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'Korero Tuku Iho'
Mission to Merger: Exploring the Stories of Māori-Baptist Engagement in the Lower Waikato

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Te Rarawa

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Attestation of Authorship

I have read and understood Carey Baptist College's rules on plagiarism. I hereby declare that this Thesis is the result of my own independent scholarly work, and that in all cases material from the work of others (in books, articles, essays, dissertations, and on the internet) is acknowledged, and quotations and paraphrases are clearly indicated. No material other than that listed has been used. This written work has not previously been used as examination material at this or any other university. This written work has not yet been published.

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Tuhinga Whakarāpopoto *Abstract*

This study focuses on the historical interactions between Māori and Baptists through the Lower Waikato Baptist Māori Mission in the mid-20th century in Aotearoa New Zealand. It was unique in that it was the first mission amongst Māori supported by the wider Baptist Union of Churches and would precipitate an outburst of multiple works across the country. However much of its progression, eventual conclusion and overall impact has been largely undocumented – forgotten except by those who experienced it directly.

An attempt to fill the gap in the literature, this qualitative study positions mātauranga Māori at the centre of the research using oral narratives from Māori sources of information. Knowledge held in Māori communities about Māori-Baptist engagement in the Lower Waikato is explored, as is, the significance of these stories for the Baptist Movement generally. Utilising Kaupapa Māori methodology, the various phases of the mission and other significant events that followed are historically and theologically critiqued from Māori perspectives. By doing so, the study weaves together unique Māori Christian perspectives providing a timely contribution to local and national dialogue about Christian mission and ministry in Aotearoa New Zealand today.

Whakapuakitanga *Dedication*

To God be the glory,

He hōnore, he korōria ki te Atua

He maungārongo ki te whenua

He whakaaro pai ki ngā tāngata katoa

Ake, ake, ake

Āmene

In loving memory of my nana,

Kathleen Haurua (nee Harris)

Pepeha *Introduction to Author*

Ko Rakautapu te māunga

Ko Tapuwae Hokianga te moana te awa

Ko Ngatokimatawhaorua te waka

Ko Ngai Tupoto te marae

Ko Te Rarawa te iwi

Ko Ngahuia te tupuna

Ko Hare te whānau

Ko Akaata tōku papa

Ko Anna tōku mama

Ko Rarotonga te waka

Ko Ngatangiia te awa

Ko Ikurangi te māunga

Ko Ruatonga te hapū

Ko Tupapa te marae

Ko Caleb Tangaroa Haurua tōku ingoa

Ngā mihi *Acknowledgements*

Ehara taku i te toa takitahi. Engari, he toa takitini.

Anyone who has completed a thesis knows that claiming individual achievement is both incredibly prideful and downright stupid. Through the (rare) ups and (constant) downs of postgraduate study I have experienced a great cloud of witnesses who have often picked me up with words and actions, dusted me off, and told me to keep running the race ahead of me. This thesis was written by you also. Ahakoa he iti he pounamu.

The Kaikōrero whose korero form the heart of this thesis: Charles, Lionel, Adrienne, Sam, David, Rewai, Josie, Luke, Te Whaikoha, Toroa, Selina and Tony. For welcoming me into your homes and workplaces to share your treasured stories, beautiful hospitality, yummy kai, and precious time with me. My prayer is that your korero will enrich our understanding of our shared past and benefit us all in the present and into the future. Mauri Ora!

Anna, Akaata (Mum and Dad), Lazarus, Daphne, Ben and Christian. For putting up with my lack of presence at home, always keeping me humble, and teaching me that life is too short to be serious. Mum and Dad, I especially want to thank you for never making me feel like my studies were a burden.

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Dr Sandy Kerr, for your unrelenting belief in me as my supervisor and prayerful kaiāwhina throughout this academic 'hikoi'. Thank you for the generous use of your time and resources to empower Māori Christians like myself to write and research. I am truly grateful.

Charles Hewlett, for challenging me to undertake this thesis in the first place and enabling me to do so. I hope in some small way this repays the faith you put in me all those years ago.

Those who financially supported me – you know who you are – thank you so much for your generosity to this project.

And finally, to staff and students at Carey Baptist College both past and present. Thank you for your support over my seven years of study (though some would embellish this number!)

Korōria ki te Matua, ki te Tama, ki te Wairua Tapu; mai i te tīmatanga, ki tēnei wā, ā, haere ake nei. Āmene.

Kuputaka *Glossary*

This list of Māori words and terms with corresponding meanings/definitions is indicative only and includes all Māori words used in this thesis and should be referred to as such. Where written sources have been used, original spelling of Māori terms have been left unchanged unless indicated otherwise.

Māori	***English***
Āhua	appearance
Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand
Aroha	affection, love, compassion, empathy
Haka	war dance
Hāngī	earth oven
Hapū	kinship group of multiple whānau, clan
Haukāinga, Te	home people
Hīmene	hymns, worship songs
Hongi	to press noses in greeting
Hui	meeting, gathering, assembly
Iwi	tribe, extended kinship group
Kaiārahi[1]	guide, leader
Kaiāwhina[2]	supporter, assistant
Kaikōrero[3]	speaker
Kaiwhakahaere[4]	administrator, director
Kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face, in person
Karakia	chant, prayer
Kaumātua	respected elder, male or female
Kaupapa	platform, underlying base
Kaupapa Māori	a theory of research and practice based in Māori worldviews

[1] This was the title of the role Truby Mihaere held.
[2] This was the title of the role John Rew and Rewai Te Kahu held at different times.
[3] This term is used to denote those who were participants in the interviews for this thesis.
[4] This was the title used by Charles Joe as Superintendent of the Baptist Māori Department.

Kawa	marae protocol
Kīngitanga	Māori king movement
Koha	gift, contribution, offering
Kohanga Reo	Māori language preschool
Kōrero	speech, discussion
Kōrero Tuku Iho	stories of the past
Kura Kaupapa Māori	primary school operating under Māori custom
Mana	prestige, integrity and honour; spiritual force bestowed on people
Mana whenua	power associated with connection to land
Manaakitanga	hospitality, kindness, generosity, support
Manuhiri	visitor, guest
Māori	indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand
Marae	communal meeting place
Mātauranga	education, knowledge, wisdom
Matua Whāngai	foster parenting
Noho	to spend a period of time
Pā	fortified village
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Pōkai hui	annual visit from the Māori royal family to various Tainui marae
Pou/Pou whenua	boundary markers
Pou Tokomanawa	centre pole supporting the ridge pole of a meeting house
Pōwhiri	welcome, invitation
Puna O Te Ora	spring of life/name given to the Baptist Māori Fellowship and buildings in Pukekohe
Rōpū	group
Runanga	to discuss in an assembly
Taha Māori	related to Māori identity and heritage

Takarangi	double spiral often used in carving
Tangata Whenua	people born of the land, local people
Tangihanga	weeping, funeral
Tauparapara	a type of karakia
Te Ao Māori	the world of Māori
Te Reo Māori	Māori language
Te Whare Amorangi	house of priests/name given to the Baptist Māori Leadership Training School
Tikanga	correct procedure, custom, practice, process
Tino Rangatiratanga	self-determination
Tiriti o Waitangi	Treaty of Waitangi
Tumuaki	leader or head of an institution
Tūrangawaewae	place where one has rights of residence and belonging through whakapapa
Urupā	burial ground
Wahine	woman
Waiata	sing, song, chant
Wairuatanga	spirituality
Wānanga	to meet and discuss, deliberate and consider
Whaikōrero	formal speech
Whakapapa	line of descent from ancestors, lineage, genealogy
Whakawhānau ngatanga	process of establishing relationships, relating well to others
Whānau	family
Wharekai	dining hall
Whāriki	woven mat
Wharenui	meeting house

This thesis is guided by the conviction that Te Reo Māori, the language of my forefathers, has equal status with English, my mother-tongue. Its use is therefore not subordinated by italicisation.[5]

[5] I have chosen to use italicisation for the English translations throughout this thesis, particularly for titles and chapter headings where Māori terms are being utilised in order to privilege mātauranga Māori which is a main concern of this thesis.

Rārangi Upoko *Contents*

List of Tables

Abbreviations

BCNZ	Bible College of New Zealand
LWM	Lower Waikato Mission
NZB	The New Zealand Baptist
NZBMS	New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society
NZBTI	New Zealand Bible Training Institute
RNZAF	The Royal New Zealand Air Force
TWA	Te Whare Amorangi
YWAM	Youth With A Mission

Chapter One: Kupu Arataki *Introduction*

Baptists were "Johnny come lately" to the Christian mission to Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.[6] Although self-described as missionary-oriented and committed to evangelism,[7] from their beginnings Baptist Churches have been mostly focused on the concerns of their British settler-migrant communities. As an almost exclusively Pākehā denomination their efforts to evangelise Māori were minimal throughout most of their history in the antipodes.[8] It was not until the mid-20th century that a combined effort from the Baptist Churches in the form of a Māori mission was started.

This thesis focuses on the historical interactions between Māori and Baptists through the Lower Waikato Mission (LWM). It was unique in that it was the first mission supported by the wider Baptist Union and would go on to be seen as the "awakening of Baptist conscience" towards Māori.[9] The research seeks to discover what can be learned from knowledge held in Māori communities, about the Baptist Māori Mission work in the Lower Waikato, and the significance of that learning for Māori and the Baptist Movement.

My personal motivations for undertaking this study relate to my involvement with the Baptist movement as a Māori Christian. I am driven to do this research firstly as a Māori who wants to hear the stories of Māori. Within the story of Aotearoa New Zealand there have been many histories that have been produced that do not give proper credence to the views and worldviews of tangata whenua. In light of developments around appropriate means of research with and for Māori, I am keenly aware of the need to discover how Māori reflect on their own histories. This research seeks to do just that by adopting kaupapa Māori research methods.

I am also driven to do this research as a Christian who affiliates with the Baptist movement. While studying at Carey Baptist College I have had the "scales fall from my eyes" when it comes to Christian history amongst Māori. Christian histories have by and large been Pākehā talking about Māori—mirroring the secular world. The lack of Māori Christian voices in historical literature has been noted.[10] This research seeks to highlight a significant historical mission to Māori primarily from the perspective of those for whom it was initiated.

During my search for a Master's thesis topic I learnt that the Baptist Māori mission in the Lower Waikato was largely forgotten and yet had a profound impact on many Baptist Māori that I

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[6] C.D.B. Jones, "The Long, Painful Birth of Baptist Maori Ministry," *The New Zealand Journal of Baptist Research* 1 (October 1996): 47; Lionel (Rawiri) Stewart, "Kia Kotahi Tatou - Let Us All Be One," in *Meet the Baptists: Postwar Personalities and Perspectives*, ed. Elaine E Bolitho (Auckland, N.Z.: Christian Research Association of New Zealand, 1993), 26.

[7] Lionel (Rawiri) Stewart, "Kia Kotahi Tatou - Let Us All Be One," 26.

[8] Jones, "Baptist Maori Ministry," 47.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Stuart Lange, "Admiring, Disdainful, or Somewhere in the Middle: Interpretations of Missionaries and Christian Beginnings among Maori," in *Sacred Histories in Secular New Zealand*, ed. Geoffrey Troughton and Lange (Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press, 2016), 32.

personally knew. While there exists a small number of written sources about the mission, particularly in the early years of its establishment, much of its progression, eventual conclusion, and overall impact on Māori-Baptist interactions has been largely undocumented – forgotten except by those who experienced it directly. This research is in part written to fill the gap in Baptist history that currently exists.

