible? Let us examine the other aids to the study of the scriptures that were available for students.

¹²⁷ Rosevear, *Waiapu*, 170.

¹²⁸ A.D. Sommerville, "Supplement to the Williams Bibliography of Printed Maori," (Wellington: Library School, 1947), 1023.

¹²⁹ Cuming, G.J. 1969, *A History of Anglican Liturgy* (London: Macmillan St Martin's Press, 1969), 199.

Table 3.2 ~ Books of Biblical Harmonies

He whakapapa ara Nga mahi me nga aha noa a te Atua raua ko tana Hahi, Auckland: Printed by J. Williamson for the Church Mission, 1847, 45pp. BiM 365. A Summary of Scripture history from before the Flood to Solomon.

He whakapapa, ara, nga mahi, me nga aha noa a te Atua raua ko tana Hahi. Ko te rua o nga wahi. St John's College: Printed at the College Press. 1849, 58pp. 10pp. BiM 384. The second part of a Scripture history.

The custom of preparing a harmonized version of the scriptures dates back at least to the Reformation period, and was popular in nineteenth century Europe. Both Frederick Strass's *Der Strom der Zeiten* and George Townsend's *Old Testament Arranged in Historical and Chronological Order* were part of a series of such harmonies. They set out to reassemble the sections, chapters, and books of the Old Testament, and also the New Testament, in what they believed was the actual order of events and writings.

"The Whakapapa, Genealogy, or the Works of God and his Church" in two volumes listed in Table 3.2 follow the general historical outline established by George Townsend in his works on the Old Testament with the first starting from the creation of the world and ending with the reign of King Solomon. But Bainbridge's summary of Bell's translation from German of Strass's work seems no longer extant. Robert Maunsell who translated both of these harmonies into Māori has used a similar style for both.

Townsend's work, referred to in the second item in Table 3.2 ~ 'Books of Biblical Harmonies', was a publication of the text of the Old Testament in two volumes of 962 and 764 pages respectively.¹³⁰ They set out the stories of the Old Testament in a proposed chronological order but without reproducing the whole text of the Bible. Townsend (1788-1857) began writing when he was professor at the Sandhurst Military College in 1816. He subsequently became a prebendary of Durham and received a chapter living. In 1822 he was appointed domestic chaplain to the Bishop of Durham. He followed the Old Testament

¹³⁰ George Townsend, *The Old Testament Arranged in Historical and Chronological Order, (on the Basis of Lightfoot's Chronicle) in Such a Manner That the Books, Chapters, Psalms, Prophecies, &c. &c. May Be Read as One Connected History, in the Words of the Authorized Translation, with Copious Indexes*, volume 1, 962pp. + indexes, volume 2, 764pp. + indexes (London, 1821).

work with one on the New Testament.¹³¹ William de Burgh (1801-1866) was first incumbent at St John's, Sandymount from 1852 to 1865 and later rector of Ardboe in Tyrone. It was de Burgh's digest of Townsend's *Old Testament* with portions from his parallel *New Testament* that Robert Maunsell translated into Māori. The Māori texts have a more modest scope than either of the original works in English. After a geographical survey as introduction, and a number of lists and tables with explanations of Jewish foods and animals, this work summarizes the second part of the Old Testament history starting with Job and then from Rehoboam through to the Maccabees. It goes on to add a short section on the life of Christ in the form a two-page general introduction linking it to the previous Old Testament material, followed by three pages on the separate gospels, and then ten pages of gospel parallels. These take a series of events in the gospels and itemize each gospel's chapter and verse numbers relating to that event. This is another way of harmonizing the gospel accounts and showing how they interlock. Such a table would have been useful to students who otherwise had to piece together the four gospel accounts of the life of Christ from the separate gospel accounts.

Table 3.3 ~ Books of Biblical Commentaries

He kupu whakamarama mo etahi wahi o te Karaipiture, Akarana: 1868. 63pp. BiM 719.
First volume of commentaries on parts of the New Testament. [2nd part BiM 755, 3rd part BiM 772.]

He kupu whakamarama mo etahi wahi o te Karaipiture. Te rua o nga wahi, Akarana: 1870. 67pp. BiM 755.
Second volume of commentaries on parts of the New Testament. See BiM 719.

He kupu whakamarama mo etahi wahi o te Karaipiture. Te toru o nga wahi, Akarana: 1872. 74pp. BiM 772.
Third volume of commentaries on parts of the New Testament. See BiM 719.

He ara taki ki te Kawenata Tawhito e marama ai etahi o nga tino kupu o te Karaipiture. Na Rev T.S. Grace, Putiki, Whanganui. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1882, 74pp. BiM 1029.
A guide to the Old Testament.

Nga Mahi a nga Apotoro. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1884, 78pp. BiM 1119.
The Acts of the Apostles.

¹³¹ Townsend, George, *New Testament arranged in Chronological & Historical Order with copious notes on the principal subjects in theology*: 2 vols (London: Rivingtons, 1825).

He whakamakoha i te Pukapuka a Paora Apotoro ki te Hunga o Karatia. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1891, 37pp. BiM 1315.
A commentary in Māori on St Paul's *Epistle to the Galatians*.

He whakamakoha i te Rongo-Pai a Maka. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1891, 116pp. BiM 1316.
A commentary in Māori on *St Mark's Gospel*.

Commentary, in the context of biblical studies, is the term used to describe a book which takes each chapter and verse and explains any difficult word or thought, and notes any cross-reference with another part of the Scriptures. Commentaries often try to recreate the context of the book and explain topical and historical allusions.

The seven volumes in Table 3.3 ~ 'Books of Biblical Commentaries' are all generally of this type. One relates to the Old Testament, three to selected passages from the New Testament, and three to specific books of the New Testament.

The first three volumes in Table 3.3 belong to the time when Māori candidates for ordination were studying at St Stephen's School, Parnell. All three are thought to have been prepared by Sir William Martin¹³² and Mary Ann Martin as part of their teaching at St Stephen's during that time as discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis. Comprising sixty-three, sixty-seven, and seventy-four pages respectively they are made up of notes and explanations of parts of three gospels and the whole of the Acts of the Apostles and of seven of the epistles.

The first of the three volumes in Table 3.3 *He kupu whakamarama mo etahi wahi o te Karaipiture* (A Word of Explanation of Certain Parts of the Scriptures) (BiM 719) examines in turn nine chapters from Matthew's gospel, two from Luke's gospel, and ten from John's gospel.

The second volume *He kupu whakamarama mo etahi wahi o te Karaipiture* (A Word of Explanation of Certain Parts of the Scriptures, the second part) (BiM 755) starts with the Acts of the Apostles and then, after examining seventeen chapters and the first part of the eighteenth, begins to look at the epistles as written at that particular point in the Acts story and from that particular city.

¹³² Parkinson, Phil G, and Penny Griffith, *Books in Māori, 1815-1900 - Ngā Tānga Reo Māori : An Annotated Bibliography - Ngā Kohikohinga Me Ona Whakamārama* (Auckland, NZ: Reed Publishers, 2004), 347, 362, 369-70.

Having reached Corinth in the Acts account it examines all the chapters of the first and second letters to the Thessalonians. The Acts account is resumed for two chapters to relocate the reader to Ephesus leading on to an examination of the first letter to the Corinthians thus completing the second volume.

The third volume *He kupu whakamarama mo etahi wahi o te Karaipiture* (A Word of Explanation of Certain Parts of the Scriptures, the third part) (BiM 772), examines all of the second letter to the Corinthians, and then those to the Galatians, and Romans, before returning to the last chapters of Acts. Each chapter begins with a general introduction and there are nineteen discursive notes at various points through the three volumes. The Lord's Prayer, 'the seven words from the cross', Jewish festivals, the geography of Paul's journeys, negative comments on non-church meetings being held on a Sunday, negative comments on women and ministry, and the centrality of ensuring that the Eucharist is celebrated in the church building, are among the topics discussed.

The fourth volume in Table 3.3 is *He ara taki ki te Kawenata Tawhito e marama ai etahi o nga tino kupu o te Karaipiture* (A Guide to the Old Testament explaining certain of the essential verses of Scripture) (BiM 1029). In 74 pages this follows the books in order from Genesis to Malachi. Throughout there is a frequent use of links to other verses or passages of Scripture especially in the New Testament. On the reverse of the title page is the statement in English: 'Guide to the Old Testament and explanation of its difficulties in Maori. For use in the various dioceses of New Zealand.' Thomas Samuel Grace (1815-1879) is named on the title page as the author and is described as writing from Putiki. The style adopted is to take key phrases and verses and explain them. In some places there is only one comment on a verse in a particular book. In others there is only a general comment of a whole book. Genesis gets nineteen pages, the longest treatment, Exodus eight, and Malachi two. The explanations are clear and links to the New Testament are frequently pointed out.

The fifth volume in Table 3.3 is a commentary on *Nga Mahi a nga Apotoro* (The Acts of the Apostles) in nineteen chapters (BiM 1119). This is stated by

Parkinson to be a translation of John Pilkington Norris's *The Acts of the Apostles*.¹³³ It would perhaps be better to call it an adaptation.

Norris, ordained priest in 1850, and appointed to various parishes over the years, had been Inspector of Schools for Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire from 1849 to 1863, and for Kent and Surrey 1863 to 1864. He was appointed a Canon of Bristol 1864, and from 1871 was Inspector of Church Training Colleges. He was later to be Archdeacon of Bristol and Lecturer in Pastoral Theology at Cambridge University.

Norris's volume has nineteen chapters, totalling 134 pages, plus an appendix of five sections taking another twenty-five pages, and a two pages time-chart. George Maunsell's translation is also of nineteen chapters, but is seventy-six pages long, with an additional two pages of time-chart. George is the son of Robert Maunsell. The language of the Māori text is clear and straight-forward, whereas that of the English might be called "high-flown". The Māori text of the Introduction omits references made in the English to 'courtier bishops', 'Francis of Assisi', 'the English Church reforming not seceding' at the Reformation, and a note on 'political safeguards'. Chapter 10 in the Māori leaves out philosophical / theological 'musings' on the relative positions of Peter and Paul, and pages 65 to 67 in the English are very abbreviated in the Māori text. There are frequent cross-references to other parts of the New Testament. One is tempted to say the Māori text is more useful than the English.

The sixth volume as listed in Table 3.3 is *He whakamakoha i te Pukapuka a Paora Apotoro ki te Hunga o Karatia* (An expansion of the Letter of Paul the Apostle to the People of Galatia) (BiM 1315). See Plate 3 for a typical page. This book is a verse by verse explanation of the letter's meaning, both historical and theological. Following a short introduction there are notes on words and phrases including a series of cross-references to other books principally those in the New Testament, some also to those in the Old Testament, with links both typological and prophetic. These are essentially an exploration of the meaning

¹³³ Parkinson, *Books in Māori*, 526-7, refers to John Pilkington Norris, *A key to the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles* (London: Rivingtons, 1871). [Parkinson seems to be incorrect in citing the date of publication as 1869.]

of the Māori words used in the text rather than a comment on the Greek text that lies behind it.

After Galatians 4: 25 there is a chart listing the two sides being compared: Hagar, Ishmael, the old covenant, the earthly Jerusalem, on the one hand, in contrast to Sarah, Isaac, the new covenant and the heavenly Jerusalem, on the other hand. After Galatians 6:10 a heading is inserted 'the ending of his letter, written with his own hand' which describes Paul as writing the last verses himself. It is clearly written with direct comments and no wasted words or diversions. Both this and the next volume are attributed to Leonard Williams.¹³⁴

The seventh volume as listed in Table 3.3. is *He whakamakoha i te Rongo-Pai a Maka* (An expansion of the Gospel of Mark) (BiM 1316). The minutes of the NZMTB of February 1889 note that this and the previous volume had been prepared for the students but were thought to be useful and ought to be made more available to others.¹³⁵ There is a page of introduction and the chapters that follow are broken up into sections with headings. These follow the paragraph divisions marked by a pilcrow ¶ in the 1868 edition of *Te Paipera Tapu*. This is not the layout of the 1887 second edition of *Te Paipera Tapu*, nor of the 1894 edition of *Te Kawenata Hou*, but does conform with the 1897 edition of *Te Kawenata Hou*, all mentioned above in the discussion of the books listed in Table 3.1. These sections all have their own heading summarizing the verses that follow. This useful device of section headings was not used in Bibles in English or Māori, nor for the Greek New Testament, until the second half of the twentieth century.

¹³⁴ Herbert Williams, *A Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900, with supplement* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1975), 148. Parkinson, *Books in Māori*, 616-7.

¹³⁵ "Application to S.P.C.K. Commentaries in manuscript in the Maori language on the Gospel of Mark and on the Epistle to the Galatians, which have been prepared for the use of the students in the Native Theological College at Gisborne, having been previously submitted to the members of the Board, it was resolved

That, in order to make these books available for the use of the Maori members of the Church generally, the Secretary be instructed to make application to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to ascertain whether they will be willing to undertake the printing of 1000 copies of each of these books, and , in the case of their acceding to this request, whether the proofs could be sent out to New Zealand for a final revision, before printing with view of avoiding typographical errors." NZMTB minutes 7 February 1889.

In this commentary of Mark, phrases and words are examined, explained, and linked to other parts of Scripture. Gospel parallels are listed, and the verses from the other gospels are inserted, especially during the account of the days leading up to the resurrection. At the end of chapter 9 the commentary notes that this is the end of Christ's ministry in Galilee. At the end of Chapter 16 the "longer ending" of the gospel, verses 9 to 16, is included. This volume is 116 pages long and makes a detailed examination of the verses chosen for comment.

All of the volumes in Table 3.3 would have been of great use for students, especially in building up a mental picture of how the scriptures interact and can be explained in their own context and then interpreted in the present context.

Table 3.4 ~ Books of Biblical History

Ko nga Rongo Pai ewha. He mea whakamaori mai no te reo Ingarihi, na Rev G Maunsell i whakamaori, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1877, 700pp. BiM 906. The Four Gospels.

He kohikohinga no roto i nga Karaipiture Tapu no te hanganga o te ao tae noa ki te whanautanga o to tatou Ariki. Na te Matenga. I whakamaoritia e te Ahirikona Wirimu. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1882, 118pp. BiM 1035. Scripture history "from the Creation to the birth of Christ".

He whakaako i nga mea o te Ariki o Ihu Karaiti, (More about Jesus). Ko whaka-maoritia i M.A. Hastings, me Atanatiu Te Kairangi. London: Printed by the Religious Tract Society, 1885, 222pp. BiM 1134. A 'Life of Jesus'.

The description of Table 3.4 lists three Books of Biblical History. In scriptural studies biblical history is used to help examine the context or time and place, to set the scene, into which the text is read.

The first of those listed in Table 3.4 ~ 'Books of Biblical History' is *Ko nga Rongo Pai ewha. He mea whakamaori mai no te reo Ingarihi, na Rev G Maunsell i whakamaori* (The Four Gospels. Translated from English to Māori by Rev G. Maunsell) (BiM 906). The reference to a translation from the English is to Norris's *A key to the narrative of the four Gospels*.¹³⁶ The English edition is of 143 pages while the Māori is seventy pages. Norris's book was published in 1869 and George Maunsell's translation in 1877. In the Preface the comment is made that it is an Age of Historical Criticism, but that this is *supplementary* not *contradictory* to traditional

¹³⁶ Norris, John Pilkington Norris, *A key to the narrative of the four Gospels* (London: Rivingtons, 1869). [The date of publication differs from that cited in Parkinson, *Books in Māori*, 431. First edition sighted.]

views of Scripture. In the main the Māori chapters follow the English. The contents are laid out as follows:

Part 1, The Four Gospels

chp1 External Testimonies to their Authenticity, p.1

chp 2 Their Internal Character, p.10

u.1 Te Ahua o nga korero o nga Rongo pai, wh.1

Part 2, The Gospel Narrative

chp 1 Birth & Youth of Our Lord, p.18

u.2 Te whanautanga me te taitamarikitanga o to tatou Ariki, wh.5

chp 2 Baptism, Temptation, and First Year's ministry, p.23

u.3 Tona Iriiringa, whakamatamatauranga, me Ana mahi o te tau tuatahi,
wh.9

chp 3 Second Year, First Quarter: The great Galilean Ministry, p.30

u.4 Te rua o nga tau, te koata tuatahi. Ana mahi nui i Kariri, wh.14

chp 4 Second Year, Second Quarter: Passover and Northern Tour, p.38

u.5 Te rua o nga tau, te koata tuarua. Ko te Kapenga, me Tona haerenga ki
te hauraro, wh.20

chp 5 Second Year, Third Quarter: Transfiguration and Feast of Tabernacles,
p.46

u.6 Te rua o nga tau. Koata tuatoru. Ko te whakaahuatanga ketanga, me te
Hakari horohoronga, wh.25

chp 6 Second Year, Fourth Quarter: Final Return to Judea, and Feast of
Dedication, p.52

u.7 Te rua o nga tau. Koata Tuawha. Ko Tona hokinga whakamutunga ki
Huria, me te Hakari horohoronga, wh.29

chp 7 Third Year, First Quarter: Raising of Lazarus and final Ascent to
Jerusalem, p.57

u.8 Te toru o nga tau. Te koata tuatahi. Te whakaarohanga o Raharu, me to
te Karaiti haerenga whakamutunga ki Hiruharama, wh.33

chp 8 Early days of Holy Week, p.63

u.9 Nga ra i mua tata ake i Tona matenga, wh.37

chp 9 The Last Supper and the Betrayal, p. 72

u.10 Ko te Hapa Tapu, me Tona tukunga ki te mate, wh.43

chp 10 Judgment in the Jewish Court, p.78

- u.11 Ko te whakawakanga i te Kooti a nga Hurai, wh.48.
- chp 11 Judgment in the Roman court, p.83 [2 chapters as 11 in Māori]
- u.11 Ko te whakawakanga i te Kooti o Roma, wh.50
- chp 12 The Crucifixion, p.89
- u.12 Ko te Ripekatanga, wh.54
- u.13 Ko nga take i mate ai a te Karaiti, wh.57
- chp 13 The Burial and Resurrection, p.95
- u.14 Ko te Tanumanga, me te Aranga mai, wh.61
- chp 14 The Forty Days, p.101
- u.15 Nga ra e wha tekau, wh.65

Part 3, Notes on the Gospel Narrative

- chp 1 On the Narrative of the Birth and Infancy, p.108
- chp 2 On the Silence of the Gospels respecting our Lord's Life at Nazareth, p.112
- chp 3 On the Narrative of the Temptation, p.115
- chp 4 On the Lord's Miracles, p.119
- chp 5 Christ's Death a Mystery, p.127
- chp 6 On the Chronology of the Gospel Narrative, p.132
- The Gospel Chronology, p.142
- Nga Mea o Roto i Nga Rongo-Pai, wh.69
- Last page, p.143 Rarangi whakamutunga, wh.70.

Where Norris gives scriptural quotes, Grace also references the verse making it easier to cross-reference. There are a number of general notes. The following are an indication of the differences between Norris's book and the Māori text:

wh. in this section = whārangi (page numbers in Māori), while p. = page numbers in the English.

wh.6 he tepara kau te wahi i whanau ai, unlike p.19 one of the limestone caverns just outside the town. [this is in relation to the place of Christ's birth]

wh.6 huaina ana ko Isu, pera me ta te Anahera i hua ai.

wh.7 there is no mention of Daniel in relation to the Magi as on p.20.

- wh.7 no mention of Herod seeking the baths of Jericho before his death, p.21.
- wh.12 no mention of St Augustine, p.27
- wh.13 A, i taua raumati . . ., p.28 This was in April. The remainder of that summer and autumn Christ spent . . .p. 28.
- wh.13 no Latin quote from the Aeneid, p.28.
- wh.14 no mention of Irenaeus's scheme which is wrongly identified, p.29
- wh.21 no mention of Juvenal's quote about the Jewish wallet.
- wh.21 no mention of John's text on the meaning of the bread, p.39. mystery too deep for their carnal minds
- wh.22 p.40 insertion of John chapter 5, p.40 not followed.
- wh.26 no insertion of the anecdote about the temple tax at Capernaum.
- wh.29 Visit to the Temple at the Feast of Tabernacles abbreviated.
- wh.30 Again Grace does not follow Norris in inserting the Johannine passages. p.54.
- wh.33 Aside re possible time of the Lukan parables not included, p.57.
- wh.42 Nicodemus not mentioned, p.70.
- wh.50 Christ's answer, 'Kua korerotia mai na e koutou';. p.81, 'I am'.
- wh.55 Less geographical detail, p.90.
- wh.57 u.13 this follows the section in Part 3 of the English pages 127 to 131, Christ's Death a Mystery, except to final paragraph on page 131.
- wh.67 Part 3, chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 not in the Māori text.
- wh.69-70 [This is a much briefer synopsis than the 10 page gospel parallels in BiM384.]

While the English text has more pages the Māori text is full and follows the discursive style of the English. This contrasts with the commentaries noted above. Also it is more in essay form.

The second volume listed in Table 3.4 is *He kohikohinga no roto i nga Karaipiture Tapu no te hanganga o te ao tae noa ki te whanautanga o to tatou Ariki. Na te Matenga. I whakamaoritia e te Ahirikona Wirimu[sic]* (A collection from the Holy Scriptures from the creation of the world until the birth of our Lord. By the Martin. Translated into Māori by Archdeacon Williams) (BiM 1035). Parkinson attributes this to Mary Ann Martin, the wife of Sir William Martin, in her book

called *Outline of Scripture history* first published in London in 1876.¹³⁷ The Library of Congress had attributed this book to Lady Isabella Martin of New South Wales and the web advertisement for a reprint of that book conformed to that suggestion. The Library of Congress has now apparently accepted that Mary Ann Martin was the author.¹³⁸

As the title states, this volume has an overview of Scripture history “from the Creation to the birth of Christ”. There are twenty chapters: The Region before the Flood, the Flood, Abraham, Isaac and his two sons, Joseph, Moses, The crossing of the Red Sea and Mt Sinai, The Tabernacle and the Law, the Wanderings in the desert, the arrival of Joshua and Israel in Canaan, The Judges, Samuel the prophet and the reign of Saul, David, and Solomon, the Division of the kingdom, 70 years’ exile in Babylon, Esther and the return from Babylon, Nehemiah and the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem, the Prophets, and the Region from the Return until the Roman conquest of Judea.

Each chapter is broken up into sections, many with headings, which must have aided study. These are not outline notes but detailed prose paragraphs. All this is encompassed in 118 pages which like most of these volumes is probably 9 point font or typeface.

The third volume listed in Table 3.4. is *He whakaako i nga mea o te Ariki o Ihu Karaiti, (More about Jesus). Ko whaka-maoritia i M.A. Hastings, me Atanatiu Te Kairangi* (Instruction about the things to do with Jesus Christ, More about Jesus. Translated into Māori by M.A. Hastings, and Athanasius Te Kairangi) (BiM 1134).¹³⁹ While it might be thought that this translation of Sunday School lessons, issued in serialized form as supplements to *Te Korimako*, between 15 March 1883 and 15 June 1884, might better have been listed in Table 3.12 with books of pastoral material, it is listed here as the Māori text is very different from the English. This is a translation of Mrs Mortimer’s *More about Jesus*, first published in London, 1859.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Parkinson, *Books in Māori*, 489-90.

¹³⁸ Phil Parkinson, e-mail message to author, 30 July 2012.

¹³⁹ Parkinson, *Books in Māori*, 533-4.

¹⁴⁰ Favell Lee Mortimer, *More about Jesus*. (London: Hatchard & Co., 1859).

Essentially a 'Life of Jesus' from his birth to his ascension the style of the English is sentimental, simplistic, and oblique, whereas the style of the Māori is simple, direct, and straight-forward. Each of the 63 chapters ends with a considerable set of numbered searching questions. The person answering would need to already know the Bible stories. The answers are not found in this book.

The questions are usually followed by a verse, which was perhaps to be learned by heart. There are illustrations throughout and a map of Palestine at the end. The illustrations seem generally more appropriate in the Māori version when compared to either the English Hatchard edition of 1859 or the American Harper and Brothers edition of 1859.

The books listed in Table 3.4 would all have been accessible to students and assisted them in acquiring an overview of the scriptures in their contexts and the uses to which they could be put.

Section on the Liturgy and Prayer Book

In this section three categories or sub-sections will be considered.

Firstly, an examination will be undertaken of books of the Prayer Book text: Table 3.5; secondly, Te Māramataka: Table 3.6; thirdly, other liturgical books and forms of Service: Table 3.7.

Table 3.5 ~ Books of the Prayer Book Text

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 tu ritenga hoki a te Hahi: me nga Waiata ano hoki a Rawiri. Me te tikanga mo te whiriwhiringa, mo te whakaturanga, me te whakatapunga o nga pihopa, o nga piriti, me nga rikona. Ranana: I taia tenei ki te Perehi o te Komiti mo te Whakapuaki i te Mohiotanga a te Karaiti. 1858, 432pp. BiM 474. A reprint of the 1852 2nd edition of the complete Book of Common Prayer, BiM 422.

Te Pukapuka o nga Inoi, me era atu tikanga a te Hahi o Ingarani mo te minitātanga o nga hakarameta o era atu ritenga hoki a te Hahi; me nga Waiata ano hoki a Rawiri; me te tikanga mo te motuhanga i te pihopa, i te piriti, i te rikona. Ranana: I kiia tenei kia taia e te Komiti mo te Whakapuaki i te Mohiotanga ki a te Karaiti, 1883, 459pp. BiM 1068. A large format prayer book (BiM 909).

Te Pukapuka o nga Inoi, me era atu tikanga a te Hahi o Ingarani mo te minitanga o nga hakarameta, o era atu ritenga hoki a te Hahi; me nga Waiata ano hoki a Rawiri; me te tikanga mo te motuhanga i te pihopa, i te piriti, i te rikona. Ranana: I kiia tenei kia taia e te Komiti mo te Whakapuaki i te Mohiotanga ki a te Karaiti, 1884, 474pp. BiM 1097. A further reprint of the small format Anglican prayer book in the 1878 version [BiM 909].

From the beginning of the Christian mission in Aotearoa, missionaries prayed and led services, initially in English. As soon as possible these services were led in te reo Māori and the work of translating portions of the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* and hymns and of writing new hymns took a prominent place in the plans and activities of missionaries.¹⁴¹

The nature of Anglican liturgical practice is that daily Morning and Evening prayers are set as a pattern for the course of the whole year with differing sections of the year taking on differing themes to direct the minds of leaders and worshippers to the two pivotal days ~ the Birth of the Saviour Jesus Christ celebrated on 25 December, and the Day of the Resurrection, commonly called Easter Day. A source of argument during the early centuries of the spread of Christianity, Easter Day is defined in the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* in these terms, 'The date of the Easter feast is determined by the Paschal Full Moon, its extreme limits being 21 March and 25 April.'¹⁴²

In addition to the daily morning and evening services there were regular but less frequent celebrations of the Service of Holy Communion. Together, these regular services in the whare karakia and homes gave a large part to formal prayer but also opportunity for informal prayer.

Although, as Parkinson suggests in his article on Anglican liturgy, this has been a subject that has attracted the attention of scholars less than the translation and use of *Te Paipera Tapu*, Table 3.5 ~ 'Books of the Prayer Book Text' lists the volumes that may have been in the hands of students and certainly in the chapel and the library of Te Rau College.

¹⁴¹ Phil G. Parkinson, "'A Language Peculiar to the Word of God': the Anglican liturgy in the Maori language," *Publishing History* 54 (2003): 19; Caroline Fitzgerald, *Te Wiremu Henry Williams Early Years in the North* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2011), 36; Lawrence M. Rogers, *Te Wiremu: A biography of Henry Williams* (Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1973), 78; Porter, *The Turanga Journals*, 44.

¹⁴² F. L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. rev. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 525.

The first item in Table 3.5 is *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 tu ritenga hoki a te Hahi: me nga Waiata ano hoki a Rawiri. Me te tikanga mo te whiriwhiringa, mo te whakaturanga, me te whakatapunga o nga pihopa, o nga piriti, me nga rikona* (Book of the Prayers, and those other forms of service, authorised by the Church of England, for the ministry of the sacraments, according to the rites of the Church: and also the Psalms of David. And the form for the setting apart, putting into their role, and consecrating of bishops, priests and deacons) (BiM 474).

It is a substantial volume measuring 173 x 105 mm. Some copies included 52 hymns, ‘tipped in’ at the end. This is one in a long list of editions of the Māori Prayer Book, popularly called *Te Rāwiri* (The David Book) as the words “And the Psalms of David” have a prominent place on the title page of each edition. This is the edition that might have been in the hands of staff and students when Te Rau College was established.

But that year, 1883, a further edition was published with the similar title *Te Pukapuka o nga Inoi* (The Book of the Prayers) (BiM 1068), listed second in Table 3.5. This edition was a large format edition of the 1878 version measuring 180 x 135 mm. The large format may have been preferred by students, and by priests leading the liturgy, but not necessarily by church people as in 1884 a further edition appeared with the same title *Te Pukapuka o nga Inoi* (BiM 1097), the third item listed in Table 3.5. This returned to the small format and must have been easier to put in one’s kete (woven kit) to take to church services. Appendix 11 lists the printing dates of the various editions. This indicates which copies would be available for students to use.

24 services or sections are included in *Te Pukapuka o nga Inoi*. The first five are explanatory and tables for the reading of the psalms and the Scriptures. *Ko te Tikanga mo nga Inoi o te Ata* (Morning Prayer) and *Ko te Tikanga mo nga Inoi o te Ahiahi* (Evening Prayer) come next followed by the Creed of Athanasius, the Litany, and Prayers of Thanksgiving and for all occasions. A large section follows with the Collect, Epistle and Gospel for each Sunday and Holy Day in the year. Next is the form for the Holy Communion, followed by the Baptism of Children, the Baptism of Adults, the Catechism, Confirmation, Marriage,

Prayers with the Sick, Burial of the Dead, Thanksgiving for Women after Childbirth, the ‘Chiding’ (Commination), or making-clear of God’s anger and judgment against Sinners. The last two sections are the Psalms and the Ordination of Deacons. The Ordination of Priests was first printed in 1860 and added to *Te Pukapuka o nga Inoi* from the 1878 edition.¹⁴³

Te Pukapuka o nga Inoi was an important resource for clergy and kaikarakia as it not only had the daily, weekly and occasional services, but also all the psalms, often a selection of hymns, and those passages of scripture which were printed for use in the Service of Holy Communion but could be ‘mined’ for use on any occasion when perhaps *Te Paipera Tapu* or *Te Kawenata Hou* were not to hand.

Table 3.6 ~ Te Māramataka
<p><i>Maramataka mo te tau 1883-1921</i>, Printed variously in Auckland, Napier and Turanga/Gisborne. BiM S201.¹⁴⁴ An annual publication with additional material in some years.</p>

As well as the tables near the front of *Te Pukapuka o nga Inoi* for determining the passages of scripture to be read on any particular day, each year a publication, *Te Māramataka*, assisted those leading worship in the various communities throughout Aotearoa with the day of the month, set readings for Sundays and special holy days and other details leading to or from the festivals of Christmas and Easter.

Table 3.6 ~ ‘Te Māramataka’ draws attention to the fact that copies were printed by different printers in different towns in various years, and that additional material was sometimes added to the annual publication to disseminate new hymns, new information, or helpful notes for clergy and people. In Appendix 12 can be seen the years in which this was published and details of the printers, whether additional material was printed at the back of that year’s edition, whether there are historical notes added, and where copies are held. In the second half of Appendix 12 is a list of all the material added to *Te Māramataka* in particular years over the period.

¹⁴³ Parkinson, *Books in Māori*, 249.

¹⁴⁴ Parkinson, *Books in Māori*, 817-31.

Te Māramataka is an essential tool for theological students as it helps to fix the intersection of the tables in *Te Rāwiri* and the calendar for that particular year. Because Easter Day is sometimes as early as 23 March, and sometimes as late as 25 April, the number of Sundays between the Epiphany, 6 January, and Ash Wednesday, the first day of Lent, 40 days before Easter, varies. The same is true of the number of Sundays after Trinity Sunday, the eighth Sunday after Easter, and the beginning of Advent, four Sundays before Christmas Day.

Those using *Te Māramataka* are able to choose the correct readings for any week or day and prepare to read, or preach, or think about those readings. *Te Māramataka* can act as a form of diary or calendar in which to note activities such as services on a Sunday in an outlying district for which the student has been rostered.

Table 3.7 ~ Other Books and Forms of Service

He himene mo te karakia ki te Atua, Nepia: Na te Haaringi i ta ki tona Whare Perehi Pukapuka, 1883, 136pp. BiM 1073. A collection of 172 Anglican hymns.

He karakia kua whakaritea i te pihopatanga o Waiapu mo te nehu i te tupapaku, kahore nei e tika mona "Te tikanga mo te tanu tupapaku" a te Hahi i Niu Tirenī e kiia nei ko te Hahi o Ingarani. Gisborne, c1896. BiM 1448. A form of burial authorised in the Diocese of Waiapu for those for whom the Burial Service in the Prayer Book 'is not appropriate'.

Table 3.7 ~ 'Other Books and Forms of Service' has two items. One is an example of those books of *He Himene* (Hymns) which were published from time to time. Appendix 11 lists them all with the year of publication. In 1883 *He himene mo te karakia ki te Atua* (Hymns of worship of God) (BiM 1073) was published with 172 hymns. Some new hymns were printed at the back of the annual *Te Māramataka*, and, if well liked, would subsequently be added to the next publication of *He Himene*. Ultimately during the time Te Rau College was open, 188 hymns were in use.¹⁴⁵

Students would be expected to not only know the hymns but to be able to lead the singing. In some whare karakia the leader would be the one to choose

¹⁴⁵ Parkinson, *Books in Māori*, 728.

which hymns were suitable to be used on that day, possibly to teach them, and also to lead the singing. Choir practice was timetabled for Te Rau College.

The second item in Table 3.7 is a form of service for those occasions when the form of service in *Te Rāwiri* for the Burial of the Dead was not considered appropriate (BiM 1448).¹⁴⁶ In 1896 the Diocese of Waiapu at its annual synod passed a resolution to authorise an alternate form of service to meet this pastoral need. At that time an instruction at the beginning of the Burial office in *Te Rāwiri* stated, “Kauaka tenei Karakia e karakiatia mo te hunga i mate iriiri-kore, i peia atu ranei i roto i te Hahi, mo te hunga rānei i whakamomori i a ratou” (the Office is not to be used for any that die unbaptised, or excommunicate, or have laid hands upon themselves). While there is little evidence of anyone being excommunicated, and little is known of the incidence of suicide during the period, the main intention of this service is indicated by the provision of a special optional prayer for unbaptised children.

The service provides for the usual burial service to be used up to the time of placing the body in the grave. Then instead of the sentences of scripture ‘Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live, ...’ and ‘Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear *brother* here departed ... in sure and certain hope of the Resurrection to eternal life through our Lord Jesus Christ ...’, this form provides for that section to be left out altogether, and for the person leading the service to go straight to the Lord’s Prayer, after which four optional prayers are provided concluding with “The grace ...” One of the optional prayers is headed “Mo te nehunga i te kohungahunga, ko tenei” (For the burial of an infant, use this [prayer]). The prayer talks of God, who gives strength to infants and those still breastfeeding, turning the deaths of infants to glory, and relieving our anguish, and strengthening us to remain faithful in the face of death ... Presumably they thought that they could not use the normal service in the circumstances because it declared the certainty of resurrection only for believers.

¹⁴⁶ Parkinson, *Books in Māori*, 678. Parkinson’s designation “A short form of the Anglican burial service” misconstrues the statement in the title “*mo te nehu i te tupapaku, kahore nei e tika mona*” “*Te tikanga mo te tanu tupapaku* (when it is not considered appropriate to use the Burial Service)”.

This is an example of a written form of service for a particular need that had arisen. There would have been a number of culturally determined occasions for which no 'authorised' form of prayer was printed. These would have included exorcism of persons and places, the removal of tapu from places where someone had died, to ending of a rahui on a designated area on which that prohibition had been placed, blessing cemeteries, blessing of houses after deaths and to restore the living to their homes, blessing of memorial gravestones, the blessing of new buildings, of new meeting houses, and the blessing of items such as greenstone, other taonga, newly made articles, or gifts. For these occasions students would need to make up their own prayers or learn suitable prayers from others. These occasions would free clergy to act within tikanga Māori as seemed appropriate. It seems unlikely that they were taught such things at Te Rau College.

Section on Church History

In this section there will be an examination of books on Church History: Table 3.8.

Table 3.8 ~ Books of Church History

Ko te hahi i muri i a te Karaiti. Ko te korero tuatahi, Akarana, 1863, 88pp. BiM 599. Sixteen essays on early church history (to A.D. 600).

Te korero whakatepe o te Hahi Karaitiana o te timatanga mai tae noa ki te tau 1517. He mea whakamaori i te reo Ingarihi e Rev T. S. Grace, Putiki, Whanganui, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1882, 99pp. BiM 1030. A history of the Christian church from its beginning to 1517.