However, this study is not simply another attempt at producing a grand narrative of denominational history. It positions mātauranga Māori at the centre of the research, using oral narratives of Māori who were engaged in Baptist Māori work at different points in the Lower Waikato region. Paraphrasing Judith Binney's comment about her renowned work on Māori prophet Te Kooti, it is not my intention to close discussion on Maori-Christian engagement particularly within the Baptist denomination in Aotearoa New Zealand; quite the reverse, I should like this study to open dialogue and enable further understandings to come forth.[11]

The study brings together unique Māori Christian perspectives, providing a timely contribution to local and national dialogue about Christian mission and ministry in Aotearoa New Zealand today.

Structure of Thesis

Chapter Two establishes a foundation in the literature for this research to sit within a Kaupapa Māori applied theological framework. Literature is explored around Māori and Christian histories within the wider context of New Zealand historiography before the chapter opens up an exploration of Kaupapa Māori theoretical understanding and praxis. 'Whakapapa' is used as the chapter title to refer to the perspective taken on the literature. The chapter traces the line of descent through theoretical foundations in oral history and postcolonial theology, showing how they connect with Tate's framing of indigenous theology[12] and the Kaupapa Māori approach of this thesis.

Chapter Three, 'Tikanga', explores the specific approaches used in this qualitative Kaupapa Māori research project. It introduces the Kaikōrero—those Māori who generously gave of their time to tell their stories of the LWM. Their stories comprise the primary data for this research. The chapter also includes descriptions of the research design including constraints, assumptions, limitations and the qualitative methods employed for data collection and analysis.

Chapter Four provides the 'Whakapata' of background knowledge about the LWM. It includes a brief summary of past stories about Baptist-Māori historical interactions revealing some of the factors that contributed to a lack of missionary work amongst Māori prior to the 1950s.

[11] Damon Salesa, "Reflection of the Work of Judith Binney," *N. Z. J. Hist.*, Korero in honour of Judith Binney 38.2 (2004): 274.

[12] Henare Tate, *He Puna Iti I Te Ao Marama: A Little Spring in the World of Light* (Auckland, N.Z.: Libro International, 2012), 17.

Following the historical summary is a timeline of the LWM that includes significant dates of peoples, places and events.

Chapter Five contains the 'Korero Tuku Iho', or main findings of the research. The chapter draws together the threads of oral narratives and written sources to tell stories of the LWM. The aim is to trace the key elements of the stories as told by Kaikōrero interviewed for this research rather than to present a single chronological narrative of events. However, the oral narratives have been sorted and written together to tell a story of the Baptist mission in a rough chronology. The chapter is organised in four distinct yet interrelated phases: (1) The Pioneer Mission, (2) The Development of Māori Fellowship, (3) The Merger, and (4) Post-Merger. Each phase is described as a Pou[13] and explored from the perspective of the Kaikōrero.

Te Pou Tuatahi: The Pioneer Mission is an exploration into the time period of the first missionaries and establishment of the Lower Waikato Mission. *Te Pou Tuarua: Development of a Māori Fellowship* continues on with the growth of the mission and the eventual formation of a distinct Māori fellowship, Puna O Te Ora. *Te Pou Tuatoru: The Merger* documents the end of the mission which culminated in a merger with Franklin Baptist Church. Finally**,** *Te Pou Tuawha: Post-Merger* is the epilogue that describes the impact of the mission's closure on Māori-Baptist engagement. It details key events that brought Māori to the forefront within the wider denomination. To conclude each Pou, a Kaupapa Māori lens is used to critique the key themes emerging from that period. The events of the time and the experiences of Kaikōrero are examined for alignment with the set of Kaupapa Māori principles.[14]

Chapter Six, 'Whakarāpopototanga', concludes the thesis, weaving together the key findings and presenting the significance for creating new Baptist stories of mission and ministry by Māori for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

[13] Each phase of the LWM is referred to as "Pou", which relates to a Māori understanding of "Pou whenua"— boundary markers that traditionally signal places of significance.
[14] Sandy Kerr, "Kaupapa Maori Theory-Based Evaluation," *Eval. J. Australas.* 12.1 (2012): 6–18.

Chapter Two: Whakapapa *Literature*

The focus of the study is the Baptist Māori mission in the Lower Waikato, about which almost nothing has been written. The literature of direct relevance to the topic is scant, existing primarily in archival records with Māori voices all but absent.[15] The literature reviewed for this chapter therefore focusses on an exploration of the debates that shed some light on the absence of Māori Christian voices in the literature. It also discusses Kaupapa Māori theory in relation to Māori voices in research, oral research, postcolonial theology and suggests an indigenous/theological way forward based on Pa Henare Tate's Māori conceptualisation of Atua-Tangata-Whānau.

The chapter is not intended as a comprehensive review of these approaches, rather it is primarily intended to locate the research within the theoretical framework of a Kaupapa Māori historical and theological project. Literature is used here to argue the case for the relevance of this approach in telling the story of the Lower Waikato Mission.[16] By doing so this chapter positions the study in a line of descent—or using a Māori term 'whakapapa'—of related literature.[17]

This includes surveying the debates in New Zealand historiographies, revealing the problems which the study inherits as it relates to Māori and Christian literature. Then, it explores a Kaupapa Māori framework as an appropriate theoretical foundation for weaving together all the threads of this section and indeed the entire research project.[18] It builds on this by correlating oral history and postcolonial literature and drawing them together as the theoretical frameworks moving forward. As a result, this chapter provides a whakapapa of literature as a platform for the wider study.

Debates in Māori and Christian Historiography

Since the arrival of the first missionaries, observations about the dynamic relationship between Māori and Christianity have been keenly debated, documented, and disseminated. Whether secular or religious, Pākehā or Māori, historians have posited divergent perspectives that have been influenced by wider ideologies—from early accounts of missionaries' successes that have bordered on hagiography to 'fatal-impact' revisionist retellings that dismiss Christianity as just another tool of imperialism.

The most debated topic by scholars around Māori and Christian engagement have centred on discussion about Māori conversion in the 19th century. Whilst acknowledging that there was no singular reason for Māori conversions historians have posited differing theories focused primarily

[15] These sources included the New Zealand Baptist archives (1876–2011), archival information retrieved from various documents from the New Zealand Baptist Archive, published Baptist histories and articles. Written sources were researched in an iterative process over two years. Key dates, events, information and some direct quotes are used throughout this thesis where deemed appropriate.

[16] This discussion could equally have been positioned within the methodology section, but the decision was made to reserve that chapter for discussion of the specific research processes undertaken for this project.

[17] This approach is pertinent to the study due to the lack of literature available about the LWM.

[18] The next chapter then builds on Kaupapa Māori as a methodology for this study.

on the extent to which Māori actively chose—or did not choose—to convert to Christianity.[19] However, Hirini Kaa strongly argues that these theories have been problematic in that they have tended to centre on the notion of 'conversion' "as some type of full and final religious settlement" in a rather static understanding.[20] New Zealand historians including Keith Sinclair, J.M.R. Owens and Judith Binney engaged in debates concerning 19th century Māori conversion that dominated scholarly discourses from the 1960s onwards.

In 1959, American author Harrison M. Wright embraced a fatal-impact reading that suggested Māori had converted to Christianity due to mental disorganization caused by cultural crises such as disease and war.[21] In this view Māori were passive victims of Eurocentric expansionism.[22] A decade later, J.M.R. Owens proposed an alternate theory to Wright's which emphasized the impact of literacy as a tool of conversion and an advancement in "missionary resources and methods" as the determining factor in Māori conversion[23]—including the introduction of the written Māori language and portions of the Bible.[24]

Judith Binney counter-claimed that it was not missionary agency but rather an active choice by Māori to respond to Christianity in a "gradual alteration" from previous spiritual beliefs that would be both "partial" and "uniquely modified".[25] That is, Māori were able to discern for themselves the missionaries message and pick and mix the aspects that benefited them socially, relationally, and economically.[26] Binney and Owens interacted for well over thirty years about Māori conversion, bonded by their unwillingness to accept Wright's "unchanging pre-contact Maori society", and "uncritical aggregation of 'Maori'". Their positions would form the basis for understanding Māori engagement with Christianity in mainstream New Zealand historiography.

Despite the varying theories suggested by historians the debate continued to uncritically maintain that 'conversion', as Hirini Kaa summarised, "was a fait accompli and once complete Māori

[19] Hirini Kaa, "He Ngākau Hou: Te Hāhi Mihinare and the Renegotiation of Mātauranga, c.1800-1992" (PhD thesis, Auckland University, 2014), 2–7.

[20] In his thesis, Kaa argues that a theological examination of an understanding of 'conversion' shows a diversity of views presented in the biblical text that demonstrates "both a continuity and change, and despite the historiographical description was in fact a process and not an event." When seen through the lens of postcolonial theology, Kaa argues, such diversities within the text come to light and challenge the static and simplistic views of 'conversion' often presented in modern Christian thought. See Hirini Kaa, "He Ngākau Hou: Te Hāhi Mihinare and the Renegotiation of Mātauranga, c.1800-1992" (PhD thesis, Auckland University, 2014), 2.

[21] Harrison M. Wright, *New Zealand, 1769-1840: Early Years of Western Contact* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1959).

[22] That same year, New Zealand historian Keith Sinclair would publish *History of New Zealand* in which Stuart Lange would describe him as having "appeared to have a distaste for Christianity" his negative overall perspective on them. Lange, "Admiring, Disdainful, or Somewhere in the Middle: Interpretations of Missionaries and Christian Beginnings among Maori," 29.

[23] J.M.R. Owens, "Christianity and Maoris to 1840," *N. Z. J. Hist.* 2.1 (1968): 33.

[24] Salesa, "Reflection of the Work of Judith Binney," 22.

[25] Judith Binney, "Christianity and the Maoris to 1840: A Comment," *N. Z. J. Hist.*, Korero in honour of Judith Binney 3.2 (1969): 148.

[26] Salesa, "Reflection of the Work of Judith Binney," 277.

could be regarded as a different people".[27] That is, Māori conversion was the yardstick for inclusion in historical writing, seen exclusively as a "missionary-driven transformation",[28] which would then become the predominant "lens in the historiographical view of Māori" by secular and religious scholars alike.[29] In Hirini Kaa's PhD thesis *He Ngākau Hou: Te Hāhi Mihinare and the Renegotiation of Mātauranga* he explores the historical obsession of Christian historians with "missionary-driven conversion". Citing Samuel Marsden's Christmas day sermon at Oihi Bay in 1814, he declares that historians have typically described it as the "genesis of the missionary endeavour that would eventually spread out across the country and convert the great homogenous horde of unenlightened Māori."[30] Indeed, due to the emphasis on missionaries, Māori were once again seen as the passive subjects of conversion, and this view has not yet disappeared. Kaa notes the collection of essays released in *Te Rongopai 1814 Takoto Te Pai: Bicentenary Reflections on Christian Beginnings and developments in Aotearoa New Zealand* in 2014 as a recent example of this "monochromatic view of conversion".[31] In particular, he singles out Malcom Falloon's chapter on the first Māori to be baptised (the ultimate marker of conversion), whose apparent conversion shed "light on the ways Māori were hearing and understanding the missionary message…in a manner that may be more significant than historians generally allowed".[32] Alas, Kaa refutes Falloon's revisionist interpretations (which were based exclusively on missionary records) that lean heavily "towards the notion of Māori being the *subject* of 'conversion', and 'conversion' being the shedding of cultural values and their replacement by Western ones".[33]

The 'conversion' debates of both secular and religious historians led to an historiography in which Māori who engaged with Christianity were submerged and subsumed beneath denominational histories, "resurrected occasionally to be an exotic decorative backdrop"[34] as passive participants, and ultimately to become "fodder for the Church-Empire project."[35]

Another key factor in the silencing of Māori Christian voices throughout New Zealand historiography—particularly within nation-building discourses—has been the effect of what John

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[27] Kaa, "He Ngākau Hou," 4.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid. Other commentators have disputed Māori conversion altogether. See Alison Jones and Kuni Jenkins, "Indigenous Discourse and 'the Material': A Post-Interpretivist Argument" (2008), https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/9837.
[31] Adrienne Puckey, *Te Rongopai 1814 "Takoto Te Pai!": Bicentenary Reflections on Christian Beginnings and Developments in Aotearoa New Zealand* (General Synod Office, 2014).
[32] Malcolm Falloon, "Christian Rangi: 'A Brand Plucked from the Burning'?," in *Te Rongopai 1814 "Takoto Te Pai!": Bicentenary Reflections on Christian Beginnings and Developments in Aotearoa New Zealand*, ed. Allan Davidson et al. (Meadowbank, Auckland: General Synod Office, 2014), 129.
[33] Note Kaa's examination of Falloon's historical interpretations. See Kaa, "He Ngākau Hou," 3–4.
[34] Ibid., 5.
[35] Another related feature of the silencing of Māori Christianity was the national-building rhetoric of secular and religious historians. Historians constructed grand narratives (such as denominational histories) that excluded and excommunicated Maori Christianity (for example, prophetic Māori movements in the 20th century). See ibid.

Stenhouse terms "the secular New Zealand thesis".[36] Namely, that leading historians from the 1960s onwards such as Keith Sinclair, Hugh Jackson, and Erik Olssen[37] have sought to disregard and dismiss the impact of Christianity in all its forms within their nationalistic histories.[38] Stenhouse, along with Ian Breward, Peter Lineham, and Allan Davidson, have noted that religious histories in New Zealand have been silenced, ill-treated and disbanded by mainstream historians.[39] Ironically, the 1980s and 1990s would see religion brought back into historiographical discussion largely due to scholars of Māori and gender histories.[40] Despite what Tony Ballantyne would describe as a "rich historiography" in tune with international debates that led to more sensitive assessments of religion—as seen in the works of Judith Binney, J.M.R. Owens and KR Howe in the 1980s—advancements would cease as other historical debates such as the validity of Pākehā involved in Māori research and Waitangi Tribunal land claims would become hotly contested debates.[41]

In the face of a secular agenda, historians such as Stenhouse and Ballantyne have rightly suggested that the role of religion and more specifically Christianity, has meaningfully impacted New Zealand history in ways that are not apparent in mainstream accounts. However, Hirini Kaa soberly counterbalances their sentiments by stating that although the secular agenda has indeed impacted upon religious histories, this has not stopped historians—on either side of the fence—from continuing to write about histories about Māori that continue to subjugate Māori.[42]

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[36] John Stenhouse, "Introduction," in *Christianity, Modernity, and Culture: New Perspectives on New Zealand History*, ed. John Stenhouse, G. A. Wood, and Australian Theological Forum, ATF series 15 (Hindmarsh, S. Aust: ATF Press, 2005), 1.

[37] John Stenhouse was at the centre of a 'minor controversy' when he critiqued Erik Olssen as a leading proponent of secularisation theory in his historiography. See Peter Lineham, "The Controversy over the Recognition of Religous Factors in New Zealand History," in *The Spirit of the Past: Essays on Christianity in New Zealand History*, ed. Geoffrey Troughton and Hugh Douglas Morrison (Wellington, [N.Z.]: Victoria University Press, 2011), 25–26.

[38] Stenhouse, "Introduction," 2.

[39] John Stenhouse, "God's Own Silence: Secular Nationalism, Christianity and the Writing of New Zealand History," *N. Z. J. Hist.* 38.1 (2004): 52.

[40] Ibid., 53.

[41] Tony Ballantyne, "Christianity, Colonialism and Cross-Cultural Communication," in *Christianity, Modernity, and Culture: New Perspectives on New Zealand History*, ed. John Stenhouse and G. A. Wood, ATF series 15 (Hindmarsh, S. Aust: ATF Press, 2005), 24–25. Māori historians would also contest the impact of Christianity on Māori. See Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou : Struggle without End*, Rev. ed. (Auckland ; New York: Penguin Books, 2004).

[42] Kaa suggests that historiography around Māori and Christianity described two major responses in regards to their interaction: fight or flight. "The "fight" response was to castigate Christianity as a tool used in the deliberate undermining of all things Māori, as an integral part of the colonization project. In this analysis, the ideas of Christianity were often conflated with the work and objectives of the European missionary societies as if the two were coterminous…The 'flight' analysis of Māori and Christianity created an intellectual distance between the two, leaving Christianity as an objective tool that Māori could utilise and discard at will." Kaa, "He Ngākau Hou," 9–12. A more simplistic summary of historiography around Māori and Christianity is also found in Stuart Lange's chapter. Here, he details various historians that belong to the 'disdainful tradition' that viewed Christianity in a predominantly negative light that includes most secular historians from the 1960s such as Sinclair and Binney to present-day ones such as Kuini Jenkins and Alison Jones; or the 'admiring tradition' of pro-colonial triumphalism that some of the earliest historians from the late 1800s belong to such as William Pember Reeves and James Cowan. See Lange, "Admiring, Disdainful, or Somewhere in the Middle: Interpretations of Missionaries and Christian

Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes this as a "critical aspect" of the struggle that indigenous people have faced where they have been depicted as the "Other" and "represented or excluded from various accounts".[43] Scholarly debates around the role of the historian acknowledge that the telling of history is never "neutral" but "the reflection of the priorities of the narrators and their perceptions of their world".[44] Thus, the present-day situation remains where there are "few countervailing voices" within the Māori Christian community and a "conspicuous absence" of historical literature.[45]

Kaupapa Māori Theory

The late 1980s in Aotearoa New Zealand saw a Māori renaissance in regards to the position of Māori in wider society.[46] While there was an important resurgence of the language through education initiatives like Kura Kaupapa Māori and Kohanga Reo, these were an "outward visible sign" of a more revolutionary change in Māori political agency.[47] Smith argues this at length, stating that

> The `real' revolution of the 1980's was a shift in mindset of large numbers of Maori people - a shift away from waiting for things to be done to them, to doing things for themselves; a shift away from an emphasis on reactive politics to and an emphasis on being more proactive; a shift from negative motivation to positive motivation. These shifts can be described as a move away from talking simplistically about `de-colonization' (which puts the colonizer at the center of attention) to talking about `conscientization' or `consciousness-raising' (which puts Maori at the center). These ways of thinking illustrate a reawakening of the Maori imagination that had been stifled and diminished by colonization processes.[48]

Māori academics, motivated by this reawakening, responded to the compelling need for Māori-based approaches to research and theory. These approaches, commonly referred to as "Kaupapa Māori",[49] acknowledged that we understand the world around us through theory and practice coming together in praxis. Kaupapa Māori links to theory with guiding yet fluid political and cultural principles that 'carve out' a "common discursive space" for Māori research.[50]

However, Kaupapa Māori did not merely emerge as an academic tool to be used in the academy but, more generally, existed well before European colonisation and certainly before the

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Beginnings among Maori," 27–32.

[43] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin, N.Z.: Otago University Press, 2012), 29.

[44] Judith Binney, "Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts: Two Forms of Telling History," *N. Z. J. Hist.* 21.1 (1987): 28.

[45] Lange, "Admiring, Disdainful, or Somewhere in the Middle: Interpretations of Missionaries and Christian Beginnings among Maori," 32.

[46] Mason Durie, "Kaupapa Maori Indigenising New Zealand," in *Critical Conversations in Kaupapa Maori*, ed. Te Kawehau Hoskins and Alison Jones (Wellington, N.Z.: Huia Publishers, 2017).

[47] Graham Hingangaroa Smith, "Kaupapa Maori Theory: Theorizing Indigenous Transformation of Education and Schooling," in *Kaupapa Maori Symposium* (presented at the NZARE/AARE Join Conference, Auckland, N.Z., 2003), 2.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Graham Hingangaroa Smith, *The Development of Kaupapa Maori: Theory and Praxis* (University of Auckland, 1997).

[50] Te Kawehau Hoskins and Alison Jones, "Introduction: Critical Conversations," in *Critical Conversations in Kaupapa Maori*, ed. Te Kawehau Hoskins and Alison Jones (Huia Publishers, 2017).

Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1814. As Kerr argues, the Treaty's importance (in particular the Māori version)[51] in regards to Kaupapa Māori theory is that its principles underpin its theoretical existence.[52] It is by its very nature a "counter-hegemonic" practice aimed at transformation for Māori across diverse sectors.[53] Smith asserts that more importantly, "Kaupapa Māori is the development of 'insider' methodologies that incorporate a critique of research and ways for carrying out research for Māori, with Māori and by Māori."[54] The reinforcement of colonial and imperialistic ideals have often been the legacy of researching Māori despite the efforts of the researcher.[55]

To counter this, many Kaupapa Māori researchers have chosen to ground Kaupapa Māori in key principles, elements and concepts that position it in an indigenous epistemology rather than western research norms. Kerr selected key theorists Graham Smith, Leonie Pihama, Sheilagh Walker, Linda Smith, Kathy Irwin, Russell Bishop, and Helen Moewaka Barnes and from their use of Kaupapa Māori across various published and unpublished works observed six main principles of control, challenge, culture, connection, change, and credibility.[56]

The *control principle* acknowledges Tino Rangatiratanga for Māori and their control of knowledge as it is produced, dissected and disseminated. In research this means that Māori ownership over their own knowledge is maintained and accountability of the researcher is increased towards Māori communities.[57] The *challenge principle* recognises the innate potential of Kaupapa Māori research to assist in movements of challenging dominant discourses such as colonisation and imperialism; including a commitment to limit and even displace "power differentials that disadvantage Māori and advantage non-Māori".[58] The *culture principle* insists that "Māori cultural norms will be embedded in the research as the legitimate *modus operandi*".[59] An example of this posed by theorists is an increased focus on the usage of Te Reo Māori as normative practice within research. At the heart of the *connection principle* lies a focus on whakawhānau ngatanga which reflects the significance of whakapapa connections as they pertain to the sharing of knowledge. Kathy Irwin proposes that this implicates the guidance of elders throughout and even beyond the life

[51] "Contention pertaining to the Māori and English translations continues to this day, with Māori arguing that the Māori version is the legitimate version. This is also the legal position in international treaty law. The Māori version expressly preserves the power and autonomy of the chiefs and it is this commitment by the Crown in 1840 that underpins Kaupapa Māori's self-determination stance with the government." Kerr, "Kaupapa Maori Theory-Based Evaluation," 7.

[52] For a more full discussion refer to Lyndsay Head, "The Pursuit of Modernity in Maori Society," in *Histories, Power and Loss: Uses of the Past--a New Zealand Commentary*, ed. Andrew Sharp, Paul G. McHugh, and W. H. Oliver (Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), 97–122.

[53] Kerr, "Kaupapa Maori Theory-Based Evaluation," 7.

[54] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 246.

[55] Russell Bishop, "Kaupapa Maori Research: An Indigenous Approach to Creating Knowledge" (1999): 1, http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/handle/10289/874.

[56] Kerr, "Kaupapa Maori Theory-Based Evaluation," 8.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid., 11.