Ko te hahi i muri i a te Karaiti. Ko te korero tuatahi, Nepia: Na te Haaringi i ta ki tona Whare Perehi Pukapuka, 1887, 87pp. BiM 1183. A second edition.

Table 3.8 ~ 'Books of Church History' lists three items but the first and last are almost identical and can be dealt with together. During the period when candidates for ordination were studying at St Stephen's School, Parnell, both Lady Martin and Sir William were involved with tuition. The first book in the list *Ko te hahi i muri i a te Karaiti. Ko te korero tuatahi* (The church after Christ. The first installment) (BiM 599) is described by Herbert Williams as "Early Church History, to AD 600. In sixteen chapters. From lectures given by Sir W. Martin,

the Maori diction [sic] of the book being largely derived from the students."¹⁴⁷ Parkinson and Griffith note that "an inscription in Dr T.M. Hocken's copy states that it was 'written by Chief Justice Martin in the following way: he lectured to Maoris at his own house at Taurarua [Judges Bay, Auckland] on Church History taken from [Rev. J.C.] Robertson's Sketches of Church History [London, 1855]; he then re[quired] the pupils to write out his lectures, (which had been delivered in Maori) & then from their essays redacted the best composed of them in the work.'¹⁴⁸ Robertson's work was subtitled *from AD33 to the Reformation*.¹⁴⁹ Parkinson further comments, "Lady Martin, in *Our Maoris* (London, 1884), p. 178, recollects that Rota Waitoa 'had been reading with great interest a translation of Robertson's "Sketches of church history," and was specially delighted with the account of Perpetua and her companions, and of their martyrdom at Carthage'. That story is the fifth in this collection (p. 17-23) and is presumably the text referred to."¹⁵⁰ When the book was reprinted in 1887 (BiM 1183) there was no indication of its provenance. The title page has *Ko te hahi i muri i a te Karaiti. Ko te korero tuatahi* and the details of the printer. At the end of the book the last page is a table of dates but no further comment is made. Presumably it was considered useful as a resource. The majority of the chapters are about people including: Ignatius, Polycarp, Perpetua, Origen, Cyprian, Constantine, Julian, Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Augustine.

The second volume in Table 3.8 is also based on Robertson's Sketches. *Te korero whakatepe o te Hahi Karaitiana o te timatanga mai tae noa ki te tau 1517* (A full account [without omission] of the Christian Church from the beginning up to the year 1517) (BiM 1930). This is definitely a translation of Robertson and follows the text quite closely. Robertson's book is in two parts of 30 chapters each. The first part goes up to Gregory the Great, the second to the Inquisition. *Te korero whakatepe o te Hahi Karaitiana* has thirty-five chapters. A comparison of the number of paragraphs between the English and Māori texts shows the Māori text has just as many in most chapters. In a very small number of cases

¹⁴⁷ Herbert Williams, *A Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900*, 80.

¹⁴⁸ Parkinson, *Books in Māori*, 296.

¹⁴⁹ J.C. Robertson, *Sketches in Church History from AD 33 to the Reformation* (London: SPCK, 1855).

¹⁵⁰ Parkinson, *Books in Māori*, 296.

the Māori text has fewer paragraphs. However certain chapters in Robertson's part 2 are not translated, a few are abbreviated and a number conflated.

Among subjects not included in the Māori text are discussions of Church Government and Christian Worship, and a long section stating that archbishops, patriarchs and bishops belong to one order of ministry, and rector, curate, presbyter, and priest to another. After the account of the first Crusade the Māori text jumps to Becket, Avignon and then to John Wyclif, John Huss and Martin Luther. There are maps and time-charts.

The style is like that of the original quite densely argued. A lot has been put into 99 pages with a small typeface. It remains an interesting overview of the period leading to the Reformation and would easily fulfill Leonard Williams's requirement "enough Church History to enable [the student] to have an intelligent grasp of Christian Doctrine".¹⁵¹ It is strange that there appears to be no modern church history.

Section on Christian Doctrine

In this section there will be an examination of books relating to Christian

Doctrine: Table 3.9.

Table 3.9 ~ Books of Christian Doctrine

He Katikihama: kia akona e nga tangata katoa keiwha kawea ki te pihopa kia whakaukia, pp. 227-235, an extract from the **Prayer Book** Table 3.6 item 2 above. *The Church Catechism*.

He Whakarohe: I Whakaāetia e Ngā Pihopa Tūmuaki, e Ngā Pihopa o Ngā Wāhanga e Rua o Ingarani, e Ngā Minita Katoa Hoki, pp. 448-459, an extract from the **Prayer Book** Table 3.6 item 2 above. *The Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion*.

The text directly bearing on Christian Doctrine listed in Table 3.9 ~ 'Books of Christina Doctrine' are section of *Te Rāwiri*, these are *He Katikihama: kia akona e nga tangata katoa keiwha kawea ki te pihopa kia whakaukia* (A Catechism: to be

¹⁵¹ Leonard Williams, *The Maori Mission*, 15.

learned by all people before being brought to the bishop for confirmation), and *He Whakarohe: I Whakaāetia e Ngā Pīhopa Tūmuaki, e Ngā Pīhopa o Ngā Wāhanga e Rua o Ingarani, e Ngā Minita Katoa Hoki* (Setting the Bounds [of belief]: As Agreed to by the Archbishops, the Bishops of the Two Provinces in England, and All the Clergy). These documents from the Reformation period remained the standard for Anglican belief and ‘subscription and assent’ would be required from all who sought to be ordained, hold office, or any position in the Church. The terminology has been carefully thought out and it would be tempting to say that the Māori is clearer in meaning than the English. A student would need to study these and be prepared to teach them to Sunday Schools, Confirmation candidates and whenever questions of belief arose.

Section on Pastoralia

In this section four categories or sub-sections will be considered.

Firstly an examination will be undertaken of books of Pastoral prayer: Table 3.10; secondly books of Pastoral material: Table 3.11; thirdly books of Children’s material: Table 3.12; and fourthly books for confirmation preparation and for communicants: Table 3.13.

Table 3.10 ~ Books of Pastoral Prayer

He kupu ma te ngakau inoi “Kei whakamutua te Inoi”, Nepia: Na te Haaringi i ta ki tona Whare Perehi Pukapuka. 1885, 37pp. BiM 1122.
‘A word for a prayerful heart: pray without ceasing’.

Table 3.10 ~ ‘Books of Pastoral Prayer’ lists one item that at first seems to fit awkwardly with the other volumes we are examining. Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester in the seventeenth century, wrote a private series of prayers in Latin and Greek for his own use. First published in 1675 these have continued to intrigue and encourage others seeking to pray better. Brightman’s 1903 edition runs to 392 pages with extensive notes.¹⁵² The style is quite distinctive, especially as it comes from a period when prayers tended to be long

¹⁵² Lancelot Andrewes, *The Preces Privatae*, trans. F.E. Brightman (London: Methuen & Co. 1903).

and complicated in structure. The style may seem quite modern to us, especially in layout. A thought or phrase is followed by a list of words or thoughts as series of ideas that flow from it. The scriptural references are put into the margin. Most are quite long and cover a range of topics. They include: Holy Mysteries, Penitence, Confession, Praise, Deprecation, Comprecation (the act of praying together), Intercession, Commendation, and a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer. Perhaps most popular and the starting point in this connection are the Daily Prayers, forms of prayer on waking, forms of morning prayer, morning prayers for the days of the week, and parallels for the evening.

These seem to have been the part of Andrewes that Sarah Selwyn adapted and which Robert Maunsell translated. First printed in 1845 this is the fifth edition, with additions and corrections by Leonard Williams. In *He kupu ma te ngakau inoi "Kei whakamutua te Inoi"* (A word for a prayerful heart "pray without ceasing") (BiM 1122) there is a selection of prayers each day ending with the Lord's Prayer and the Grace. They are printed in such a way that they could be used by more than one person with simple adaptation. This is followed by alternatives and private prayers at the beginning and end of services, in preparation for Holy Communion, prayers for the sick, ending with a short section for children to use, morning and evening.

A student may well have used these prayers when away from college or missing communal prayers. They would be useful for the family or for parishioners.

Table 3.11 ~ Books of Pastoral Material

He moemoea. Otira, ko nga korero o te huarahi, e rere atu nei te tangata i tenei ao, a, tapoko noa ano ki tera ao atu; he kupu whakarite, na Hoani Paniana. He me whakamaori mai i te reo Pakeha, "Patukina, a, ka tūwhera kia koutou.", Poneke: He mea Perehi e te Toki, ki Weretana, Poneke. 1854, 225pp. BiM 451.

The Pilgrim's progress, by John Bunyan.

Ko te whakaeminga mai o te pono te A. E. I. rānei o te kupu. I Perehitia ki te Tari Nupera o te Terekarawhi, Nepia. 1897?, 31pp. BiM 1489. [also BiM 1490]
'Truth in a nutshell', literally 'the gathering together of the truth, the A.E.I (i.e. the ABC) of the word'.

Williams, W. Leonard, *Te Hahi To Tatou Taonga Tupu*, Holograph, 13 numbered pages, ATL MS-2449. Devotional writings about the Church.

Table 3.11 ~ ‘Books of Pastoral Material’ has three items *He moemoea. Otira, ko nga korero o te huarahi, e rere atu nei te tangata i tenei ao, a, tapoko noa ano ki tera ao atu; he kupu whakarite, na Hoani Paniana. He me whakamaori mai i te reo Pakeha, “Patukina, a, ka tūwhera kia koutou.”* (A dream. But at the same time, the story of the journey, of a person leaving this world, and landing in that other one; a word of advice from John Bunyan. A Māori translation of the English “Knock, and it will be opened to you.”) (BiM 451), *Ko te whakaeminga mai o te pono te A. E. I. rānei o te kupu* (The gathering together of the truth the A.E.I of the word) (BiM 1490) and *Te Hahi To Tatou Taonga Tupu* (The Church Our Genuine Treasure) (ms.).

John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* was translated in 1854. The second item has also been called ‘An Epitome of the Truth, or the A.E.I of the Word’.¹⁵³ It is an evangelical booklet with scriptural quotations. Leonard Williams’s booklet is a piece of devotional writing with scriptural references, perhaps for conducting a retreat.

While not strictly text books, students would have found these booklets useful in their preparation for pastoral ministry.

Table 3.12 ~ Books of Children’s Material

‘ΑΓΑΘΟΣ’ [i.e. *Agathos*] *Ko te ritenga o te ingoa nei, ko te tangata pai. Na Samuel Wilberforce, M.A., I tuhi ki te reo Pakeha a ko te Whakamaoritanga tenei o aua korero.* Ponake, Noema, 1882. 12pp. BiM 1064.

A new edition of ‘Agathos’, a story for children.

Katikihama hei akoranga ma te tamariki. Turanga: Te Raukahikatea, 1901. Sommerville 1014. A catechism for teaching children.

Te pukapuka whakaako mo te tamaiti, nga inoi mo nga ratapu. Turanga: Te Raukahikatea. 1901. 19pp. Sommerville 1016. A book for teaching children, with prayers for Sundays.

Te Rongo-Pai he Ngawari te Korerotanga : The Good News told in simple words. By C.P.S. Warren, Te Rau Press, Gisborne. Printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1908, 91pp. Sommerville 1070.

Table 3.12 ~ ‘Books of Children’s Material’ lists four items that would have been useful for work with children. The first is a story translated from Samuel

¹⁵³ Parkinson, *Books in Māori*, 698-9.

Wilberforce's 'Agathos', the second a short catechism for children, the third a book for teaching, with prayers for Sundays. The fourth, *Te Rongo-Pai he Ngawari te Korerotanga : The Good News told in simple words*. By C.P.S. Warren is in twenty-one chapters with something for the children to remember, something to learn, and a number of questions at the end of each chapter. The answers are found in the chapter itself.

Table 3.13 ~ Books for Confirmation Preparation and Communicants

He whakamahara mo te hunga e uru ana ki te kainga tahitanga tapu. Turanga: Te Raukahikatea, 1901. 12pp. Sommerville 1024.

A manual for communicants, written by W.L. Williams, the Bishop of Waiapu.

He Ako mo te Whakau; ara, He tohutohu mo te Whakaako a te Minita i te Hunga e hiahia ana ki te Whakapanga Ringaringa a te Pihopa. Na Te Wiremu, Pihopa. Turanga: Na Te Wiremu Hapata i ta, ki te Perehi i te Raukahikatea: 1913, 78pp. Sommerville 1118.

Instructions for clergy preparing candidates for Confirmation.

The items in Table 3.13 ~ 'Books for Confirmation Preparation and Communicants' are very specific and would be useful for students and clergy alike. Both were written by Leonard Williams, when Bishop of Waiapu, one for communicants and the other to help clergy prepared candidates for confirmation.

General section

Finally there will be an examination of books in a General category: Table 3.14

Table 3.14 ~ General

A dictionary of the New-Zealand language, and a concise grammar; to which are added a selection of colloquial sentences, By William Williams, B.A., Archdeacon of Waiapu. Paihia: Printed at the Press of the C.M. Society. 1844, 195pp. BiM 217.
The first Māori dictionary.

A dictionary of the New Zealand language by the Right Reverend William Williams, D.C.L. Bishop of Waiapu, New Zealand. Fourth edition with numerous additions and corrections, an introduction, and a new English-Maori vocabulary. By the Venerable W.L. Williams, B.A. Archdeacon of Waiapu. Upton and Co., Auckland. Williams and Norgate,

London and Edinburgh, 1892, 325pp. BiM 1348. Fourth edition of Māori-English, English-Māori dictionary.
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A final General section in Table 3.14 presumes that students would be assisted in their studies, especially of *Te Paipera Tapu* by the use of a dictionary. William Williams prepared the first dictionary of the Māori language in 1844 and students in the 1880s and beyond would have had access to various editions as they appeared in 1871, 1892, and 1917, prepared by first Leonard, and then Herbert Williams.

The only evidence of the curriculum for Te Rau College is the list of subjects quoted from Bishop Leonard Williams at the beginning of the chapter, which has been used to examine books known to be in print in te reo Māori at that time. While Bibles and Prayer books will have been available to all who could obtain them, and *Te Māramataka* (the Lectionary) available annually for clergy and worship leaders, it seems likely that many of the other books called ‘text books’ in this chapter would only have been used at Te Rau College. There may have been class sets of text books but it is unlikely that each student would have been able to purchase a personal copy, and the fact that the families of former students do not possess such copies seems to confirm that.

Books relating to the Bible will have prepared students for preaching and teaching. Books relating to the Prayer Book and supervised practical experience during college years will have given students skills to lead worship. Books relating to Church History would have enabled them to explain the differences between Christian denominations and assist in defending the Anglican Church’s doctrines against Roman Catholics and others. The books, or portions of books, to do with Christian Doctrine will have assisted in their catechising children and adults, and preparing candidates for Confirmation by the bishop, while the Pastoralia books will have enabled their pastoral ministry in the variety of situations in which they would find themselves.

This examination of ‘text books’ shows that there were considerable resources available for staff and students at Te Rau College. The context for which students were being prepared was Māori, almost entirely rural, and involved

an itinerant ministry meeting the spiritual needs of the people. The ministry of praying, leading services, preaching and ministering to those in sickness, bereavement, and various kinds of spiritual need would have been well prepared for. The foundation is *Te Paipera Tapu* and *Te Rāwiri* along with other studies during their time at Te Rau College would have enabled them to minister well.

The students, as clergy, laid the foundation for the next stage of *Te Hāhi Mihingare*, a church to be led by Māori, ministered to by Māori, in a Māori context. However, theological education was still at this stage in the hands of missionaries and their children. The next chapter explores whether that was to change.

Chapter 4 ~ Theological education at Te Rau College in English

Staff changes

As a result of continuing throat trouble, Herbert Williams resigned as Principal of Te Rau College in September 1901,¹⁵⁴ although remaining in Cobden Street and acting as missionary for the East Coast from 1902 to 1929. In addition, he was Archdeacon of Waiapu from 1907 to 1930, when he became the sixth Bishop of Waiapu.¹⁵⁵

He had undertaken to compile an enlarged fifth edition of the Māori dictionary which he completed with help from his father in joint sessions in June/July 1912 and February/March 1913.¹⁵⁶ It was published in 1917.¹⁵⁷

Before Leonard Williams's retirement as Bishop of Waiapu in 1909, Herbert was able to accompany his father on his journeys and assist him more with his work. Leonard continued to take a keen interest in Te Rau College as well as Te Aute College and Hukarere Māori Girls' School and in the early 1900's he compiled his East Coast Records¹⁵⁸ which were published in 1932 well after his death in 1916.

A special meeting of the NZMTB held in September 1901 decided to offer the position to Frederick William Chatterton.¹⁵⁹ Born in 1860 in England he attended Tamworth Grammar School before coming to New Zealand. Acting as Tutor at Bishopdale Theological College, Nelson, from 1884 to 1889, Chatterton was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Nelson on 3 April 1886 and priest on 20 November 1887. He arrived in Gisborne to take up his duties on 26 March 1902.¹⁶⁰ In 1912, 'while at the college he sat for and obtained the degree BD,

¹⁵⁴ NZMTB minutes 12 September 1901.

¹⁵⁵ Frederic Williams, *Through Ninety Years*, 339.

¹⁵⁶ Frederic Williams, *Through Ninety Years*, 345.

¹⁵⁷ Herbert Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language* (Wellington: Government Printing Office, 1917); Review of *A dictionary of the Maori language* by Herbert Williams, *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 26:3 (1917): 132-133.

¹⁵⁸ Leonard Williams, *East Coast (N.Z.) Historical Records* (Gisborne: Poverty Bay Herald, 1932).

¹⁵⁹ NZMTB minutes 12 September 1901. Morrell, *The Anglican Church in New Zealand*, 121; Rosevear, *Waiapu*, 97, 98, 100, 116, 133, 136.

¹⁶⁰ Frederic Williams, *Through Ninety Years*, 339.

Durham.¹⁶¹ He was to remain in charge of the college until 1918. A new era had begun.

Ernest Ensor, at Bishopdale College from 1891 to 1892 was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Nelson in 1891, and priest in 1893. He was Acting Principal in 1904 when Chatterton was on leave. Sadly, he drowned while swimming in Gisborne.¹⁶²

Rēweti Kōhere continued as Assistant Tutor till 1908 when he returned home to live on family land at Rangiatea station, East Cape, where, in addition to farming, he continued in pastoral ministry in the Kawakawa pastorate. As noted in chapter 3, he finished his term as editor of *Te Pīpīwharauroa* on leaving Te Rau, but this did not diminish his enthusiasm for writing letters to the editors of various publications, and he continued to do so for the next 40 years.¹⁶³

Kōhere's place was taken by Pine Tamahori, a student at Te Rau College, who gained a second-class pass in his Grade Four examinations in 1908. He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Waiapu on 21 December 1908, and priest on 17 December 1911. He was Assistant Tutor from 1908 until 1912, when he left to take up pastoral ministry in the Diocese of Waiapu becoming Assistant Superintendent of Māori Mission in 1929.

In 1913 Wiremu Katene Paraire Rangihuna was appointed Assistant Tutor. A student at Te Rau College, he was ordained deacon in 1908, acting as assistant curate Nuhaka district in 1908. He gained a second-class pass in his Grade Four examinations in 1910, and was ordained priest the same year, whereupon he took up the position of vicar Nukutaurua Māori district from 1910 to 1913. He was on the college staff from 1913 until 1916.

Frank Clendon Long had been a student at St John's College, Auckland and in 1902 graduated BA, (University of New Zealand, Auckland College), and in 1905, MA, with 1st class honours in Political Science. He is mentioned as 'formerly second master at Te Aute College'.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ WCG, 1 August 1936, 1.

¹⁶² "Drowning Accident," *PBH*, 29 February 1904, 3.

¹⁶³ Rarawa Kōhere, 'Kōhere', 267.

¹⁶⁴ Chatterton's annual report to NZMTB 1905.

It is hard to be sure of his role. From 1905 until 1908, he is recorded as at Te Rau College,¹⁶⁵ acting as 'assistant'¹⁶⁶ in 1905 and 1906. In 1907 he was 'helping students with English, to be ready for Fourth Grade examinations'.¹⁶⁷ In 1907 he is also listed as a Lay reader at Waerenga-a-hika October and December,¹⁶⁸ and on 22 December 1907 was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Waiapu.¹⁶⁹ Following his ordination he was the resident deacon at Waipiro Bay¹⁷⁰ and on 27 December 1908 ordained Priest.¹⁷¹ During 1908 and up till July 1909 he was the Vicar at Waipiro Bay.¹⁷²

It is somewhat of a mystery where Long was between August 1909 and October 1910. Perhaps he was back at Te Aute. In 1909 he passed his Fourth Grade examinations. Then 27 October 1910 there was a 'Service of Dismissal and Benediction' prior to travel to India,¹⁷³ and on 28th October, 'Long of Te Aute, Hawkes Bay' departed Wellington via Sydney to Bombay.¹⁷⁴

A new group of students

Whereas earlier students had often been older, many of them kaikarakia, there was now a change, resulting from the policy of attracting directly to the College students from Te Aute College. This resulted in a younger and more book-learned group of students. Te Kura o Te Aute (Te Aute College) was opened in 1854 by Samuel Williams,¹⁷⁵ closed at some point after experiencing financial difficulties, and finally reopened in 1872. It flourished especially between 1878

¹⁶⁵ Chatterton's annual report to NZMTB 1905.

¹⁶⁶ Chatterton's annual report to NZMTB 1905.

¹⁶⁷ Chatterton's annual report to NZMTB 1907.

¹⁶⁸ WCG, October and December 1907.

¹⁶⁹ *Waiapu Diocesan Year Book*, 1908.

¹⁷⁰ *Waiapu Diocesan Year Book*, 1908.

¹⁷¹ *Waiapu Diocesan Year Book*, 1909.

¹⁷² *Waiapu Diocesan Year Book*, 1909.

¹⁷³ *Waiapu Church Gazette*, 1 Dec 1910, 9

¹⁷⁴ Michael Blain, "Blain Biographical Directory of Anglican clergy in the South Pacific," Accessed 8 October 2012, http://anglicanhistory.org/nz/blain_directory/.

¹⁷⁵ Sybil M. Woods, *Samuel Williams of Te Aute, a biography* (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1981).

and 1912 under the headmaster John Thornton.¹⁷⁶ He insisted on developing its curriculum along the lines of an English grammar school, with a solid academic basis. In this he was supported by the school's founder and provider. Thornton later wrote,

I tried from the very first to raise the standard of the school, and ... conceived the idea of preparing Maori boys for the matriculation examination of the New Zealand University ... I saw that the time would come when the Maoris would wish to have their own doctors, their own lawyers, and their own clergymen, and I felt it was only just to the race to provide facilities for their doing so.¹⁷⁷

The Te Aute College Students' Association, founded in 1897, encouraged former students to seek further education and to contribute to the life of Māori communities. The minutes of its meetings were widely available in the pages *Kupu Whakamārama ~ Te Pīpīwharau*. These are now readily available online through Te Whare Wānanga o te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui (Victoria University) and its website Te Pūhikotuhi o Aotearoa (New Zealand Electronic Text Collection (NZETC)),¹⁷⁸ and through *Papers Past* the website of the National Library.¹⁷⁹ The question of theological study in the English language was being raised. We will return to that shortly.

Students at Te Rau College were involved with the Gisborne community in many ways. The College grounds were handy to the town and the *Poverty Bay Herald* (hereafter *PBH*) lists Te Rau College 362 times in *Papers Past*. These items include a number of sporting events, football, cricket, tennis, and hockey appearing to have been popular. Meetings of various groups took place at the college: Young Māori Party Gisborne Branch, WCTU, Gleaners' Union, Temperance Society, No-License[sic] League, the Ladies' Reading Union, and, after the post First World War dedication of a memorial cross at nearby Holy Trinity Church, the mothers of soldiers were welcomed there by the Women's National Reserve. Concerts took place from time to time. Students were often lauded for their performances.

¹⁷⁶ J.M. Barrington, "Thornton, John 1844-1913," in *DNZB 1870-1900*, ed. Claudia Orange (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1993), 538-9; James Philip Hector Graham, *Whakatāngata Kia Kaha: Toitū te Whakapapa, Toitū te Tuakiri, Toitū te Mana – An Examination of the Contribution of Te Aute College to Māori Advancement* (Education, Massey University, 2009); Robert Alexander, *Story of Te Aute* (Wellington: A.H.&A.W. Reed, 1951).

¹⁷⁷ Barrington, 'Thornton', 539.

¹⁷⁸ <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-BIMs38TeAu-t1-g1-g5-t1-body-d1.html>

¹⁷⁹ <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast>

The *PBH*, in the editions printed on the days mentioned, notes a couple of marriages, that between Rēweti Kōhere and Keita Paratene on 14 December 1904,¹⁸⁰ and between Frederick Bennett and Alice Hemana on 14 December 1911.¹⁸¹ There were sad occasions noted as well. The drowning of a student E.R. Cartwright was recorded in September 1902, and in July 1910 the death was announced, of Ngira Kanika, a student, 'who succumbed to a fever'. On 29 November 1910, Nurse Akinihi Hei, of Te Kaha, lay at Te Rau College before her interment the following day. In May 1902 the students were seen terracing the Kaiti riverbank. They took part in the Captain Cook arrival re-enactment in August 1905. Ordinations and exam results are noted, and Chatterton and the students went on weeklong missions first to Te Arai (Manutuke) in October 1902, then to Muriwai in August 1903, and they also supported Mr R.A. Studd's mission to the district in July 1904.

The college chapel was opened in June 1903, and a subscription for memorial windows remembering Sarah Wanklyn Williams was launched. At Leonard Williams's farewell as Bishop of Waiapu hosted by the college on 14 July 1909, Te Naiti, a student from the Urewera, formerly a follower of Rua Kenana, 'spoke through Pine Tamahori.' On 7 August 1914, the 'Te Rau College students volunteered in a body, for military service, between 30 and 40 of them'. There were lists of those who eventually enlisted, and a note in March 1917 of one former student, Henare Wepiha Wainohu, who as a padre was honoured by the King of Serbia with the Order of the White Eagle (5th class). There was more to college life than chapel and studies.

Even more detailed than *PBH* there are numerous references to 'Te Rau' and 'Te Rau College' and 'Te Raukahikatea' in the monthly newspaper *Te Pīpīwharau*.¹⁸² Filling twelve pages in most months for the years between 1898 and 1913 *Te Pīpī* was full of news of Te Hāhi Māori, ngā Iwi Māori, tikanga Māori, kōrero Māori. There were poetry, drama, speeches, lectures, medical treatises, church history, and news of the deaths of clergy, often former students of Te Rau College. All this is in addition to the reports of important

¹⁸⁰ *PBH*, 19 December 1904, 2.

¹⁸¹ *PHB*, 14 December 1911, 4.

¹⁸² *Te Pīpīwharau*, 1901 36:5; 38:4, 12; 39:1, 2; 46:1; 1902 51:10; 55:10; 57:1; 58:11; 1903 63:1, 64:2, 8; 67:10; 1904 73:5, 7; 82:63; 1905 85:1; 87:4; 88:9; 89:6; 1907 111:1; 1908 123:9; 1909 136:1; 1910 143:1; 147:2; 1911 156:1; 164:9; 1912 174:8.

hui Māori, the Boer War, the Great Exhibition, the death of Queen Victoria, the coronation of the new King, and matters of national and international interest. There is space also for expressions of opinion, especially the opinion of the editor.

Many events mentioned in *PBH* are explained in full in *Te Pīpī*, sometimes with full reports of speeches, and lectures. Dr John Mott's second visit to Aotearoa was seen as an important event. As well as the missions by Te Rau College to Muriwai and Manutuke *Te Pīpī* had a full report of a long visit to Uawa (Tolaga Bay area).¹⁸³

Te Rau buildings

On 2 June 1902, the Chapel at Te Rau College, designed by Mr F. De J. Clere of Wellington, was consecrated by Bishop Leonard Williams.¹⁸⁴ This was for the students' daily services and was also in recognition of Bishop Williams's life-long work among the Māori. Members of te Hāhi Mihingare had contributed and money had been subscribed from around the country. 'In 1905 friends of the Bishop's family secretly collected funds in order to purchase a stained glass window for the east end of the chapel in memory of Sarah Williams,' the wife of the first principal, who had died at Te Rau in the year that her husband was elected bishop.¹⁸⁵ When Holy Trinity Church was being rebuilt the parishioners sometimes attended services at Te Rau chapel, and, as seen above, the college was a convenient place for many meetings.

A report written in 1909 describes the college library as having 'about 1000 volumes, many of them valuable books'.¹⁸⁶ Appendix 17 lists those few volumes that have been identified and are now kept at the John Kinder Theological Library, Meadowbank, Auckland. Many of the books were put into the charge

¹⁸³ *Te Pīpī*, 89, August 1905, 6.

¹⁸⁴ Frederic Williams, *Through Ninety Years*, 340; "Te Rau College Students' Chapel," *Poverty Bay Herald*, 7 July 1903, 3.

¹⁸⁵ Rosevear, *Waiapu*, 163-4.

¹⁸⁶ "Maori Mission Leaflet", Supplement to *N.Z. Church News*, 1 March 1909.

of caretakers of the Waerenga-a-hika Boys' School. They asked local kaumatua to assist in preserving the books.¹⁸⁷ The fate of the majority is unknown.

English language theological syllabus and examinations

In 1871 a report was presented to the General Synod proposing that a Board of Theological Studies be established to prepare a curriculum and arrange for examinations for students for the ordained ministry. The report suggested that,

The subjects on which examination papers may be set are –

- I Holy Scripture Biblical Exegesis
- II Christian Evidences
- III Systematic Theology
- IV Ecclesiastical History
- V Moral Philosophy
- VI History and meaning of the formularies, and law of the Church in New Zealand

And made provision that,

As far as possible such Text Books shall be used as may be adopted in the Theological Examinations of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and Dublin.¹⁸⁸

General Synod in 1874 established the Board of Theological Studies largely following the terms of the report.¹⁸⁹ As a result examinations were set and marked and grades awarded from 1875 until the 1970s.¹⁹⁰ when an ecumenical Joint Board of Theological Studies took its place.

At the General Synod in 1901 a report was called for from the Sessional Committee for Home and Foreign Missions on 'Missions to the Maoris'. A detailed report was received on 7 February 1901. This is sufficiently important to be reported quite fully.

Report on Missions to the Maoris.

The New Zealand Mission Trust Board, at its last session, passed the following resolution:- "That the attention of the General Synod be invited to the position in which the Maori portion of the Church in New Zealand will be placed on the withdrawal of the Church Missionary Society at the end of 1902, in order that such measures may be taken in respect thereto as to the Synod may seem desirable."

¹⁸⁷ Verbal communication with the late former caretaker, Mrs B. Kerekere, December 1981.

¹⁸⁸ "Examination records volume 1, 1875-1903, a bound volume containing analysis for each of the graded examinations conducted annually, with details re subject, examiner, candidates, and marks attained. Includes early history and establishment of the Board beginning with the setting up of the Committee on the Supply of Candidates in 1871, and copies of the Board's annual reports from 1875-1886." BTS Minutes, Kinder ANG057/5.00/1 19.

¹⁸⁹ *Proceedings of General Synod, 1874*, Statute 17.

¹⁹⁰ Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, 94-95, 115, 187, 198, 220-1.

Your Committee has given its most careful and earnest consideration to the very serious position in which the work of the Church among the Maori people is now placed. It has received most valuable information and help from the Most. Rev. the Primate, and the Right Reverends the Bishops, from Archdeacon S. Williams, the Rev. Herbert Williams and others.

Your Committee understands that since the Church Missionary Society announced its intention in 1882 to withdraw from the active control of their Missionary agencies in the North Island of New Zealand, the New Zealand Mission Trust board has administered the revenues derived from properties previously belonging to the C.M.S., the annual grant made by that Society, and also whatever local subscriptions were entrusted to it. The New Zealand Mission Trust Board was not a Board to initiate or direct missionary work. It was a Trust Board empowered to make grants towards the support of missionary agents among the Maoris in the North Island of New Zealand. Unfortunately an impression prevailed generally that this Trust Board was appointed to organise Church work among the Maoris, that it owned large properties, and that it controlled a large revenue from the Church Missionary Society. The effect of the false impression was to create the greatest apathy about the Maori Mission among Church people: and consequently no vigorous measures have been adopted to meet the changing circumstances of the Maori race. Evidence has been given by the Bishops to show that about one-half of the Maoris are Churchpeople, that besides those who belong to other Christian bodies there is a large number who are lapsed Christians, Hauhaus, &c. The work is naturally divided into two classes (1) the maintenance of the Church's work among Maori Christians, and (2) the winning back into the fold of Christ our lapsed brethren, and those who have never recognized the claims of their Saviour upon them. As regards the former, evidence has been given that the Stipends of the Maori Clergy in the North Island range from £47 to £55 per annum; that of these Stipends about £25 come in the shape of grants from the New Zealand Mission Trust board; that the balance is derived in Auckland, from the Native Pastorate Fund; in Waiapu, from Native Parochial Endowments Funds, and a Native Pastorate Fund; in Wellington, from a Diocesan Maori Mission Fund. The amount contributed by the Maoris to these Endowment Funds has been considerable, but the sums given directly to Stipend Funds are very small. When the C.M.S. grant (now £1100 per annum) is withdrawn in 1902, the whole income of the N.Z. Mission Trust Board will be devoted to the maintenance of Te Rau Theological College, and then the average Annual Stipend of the Maori Clergy, will, unless help is given from new sources, amount to about £25 per annum.

Evidence was given which showed that one great cause of the weakness of the Church amongst the Maoris was the miserably small stipends paid, which compelled the Native Clergy to give at least one-half of their time to the cultivation of their lands, in order to make provision for their families, and which discouraged the better educated Maoris from offering themselves for Holy Orders. It will be seen, therefore, that even to do no more than maintain the present very low level of efficiency in the Maori section of the Church, the sum of £1100 per annum must be raised by the Church of New Zealand; but those best fitted to express an opinion assert, and your Committee recommends:-

- (a) That the minimum stipend of a Maori clergyman, giving his whole time to his work, should be not less than £100 per annum.
- (b) That the Maori clergy should be encouraged to seek an education as nearly as possible approaching that required of the European clergy, and that where a Maori clergyman has been educated up to the European standard, his stipend should, as far as possible, be approximate to that received by the European clergy.
- (c) As regards work amongst the lapsed Maoris, the prospect is more hopeful than it has been for many years past, if only the Church grasps her opportunity now, and begins with vigor and earnestness missionary work chiefly in the Waikato, in Taranaki, and in the Urewera country. The opportunity lies before the Church to-day, but if not taken, it will probably pass away.

Your Committee is convinced that unless the Church of New Zealand is roused to a sense of the responsibilities now resting upon her, and makes a vigorous effort to discharge her obligations to the Maori in our midst, the work of the Church among Christian Maoris will crumble to the dust, and the great opportunity which now presents itself of Christianizing the other Maoris will be at least partially lost.

In view of the grave crisis which is impending, it is evident that the General Synod must create some agency for the more effectual oversight of the Church's work among the Maoris, both Christian and non-Christian.

"Your Committee is of the opinion that the best results might be expected from the appointment of some one person or persons as Directors of Church work among the Maoris throughout New Zealand, whose duty it would be to have, under the Bishop, spiritual and general oversight of that work in each Diocese.

- (d) Your Committee recommends that a Director of Church Work among the Maoris be appointed under the authority of the General Synod by the Bishops of the whole province, with authority, under the Bishop, to exercise spiritual and general oversight of that work in each Diocese, and also to appeal to the whole church for the necessary means to accomplish this.

Your Committee is of the opinion that a well educated clergy, giving their whole time to their spiritual duties, is necessary in order to enable any scheme of Church work to be successful. The Theological College at Gisborne has rendered very valuable service in past days, where there were few or no educated Maoris. In past times it was necessary that the Maori students at Te Rau should be taught in Maori, and that the curriculum should be very limited. Up to the present time the teaching has been given in Maori, and the nature of the curriculum is indicated by the words of the Warden, Rev. Herbert Williams, whose assistance to the Committee has been most cordial and helpful: "The bulk of the work is directly upon the Bible and Prayer Book; lessons are given in Church History, and singing is taught on a modification of the Sol-fa system. Those students who are fit for it receive instruction in the Greek of the New Testament."

You Committee is of [the] opinion that the increasing number of educated Maori makes an educated Maori Ministry an urgent necessity of the Church; and that Te Aute and St. Stephen's Schools ought to be the feeders of Te Rau Theological School [sic]. The Students of these schools have been taught in English wholly, and it is not surprising that they dislike entering an institution which is not distinctly on a higher level than the schools where they have been educated. The General Synod has no power of control over Te Rau College, but if it is to be responsible for the Maori Mission, it must not be indifferent to the education of the future Maori Clergy.