[59] Kerr, "Kaupapa Maori Theory-Based Evaluation," 11.

of a research project.[60] The *change principle* contends that Kaupapa Māori theory should produce research that has practical outcomes for the communities they represent as "transformative praxis" that benefits Māori more generally.[61] Moewaka Barnes grounds this in the concept of koha that potentially goes beyond initial meetings in research to build further relationships where contributions continue to be given in a reciprocal manner.[62] The final principle is the *credibility principle* which links Kaupapa Māori researchers and their practice in an ethical manner, grounded in rigorous research methods. Kaupapa Māori presents an indigenous response to research that is both legitimate and helpful for the purposes of this thesis. This study weaves together two other theoretical frameworks into the Kaupapa Māori project—those of oral history and postcolonial theology.

Oral History

Oral history denotes the oral or aural transmission of knowledge in retelling the past. Most cultures across the globe have at some point in their histories not only relied on various forms of spoken story-telling but created complex processes by which they were delivered and understood. Contemporarily, oral history refers more commonly to the method of research interviews and recordings.[63] Up until recently oral history was considered—especially by Western cultures and their historians—with a "subterranean scepticism".[64] Indeed, international scholarship has brought the methodological approach to the fore since the 1960s as increased political consciousness towards the plight of marginalised people through influences of feminist and ethnic social movements among others.[65] Within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, oral history has paralleled international developments albeit still within a peripheric space. Some New Zealand historians such as Judith Binney have advocated for its legitimacy within wider historiography,[66] while most Māori historians regularly used it in their own research.[67] However, much debate persists about the validity of oral history as a reliable source.[68]

In Māori vernacular oral history is often linked to oral traditions of iwi and hapū.[69] They

[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid., 12.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Rangimarie Mahuika, "The Value of Oral History in a Kaupapa Maori Framework," *Te Pouhere Korero 3 Maori People Maori Hist.* (2009): 91.
[64] Anna Green, "Oral History and History," in *Remembering: Writing Oral History*, ed. Anna Green and Megan Hutching (Auckland, N.Z: Auckland University Press, 2004), 4.
[65] Ibid., 3–4.
[66] Binney, "Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts: Two Forms of Telling History."
[67] Danny Keenan, "The Past from the Paepae: Use of the Past in Maori Oral History," in *Remembering: Writing Oral History*, ed. Anna Green and Megan Hutching (Auckland, N.Z: Auckland University Press, 2004), 145. For an opposing view on oral history by a Māori historian see Te Maire Tau, "Matauranga Maori as an Epistemology," in *Histories, Power and Loss: Uses of the Past--a New Zealand Commentary*, ed. Andrew Sharp, Paul G. McHugh, and W. H. Oliver (Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), 61–74.
[68] Mahuika, "The Value of Oral History in a Kaupapa Maori Framework," 95.
[69] Ibid., 91.

include dynamic oral mediums such as tauparapara, whaikōrero, and waiata; almost exclusively in Te Reo Māori. As Danny Keenan contends, these traditional procedures are considered "perfectly valid history" by Māori and issues such as validity and reliability so prominent in Western epistemologies are not always relevant.[70] At the same time oral histories have been undertaken by iwi and hapū to both preserve their traditional stories and provide a platform to discuss their history on their own terms—an insider's perspective.[71] Indeed, oral history much like Kaupapa Māori theory has been a response to the experiences of Māori being written about by Pākehā researchers in ways that assume authority over indigenous knowledge.[72] The focus on producing alternative narratives to mainstream accounts in the pursuit of authentic indigenous perspectives is shared by Kaupapa Māori and oral history authors. Not only this, but in collaboration they also stand to mitigate the myth of "a homogenous Māori identity" that continues to plague Māori historical literature.[73]

For this study, an oral history approach will be taken in order to create new knowledge from Māori perspectives that otherwise might not have been included in an 'official' history of Baptist and Māori engagement. The larger research of this study around the New Zealand Baptists Māori mission in the Lower Waikato and subsequent relationship with Māori remains largely unwritten from the perspective of the 'subjects' of the mission. Oral history thus provides an opportunity to provide Māori narratives that not only bring out alternative viewpoints but also construct history in a way that reflects Māori concerns and understandings.

Postcolonial Theory and Theology

Kaupapa Māori theory and oral history share whakapapa with another theoretical framework—that of postcolonial theory. Postcolonial theology is an offspring of postcolonial theory.

According to Robert S. Heaney in *Evangelical Postcolonial Conversations: Global Awakenings in Theology and Praxis,* there are four key features of postcolonialism:[74]

(1) It is a direct response to colonialism and its ongoing impact as a "state or process of subjugating culture and/or agency" by way of aggressive cultural discourses. In this way it seeks to present the facts of colonialism and forms of neo-colonialism.[75]

(2) advocates for emancipation of the marginalised and advocacy for their own agency in that emancipation.

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[70] Keenan, "The Past from the Paepae: Use of the Past in Maori Oral History," 146.
[71] Mahuika, "The Value of Oral History in a Kaupapa Maori Framework," 95.
[72] Ibid., 96.
[73] Ibid., 97.
[74] Robert S. Heaney, "Prospects and Problems for Evangelical Postcolonialisms," in *Evangelical Postcolonial Conversations: Global Awakenings in Theology and Praxis*, ed. Kay Higuera Smith, Jayachitra Lalitha, and L. Daniel Hawk (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, an imprint of InterVarsity Press, 2014), 31–32.
[75] R. S. Sugirtharajah, "Introduction," in *Postcolonial Reconfigurations: An Alternative Way of Reading the Bible and Doing Theology* (London: SCM Press, 2003), 4.

(3) involves a 'dialectical' element, or "hybridity" as Heaney terms it, due to interactions between Western and non-Western. These interactions include the mixing of perspectives and languages that possibly create new forms that are "intentionally developed as resistance to imperialist hegemony and homogeneity".[76]

(4) seeks to formulate counter-discourses that offer "openings for oppositional readings, uncovers suppressed voices and… has as its foremost concern victims and their plights".[77] Finally, as Heaney argues decolonisation should be at the forefront of postcolonial critique as it seeks to dislocate dominating thought and practice with alternative readings.[78]

Postcolonial theory and Kaupapa Māori theory have shared foundations in critical theory and postcolonial theory. [79] It is therefore unsurprising that they also share familiar language. According to Nepia Mahuika, the alignment of postcolonial literature and Kaupapa Māori literature includes (a) a shared emphasis on emancipatory action and (b) a centring on Māori frames of knowledge as normative understanding.[80] Resonances have led to what Mahuika describes as a "specifically indigenous vernacular" amongst postcolonial literatures such as that found in Kaupapa Māori theory.[81] Some Māori theorists, such as Graham Hingangaroa Smith have rightly contested some forms of postcolonial discourse as detrimental to the pursuit of transformative theory and action.[82] For example, postcolonial terms such as "decolonization", Smith argues, unhelpfully implicate reactive politics which "puts the colonizer and the history of colonization back at the 'centre'."[83] Other Māori commentators argue positively for postcolonialism's focus on disturbing dominant histories and their historians, "whose cultural and intellectual frameworks are inadequate for interpreting the histories and worldviews of the indigenous people here in Aotearoa."[84] Despite differing opinions amongst Māori about the use of postcolonial conversations in research and history, one particular strength is found in its openness to theological interpretation which will now be discussed more fully.

Postcolonial theology is a relatively new field of religious literature found on the periphery of wider discourses around postcolonial theory and critical theory, which were first established through theorists such as Edward Said, Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha.[85] The extension of the

[76] Heaney, "Prospects and Problems for Evangelical Postcolonialisms," 32.
[77] Sugirtharajah, "Introduction," 14.
[78] Heaney, "Prospects and Problems for Evangelical Postcolonialisms," 32.
[79] Anaru Eketone, "Theoretical Underpinnings of Kaupapa Māori Directed Practice," *MAI Rev.* 1 (2008): 11.
[80] He adds that "There is also a much more specific exploration of the role of the insider and outsider in Kaupapa Māori literature." See Nepia Mahuika, "'Closing the Gaps': From Postcolonialism to Kaupapa Maori and Beyond," *N. Z. J. Hist.* 45.1 (2011): 28.
[81] Ibid., 16.
[82] Smith, "Kaupapa Maori Theory: Theorizing Indigenous Transformation of Education and Schooling," 2–3.
[83] Ibid., 3.
[84] Mahuika, "'Closing the Gaps': From Postcolonialism to Kaupapa Maori and Beyond," 17.
[85] Jione Havea, "Postcolonize Now," in *Postcolonial Voices from Downunder: Indigenous Matters, Confronting Readings,* ed. Jione Havea (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2017), 1.

fields of critical theory and postcolonial studies into biblical studies and theology, gave birth to postcolonial theology. Notable biblical scholar, R.S. Sugirtharajah is widely regarded for his pioneering work *Voices from the Margin* (1991) based on postcolonial biblical criticism that sought to give credence to hermeneutical interpretations from marginalised communities i.e. those from the Two-Thirds world.[86] Despite his best efforts, however, in his follow-up volume *Still at the Margins*[87] Sugirtharajah noted that not much had changed in regards to the attitudes of mainstream biblical and theological scholars towards postcolonial literature. Amidst the struggle to gain traction amongst biblical and theological scholars of the West, C. I. David Joy questions whether "perhaps the greatest challenge has been for native interpretations to find a space in academy".[88] David Joy asserts that the difficulties faced by postcolonial readers attempting to engage with academic disciplines, and more specifically theological research, necessitates a "remapping of the geography of knowledge" in order to carve out space for itself.[89]

According to Bill Ashcroft, despite the upsurge in postcolonial theology, there has been little progress due to the lack of theological examination of the historical affiliation between colonialism and Christianity as "an agent of the civilizing mission of imperialism".[90] Edward Said, one of religion's most notable critics put forth his views on the "doctrine of secular criticism", which professes an idealised humanism as its central tenet.[91] Ironically, Ashcroft points out that Said's secularist tendencies contradict his own vision for a pluralistic society of tolerance and democracy.[92] He adds that this is fuelled by Said's binary understanding of the 'sacred', entrenched in his dualistic interpretation as "the most dangerous of threats to the humanistic enterprise".[93] Despite Said's efforts, postcolonial dialogues within theological circles increased in the late 20th century which raised awareness around indigenous conceptions of the 'sacred' as well as Western forms (i.e. Christianity).[94] This transition from global to local epistemologies has nevertheless impacted the pacific/oceanic theological context with postcolonial conferences leading to a number of publications.[95]

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[86] R. S. Sugirtharajah, ed., *Voices from the Margin: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World* (Maryknoll, NY: SPCK, 1991).

[87] R. S. Sugirtharajah, ed., *Still at the Margins: Biblical Scholarship Fifteen Years after Voices from the Margin* (London ; New York: T & T Clark, 2008), 8.

[88] C. I. David Joy, "Foreword," in *Colonial Contexts and Postcolonial Theologies: Storyweaving in the Asia-Pacific*, ed. Mark G. Brett, Postcolonialism and religions (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), vii.

[89] Ibid., viii.

[90] Bill Ashcroft, "Threshold Theology," in *Colonial Contexts and Postcolonial Theologies: Storyweaving in the Asia-Pacific*, ed. Mark G. Brett, Postcolonialism and Religions (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 3.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid., 4.