- (e) Your Committee recommends that the General Synod should ask the New Zealand Mission Trust Board to alter the system of education at Te Rau, so that except in special cases (1) the teaching (apart from the Bible) should be given in English; (2) that the students should be encouraged to study for the Theological Grades; (3) that the curriculum should include such secular subjects as would tend to better fit the students for the work of the Ministry.
- (f) Your committee recommends that Maori Students should be allowed to compete for the 3rd Grade in the Theological Course without having first passed the University Matriculation Examination.

Your Committee is of [the] opinion that the Director ought to be appointed as soon as possible.

Your Committee is of [the] opinion that as there may be some delay in the selection and appointment of a suitable Director, some temporary organization should be appointed to take such preliminary steps as may seem desirable, subject of course to the approval of the Bishops.

- (g) It recommends that a Provisional Committee be appointed to act until the appointment of the Director is made; and that it be empowered to do what is necessary in the meantime for the re-organisation of Church Work among the Maoris.¹⁹¹

This is one of a number of important reports received by the 1901 General Synod. There was a report on the Supply and Education of Candidates for Holy Orders,¹⁹² and a report on the Extension of the Diaconate.¹⁹³ All these reports were 'sessional', that is, the committee met during the course of the synod. They did not visit different areas asking questions. They could not have consulted people who were not present at the synod, nor did they consult the Māori Church Boards. They were meeting in Napier during part of January and February of 1901.

The questions such as, 'Whose opinion is all this?' 'Who was consulted?' and in particular, 'Were any Māori consulted?' seem appropriate. Apart from the quoted information from Herbert Williams, who was not a member of the synod, the only people said to have been consulted were the Primate, the Bishops, and another member of the Williams family. The Bishop of Nelson (the Rt Revd Charles Mules), the Bishop of Melanesia (the Rt Revd Cecil Wilson), The Ven. Archdeacon Robert Dudley (Vicar of Holy Sepulchre Church, Khyber Pass, Archdeacon of Waitemata, member for the Diocese of Auckland), The Revd George MacMurray (Vicar of St Mary's, Parnell, Diocese of Auckland), and Mr. Thomas Tanner (from Hawkes Bay, Diocese of Waiapu) comprised the sessional committee. Tanner,¹⁹⁴ a Hawkes Bay landowner criticized by Māori, and a longstanding member of the Waiapu Synod, had been a member of the NZMTB in 1883. Dudley and MacMurray had connections to the Melanesian Mission but not the Māori Mission. There is no indication that Mules, Wilson,

¹⁹¹ *Proceedings of General Synod, 1901*, 111-14.

¹⁹² *Proceedings of General Synod, 1901*, 74-77.

¹⁹³ *Proceedings of General Synod, 1901*, 77.

¹⁹⁴ Stephen Donald, "Legacy of Conflict 1865-76: War in Waiapu and its Aftermath," in Bluck *The Gift Endures*, 48; Stephen Donald, "Back To The Future: W. Leonard Williams 1895-1909," in Bluck, *The Gift Endures*, 103; Jon S. Williams "Hard Times 1910-47: War, Depression and Earthquake," in Bluck *The Gift Endures*, 105; Angela Ballara, "Tomoana, Henare ?-1904," in *DNZB 1870-1900*, ed. Claudia Orange (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1993), 544-5; Mary Boyd, "Williams, James Nelson 1837-1915," in Orange, *DNZB 1870-1900*, 578.

Dudley or MacMurray had at any time ministered to Māori in Māori contexts within Te Hāhi Mihinare. There were no Māori members of the synod as such. The Bishop of Waiapu, the Rt Revd Leonard Williams would have been present. This is another example of non-Māori making decisions on matters that affect Māori. This is a recurring theme down the years to which we must return in the next chapter.

In September of the same year as the General Synod report quoted above the Waiapu Synod set up a committee, with Dean Hovell as chair, to look at the General Synod report and make recommendations to the synod. On 3 October that committee expressed to the synod their 'full accord' with the recommendations of the General Synod report, suggesting further that Māori congregations should have a collection at each Sunday service to contribute to the costs of ministry among their people.¹⁹⁵

The Primate's charge to the 1904 General Synod has a section on 'Religion Among the Maoris'. His comments include: "I may be permitted to ask whether the time has not now fully come for doing away with the duplex system which seems to establish a church within a church, a system which is alike enervating to the Maoris themselves and contrary to the principles of our religion ... the College for Training Native Clergy, at Gisborne, ... *are not under our authority.*"¹⁹⁶ and he concludes quoting Bishop Selwyn, "It will be found impossible to carry on a double government for the Colonial and Missionary Church, and the blending of the two ought to be begun immediately."¹⁹⁷

The same year, 1904, saw the NZMTB asked the Bishop of Waiapu and Samuel Williams to "inquire as to the feasibility of the removal of Te Rau to Napier or Auckland."¹⁹⁸ No reason for this is given in the minutes.

In 1907 Chatterton gave a report to the General Synod which speaks of the increasing number of students taking up the BTS Grade courses.

¹⁹⁵ *Waiapu Year Book*, 1901, 35-41.

¹⁹⁶ *Proceedings of General Synod*, 1904, 12-13. [Emphasis added.]

¹⁹⁷ H.W. Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn*, vol. 2, 126.

¹⁹⁸ NZMTB minutes, 26 February 1904.

Report for Te Rau College for 1904, 1905, and 1906.

Instruction is partly in Maori and partly in English though the majority of students in the last two years have taken up the Grade course of the Board of Theological Studies as an increasing number of students each year are able to take up an English course. They are, however, expected to be familiar with the Maori Bible and conduct Maori services every Sunday in the surrounding native settlements.

He went on to list how many students were at college each year and where they came from. He noted the BTS passes and how many had been ordained.

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1904 | 10 students 2 married 6 from Auckland, 4 from Waiapu. |
| 1905 | 18 students 2 deacons, 3 short term preparing for matriculation and medical matriculation.
1 from Nelson was too old to settle to study and withdrew.
3 from Auckland were ordained deacon.
6 sat BTS papers, 5 passed.
6 were from Auckland, 8 from Waiapu, 3 from Wellington, 1 Nelson. |
| 1906 | 14 students 4 married 1 deacon from Wellington, 2 deacons preparing for priesting.
4 were from Auckland, 8 from Waiapu, 2 from Wellington.
9 sat Grade exams I to IV.
2 from Waiapu were ordained in September, 1 went to Te Aute for further reading
altogether there were 25 in residence
3 deacons now priested, 5 now ordained deacon, 3 have withdrawn, 3 are at Te Aute, 11 are studying. ¹⁹⁹ |

Appendix 13 gives the course outline and syllabus for the BTS examinations for the years 1908 to 1910. Appendices 14 and 15 show the changes in BTS prescriptions with differing set books, subjects, and requirements for the years 1911 to 1914 and 1917 to 1919 respectively. The students' results in the BTS examinations can be seen in Appendix 7. In the 1907 examination records of the BTS, Pine Tamahori and others are noted as being students from Te Rau College. This is the first mention of Te Rau in the BTS records.

Despite the enthusiasm of Chatterton's report and the passing of a general motion of support for the College, General Synod in 1907 also received a report from the Sessional Committee of Home and Foreign Missions which stated

Your Committee has been informed that, at the recent meeting of the Examiners under the BTS, a resolution was passed suggesting that, as the examinations for the Grades are too difficult for most of the Maori students, arrangements should be made for separate examinations for them which may be as helpful for them in their work among their own people as the examination for the Grades are to their English brethren. Whether or

¹⁹⁹ *Proceedings of the General Synod, 1907, 82.*

not such examinations could be arranged in connection with the BTS seems to be worthy of serious consideration.²⁰⁰

In 1908 the NZMTB resolved that the Bishops of Waiapu and Wellington and Archdeacon H.W. Williams form a committee to authorise a syllabus of study and examination for Māori as a substitute for the Grades.²⁰¹

Some thought that an emphasis on the Māori Bible was no longer necessary and asked why students were not learning English. The representative of the British and Foreign Bible Society wrote to the Society that some students “do not care to learn English”.²⁰²

Chatterton reported to the General Synod in 1910 for the years 1907-8-9. After listing the numbers of students and the number who had passed the Grade exams he goes to say

A new syllabus of work has been suggested by the NZMTB, covering a course of four years, for those students who are unable to take the Grades of the BTS.

Seven students took the second year's subjects in this course in the Maori language, and the Right Rev. Bishop Williams kindly consented to examine these. One took the third year's subjects in English and was examined by the Ven. Archdeacon Williams.²⁰³

In 1913, in a further report to the General Synod on the intervening three years, Chatterton says that in 1910 “More than half of the men took a Maori course.” For 1911 he notes “6 passed the first grade, 2 others took an English course, the rest receiving their training chiefly in Maori.” For 1912 he states “2 passed the second grade, 5 more were trained in English and the rest in Maori.” At the end he writes, “The majority of the students now at the College would be able to read a service in English if required, though not more than one or two could be expected to give an address in English.”²⁰⁴

The result was that some students were taught in English for the BTS grades and some students continued to be taught in te reo for the college course.

²⁰⁰ *Proceedings of the General Synod*, 1907, 81.

²⁰¹ NZMTB minutes, 9 January 1908.

²⁰² “I saw 10 students for the Church of England Ministry at the Maori college under 2 professors, of whom Archdeacon Williams was 1 - now in their Maori pride they do not care to learn English.” Revd H.T. Robjohns, Napier, to BFBS, 14 February [1887] See Peter J. Lineham, “This Is My Weapon: Maori response to the Maori Bible,” in Glen, *Mission and Moko*, 175.

²⁰³ *Proceedings of General Synod*, 1910, 170-1.

²⁰⁴ *Proceedings of General Synod*, 1913, 105-6.

Who debated these questions? Undoubtedly some Pākehā did. There is little, but some, evidence that Māori did also. In the 12 November 1909 edition of *PBH* it was reported that ‘the Gisborne branch of the Young Māori Party held a debate at the college: “Should we encourage Maori or English literature as a means of educating Maori public opinion?” A big majority favored [sic] Maori literature as a means of educating Maori public opinion.’²⁰⁵

Rēweti Kōhere had written strongly in the December 1903 edition of *Te Pīpī* that the Māori language was being eroded. He pointed out that many half-Māori words were being invented thus debasing the language. He encouraged his readers to return to correct traditional terms and language, both of vocabulary and grammar. The mixing of Māori and English was, he said, creating a half-half language, what we might call a pidgin Māori. Secondly, he complains that schools like Te Aute teach English and become passable at that, but do not teach Māori, so students don’t know their own language. Thirdly, he makes clear his dislike of the use of ‘transliteration’ in the place of existing Māori words, and comments on this use of ‘improper’ Māori ~ he lists 45 examples of these. Here are the first eight.

<i>Half-Māori</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Māori</i>
rukautā	look out	tupato
pera	pillow	urunga
peeti	bed	moenga
rairi	ride	eke
toa	door	tatau
toma	tomb	urupa
pamere	family	whanau
okihana	auction	hokohoko

He concludes, ‘a apopo ka rite to taua reo ki a taua ano ka awhekaiahe awhekaiahe tangata awhekaiahe reo (in the future (literally: tomorrow) our language will be half-caste, half-caste people with a half-caste language)’.²⁰⁶ His

²⁰⁵ *PBH*, 12 November 1909, 4.

²⁰⁶ *Te Pīpī*, 70, December 1905, 3.

views on te reo can also be found in articles collected in *Nga Kōrero a Reweti Kohere Mā* edited by Wiremu Kaa and Ohorere Kaa.²⁰⁷

In his autobiography *Rēweti Kohere* comments on his time at Te Rau College,

When I left Canterbury College, before completing my B.A. degree, I was appointed assistant tutor at Te Rau Theological College. The principal was the Venerable Archdeacon H. W. Williams who was later appointed Bishop of Waiapu. I found that when I taught, the Archdeacon knocked off for the day, yet there was ample work for both of us. I also considered the curriculum adopted by the college to be antiquated. All the teaching was done in Maori and, consequently, the students did not read any books in English. The field of study was very limited.

When the Rev. F. W. Chatterton was appointed principal of the college, a new system was introduced. Students who had had a good education were prepared for the Grade Examinations, Mr. Chatterton taking the class while I took the older men. The college became very popular and many old Te Aute boys joined it. Several of the students became members of one of the town football clubs and some of them played for Poverty Bay in representative matches.

While teaching, I also studied for the Grade Examination and passed the Fourth Grade. This examination was by no means an easy one, so it is a credit to the college and to Mr. Chatterton that four others besides myself passed the examination. The others who passed were Pine Tamahori, Tamati te Kanapu, Wiremu Tureia Puha and Wiremu Panapa. Every holder of the Fourth Grade Certificate was entitled to wear the black and purple hood and to have the letters L.Th. affixed to his name. It is not every European Anglican clergyman in New Zealand who wears the purple hood.²⁰⁸

In 1906 a Royal Commission on the Te Aute and Wanganui School Trusts was established to consider whether the college should change from its academic curriculum to one of a technical or manual nature. *Rēweti Kohere* strongly supported the teaching of te reo Māori at these schools. He agreed that the curriculum should cater for students who would not go on to university study. They could, he submitted, make a positive contribution to the development of land and take a role in economic development. *Reweti* strongly disagreed with the suggestion made by George Hogben, inspector general of schools, that the matriculation examination should be completely withdrawn from Te Aute College.

As previously stated, Appendix 7 shows the students who passed the BTS Grades. Appendix 6 shows Te Rau students who did not proceed to ordination. Apart from those who were ordained, as listed in Appendix 1, students who attended Te Rau College but did not pass any examinations are not able to be identified.

²⁰⁷ Wiremu Kaa and Ohorere Kaa, *Nga Kōrero a Reweti Kohere Mā* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1994), 47-55.

²⁰⁸ *Reweti T.M. Kohere, "At Te Rau", chap. 6 in Autobiography of a Maori, 94.*
<http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-KohAuto-t1-body-d6.html>

The desire to share information about Church History led to a series of articles in *Te Pīpī* over a number of issues. Appendix 16 lists those copies of *Te Pīpī* which contained these articles and shows the great range of topics covered.

There were changes in New Zealand society in the first decades of the twentieth century, and changes in Māori society as well. The ‘Native Schools’ system was being extended and seeking to teach, not only reading, writing and arithmetic but health, hygiene and ‘manners’. Some saw this as an imposition. This was the period when Māori were forbidden to speak te reo in the school grounds.²⁰⁹ It was also the time of the “Young Māori Party” and leadership by Te Aute Schools Association. Newspapers and radio would have reached urban homes but it is unlikely that they were heard in rural areas which were not to be connected to the electricity grid until well after the Second World War.

We will examine in the next chapter not only the reasons given for closing Te Rau College but also matters of pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial encounter and its relation to the nature of belief and practice among Māori. We will also address some principles of indigenous theological education.

²⁰⁹ Judith A. Simon, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, eds. *A Civilising Mission?: Perceptions and Representations of the Native School System* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001); J.M. Barrington, and T.H. Beaglehole. *Maori Schools in a Changing Society: An Historical Review*. Wellington: NZ Council for Educational Research, 1974; Judith A. Simon, “Anthropology, ‘Native Schools’ and Maori: The Politics of ‘Cultural Adaptation’ Policies.” *Oceania* 69 (1998): 61-78; Ngareta Timutimu, Judith Simon, and Kay Morris Matthew, “Historical Research as a Bicultural Project: Seeking New Perspectives on the New Zealand Native Schools system,” *History of Education* 27, no. 2 (1998): 109-24.

Chapter 5 ~ The closing of Te Rau College

Lack of finance, the loss of candidates resulting from the First World War, a desire on behalf of the Pākehā Church to control all things Māori, an agenda of assimilation of Māori in a 'united nation and Church', and colonialist policies and attitudes, have all been suggested as reasons lying behind the closing of Te Rau College in 1920.

At the annual meeting of the NZMTB in August 1917, the Bishop of Waiapu, William Walmsley Sedgwick, gave notice that at the next meeting of the Board he would move, "That at the conclusion of the War, or as soon as it is practicable thereafter, the Te Rau College be closed, provided arrangements can be made for the training of Maori students in S. John's College, Tamaki."²¹⁰

In 1918 after the NZMTB annual meeting, a Committee consisting of the Bishop of Waiapu, Archdeacons MacMurray and Williams, and Mr E.H. Mann consulted with the Governors and Trustees of St. John's College about their resolution to close Te Rau College. They were given authority to take any necessary action before the next meeting of the Board.²¹¹

At a special meeting on 4 October 1918

The Bishop of Auckland reported that at a conference between the Trustees of St John's College and the Trustees of the NZ Mission Trust Board held at the Diocesan Office, Auckland on the 18 August 1918 the following arrangements had been made "that the NZ Mission Trust Board is prepared to pay for twenty (20) years the sum of £350 three hundred and fifty pounds stg per annum to the Trustees of St John's College on condition that the Mission Board have the right during that period to have at any one time ten Maori students in residence at the College who shall be admitted on the same terms as European students. That the New Zealand Mission Trust Board would also provide scholarships for Maori students in cases where they are ineligible for the existing scholarships. The Mission Trust Board is prepared further to offer during that period up to £300 as a salary for a Tutor who shall be especially charged with the supervision of the Maori students and undertake such other duties as may be assigned to him on arrangement with the Warden."²¹²

There was no mention of the fact that Bishop Selwyn had established St John's College for students of all races, and that Māori ought not to have been treated as a special case. The Trustees had no right to demand payment from the NZMTB, and the loss of this money inhibited the ability of the NZMTB to assist

²¹⁰ NZMTB minutes 14 August 1917.

²¹¹ NZMTB minutes 5 February 1918.

²¹² NZMTB minutes 4 October 1918.

Māori missionaries over the next many years. This issue became a matter of contention and was never satisfactorily resolved.²¹³

At the same October 1918 meeting the resignation of Chatterton as Principal was accepted with regret, and Alfred Nield was appointed to the position.²¹⁴

The 1918 meeting of the Waiapu Synod was told,

The Trustees of the New Zealand Mission Trust Board have decided to close Te Rau College, with the view of training our Maori Theological Students at St. John's Tamaki. They came to this unanimous decision only after long and careful consideration. What weighed with the Trustees in reaching this decision was the opinion that our Maoris, by sharing their student life with the English students, and by fellowship with them, would gain that wider outlook, bigger vision and broader education so necessary in their ministrations to the more progressive Maoris.²¹⁵

While it is clear what the opinion of the Trustees was, it is not clear whether any Māori opinion had been sought. The comment about “our Maoris” may have sounded as paternalistic to Māori then as it does today. The “more progressive” Māori, to whom ministrations were to be made, may be harder to identify. Exactly why this required a “wider outlook, bigger vision, and broader education” and was “so necessary” is equally an opinion that may have remained with the Pākehā part of the synod. It is hard to find any Māori statement in favour of the closure.

In Gisborne the local newspaper announced the imminent closure in December.²¹⁶

Jon Williams, in a chapter in *The Gift Endures: A New History of the Diocese of Waiapu*, follows Morrell's suggestion that Chatterton's resignation led to the closing of Te Rau College,²¹⁷ and also echoes Watson Rosevear's earlier comments in *Waiapu: The Story of a Diocese* giving greatest weight to financial reasons for the closure.²¹⁸ In Jon Williams's view the fact that most students in the decade leading up to 1920 were now single meant that there were no

²¹³ Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, 184.

²¹⁴ NZMTB minutes 4 October 1918.

²¹⁵ *Waiapu Year Book* 1918, p. 29.

²¹⁶ *PBH*, 17 December 1918, 3.

²¹⁷ Williams, “Hard Times”, 133; Morrell, *Anglican Church in New Zealand*, 169.

²¹⁸ Rosevear, *Waiapu*, 163.

students' wives to cook the meals and do the domestic work, and this contributed to the budget difficulties of the college.²¹⁹

Students meanwhile continued to study, pray, preach, lead services, get on with their lives, and sit for BTS and other examinations.

In August 1919 the NZMTB annual meeting made arrangements for the removal of the students to St John's, and the sale of the Te Rau property, with a preference for the chapel to be re-sited at the Waerenga-a-hika Boys' School.²²⁰

In January 1920 the Principal, Alfred Nield, asked the NZMTB for an increase in stipend, and was told that his services would not be required after the end of the year. Further interim arrangements were made for the actual move of the students.²²¹

Two announcements in the *Poverty Bay Herald* in November and December of 1920 tell the last parts of the story of Te Rau College. The first was a farewell function for the Te Rau students at which the people of the district expressed their sadness at the departure, and their appreciation of the care and support the students had given to individuals and nearby communities of many years.²²² The second was a notice of an auction and sale of property to be held at Te Rau College on 29 November, all items with "no reserve". That sounded very final.²²³

Rēweti Kōhere comments on the closure of Te Rau College in his *Autobiography of a Maori*,

²¹⁹ Williams, "Hard Times", 134.

²²⁰ NZMTB minutes 6 August 1919.

Removal of students to S. John's College Archdeacon MacMurray said there was a possibility that S. John's might be ready for occupation next year, and asked that instructions upon several matters should be given to the Executive. It was resolved that in the event of S. John's College being opened before the next meeting of the Board, the Executive be empowered to take any necessary action arising out of the removal of the students from Te Rau.

Te Rau property and Chapel Archdeacon Williams and Mr E W Mann who had been appointed a committee to advise as to the sale of Te Rau, reported that in their judgment it would be best to sell the Te Rau property in one lot.

It was resolved that in the event of the sale of Te Rau, the chapel be offered to the Waerengaahika Trustees on condition they pay the cost of removal to their property.

²²¹ NZMTB minutes, 23 January 1920.

²²² PBH, 17 November 1920, 5.

²²³ PBH, 25 November 1920, 10.

In the year 1922 [sic], by the decision of the bishops, Te Rau College was closed down and the students were transferred to St. John's College, Auckland. This action was very much criticised by the Maori people. At a Church meeting at Te Araroa, presided over by Bishop Sedgwick, Dr Wi Repa moved a resolution condemning the precipitate step taken by the bishops. He contended that the bishops could, at least, have taken Church leaders among the Maoris into their confidence. I supported Dr Wi Repa by pointing out that the greatest training given at Te Rau College was the practical work undertaken by the students at various settlements. "The students at the college enjoyed taking these services and the people appreciated the visits, but by transferring Maori students to St. John's, they would be cut off from their own people." Bishop Sedgwick took the resolution ill—he did not like it. In 1937, Maori students attending St. John's were transferred to Te Aute College where they are still being trained, thus justifying the attitude adopted by Dr Wi Repa and myself.²²⁴

The move was not generally good for Māori. Davidson notes that the move "recaptured Selwyn's vision of an institution preparing both Maori and Pakeha for ministry."²²⁵ He quotes H.A. Hawkins, Superintendent of the Māori Mission in Auckland, who had been on the staff at Te Rau College in the previous century, as claiming that now all the Māori students are able to take the BTS examinations "the need for a separate college has passed away".²²⁶ Davidson continues,

Maori training, however, suffered from the move. The Maori ethos, which was significant at Te Rau Kahikatea in the use of language, worship and pastoral outreach, was greatly diminished at St John's. While there was some contact with the Maori community at Orakei, Te Rau Kahikatea was largely assimilated within St John's. Prayer Book worship in English and a curriculum that took no account of Maori spirituality or needs came to dominate.²²⁷

If finance was only one of the reasons for the closing of Te Rau College is there any evidence to support the other suggestions made at the beginning of this chapter? 'The loss of candidates resulting from the First World War' is harder to evaluate, but despite the number of young men killed and wounded, and those dying from influenza especially in rural Māori communities,²²⁸ there is little evidence of a lack of young men who might have become theological students. The number of Māori who attended St John's College may have been small but decade by decade it does not seem unexpectedly low.²²⁹

²²⁴ Kohere, *Autobiography*, 97; Rosevear, *Waiapu*, 163; Williams, "Hard Times," 125.

²²⁵ Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, 164.

²²⁶ *Year Book of the Diocese of Auckland*, 1920-1, 47.

²²⁷ Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, 164, 182-5.

²²⁸ Geoffrey W. Rice, *Black November: The 1917 influenza pandemic in New Zealand* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2005).

²²⁹ See Appendix 8 for a list of those Māori at CSJE in the 1920s, and Appendix 9 for Māori ordained between 1921 and 1930 not at CSJE.

The next suggested reason for the closing of the college was ‘a desire on behalf of the Pākehā Church to control all things Māori, an agenda of assimilation of Māori in a “united nation and Church”’. There are some indications that that there is substance to this opinion. The desire for a unified Church goes back, at the very least, to Bishop Selwyn. Māori considered that only Pākehā were represented at the signing of the Constitution of the Anglican Church in 1857. It was not until the revision of the Constitution (te Pouhere) in 1992 that taha Māori (the Māori part of the Church) felt fully included, and their particular identity and existence acknowledged.

The preambles to the revised Constitution note that the Anglican Church in Aotearoa began with the arrival of Samuel Marsden and the first group of missionaries in 1814, that te Hāhi Mihingare (the Māori Church) continued from that time on, and that a stage of development was the appointment of a Bishop of Aotearoa as Suffragan Bishop of Waiapu. The commission charged with the process of revision was called in Māori ‘te rōpu whakatika i te Pouhere’ (the group to correct the Constitution) while the English title described the task as the ‘Revision of the Constitution’. In te Pouhere (the revised Constitution) the Māori and English texts are equal in authority.

The first three preambles talk about the common faith of Christians. The fourth speaks of “the Church, in striving to express the perfect oneness prayed for by Christ, and affirming the transforming power of the Gospel, (a) advances its mission, (b) safeguards and develops its doctrine and (c) orders its affairs, within the different cultures of the peoples it seeks to serve and bring into the fulness of Christ.”²³⁰ Preambles five to eight are as follows,

I TE MEA (5) tenei Hahi i tupu ake ki Niu Tirenī mai i tona timatanga i te wa i whakamohiotia ai a Hamuera Matenga e Ruatara ki tona iwi i Oihi, i te rohe o Pewhairangi i te tau 1814; ka timata te whakawhānui i nga mahi o te Rongopai i raro i te Hahi Mihinare, i roto hoki i te reo Māori, i waenga i te tikanga Māori te tuatahi i raro i te whakahaere a te Ropu Hahi Mihinare; a, tuarua i muri i te taenga mai o Hoori Akuhata Herewini i te tau 1842 hei Pihopa mo te Hahi Toopu o Ingarangi o Airana ka hora ki waenga i nga manuhiri Pakeha i roto i te reo Pakeha i waenga hoki i a ratou taonga tupu iho me a ratou tikanga a ka tapaina ko te Hahi Mihinare ka roake i runga i nga huarahi e rua i puawai ai te tikanga Māori me te tikanga Pakeha;

AND WHEREAS (5) this Church has developed in New Zealand from its beginnings when Ruatara introduced Samuel Marsden to his people at Oihi in the Bay of Islands in 1814, first in expanding missionary activity as Te Hahi Mihinare in the

²³⁰ *Te Pouhere o te Hahi Mihinare ki Aotearoa ki Niu Tirenī, ki nga Moutere o te Moana Nui a Kiwa ~ Constitution of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia*, i, i(a).

medium of the Māori language and in the context of tikanga Māori, initially under the guidance of the Church Missionary Society, and secondly after the arrival of George Augustus Selwyn in 1842 as a Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland spreading amongst the settlers in the medium of the English language and in the context of their heritage and customs and being known as the Church of England, so leading to a development along two pathways which found expression within tikanga Māori and tikanga Pākehā;

I TE MEA (6) na te Tiriti o Waitangi, i hainatia e nga Māori me te karauna i te tau 1840, i whakatakoto te kaupapa mo te kawanatanga me te noho o nga iwi o Aotearoa. Ko te wairua o taua Tiriti kia mahi tahi nga Māori me nga Pākehā, i raro i te kaupapa tikanga rua ki tenei whenua;

AND WHEREAS (6) by the Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840, the basis for future government and settlement of New Zealand was agreed, which Treaty implies partnership between Māori and settlers and bicultural development within one nation;

I TE MEA (7) i te tau 1840 ka whakaaetia kia watea te pupuri, te whakahaere a nga iwi o Niu Tirenī i to ratou whakapono i waenga i nga peka o te Hahi o taua wa i raro hoki i a ratou ake tikanga;

AND WHEREAS (7) in 1840 there was also recognised the freedom of the inhabitants of New Zealand to hold and practise their religious faith within the several branches of the Church then present, or according to their own customs;

I TE MEA (8) i te Hui Runanga i tu ki Akarana i te 13 o Hune i te tau 1857 i whakaae nga Pihopa me etahi o nga Minita, Reimana hoki, e noho nei hei mangai mo te tokomaha noa o nga mema o taua Whakakotahitanga o Nga Hahi, tae atu hoki ki nga karere o te Rongopai engari kaore nei he paku wahi ki te iwi Māori, tikanga Māori ranei, ki tetahi kaupapa whakahaere hei whakahuihui i a ratou i nga wa e hiahia ana hei wahanga mo taua Hahi Toopu kia tau ai nga take, te whakahaere i nga rawa, te whakahau i nga mema kia u ki nga tikanga o te Hahi, a, he whakato, he pupuri i te Whakapono Tika hei whakakororia i te Atua Kaha Rawa, a, hei whakatairanga, hei whakanui i te Hahi o te Karaiti;

AND WHEREAS (8) on the 13th day of June in the year of our Lord, 1857, at a General Conference held at Auckland, the Bishops and certain of the Clergy and Laity representing a numerous body of the members of the said United Church, and including Missionary clergy but without direct Māori participation or the inclusion of tikanga Māori, agreed to a Constitution for the purpose of associating together by voluntary compact as a branch of the said United Church for the ordering of the affairs, the management of the property, the promotion of the discipline of the members thereof and the inculcation and maintenance of sound Doctrine and true Religion to the Glory of Almighty God and the edification and increase of the Church of Christ[.]²³¹

The preambles, of which there are 18 altogether, go on to note the appointment of the first Bishop of Aotearoa in 1928, and the commitment of Te Runanganui o Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa and the General Synod, meeting in General Conference in November 1990, to agree to the new provisions and implement and entrench the principles of partnership between Māori and Pākehā and bicultural development which were described in the following terms,

These principles of partnership and bicultural development require the Church to:

- (a) organise its affairs within each of the tikanga (social organisations, language, laws, principles, and procedure) of each partner;

²³¹ *Te Pouhere The Constitution*, ii, ii(a).

- (b) be diligent in prescribing and in keeping open all avenues leading to the common ground;
- (c) maintain the right of every person to choose any particular cultural expression of the faith[.]²³²

These attitudes were not present in the discussions or final documents relating to the 1857 Constitution. Whether this was a matter of ignorance or a deliberate intention to belittle taha Māori is difficult to ascertain. All the writings of the missionaries speak as though their intention is for 'the good of Māori'. But what informed that opinion remains to be considered.

What had not been the practice at Te Rau College, and was still not possible in 1920, was an exploration of indigenous theology. As was shown in chapter one, what Sugirtharajah calls "White men bearing gifts: diffusion of the Bible and scriptural imperialism",²³³ seems to underlie the attitudes and presuppositions of the missionaries and the clergy who came to minister to the settlers in a number contexts and countries. Did it also happen here? ~ is a question to be asked in the Aotearoa context.

In other contexts Sugirtharajah claims missionaries sought to inculcate European 'manners'. In the accounts of the first years of the Mission in the Bay of Islands, there are numerous instances of the wish to see Māori clothed, especially women, and a full 87 years after the arrival of the missionaries at Oihi, the November 1901 edition of *Te Pīpī* had an article on good manners.²³⁴

What accounts were sent back to England of the interaction of missionary and Māori? The journals of the missionaries abound with criticism of hahunga (exhumation and anointing of the bones of the dead), tā moko (tattooing), polygamy, slavery and cannibalism.²³⁵

In a parallel to the story in Luke chapter 8 verses 26 to 39, new Christians are said to be now 'clothed and in their right mind'.²³⁶ The first missionaries

²³² *Te Pouhere The Constitution*, ii(a).

²³³ R.S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and the Third world: Precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial encounters* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), 45.

²³⁴ *Te Pīpī*, 45, November 1901, 5

²³⁵ Rogers, *Early Journals Henry Williams*, 118, 244, 254, 344; Porter, *The Turanga Journals*, 432, 499; Sugirtharajah, *Bible & third world*, 63. "Local customs were denigrated as barbaric compared with the civilized progress of biblical religion. The missionary literature never failed to testify to the significant cultural advancement brought about by the biblical message," 63.

²³⁶ Sugirtharajah, *Bible and the Third world*, 64.

discerned what they saw as signs of ‘primitiveness’ such as carvings deemed too explicit and dances thought demonic or too sexually explicit. The traditions of the tribes were to be replaced by the Bible.²³⁷

In another context, in Southern Africa, Bishop John William Colenso faced the question of polygamy. He decided that, despite a differing order and practice by the neighbouring American missionaries, the Anglican Church should accept polygamists for baptism with the condition that they would not marry further wives, and made a general rule for the baptised that the unmarried would marry only one spouse. This was a contentious issue, perhaps more so than John Colenso’s biblical writings, and one of the matters discussed at the first Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops in 1867. It continued to be a matter of debate at subsequent Lambeth Conferences into the twenty-first century.

John Colenso’s ‘heresy’ was not only that he questioned a literal interpretation of the books of the Pentateuch, and the writings of St Paul, but that he asked questions from a Zulu point of view and not a missionary one.²³⁸ John Colenso seems to be rather the exception to the rule of missionary activity in that he not only listened to the indigenous people but was prepared to change his own views on the basis of their common search for God’s truths. This led to his being declared a heretic, a stigma that has been lifted from his memory only in 2003 when the Diocese of Natal declared the ‘exculpation’ of John Colenso, and the Anglican Church of Southern Africa sought ways to echo that.²³⁹

Questions of culture and gospel lie at the heart of the missionary endeavour. To translate the Bible, missionaries needed to learn the local language and find terminology which conveyed the meaning as understood by the missionary.

²³⁷ “Textualization of the Word of God, privileging it over the oral, is another characteristic of colonial hermeneutics,” 68. Sugirtharajah, *Bible and the Third world*, 68.

²³⁸ Jonathan A. Draper, ed., *The Eye of the Storm: Bishop John William Colenso and the Crisis of Biblical Inspiration*, (London: T&T Clark, 2003); Livingstone Ngewu, “John William Colenso and the Enigma of Polygamy,” in *The Eye of the Storm*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper, 293-305; Sugirtharajah, *Bible and the Third world*, chap. 4.

²³⁹ Correspondence with Jonathan Draper, November 2012.

Finding an appropriate word to translate 'God' was and is one of the first and most difficult of choices.²⁴⁰ In this context Tshehla makes the statement,

Basically, I affirm Y.C. Whang's cautionary statement²⁴¹ that a perfectly competent translator' is an illusion (when presupposed) and a delusion (when self is believed to be one). I do so without implying that there can be no competent translators, only that such competence has to be qualified since it could never be perfect competence.²⁴²

The question of how to find an appropriate word to translate 'G-o-d' is a crucial one, as Colenso found. Missionaries in Aotearoa chose the Māori word 'Atua' with a capital A, alongside 'ngā atua', who might be deities or spiritual beings of various kinds. Some have thought it too restrictive a concept, or not 'big enough' to encompass the divine reality.

Williams's *Dictionary of the Maori Language* defines 'atua' under seven headings,

- Atua, 1.** n. God, demon, supernatural being, ghost.
- 2.** Object of superstitious regard.
- 3.** Anything malign, disagreeable.
- 4.** a. Strange, extraordinary.
- 5.** Stingy, unfriendly, niggardly.
- 6.** n. The moon on the fifteenth day.
- 7.** Menses.²⁴³

There is a great variety of possible meanings here.

He Pātaka Kupu also defines 'atua' under a number of headings,

- Atua¹ 1.** Te pō tekau mā whā o te marama.
- 2.** Te pō tekau mā rima o te marama.
- 3.** Te pō tekau mā toru o te marama.
- Atua²** Te ariki wairua matua o te Hāhi Karaitiana, o ngā iwi o Ihairaira, o Ihirama hoki.
- atua 1.** He mana wairua whāioio tuauriuri nō te wāhi ngaro, kei reira te ora, kei reira te mate.
- 2.** Te wairua o te tangata kua mate, ka kitea, ka rangona rānei e te tangata ora.
- 3.** He taniwha weriweri, he taniwha whakamataku, he taniwha whakatūpato.
- 4.** He mea e wehingia ana, nō te ao wairua tōna kaha.
- 5.** He mea kaore pai ki te tangata, he hanga houhou.
- 6.** E rerekē ana i tērā e mōhiotia nuitia ana, e kitea nuitia ana, e whakaaetia

²⁴⁰ Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1989), 1-8, 88-129; Iain S. MacLean, "'The Twin Pillars of Heathenism': American Missionaries, Bishop Colenso and Zulu Converts in Conflict - Polygamy and Ukulobola in Nineteenth-Century Natal and Zululand, South Africa," in *The Eye of the Storm*, 270, 265-292; Maarman Sam Tshehla, "Colenso, John 1.1-18 and the politics of insider- and outsider-translating," in *The Eye of the Storm*, 35, 29-41.

²⁴¹ Y.C. Whang in S.E. Porter and R.S. Hess, eds., *Translating the Bible: Problems and Prospects*, JSNTSup, 173, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 24.

²⁴² Tshehla, "Colenso, John 1.1-18", 33.

²⁴³ Herbert W. Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language* 7th ed. (Wellington: GP Books, 1971), 20.

nuitia ana.

7. Kaore e tino pīrangi whakapau, hoatu rānei i tētahi mea ki tētahi atu.²⁴⁴

Of these, three refer to particular days of the lunar month, then one to the supreme spiritual Parent/Lord of the Christian Church, and of the Jewish and other peoples, and then a number which refer to a variety of extraordinary spiritual manifestations.

John Moorfield, in his dictionary *Te Aka*, writes,

atua 1 *n.* ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being - although often translated 'god' and used for the Christian God, this is a misconception of the real meaning. Many Māori trace their ancestry from *atua* in their *whakapapa* and they are regarded as ancestors with influence over particular domains. These *atua* also were a way of rationalising and perceiving the world.

2 *n* God

Atua *p.* moon on the thirteenth night (sometimes fifteenth night) of the lunar month.²⁴⁵

In a parallel situation Bishop Casper Uka of Tikopia faced the same issue in the 1970s when preparing a translation of the Anglican Church of Melanesia eucharistic liturgy into Tikopian. Avoiding the words 'Atua' and 'Tipua/Tupua' he chose, in each place where 'G-o-d' appeared, to place the construct 'Tupuora', literally speaking to the 'One who causes to increase/creates life/wholeness/salvation', thus avoiding any constraints that the word 'atua' might have brought.²⁴⁶

Much has been written about the ability of the first missionaries to speak and write *te reo*. Some writers have been critical of them all, others of some in particular.²⁴⁷ This debate touches not only *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* but also *Te Paipera*

²⁴⁴ Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, ed., *He Pātaka Kupu: te kai a te rangatira* (North Shore: He Pukapuka nā Raupō, 2008), 42.

²⁴⁵ John C. Moorfield, *Te Aka: Te Whanake Māori--English English-Māori Dictionary and Index* (Auckland: Pearson, 2011), 13.

²⁴⁶ [Anglican Church of Melanesia.] *Te Rotu Te Kau Kava Tapu*, 2 ed. (Temotu Province, Solomon Islands: Diocese of Temotu, 1994), 1. [The Liturgy in the Language of Tikopia]

²⁴⁷ William Colenso, *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of The Treaty of Waitangi*, ... (Wellington: George Didsbury, Government Printer, 1890); Judith Binney, "Christianity and the Maoris to 1840: A Comment," *NZJH* 3, 2 (1969): 143-65; R.M. Ross "Te Tiriti o Waitangi: texts and translations," *NZJH* 6 (1972): 129-67; D.F. McKenzie, *Oral culture, literacy and print in early New Zealand: the Treaty of Waitangi*, (Wellington: Victoria University Press with ALT, 1985); Paul Moon, "Maori Transition to a Literate Society in the Nineteenth Century," *He Pārekereke* no. 6:6 (1997):1-37; Paul Moon and Sabine Fenton, Sabine, "Bound into a fateful union: Henry Williams' translation of the Treaty Of Waitangi into Maori in February 1840," *JPS* 111:1 (2002): 51-64; Samuel D. Carpenter, "A Question of Mana: The relationship between Henry Williams and Hone Heke," (PGDip research essay, Massey University, 2004); Michael Belgrave, *Historical Frictions: Maori Claims and Reinvented Histories* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2005), 49-51; Rachael Bell, "'Texts and Translations': Ruth Ross and the Treaty of Waitangi," *NZJH* 43:1

Tapu. However, there are also accounts of missionaries carefully listening and questioning people to get the correct word, especially for translating the scriptures. William Williams was the chair of the CMS translation committee and the author or editor of the first Dictionary of the Māori Language.

The point of view has been expressed by some Māori recently that their forebears were misled by missionaries. Those who do so seem to give diminished credit to the intelligence of their own ancestors.²⁴⁸ It seems more sensible to respect the intelligence and ability of those who first chose to become members of the Christian Church as we respect them in other aspects of their lives.

The missionaries themselves reflected on their own abilities. Henry Williams writing on 5 April, 1827 says,

The study of language is taken in hand in good earnest by every member of the Mission. Many beauties are daily presenting themselves to our view and would be very interesting to you. I shall never make an orator among the natives. It is with much difficulty I speak to them in my own way, particularly to a number. Words which I know will fly away when I particularly want them. William will be a proficient. He appears to have no impediment. Edward speaks, and so will all the children.²⁴⁹

Writing to Edward Marsh on 10 August the same year he makes an interesting comment about ‘ship Māori’ or ‘pijin Māori’,

It has been said by some that they could learn the New Zealand language in a fortnight, some have allowed a month, but my experience in respect to myself has shewn that it is not quite so easy. When we landed the natives who addressed us spoke a mixed jargon [of English] which they had acquired by their intercourse with the shipping, but this had first to be learned and then unlearned. And a proclamation was issued that none should speak in this confused manner to us. By degrees we

(2009): 39-58; Carpenter, “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); Sarah Dingle, “Gospel Power for Civilization: The CMS Missionary Perspective on Maori Culture 1830-1860,” (PhD thesis, School of History and Politics, Discipline of History, University of Adelaide, 2009); Keith Newman, *Bible & Treaty: Missionaries among the Māori - A new perspective* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2010), 140-62; Allan Davidson, “‘We Cannot Change the Past – We Can Only Try to Understand It.’ Preparing for 2014: Re-Evaluating Missionary Beginnings in Aotearoa New Zealand” (*Graduation address EIDTS* (2011), [http://www.eidits.ac.nz/\[102\]](http://www.eidits.ac.nz/[102])); Poia Rewi, “‘An Active and Functional Language’: Te Reo in the Early Contact Period,” in *Huiā Histories of Māori: Ngā Tāhuhu Kōrero*, ed. Danny Keenan (Wellington: Huiā Publishers, 2012).

²⁴⁸ Kuni E.H. Jenkins, “Te Ihi, Te Mana, Te Wehi O Te Ao Tuhi: Maori Print Literacy from 1814-1855: Literacy, Power and Colonisation” (MEd thesis in Education, University of Auckland, 1991); Jones and Jenkins, *Words between Us - He Kōrero*; Judith Ward, “Hostage to one tribe”: *Ngāti Rehia, the CMS, and the Maori response to christianity in the Bay of Islands in the 1830s* (Research exercise, Massey, Albany, 2011); Ward, “Fact or fiction?: William Colenso’s authentic & genuine history of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi” (MA thesis, Massey University, 2011).

²⁴⁹ Fitzgerald, *Te Wiremu*, 90.

suppressed it, and they have long spoken the pure tongue. Yet even now it is necessary to be very cheerful that we do not confound their words to accommodate us. The language only now is opening to our view, no-one until very lately having attempted to speak grammatically.²⁵⁰

Four years later, writing to the CMS on 4 September 1831, Henry makes a further comment,

The study of the language was considered the main object, until every one could declare to those around in his own tongue the glad tidings of the gospel of peace. The acquisition of the language you may be aware was no trifle for me, considering the corrupted state in which we found it; indeed, what was spoken to us was no language at all, and consequently could never be acquired or reduced to rule. It was something similar to that stuff our Englishman is apt to use to a foreigner, - neither Dutch nor Greek.²⁵¹

Facility in te reo was an important skill for a missionary. Robert Maunsell became, perhaps, the most learned of the first generation of missionaries.²⁵²

Speaking of the years before 1840 Helen Garrett writes,

... Maunsell was making great progress in mastering the Maori language. He had devised an interesting method of learning the idiom. He would first slip gently into a pa or kainga and just sit there — or lie stretched full length on the ground — listening to the talk; then he would challenge the Maoris to a game. They were to point out mistakes in his Maori. Anyone who proved him wrong was rewarded with a fig of tobacco. In pursuit of this game, he would engage them in lengthy discussion, play draughts with them, play with their pet pigs, argue and joke with them. Anyone who could produce six new words he hadn't heard, also won tobacco.²⁵³

Maunsell translated from Hebrew to Māori preferring the Waikato dialect because 'it was uncontaminated by the foreign influences that had crept into Ngapuhi'.²⁵⁴ He prepared a Grammar which was published in 1842.

Unfortunately, in the following year, a fire destroyed Maunsell's house, his manuscripts of a dictionary, and his translation of the Old Testament. He had to begin the translation again and it was completed in 1857. He thought there was a need for re-translation every ten or fifteen years²⁵⁵ as the language was constantly changing, and he continued to seek new and more accurate words for this use to the end of his life.

²⁵⁰ Henry Williams, Journal, 10 August 1827, qMS-2225, ATL, quoted in Fitzgerald, *Te Wiremu*, 92.

²⁵¹ Fitzgerald, *Te Wiremu*, 152-3.

²⁵² Judith Morrell Nathan, "Maunsell, Robert 1810-1894," in *DNZ 1769-1869*, ed. W.H. Oliver (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990), 285-6.

²⁵³ Helen Garrett, *Te Manihera: the Life and Times of the Pioneer Missionary Robert Maunsell* (Auckland: Reed, 1991), 67-8.

²⁵⁴ Garrett, *Te Manihera*, 101.

²⁵⁵ Garrett, *Te Manihera*, 273-4.

We have discussed the difficulty of translating the word 'God'. A second difficult question is 'Who is Christ?' or 'What does the message about Christ answer in the cultural world of the recipients?' This is a question which is not always allowed to be asked or even formulated. For some indigenous peoples it is only recently that they have begun to ask such questions. Sugirtharajah writes of 'vernacular hermeneutics' and suggests that only recently have Third World biblical scholars begun to indigenize biblical interpretation.²⁵⁶ Others who have been working on these issues include John Pobee, Vincent Donovan, Kosuke Koyama, C.S. Song, and Robert Schreiter.²⁵⁷

But for Māori, post-colonial questions had to wait for a future generation. Only at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first are Māori gaining the highest academic theological qualifications. See Appendix 18 for a list of the most recent of these. Hone Kaa was one who, through his contact with Asian Christians and the writings especially of C.S. Song, explored the idea that every culture experiences its equivalent to the Old Testament in its own history. Kaa talked of Te Hekenga Mai (the Great Fleet and the Journey to Aotearoa) being, for Māori, parallel to Israel's Journey to the Promised Land.

The gospel calls for every aspect of a culture to be transformed by Christ. It would no longer be acceptable to use different language in the *whare tīpuna* (ancestral meeting house) from that used in the church building. There was a need to integrate the *marae* and *whare karakia* aspects of Māori Church life. The integrity of both would be enhanced. As Sugirtharajah put it "The missionaries' hope that the Christian Bible would eventually replace other peoples' sacred stories and writings has not happened."²⁵⁸

The CMS missionaries who came to Aotearoa are perceived as having negative attitudes to Māori culture. The accusation has been made that missionaries

²⁵⁶ "Central to the task is recovery, reoccupation and reinscription of one's culture which has been degraded and effaced from the colonial narrative and from mainstream biblical scholarship...." Sugirtharajah, *Bible and the Third World*, 177.

²⁵⁷ Donovan, *Christianity Rediscovered*; John Pobee, *Towards an African Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1979); Kosuke Koyama, *Three Mile an Hour God* (London: SCM Press, 1979); C.S. Song, *The Compassionate God: An Exercise in the Theology of Transposition* (London: SCM Press, 1982); Song, *Theology from the Womb of Asia* (1988); Robert Schreiter, ed. *Faces of Jesus in Africa* (London: SCM Press, 1992); R.S. Sugirtharajah and Cecil Hargreaves, eds, *Readings in Indian Theology* (TEF29, London: SPCK, 1993).

²⁵⁸ Sugirtharajah, *Bible and the Third World*, 282.

required genitalia to be removed from carvings and it is certainly true that William Williams objected to the first set of carvings for the whare karakia at Manutuke as being inappropriate for Christians.²⁵⁹

The giving or withholding of permission to explore theological ideas by indigenous Christians was approached rather differently by Bishop John Coleridge Patteson of Melanesia who thought that indigenous Christians need only reject those parts of their pre-Christian practices that could not be reconciled with their new faith.²⁶⁰ Charles Fox quotes Patteson as saying, “When the people become Christians they will decide for themselves which customs are evil and must be given up.”²⁶¹ He is also quoted as saying “The aim should be to make not Englishmen but Christians”.²⁶² Whiteman makes an important comment on outcomes of missionaries’ activity.

Missionaries as agents of change can advocate the acceptance of certain beliefs and practices in their host society, but in the final analysis, it is the indigenes who made the choice to innovate through acceptance, modification or rejection of the missionaries’ proposals.²⁶³

This principle of choice was probably denied nineteenth century students of Te Rau College. There seems to be no evidence that either the missionaries or the staff of Te Rau College encouraged discussion of these principles.

In chapter two the “three self” concept was raised. All the criticisms made by Roland Allen as a result of his experience in China apply here as well. The Pākehā church was either not willing to give Māori freedom and resources to grow, or was not able to conceive of that degree of independent development.

²⁵⁹ Richard Sundt, *Whare Karakia: Māori Church Building, Decoration & Ritual in Aotearoa New Zealand 1834-1863* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2010), 136, 138, 140-2; Deidre Brown *Māori Architecture: from fale to wharenui and beyond* (Auckland: Raupo Books, Penguin Group, 2009), 47-8.

²⁶⁰ Darrell Whiteman, *Melanesians and Missionaries: An Ethnohistorical Study of Social and Religious Change in the Southwest Pacific* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1983), 120-8, 427; David Hilliard, *God’s Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission 1849-1942* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1978), 54-9; David Hilliard, “The God of the Melanesian Mission,” in *Vision and Reality in Pacific Religion: Essays in Honour of Niel Gunson*, eds. Phyllis Herda, Michael Reilly, and David Hilliard (Canberra: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury, NZ, and Pandanus Books Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, ANU, 2005), 195-215; Charles Fox, *Lord of the Southern Isles: The Story of the Melanesian Mission* (London: Mowbrays, 1958), 18-19; Michael Scott, *The Severed Snake: Matrilineages, Making Place, and a Melanesian Christianity in Southeast Solomon Islands* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2007), 270-6.

²⁶¹ Fox, *Story of the Solomons*, 31.

²⁶² Lange, *Islands Ministers*, 271.

²⁶³ Whiteman, *Melanesians and Missionaries*, 442.

There are parallels in the stories of Methodist and Presbyterian Māori theological education. The movement from Māori institutions to 'united' denominational institutions and back again show a similar pattern to that of the Anglicans. Methodists had a Wesleyan Native Institution from 1844, the Three Kings Native Institute from 1876, and various Pākehā colleges including Trinity College in Auckland. Susan Thompson tells the story clearly in her *Knowledge & Vital Piety: Education for Methodist Ministry in New Zealand from the 1840s*.²⁶⁴ This includes references to the Curriculum for Māori Probationers in 1906²⁶⁵ and lists Māori Ministry Trainees from the 1850s to 1926.²⁶⁶ For the Presbyterians there is a later start and only one Māori college. Te Wananga-ā-Rangi Māori Theological College was established in 1953²⁶⁷ and was relocated to Dunedin from Whakatane and was recognised as incorporated into the Theological Hall at the beginning of the academic year of 1973.²⁶⁸

This leads us to the question of educational method. Much has recently been written which claims that nineteenth and early twentieth century educational theory and practice was based on a Eurocentrist model. Te Kapunga Matemoana (Koro) Dewes said in 1968 that,

The early Missionaries irrespective of denomination set out to replace the indigenous moral spiritual values by the dogma, creed and moral philosophy of Christianity. And the means to achieve these ends was familiarity with Maori language and its use as the medium of instruction. It might well be that this policy facilitated the adjustment of early Maoris to Christianity and commerce.²⁶⁹

He goes on to criticise the assimilationist policies of governments from the 1840s to educate only in English. Graeme Hingangaroa Smith²⁷⁰ and Linda

²⁶⁴ Susan J. Thompson, *Knowledge & Vital Piety: Education for Methodist Ministry in New Zealand from the 1840s* (Auckland: Wesley Historical Society, 2012), 35-41, 161-5.

²⁶⁵ Thompson, *Knowledge & Vital Piety*, 39.

²⁶⁶ Thompson, *Knowledge & Vital Piety*, 217-8.

²⁶⁷ Presbyterian Church of NZ, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1953, 85.

²⁶⁸ J.G. Laughton, *From Forest Trail to City Street: the story of the Presbyterian Church among the Maori People* (Dunedin: Maori Synod of the Presbyterian Church, 1961), 79-82.

²⁶⁹ Koro M. Dewes, "The place of Maori language in education of Maoris," *Te Kaunihera Maori* (1968), 53.

²⁷⁰ Graham Hingangaroa Smith, *The Development of Kaupapa Maori: Theory and Praxis* (Auckland: International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education, University of Auckland, 1997); G. Smith, "Research Issues Related to Maori Education," in *The Issue of Research and Maori, Monograph 9. Auckland: Te Whare Wananga O Tamaki Makaurau*, 1992, ed. Te Tari Rangahau o te Maturanga Maori: Research Unit for Maori Education University of Auckland (Tamaki Makaurau: Te Whare Wananga o Tamaki Makaurau, 1992), 19-27.

Tuhiwai Smith²⁷¹ have, among others, written extensively on Māori education and educational philosophy, have pleaded for a Māori pedagogy, and constantly demanded that educationalists answer the question ‘Who benefits?’ All those Māori and most of the other educationalists who have written on the topic agree that Māori values and a Māori environment facilitate learning.²⁷² The categories ‘Kaupapa Māori’, ‘Māori-centred research’, and ‘mātauranga Māori’ are also applied to Māori education.²⁷³

Whiteman, in the Melanesian context, asks a question which should be asked also in Aotearoa, as to whether or not an autonomous Church is an indigenous church. Or, to rephrase that, ‘what was the nature of the Church which was inherited from the missionaries?’²⁷⁴ The passing of Te Pouhere (The Constitution) of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia gave to Tikanga Māori a degree of autonomy. How free is Tikanga Māori to develop theological education in a form that suits its context and fulfills its needs?

²⁷¹ Linda Tuhiwai Te Rina Mead (see also as Linda Tuhiwai Smith), “Ngā Aho O Te Kāhahu Mātauranga: The Multiple Layers of Struggle by Māori in Education” (unpublished PhD Thesis in Education, University of Auckland, Auckland, 1996), 185-6; Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 17.

²⁷² Simon and Smith, *A Civilising Mission*; Toby Curtis, “A Maori Viewpoint Related to Research in Maori Education,” in *The Issue of Research and Maori Monograph 9*, ed. Te Tari Rangahau o te Mātauranga Māori: Research Unit for Maori Education University of Auckland (Tamaki Makaurau: Te Whare Wananga o Tamaki Makaurau, 1992), 51-70; Arohia Durie “Me Tipu Ake Te Pono: Māori Research, Ethicality And Development” (Paper read at Te Oru Rangahau, at Palmerston North, 1998); M. Hohepa, K. Jenkins and S. McNaughton, “Maori Pedagogies and the Role of the Individual” *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* 31: 1 (1996): 29-40; M.D. Jackson, “Literacy, Communications and Social Change: A Study of the Meaning and Effect of Literacy in Early Nineteenth Maori Society,” in *Conflict and Compromise: Essays on the Maori since Colonisation*, ed. I.H. Kawharu (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1975), 27-54; P. McLaren, “Liberatory Politics and Higher Education: A Freirean Perspective,” in *Counternarratives: Cultural Studies and Critical Pedagogies in Postmodern Space*, ed. H. Giroux, C. Lankshear, P. McLaren, and M. Peters (NY: Routledge, 1996), 117-48; W. Parsonage, “The Education of Maoris in New Zealand” *JPS* 65: 1 (1956): 5-11; E. Rata, “Conflict and contradiction in Maori-Pakeha relations: A critique of neotribal ideology in Maori education” *UTS Review* 7: 1 (2001): 135-52; Te Maire Tau “Mātauranga Māori as an Epistemology,” in *Histories, Power and Loss: Uses of the Past - a New Zealand Commentary*, ed. Andrew Sharp and Paul McHugh (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), 61-73.

²⁷³ Meihana Kākatārau Durie, *He Kawa Oranga: Māori Achievement in the 21st Century* (unpublished PhD thesis, Māori Studies, Massey, Palmerston North, 2011), 69; Whatarangi Winiata, “Each passing generation of Maori make their own contribution to Mātauranga Māori” (Address given at Te Herenga Waka Marae, Victoria University, Wellington, 2001), 75.

²⁷⁴ Whiteman, *Melanesians and Missionaries*, 324.

The establishment of Te Whare Wānanga o te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa and its constituent campuses alongside Te Whare Wānanga o Te Rau Kahikatea²⁷⁵ at the College of Saint John the Evangelist in Auckland, looked at first sight to have created all the necessary opportunities. However, the constraints on the amount of money available, and relationships between the various constituent parts of Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa have, after the first decade of existence, revealed some difficulties.

Te Whare Wānanga is an accredited tertiary education provider with the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA). Since 1996 it has delivered the Poumanawa Mātauranga Aotearoa (PMAo), an undergraduate degree programme, at four campus sites, known as taapapa, and located within the Hui Amorangi (Regional Dioceses) of Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa.

These programmes were added to in 2007 with the introduction of Te Tāhuhu Mātauranga Aotearoa (TMAo), which is a postgraduate degree programme aimed primarily, but not exclusively, at those coming through its undergraduate programmes.²⁷⁶

Has the cycle of events continued to repeat itself? The cycle beginning with Bishop Selwyn's central college in the 1840s; then the withdrawal of the CMS from that college in 1847 resulting in the establishment of Te Rau College in Gisborne in 1883; followed later by the closure of the Te Rau in 1921 and another attempt at centralising theological education in Auckland; the establishment of te Whare Wānanga o te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa in the 1990s, followed by the three Tikanga colleges at Meadowbank also in the 1990s; and finally, a move to assimilate all the Tikanga colleges into one college in 2012, unfortunately coinciding with the fragmentation of the Tāpapa of Te Whare Wānanga o te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa.

²⁷⁵ Jenny Plane Te Paa, "Ka Whakatungia Ano a Te Rau Kahikatea"; Te Paa, "Leadership Formation for a New World: An Emergent Indigenous Anglican Theological College," in *Beyond Colonial Anglicanism: The Anglican Communion in the Twenty-First Century*, eds I.T. Douglas, and K. Pui-Lan (NY: Church Publications Incorporated, 2001); Te Paa, "Anglican Identity and Theological Formation in Aotearoa New Zealand," *Journal of Anglican Studies* 6: 1 (2008): 49-58; Te Paa, "How Diverse Is Contemporary Theological Education? Identity Politics and Theological Education," *Anglican Theological Review* 90: 2 (2008): 223-38; Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*; Healy "The theology colleges and the Maori"; John Wright, "The Treaty of Waitangi: Implications for Christian Theological Education in Aotearoa New Zealand," in *International Handbook of the Religious Moral and Spiritual Dimensions of Education: Part Two*, eds Marian de Souza, Gloria Durka, Kathleen Engebretson, Robert Jackson, and Andrew McGrady (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer, 2006).

²⁷⁶ Te Whare Wānanga o te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa, <http://mihingare.com> accessed 22 October 2012.

Ka whāia te Atuatanga. Māori have long sought theological education in a Māori context. Te Rau College achieved that in its time. Its teaching and text books were appropriate to a rural Māori Church but other pressures came to bear and sadly, perhaps precipitately, it was shut down. With it were closed some of the hopes and aspirations of Māori leaders and clergy. No replacement text books have yet been written.

Chapter 6 ~ Conclusions

This thesis set out to examine the text books in te reo Māori used at Te Rau College, Gisborne, in the period from 1883 to 1921. It did this in the context of theological education for Māori, Whāia te Atuatanga, over the years from the arrival of the missionaries to the closure of the college. The thesis sought to analyse what those text books indicated about Māori theological education, and how suitable they would have been as preparation for the pastoral circumstances confronting the students, once they were ordained and had taken up parish appointments. The pressures to change the language of instruction from te reo to English were considered, as were the reasons for the closure of the College.

In **Chapter Two** we saw that reciprocal relationships characterised early contact between Māori and Pākehā. Manaaki and whakautu were Māori categories which underlay and determined Māori responses.

Māori responded to the arrival of the missionaries initially, by incorporating them into their own tikanga relationships. Missionaries became clients of powerful patrons. We looked at the dynamics at play during the occasion of the sermon by Samuel Marsden at Oihi in December 1814 and noted Kuni Jenkins's hypothesis of his speech within the pōwhiri and whakaeke of normal Māori hospitality. We noted that Ruatara had previous experience of Christian worship and went to some trouble to set up something like a preaching desk for Marsden to speak from with rows of seating for a 'congregation'. The account that Marsden recorded in his papers is in accord with the oral tradition in the north, with Ruatara's response to his people's question "What is he talking about?" being "You don't understand now, but you will in the future." Some have taken the view that he gave a short summary of Marsden's sermon to the assembled tribe at that time.

A Māori view of these reciprocal activities was sought, and in the absence of Māori autobiographical writings, a Melanesian parallel account was considered which spoke clearly and honestly as to motives and personal perspective. In George Sarawia's case his initial attraction was technological rather than theological. It was only later, by observing Patteson's compassionate treatment

of ill Melanesian students at Norfolk Island, that he began to seek an answer to the question of Patteson's motivation and behaviour.

We noted that some Māori historians and other Māori writers have likened the motivation of the missionaries to ecclesiastical imperialism and a colonialism which denigrated tikanga Māori, wairua Māori and tangata Māori. We examined an alternative Māori interpretation and appreciation of the Christian Gospel which applied the categories of abandonment, adaptation, and adoption to Māori agency in thinking through and reacting to the missionary message. Aspects of Tikanga Māori and Wairua Māori remained among those who accepted Christianity, notwithstanding the intentions and expectations of the missionaries. Particular examples were cited of Māori leaders and clergy who found ways to describe their combination of tikanga Māori with the Christian Gospel. Mohi Turei was a prime example.

The reciprocal relationships between Māori and Pākehā included trading and economic interaction and expectations. We noted that recent Pākehā historians and other Pākehā writers have acknowledged this reciprocity and its mutuality and the fact that it was not always of equal benefit. The need to add value causes a cumulative element.

In looking at the purposes, intentions, and agenda of the missionaries for Māori, Māori sometimes chose more or less than was offered. Missionaries sought to distance themselves and their converts from many aspects of tikanga Māori. The fact that Māori attitudes to some of these activities continue till today, indicates that an adapted or transformed tikanga Māori continues to have room for these. Among such listed were the various blessings of things, places and people such as house-blessings, takahi whare, hiki te tapu, rahui, and whakawātea whare. It was noted that though many of these activities were not included in te Rāwiri some recent Māori Prayer Books have made liturgical provision.

We noted that Māori prophetic movements in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were reactions to the arrival of Christianity. To understand this better we considered the background, presuppositions, culture and traditions of the missionaries, the Church Missionary Society and the

Evangelical Movement. Misunderstandings were noted as was the cultural confusion that resulted.

Next, we looked at ways in which missionaries sought to prepare Māori teachers and catechists and, in addition, the question of whether any preparation was given to the first Māori evangelists. While it was clear that missionaries spent considerable energy in teaching, catechising and general instruction, a number of the early Māori evangelists were not actually trained for that evangelistic task. Christian prayers and hymns, scriptural verses, and Christian teachings generally were more often something they picked up by their attendance at services of worship, and teaching opportunities in the Bay of Islands, prior to returning to their own tribal areas. A number of early Māori evangelists were considered by name.

The arrival of George Augustus Selwyn as the first Anglican Bishop of New Zealand in 1842 was examined, and his intentions and programmes outlined. The fact that there were cultural, theological, ecclesiastical and perhaps social differences between the bishop and the missionaries was considered, as was the establishment of St John's College at Te Waimate, its removal to Tāmaki, and the eventual withdrawal of CMS-sponsored students in 1847. Some of the reasons for Māori reluctance to send their young men to Tāmaki related to the industrial component of Selwyn's scheme. Although well-thought-out, it was perhaps not carefully or persuasively described to the potential candidates. 'Useful industry' may have been 'manly', or economically sensible, but its importance as the beginning of self-support for future Māori clergy and the long-term establishment of te Hāhi Mihingare (the Māori Anglican Church) was not made clear.

The relationship between Selwyn and Henry Venn, secretary of the CMS was next considered, and the fact that Venn had quite different views on the placement of missionaries, the obedience of missionaries to the CMS rather than primarily to the bishop, and the ultimate end of the mission as an indigenous, self-sustaining church.

Selwyn's personal experience, the English university theology degree, the new theological colleges and their motivation and programmes, underlined a unified approach to church, ministry and theological education which was

undergirded by the English language and attitudes. Selwyn's statement that it would be impossible for Church and Mission to continue their separate ways, and that a blended government ought to begin as soon as possible, was prophetic of an attitude which was to be quoted in the process of closing Te Rau College in the first part of the twentieth century, and which has bedevilled the Anglican Church up to today.

The training for ordination that took place at St Stephen's School, Parnell, was then looked at, as was a consideration of the teachers who may have been involved. The arrangement for students to receive their training at St Stephen's seems to have continued in the 1850 through to the 1870s.

Those ordained in the Dioceses of Auckland, Waiapu, and Wellington were considered and named. It was noted that an apparently disproportional number of candidates had come from either the Far North or the East Coast of the North Island. It was noted that by the time Bishop Selwyn left Aotearoa to take up the position of Bishop of Lichfield in 1868, he had ordained only ten Māori deacons and two Māori priests.

Those ordained by other bishops in the years prior to the establishment of Te Rau College in 1883 are listed in an appendix. The total of Māori ordained prior to 1883 is forty.

Leonard Williams and Thomas Grace were among those who thought a training institution for future Māori clergy was essential and in fact long overdue. Grace wrote earnestly to this effect over a long period of time. One of his solutions was the appointment of a Māori bishop, and he thought the liturgical innovations of Pai marire and Ringatu churches, or religious movements, indicated that a Māori Church would be able to sustain itself spiritually as well as pastorally. The necessity among Māori Christians for self-government, self-support and self-propagation of the faith was clear to him but not to others. Māori aspirations continued to be stymied for a long time to come, and some would say are still stymied in both Church and Nation.

The chapter ended with noting that Winter Schools were, in the 1870s, held in the homes of the archdeacons as a method of theological training. This allowed students access to supervised learning during the months when it was not necessary to plant gardens.

The link to the third chapter was the announcement of the CMS's decision to make a planned withdrawal from Aotearoa, and the resultant need for some way to encourage and enable te Hāhi Mihingare (the Anglican Māori Church) to plan and secure its future, especially the provision of Māori clergy. This was the subject of a conference of CMS missionaries in New Zealand in 1882.

In **Chapter Three** we noted that the result of the conference mentioned at the end of chapter two was the setting up of a New Zealand Mission Trust Board, at whose first meeting in February 1883, the establishment of what came to be known as Te Rau College was enacted.

The main purpose of this chapter was to examine the text books in te reo available when Te Rau College was established in 1883.

Staff and their prior training, students and where they came from, and buildings for the college were detailed as part of the context. The curriculum as outlined by the first principal, and the text books that were published prior to and during those years, were considered under the headings: Bible, Prayer Book, Church History, Christian Doctrine, Pastoralia and General. Sub-sets of some of these, such as biblical commentaries and biblical history, resources for the teaching of children and the preparation of candidates for confirmation, were also examined. Forty-one books, individually, were considered and evaluated. Three representative pages, each containing one plate relating to this chapter, illustrate particular and unusual information. The first is of the only edition of *Te Kawenata Hou* to have an extensive cross-referencing system, the second is from the rediscovered translation of a portion of the Apocrypha, and the third is from the Commentary on Galatians.

The general conclusion was reached that the text-books were, in the main, suitable for the particular task of preparing Māori students for ordination to a rural pastoral ministry. Instruction was in te reo, the context both of Te Rau College, and the parishes to which students would eventually be sent, was a Māori context. The Bible and Prayer Book were the principal tools for that work. The other books would have been used for instruction purposes at the college, but it is unlikely that students owned copies.

These text would have been useful for the preparation of candidates for ordination. The former students of Te Rau College became the main-stay of te

Hāhi Mihingare for the next fifty years. They laid the foundation for a church that would be lead by Māori, ministered to by Māori, in a Māori context.

In **Chapter Four** we looked at the period after 1903 when instruction was also offered to some students in the English language and those students enrolled in the examinations of the Board of Theological Studies.

The change of staff from being missionaries and children of missionaries to others without that experience, and the change in the student body to include more candidates who had completed secondary schooling was noted.

The life of the college in the town of Gisborne and as part of the life of the district was also described. The *Poverty Bay Herald* for those years makes frequent mention of Te Rau College.

Pressures to use English for instruction came from Pākehā rather than Māori sources. It was shown that a Report from a Sub-committee of the General Synod had considerable force in this matter and that there was no sign of consultation with Māori. One of those Māori who welcomed the use of English, Rēweti Kōhere, also campaigned for the return to a proper use of te reo Māori and insisted on its re-establishment as a subject in Anglican Māori schools.

Those students who passed the BTS examinations are listed in an appendix, as are details of syllabuses and examination requirements in another. This involved the majority of students though some continued to receive instruction in te reo Māori.

Despite these changes, the college was not considered successful, and pressure mounted to amalgamate or re-integrate it with St John's College in Auckland. The years of the First World War meant that many young potential Māori candidates were serving overseas. The NZMTB no longer had a grant from the CMS to sustain the college, and what little income they received from rental of NZMTB properties was insufficient for all their obligations. There were also changes in New Zealand society which impinged on the Church, and the leadership of the Church was with men who had not been part of the missionary or settler period.

In **Chapter Five**, after noting that lack of finance was suggested as the primary reason for the closing of Te Rau College, we examined a number of other

possible reasons, including: Pākehā desire for control, and support for assimilation of Māori into the Pākehā world and church.

We noted that Māori generally disapproved of the closure and generally unavailing efforts were made to ameliorate the situation of Māori students.

Using the preambles of Te Pouhere The Constitution of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia we examined the ideal and context for Māori theological freedom to develop and grow. Comparison was made with the situation during the missionary period in Southern Africa, and in particular to the attitudes of the first Bishop of Natal, John William Colenso, to the Zulu people. His willingness to let their articulation of Christianity and the theological questions it raised for them, and for him, led to his denigration at the time but praise today.

The language and terminology used by missionaries and new Christians to describe the deity, and other theological concepts were considered. It was noted that the closure of the college meant the end of a general and specifically Māori scheme for Māori theological education, and Māori had to wait until the twenty-first century for Māori doctorates in theological and related subjects to be granted.

The rejection of Māori categories, terminology, and religious aspirations was noted. The possibilities of exploring such areas of learning, and aspirations to follow those questions was pursued. However, it was also suggested that recent implied criticism by Māori academics of their own forbears in acceptance of the Christian faith did not take into consideration the integrity and intelligence of those first Māori Christians. As was mentioned in chapter two, it is possible to note not just Māori agency in the interaction between missionary and Māori but also deliberate and carefully thought-out decisions to abandon some aspects of tikanga Māori, and to adapt others, and adopt some new concepts.

Parallels with similar issues in Melanesia were considered. The simplistic description is to say that CMS missionaries denigrated almost all of tikanga Māori: songs, sayings, carvings, spiritual concepts, which were all considered to be demonic. In contrast, it is said that in Melanesia, Bishop Patteson articulated his belief that new Christians should decide which parts of their traditional beliefs and practices ought be put aside, and that only those that needed to be

let go, would be. This is documented, but the reality, in both Aotearoa and Melanesia, is often somewhere in between.

We looked again at the theory of a three-self church in particular Roland Allen's articulation of it in his book *Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?* in which he criticises the missions and missionaries in general for their unwillingness to let go of authority to the new Christians.

A brief note was made of some similarities in the Methodist and Presbyterian accounts of Māori theological education. This was both in relation to Gospel and Culture and to centralisation compared with a specific Māori context.

An examination of educational method in relation to Māori and by Māori was undertaken, with particular reference to the writings and teachings of Koro Dewes and Linda Smith.

In conclusion there is a clear cycle in Anglican Māori theological education which involved the forcing together of Māori and Pākehā, followed by a time of allowing Māori freedom to grow in their own context, being followed by another forcing together, and later the allowing of some freedom again.

No replacement text books particular to Māori theological education or teaching have yet been written, either in te reo, or by Māori in the English language.

Māori response to the Gospel required the opportunity for Māori Christians to be agents in the transformation of the lives of Māori. English missionaries brought a consciously or unconsciously held pre-packaged version of the Christian faith, in, to mix the metaphor, its European clothes. Te Rau College created the possibility of exploration of such theological ideas as "Who is Christ for Māori?", "What does Christ fulfil for Māori?", "How might Christ transform tikanga Māori", and "How can Māori best convey the essential truths of the Christian faith?" It seems those questions were not articulated. It was not until the 1990s that tikanga Māori within Te Whare Wānanga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, and the new Te Wānanga o Te Rau Kahikatea, began to explore such possibilities.