[95] For more information see Mark G. Brett, *Decolonizing God: The Bible in the Tides of Empire* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press Ltd, 2009).; Mark G. Brett and Jione Havea, eds., *Colonial Contexts and*

Within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, postcolonial discourses around Māori have increased since Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*.[96] Postcolonial language has empowered Māori commentators to 'write back' against dominant discourses in various fields of study. This is found in national histories written by Māori. For example, Ranginui Walker's counternarrative history of Aotearoa New Zealand *Ka Whaiwhai Tonu Matou: struggle without end*. However, discussions around Māori and Christianity are mostly written by Pākehā.[97] Within Māori Christian literature, scholars such as Manuka Henare, Maori Marsden, Jenny Plane Te Paa, Tui Cadigan, Muru Walters and Moeawa Callaghan have attempted to address the void in the literature with their own published research.[98] Accordingly, postcolonial theology offers a theological critique that can uniquely engage with Māori Christian research—as is the hope of this thesis moving forward.

Atua-Tangata-Whānau

In *He Puna iti i te Ao Marama : A little Spring in the World of Light*, Pa Henare Tate attempts to develop the foundations of an indigenous Māori theology as a postcolonial critique of Western theology.[99] Tate's conceptualisation of Atua, Tangata and Whenua—based on Māori worldview—will be used as a foundational concept to ground this study as a Māori Christian project.[100] At once

Postcolonial Theologies: Storyweaving in the Asia-Pacific, Postcolonialism and Religions (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).; Jione Havea, ed., *Postcolonial Voices from Downunder: Indigenous Matters, Confronting Readings* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2017).

[96] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

[97] John Patterson, *He Toenga Whatiwhatinga: Essays Concerning the Bishopric of Aotearoa, Written in Honour of the Visit of the Most Reverend and Right Honourable The Lord Archbishops of Canterbury, Dr. Robert Runcie, M.C* (Rotorua: Holmes Publishing, 1983); James Irwin, *An Introduction to Maori Religion: Its Character before European Contact and Its Survival in Contemporary Maori and New Zealand Culture* (Bedford Park, South Australia: Australian Association for the Study of Religions, 1984); Bronwyn Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven: A Century of Maori Prophets in New Zealand* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1989); Michael King, *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga* (Auckland: Reed Books, 1992); Michael P. Shirres, *Te Tangata: The Human Person* (Auckland: Accent Publications, 1997); Janet Crawford, ed., *Church and State: Te Tino Rangatiratanga* (Auckland: The College of St John the Evangelist, 1988).

[98] Manukau Henare, "Hope and Maori Self-Determination" (presented at the Theological Symposium on Hope, Palmerston North, 1998); Maori Marsden, *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Maori Marsden*, ed. Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal (The Estate of Rev. Maori Marsden, 2003); Jenny Te Plane Paa, "On Being Te Ahorangi: An Underside Experience of the Constitution of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa," in *Thinking Outside the Square: Church in Middle Earth*, edited by R. Boddé and H. Kempster (Auckland: St Columba's Press & Journeyings, 2003), 315–36; Tui Cadigan, "A Three-Way Relationship: God, Land, People," in *Land and Place: He Whenua, He Wahi: Spiritualities from Aotearoa New Zealand.*, by H. Bergin and S. Smith (Auckland: Accent Publications, 2004); Muru Walters, "Te Upoko O Te Ika Karaitianatanga," edited by J. Stenhouse and B. Knowles (Dunedin, N.Z.: ATF Press, 2004), 3–15; Moeawa Makere Callaghan, "Te Karaiti in Mihingare Spirituality: Women's Perspectives" (Thesis, Auckland University, 2011), https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/19388.

[99] Tate describes his work using vocabulary such as 'contextual theology' and 'indigenous theology'—paralleling postcolonial theology in its attempt to disrupt Western theologians and their "theology from elsewhere", that is often inappropriate and ineffective amongst indigenous communities. See, Henare Tate, *He Puna Iti I Te Ao Marama: A Little Spring in the World of Light* (Auckland, N.Z.: Libro International, 2012), 17.

[100] Tate's thesis is premised on the mantra, borrowed from St. Anselm's "faith seeking understand", as "Māori faith seeking Māori understanding" that is "developed by Māori for Māori in the first place, and in the

an indigenous and theological framework, according to Māori Christian understanding, Atua, Tangata, and Whenua all relate together in a dynamic interrelated relationship. 'Atua' refers to the existence of a Supreme Being, that is, the Triune God. 'Tangata' is the generic word for the human person and people in general as distinct from other created realities. 'Whenua' describes the land on which we stand, gaining tūrangawaewae and "a sense of identity and belonging". All three concepts form a basic Māori worldview and when seen through a theological perspective offer a conceptual contextual and conceptual element for this study, as an example of postcolonial theology in Aotearoa New Zealand.[101]

In summary, oral history and postcolonial theology within a larger Kaupapa Māori methodology all share common ancestry and common features that seek to privilege the voices of the marginalised for emancipatory purposes. Kaupapa Māori thus grounds the study in a Māori epistemology, while utilising oral history as its primary method and postcolonial theology as seen through Tate's Atua-Tangata-Whānau (based on Māori worldview). However, it must be maintained that the methodological approaches that are critically adopted not only interrelate but also critique each other as they present both weaknesses and strengths in regards to the aims of this study. Acknowledging this allows for a more robust methodological approach, which is discussed further in the following chapter.

second instance for all those who share the same land and context, and thirdly for all others." See, Ibid., 21.

[101] For additional information see, Tate, *Traditional Maori Spirituality in Encounter with Christian Spirituality*.

Chapter Three: Tikanga *Methodology*

Having established a methodology[102] for this research in Kaupapa Māori oral history and theology, this chapter explores the specific ways in which the Kaupapa Māori theological framework is outworked in praxis.[103] It outlines the qualitative research methods that were employed to discover and learn from Māori perspectives of the Lower Waikato Baptist Māori Mission. This is followed by a description of the constraints, assumptions and limitations of this project, concluding with a section on the techniques employed in the research for data collection and analysis.

According to Sharan Meriam, all qualitative research is "based on the belief that knowledge is constructed by people in an ongoing fashion as they engage in and make meaning of an activity, experience, or phenomenon".[104] For this reason, qualitative research covers multiple interpretive fields such as ethnography, grounded theory, phenomenology amongst countless others.[105] Furthermore, although qualitative research has "no theory or paradigm that is distinctly its own",[106] its particular focus on knowledge constructed by people and their interpretation makes it appropriate and beneficial for indigenous oral history research,[107] as well as Christian research.

Choosing Kaupapa Māori as suitable methodology for this study was straightforward in some senses yet not without its challenges. Huia Jahnke and Julia Taiapa assert that those engaging in research with Māori people must assume the need for appropriate methods that honour our unique position in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand as tangata whenua—bearing in mind our long-storied history as the *researched* rather than the *researchers*.[108] However, as Pihama et al explain, a Kaupapa Māori approach to research "does not exclude the use of a wide range of research methods but rather signals the interrogation of methods in relation to cultural sensitivity, cross-cultural reliability, useful outcomes for Māori, and other such measures".[109]

Indeed, Linda Tuhiwai Smith acknowledges that the term 'research' is in itself a loaded term that sparks memories of imperialism and colonialism in Māori communities.[110] In effect, standard

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[102] The term 'Tikanga' is used to denote the chapter which draws parallels with 'methodology' or 'method' sections in qualitative research. Reflecting Kaupapa Māori principles, this study uses 'Tikanga' as a more inclusive term that allows the chapter to explore further theoretical and methodological frameworks.

[103] Kaupapa Māori is woven throughout the thesis—not just in the 'theoretical' sections on literature and methodology—but also through the findings and conclusions.

[104] Sharan B. Merriam and Elizabeth J. Tisdell, *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*, 4th ed., The Jossey-Bass Higher and Adult Education Series (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2016), 23.

[105] Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 4th ed (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE, 2011), xiii.

[106] Ibid., 6.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Huia Jahnke and Julia Taiapa, "Māori Research," in *Social Science Research in New Zealand: Many Paths to Understanding*, ed. Carl Davidson and Martin Tolich, 2nd ed. (Auckland, N.Z: Pearson Education New Zealand Limited, 2003), 39–50.

[109] Leonie Pihama, Fiona Cram, and Sheila Walker, *Creating Methodological Space: A Literature Review of Kaupapa Maori Research*, vol. 26 (2002): 30–44.

[110] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 1.

western methodologies for this research would be counter-productive to the overall aims of this thesis.

Furthermore, this an applied theology project.[111] In applied theology, (which is related to practical and integrative theologies), according to Halstead and Habets,

> the primary focus is practice, in particular the practices of the Church, considered in relation to its context and evaluated in the light of Christian faith.[112]

Therefore, concerned with practice, applied theology is roughly divided into two main categories which are largely determined by their starting points: (1) how a specific theology or set of doctrines may be outworked in a specific context; or (2) how a specific context is examined through a theological lens. This thesis is in the latter category. It takes an historical event—its motivations, practices, and outcomes—and examines it through a Kaupapa Māori postcolonial theology based on Tate's Atua-Tangata-Whānau framing and using Kerr's five key principles as a lens through which to examine findings in Chapter Five.[113] The use of postcolonial theology grounds this study in a Kaupapa Māori theological lens which does not succumb to secular debates that negate the role of Christian faith in Māori historiography; nor dismisses non-religious sources and arguments outright. Instead, it allows for thorough engagement with both. In addition, it allows Māori voices, concerns and theological perspectives to be brought to the fore and remain central throughout the research project.

Research Design

This research is a Kaupapa Māori, applied theology project. The Kaupapa Māori underpinnings influenced research design decisions throughout. The oral history nature of the research ensured that the approach was applied rather than purely theoretical and postcolonial theology, as a focused subsection of theology, provided a theological perspective of the research project within the Kaupapa Māori framework.

The following builds on these key methodological approaches by detailing the aspects of the research design that informed this thesis. This includes a survey of the parameters of this study that details the constrains, assumptions and limitations placed on it. It then describes the use of oral history through the interviews with Kaikōrero and the overall data collection and analysis processes.

[111] Also commonly referred to as practical or integrative theology.
[112] Philip Halstead and Myk Habets, *Doing Integrative Theology* (Auckland, N.Z.: Archer Press, 2015), 4.
[113] For a fuller explanation refer to Chapter Two.

Constraints, Assumptions, and Limitations

In order to maintain focus on the research questions, the following constraints were observed:

- Research was undertaken for two specific audiences: first and foremost, Māori, particularly those involved in the Lower Waikato Mission. It is written to record and address Māori concerns; and secondly New Zealand Baptists, so that insights might be gained from the narratives of Māori for the benefit of mission and ministry today.
- Interviews were restricted to Māori participants. The Lower Waikato Mission involved key non-Māori who could have been interviewed. However, this thesis is not an attempt at an exhaustive oral history project. Selecting only Māori created a research sample that aligned with the research questions and the values of Kaupapa Māori.
- Interviews were conducted in the English language. My own lack of Te Reo Māori limited the research to English, however, all Kaikōrero spoke English and most Māori concepts and words used during korero were within the range of my understanding.
- Narrative data was analysed primarily through Kaupapa Māori principles. Mission, theological frameworks and the Bible are discussed to the extent that Kaikōrero spoke of them, offering their critique of the strengths and weaknesses of the mission, the theology employed and their biblical understanding as it impacted on their own story or their perceptions of the Lower Waikato Mission. Thus, it is the stories and perceptions of the Kaikōrero that remain central, ensuring it is them that control the reflections and critique of the mission.
- The decision to position the project as a Kaupapa Māori applied theology oral history project, focussed the theology through a Kaupapa Māori lens based on key principles and with reference to Tate's Atua-Tangata-Whānau articulation. No attempt is made to analyse the stories using Western theological frameworks or biblical hermeneutics. Instead, primacy remains with the stories and Māori understandings of them, that are so critical to the Kaupapa Māori oral history project.