In the Gospel according to Saint Luke, chapter twenty-four verse twenty-seven, we read, “Nā, ka tīmata ia ki tā Mohi, ki tā ngā poropiti katoa, whakaaturia ana ki a rāua ngā mea mōna o ngā karaipiture katoa (Then [Jesus] interpreted for [the two on the road to Emmaus] the things written about himself in all the scriptures, starting with Moses and going through all the Prophets).” The first Christian theology class!

Each culture and context has the opportunity to join that class. Te Rau College joined for a while, but was taken away. It remains to be seen whether Māori in the twenty-first century may truly join too.

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Appendix 1 ~ Chronological list of Māori ordained prior to 1930 by year of Deaconing

Abbreviations:

Ak	Ordained by the Bishop of Auckland
Ak Cowie	Ordained by Bishop Cowie when he was Bishop of Auckland
Ak AWA	Ordained by Bishop Averill when Bishop of Auckland
Ak Neligan	Ordained by Bishop Neligan when he was Bishop of Auckland
Aot	Ordained by the Bishop of Aotearoa
Blain	The Blain Biographical Directory of Anglican Clergy, see below
BTS	Board of Theological Studies
Chch	Ordained by the Bishop of Christchurch
Chch for Ak	Ordained by the Bishop of Christchurch for Bishop of Auckland
Cowie	Ordained by Bishop Cowie of Auckland
d.	deacon
Dn	Ordained by the Bishop of Dunedin
DNZB	Dictionary of New Zealand Biography
Hadfield for Ak	Ordained by Bishop Hadfield for Bishop of Auckland
Neligan	Ordained by Bishop Neligan of Auckland
Nelson	Ordained by the Bishop of Nelson
NZ	Ordained by the Bishop of New Zealand (Selwyn)
p.	priest
SJC	St John's College, Tāmaki
SJCWai	St John's College, Waimate
SSS	St Stephen's School, Parnell
TRC	Te Rau College
WaHS	Waerenga-a-hika Boys' School
Wai	Ordained by the Bishop of Waiapu
Wai AWA	Ordained by Bishop Averill when Bishop of Waiapu
Wai for Ak	Ordained by Bishop of Waiapu for Bishop of Auckland
Waiapu	Waiapu diocese
WCG	<i>Waiapu Church Gazette</i>
Wgtn	Ordained by the Bishop of Wellington
WLW	Bishop Leonard Williams
WLW for Ak	Ordained by Bishop Leonard Williams for the Bishop of Auckland

[Names in square brackets are alternate names in Blain]

Those ordained

Year of ordination

Waitoa, Rota	d.1853 (NZ), p.1860 (Wai)(SJCWai&SSS)
Te Ahu, Riwai	d.1855 (NZ) (SSS & SJC)
Kawhia, Raniera	d.1860, p.1861 (Wai)
Tarawhiti, Heta	d.1860, p.1866 (NZ)
Te Karari, Pirimona	d.1860 (NZ) (SSS)
Te Moanaroa, Hohua (Hehu)	d.1860 (NZ), p.1873 (Ak) (SSS)
Huata, Tamihana	d.1861, p.1864 (Wai)
Patiki, Piripi King Karawai	d.1861 (NZ), p.1871 (Ak)
Taupaki, Matiu Te Huia	d.1861, p.1866 (NZ) (SSS)
Te Ahu, Ihaia	d.1861 (Wai) (SSS)
Pahewa, Matiaha	d.1863, p. 1878 (Wai)
Moeke, Watene	d.1864 (Wai)
Tawhaa, Hare	d.1864, p.1870 (Wai) (SSS)
Turei, Mohi	d.1864, p.1870 (Wai) (SSS)
Te Rangomaro, Rihara	d.1866 (Wai) (SSS)
Tangata, Renata Wiremu	d.1867 (NZ), p.1871 (Ak)

Tuhua, Raniera	d.1867 (NZ) (SSS)
Wiki, Raniera	d.1867 (NZ) (SSS)
Paraire, Wiremu Katene	d.1870 (Wai)
Pohutu, Hone	d.1870 (Wai)
Pomare, Wiremu	d.1872, p.1874 (Ak)
Mutu, Teoti Pita	d.1872 (Chch)
Te Herekau, Henere	d.1872 (Wgtn)
Te Wanui, Rawiri	d.1872, p.1877 (Wgtn)
Turipona, Wiremu	d.1872, p.1874 (Ak) (SSS)
Paerata, Rupene (Rupena)	d.1873, p.1876 (Ak)
Te Ngara, Eruera Hurutara	d.1874 (Ak), p.1886 (Wgtn) (SSS)
Kapa, Hohepa	d.1875, 1878 (Ak)
Taua, Hare Peka [aka Taiuru]	d.1875, p.1878 (Ak) (SSS)
Te Haara, Meinata	d.1875, p.1878 (Ak)
Te Whareumu, Areka	d.1875, p.1878 (Ak)
Kamiti, Reihana	d.1876, p.1878 (Ak)
Te Mahau-Ariki, Pineaha	d.1876, p.1886 (Wgtn)
Te Hana, Arona	d.1877, p.1886 (Wgtn)
Piwaka, Kerehona [?Te Apai]	d.1878 (Wai)
Te Aihu, Rutene	d.1878, p.1887 (Wai)
Te Wainohu, Hone (Hoani)	d.1878, p.1881 (Wai) ²⁷⁹
Te Paa, Wiki	d.1880, p.1881 (Ak) (SSS)
Runga, Nirai	d.1881 (Wai) (TRC)
Te Aro, Manahi	d. 1881 (Wai) (TRC)
Taitimu, Hemi Kingi	d.1884, p.1886 (Ak)
Te Irimana, Paauta,	d.1885 (Wai) (TRC)
Te Matete, Wiremu Hoete,	d.1886, p.1892 (Ak) (TRC)
Hukatere, Hare Reweti	d.1887, p.1892 (Ak) (TRC)
Kawhia, Eruera	d.1887, p.1892 (Wai) (TRC)
Paerata, Herewini Nopera	d.1887, p.1896 (Ak) (TRC)
Papahia, Hone Tana	d.1887, p.1892 (Ak) (TRC)
Waaka, Matenga	d.1887, p.1892 (Wai) [also Tama Roki] (TRC)
Waitoa, Hone,	d.1887, p.1891 (Wai) (TRC)
Piwaka, Hoani,	d.1892, (Wai) (TRC)
Ratapu, Karaitiana,	d.1892 (Wai) (TRC)
Te Hata, Hoeta,	d.1892 (Wai) (TRC)
Te Waha, Wiremu Paratene,	d.1892 (Ak) (TRC)
Tautau, Nikora,	d.1893 (Wai for Ak), p.1896 (Ak) (TRC)
Te Awarau, Piripi	d.1893, p.1896 (Wai) (TRC)
Ngatote, Taitimu Reihana Kahahuri	d.1894, p.1896 (Ak) (TRC)
Te Paerata, Hone Teri	d.1894 (Hadfield for Ak), p.1901 (Wai) (TRC)
Hape, Ranapia Mokena	d.1895 (Ak) [Lanfear Morgan] (TRC)
Hapimana, Taimona	d.1895 (Wai for Ak), p.1896 (Ak) (TRC)
Haumia, Rameka	d.1895, p.1901 (Wai)
Pahewa, Hakaraia	d.1895, p.1896 (Wai) (TRC)
Rangi, Ahipene	d.1895, p.1896 (Wai) [aka ?Rangaihuna, W K Paraire] (TRC)

²⁷⁹ *Waiapu Year Book*, 1881, p5.

Bennett, Frederick Augustus	d.1896, p.1897 (Nelson)
Kiriwi, Timoti Morenui	d.1896 (Wai for Ak), p.1899 (Ak) [Timothy Greaves] (TRC)
Kohere, Poihipi	d.1896, p.1908 (Wai) (TRC)
Paerata, Tiopira Nopera ('Poro')	d.1896 (Wai for Ak), p.1899 (Ak) [Theophilus Pilot] (TRC)
Ruarangi, Hare Maihi,	d.1896 (Wai for Ak), p.1899 (Ak) (TRC)
Te Awekotuku, [Ruihi] Ratema	d.1896, p.1910 (Wai) (TRC)
Huata, Hemi Pititi	d.1898, p.1901 (Wai) (TRC)
Pukerua, Manahi Katene,	d.1898 (Wai) (TRC)
Tamihere, Aperahama	d.1898, p.1901 (Wai) (TRC)
Timutimu, Tapeta	d.1898, p.1901 (Wai) (TRC)
Kereru, Horima Mokai	d.1899, p.1905 (Wgtn) (TRC)
Keretene, Wiremu Hone	d.1901, p.1903 (Ak) [Cherrington] (TRC)
Ngaki, Turuturu Maihi	d.1901, p.1912 (Wai)
Tamaiparea, (Te) Iwiora	d.1901, p.1905 (Wgtn) (TRC)
Te Awarau, Eruera Hakaraia	d.1901 (Ak Cowie), p.1903 (Ak Neligan) [Edward Rivers] (TRC)
Tokoaitua, Temuera	d.1901, p.1906 (Wgtn) (TRC)
Fraser, Waata Tuahangata	d.1903, p.1908 (Wai) (TRC)
Hakiwai, Peni Te Umairangi	d.1903, p.1908 (Wai) (TRC)
Kerehoma, Rewiti Taukiri	d.1903, p.1905 (Ak) (TRC)
Tahuriorangi, Ropere	d.1904, p.1905 (Ak) (TRC)
Taurere, Makoare (Tepana),	d.1904, p.1907 (Ak) (TRC)
Kaipo, Hone Wi	d.1905 (Ak), p.1908 (Chch for Ak) (TRC)
Karaka, Karira Arama	d.1905 (Ak), p. 1910 (WLW for Ak) (TRC)
Paerata, Hoani Matenga	d.1905 (Ak), p.1908 (Chch for Ak) (TRC)
Te Wainohu, Henare Wepiha,	d.1906, p.1908 (TRC)
Kapa, Mutu Paratene	d.1907, p.1912 (Ak) (TRC)
Kohere, Reweti Tuhorouta	d.1907, p.1910 (Wai) (TRC)
Parata, Hoani	d.1907, p.1908 (Dn)
Rangihuna, Wiremu Katene Paraire	d.1907, p.1910 (Wai) (TRC)
Te Raro, Ehekiera	d.1907 (Wai) (TRC)
Topi, Pene	d.1907, p.1912 (Ak) (TRC)
Heke, Hetekia Rika	d.1908 (Wai for Ak), p.1912 (Ak) (TRC)
Keepa, Matene	d.1908, p.1917 (Wai) (TRC)
Tamahori, Pine	d.1908, p.1911 (Wai) (TRC)
Tawhiri, Riwai Te Hiwinui	d.1908 (Wai) (TRC)
Turei, Paraone	d.1908, p.1910 (Wai) (TRC)
Manuera, Timoti	d.1909, p.1914 (Ak) (TRC)
Keremenata, Henare	d.1909, p.1913 (Wgtn) (TRC)
Munro, Himipiri Te Wharekauri	d.1910, p.1911 (Wai) [Humphrey] (TRC)
Te Waaka, Wiremu Arameta	d.1910, p.1913 (Wai) ²⁸⁰
Katene, Tamati	d.1911, p.1913 (Wgtn) (TRC)
Tumatahi, Manihera Manahi	d.1911, p.1913 (Wai)
Wikiriwhi, Rewi Matata	d.1911, p. 1913 (Wai)
Karaka, Hone	d.1912, p.1914 (Ak) (TRC)
Poata, Keina [Wiremu]	d.1912, p.1914 (Ak) (TRC)

²⁸⁰ Watson Rosevear, *Waiapu: Story of a Diocese* (Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade, 1960) spells as Arometa.

Eruini, Ereatara	d.1913, p.1915 (Wai)
Kokiri, Patihana	d.1913, p.1915 (Wai) (TRC)
Raiti, Hori Piri	d.1913 (Wai AWA), p.1915 (Ak AWA) [George Wright] (TRC)
Temuera, Paora	d.1913, p.1916 (Wgtn) [aka Arekahara Ngataapu Tokoaitua] (TRC)
Te Tikao, Eretara Mohi Eruini	d.1913, p.1915 (Wai) [also Eruini, E M]
Te Kanapu, Tamati	d.1914 (Wai) (TRC)
Paraone, Henare Hohepa	d.1915, p.1917 (Ak) (TRC)
Poihipi, Tamiora Tokoroa,	d.1915, p.1919 (Ak) (TRC)
Puha, Wiremu Tureia	d.1915, p.1919 (Wai)
Ratapahi, Waewae	d.1916 (Wai)
Te Aomarere, Matera	d.1916 (Wgtn)
Wharehuia, Mahereweti	d.1916 (Wai)
Hotene, Nepia	d.1917 (Wai)
Taurau, Hohaia	d.1918, p.1919 (Ak)
Mataira, Wiremu Pere	1919 (Wai)
Harawira, Kahi Takimoana	d.1920, p.1921 (Ak) (TRC)
Panapa, Wiremu Netana	d.1921, p.1923 (Ak) b.1951 (Wai) (TRC) (SJC)
Netana, Penewhere Wi	d.1921, p.1923 (Ak) (SJC)
Leonard, Pakake Heketoro	d.1922, p.1924 (Wgtn) (SJC)
Matene, Paki Wiremu	d.1923, p.1925 (Ak) (SJC)
Park, Peata Heni (Piata)	deaconess 1923 (Chch)
Riiwhi, Eruera	d.1923, p.1924 (Ak) (SJC)
Rangi, Wharetini	d.1925, p.1928 (Wai) (SJC)
Anaru, Kingi	d.1926 (Wai)
Harawira, Herepo	d.1926, p.1930 (Ak) (SJC)
Rangiaho, Ramahaki	d.1926, p.1928 (Wai) (SJC)
Tangohau, Wi Te Hauwaho	d.1926, p.1927 (Wai)
Te Hau, Rikihana	d.1926, p.1928 (Ak) (SJC)
Moana, Wiremu	d.1927, p.1929 (Wai) (SJC)
Pou, Hemi Kiro	d.1927, p.1928 (Waik) (SJC)
Maioha, Wirihana	d.1929, p.1930 (Waik) (SJC)
Wanoa, Ngatai Tunoa	d.1929 (Wai), p.1933 (Aot) (SJC)
Total ordained	141
Attended St John's pre-1921	1
Attended St Stephen's School	13
Attended Te Rau College	68
Attended St John's 1921-30	13

Appendix 2 ~ Māori clergy ordained prior to 1921, unknown connection with Te Rau

Abbreviations: see Appendix 1.

Bennett, Frederick Augustus	d.1896, p.1897 (Nelson) BTS Grade II Class 2 1894 (Wellington) BTS Grade III Class 3 1895 (Nelson) BTS Grade IV Part 1 Class 3 1896 (Nelson) BTS Grade IV Part 2 Class 3 1897
Eruini, Ereataara	d.1913, p.1915 (Wai)
Haumia, Rameka	d.1895, p.1901 (Wai)
Hotene, Nepia	d.1917 (Wai)
Huata, Tamihana	d.1861, p.1864 (Wai)
Kamiti, Reihana	d.1876, p.1878 (Ak)
Kapa, Hohepa	d.1875, 1878 (Ak)
Kawhia, Raniera	d.1860, p.1861 (Wai)
Mataira, Wiremu Pere	1919 (Wai) BTS Grade II Class 3 1918 (Waiapu)
Moeke, Watene	d.1864 (Wai)
Mutu, Teoti Pita	d.1872 (Chch)
Ngaki, Turuturu Maihi	d.1901, p.1912 (Wai)
Paerata, Rupene	d.1873, p.1876 (Ak)
Paerata, Teri	d. 1901 ²⁸¹
Pahewa, Matiaha	d.1863, p. 1878 (Wai)
Paraire, Wiremu Katene	d.1870 (Wai)
Parata, Hoani	d.1907, p.1908 (Dn) BTS Grade II Class 2 1905 (Dunedin) BTS Grade III Class 3 1907 (Dunedin) BTS Grade IV Part 1 Class 3 1908 (Dunedin)
Patiki, Piripi King Karawai	d.1861 (NZ), p.1871 (Ak)
Piwaka, Kerehona [?Te Apai]	d.1878 (Wai)
Pohutu, Hone	d.1870 (Wai)
Pomare, Wiremu	d.1872, p.1874 (Ak)
Puha, Wiremu Tureia	d.1915, p.1919 (Wai)
Ratapahi, Waewae	d.1916 (Wai)
Taitimu, Hemi Kingi	d.1884, p.1886 (Ak)
Tangata, Renata Wiremu	d.1867 (NZ), p.1871 (Ak)
Tarawhiti, Heta	d.1860 , p.1866 (NZ)
Taua, Hare Peka [also Taiuru]	d.1875, p.1878 (Ak) (SSS 1873-5)
Taupaki, Matiu Te Huia	d.1861, p.1866 (NZ) (SSS 1856)
Taurau, Hohaia	d.1918, p.1919 (Ak)
Tawhaa, Hare	d.1864, p.1870 (Wai) (SSS)
Te Ahu, Ihaia	d.1861 (Wai) (SSS 1858)
Te Ahu, Riwai	d.1855 (NZ) (SSS & SJC 1855)
Te Aihu, Rutene	d.1878, p.1887 (Wai) (WaHS)
Te Aomarere, Matera	d.1916 (Wgtn)

²⁸¹ *Te Pīpīwharauroa* 1901.

Te Haara, Meinata	d.1875, p.1878 (Ak)
Te Hana, Arona	d.1877, p.1886 (Wgtn)
Te Herekau, Henere	d.1872 (Wgtn) (Hadfield)
Te Kanapu, Tamati	d.1914 (Wai)
Te Karari, Pirimona	d.1860 (NZ) (SSS 1854)
Te Mahau-Ariki, Pineaha	d.1876, p.1886 (Wgtn) (SJC 1yr)
Te Moanaroa, Hohua	d.1860 (NZ), p.1873 (Ak) (SSS 1857)
Te Ngara, Eruera Hurutara	d.1874 (Ak), p.1886 (Wgtn) (SSS 1873)
Te Paa, Wiki	d.1880, p.1881 (Ak) (SSS 1877)
Te Rangomaro, Rihara	d.1866 (Wai) (SSS)
Te Tikao, Eretara Mohi Eruini	d.1913, p.1915 (Wai) [also Eruini, E M]
Te Waaka, Wiremu Arameta	d.1910, p.1913 (Wai) [WJWR Arameta]
Te Wainohu, Hone	d.1878, p.1887 (Wai)
Te Wanui, Rawiri	d.1872, p.1877 (Wgtn) (Hadfield)
Te Whareumu, Areka	d.1875, p.1878 (Ak)
Tuhua, Raniera	d.1867 (NZ) (SSS 1864)
Tumatahi, Manihera Manahi	d.1911, p.1913 (Wai)
Turei, Mohi	d.1864, p.1870 (Wai) (WaHS, SSS)
Turipona, Wiremu	d.1872, p.1874 (Ak) (SSS)
Waitoa, Rota	d.1853 (NZ), p.1860 (Wai) (SJC 1846-53)
Wharehuia, Mahereweti	d.1916 (Wai)
Whikiriwhi, Rewi Matata	d.1911, p. 1913 (Wai)
Wiki, Raniera	d.1867 (NZ) (WaHS, SSS)
total 58	

total Māori clergy ordained by 1921: 66+58 = 124

Appendix 3 ~ Staff of Te Rau College, Gisborne

Williams, William Leonard, Principal, 1883-1894

BA 3rd Class Classics Oxford 1852 (1897 Hon.DD)

d.1853 (London), p.1856 (NZ)

Founding director 1883-5, Principal 1885-1894

[1877-94 residing at Te Rau, 1895 3rd bishop of Waiapu, son of William Williams]

Williams, Herbert William, Principal, 1894-1902

BA NZ 1880, BA Cambridge 1884, MA 1887 (LittD NZ 1924, LittD Cambridge 1925)

d.1886 (St Albans), p.1887 (Ely)

Tutor 1889-94 *[son of W. Leonard Williams]*

Chatterton, Frederick William, Principal, 1902-1918

BD Durham

d.1886, p.1887 (Nelson)

Ensor, Ernest, Acting Principal, 1904

d.1891, p.1893 (Nelson), briefly in charge 1904 while FWC on leave

Nield, Alfred, Principal, 1919-1920

BA 1887, MA 1891 Cambridge

d.1888, p.1889 (Manchester)

Principal from 1 Jan 1919 till Te Rau closed in 1920 and students were incorporated into CSJE

[Selwyn College, Dean 1900-05, Archdeacon of Dunedin 1907-13, Chaplain Hukarere 1933-45]

Williams, Alfred Owen, Tutor, 1883-5

1876-79 Bishopdale Theological College, Nelson

d.1880 (Canterbury for Nelson), p.1882 (Nelson) *[grandson of Henry Williams]*

Jennings, Edward, Tutor, 1885-90

1880-82 Bishopdale Theological College, Nelson

d.1881 (Nelson), p.1887 (Wai) *[Headmaster Waerenga-a-hika School 1890-1907]*

Heatly, R., Assistant, [after HWW became principal, before Hawkins]

Hawkins, Hector Alfred, Tutor, 1898-1900

Te Rau 1898, BTS Grade IV A + B Class 1 1898

d.1898 (Wai), p.1900 (Ak)

Kohere, Reweti, Assistant Tutor, 1898-1908

Te Rau, BTS Grade III 2nd cl. 1902, Grade IV part 1 3rd cl. 1903, Grade IV part 2 3rd cl. 1908

d.1907, p.1910 (Wai)

Tamahori, Pine, Assistant Tutor, 1908-1912

Te Rau, BTS Grade I 2nd cl. 1905, Grade III 2nd cl. 1907, Grade IV Part 1 3rd cl. 1908, Grade IV Part 2 2nd cl. 1908

d.1908, p.1911 (Wai)

Rangihuna, WKP, Assistant Tutor, 1913-1916

Te Rau, BTS Grade I 3rd cl. 1901, Grade II 3rd cl. 1903, Grade III 3rd cl. 1907,

Grade IV Part 1 & Part 2 2nd cl. 1910

d.1907, p.1910 (Wai)

Long, Frank Clendon, staff member, 1905-1908

BA 1902, MA 1st cl. 1905 U of NZ, LTh 1909

d.1907, p.1908 (Wai)

Appendix 4 ~ Students of Te Rau College

Abbreviations: See Appendix 1.

Hakiwai, Peni Te Uamairangi	Te Rau, d.1903, p.1908 (Wai) BTS Grade II Class 3 1908 (Waiapu).
Hape, Ranapia Mokena	Te Rau, d.1895 (Ak) [Lanfear Morgan]
Hapimana, Taimona	Te Rau 1890, d.1895 (Wai for Ak), p.1896 (Ak)
Harawira, Kahi Takimoana	Te Rau c1919, d.1920, p.1921 (Ak) BTS Grade I Class 3 1918 (Waiapu). BTS Grade II Class 2 1919 (Waiapu, Te Rau College)
Hawkins, Hector Alfred	Te Rau 1898, d.1898 (Wai), p.1900 (Ak) <i>[1900-30, 1939-41 Superintendent Māori Mission Auckland, 1940 Vicar General Auckland]</i>
Heke, Hetekia Rika	BTS Grade IV A + B Class 1 1898 Te Rau 5 years, d.1908 (Wai for Ak), p.1912 (Ak) BTS Grade I Class 3 1906 BTS Grade II Class 3 1908 (Waiapu).
Huata, Hemi Pititi	Te Rau 1894, d.1898, p.1901 (Wai)
Hukatere, Hare Reweti	Te Rau, d.1887, p.1892 (Ak)
Kaipō, Hone Wi	Te Rau 1904, d.1905 (Ak), p.1908 (Chch for Ak)
Kapa, Mutu Paratene	Te Rau, d.1907, p.1912 (Ak)
Karaka, Hone	d.1912, p.1914 (Ak) BTS Grade I Class 3 1909 (Te Rau College)
Karaka, Karira Arama	Te Rau 1901-05, d.1905 (Ak), p. 1910 (WLW for Ak)
Katene, Tamati	d.1911, p.1913 (Wgtn) BTS Grade I Class 3 1907 (Te Rau College) BTS Grade II Class 3 1908 (Te Rau College)
Kawhia, Eruera	Te Rau, d.1887, p.1892 (Wai)
Keepa, Matene	d.1908, p.1917 (Wai) BTS Grade I Class 3 1907 (Te Rau College)
Kerehoma, Rewiti Taukiri	Te Rau, d.1903, p.1905 (Ak)
Keremenata, Henare	Te Rau, d.1909, p.1913 (Wgtn)
Kereru, Horima Mokai	Te Rau, d.1899, p.1905 (Wgtn)
Keretene, Wiremu Hone	Te Rau 1897, d.1901, p.1903 (Ak) [Cherrington]
Kiriwi, Timoti Morenui	Te Rau, d.1896 (Wai for Ak), p.1899 (Ak) [Timothy Greaves]
Kohere, Poihipi	Te Rau 1901, 1902, d.1896, p.1908 (Wai) [born c1876, died 1962]
Kohere, Reweti Tuhorouta	Te Rau asst. tutor, d.1907, p.1910 (Wai) BTS Grade III Second Class 1902 BTS Grade IV part 1 Class 3 1903 BTS Grade IV part 2 Class 3 1908 (Waiapu)
Kokiri, Patihana	Te Rau, d.1913, p.1915 (Wai) BTS Grade I Class 3 1911 (Wai)
Manuera, Timoti	Te Rau 3 years, d.1909, p.1914 (Ak)
Munro, Himipiri Te Wharekauri	Te Rau, d.1910, p.1911 (Wai) [Humphrey] BTS Grade I Class 3 1906 BTS Grade II Class 3 1907 (Waiapu)

	BTS Grade III Class 3 1910 (Waiapu, Te Rau College)
Ngatote, Taitimu Reihana Kahahuri	Te Rau -1893, d.1894, p.1896 (Ak)
Paerata, Herewini Nopera	Te Rau 1884-86, d.1887, p.1896 (Ak)
Paerata, Hoani Matenga	Te Rau 1904, d.1905 (Ak), p.1908 (Chch for Ak)
Paerata, Tiopira Nopera ('Pororua')	Te Rau, d.1896 (Wai for Ak), p.1899 (Ak) [Theophilus Pilot]
Pahewa, Hakaraia	Te Rau 1889, d.1895, p.1896 (Wai)
Panapa, Wiremu Netana	Te Rau 1915-20
	BTS Grade I Class 2 1915 (Te Rau, Waiapu)
	BTS Grade II Class 2 1916 (Waiapu)
	BTS Grade III Class 1 1918 (Waiapu)
Papahia, Hone Tana	Te Rau 1885-87, d.1887, p.1892 (Ak)
Paraone, Henare Hohepa	Te Rau, d.1915, p.1917 (Ak)
	BTS Grade I Class 3 1911 (Waiapu, Te Rau College)
	BTS Grade II Class 3 1913 (Waiapu, Te Rau College)
Pereiha, Tuahangata	Te Rau 1901, 1902, d.1903, p.1908 (Wai) [Waata Fraser]
Piwaka, Hoani	Te Rau, d.1892, (Wai)
Poata, Keina [Wiremu]	Te Rau 1910, d.1912, p.1914 (Ak) [Melanesia for 2 years]
Poihipi, Tamiora Tokoroa	Te Rau, d.1915, p.1919 (Ak)
Pukerua, Manahi Katene	Te Rau, d.1898 (Wai) [1898-1910 Waipatu]
Raiti, Hori Piri	Te Rau, d.1913 (Wai AWA), p.1915 (Ak AWA) [George Wright]
	[1 st Archdeacon Te Tai Hauauru 1929]
Rangi, Ahipene	[aka W K Paraire Rangaihuna?, named AR on CMS list]
	Te Rau, d.1895, p.1896 (Wai)
Rangihuna, Wiremu Katene Paraire	Te Rau, d.1907, p.1910 (Wai)
	[1915 Tutor Te Rau Kahikatea, 1920 gone from Crockford, died 1972 farmer Te Araroa]
	BTS Grade I Class 3 1901
	BTS Grade II Class 3 1903
	BTS Grade III Class 3 1907 (Waiapu, Te Rau College)
	BTS Grade IV Part 1 & Part 2 Class 2 1910 (Waiapu).
Ratapu, Karaitiana,	Te Rau, d.1892 (Wai)
Ruarangi, Hare Maihi	Te Rau 1892-96, d.1896 (Wai for Ak), p.1899 (Ak)
Runga, Nirai	Te Rau, d.1881 (Wai) [*WCG July 1910]
Tahuriorangi, Ropere	Te Rau 1901, 1902, d.1904, p.1905 (Ak)
Tamahori, Pine	Te Rau, d.1908, p.1911 (Wai)
	BTS Grade I Class 2 1905
	BTS Grade III Class 2 1907 (Te Rau College)
	BTS Grade IV Part 1 Class 3 1908 (Waiapu)
	BTS Grade IV Part 2 Class 2 1908 (Te Rau College)
Tamaiparea, (Te) Iwiora	Te Rau, d.1901, p.1905 (Wgtn)
Tamihere, Aperahama	Te Rau, d.1898, p.1901 (Wai)
Taurere, Makoare (Tepana)	Te Rau 3 years, d.1904, p.1907 (Ak)

Tautau, Nikora,	Te Rau 1891, d.1893 (Wai for Ak), p.1896 (Ak)
Tawhiri, Riwai Te Hiwinui	Te Rau 1901, 1902, d.1908 (Wai) BTS Grade I Class 2 1899 BTS Grade II Class 2 1900 BTS Grade III Third Class 1902 BTS Grade IV Part 1 Class 3? 1906
Te Aro, Manahi	Te Rau, d. 1881 (Wai) [<i>*WCG July1910</i>]
Te Awarau, Eruera Hakaraia	Te Rau 1897-1901, d.1901 (Ak Cowie), p.1903 (Ak Neligan) [Edward Rivers]
Te Awarau, Piripi,	Te Rau, d.1893, p.1896 (Wai)
Te Awekotuku, [Ruihi] Ratema	Te Rau, d.1896, p.1910 (Wai)
Te Hata, Hoeta,	Te Rau 1889, d.1892 (Wai)
Te Irimana, Paeuta,	Te Rau, d.1885 (Wai)
Te Kanapu, Tamati	passed Te Rau 4 th grade [<i>*WCG 1923</i>], d.1914 (Wai) BTS Grade I Class 2 1911 (Waiapu, Te Rau College) BTS Grade II Class 3 1912 (Te Rau, Waiapu) BTS Grade III Class 3 1914 (Te Rau College) BTS Grade IV Part 1 Class 3 1915 (Waiapu) BTS Grade IV Part 2 Class 3 1916 (Waiapu)
Te Matete, Wiremu Hoete,	Te Rau 1894, d.1886, p.1892 (Ak)
Te Paerata, Hone Teri	Te Rau 3 years, d.1894 (Hadfield for Ak), p.1901 (Wai)
Te Raro, Ehekiera	Te Rau, d.1907 (Wai)
Te Waha, Wiremu Paratene	Te Rau, d.1892 (Ak)
Te Wainohu, Henare Wepiha	Te Rau 1901, 1902, d.1906, p.1908 ²⁸² [<i>Padre WWI</i>] BTS Grade I Class 3 1905 BTS Grade II Class 3 1906
Temuera, Paora	Te Rau 1909, d.1913, p.1916 (Wgtn) [aka Arekahara Ngataapu Tokoaitua, born 1886, died 1957] BTS Grade I Class 3 1911 (Waiapu, Te Rau College)
Timutimu, Tapeta	Te Rau, d.1898, p.1901 (Wai)
Tokoaitua, Temuera	Te Rau, d.1901, p.1906 (Wgtn) [born c1869, died 1937]
Topi, Pene	Te Rau, d.1907, p.1912 (Ak)
Turei, Paraone	Te Rau 1901, 1902, d.1908, p.1910 (Wai) BTS Grade II Class 3 1905
Waaka, Matenga	Te Rau, d.1887, p.1892 (Wai) [also Tama Roki]
Waitoa, Hone	Te Rau, d.1887, p.1891 (Wai) [<i>son of Rota</i>]

Māori clergy trained at Te Rau by 1921

Waiapu	32
Auckland	28
Wellington	<u>6</u>
total	66

²⁸² DNZB, Wainohu, Grant Nikora. 'Te Wainohu, Henare Wepiha 1882 – 1920'. Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, updated 22 June 2007, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

Appendix 5 ~ Ngā Pukapuka listed chronologically

Ko te Kawenata Hou o to tatou Ariki te Kai Wakaora a Ihu Karaiti. He mea whakamaori i te reo Kariki. Paihia: He mea ta i te Perehi o nga Mihanere o te Hahi o Ingarani. 1837, 356pp. BiM²⁸³ 45.

The first edition of the complete New Testament in Māori, translated mainly by William Williams.

A dictionary of the New-Zealand language, and a concise grammar; to which are added a selection of colloquial sentences, By William Williams, B.A., Archdeacon of Waiapu. Paihia: Printed at the Press of the C.M. Society. 1844, 195pp. BiM 217.

The first Māori dictionary, with a short grammar and a selection of sentences. Further editions were published in 1852 [435], 1871 [768], and 1892 [1348].

He whakapapa ara Nga mahi me nga aha noa a te Atua raua ko tana Hahi, Auckland: Printed by J. Williamson for the Church Mission, 1847, 45pp. BiM 365.

A Summary of Scripture history from before the Flood, including Abraham, the Exodus, the Judges, Samson, Ruth, Eli, Samuel, Saul, David, to Solomon.

This is based on Frederick Strass's *Der Strom der Zeiten*, Berlin, 1802, translated into English by William Bell as *Descriptive guide to the stream of time*, London, 1810, summarised by William Bainbridge in 1847, translated into Māori by Robert Maunsell.

He whakapapa, ara, nga mahi, me nga aha noa a te Atua raua ko tana Hahi. Ko te rua o nga wahi. St John's College: Printed at the College Press. 1849, 58pp. 10pp. BiM 384.

The second part of a Scripture history, beginning with a geographical overview of Canaan and its natural curiosities such as the foods and animals of the Jews. It continues the story from the suffering of Job, the account continues with Rehoboam, the captivity, later prophets, the Maccabees and ending with six pages on the Gospels. An unnumbered final section is a tabulated version of Christ's life, a Gospel Synopsis, 10 pages of Gospel parallels. While following Townsend's schema this is unlike his work in that it is an abbreviated harmony or chronological telling of the story rather than a re-ordering of the full biblical text.

This is a translation by Robert Maunsell of William de Burgh of Dublin's digest based on George Townsend's *The Old Testament Arranged in Historical and Chronological Order, (on the Basis of Lightfoot's Chronicle) in Such a Manner That the Books, Chapters, Psalms, Prophecies, &c. &c. May Be Read as One Connected History, in the Words of the Authorized Translation, with Copious Indexes*, volume 1, 962pp. + indexes, volume 2, 764pp. + indexes, London, 1821.

He moemoea. Otira, ko nga korero o te huarahi, e rere atu nei te tangata i tenei ao, a, tapoko noa ano ki tera ao atu; he kupu whakarite, na Hoani Paniana. He me whakamaori mai i te reo Pakeha, "Patukina, a, ka tūwhera kia koutou.", Poneke: He mea Perehi e te Toki, ki Weretana, Poneke. 1854, 225pp. BiM 451.

The Pilgrim's progress, by John Bunyan.

Translated into the Māori language under direction of the government. First Edition. Translated by H.T. Kemp.

Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga, me era atu tikanga, i whakaritea e te Hahi o Ingarani, mo te minitanga o nga hakarameta, o era tu ritenga hoki a te Hahi: me nga Waiata ano hoki a Rawiri. Me te tikanga mo te whiriwhiringa, mo te whakaturanga, me te whakatapunga o nga pihopa, o nga piriti, me nga rikona. Ranana: I taia tenei ki te Perehi o te Komiti mo te Whakapuaki i te Mohiotanga a te Karaiti. 1858, 432pp.

²⁸³ BiM = Parkinson, Phil, & Griffith, Penny, *Books in Māori 1815-1900 Ngā Tānga Reo Māori: An Annotated Bibliography Ngā Kohikohinga me Ōna Whakamārama: Compiled in the Alexander Turnbull Library I Hangā i te Whare Pukapuka o Alexander Turnbull*, Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, 2004.

BiM 474.

A reprint of the 1852 2nd edition of the complete Book of Common Prayer, BiM 422.

Ko te hahi i muri i a te Karaiti. Ko te korero tuatahi, Akarana, 1863, 88pp. BiM 599.

Sixteen essays on early church history (to A.D. 600), written by students. These include: The age of the Apostles, Ignatius, Polycarp, the martyrs of Gaul, Perpetua, Origen, Cyprian, the Last Persecution, Constantine the Great, Julian, Ambrose, the Temple of Serapis, John Chrysostom, Augustine, and the Fall of Western Empire. The last page has a time line.

An inscription in Dr T.M. Hocken's copy states that it was 'written by Chief Justice Martin in the following way: he lectured to Maoris at his own house at Taurarua [Judges Bay, Auckland] on Church History taken from [Rev. J.C.] Robertson's *Sketches of Church History* [London, 1855]; he then re[quired] the pupils to write out his lectures, (which had been delivered in Maori) & then from their essays redacted the best composed of them in this work.' [A second edition was published in Napier in 1887, BiM 1183]

Ko te Paipera Tapu ara, Ko te Kawenata Tawhito me te Kawenata Hou. He mea whakamaori mai no nga reo i oroko-tuhitia ia. Ranana: He mea ta ki te Perehi a W.M. Watts, ma te Komiti ta Paipera mo Ingarangi mo te Ao Katoa. 1868. 1199pp. BiM 716.

The first complete Māori Bible, including the first complete Old Testament published.

This is based on Maunsell's translations of the Old Testament [BiM 103] and William Williams's version of the New Testament [BiM 45].

He kupu whakamarama mo etahi wahi o te Karaipiture, Akarana: 1868. 63pp. BiM 719.

First volume of commentaries on parts of the New Testament. There are explanations of nine passages from St Matthew's Gospel, two from St Luke's, and ten from St John's.

This is probably the work of Sir William Martin who was teaching at St Stephen's, Parnell. [2nd part BiM 755, 3rd part BiM 772.]

He kupu whakamarama mo etahi wahi o te Karaipiture. Te rua o nga wahi, Akarana: 1870. 67pp. BiM 755.

Second volume of commentaries on parts of the New Testament. This includes explanations of passages from Acts, chapters 1 to 18.1-11, followed by each chapter of the letters 1

Thessalonians and 2 Thessalonians, 'written from Corinth', then Acts 18.12-28 and 19.1-10, and finally each chapter of 1 Corinthians, 'written from Ephesus'. See BiM 719.

He kupu whakamarama mo etahi wahi o te Karaipiture. Te toru o nga wahi, Akarana: 1872. 74pp. BiM 772.

Third volume of commentaries on parts of the New Testament. After explanations of 2 Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans, this picks up the story at Acts chapters 20 and continues to chapter 28. See BiM 719.

Ko nga Rongo Pai ewha. He mea whakamaori mai no te reo Ingarihi, na Rev G Maunsell i whakamaori, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1877, 700pp. BiM 906.

The Four Gospels, comprised of a Preface about an Age of Historical Criticism, seen as *supplementary not contradictory*, followed by Part 1, The Four Gospels with 2 chapters: External Testimonies to their Authenticity; Their Internal Character; then Part 2, The Gospel Narrative with 14 chapters: the Birth and Youth of Our Lord; his Baptism, Temptation, and First Year's ministry; Second Year, First Quarter: The great Galilean Ministry; Second Year, Second Quarter: Passover and Northern Tour; Second Year, Third Quarter: Transfiguration and Feast of Tabernacles; Second Year, Fourth Quarter: Final Return to Judea, and Feast of Dedication; Third Year, First Quarter: Raising of Lazarus and final Ascent to Jerusalem; Early days of Holy Week; The Last Supper and the Betrayal; Judgment in the Jewish Court; Judgment in the Roman court; The Crucifixion; The Burial and Resurrection; The Forty Days; at the end is a two page The Gospel Chronology.

This is a translation by George Maunsell (son of Robert Maunsell) of Archdeacon Norris's *A key to the narrative of the four Gospels*, London, 1869.

He ara taki ki te Kawenata Tawhito e marama ai etahi o nga tino kupu o te Karaipiture. Na Rev T.S. Grace, Putiki, Whanganui. London: Society for Promoting Christian

Knowledge, 1882, 74pp. BiM 1029.

A guide to the Old Testament with comments book-by-book from Genesis to Malachi. Throughout there is frequent use of links to other verses or passages of scripture, especially to the New Testament. On the Reverse of title page is the statement in English: "Guide to the Old Testament and explanation of its difficulties in Maori. For use in the various dioceses of New Zealand."

Te korero whakatepe o te Hahi Karaitiana o te timatanga mai tae noa ki te tau 1517. He mea whakamaori i te reo Ingarihi e Rev T. S. Grace, Putiki, Whanganui, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1882, 99pp. BiM 1030.

A history of the Christian church from its beginning to 1517, with 35 chapters from the time of the Apostles to John Wyclif, John Huss and Martin Luther. There is a map illustrating the history of the Church with a key in Māori and in English, and a time line of 3 pages from AD 33 to 1517.

This was prepared by Grace from James Craigie Robertson's *Sketches in Church History from AD33 to the Reformation*, London, SPCK, 1855, 277pp. + tables of dates (see BiM 599). All chapters up to Boniface have been translated, but 30 chapters or sections after the First Crusade have not.

He kohikohinga no roto i nga Karaipiture Tapu no te hanganga o te ao tae noa ki te whanautanga o to tatou Ariki. Na te Matenga. I whakamaorititia e te Ahirikona Wirimu. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1882, 118pp. BiM 1035.

Scripture history "from the Creation to the birth of Christ". There are 20 chapters: The Region before the Flood, the Flood, Abraham, Isaac and his two sons, Joseph, Moses, The crossing of the Red Sea and Mt Sinai, The Tabernacle and the Law, the Wanderings in the desert, the arrival of Joshua and Israel in Canaan, The Judges, Samuel the prophet and the reign of Saul, David, Solomon, the Division of the kingdom, 70 years exile in Babylon, Esther and the return from Babylon, Nehemiah and the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem, the Prophets, and the Region from the Return until the Roman conquest of Judea.

This is a translation by Archdeacon William Leonard Williams of Lady Martin's *Outline of Scripture history*, first published in London in 1876.

‘ΑΓΑΘΟΣ’ [i.e. Agathos] Ko te ritenga o te ingoa nei, ko te tangata pai. Na Samuel Wilberforce, M.A., I tuhi ki te reo Pakeha a ko te Whakamaoritanga tenei o aua korero. Ponake, Noema, 1882. 12pp. BiM 1064.

A new edition of 'Agathos', a story for children.

A translation by James Davis and Thomas Williams of 'Agathos' from the collection *Agathos and other Sunday stories* by Samuel Wilberforce, first published in 1840, see BiM190 and 402.

Te Pukapuka o nga Inoi, me era atu tikanga a te Hahi o Ingarani mo te minitanga o nga hakarameta o era atu ritenga hoki a te Hahi; me nga Waiata ano hoki a Rawiri; me te tikanga mo te motuhanga i te pihopa, i te piriti, i te rikona. Ranana: I kiia tenei kia taia e te Komiti mo te Whakapuaki i te Mohiotanga ki a te Karaiti, 1883, 459pp. BiM 1068.

A large format edition of the Book of Common Prayer based on the 1878 new version of the small format prayer book (BiM 909).

He himene mo te karakia ki te Atua, Nepia: Na te Haaringi i ta ki tona Whare Perehi Pukapuka, 1883, 136pp. BiM 1073.

A collection of 172 Anglican hymns in Māori compiled by Archdeacon W.L. Williams from *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and other collections, mostly in translations by Edward Marsh Williams (son of Henry Williams).

Te Pukapuka o nga Inoi, me era atu tikanga a te Hahi o Ingarani mo te minitanga o nga hakarameta, o era atu ritenga hoki a te Hahi; me nga Waiata ano hoki a Rawiri; me te tikanga mo te motuhanga i te pihopa, i te piriti, i te rikona. Ranana: I kiia tenei kia taia e te Komiti mo te Whakapuaki i te Mohiotanga ki a te Karaiti, 1884, 474pp. BiM 1097.

A further reprint of the small format Anglican prayer book in the 1878 version [BiM 909].

Nga Mahi a nga Apotoro. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1884, 78pp. BiM 1119.

The *Acts of the Apostles* comprised of 19 chapters concluding with a time chart covering the period from the Ascension to the deaths of Peter and Paul in Rome.

This is a translation by the Revd George Maunsell of J.P. Norris's *A Key to the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1871. The Māori text leaves out a 5-part appendix.

He kupu ma te ngakau inoi "Kei whakamutua te Inoi", Nepia: Na te Haaringi i ta ki tona Whare Perehi Pukapuka. 1885, 37pp. BiM 1122.

'A word for a prayerful heart: pray without ceasing'.

A translation of a selection of private prayers from Bishop Lancelot Andrewes's *Preces privatae quotidianae*, originally written in Greek and Latin and first published in 1675. It was adapted by Sarah Selwyn, translated by Robert Maunsell, and first published in 1845 [BiM 218]. Fifth edition, with corrections and additions in this edition by W.L. Williams.

He whakaako i nga mea o te Ariki o Ihu Karaiti, (More about Jesus). Ko whaka-maoritia i M.A. Hastings, me Atanatiu Te Kairangi. London: Printed by the Religious Tact Society, 1885, 222pp. BiM 1134.

A 'Life of Jesus' from his birth to his ascension. The style of the English is sentimental, simplistic, and oblique. The style of the Māori is simple, direct, and straight-forward. Each of the chapters ends with a set of searching questions. The person answering would need to already know the Bible stories. The answers are not found in this book.

This is a translation of Mrs Mortimer's *More about Jesus*, first published in London, 1858.

Ko te hahi i muri i a te Karaiti. Ko te korero tuatahi, Nepia: Na te Haaringi i ta ki tona Whare Perehi Pukapuka, 1887, 87pp. BiM 1183.

A second edition, with minor textual changes, of a collection of sixteen anonymous essays by students of St Stephen's School on aspects of church history to A.D. 600, first published in 1863 [BiM 599].

Ko te Paipera Tapu, ara, ko te Kawenata Tawhito me te Kawenata Hou. He mea whakamaori mai no nga reo i oroko-tuhituhia ai. London: Printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1887, 855pp., 270pp. BiM 1241.

Second edition and revised translation of the complete Bible in two sequences Old and New Testaments. The verses are arranged in paragraphs instead of each verse being printed separately. There are introductory headings to each chapter outlining the contents.

He whakamakoha i te Pukapuka a Paora Apotoro ki te Hunga o Karatia. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1891, 37pp. BiM 1315.

A commentary in Māori on St Paul's *Epistle to the Galatians*. After a short introduction there is a verse by verse explanation of the meaning, both historical and theological. This includes a series of cross-references to other books in the New Testament, and to Old Testament links both typological and prophetic.

H.W. Williams, *A Bibliography of Printed Maori to 1900*, attributes authorship of both this and the commentary on St Mark's Gospel [BiM 1316] to W.L. Williams.

He whakamakoha i te Rongo-Pai a Maka. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1891, 116pp. BiM 1316.

A commentary in Māori on *St Mark's Gospel*. After a short introduction the chapters are broken up into sections with headings. These follow the paragraph divisions marked by a pilcrow ¶ in *Te Paipera Tapu* 1868. Phrases and words are examined, explained, and linked to other parts of scripture. Gospel parallels are listed, and the respective verses from the other gospels are inserted, especially during the account of the days leading up to the resurrection.

See comments on BiM 1315.

A dictionary of the New Zealand language by the Right Reverend William Williams, D.C.L. Bishop of Waiapu, New Zealand. Fourth edition with numerous additions and corrections, an introduction, and a new English-Maori vocabulary. By the Venerable W.L. Williams, B.A. Archdeacon of Waiapu. Upton and Co., Auckland. Williams and Norgate, London and Edinburgh, 1892, 325pp. BiM 1348.

Fourth edition of Māori-English, English-Māori dictionary, c5400 entries. English Māori section 83pp.

Ko te Kawenata Hou a to tatou Ariki a te Kai Whakaora a Ihu Karaiti. He mea whakamaori mai no te reo Kariki, London: Printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1894, 250pp. BiM 1394.

Eighth edition of the New Testament, with scriptural references added. This follows the 1887 second edition of the Bible [BiM 1241a] which included chapter headings and is arranged in paragraphs. Extensive scriptural references were added by W.L. Williams.

He karakia kua whakaritea i te pihopatanga o Waiapu mo te nehu i te tupapaku, kahore nei e tika mona "Te tikanga mo te tanu tupapaku" a te Hahi i Niu Tirenī e kiia nei ko te Hahi o Ingarani. Gisborne, c1896. BiM 1448.

A form of burial authorised in the diocese of Waiapu for those for whom the Burial Service in the Prayer Book 'is not appropriate' in view of the rubric "the Office is not to be used for any that die unbaptised, or excommunicate, or have laid hands upon themselves". It provides for the Lord's Prayer and a series of prayers to be said instead of the Prayer Book words at the grave "in sure and certain hope of the Resurrection to eternal life" etc. It includes an optional prayer for unbaptised infants.

Ko te Kawenata Hou a to tatou Ariki, a te Kai Whakaora, a Ihu Karaiti. He mea whakamaori mai no te reo Kariki, London: Printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1897, 619pp. BiM 1483.

Ninth edition of the New Testament in Māori (pp. 5-496) and Psalms (pp. 497-619), there are two coloured maps bound in with this edition: "A map to illustrate the Holy Land in the time of our Saviour" and "A map to illustrate the Acts and Epistles". A reset small format edition of the 1887 second edition [BiM 1241a] with the text arranged in verses.

Ko te whakaeminga mai o te pono te A. E. I. rānei o te kupu. I Perehitia ki te Tari Nupera o te Terekarawhi, Nepia. 1897?, 31pp. BiM 1489. [also BiM 1490]

'Truth in a nutshell', literally 'the gathering together of the truth, or the A.E.I (i.e. the ABC) of the word'. An evangelical booklet with scriptural quotations.

One WTU copy is annotated by Alexander Turnbull: 'An Epitome of the Truth, or the A. E. I. of the Word. Translated by Edward Marsh Williams'. [Edward Marsh Williams 1818-1909, the oldest child of Henry and Marianne Williams, is associated with the translation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.]

Williams, W. Leonard, *Te Hahi To Tatou Taonga Tupu*, Holograph, 13 numbered pages, ATL MS-2449, c.1990.

Devotional writings with biblical cross-references about the Church as our treasured inheritance in Jesus Christ.

Katikiama hei akoranga ma te tamariki. Turanga: Te Raukahikatea, 1901. Sommerville 1014.

A catechism for teaching children.

Te pukapuka whakaako mo te tamaiti, nga inoi mo nga ratapu. Turanga: Te Raukahikatea. 1901. 19pp. Sommerville 1016.

A book for teaching children, prayers for Sundays.

He Upoko No Nga Pukapuka E Kiia Nei He Apocrypha: Kua Whakaritea Hei Korerotanga I Roto I Nga Inoi O Te Ata O Te Ahiahi, Turanga: Na Te Wiremu Hapata ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1901. 34pp. Sommerville 1023.

A translation of those chapters or portions of chapters from the *Apocrypha* which are set down, in the 1871 lectionary, to be read at Morning and Evening Prayer. There are 13 passages from The Wisdom of Solomon, 28 from The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, and 4 from Baruch.

He whakamahara mo te hunga e uru ana ki te kainga tahitanga tapu. Turanga: Te Raukahikatea, 1901. 12pp. Sommerville 1024.

A communicant's manual, written by W.L. Williams, the Bishop of Waiapu.

Te Rongo-Pai he Ngawari te Korerotanga : The Good News told in simple words. By C.P.S. Warren, Te Rau Press, Gisborne. Printed for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1908, 91pp. Sommerville 1070.

The Good News told in simple words in 21 chapters. It begins with the Creation, then tells the story from the birth of Christ through to the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost and followed by a chapter on the Trinity. This is in a straightforward style, simply told, not following *Te Paipera Tapu*.

There is something to remember, something to learn, and a number of questions at the end of each chapter. The answers can be found in the chapter itself.

He Ako mo te Whakau; ara, He tohutuhu mo te Whakaako a te Minita i te Hunga e hiahia ana ki te Whakapanga Ringaringa a te Pihopa. Na Te Wiremu, Pihopa.

Turanga: Na Te Wiremu Hapata i ta, ki te Perehi i te Raukahitakea: 1913, 78pp. Sommerville 1118.

Instructions for clergy preparing candidates for Confirmation. This begins with an Introduction with Instruction for clergy and is followed by 9 chapters: An explanation about Confirmation; An explanation about Baptism; the Sacramental and Covenantal nature of Baptism; An explanation of the promises in the baptismal liturgy; An explanation of the Apostle's Creed; An explanation of the Ten Commandments; An explanation of the Lord's Prayer; An explanation of Confirmation and the Laying on of hands; and An explanation of the Holy Communion. Each chapter ends with 3 prayers.

This was written by Bishop Leonard Williams and printed by Herbert Williams.

Maramataka mo te tau 1883, Nepia: Na te Haaringi i ta i tana Whare Perehi Pukapuka, 1882. BiM S201.

Maramataka mo te tau 1884, Nepia: Na te Haaringi i ta i tana Whare Perehi Pukapuka, 1883. BiM S201.

Maramataka mo te tau 1885, Nepia: Te Haaringi, Kai-ta Pukapuka, kei Hehitingi Tiriti, 1884. BiM S201.

New Zealand historical dates inserted in the calendar.

Additional text: Solar and lunar eclipses; 'He tepara mo nga whanaunga, [. . .] marena ki a raua' (table of forbidden degrees of relationship affecting marriage).

Maramataka mo te tau 1886, Nepia: Na te Haaringi i ta i tana Whare Perehi Pukapuka, 1885. BiM S201.

New Zealand historical dates inserted in the calendar.

Additional text: Solar eclipse; He himene: 'Hoia o te Hahi'.

Maramataka mo te tau 1887, Nepia: Na te Haaringi i ta i tana Whare Perehi Pukapuka, 1886. BiM S201.

New Zealand historical dates inserted in the calendar.

Additional text: Solar and lunar eclipses; He himene: 'Tenei te Ariki' (#173).

Maramataka mo te tau 1888, Nepia: Na te Haaringi i ta i tana Whare Perehi Pukapuka, 1887. BiM S201. 1888

New Zealand historical dates inserted in the calendar.

Additional text: Lunar eclipse; 'Nga po o te marama' (list of names of the phases of the moon on each night of the month).

Maramataka mo te tau 1889, Nepia: Na te Haaringi i ta i tana Whare Perehi Pukapuka, 1888. BiM S201.

New Zealand historical dates inserted in the calendar.

Additional text: Note that there would be no eclipses; 'Te mahi ma te Hahi a te Karaiti' (comparative summary with statistics of adherents to Christianity and other religions).

Maramataka mo te tau 1890, Nepia: Na te Haaringi i ta i tana Whare Perehi Pukapuka, 1889. BiM S201.

New Zealand historical dates inserted in the calendar.

Additional text: Solar eclipse; 'He inoi ma nga tamariki' (five prayers for children) with 9-line introductory text.

Maramataka mo te tau 1891, Khipane: Na te Muri i ta ki tona Whare Perehi
Pukapuka, 1890. BiM S201.

New Zealand historical dates inserted in the calendar.

Additional text: 'He whakaponotonga' (a shortened form of church service).

Maramataka mo te tau 1892, Nepia: Na te Haaringi i ta i tana Whare Perehi
Pukapuka, 1891. BiM S201.

New Zealand historical dates inserted in the calendar.

Additional text: 'Nga marama o te tau ki ta nga Hurai' (timetable of Jewish months, feasts, and Bible lessons) in tabular form, parallel to spine.

Maramataka mo te tau 1893, Khipane: Na te Muri i ta ki tona Whare Perehi
Pukapuka, 1892. BiM S201.

New Zealand historical dates inserted in the calendar.

Additional text: He himene: 'Whakarongo, e te iwi, te inoi a te repara' (Williams describes this as 'a sacred poem in Maori style written by Rev Mohi Turei').

Maramataka mo te tau 1894, Khipane: Na te Muri i ta ki tona Whare Perehi
Pukapuka, 1893. BiM S201.

New Zealand historical dates inserted in the calendar.

Additional text: 'He tepara, hei whakaatu i te tawhititanga tetahi i tetahi o nga kainga i korerotia i te Paipera' (table of distances between places mentioned in the Bible; with references to the text).

Maramataka mo te tau 1895, Khipane: Na te Muri i ta ki tona Whare Perehi
Pukapuka, 1894. BiM S201.

New Zealand historical dates inserted in the calendar.

Additional text: Solar eclipse; He himene: 'E Ihu, reme a t'Atua' (#181), 'Ta Ihu poroaki mai' (#182).

Maramataka mo te tau 1896, Khipane: Na te Muri i ta ki tona Whare Perehi
Pukapuka, 1896. BiM S201.

New Zealand historical dates inserted in the calendar.

Additional text: Lunar eclipse; 'Nga merekara a te Karaiti' (miracles of Christ, with New Testament references) in tabular format.

Maramataka mo te tau 1897, Khipane: Na te Muri i ta ki tona Whare Perehi
Pukapuka, 1896. BiM S201.

New Zealand historical dates inserted in the calendar.

Additional text: Solar eclipse; 'Nga kupu whakarite a te Karaiti' (parables of Christ, with New Testament references) in Tabular format.

Maramataka mo te tau 1898, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau
Kahikatea, 1897. BiM S201.

New Zealand historical dates inserted in the calendar.

Additional text: 'Ko nga maunga i te Paipera' (list of mountains in the Bible, with references).

Maramataka mo te tau 1899, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau
Kahikatea, 1898. BiM S201.

Additional text: Lunar eclipse; 'He Reimana Maori mo te Hinota o te Pihopatanga' (new canon from the General Synod, explaining who was entitled to attend as representatives); 'Tepara o nga mea e kore e tuturu' (table of dates of special observances, 1900-1909), viz., Tau o to tatou ARIKI, Reta Ratapu, Ratapu i muri i te whakaaturanga, Ratapu tuatoru i mua o Reneti, Ra tuatahi o Reneti, Ra Aranga, Ratapu Ritani, Ra Kakenga, Ra o te Petekoha, Ratapu i muri i to te Tokotoru, Ratapu tuatahi o te Haerengamai.

Maramataka mo te tau 1900, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau
Kahikatea, 1899. BiM S201.

Additional text: He himene: Kua ae ahau, e Ihu' (#186), 'E te Matua, nou na te aroha' (#187).

Maramataka mo te tau 1901, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1900. BiM S201.

Additional text: Lunar eclipse; 'Te Ropu Hora i te Rongo-Pai e kiia ko te "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts"' (brief history of the SPG, with references to SPCK).

Maramataka mo te tau 1902, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1901. BiM S201.

Additional text: Solar and lunar eclipses; 'Te tahua oranga minita' (note on the stipends of ministers) and letter from H.W. Williams, dated Te Aute, Napier, 11 March 1899.

Maramataka mo te tau 1903, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1902. BiM S201.

Additional text: Note on stipends.

Maramataka mo te tau 1904, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1903. BiM S201.

Additional text: Note, no eclipses; 'Nga ra kahore e tuturu' (table of dates of special observances, 1905-1914); note on stipends.

Maramataka mo te tau 1905, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1904. BiM S201.

Additional text: Solar eclipse; 'Nga ra kahore e tuturu' (table of dates of special observances, 1905-1914); table of dates; 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Maramataka mo te tau 1906, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1905. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'Nga ra kahore e tuturu' (table of dates of special observances, 1905-1914); 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Maramataka mo te tau 1907, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1906. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Maramataka mo te tau 1908, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1909. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Maramataka mo te tau 1909, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1908. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Maramataka mo te tau 1910, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1909. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Maramataka mo te tau 1911, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1910. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Maramataka mo te tau 1912, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1911. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Maramataka mo te tau 1913, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1912. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes)

Maramataka mo te tau 1914, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1913. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Maramataka mo te tau 1915, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1914. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'He kupu whakamarama' (note on colours of altar cloth for various parts of the church year); 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Maramataka mo te tau 1916, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1915. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'He kupu whakamarama' (note on colours of altar cloth for various parts of the church year); 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Maramataka mo te tau 1917, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1916. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'He kupu whakamarama' (note on colours of altar cloth for various parts of the church year); 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Maramataka mo te tau 1918, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1917. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'He kupu whakamarama' (note on colours of altar cloth for various parts of the church year); 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Maramataka mo te tau 1919, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1918. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'He kupu whakamarama' (note on colours of altar cloth for various parts of the church year); 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Maramataka mo te tau 1920, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1919. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'He kupu whakamarama' (note on colours of altar cloth for various parts of the church year); 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Maramataka mo te tau 1921, Turanga: Na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki Te Rau Kahikatea, 1920. BiM S201.

Additional text: 'He kupu whakamarama' (note on colours of altar cloth for various parts of the church year); 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes).

Appendix 6 ~ Te Rau students and others who did not proceed to ordination

Cartwright, Ernest	Te Rau 1902 (drowned at sea), <i>Te Pīpīwharau</i> 57, November 1902, p.6
Erihana, Erueti Pohau	BTS Grade I Class 3 1905 (Waiapu) BTS Grade II Class 3 1907 (Waiapu) BTS Grade III Class 3 1909 (Te Rau, Waiapu)
Hakiwai, Pine (Peni)	BTS Grade I Class 3 1906 BTS Grade II Class 3 1907
Ihakara, Waata Kopae	BTS Grade I Class 3 1915 BTS Grade II Class 3 1916
Karaka, Hone	BTS Grade I Class 3 1907 (Te Rau, Waiapu)
Katene, T.	BTS Grade I Class 3 1908 (Wellington)
Kauika, Ngira	BTS Grade I Class 3 1909 (Te Rau, Waiapu)
Kawhia, Raniera	Te Rau 1902, <i>Te Pīpīwharau</i> 57, November 1902, p. 6
Keepa, Matene	BTS Grade I Class 3 1908 (Auckland)
Kopae, Waata	BTS Grade I Class 3 1915 (Te Rau, Waiapu)
Naera, Matene	Te Rau 1901, <i>Te Pīpīwharau</i> 46, December 1901, p. 7
Riwai, Te Poa (Paul)	BTS Grade I Class 3 1908 BTS Grade II Class 3 1909 (Te Rau, Waiapu)
Taewaewae, W.W.	BTS Grade I Class 3 1911 (Te Rau, Waiapu)
Tait, W.K.	Te Rau 1899, <i>Te Pīpīwharau</i> 11, January 1899, p. 4
Te Paa, T.	BTS Grade II Class 3 1918 (Waiapu).
Tureia, Wiremu	BTS Grade I Class 2 1911 (Te Rau, Waiapu) BTS Grade II Class 3 1912 (Te Rau, Waiapu) BTS Grade III Class 3 1914 (Te Rau College) BTS Grade IV Part 1 Class 3 1915 (Te Rau College)
	BTS Grade IV Part 2 Class 3 1916
Waitai, W.P.	BTS Grade II Class 3 1902 (Waiapu).

Appendix 7 ~ List of Māori candidates for BTS examinations and their grades

1894	Bennett, F.A., Wellington	Grade II Class 2
1895	Bennett, F.A., Nelson	Grade III Class 3
1896	Bennett, F.A., Nelson	Grade IV Part 1 Class 3
1897	Bennett, F.A., Nelson	Grade IV Part 2 Class 3
1899	Hiwinui, R. (Tawhiri), Nelson	Grade I Class 2
1900	Hiwinui, R. (Tawhiri), Nelson	Grade II Class 2
1901	Rangihuna, W.K.P., Nelson	Grade I Class 3
1902	Kohere, R.T.M., Waiapu	Grade III Class 2
	Tawhiri, R.H., Gisborne	Grade III Class 3
	Waitai, W.P., Waiapu	Grade II Class 3
1903	Kohere, R.T.M., Waiapu	Grade IV Part 1 Class 3
	Rangihuna, W.K.P., Waiapu	Grade II Class 3
1904	Nutana, C.P., Auckland	Grade I Class 3
1905	Tamahori, P., Gisborne	Grade II Class 2
	Turei, P., Gisborne	Grade II Class 3
	Parata, H., Dunedin	Grade II Class 3
	Tamahori, P., Gisborne	Grade I Class 2
	Erihana, E.P.	Grade I Class 3
	Wainohu, H.W., Gisborne	Grade I Class 3
1906	Tawhiri, R.H., Gisborne	Grade IV Part 1 Class 3
	Wainohu, H.W., Gisborne	Grade II Class 3
	Munro, P., Waiapu	Grade I Class 3
	Hakiwai, P., Waiapu	Grade I Class 3
	Heke, H.R.	Grade I Class 3
1907	Tamahori, P., Te Rau	Grade IV Part 1 Class 3
[this is the first specific mention of Te Rau College in the BTS records]		
	Tamahori, P., Gisborne	Grade III Class 2
	Parata, H., Dunedin	Grade III Class 3
	Rangihuna, W.K.P.	Grade III Class 3
	Erihana, E.P., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade II Class 3
	Hakiwai, P., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade II Class 3
	Heke, H.R., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade II Class 3
	Munro, P., Waiapu	Grade II Class 3
	Keepa, M., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade I Class 3
	Katene, T., Wellington, Te Rau	Grade I Class 3
1908	Tamahori, P., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade IV Part 2 Class 2
	Kohere, R.T.M., Waiapu	Grade IV Part 2 Class 3
	Parata, H., Dunedin	Grade IV Part 1 Class 3
	Katene, T., Wellington, Te Rau	Grade II Class 3
	Riwai, P., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade I Class 2
1909	Erihana, E.P., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade III Class 3
	Riwai, P., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade II Class 3
	Karaka, H., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade I Class 3
	Kauika, Ng., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade I Class 3
1910	Rangihuna, W.K.P., Te Rau	Grade IV Part 1 Class 3
	Munro, P., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade III Class 3
1911	Te Kanapu, T., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade I Class 2
	Tureia, W., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade I Class 2
	Kokiri, P., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade I Class 3

	Temuera, P., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade I Class 3
	Paraone, H.H., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade I Class 3
	Taewaewae, W.W., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade I Class 3
1912	Te Kanapu, T., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade II Class 3
	Tureia, W., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade II Class 3
1913	Paraone, H., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade II Class 3
	Taewaewae, W.W., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade II Class 3
1914	Tureia, W., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade III Class 3
	Te Kanapu, T., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade III Class 3
1915	Tureia, W., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade IV Part 1 Class 3
	Te Kanapu, T., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade IV Part 1 Class 3
	Panapa, W.N., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade I Class 2
	Ihakara, W.K., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade I Class 3
1916	Tureia, W., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade IV Part 2 Class 3
	Te Kanapu, T., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade IV Part 2 Class 3
	Panapa, W.N., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade II Class 2
	Ihakara, W.K., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade II Class 3
1917	Netana, P.W., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade I Class 3
1918	Panapa, W.N., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade III Class 1
	Netana, P.W., Waiapu	Grade II Class 3
	Mataira, W.P., Waiapu	Grade II Class 3
	Te Paa, T., Te Rau	Grade II Class 3
	Harawira, K., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade I Class 3
	Matene, P., Waiapu	Grade I Class 3
1919	Netana, P.W., Waiapu	Grade III Class 3
	Matene, P., Waiapu	Grade II Class 2
	Harawira, K., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade II Class 2
1920	Matene, P., Waiapu	Grade III Class 3
	Harawira, K., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade III Class 3
	Leonard, P.H., Waiapu	Grade I Class 3
1921	Panapa, W.N., Waiapu, Te Rau	Grade IV
	[“1 st Māori to be awarded the LTh Diploma while a student” AKD]	
	Matene, P. Waiapu	Grade IV Class 3
	Leonard, P.H., Waiapu	Grade II Class 3
1922	Matene, P., St John’s	Grade IV Class 3
	Leonard, P.H., St John’s	Grade III Class 3
	Leef, E., St John’s	Grade II Class 3
	Keremana, Wiremu Hapeta	Grade I Class 3
	Leef, E., St John’s	Grade I Class 3

Board of Theological Studies. Honours Class lists, 1875-1932. Bound volume containing typed lists of candidates entered for each of the graded exams conducted annually with details of home diocese, marks attained and class of honours (1st, 2nd, or 3rd) awarded. [ANG057/7.00/1 30]

Board of Theological Studies Examination Records, vol. 1, 1875-1903, Bound volume containing handwritten analysis for each of the graded examinations conducted annually, with details re subject, examiner, candidates, and marks attained.

Includes early history and establishment of the Board beginning with the setting up of the Committee on the Supply of Candidates in 1871, and copies of the Board's Annual reports from 1875-1886. [ANG057/5.00/1 19]

Board of Theological Studies Examination Records, vol. 2, 1904-1939, Bound volume containing handwritten analysis for each of the graded examinations conducted annually, with details re subject, examiner, candidates, and marks attained. [ANG057/5.00/2 20]

Board of Theological Studies – Outlines, syllabi, etc. Regulations and syllabus for the Diploma of Licentiate in Theology, Diploma of Licentiate in Theology (Hons), and Diploma of Scholar in Theology. 1908-1910, 1914-1934, 1936-1958, 1960-1973. Printed booklet. [ANG057/8.00/1 46]

Appendix 8 ~ Māori students listed as studying at CSJE during the 1920s in Blain's Clerical Directory

Those who were subsequently ordained:

Leonard, Pakake Heketoro	CSJE 1921-2, d.1922, p.1924 (Wgtn) BTS Grade I Class 3 1920 BTS Grade II Class 3 1921 BTS Grade III Class 3 1922
Maioha, Wirihana	CSJE 1927-9, d.1929, p.1930 (Waik)
Matene, Paki Wiremu	CSJE 1921-5, d.1923, p.1925 (Ak) BTS Grade I Class 3 1918 BTS Grade II Class 3 1919 BTS Grade III Class 3 1920 BTS Grade IV Part A Class 3 1921 BTS Grade IV Part B Class 3 1922
Moana, Wiremu	CSJE 1925-7, d.1927, p.1929 (Wai)
Panapa, Wiremu Netana	CSJE 1921, 23, d.1921, p.1923 (Ak) b.1951 (Wai)
Rangi, Wharetini,	CSJE 1924-5, d.1925, p.1928 (Wai)
Rangiaho, Ramahaki	CSJE 1924-7, d.1926, p.1928 (Wai)
Rangiihu, Hamiora,	CSJE 1934-6, d.1936 (Wai), p.1937 (Aot on commission for the archbishop (Averill))
Riiwhi, Eruera	CSJE 1921-3, d.1923, p.1924 (Ak) BTS Grade I Class 3 1922 BTS Grade II Class 3 1922
Te Hau, Rikihana	CSJE 1923-6, d.1926, p.1928 (Ak)
Wanoa, Ngatai Tunoa	CSJE 1926-9, d.1929 (Wai), p.1933 (Aot)
total	11

Other Māori students at St John's during this period who passed BTS exams but were not ordained²⁸⁴

Keremana, Wiremu Hapeta	BTS Grade I Class 3 1922
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²⁸⁴ A number of other Māori were students at St John's College who were not ordained and did not pass any BTS examinations. See Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy*, 336-8.

Appendix 9 ~ Other Māori clergy ordained between 1921 and 1930 who did not attend St John's College

Anaru, Kingi	d.1926 (Wai)
Harawira, Herepo	d.1926, p.1930 (Ak)
Netana, Penewhere Wi	d.1921, p.1923 (Ak)
	BTS Grade I Class 3 1917
	BTS Grade II Class 3 1918
	BTS Grade III Class 3 1919
Park, Peata Heni (Piata)	deaconess 1923 (Chch)
Pou, Hemi Kiro	d.1927, p.1928 (Waik)
Tangohau, Wi Te Hauwaho	d.1926, p.1927 (Wai)
total	6

Appendix 10 ~ Printing dates of *Te Paipera Tapu* and its precursors

<i>Book</i>	<i>BiM</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Pages</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Printed</i>
Te Kawenata Hou					
1 st edition of complete NT	#45	1838	356pp	215x135	5,000
2 nd edition	#88	1841	387pp	176x110	20,000
3 rd edition	#104	1842	371pp	180x110	20,000
4 th edition	#196	1844	360pp	180x107	20,000
5 th edition, 'wh' used	#419	1852	371pp	215x140	15,000
6 th edition, with psalms	#559	1862	519pp, 129pp	140x90	-
7 th revised edition	#1241a	1889	270pp	215x133	4,040
8 th edition, with script refs	#1394	1894	250pp	195x133	-
9 th edition, sml format, pss	#1483	1897	619pp	135x86	-
Te Kawenata Tawhito					
[a] Hexateuch	#319	1847	8 sections	170x105	-
	#352	1848	345pp	180x105	10,000
[b] Judges-Psalms	#455	1855	(346)-817	184x106	-
[c] Proverbs-Malachi	#470	1858	377pp	184x105	5,000
Te Paipera Tapu					
1st edition	#716	1868	1199pp	216x131	-
2 nd edition, revised trans	#1241	1889	855pp, 270pp	215x133	6,060
Selection of selections					
John XIX, 43-44, poster	#17	1833?	1 sheet	454x385	-
Ephesians & Philippians	#22	1835	16pp	195x125	2,000
Luke	#27	1836	67pp	175x110	5,000
Genesis, extracts from	#32	1837	12pp	186x110	2,000
Psalms [Puckey]	#65	1840	125pp	173x103	11,000
Daniel I- VI, & Jonah	#66	1840	28pp	200x113	5,000
Daniel I-VII & Jonah	#67	1840	32pp	199x110	-
NT selections	#68	1840	356pp	210x136	1,500
OT extracts	#86	1841	83pp	190x110	5,700
Isaiah XLIX-LV	#87	1841	12pp	190x110	5,500
Matthew, small format	#89	1841	114pp	120x75	2,000+
Job	#193	1844	47pp	183x105	11,000
OT I Sundays & holy days	#219	1845	72pp	200x130	600
Exodus XXI-XL, Lev, Numb	#260	1846	244pp	181x104	-
Mark	#354	1848	106pp	183x117	-
John, probationary issue	#370	1849?	226pp	182x117	-
Gospels & Acts, rev trans	#1241b	1889?	154pp	215x133	2,020

Appendix 11 ~ Editions of *Te Pukapuka o ngā Inoi* (*Te Rāwiri, the Māori Prayer Book*), and related prayers, also *Ngā Hīmene* (Hymns).