Various assumptions have informed this research. I assume:

- the narratives of the Kaikōrero are privileged knowledge and as a result determine the structure of this research project.
- the narratives are specific and time-bound. History, engaged with theologically, can offer insights for future approaches but this thesis does not seek to develop a 'model' for Māori mission.
- the timeline of the Lower Waikato Māori Mission starts with the arrival of the missionaries in the 1950s but ongoing relationship between Pākehā Baptist and Māori Baptist has meant that no clear end date is posited.
- Further, it is important to define what is meant by "Māori-Baptist engagement". The intent is not binary. I recognise one can be Māori and Baptist—particularly those involved in the Lower

Waikato Mission—and therefore purposely obfuscates this simplistic understanding by its ambiguity. The phrase also tries to negate static misrepresentations of either Māori or Baptists as active *or* passive parties.

- I bring a perspective to the research from being both Māori and Christian. I carry this tension within myself as a researcher particularly when the two seem to be in conflict or one is dominating the other. Carrying this tension may appear to be a weakness in Western research paradigms, but a Kaupapa Māori approach allows for the personal story and reflective practice of the researcher to impact on the research. Therefore, explicit interrogation of the tensions that exist as a result of the colonial experience are integral to the research process.

Research Limitations and Future Research Suggestions

- As a qualitative study, this research had several limitations. The scope of the research proved problematic as the overall historical period of Māori-Baptist engagement in the Lower Waikato Mission covered a sizeable timeline from the 1950s through to the 21st century. This meant that although I was able to cover the broad range of people, places and events that occurred in each Pou the study did suffer from a lack of knowledge around certain features of the LWM.

- Additionally, the lack of written literature particularly from the 1970s onwards (when Māori leadership had largely taken over Baptist Māori work), meant that large parts of my interviews with Kaikōrero included new information previously unheard. As a study grounded in an historical period of time, this led to a disjointed attempt to validate and record dates, often from a variety of written sources—which did not always corroborate with the Kaikōrero and vice versa. Related to this point, another limitation was the amount of information gained from Kaikōrero and the need for clarification and further investigation of their stories. Repeat interviews would have been helpful to cut down on time spent trying to piece together timelines in which to understand their korero and the overarching timeline of the LWM.

- Although factors limited the research, there are some promising pathways for future study. Firstly, the phases of the mission as outlined to me by Charles Joe gave a helpful framework through which I could understand the oral narratives. Related to the limitations of scope, future study could well focus on a single Pou and interview people who were specifically involved in that. This would allow for richer perspectives from Māori, utilising some of the knowledge gained from this study.

- With the LWM being the first 20th century Māori mission initiated by the Baptist Churches of New Zealand, other Māori work subsequently arose, due in large part to the success in the Lower Waikato. Further study into the various works across the North Island, of which many of the Kaikōrero themselves referred to or even were a part of, must be considered in any future research around Māori-Baptist engagement.

- This study has had a distinctively oral history focus. There is potential to unpack the stories further from missional, theological and biblical perspectives. Of particular interest theologically is the connection between Atua, tangata and whenua and how the interplay of these may have impacted on the story of the LWM. The Māori relationship with whenua and its impact on mission is a area that could only be touched on in this thesis, but deserves further exploration.

Kaikōrero[114]

With their permission, Table 1 provides an introduction to the Kaikōrero who participated in interviews for this thesis. It includes their name, iwi affiliations, and connection to Māori-Baptist engagement in the Lower Waikato.[115]

Table 1. Kaikōrero

Name	Iwi affiliation(s)
Lionel Stewart	Ngāti Kahungunu
Adrienne Stewart	Pākehā
Charles Joe	Waikato Tainui, Taranaki Whānui
Luke Kaa-Morgan	Tainui Awhiro
Rewai Te Kahu	Ngāti Kahungunu
Josie Te Kahu	Ngā puhi, Ngāti Paoa, Ngai Tahu
Sam Emery	Ngāti Pikiao
David Moko	Te Arawa
Toroa Thompson	Ngā puhi, Te Arawa, Ngāti Kahungunu
Selina Hira	Waikato, Ngā puhi, Te Arawa, Ngāti Kahungunu
Tony Hira	Waikato
Te Whaikoha Astle	Ngāti Rangi

[114] This term is adopted from Melissa Matutina Willaims and is used to represent the participants of the interviews undertaken for this thesis. See Melissa Matutina Williams, *Panguru and the City: Kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua: An Urban Migration History*, 1st edition. (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014), 21.

[115] Names listed in order of when korero took place from first till last.

Gathering and Collecting

Data was gathered primarily through individual interviews, supplemented with document analysis. The primary data collection method was semi-structured interviews with Māori who were involved with the Lower Waikato Baptist Māori Mission across its various iterations. The primary selection criteria for participants was that they were Māori, engaged with the Baptist denomination in some way, in the area of the Lower Waikato. The *connection* principle was used to guide decisions on who to interview. According to the Kaupapa Māori *connection* principle, importance is placed on the advice from elders. Elders in my personal networks were asked for their expert knowledge on who to interview and each person interviewed was also able to suggest others that fitted the study criteria. This approach is akin to the snowballing method of sample selection in the research literature.[116]

Eight interviews were consequently conducted with eleven Kaikōrero kanohi ki te kanohi[117] either individually or in pairs or groups,[118] with myself as either sole or joint facilitator.[119] In accordance with Kaupapa Māori theory, which focuses on Māori control of research information, participants were given the option of identifying themselves by name and iwi in the analysis and results of the thesis—which they all chose to do.[120] Tikanga Māori processes in general helped guide my interviewing processes when interacting with participants.

Questions were intentionally open-ended and based on discovering participants lived-experiences of the Lower Waikato Mission. Each interview involved asking the main research question, planned sub-questions that related specifically to answering the main question in-depth,[121] and impromptu (or follow-up questions) generated 'on the fly' during the interviews in order to explore their responses.[122] The interviews were designed as open-ended discussion because, as Nepia Mahuika notes, oral history interviews are "interactive methodologies", that actively involve the participation of the interviewer in them as an insider.[123]

The data gathering and analysis stages deliberately prioritised interview data but also

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[116] Merriam and Tisdell, *Qualitative Research*, 98.

[117] Nepia Mahuika notes dynamics such as deference within larger group interviews that inevitably shape the discussions. Where possible individual korero were preferred however sometimes this was not the case with additional support peoples (spouses, etc), or circumstances meant it was best to do a hui interview. See Nepia Mahuika, "'Kōrero Tuku Iho': Reconfiguring Oral History and Oral Tradition" (PhD thesis, University of Waikato, 2012), 50–51, http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/handle/10289/6293.

[118] Kaupapa Māori principles informed the decision to name the 'interviews' either 'korero' or 'hui'. The Kaupapa Māori *cultural principle* also informed the necessity that meetings were face to face. See Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 15.

[119] Atypical circumstances allowed for this option at the discretion of the interviewee and occurred in three interviews. In each case permission was sought and granted. (See Appendix: Ethics Approval)

[120] Another valid reason I sought to obtain their representation by name in the study was due to the historical aspect of this thesis.

[121] See Appendix: Ethics Approval

[122] Herbert J. Rubin and Irene Rubin, *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2005), 134.

[123] Mahuika, "'Kōrero Tuku Iho,'" 51.

included review of relevant documents. These included the New Zealand Baptist (NZB), published works on the early years of the mission (i.e. journal articles, book chapters, etc.), and archival information retrieved from the New Zealand Baptist Archive. The NZB was especially pertinent in regards to times and dates—although it must be mentioned that these did not always correlate with other written sources. Participants also made their personal photographs, newspaper columns and other material they had collected over the years available to be analysed for the research. Together these created a rich array of data and provided supporting material to the participant interviews. Indeed, an examination of Lower Waikato Mission and its impact on Māori would be incomplete without taking into account these written sources.[124]

Analysis

Although hui and korero from the Kaikōrero formed the basis for this study in regards to data it was done so in an academically rigourous manner. Drawing on similar studies that utilise Māori oral narratives such as Melissa Matutina Williams' *Pangaru and the City: Kainga Tahi, Kainga Rua: An Urban Migration History*, the concerns of this thesis were twofold in trying to maintain the integrity of the Kaikōrero and their mātauranga that was shared during the interviews while also producing a collective (yet not exhaustive) historical account that is reliable and readable.[125]

To do this an inductive approach of thematic analysis of the transcribed interviews was used to recognise and describe patterns and themes in the data.[126] The initial codes were produced through 'structural' coding method[127] in order to organise the volume of data across the various interviews taking note of key people and places, and secondly through 'in vivo'[128] coding to ensure their voices were respected and kept as close to the data as possible.[129] These initial codes were developed and sorted into potential themes which were refined and re-worked until the themes reflected the meanings evident in the data set as a whole. This was an iterative process that entailed reading and re-reading the raw data, as well as supplementing information from other written sources.

[124] Ibid., 55.
[125] Williams, *Panguru and the City*, 23.
[126] Bruce Curtis and Cate Curtis, *Social Research: A Practical Introduction* (Auckland, NZ: SAGE, 2011), 114.
[127] Johnny Saldaña, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (Los Angeles, Calif: Sage, 2009), 66–69.
[128] Ibid., 74–76.
[129] It should be noted that the quotations from Kaikōrero are based on their spoken words and not their written words. That means, as Racheal Ka'ai-Mahuta argues, that the primary source is not the transcription of korero but rather the audio files as "there is a marked difference between the characteristics of oral and written forms of communication." Furthermore, the editing process of oral transmission to written text inevitably changes original thought forms and meanings of words as quotations were changed for ease of reading and understanding in some places. Rachael Te Āwhina Ka'ai-Mahuta, "He Kupu Tuku Iho Mō Tēnei Reanga: A Critical Analysis of Waiata and Haka as Commentaries and Archives of Māori Political History" (Thesis, Auckland University of Technology, 2010), 4–5, http://aut.researchgateway.ac.nz/handle/10292/1023.

Chapter Four: Whakapata *History*

This chapter provides background information relevant to this study on the Baptist Māori mission in the Lower Waikato. It includes a brief summary of Baptist and Māori engagement from written sources (thesis, book chapters, articles), and reveals the factors that contributed to the Baptists lack of Māori missionary activity prior to the 1950s. It is followed by a timeline of the LWM.

Baptist historian Stan Edgar, writing in the 1980s about Baptist mission work amongst Māori summarised that:

> It has not been easy for Baptists to enter Maori evangelism and Church work… However, most Maoris have little concept of denominational loyalty nor of the emphases that have traditionally divided the Church. Nor do they think primarily in terms of activity that belongs to one Church only. They are Maoris first, perhaps even before they are Christians, certainly before they are Baptists.[130]

Until the mid-20th century the Baptist engagement with Māori mission was both ineffective and infrequent. In 1882 the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle commissioned Alfred Fairbrother as a missionary amongst the Māori communities of Ōhinemutu, Waitangi and Te Wairoa in Rotorua. Commonly referred to as the first Baptist Māori Mission, it lasted three years before a combination of factors such as the rejection of Fairbrother from local Māori, economic depression, and the eruption of Lake Tarawera led to the mission's cessation.[131] For more than sixty years Baptist Churches would only interact with Māori communities in their local contexts without an official Māori mission supported by the denomination.