Unless stated otherwise information in this list is from Parkinson & Griffith, *Books in Māori 1815-1900*, and Sommerville, 'A Supplement to the Williams Bibliography of Printed Maori'.

- | | | |
|-------|--------|--|
| 1820 | BiM2 | includes 'A Prayer', 'Questions' (a catechism), 'The Lord's Prayer'. |
| 1827 | BiM9 | includes the Lord's Prayer and 7 hymns. |
| 1830 | BiM11 | Māori selections: Genesis 1-3, Matthew 1-9, John 1-4, 1 Corinthians 1-6, followed by parts of the services for Morning and Evening Prayer, the Ten Commandments, two catechisms, and 19 hymns. |
| 1830 | BiM12 | <i>Ko te katehihama III</i> . Catechism from BCP. |
| 1833 | BiM18 | <i>Ko nga katikihama e wa</i> . Four catechisms. |
| 1833 | BiM19 | <i>Ko te Pukapuka Inoinga, me nga karakia hakarameta, me era ritenga hoki o te Hahi o Ingarani</i> . Parts of BCP. |
| 1839 | BiM56 | <i>Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga, me te minitanga o nga hakarameta, ko era tikanga hoki o te Hahi, ki te ritenga o te Hahi o Ingarani</i> . First edition of the abridged prayer book with 42 hymns. 36pp.
[see also 72, 73, 74, 93, 109, 197, 405, 421, 472, 473] |
| 1839 | BiM57 | Order of Confirmation. |
| 1840 | BiM65 | <i>Ko nga Waiata a Rawiri</i> . 125pp. |
| 1840 | BiM71 | <i>Ko nga Katikihama ewa</i> . 28pp. |
| 1840 | BiM72 | <i>Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga</i> . Partly reset edition of the abridged BCP with hymns. 36pp. |
| 1840 | BiM73 | <i>Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga</i> . New edition of BiM56. 24pp. |
| 1840 | BiM74 | Variant edition of BiM73. 24pp. |
| 1840 | BiM78 | <i>Ko nga himene</i> . 12pp. |
| 1841? | BiM85 | <i>Te Wakapono o nga Apotoro</i> . 1p. |
| 1841 | BiM92 | <i>Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga . . .</i>
First complete edition of BCP . 218pp., 141pp.
[see also 357, 391, 422, 474, 487, 488, 851, 909, 928, 965, 997, 1025, 1068, 1069, 1097, 1175, 1273, 1355, 1422, 1485] |
| 1841 | BiM93 | <i>Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga</i> . sqq. BiM56. |
| 1841? | BiM94 | <i>Ko nga himene</i> . sqq. BiM78. |
| 1841? | BiM96 | <i>Ko te Inoinga o te Ariki</i> . 1p. |
| 1842? | BiM107 | <i>Ko Hanuere. Ko Pepuere</i> . Calendar of daily Bible readings for Morning and Evening Prayer. 7pp. |
| 1842 | BiM108 | <i>Ko nga Katikihama ewa</i> . Different from BiM71. 35pp. |
| 1842 | BiM109 | <i>Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga</i> . sqq. BiM73, 24pp. |
| 1842 | BiM114 | <i>He Patai</i> . 6pp. [see also 210, 364, 399] |
| 1843 | BiM123 | <i>Ko te ritenga me te tikanga o te Waka Rikona</i> . 8pp. |
| 1843 | BiM124 | <i>Ko te tikanga o te Wakaunga, ara, Ko te wakapanga a nga ringaringa o te Pihopa, ki runga i a ratou kua oti nei te iriiri</i> . 1p. |
| 1843 | BiM125 | <i>He himene mo te Ratapu i ara ai a Ihu</i> . 1p. |

- 1843 BiM126 *He himene mo te ahiahi. Hei korōria ki te Atua akuanei mo nga pai katoa; tiakina, e te Kingi, ahau i raro ra i ou pakau. 1p.*
- 1843 BiM127 Variant of BiM126.
- 1843 BiM128 *He himene mo te ata. Maranga, e taku wairua, kua ao ke ano te ra; kia oho koe, haere tahi; maranga, ki te inoi. 1p.*
- 1843 BiM129 Variant of BiM128.
- 1843 BiM133 *Ko te Wakaponotanga ki to Nihe. E wakapono ana ahau ki te Atua kotahi te Matua kaha rawa, te kai hanga i te rangi i te wenua, i nga mea e kitea ana, i nga mea ekore e kitea. 1p.*
- 1843 BiM153-187 Sermon outlines.
- 1844 BiM197 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga. BiM73 & BiM65.*
- 1844? BiM198 *Mo te Hapa o te Ariki. 1p. Parts of the Communion service.*
- 1844? BiM199 *Mo te iriiringa. Uinga. E wakarerea ana e koe te rewera me ona mahi katoa, me nga mea wakapehapeha, te korōria o te ao. 1p.*
- 1845 BiM219 *Ko nga upoko o te Kawenata Tawito, hei Korerotanga i nga ata i nga Ahiahi o nga Ratapu katoa o te tau. 72pp.*
- 1845 BiM220 Variant f BiM219.
- 1845 BiM223 *He Katikihama hei whakaako i nga tangata katoa e kawea mai ana kia whakaukia e te Pihopa. 11pp.*
- 1845 BiM224 *Himene. 27 hymns, numbered 43-69. [42 hymns BiM56]*
- 1845 BiM255 *Ko te whakangawhatanga o te Katikihama o te Hahi o Ingarani he mea pēnei kia matau ai te tangata I te mea e whakaahuatia nei te Katikihama. 49pp. Translation by James Davis of Rev. James Stillingfleet's *Short and familiar explanation of the Church Catechism*, 3rd ed., York, 1787.*
- c1846 BiM261 *Ko nga himene. 20pp. 65 hymns with irregular numbering.*
- 1847 BiM329 *Ko nga Katikihama ewha. 26pp. Variant of BiM108.*
- 1847 BiM330 *100. Waiata, 85.1-4. 7pp. 25 hymns starting at 100.*
- 1847 BiM333 *Erima o nga waiata o te Hahi te Karakia o te Ata te Ahiahi, kua oti te wehewehe nga kupu ki te ritenga o te waiata kanati; me o ratou rangi ano. 8pp. Extracts for Morning and Evening Prayer pointed for chanting.*
- 1848 BiM355 *He Katikihama hei whakaako i nga tangata katoa e kawea mai ana kia whakaukia e Te Pihopa. 8pp. Revised edition of the Church Catechism.*
- 1848 BiM356 *He Katikihama. CMS London printing of Catechism. sqq. BiM355.*
- 1848 BiM357 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga, me era atu tikanga, i whakaritea e te Hahi o Ingarani, mo te minitanga o nga hakarameta, o era atu ritenga hoki a te Hahi: me nga Waiata ano hoki a Rawiri, me te tikanga mo te whiriwhiringa, mo te whakatapunga, me te whakatapunga o nga pihopa, o nga piriti, me nga rikona. 321pp. BCP*

- with Psalms and a calendar. This edition supersedes BiM92.
[for further details see Parkinson & Griffith, pp. 184-5.
In his 2003 article 'A Language Peculiar to the Word of God', Parkinson calls this 'The Selwyn Prayer Book 1844-48', pp. 40ff, with an interesting quote about dialects.]
- 1849 BiM371 *Ko nga Katikihama etoru*. 19pp. 3 from BiM71.
- 1850? BiM388 *He Katikihama*. sqq. BiM355.
- 1850 BiM389 *Ko nga Katikihama ewha*. 32pp. sqq. BiM329.
- 1850? BiM390 *Ko nga upoko mo etahi Ratapu me era atu ra nui*. 7pp.
Calendar of readings from the New Testament and Psalms.
- 1850 BiM391 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga*. Reprint of London SPCK edition BiM357.
- 1850-1 BiM392 *Ko te tikanga mo nga inoi o te ata, I nga ra katoa o te tau*. 32pp., 12pp. Morning Prayer, the Litany and Evening Prayer in 1848 text BiM357. Some variants.
- 1850? BiM395 *Ko nga himene*. 12pp. New edition of 42 hymns. BiM56 & 261 includes 'wh'.
- 1851? BiM405 *He kohikohinga no nga inoi i roto i te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga*. 43pp. Extracts from BCP arranged for use as family prayer and visitation of the sick.
[c1852 BiM420 A collection of catechisms.]
- 1852 BiM421 *Ko nga Inoi o te Ata o te Ahiahi*. 68pp., 30pp. Selections from BCP with 42 hymns.
- 1852 BiM422 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga*. **2nd edition complete BCP**. Difference from 357 & 391 is that it includes the full text of the Epistles and Gospels. All parts of the NT are in the revised translation (419, 5th edition NT, 1852).
- 1852 BiM432 *Mo te Karakia o te Ata*. Reprint of extracts from Morning and Evening Prayer, pointed for chanting. 1p. sqq. 333.
- 1856 BiM465 *Ko nga himene*. 52 hymns as supplement to 422, 42 from 1839 (56), plus 10 new translations by T.H. Smith (Williams).
- 1858 BiM472 *Ko nga Inoi o te Ata o te Ahiahi*. 68pp, 247pp. 1st section sqq. 421. The psalms are grouped for each Sunday morning and evening service. HWW describes a 3rd section of 42 hymns (as 421) but no copy has been located.
- 1858 BiM473 variant of 472 with 24 hymns.
- 1858 BiM474 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga*. Reprint of complete BCP 1852 (422).
- 1859 BiM487 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga*. Reprint of complete BCP 1852 (422).
- 1859 BiM488 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga*. Reprint of small format edition of BCP 1852 (487).
- 1860? BiM493 *Te tikanga mo te motuhanga i te tangata hei piriti. Kia taea te ra i whakaritea e te Pihopa, kia mutu hoki nga inoi*

- o te ata; me whakatu e te kai kauwhau te tikanga o te mahi ma te hunga e haere mai ana kia whakaurua ki roto ki nga piriti.* 10pp. Service for the ordination of priests.
- c1860 BiM500 *Ko nga himene.* 52 hymns.
- c1860 BiM501 variant of BiM500.
- c1860 BiM502 *Ko nga himene.* Small format edition of 52 hymns sqq. 500.
- 1862 BiM558 *Ko te pukapuka o nga Waiata. He mea whakamaori i te reo Hiperu.* 129pp. New edition usually found bound with 6th edition of NT (559). Translation same as 1848 (357).
- c1870 BiM740 *Ko nga himene.* 52 hymns. sqq. 500.
- c1873 BiM778 *Ko te tāinga o te kawa o te whare karakia.* Akarana. 6pp. Order of service for the consecration of a church. [Probably at the time of the consecration of Holy Trinity, Pakaraka, Bay of Islands, 27 November 1873]
- 1873 BiM780 *Himene.* Taurarua. 1 p. [For ordination of Rūpene Paerata as a deacon, 24 April 1873, St Stephen's boys formed a choir]
- 1873? BiM784 *Ko nga himene.* 55 hymns. Slightly revised 500 & 780.
- 1873? BiM785 small format edition of 784.
- 1874? BiM811 *Te tikanga mo te Korerotanga o era atu wahi o te Karaipiture Tapu. Ko te Kawenata Tawhito kua whakaritea mo nga upoko tuatahi o te Karakia o te Ata, o te Ahiahi.* Table of Lessons for Morning and Evening Prayer for Sunday and Holy Days, from Church of England 1871, provisionally authorised by General Synod in 1874, Statute 21. Included in the 1876 BCP (909). Its 'provisional' status continued until the alternative Table of Lessons in the 1928 Prayer Book was adopted, in 1937.
- 1876 BiM851 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoinga.* Reprint of 1852 complete BCP. Includes revised Table of Lessons (811). [WTU copy has 56 hymns bound in.]
- 1876? BiM854 *Ko nga himene.* 56 hymns indicating tunes, 55 from 1873 (784-5) with, as Hymn 56, Williams's translation of 'Veni Creator Spiritus', first printed in about 1860 (in the service for the ordination of priest (493)).
- 1877 BiM881 *Ko nga Katikihama ewha.* New setting of 4 Anglican catechisms sqq. 329.
- c1878 BiM908 *He Katikihama kia akona e nga tangata katoa keiwha ki te Pihopa kia whakaukia.* New version of BCP Catechism with 25 numbered questions and answers.
- 1878 BiM909 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoi, me era atu tikanga a te Hahi o Ingarani mo te minitanga o nga hakarameta, o era atu ritenga hoki a te Hahi; me nga Waiata ano hoki a Rawiri; me te tikanga mo te motuhanga i te pihopa, i te piriti, i te rikona.* **New version of small format BCP.** Includes 1874 revised Table of Lessons (811) "and significant textual changes throughout". 474pp.
- 1878? BiM910 *Himene.* Small format edition of 56 hymns sqq. 854.

- 1879 BiM928 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoi*. Reprint of 909.
- 1880 BiM965 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoi*. Reprint of 909.
- 1880 BiM966a *He himene*. "Haere mai ki a au, e koutou katoa e mauui ana, e taimaha ana, a māku koutou e whakaokioki." *Mate koe i te mauui, tamai rawatia? Nei kei a au te ata noho. Haere mai!* 1p. 7 stanza hymn for service at Taumārere (later as hymn 85 in larger collection of 1883 (1073)).
- 1881 BiM997 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoi*. Reprint of 909.
- 1882 BiM1024 *Katikiama hei akoranga ma te tamariki*. An Anglican catechism of 56 numbered questions and answers for children. [A heavily modified version of Yate's 2nd catechism of 1828' (11).]
- 1882? BiM1031 *Himene*. Small format edition of 56 hymns sqq. 854.
- 1883 BiM1068 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoi*. Large format BCP, including 39 articles, printed in large size type. 'Set from an uncorrected copy of the 1878 new version of the small format prayer book (909), it has numerous typographical errors which were not corrected until the 1901 reprint (Somerville 1050). One WTU copy has *Ko nga himene* (854) bound in.
- 1883 BiM1069 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoi*. Reprint of 909.
- 1883 BiM1073 *He himene mo te karakia ki te Atua*. 136pp. Collection of 172 hymns 'compiled by Archdeacon Williams from *Hymns Ancient and Modern* and other collections, mostly translation by Edward Marsh Williams (son of Henry Williams)'.
1884 BiM1097 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoi*. Reprint of 909.
- 1885 BiM1130 Reprint of second edition of 172 hymns sqq. 1073.
- 1886 BiM1149 *He himene. Kia maia, kia toa. Rangi* "Onward Christian Soldiers." 1p.
- 1887 BiM1175 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoi*. Reprint of 909 with addition of 39 articles and the Table of prohibited degrees.
- 1887 BiM1179 *He himene*. Enlarged collection ('third edition') of 175 hymns (1073).
- 1888 BiM1202 Reprint of 1179.
- 1889? BiM1246 "*E te Ariki; whakaakona mātou ki te inoi*". Five prayers for children. 1p.
- 1890 BiM1273 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoi*. Reprint of small format BCP 1175.
- 1890? BiM1274 *Kawanga whare-karakia*. Order for the opening of a church. 1p. See also 1277.
- 1890 BiM1276 *He himene*. Reprint of 1179.
- 1893 BiM1349 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoi*. Reprint of small format BCP 1175.
- 1893? BiM1355 *Himene*. 20 hymns from 1890 (1296).
- 1895 BiM1422 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoi*. Reprint of small format BCP 1175.
- c1896 BiM1448 *He karakia kua whakaritea i te pihopatanga o Waiapu mo te nehu i te tupapaku, kahore nei e tika mona* "Te tikanga

- mo te tanu tupapaku*". A short form of the burial service for those for whom the Burial Service in the BCP is not appropriate. 1p. [This differs from Parkinson]
- 1896 BiM1449 *He himene*. Enlarged collection ('fifth edition') of 186 hymns.
- 1897 BiM1485 *Ko te Pukapuka o nga Inoi*. Reprint of small format BCP 1175.
- c1898 BiM1506 *He inoi mo te Kareti*. A prayer for Te Rau College, Gisborne. 1p.
- 1900 BiM1546 *He himene*. Enlarged collection of 188 hymns. 154pp. [From 1905 publication was taken over by SPCK.]
- further items from Sommerville's Supplement*
- 1901 1014 Katikihama hei akoranga ma te tamariki. Catechism for teaching children.
- 1901 1015 *Te pukapuka o nga inoi, me era atu tikanga a te Hahi o Ingarani mo te minitanga o nga hakarameta o era atu hoki te Hahi; me nga Waiata ano hoki a Rawiri; me te tikanga mo te motuhanga i te pihopa, i te piriti, i te rikona*. Large format prayer book sqq. BiM1068.
- 1902? 1027 *Te tikanga o te karakia . . .* (Coronation service Edward VII).
- 1905 1057 *Te pukapuka o nga inoi, me era atu tikanga a te Hahi o Ingarani mo te minitanga o nga hakarameta o era atu hoki te Hahi; me nga Waiata ano hoki a Rawiri; me te tikanga mo te motuhanga i te pihopa, i te piriti, i te rikona*. Small format prayer book.
- 1907 1068 *Te katikihama a te hahi*. Church catechism. 11pp.
- c1909 1083 *He inoi mo te whakaritenga i tetahi pihopa no te pihopatanga o Waiapu*. A prayer for the process of choosing a bishop for the diocese of Waiapu. 1p.
- 1910 1088 *He whakawhetai mo te mutunga iho o te inoi mo te Kingi i te karakia o te ata, o te ahiahi*. Prayer for King Edward VII. 1p.
- 1910 1092 *Himene*. A collection of 38 hymns. 32pp.
- 1911 1101 *He inoi mo te whakatakatoranga e te kawana o te kowhatu kaupapa o te whare me te kura kotiro Maori i Hukarere, Nepia, i te 29 o Hepetema*. A prayer for the laying of the foundation stone for Hukarere girls' school by the Governor. 2 prayers on recto; two hymns on verso. 2pp.
- 1912 1116 *Te pukapuka o nga inoi, me era atu tikanga a te Hahi o Ingarani mo te minitanga o nga hakarameta o era atu hoki te Hahi; me nga Waiata ano hoki a Rawiri; me te tikanga mo te motuhanga i te pihopa, i te piriti, i te rikona*. Small format prayer book.
- 1914 1130 *Te taua Maori. Kia kaha. Kia toa*. Prayers, psalms and hymns compiled by Archdeacon H.W. Williams for the use of members of the expeditionary force in 1914.
- 1916 1134 *Te iriiri tapu*. Holy baptism. 16pp.
- 1918 1142 *He karakia whakawhetai mo te Rongomau*. An order of service of thanksgiving for Peace. 4pp.

- | | | |
|------|------|---|
| 191? | 1146 | <i>He himene.</i> 8 hymns. 3pp. |
| 1920 | 1154 | <i>Himene mo te puni Maori i te Arawa paaka, Rotorua, Aperira 1920.</i> A collection of 17 hymns for the Māori group at Te Arawa park on the occasion of Edward Prince of Wales's visit. 7pp. |

Appendix 12 ~ Te Maramataka ~ years published with details of where copies are held and details of additional material printed at the end of particular years publications.

For details see Parkinson, Phil G, & Griffith, Penny, *Books in Māori, 1815-1900 ~ Ngā Tānga Reo Māori: An Annotated Bibliography ~ Ngā Kohikohinga Me Ōna Whakamārama*, Auckland: Reed Pub, 2004, **BiM S201**, pages 817-31.

Year	Printer	Additional materials	Historical events	copies sighted	copies held by
1841	Paihia	[1] ²⁸⁵	No	AP	AP, AR, DUHO, WTU ²⁸⁶
1842	Paihia	[2]	No	AP ²⁸⁷	AP, AR, DUHO, WTU
1843	Paihia		No	AP ²⁸⁸	AP, AR, DUHO, WTU, NLA
1844	Paihia	[3]	No	AR	AR, DUHO, WTU
1845	Paihia	[4]	No	AR	AR, DUHO, WTU
1846	Purewa	[5]	No	AR	AR, WTU, NLA
1847	Purewa	[6]	No	(AR)	AR, WTU(p/c)
1848	Kareti	[7]	No	AP(Grey)	AP, AR, WTU(p/c)
1849	Kareti	[8]	.		AR, WTU(p/c)
1850	Kareti	[9]	No	AP	AP, AR, WTU, DL, NLA
1851	Kareti		No	AR	AR, WTU(p/c)
1852	Kareti		No	AP ²⁸⁹	AP, AR, WTU(p/c)
1853	Kareti		No	AR	AR, DUHO, WTU(p/c)
1854	Kareti		No	AR	AR, DUHO, WTU(p/c)
1855	Auckland				no copy located
1856.1	Wanganui ²⁹⁰		No	AR	AR, WTU(p/c)
1856.2	Auckland				no copy located
1857	Auckland				no copy located
1858.1	Werengitanga ²⁹¹		No	AR	AR, WTU
1858.2	Auckland	[10]			no copy located
1859	Akarana ²⁹²		.		DUHO, WTU(p/c)
1860	Auckland				no copy located
1861	Akarana ²⁹³		No	AP ²⁹⁴	AP, WTU, NLA, & NZETC ²⁹⁵
1862	Auckland				no copy located
1863	Auckland				no copy located

²⁸⁵ see section at end of this document for details of additional material included as per column 3

²⁸⁶ AP Auckland City Libraries, and its Grey collection as marked
AR Auckland War Memorial Museum Library
DL Dixon Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney
DUHO Hocken Library, Dunedin
NLA National Library of Australia, Canberra
WTU Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

²⁸⁷ handwritten changes written on 1842 copy in preparation for 1843 edition

²⁸⁸ hand written notes, alterations to the texts at foot of each page/month

²⁸⁹ hand written notes about proof sections of Te Paipera Tapu being “struck off” probably by William Nihill

²⁹⁰ ‘No te Kareti Maori, Whanganui’ (Church of England Native Industrial School). No pre or post additions.

²⁹¹ ‘I taia ki te perehi o Hori Watene’ (George Watson)

²⁹² Southern Cross Office

²⁹³ JF Leighton, Kai hoko Pukapuka

²⁹⁴ Bishop of Waiapu written on cover, handwritten places visited on various dates in October and November

²⁹⁵ <http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-BIMs201Pamp.html>

1864	Akarana ²⁹⁶	[11]	No	AP(Grey)	WTU
1865	Auckland ²⁹⁷	[12]	.		WTU(p/c), CU
1866	Auckland ²⁹⁸	[13]	No	AR	AR, WTU
1867	Auckland				<i>no copy located</i>
1868	Auckland				<i>no copy located</i>
1869	Auckland				<i>no copy located</i>
1870	Auckland				<i>no copy located</i>
1871	Auckland				<i>no copy located</i>
1872	Auckland ²⁹⁹		.		WTU
1873	Napier ³⁰⁰	[14]	.		WTU
1874	Napier				<i>no copy located</i>
1875	Napier				<i>no copy located</i>
1876	Napier				<i>no copy located</i>
1877	Napier ³⁰¹		.		WTU
1878	Napier ³⁰²	[15]	.		WTU, NLA
1879	Napier ³⁰³		No	AP	AP, WTU, NLA
1880.1	Nepia ³⁰⁴	[16]	No	AP	AP, WTU, NLA
1880.2	Gisborne ³⁰⁵	[17]	No	p/c	DUHO, WTU, NLA
1880.3	Akarana ³⁰⁶	[18]	Some	AP(Grey) ³⁰⁷	AP, WTU(p/c)
1881	Gisborne ³⁰⁸	[19]	No	AP	AP, DUHO, WTU, NLA
1882	Nepia ³⁰⁹		No	WTU(p/c)	WTU
1883	Nepia ³¹⁰		No	WTU(p/c)	(WTU)
1884	Nepia				<i>no copy located</i>
1885	Nepia ³¹¹	[20]	Yes	AP	AP, DUHO, WTU, NLA
1886	Nepia ³¹²	[21]	Yes	AP	AP, DUHO, WTU, NLA
1887	Nepia ³¹³	[22]	Yes	AP	AP, WTU, NLA
1888	Nepia ³¹⁴	[23]	Yes	WTU(p/c)	WTU, DUHO, NLA

²⁹⁶ I taia ki te Perehi a te Pihopa

²⁹⁷ Cathedral Press, at St Stephen's School, Taurarua

²⁹⁸ Cathedral Press, at St Stephen's School, Taurarua

²⁹⁹ Upton & Co., Canada Buildings, Queen Street

³⁰⁰ Daily Telegraph

³⁰¹ Dinwiddie, Morrison & Co., Tennyson Street

³⁰² Dinwiddie, Morrison & Co., Tennyson Street

³⁰³ Dinwiddie, Morrison & Co., Tennyson Street

³⁰⁴ RC Harding, Hastings St

³⁰⁵ HE Webb, Gladstone Road

³⁰⁶ William Atkin

³⁰⁷ 8 Maehe, Hui o te Hahi ki Parawai

30 Mei, Taenga tuatahi o Pihopa Herewini ki Niu Tireni, 1842

24 Hune, Hoani Papita

20 Hepetema, Matenga o Pihopa Patihana;

18 Tihema, Te unga mai o te Matenga ki Whangaroa, 1814, also variously Ra Emepa for Emipa.

³⁰⁸ Poverty Bay Herald, Gladstone Road

³⁰⁹ RC Harding, Hastings St

³¹⁰ RC Harding, Hastings St

³¹¹ RC Harding, Hastings St

³¹² RC Harding, Hastings St

³¹³ RC Harding, Hastings St

³¹⁴ RC Harding, Hastings St

1889	Nepia ³¹⁵	[24]	Yes ³¹⁶	AP	AP, DUHO, WTU, NLA
1890	Nepia ³¹⁷	[25]	Yes	AP	AP, DUHO, WTU, NLA
1891	Kihapane ³¹⁸	[26]	Yes	AP	AP, DUHO, WTU, NLA
1892	Nepia ³¹⁹	[27]	Yes	AP	AP, DUHO, WTU, NLA
1893	Kihapane ³²⁰	[28]	Yes	AP	AP, DUHO, WTU, NLA
1894	Kihapane ³²¹	[29]	Yes	AP	AP, DUHO, WTU, NLA
1895	Kihapane ³²²	[30]	Yes	AP	AP, WTU, NLA, Kinder
1896	Kihapane ³²³	[31]	Yes	AP	AP, WTU, NLA
1897	Kihapane ³²⁴	[32]	Yes	AP	AP, WTU, NLA
1898	Turanga ³²⁵	[33]	Yes	AP	AP, WTU
1899	Turanga	[34]	No	AP	AP, WTU, NLA
1900	Turanga	[35]	No	AP	AP, WTU, NLA
1901	Turanga	[36]	No	AP	AP, WTU, NLA
1902	Turanga	[37]	No	AP	AP, WTU
1903	Turanga	[38]	No	AP	AP
1904	Turanga	[39]	No	AP	AP, WTU
1905	Turanga	[40]	No	AP	AP, WTU
1906	Turanga		No	AP	AP
1907	Turanga		No	AP	AP
1908	Turanga		No	AP	AP, WTU
1909	Turanga		No	AP	AP, WTU
1910	Turanga		No	AP	AP, WTU
1911	Turanga		No	AP	AP, WTU
1912	Turanga		No	AP	AP
1913	Turanga		No	AP	AP, WTU
1914	Turanga		No	AP	AP, WTU
1915	Turanga	[41]	No	AP	AP, WTU
1916	Turanga		No	AP	AP, WTU
1917	Turanga		No	AP	AP, WTU
1918	Turanga		No	AP	AP
1919	Turanga		No	AP	AP
1920	Turanga		No	AP	AP
1921	Turanga		No	AP	AP, WTU
1922	Turanga ³²⁶		No	AP	AP
1923	Turanga		No	AP	AP

³¹⁵ RC Harding, Hastings St

³¹⁶ 5 Hanuere, Ka whakamatea a Kereopa mo te kohuru i a Te Wakena, 1872;
17 Hanuere, Timatanga o te whawhai ki Peiwhairangi, 1845

³¹⁷ RC Harding, Hastings St

³¹⁸ AR Muir

³¹⁹ RC Harding, Hastings St

³²⁰ AR Muir

³²¹ AR Muir

³²² AR Muir

³²³ AR Muir

³²⁴ AR Muir

³²⁵ first of small editions of Te Maramataka, 'na te Wiremu Hapata i ta ki te Rau Kahikatea', continued the same until 1920, 1920 & 1921 'na te Wiremu Hapata i ta, ki te Perehi, i Te Raukahikatea' (Herbert W Williams), hand written on cover 1000 4/9/97; historical events not moved from Sundays, days on left, biblical references on right

³²⁶ 1922 & 1923 'Na Hone Mahani i ta, ki te Perehi i Te Raukahikatea' (John Mahoney)

Printed at:

Paihia: 5.

Akarana: Unspecified 13, Purewa/Kareti 9, W Atkin 1, Southern Cross 1, JF Leighton 1, Bishop's Press 1, Cathedral Press 2, Upton & Co 1. [total Auckland 29]

Nepia: Unspecified 4, Daily Telegraph 1, Herald 3, RC Harding 9. [total Napier 17]

Kihapane / Turanga: HE Webb 1, AF Muir 6, Te Rau HWW 24, Te Rau Hone Mahani 2. [total Gisborne 33] Wellington: Hori Watene 1. Whanganui: Kareti Maori 1.

Editions with added New Zealand Historical Events:

None 36

Some 1

Yes 13

Not yet sighted 37

Additional material as shown in column 3 (usually added at end of the publication)

- [1] 1841. Bible quotations on pp. 15-16.
- [2] 1842. as [1], plus: 'Ko nga Ture Kotahi Tekau a te Atua'; 'Ko nga tikanga anei e tika nei kia waka ritea e tatou' (extracts from the Church Catechism).
- [3] 1844. 'He painga mo te tinana' (agricultural hints January-June); 'Ko te Wakamaharatanga ki nga tau i te hanganga o te ki te haerenga mai o Ihu Karaiti' (table of Old Testament chronology from the Creation, 4000 BC); reset version of the Ten Commandments; 'Ko te Inoi o te Ariki' (this last page may be sold separately).
- [4] 1845. 'He pukapuka na te Rata o nga tangata Maori o Poneke' (on the care of women and babies); 'Ko nga ture mo nga kai whakaako Maori' (rules for Maori teachers); 'Ko nga monita' (a note for monitors). Bible quotations at foot of almanac omitted from this edition onwards).
- [5] 1846. Table of OT chronology; rules for Maori teachers and monitors; agricultural hints; 'Ko nga tikanga a te Paheka' (William Martin's explanation of English jurisprudence, cf BiM227), pp. 17-30.
- [6] 1847. Rules for teachers and monitors; table of OT chronology.
- [7] 1848. Agricultural hints; Table of OT chronology; tables of measurements in English and Maori, 'Taima', 'Roa', 'Nui', 'Toimaha', 'Moni'.
- [8] 1849. Agricultural hints; Table of OT chronology and tables of measurements; 'He eka, An acre'; 'Ko nga Upoko' (Bible readings for Morning and Evening Prayer throughout the year); 10 itineraries (8 in the North Island) of distances between settlements, starting from Auckland; 'He rongoa witi' (cure for smut in wheat); 'Ko te ritenga mo te hanga rewena' (how to make leaven); agricultural hints at the foot of some pages.
- [9] 1850. 'He korero mo te whakakoinga o te mira' (instructions for sharpening a mill). Some copies had 2 wheat recipes from 1849 with recipes for curing bacon.
- [10] 1859. 'Araitanga marama' (lunar eclipses); 'He ture mo nga kai-whakaako Maori'; 'He mea hei whakaarohanga ma nga tangata Maori' (six ways to improve Maori villages).
- [11] 1864. 'He himene', 8 verses 'E te Wairua, Kai-hanga'; Rules for Maori teachers. ('Veni Creator' translated by WL Williams as part of the ordination service, was also printed separately as single sheets).
- [12] 1865. 'He tuuturu na te Hinota tuatoru o te Pihopatanga o Waiapu. Maehe 1864' (7 resolutions passed at the 1864 third synod of the Waiapu diocese); rules for Maori teachers.
- [13] 1866. Lunar eclipses; 'He inoi' (prayer dates July 1865, seeking the return to the faith of those who had strayed); rules for Maori teachers.
- [14] 1873. Lunar eclipses. 'Nga upoko mo nga Ratapu' (table of readings for the year, morning and evening prayer).
- [15] 1878. Lunar eclipse; He himene: 'Mate koe i te mau iui' (#85 in 1883 hymnal).
- [16] 1880.1. 'Ko nga tikanga enei o etahi mea nunui, pai, a te Pakeha' (repeated of tables of measurements from 1848 almanac).
- [17] 1880.2. Lunar eclipses; He himene: 'Au, e Ihu, tirohia'.

- [18] 1880.3. 'He kupu whakamarama' (explanatory note on abbreviations for Bible readings).
- [19] 1881. Lunar eclipses; He himene: 'Pahure marie ana ra' (#31).
- [20] 1885. Solar and lunar eclipses; 'He tepara mo nga whanaunga, {...] marena ki a raua' (table of forbidden degrees of relationship affecting marriage).
- [21] 1886. Solar eclipse; He himene: 'Hoia o te Hahi'.
- [22] 1887. Solar and lunar eclipses; He himene: 'Tenei te Ariki' (#173).
- [23] 1888. Lunar eclipse; 'Nga po o te marama' (list of names of the phases of the moon on each night of the month).
- [24] 1889. Note that there would be no eclipses; 'Te mahi ma te Hahi a te Karaiti' (comparative summary with statistics of adherents to Christianity and other religions).
- [25] 1890. Solar eclipse; 'He inoi ma nga tamariki' (five prayers for children) with 9-line introductory text.
- [26] 1891. 'He whakaponotonga' (a shortened form of church service).
- [27] 1892. 'Nga marama o te tau ki ta nga Hurai' (timetable of Jewish months, feasts, and Bible lessons) in tabular form, parallel to spine.
- [28] 1893. He himene: 'Whakarongo, e te iwi, te inoi a te repara' (Williams describes this as 'a sacred poem in Maori style written by Rev Mohi Turei'.
- [29] 1894. 'He tepara, hei whakaatu i te tawhititanga tetahi i tetahi o nga kainga i korerotia i te Paipera' (table of distances between places mentioned in the Bible; with references to the text).
- [30] 1895. Solar eclipse; He himene: 'E Ihu, reme a t'Atua' (#181), 'Ta Ihu poroaki mai' (#182).
- [31] 1896. Lunar eclipse; 'Nga merekara a te Karaiti' (miracles of Christ, with New Testament references) in tabular format.
- [32] 1897. Solar eclipse; 'Nga kupu whakarite a te Karaiti' (parables of Christ, with New Testament references) in Tabular format.
- [33] 1898. 'Ko nga maunga i te Paipera' (list of mountains in the Bible, with references).
- [34] 1899. Lunar eclipse; 'He Reimana Maori mo te Hinota o te Pihopatanga' (new canon from the General Synod, explaining who was entitled to attend as representatives); 'Tepara o nga mea e kore e tuturu' (table of dates of special observances, 1900-1909), viz., Tau o to tatou ARIKI, Reta Ratapu, Ratapu i muri i te whakaaturanga, Ratapu tuatoru i mua o Reneti, Ra tuatahi o Reneti, Ra Aranga, Ratapu Ritani, Ra Kakenga, Ra o te Petekoha, Ratapu i muri i to te Tokotoru, Ratapu tuatahi o te Haerengamai.
- [35] 1900. He himene: Kua ae ahau, e Ihu' (#186), 'E te Matua, nou na te aroha' (#187).
- [36] 1901. Lunar eclipse; 'Te Ropu Hora i te Rongo-Pai e kiia ko te "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts"' (brief history of the SPG, with references to SPCK).
- [37] 1902. Solar and lunar eclipses; 'Te tahua oranga minita' (note on the stipends of ministers) and letter from H.W. Williams, dated Te Aute, Napier, 11 March 1899.
- [38] 1903. Note on stipends.
- [39] 1904. Note, no eclipses; 'Nga ra kahore e tuturu' (table of dates of special observances, 1905-1914) [continued in 1905, 1906]; note on stipends.
- [40] 1905. Solar eclipse; table of dates; 'He tuhituhi whakamahara' (ruled for diary notes) [ruled notes section repeated till 1923.]
- [41] 1915. Solar and lunar eclipses; 'He kupu whakamarama' (note on colours of altar cloth for various parts of the church year). [Note on colours repeated in 1916 - 1923.]