A mitigating factor involved in their non-participation was impacted by the formation of the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society (NZBMS) October 15th 1885—several years after Fairbrother's Māori mission in Rotorua.[132] From the outset, it was explicitly stated that the first mission-field would be India,[133] an alignment of interest to their Baptist counterparts in Britain.[134] A

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[130] S. L Edgar, Baptist Union of New Zealand, and New Zealand Baptist Historical Society, *A Handful of Grain: The Centenary History of the Baptist Union of N.Z. Volume 4.* (Auckland, N.Z.: N.Z. Baptist Historical Society for the Baptist Union of New Zealand, 1982), 14.

[131] R. F. Keam's biography of William Snow, an American with significant physical impairments who migrated to Rotorua for potential health benefits and was the key instigator of the Baptist mission in Rotorua, is written using only missionary sources and thus suffers from a void of Māori voices. Despite this, it is clear that Fairbrother's rejection of Māori—which was linked to his attitudes on temperance—was damning. See R. F. Keam, *Dissolving Dream: The Improbable Story of the First Baptist Māori Mission* (Auckland, N.Z: R.F. Keam, 2004).

[132] In fact, the same year of the Tarawera eruption was the same year that New Zealand Baptists sent their first overseas missionary Rosalie MacGeorge to India.

[133] Hugh Douglas Morrison, "'It Is Our Bounden Duty': the Emergence of the New Zealand Protestant Missionary Movement, 1868-1926" (PhD thesis, Massey University, 2004), 27.

[134] The influence of the English Baptists on the New Zealand Baptists in their early history cannot be understated. As E. P. Y. Simpson states: "The Baptists in the colony had the closest ties with their denominational brethren in England, and in practically every respect they reflected the thinking of the English groups. The great majority had come from the British Isles and practically all the early ministers had been trained in England, where Baptist missionary enthusiasm was at a high level." See E. P. Y. Simpson, "A History of the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society, 1885-1947" (MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1948), 13.

strong sense of loyalty to continuing the legacy of Baptist mission in South Asia appeared to be a priority of the denomination. As early as the third annual meeting of the NZBMS it was acknowledged that the Indian mission would take preference over the Māori mission in regards to priority of funding, thus stifling the potential growth of Māori missions.[135] Due in part to the apparent failure of Fairbrother's mission in Rotorua, it was deemed that Māori mission would be left up to individuals scattered across the country in their local contexts to engage with Māori in conjunction with their home churches from the late 1800s through to the early 1900s. A lack of wider support from Baptist Churches prevented any traction in engaging with local Māori communities. Consequently, no collective witness by the Baptists was to come to fruition until post-World War II.[136]

By 1947, momentum had built in regards to awareness around creating a Māori work. A small group of prominent Pākehā Baptists would eventually succeed in convincing the Union that a Māori mission would be worthwhile.[137] The Baptist General Assembly that year would see the formation of a committee to investigate the possibilities of a Māori mission by the Baptists. Up until that point Baptist engagement in mission with Māori was impacted by a sense of irrelevance as a denomination that had no substantial history with impacting tangata whenua with the gospel. This thinking is evident in a letter from Rev. A.J. Seamer of the Methodist Māori mission to Rev. Ralph Page, in 1949: "The historical position is that there are three "Gospel Canoes", Anglican, Methodist, Roman Catholic. The whole land was portioned out. Maoris are strong on tradition and would ask, "The Baptists, who are they? They are not one of the three canoes."[138] According to this colonial mindset, Māori were crudely stereotyped as fierce loyalists to the first denominations their iwi and hapū had 'converted' to and thus too simple-minded to grasp the idea of other Christian mission work amongst them. This sentiment was also echoed by the Presbyterian Superintendent of Māori ministry. He wrote to Rev. Page saying "I think in conversation I explained to you that establishment of Māori work in an area in which any branch of the Christian Church is working would only add confusion to the Māori mind."[139] Comments such as this were indicative of the paternalistic attitudes towards Māori, and especially in this case the Māori section of the National Council of Churches (NCC) that had formed in 1947 maintained a spiritual monopoly in Māori missions throughout New

[135] Ibid.

[136] Edgar, Baptist Union of New Zealand, and New Zealand Baptist Historical Society, *A Handful of Grain*; C.D.B. Jones, "The Long, Painful Birth of Baptist Maori Ministry," *N. Z. J. Baptist Res.* 1 (1996): 47–66; Keam, *Dissolving Dream*.

[137] They were Ralph Page, Arthur Mead and Ernest McGregor. These men have subsequently been mythologised (that is, often credited) in the annals of Baptist histories as the first men to effectively start Baptist Māori mission. See Jones, "Baptist Maori Ministry," 47–48.

[138] Ibid., 53.

[139] John Laughton subsequently encouraged the Baptist Union to start a work in Wellington as opposed to Auckland where members of the National Council of Churches and associated Churches had already commenced. Both the N. C. C. and United Māori mission where lukewarm towards Baptist efforts in "joining" the Māori missionary work. Jones, "The Long, Painful Birth of Baptist Maori Ministry," 53.

Zealand.[140]

A lack of engagement from Baptists came down to a few mitigating factors that when all summed up did not a Māori mission make. From the 19th century their primary missionary focus remained on India, whilst mission 'at home' amongst Māori would be left to other denominations who had a much greater history with evangelising Māori. In the 20th century, the Māori section of the NCC—apparent experts in the (missionary) field—would actively discourage Māori mission by the Baptists as unnecessary and unwise. As a result, Baptists would steer clear of engaging with Māori until the Lower Waikato Mission was started in the 1954.

[140] Allan K Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa: A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*, 3rd ed. (Wellington, N.Z.: Ministry of Education, 2004), 159.

Rārangi Wā: Timeline of Baptist-Māori engagement in the Lower Waikato

This timeline is based on written sources such as the New Zealand Baptist, archival information retrieved from the Carey Baptist library, books, and articles. It is not exhaustive, however as far as I know it is the first published effort to collate key dates and events that relate to Baptist-Māori engagement in the Lower Waikato at both a local and denominational (national) level. Other affiliated work not directly related to the LWM is *referenced* in the footnotes (i.e. other Baptist Māori work and workers, etc).

Table 2. Rārangi Wā: Timetable of Baptist-Māori engagement in the Lower Waikato Mission

1946	Baptist Assembly asks for survey of Māori Mission work which is then undertaken by South Auckland Auxiliary
1947	Baptist Assembly Committee appointed to inquire into possibility of an official Baptist work amongst Māori
1948	Report back to Baptist Assembly headed by A.D. Mead. Committee convenorship passed to Rev. T. R. Page
1950	Baptist Assembly appointed 'Maori Mission Board'
1954	Pukekohe Baptist Church Pastor Ian Christensen asks Baptist Theological College for student helper for contacts initiated amongst Māori in local area
	Maori Mission Board report made at Assembly about opening being found in Pukekohe with two people being set aside: Des Jones and Miss Joan Milner
	New Zealand Baptist Maori Department officially formed
	Des Jones commences student placement from Baptist Theological College, continuing work made from Pukekohe Baptist Church
1955	Miss Joan Milner commences full-time work in Lower Waikato field (LWM)
1956	Mr Des Jones commences full-time work in LWM
	Special evening services commenced in local Māori Hostel every second and fourth Sunday of the month
1957	Pukekohe work outgrows facilities, shifts Sunday School to local school
1958	House purchased for Des Jones in Te Kohanga
	House purchased for Joan Milner in Pukekohe
1960	Dora Whitehead commences full-time work in LWM (spent previous two years helping as student from Baptist Theological College)

1961	Work commenced in Tuakau using a disused factory
1963 [141]	Des Jones released from mission work to learn Te Reo Māori
	Trevor Donnell assigned to LWM as student placement from Baptist Theological College
	Opening of first building of LWM, 'Huia Mai' in Tuakau
1965	Trevor Donnell appointed as new worker at Pukekohe
1966	Des Jones leaves LWM to start new Māori work in Rotorua[142]
1967	Assembly 1967 approved a scheme whereby Māori work done by an individual Church becomes associated with the Maori Department.[143]
	Mere Pou appointed as first Baptist Māori worker of Māori descent in Hastings
1968	Joined the Māori section of the National Council of Churches
	Dora Whitehead transfers from LWM to Auckland City Mission work with Māori
	Pastor R. Bollen moves to Pukekohe as new worker for the Baptist Maori Department
1969	Second LWM building 'Puna O Te Ora' officially opened
1971	Des Jones steps down as Field Superintendent of Baptist Māori Department and departs from Rotorua work
	Trevor Donnell appointed new Field Superintendent of Baptist Māori Department
	R. Bollen leaves LWM to pastor at Rotorua Baptist Church[144]
1972 [145]	Charles Joe accepted as first 'Baptist Māori convert' (and first Māori student) at Carey Baptist College after two years studying at NZBTI
	Truby Mihaere commissioned as first full-time Māori worker and assigned to LWM during study at Baptist Theological College[146]

[141] Rev. Gordon Hambly joined Otara Baptist Church with a focus on the large Māori population in the area in association with Baptist Māori Department. Later joined by Pastor Rex Tito (associate Māori minister), and later Pastor Lou Naera. Dora Whitehead also assisted.

[142] Rev Roy Bullen of Rotorua Baptist Church had established contact with Māori communities in 1953 in the Okere district, leading to a Sunday School lead by Ray Lincoln until Des Jones took over the work in 1963.

[143] The associate work scheme was implemented to expand Baptist Māori work across the country. It was initially joined by works in the King Country and Hastings. The King Country scheme involved Otorohanga Baptist Church member Ned Muraahi at his home marae. The Hastings scheme was led by Deaconess Mere Pou as the first Māori to be appointed for fulltime Māori work. She would move to lead the Gisborne work from 1976-1978 then later to LWM.

[144] Until 1975.

[145] Mr and Mrs Rex Tito assigned Māori work.

[146] Truby Mihaere would start ministry in Tauranga in 1975, building on earlier work from Tauranga Baptist by linking maori from local marae with The Mount Baptist (Mt Maunganui) and Te Puke Baptist. David Tuatara would succeed him and appointed lay worker in 1978.

1973 [147]	Charles Joe student assignment in LWM from Baptist Theological College
	Dora Whitehead marries Eddie Crown – met at Auckland City Mission[148]
1974	Richard Taikato appointed Lay-Pastor of Waiuku Māori Fellowship
1975 [149]	Trevor Donnell moves to Papatoetoe
	Rev. Charles Joe appointed Pastor of Puna O Te Ora
	Truby Mihaere moves to Tauranga to join Māori work[150]
1978	Joan Milner part time in LWM due to ill-health after 24 years full-time service
	Deaconess Mere Pou joined LWM
1979	Tori Toka inducted as Tuakau Pastor
	Trevor Donnell steps down as Tumuaki to take position as pastor at Whangaparaoa Baptist
	Charles Joe appointed new role of Kaiwhakahaere – succeeding Trevor Donnell as Tumuaki
1980	Huia Mai building relocated to Puna O Te Ora as the beginning of a complex for Māori work in the area
	Vacated land at Tuakau subsequently sold to Department of Maori affairs.
	Five Kaumatua flats then added onto vacated sight at Tuakau
1981	Third building of LWM is completed, 'Puna O Te Ora Baptist Centre'. Huia Mai building relocated to Pukekohe with additional, foyer, kitchen and ablution block
1983	Statement of Baptists commitment to Biculturalism made at Baptist Assembly
1984	Charles Joe joins RNZAF after nine years as Pastor at Puna O Te Ora
	Grounds near Puna turned into market gardens for 'Rural mission programme'
	Te Oranga Family Home established by Puna O Te Ora
	Fraser Campbell becomes interim pastor of Puna O Te Ora for six months
	Assembly asks Maori Department and Union General Superintendent to assess the continuing role of the Department
1985	Truby Mihaere inducted as pastor of Puna O Te Ora

[147] Tama Stirling inducted as Maori missioner in Wainuiomata by the Wellington Baptist Association (included Lower Hutt, Waiunuiomata and Petone Churches). In Whakatane, Mr and Mrs Wati Tito would do part time Māori work.
[148] Dora and Eddie Crown left Auckland the following year.
[149] Mere Pou joined Gisborne Māori work started in 1965.
[150] Until 1978.