Appendix 13 ~ Board of Theological Studies³²⁷

Subjects for the Annual Examinations 1908-9-10

Grade I [The Last Monday in September]

1. The historical parts of the Old Testament to the end of the Judges.
2. The Four Gospels in English.
3. C.H. Robinson: "Studies in the Character of Christ" (Longmans).
4. The Church Catechism to be studied with the manual edited by the Rev. A.W. Robinson D.D. (Cambr.Univ.Press).
5. The History of the Christian Church to 313 A.D.
6. The Prefaces to the Book of Common Prayer, the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany.
7. Liddon: "Some Elements of Religion" (Longmans).

Voluntary paper: Elementary Greek Grammar.
The Rev. S.G. Green's "Brief Introduction to New Testament Greek" sections 1-48 inclusive, (R.T.S.) is recommended.

Grade II [The Second Tuesday after the Last Monday in September]

1. The History of Israel from the birth of Samuel to the Captivity.
2. The Epistles of the New Testament in English.
3. The Acts of the Apostles, with Paley's *Horae Paulinae*.
4. The Articles of Religion, i-viii (inclusive).
5. The History of the Church in England to 1500 A.D.
6. The Baptismal and other Offices to the Communion (inclusive); their history and meaning.
7. J.P. Norris: "The Rudiments of Theology" (Longmans).
8. Greek Grammar with easy passages for translation from the Parables of St Matthew's Gospel. (The Rev. S.G. Green's book is recommended.)

Voluntary paper: Christian Missions in India.

Grade III [The Second Tuesday after the Last Monday in September]

1. General Old Testament History, with specific reference to the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah.
2. The Gospel according to St Luke (Greek and English).
3. St Paul's Epistles to the Galatians (ed. Bishop Lightfoot omitting dissertations) and to the Ephesians (ed. Dean J. Armitage Robinson).
4. Butler's Analogy, Part I, and Sermons i, ii, iii (Dean Bernard's edition recommended) with Eager's "Butler's Analogy and Modern Thought" (S.P.C.K.).
5. The Articles of Religion, ix-xxvii, xxxii-xxxix.
6. The History of the Church in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
7. The Office of Holy Communion, its history and meaning; together with the Articles of Religion xxviii-xxxix (inclusive).
8. Latin Paper: Augustine "Thirteen Homilies on St John XIV," edited by the Rev. H.F. Stewart (Cambr.Univ.Press).

³²⁷ Board of Theological Studies Outlines, Syllabi 1908-1910, 1914-1934 ANG057/8/1

Voluntary paper: Elementary Hebrew, Genesis xxxvii, xxxix-xlvi (inclusive).
The following books are recommended: The Book of Genesis in Hebrew, by Dr. C.H.H. Wright (Williams and Norgate), and Dr A.B. Davidson's Hebrew Grammar (T&T Clark).

Grade IV, Part 1 [The Second Tuesday after the Last Monday in September]

1. The Gospel according to St John, Greek and English (ed. Bishop Westcott).
2. Bishop Gore's Bampton Lectures "The Incarnation of the Son of God," together with Hooker: Ecclesiastical Polity, Book V, sections 50-68 (inclusive).
3. The History of the Christian Church to the Council of Chalcedon.
4. The Book of Common Prayer, including the Ordinal: its history and meaning.
5. The Ethical Teaching of our Lord.
Books recommended: F.G. Peabody, "Jesus and the Social Question" (Macmillans), Bishop Westcott, Social Aspects of Christianity (Macmillans).

Voluntary paper: Athanasius, de Incarnatione Verbum Dei: edition by Bishop Robertson (D.Nutt); there is also a translation of the work by the same author and the same publisher.

Grade IV, Part 2

1. The Book of Isaiah xl-lxvi (ed. Skinner, Cambr. Bible Series), with Dr Driver's "Isaiah, his Life and Times: (Nesbitt).
2. St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, in Greek and English (ed. Sanday and Headlam, T. & T. Clark).
3. Moberly: "Personality and Atonement".
4. Cyprian: Epp. 8-10, 13, 14, 19-22, 27, 30, 31, 34, 36, 41-44, 49, 50, 55, 57, 59, 60, 63, 66, 68, 73, 75-81 (ed. Dr J.H. Goldhord. D.Nutt).
Useful information will be found in Archbishop Benson's article on Cyprian in Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Biography", and in his larger work "Cyprian, his Life, Times and Work" (Macmillans).
5. Curteis' Bampton Lectures "Dissent in its relation to the Church of England" (Macmillans); Bishop Gore "Roman Catholic Claims" (Longmans).

Hints to Candidates.

1. In all Scriptural Papers Candidates are expected to shew an acquaintance with the Revised Edition. The commentaries of the "Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges" series will be found useful.
2. Prayer Book subjects. The following books will be found helpful:-
 - i. Elementary: Bishop Barry, "The Teacher's Prayer Book;" Evan Daniel, "The Prayer Book, its History and Contents."
 - ii. Advanced: Proctor & Frere, "A New History of the Book of Common Prayer;" Bishop of Sarum, "The Holy Communion;" Freeman, "The Principles of Divine Worship."
The First and Second Prayer-Books of Edward VI are published in cheap editions (Parkes).
3. Articles of Religion.
 - i. Elementary: (1) Maclear and Williams; (2) Kidd.
 - ii. Advanced: (1) Bp. Harold Browne; (2) Bp. Gibson, (3) Tyrell Green.

Grades V & VI

The Board of Theological Studies have provided an advanced course of reading for men who have passed the examinations of the foregoing syllabus. The following gentlemen have consented to act as examiners:-

The Rev. H.B. Swete, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.

The Rev. H.M. Gwatkin, M.A. (D.D. Edin), Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Cambridge.

The Rev. W.E. Barnes, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

The Rev. H.J.C. Knight, D.D., Principal of the Clergy Training School, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The Rev. F.R. Tennant, B.D., formerly Scholar of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

Grade V

1. The New Testament.
 - (a) A General Paper.
 - (b) The Epistle to the Hebrews.
2. Dogmatics: The Person of the Holy Spirit.
3. Church History.
The Religious History of England in the eighteenth century.
4. History of Christian Missions.
General, with special reference to the Universities' Missions in India and in Central Africa.
5. An Essay or Thesis on some theological subject to be selected by the candidate and approved by the examiners.
N.B. In papers 2 & 3 original documents will, as far as possible, be among those selected.

Grade VI

1. The Old Testament.
The First Book of Samuel and Psalms, Book iii either in Hebrew or in the LXX and Vulgate.
2. Biblical Criticism of the Old and New Testaments. Attention to be given to the authorship, date, form, general scope and main divisions of the several books and to the history of the text and the formation of the Canon.
3. Philosophy.
(1) Personality. (2) The Ethics of Usury.
4. Apologetics.
The place of miracles among the evidences of revelation.
5. Liturgiology.
Some selected subject.
6. An Essay or Thesis on some theological subject to be selected by the candidate and approved by the examiners.

All Candidates in Grades III and IV must satisfy the Examiners in Greek and Latin.

Appendix 14 ~ Board of Theological Studies Syllabus for 1914, 1915, 1916.³²⁸

Grade I

1. The historical parts of the Old Testament to the end of the Judges. (text with simple explanations)
2. The Four Gospels in English. (text with simple explanations)
3. The Church Catechism to be studied with the manual edited by the Rev. A.W. Robinson D.D. (Camb.Univ.Press), and "A Class-book of the Catechism of the Church of England," Canon G.F. Maclear, D.D. (Macmillans).
4. The History of the Christian Church to 313 A.D.
5. Book of Common Prayer, Morning and Evening Prayer, Litany, and the Collects for Sundays and Holy Days.
6. Latin: St John xiii to end (translation and grammar) to be studied with the Vulgate, ed. by Bishop Wordsworth and Prof. H.J. White D.D. (small edition Oxford University Press).
7. Archbishop Alexander: "Primary Conviction" (Osgood).
8. Greek Grammar, with passages for translation from the First Epistle of St John.

N.B. Candidates not proceeding to the Board's Diploma may take as paper 6 (instead of papers 6 & 8 on the above list), "Illustrated Notes on English Church History, vol. i," Rev. C.A. Lane, F.R.Hist.S. (S.P.C.K.).

Grade II

1. The History of Israel from the birth of Samuel to the Captivity.
2. The Epistles of the New Testament in English.
3. The Acts of the Apostles, with Paley's *Horae Paulinae*.
4. The Articles of Religion, i-viii (inclusive).
5. The History of the Church in England to 1500 A.D.
6. The Baptismal and other Offices to the Communion (inclusive); their history and meaning.
7. H.V.S. Ecke: "The Incarnation." (Oxford Library of Practical Theology, Longmans).
8. Greek Grammar and the First Epistle of St Peter, edit. by Canon J.H.B. Masterman, M.A. (Macmillans).

Voluntary paper: St Augustine: "De Catechizandis Rudibus" edit. by Preb. W.Y. Fausset, M.A. (Methuen & Co).

Grade III

1. General Old Testament History.
2. The Book of Isaiah Chapters i-xxxix, edit. by Rev. J. Skinner, D.D. (Camb.Univ.Press).
3. The Gospel according to St Matthew in Greek, to be studied with "An exegetical commentary on St Matthew's Gospel" by Rev. A. Plummer, D.D. (Scott).
4. Butler's Analogy, Part I, and Sermons i, ii, iii (Dean Bernard's edition recommended) with Eager's "Butler's Analogy and Modern Thought" (S.P.C.K.).
5. The Articles of Religion, ix-xxvii, xxxii-xxxix.
6. The History of the Church in England, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
7. The Office of Holy Communion, and the Ordinal their history and meaning; together with the Articles of Religion xxviii-xxxix (inclusive).
8. St Augustine: "De Gratia" Book I, edit. by Canon W. Bright, D.D. (Oxford University Press). A translation of this book is published by T. & T. Clark.

Voluntary paper: Elementary Hebrew, I Samuel i-xii (inclusive) ed. Prof. Driver, D.D. (Ox.Univ.Press).

³²⁸ Board of Theological Studies Outlines, Syllabi 1908-1910, 1914-1934 ANG057/8/1

Grade IV, Part 1

1. The Epistle to the Ephesians, ed. by Dean J.A. Robinson, D.D. (Macmillans) and the Pastoral Epistles, edit. by Bishop Bernard (Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools). Greek and English.
2. Hooker: Ecclesiastical Polity, Book V.
3. The History of the Christian Church to the Council of Chalcedon.
4. "A Handbook of Christian Apologetics" Rev. A.E. Gargie, D.D. (Duckworth & Co).
5. The Ethical Teaching of our Lord.
Books recommended: F.G. Peabody, "Jesus and the Social Question" (Macmillans), Prof. R.L. Ottley "Christian ideas and ideals" (Longmans).

Voluntary paper: Prof. Gwatkin "Selections form Early Christian Writers" (Macmillans).

Grade IV, Part 2

1. The Book of Isaiah xl-lxvi, to be studied with the commentaries of Rev. J. Skinner, D.D. (Camb.Univ.Press), and Prof. G.A. Smith, D.D. (Expositor's Bible, Hodder & Stoughton).
2. St Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians to be studied with the commentary of Bishop Robertson, D.D. and Rev. A. Plummer, D.D. (International Critical Commentary, T. & T. Clark), Greek and English.
3. "The Christian Doctrine of Salvation," by Rev. G.B. Stevens, D.D. (T. & T. Clark).
4. The History of the Church in England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, together with the History and Constitution of the Church of the Province of New Zealand.
5. "Dissent in its relation to the Church of England", Curteis' Bampton Lectures (Macmillans); "Roman Catholic Claims", Bishop Gore (Longmans).

Voluntary paper: Hebrew: Palms, Book I.

Grade V

1. The New Testament.
(a) A General Paper.
(b) The Epistle to the Hebrews.
2. Dogmatics: The Person of the Holy Spirit.
Article "Holy Spirit" in Dictionary of Christian Biography, and in Hastings Dictionary of the bible.
Basil, "De Spiritu Sancto" (ed Johnson, Clarendon Press).
Gregory Nazianzen, "Theolog: Oration V" (ed. Mason, Cambr.Univ.Press).
J.F. Wood, "The Spirit in Biblical Literature" (Hodder).
Ambrose, "De Spiritu Sancto".
3. Church History.
The Religious History of England in the eighteenth century.
4. History of Christian Missions.
General, with special reference to the Universities' Missions in India and in Central Africa.
5. An Essay or Thesis on some theological subject to be selected by the candidate and approved by the examiners.
N.B. In papers 2 & 3 original documents will, as far as possible, be among those selected.

Grade VI

1. The Old Testament.
The First Book of Samuel and Psalms, Book iii either in Hebrew or in the LXX and Vulgate.
2. Biblical Criticism of the Old and New Testaments. Attention to be given to the authorship, date, form, general scope and main divisions of the several books and to the history of the text and the formation of the Canon.
3. Philosophy.

- (1) Personality.
J.R. Illingworth "Personality, Human and Divine" (Macmillans)
Lotze, *Microcosmos* Vol. II, Bk II, Chapter 4.
- (2) The Ethics of Usury.
Bishop Andrewes, *De Usuris*, pp.121-150 (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology).
W.J. Ashley, "Introduction to English Economic History and Theory", pp.124-222 & 377-488 (Rivingtons).
4. Apologetics.
The place of miracles among the evidences of revelation.
Butler, *Analogy*, Part II, Chapter II.
J.B. Mozley, "On Miracles".
Bushnell, "Nature and the Supernatural".
A.B. Bruce, "The Miraculous element in the Gospels"
J.R. Illingworth, "Divine Immanence", Chapter V.
5. Liturgiology: The Liturgy of St Mark (pp.171-192).
The (four) Western Liturgies (pp.284-363).
Introduction to E. Hammond's *Liturgies* (the pages refer to Hammond).
6. An Essay or Thesis on some theological subject to be selected by the candidate and approved by the examiners.

Books recommended for Grades I-IV

The following list is intended as a guide for candidates in their reading. It is not exhaustive nor does it bind the Examiners as to the questions to be set.

1. Holy Scripture.
Candidates are expected to show an acquaintance with the Revised Version.
The Cambridge Companion to the Bible is recommended for all Grades.
A. Old Testament.
Grade I Maclear "Class-Book of Old Testament History".
Burnside "Old Testament History for Schools".
Grade II Maclear and Burnside
Foakes-Jackson, "History of the Hebrew People."
Grade III Stanley "History of the Jewish Church."
Kirkpatrick "The Divine Library of the Old Testament."
- B. New Testament.
Grade I Sanday "Outlines of the Life of Christ".
Stalker, "The Life of Jesus Christ".
Grade II Pullan, "The Books of the New Testament".
Lock, "St Paul the Master-builder".
2. New Testament Greek.
G. Rodwell, "New Testament Greek for beginners".
J.H. Moulton, "Introduction to the study of New Testament Greek".
S.G. Green, "Handbook to the Grammar of the Greek New Testament".
3. Articles of Religion.
Grade II Kidd, "The Thirty Nine Articles".
Maclear & Williams, "Introduction to the Articles".
Grade III Bishop E.C.S. Gibson, "The Thirty Nine Articles",
or Bishop Harold Browne, "Exposition of the Articles".
4. Book of Common Prayer.
All students should possess the First and Second Prayer-Books of Edward VI. They are published in cheap editions by Griffith Farren & Co., Parker Society, etc.
Grade I Bishop Drury, "How we got our Prayer Book".

Evan Daniel, "The Book of Common Prayer its history and meaning". [correct title
"The Prayer-Book, its History, Language, and Contents"]

- Grade II Evan Daniel, as above.
"A New History of the Book of Common Prayer", Proctor and Frere.
- Grade III Proctor & Frere, as above.
Bishop Gore, "The Church and the Ministry".
Meyrick, "The Doctrine of the Church of England on the Holy Communion".

5. Church History.

Gee and Hardy's "Documents Illustrative of Church history" will be of assistance in all Grades in which English Church History is taken.

- Grade I Pullan, "The Church of the Fathers".
W. Smith, "Student's Manual of Early Church History".
Kelly, "History of the Church of Christ".
- Grade II Patterson, "History of the Church of England".
Wakeman, "History of the Church of England".
- Grade III Stephens & Hunt, "History of the English Church".
Perry, "Student's Manual of English Church History".
Gee, "The Reformation Period".
- Grade IV Part I. Pullan's & Kelly's histories, as above.
Gwatkin, "Early Church History to 313 A.D." and "The Arian Controversy".
Duchesne, "Early History of the Christian Church".

Grade IV Part II.

Stephens & Hunt "History of the English Church".
Abbey an Overton "The English Church in the eighteenth century".
Jacobs, "History of the Church of New Zealand"

N.B. The Constitution will be found in the Book of the Proceedings of General Synod.

The Board specially recommends to all students in Grade IV Dr L.B. Radford's "Ancient Heresies in Modern Dress".

6. Hebrew.

Dr. A.B. Davidson, "Hebrew Grammar" (T. & T. Clark).

Notices and Regulations – new item.

Diplomas. The Board is authorized by the General Synod to grant the Diploma LTh (Licentiate in Theology) to candidates who have passed both parts of Grade IV and the Diploma of SchTh (Scholar in Theology) to those who have passed Grade VI.

Appendix 15 ~ Board of Theological Studies Syllabus for 1917, 1918, 1919³²⁹

Grade I

1. Old Testament: First Book of Samuel, ed. Dean A.F. Kirkpatrick, D.D. (Cambr. Bible for Schools).
2. New Testament: The Gospel according to St Mark, edit. by Sir A.F. Hort, M.A. (Revised edition for Schools, Cambr.Univ.Press), and the Epistle of St James, ed. by Dean E.H. Plumptre, D.D. (Cambr. Bible for Schools).
3. "The Church Catechism Explained" by the Rev. A.W. Robinson, D.D. (Cambr.Univ.Press), and "An Introduction to the Creeds" (pp.57-299) by Canon G.F. Maclear, D.D. (Macmillans).
4. "The English church in New Zealand" by Canon H.T. Purchas, M.A. (Simpson & Williams).
5. The Book of Common Prayer: The Order of Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany (text and simple explanation).
6. Christian Evidences: "A Manual of Christian Evidences" by Preb. C.A. Row, D.D. (Hodder and Stoughton).
7. English: Nesfield's English Grammar.
Hales' Longer English Poems (Macmillans).

Additional Subject: Greek – The First Epistle of St John, ed. by the Rev, A. Plummer, D.D. (Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools).

Grade II

1. Old Testament: The Book of Isaiah, chapters i-xxxix, edit. by the Rev. J. Skinner, D.D. and the Book of Amos, edit. by Prof. S.R. Driver, D.D. (both Cambr.Univ.Press).
2. New Testament: The Book of the Acts of the Apostles, chapters i-xii (inclusive), edit. by the Rev. J.V. Bartlet, D.D. (Century Bible, T.C. & E.C. Jack) to be read with the corresponding parts of Dean Conybeare and Howson's "Life and Epistles of St Paul" (Longmans).
3. The Articles of Religion, i-viii (inclusive).
4. History: The History of the Christian Church to 313 A.D.
5. The Book of Common Prayer: The Baptismal and other Offices to the Communion (inclusive); their history and meaning.
6. Doctrine: H.V.S. Ecke: "The Incarnation." (Oxford Library of Practical Theology, Longmans).
7. Missions: "Under His Banner" by Preb. H.W. Tucker, M.A. (S.P.C.K.).

Additional Subject: Greek – The First Epistle of St Peter, edit. by Canon J.H.B. Masterman, M.A. (Macmillans).

Grade III

1. Old Testament: The Book of Isaiah, chapters xl-lxvi, ed. by the Rev. J. Skinner, D.D. (Cambr.Univ.Press), and the Books of Habakkuk and Zechariah, ed. by Prof. Driver, D.D. (Century Bible, T.C. & E.C. Jack).
2. New Testament: The Pastoral Epistles, edit. by the Rev. A. Plummer, D.D. (Expositor's Bible, Hodder & Stoughton).
3. The Articles of Religion: ix-xxvii, xxxii-xxxix.
4. History: The English Church to 1509 to be read with "History of the Church of England" by the Rev. M.W. Patterson, M.A. (Longmans), with special study of the Reformation Period.
"The History of the Reformation in England" by Archdeacon Perry (Longmans) is recommended.
5. Book of Common Prayer: The Office of Holy Communion with Articles of Religion xxviii-xxxi.

³²⁹ Board of Theological Studies Outlines, Syllabi 1908-1910, 1914-1934 ANG057/8/1

6. Bishop Butler's Sermons i, ii, iii, edit. by Archbishop Bernard, and "Jesus Christ and the Social System" by Prof. F.G. Peabody, D.D. (Macmillans).
7. Apologetics: "The Miracles of Unbelief", by the Rev. F. Ballard, M.A. (T. & T. Clark).

Additional Subject: N.B. Two of the following must be taken by candidates for the Diploma.

- A. Hebrew: 1 Samuel i-xii (inclusive) ed. by Prof. Driver, D.D. (Oxford Univ.Press)
- B. Greek: The Pastoral Epistles, edit. by Archbishop Bernard (Cambr. Greek Testament for Schools).
- C. Latin: St Anselm, "Cur Deus Homo?" (D.Nutt).

Grade IV

Part A

1. Old Testament: The Book of Genesis, ed. by Bishop H.E. Ryle, D.D. and the Book of Exodus chapters i-xx, ed. by Prof. Driver, D.D. (both in Cambridge Bible for Schools).
2. Hooker: Ecclesiastical Polity, Book V.
3. Christian Ethics: "Property and its rights and duties", ed. by Bishop Gore, D.D. (Macmillans) and "Conscience and Christ" by Canon H. Rashdall, LL.D. (Duckworth).
4. Missions: "A history of Missions in India" by Prof. J. Richter, D.D. (Oliphant), and "The Renaissance in India" by Rev. C.F. Andrews, M.A. (C.M.S.).

Part B

5. New Testament: The Gospel according to St John, by the Rev. A. Plummer, D.D. with "The Last Discourse and Prayer of our Lord" by the Rev. H.B. Swete, D.D. (Macmillans).
6. History: English Church history from 1660 to the end of the eighteenth century in "A History of the Church of England" by the Rev. M.W. Patterson, M.A. (Longmans) together with "The History of the Church of England in the nineteenth century" by F. Warne Cornish, M.A. (two vols, Macmillans).
7. Apologetics: "Dissent in its relation to the Church of England", Curteis' Bampton Lectures (Macmillans); "Roman Catholic Claims", Bishop Gore (Longmans).
8. Doctrine: "The Holy Spirit in the New Testament" by the Rev. H.B. Swete, D.D. (Macmillans).

9. Additional Subject. : N.B. Two of the following must be taken by candidates for the Diploma.

- A. Hebrew: The Psalms, Book I, ed. Jennings & Lowe (Macmillans).
- B. Greek: The Epistle to the Galatians, edit. by the Rev. A.C. Williams, D.D. and the Epistle to the Ephesians, ed. by the Rev. J.O.F. Murray, D.D. (both in the Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools).
- C. Latin: St Augustine, "De Spiritu et Littera", ed. by Canon W. Bright, D.D. (Oxford Univ. Press).

Grade V

1. The New Testament.
 - (a) A General Paper.
 - (b) The Epistle to the Hebrews.
2. Dogmatics: The Person of the Holy Spirit.

Article "Holy Spirit" in Dictionary of Christian Biography, and in Hastings Dictionary of the bible.

Basil, "De Spiritu Sancto" (ed Johnson, Clarendon Press).

Gregory Nazianzen, "Theological Oration V" (ed. Mason, Cambr.Univ.Press).

J.F. Wood, "The Spirit in Biblical Literature" (Hodder).

Ambrose, "De Spiritu Sancto".
3. Church History.

The Religious History of England in the eighteenth century.

4. History of Christian Missions.
General, with special reference to the Universities' Missions in India and in Central Africa.
5. An Essay or Thesis on some theological subject to be selected by the candidate and approved by the examiners.
N.B. In papers 2 & 3 original documents will, as far as possible, be among those selected.

Grade VI

1. The Old Testament.
The First Book of Samuel and Psalms, Book iii either in Hebrew or in the LXX and Vulgate.
2. Biblical Criticism of the Old and New Testaments. Attention to be given to the authorship, date, form, general scope and main divisions of the several books and to the history of the text and the formation of the Canon.
3. Philosophy.
(1) Personality.
J.R. Illingworth "Personality, Human and Divine" (Macmillans)
Lotze, Microcosmos Vol. II, Bk II, Chapter 4.
(2) The Ethics of Usury.
Bishop Andrewes, De Usuris, pp.121-150 (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology).
W.J. Ashley, "Introduction to English Economic History and Theory", pp.124-222 & 377-488 (Rivingtons).
4. Apologetics.
The place of miracles among the evidences of revelation.
Butler, Analogy, Part II, Chapter II.
J.B. Mozley, "On Miracles".
Bushnell, "Nature and the Supernatural".
A.B. Bruce, "The Miraculous element in the Gospels"
J.R. Illingworth, "Divine Immanence", Chapter V.
5. Liturgiology: The Liturgy of St Mark (pp.171-192).
The (four) Western Liturgies (pp.284-363).
Introduction to E. Hammond's Liturgies (the pages refer to Hammond).
6. An Essay or Thesis on some theological subject to be selected by the candidate and approved by the examiners.

Regulations. Diplomas.

- i. The Board will grant the Diploma LTh (Licentiate in Theology) to candidates who have
 - (a) passed the matriculation examination of the University of New Zealand, or some other University recognised by the Board, and
 - (b) passed both parts of Grade IV: provided such candidates shall have passed the Greek papers in Grade I and II and any two of the additional papers in Grades III & IV respectively. Candidates for Grade IV may take one or both of the additional papers with either part of that Grade.
- ii. The Diploma of SchTh (Scholar in Theology) will be granted to those candidates who have passed Grades V and VI.

Appendix 16 ~ Church History articles in *Te Pīpīwharauroa*

Nama=edition, Tau=year, Whārangī=page, Ingoa=title of article, Kupu=number of words used.

Nama	Marama	Tau	Whā	Ingoa	Kupu
127	Oketopa	1908	1	Hahi o Ingarangi	1555
133	Aperira	1909	7	Te Hahi o Niu Tireni	364
133	Aperira	1909	7-9	Tipunga o te Whakapono U.I,II	2111
134	Mei	1909	6-7	Pihopa Herewini	1152
134	Mei	1909	7-8	Te Hahi o Niu Tireni Upoko III	1344
135	Hune	1909	9-10	rite tonu – Upoko IV	752
136	Hurae	1909	8-9	rite tonu – Upoko V	1223
137	Akuhata	1909	8-9	rite tonu – Te Wa Whakahaere	2085
138	Hepetema	1909	5-6	rite tonu – Upoko III	1105
139	Oketopa	1909	5-6	rite tonu – Upoko IV	1906
140	Nowema	1909	4-6	rite tonu – Upoko V	1142
141	Tihema	1909	4	rite tonu – Upoko VI	1292
142	Pepuere	1910	3-5	rite tonu – Upoko VII	2504
143	Maehe	1910	7-8	rite tonu – Upoko VIII	1378
144	Aperira	1910	7-8	He Korero Tawhiti, Mohi Turei	1753
				[Piripi-Taumata-a-Kura]	
144	Aperira	1910	10-11	Te Hahi i Niu Tireni Wahanga III	
				Te Wa o te Tipunga Upoko I	814
145	Mei	1910	7	rite tonu	971
146	Hune	1910	9-10	rite tonu – W III, U II	915
148	Akuhata	1910	8-9	rite tonu – U III Te P o Otepoti	1415
149	Hepetema	1910	6-7	rite tonu – U IV Nga Ra Whakamutunga, Pihopa Herewini	1332
150	Oketopa	1910	5-6	Hamuera Matenga	1438
150	Oketopa	1910	7	Te Hahi i Niu Tireni, Upoko V	748
151	Nowema	1910	4	A Tatou Taonga-Oha i roto i te Hahi	951
151	Nowema	1910	5	Hamuera Matenga	1012
151	Nowema	1910	6	Te Hahi i Niu Tireni, Upoko IV	
				Nga K Whakamutunga	809
152	Tihema	1910	4-5	A Tatou Taonga-Oha i roto i te Hahi	
				Te Hahi me te Whakapono	1575
152	Tihema	1910	5-6	Hamuera Matenga	1581
153	Hanuere	1911	2	A Tatou Taonga-Oha i roto i te Hahi	
				Te Hahi me te Paipera Tapu	1825
153	Hanuere	1911	7	Hamuera Matenga, Kauh Tuatahi	648
154	Pepuere	1911	1-2	A Tatou Taonga-Oha i roto i te Hahi	
				Upoko IV – Te Karakia	1921
154	Pepuere	1911	8	Hamuera Matenga	982
155	Maehe	1911	4-5	A Tatou Taonga-Oha i roto i te Hahi	
				Te Iriiri Tapu	1490
155	Maehe	1911	8	Hamuera Matenga	809
157	Mei	1911	8-9	A Tatou Taonga-Oha i roto i te Hahi	
				Te Whakapakanga Ringaringa	1442
160	Akuhata	1911	3-4	A Tatou Taonga-Oha i roto i te Hahi	
				Upoko VII – Te Hapa Tapu	1525

161	Hepetema	1911	4-5	A Tatou Taonga-Oha i roto i te Hahi Upoko VII – Te Hapa Tapu	1467
162	Oketopa	1911	5-6	A Tatou Taonga-Oha i roto i te Hahi Upoko VIII – Nga Minita	1115
163	Nowema	1911	9-10	A Tatou Taonga-Oha i roto i te Hahi Upoko VIII – Nga Minita	689+
164	Tihema	1911	3-4	A Tatou Taonga-Oha i roto i te Hahi Upoko VIII – Nga Minita	1261
169	Hune	1912	3-4	Te Hahi o Ingarangi	1764
170	Hurae	1912	3-5	Te Hahi o Ingarangi	1436
171	Akuhata	1912	2-4	Te Hahi o Ingarangi	1117

Appendix 17 ~ Books from Te Rau College library

Books that appear to have come from Te Rau College Library presently held by the John Kinder Theological Library, Meadowbank, Auckland.

Hunter, John (ed.), *Titi Livii Patavini Historiarum belli punici secundi*, Edinburgh: Apud Oliver et Boyd, 1864.

Isaacs, Albert Augustus, *Biography of the Rev. Henry Aaron Stern, D.D.: for more than forty years a missionary amongst the Jews: containing an account of his labours and travels in Mesopotamia, Persia, Arabia, Turkey, Abyssinia, and England: illustrated from photographs taken chiefly by himself*, London: James Nisbet, 1886.

Macauley, Thomas Babington, *Reviews, essays and poems: including essay from the "Edinburgh Review", Lays of Ancient Rome, and miscellaneous writings in prose and verse, with a biographical introduction by G.T. Bettany*, London: Ward Lock, 1890.

Neil, James, *Palestine explored: with a view to its present natural features, and to the prevailing manners, customs, rites, and colloquial expressions of tis people, which throw light on the figurative language of the Bible*, London: Nisbet, 1882.

Pentecost, George Frederick, *A South Window: Keep yourselves in the love of God*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1891.

Poole, George Ayliffe, *The life and times of Saint Cyprian*, London: Griffith Farran Okeden & Welsh, 18-?

Richter, Julius, *A history of missions in India, translated by Sydney H. Moore; with a coloured map by Bartholomew*, Edinburgh, Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier, 1908?

Sherring, M.A., *The Indian church during the Great rebellion: an authentic narrative of the disasters that befell it, its sufferings, and faithfulness unto death of many its European and native members*, London: James Nisbet, 1859.

Venn, Henry, *The life and a selection from the letters of the late Rev. Henry Venn, M.A.: successively vicar of Huddersfield, Yorkshire, and Rector of Velling, Huntingdonshire, author of "The Complete Duty of Man" &c: the memoir of his life drawn up by the late John Venn, edited by Henry Venn*, London: John Hatchard and Son, 1835.

Williams, W.L., *The Maori mission, past and present*, Palmerston North: Keeling & Mundy, 1904.

Appendix 18 ~ Recent academic qualifications by Māori on Māori spirituality and related topics

PhDs

Jenny Plane Te Paa

2001

"Contestations [microform] : bicultural theological education in Aotearoa New Zealand," PhD thesis, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley California.

Hone te Kauru-o-te-rangi Kaa

2003

"Solidarities in Difference: Reflections on Ministry and Race in the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia", DMin thesis, Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, MAS.

G.R. Aroha Yates-Smith

1998

"Hine! E Hine! Rediscovering the Feminine in Maori Spirituality," PhD thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton.

Wayne Rangi Nicholson

2009

"Ko te mea nui, ko te aroha." Theological Perspectives on Māori Language and Cultural Regeneration Policy and Practice of the Anglican Church," PhD thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Henare Arekatera Tate

2010

"Towards Some Foundations of a Systematic Māori Theology: He Tirohanga anganui ki tētahi kaupapa hōhonu mō te whakapono Māori," PhD thesis, Melbourne College of Divinity, University of Melbourne, Melbourne.

Peter William Wensor

2010

"Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa Liturgical Theologies: The Theological Impact of 'Word Changes' in te reo Māori liturgical texts of Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa," PhD thesis, School of Theology, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Te Waaka Melbourne

2011

"Te Wairua Kōmingomingo o Te Māori: The Spiritual Whirlwind of the Māori," PhD thesis, Māori Studies department, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Moeawa Makere Callaghan

2011

"Te Karaiti in Mihingare Spirituality," PhD thesis, University of Auckland.

Masters

Jenny Plane Te Paa

1995

"Ka Whakatungia Ano A Te Rau Kahikatea: An Historical Critical Overview of Events Which Preceded the Re-Establishment of Te Rau Kahikatea Theological College of Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa," MEd thesis, Education department, University of Auckland.

Don Tamihere

2002

"Kua Oti te Tuhituhi: towards a Māori exegesis of the Bible," MA thesis, School of Theology, University of Auckland.

Danny Tuato'o

2007

"'Te Tahi o Pipiri': Literacy and missionary pedagogy as mechanisms in change. The reactions of three rangatira from the Bay of Islands: 1814-1834," MA thesis, University of Otago, Dunedin.

Appendix 19 ~ Those Māori ordained prior to establishment of Te Rau College in 1883

GA Selwyn	Wm Williams	Wm Cowie
Deacon	Deacon	Deacon
1853 Waitoa SSS	1860 Kawhia*	1872 Pomare*
1855 Te Ahu, SSS	1861 Huata*	1872 Turipona* SSS
1860 Tarawhiti*	1861 Te Ahu, I SSS	1873 Paerata, R*
1860 Te Karari SSS	1863 Pahewa*	1874 Te Ngara SSS
1860 Te Moanaroa SSS	1864 Moeke	1875 Kapa, H*
1861 Patiki	1864 Tawhaa SSS	1875 Taua* SSS
1861 Taupaki* SSS	1864 Turei SSS	1875 Te Haara*
1867 Tangata	1866 Te Rangomaro SSS	1875 Te Whareumu*
1867 Tuhua SSS	1870 Paraire	1876 Kamiti*
1867 Wiki SSS	1870 Pohutu	1880 Te Paa* SSS
Priest	Priest	Priest
1866 Tarawhiti	1860 Waitoa#	1871 Patiki#
1866 Taupaki	1861 Kawhia	1871 Tangata#
	1864 Huata	1873 Te Moanaroa#
	1870 Tawhaa	1874 Pomare
	1870 Turei	1874 Turipona
	1878 Pahewa	1876 Paerata, R
		1878 Kapa, H
		1878 Taua
		1878 Te Haara
		1878 Te Whareumu
		1878 Kamiti
		1881 Te Paa
Edward Stuart	Harper	Hadfield
Waiapu	Christchurch	Wellington
Deacon	Deacon	Deacon
1878 Piwaka	1872 Mutu	1872 Te Herekau
1878 Te Aihu*		1872 Te Wanui
1878 Te Wainohu*		1876 Ta Mahau*
1881 Runga		1877 Te Hana*
1881 Te Aro		
Priest	Priest	Priest
1881 Te Wainohu		1886 Te Ngara#
1887 Te Aihu		1886 Te Mahau
		1886 Te Hana

* = deaconed and priested by same bishop # = priested by another bishop
 SSS = known to have time spent at St Stephen's School, Parnell