	Conference held at Puna in regards to continuation of Maori Department, reported in NZB (call for Tumuaki position stated)
	Lionel Stewart appointed Tumuaki of Baptist Maori Department at Baptist Assembly
1986	The merger of Pukekohe Baptist, Puna O Te Ora, and Waiuku Baptist into Franklin Baptist Church
1987	Franklin Baptist officially opens new building
	Official welcoming service of Puna O Te Ora to Franklin Baptist Church
	Truby Mihaere inducted as Kaiarihi (director of training for the Department of Maori Ministry)
1989	Lionel Stewart appointed Baptist President at Baptist General Assemby (Vice-President previous year)
1990	[151] Lionel Stewart undertakes 'Reconciliation Tours' throughout the country to promote awareness around Māori culture to Baptist Churches
	Baptist Assembly held at Nga Hau E Wha Marae, Pukekohe
1991	Te Waka Moana Nui (Deep-sea canoe voyage) mission trips launched by Baptist Maori Ministries in conjunction with Baptist Youth Ministries with thirty-four people across three teams sent to Fiji, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands.
	Runanga held across North Island in Te Puke, Rotorua, Pukekohe, and Hamilton
1992	Puna O Te Ora handed over to Baptist Maori Ministries
1992	Te Whare Amorangi (Leadership Training centre for Māori) commences first year at Puna O Te Ora
	Sam Emery appointed Kaiwhakahaere of Te Whare Amorangi
1993	Baptist Maori Ministries relocated to Puna O Te Ora, Pukekohe
1994	Assembly held on Marae again (never again) in Rotorua
1997	Sam Emery appointed Tumuaki of Baptist Maori Ministries
	Rewai appointed Kaiwhakahaere of Te Whare Amorangi relocated from Puna O Te Ora to Otara Baptist
1998	Te Whare Amorangi joins Carey Baptist College through diploma programme

[151] Waiuku and Kaiti Baptist Churches, two initiatives started by Baptist Māori work, officially joined the Baptist Union of Churches at the Baptist General Assembly.

1999	Reaffirmation of the Treaty by Baptist Union (written by Rewai)
2007	Sam Emery steps down as Tumuaki of Baptist Maori Ministries
	David Moko appointed Kaihautū (formerly Tumuaki) of Baptist Maori Ministries[152]
Present	Māori fellowship, Rongopai, meet under the leadership of Manuel Kingi at Puna O Te Ora

[152] Renamed Manatū Iriiri Maori in 2010

Chapter Five: Kōrero Tuku Iho *Findings*

This chapter weaves together the threads of oral narratives and written sources to tell a story of the Lower Waikato Māori mission. The story prioritises the voices of Māori who were involved,[153] exploring the knowledge still held within Māori communities about the Baptist Māori Mission work at Pukekohe and bringing that together with the written record of the times. The significance of key events are explored using a critical Kaupapa Māori lens, providing insight into Māori perspectives that may have significance for the contemporary Baptist movement.

During the korero process four distinct categories began to emerge that helped locate the Kaikōrero in regards to their involvement in the Lower Waikato:

(1) The Pioneer Mission
(2) The Development of a Māori Fellowship
(3) The Merger
(4) Post-Merger[154]

Each of these categories indicate a rough chronological time period of Baptists' involvement in Māori work in the Lower Waikato—though they are not necessarily time-bound in the sense that they sometimes refer to people, places and events that occur simultaneously. Reflecting its focus on privileging mātauranga Māori this study has chosen to use the Māori term 'pou' (traditional posts used by Māori as boundary markers of significant places) to symbolically refer to these categories.[155]

Starting with *Te Pou Tuatahi: Pioneers Mission* the establishment of the first missionaries sent by the Baptists to Lower Waikato and its growth. *Te Pou Tuarua: Development of a Māori Fellowship* continues on with the growth of the mission through Māori leadership and the eventual formation of a distinct Māori fellowship called Puna O Te Ora in Pukekohe that would be seen as the heart and soul of Baptist-Māori engagement. In *Te Pou Tuatoru: The Merger,* the end of the mission which culminated in the mission becoming a part of Franklin Baptist is discussed. Finally, *Te Pou Tuawha: Post-Merger*, describes the impact of the merger on Māori and the Baptist denomination. It ends with an examination of the formation of Te Whare Amorangi—the Māori leadership training that was long dreamed of from the early days of the Baptist mission, the development of which parallels the Lower Waikato story in significant ways.

At the conclusion of each Pou, key events are critically evaluated using a Kaupapa Māori

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[153] The Lower Waikato, which would later become known as Franklin district, was the first 'mission field' of Baptist engagement in Māori mission which was located south of Auckland.

[154] This sequence was adopted from Charles Joe's korero: "I think there are three phases really to this whole development and the first phase I would put it down as being the Pioneer missionaries, the second phase probably the development of a Maori fellowship and the third stage, the merging with the Pukekohe Baptist and then you've got just other things that have happened since then." Charles Joe, "Korero with Charles Joe," interview by Caleb Haurua and Rawiri Auty, October 20, 2016.

[155] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 30–32.

lens. The events are compared and contrasted with the Kaupapa Māori principles of control, challenge, culture, connection, change and credibility. [156] The discussion summarises the views of Māori involved, mapping these to the Kaupapa Māori principles to provide an evaluation from Māori perspectives. The evaluation is not intended to be critical of the people of the time or their actions. Rather the time-bound and specific story of mission to the Lower Waikato is reviewed using a contemporary Kaupapa Māori filter in order to see if there may be learning for the Baptist Movement that may inform our current time and context and provide insights to guide the denomination into the future.

As a qualitative study, the exploration of the oral narratives was undertaken with a view to prioritise and privilege their stories. As such, the Takarangi spiral, or double spiral that moves both toward and outward from the centre provided a conceptual Māori frame by which I undertook the process.[157] Moving out from my own lack of knowledge through the 'Korero Tuku Iho'—the stories of those involved in the LWM—and back again to renewed understanding, was a deeply personal process in which I was an active participant.[158] In this manner, the goal of this chapter is neither a comprehensive 'history' nor a 'model' as Western research epistemologies might want, but rather, is a weaving together of the oral narratives that reflects historically and theologically on indigenous experience.

The Kaupapa Māori discussion concluding each Pou includes a brief analysis of key stories and events using Tate's Atua-Tangata-Whānau Māori conceptualisation. When considered in combination with Kaupapa Māori theory and principles, interrelationships between God, people and land provide a specific Māori-Christian lens.

1. Te Pou Tuatahi: The Pioneer Mission

> The pioneers, they are really important in terms of the beginnings of the Baptist Maori Mission, so they were Pākehā who came into the community… These folks, it must have been about the mid-1950s, I think that period there… they were the ones that really got out there.[159]

1954 marked the start of the Baptist Union of New Zealand's mission to Māori in the area known as the Lower Waikato, south of Auckland.[160] It was considered a watershed moment by the movement. For the first time since the Auckland Tabernacle had commissioned work in Rotorua (1882-1885) there would be a Baptist Māori mission.[161]

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[156] Kerr, "Kaupapa Maori Theory-Based Evaluation."
[157] Sandy Kerr, "Searching for a Good Evaluation: A Hikoi" (PhD thesis, Massey University, 2012), 32.
[158] Kerr, "Searching for a Good Evaluation: A Hikoi."
[159] Charles Joe, "Korero with Charles Joe."
[160] The 'Lower Waikato' is the area formerly known as the Franklin District which was officially disbanded in 2010 and split into Auckland and Hauraki districts.
[161] The failure of the first mission has been written about by various Baptist historians. See R. Bullen, *Failure of a Mission: The Story of a Last Century Effort by Baptists to Evangelise the Maori* (Ayson Clifford Library: Carey Baptist College, 1930), M 20/ 1, 2/30, Maxwell Barker Archives; Simpson, "A History of

Like other churches throughout New Zealand, members of the Pukekohe Baptist Church were already undergoing regular interaction with Māori individuals and communities before the official Māori work of the Baptist Union began.[162] Ian Christensen, Pastor of the Pukekohe Church, recognised the need to reach out to the increasingly changing Māori demographic in the Pukekohe Church and wider community.[163] Described by some as having a "considerable ability in relating to members of other cultures"[164] and "sufficiently unconventional",[165] Christensen along with other members of his church volunteered their time in various community ministries. Original Pukekohe Baptist families such as the Havill's and the Vincent's[166] were assisting in Sunday Schools at different locations such as the Pukekohe Church, a member's home, and both Tauranganui Pā (on the Waikato river) and Tahuna Pā (near Waiuku). Yet these families did not have proper resources to sustain these activities by themselves and needed assistance for a long-term investment "to counter-act the hit-and-run evangelism image" that had plagued the Baptist's earlier work.[167] Ian Christensen would request a student from the Baptist Theological College to help their cause. Des Jones would be assigned on placement, travelling to and from College, often staying in a caravan outside different marae for Sunday schools with the assistance of local Read Peni.[168]

News of this situation spread further afield to a national level. After several years of the Union Council hearing reports from the Māori committee that were sometimes "favourable" and other times appearing "as if the door were closing", there seemed to be an eager possibility for a Baptist Māori mission in the Lower Waikato.[169]

At the 1954 Baptist General Assembly the New Zealand Baptist Māori Department was formed and the Mission's first workers were appointed to the Pukekohe area in the Lower Waikato as the first missionary field. Joan Milner from Island Bay in Wellington, president of the Young Women's Bible Class Union, was selected. She had heard the call for workers the previous year and

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the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society, 1885-1947"; A.D. Mead, "Baptist Mission to the Maoris," *Bull NZ Baptist Hist. Soc.* 4 (1956): 1–2; Edgar, Baptist Union of New Zealand, and New Zealand Baptist Historical Society, *A Handful of Grain*.

[162] It is important to note that the Lower Waikato was not the only option for the Baptists to start a Māori mission in the 1950s. Areas such as Temuka and Whangarei had similar engagements between Māori communities and Baptist Churches.

[163] The Māori diaspora affected the district; the Lower Waikato experiencing urban migration of Māori to the city centres from rural parts of the country. Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou*.; Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: A History* (Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books, 2015).; Williams, *Panguru and the City*.

[164] Edgar, Baptist Union of New Zealand, and New Zealand Baptist Historical Society, *A Handful of Grain*, 39.

[165] Jones, "Baptist Maori Ministry," 60.

[166] "Pukekohe Baptist Church Golden Jubilee 1927-1977," 1977, Carey Baptist Archives.

[167] Lionel (Rawiri) Stewart, "Kia Kotahi Tatou - Let Us All Be One," 25.

[168] Baptist Maori Mission Department and Baptist Union of New Zealand, "Whakatupu : 25th Jubilee of the Maori Department of the Baptist Union of New Zealand, 1954-1979" (Baptist Historical Society, 1979), MA127/4.

[169] NZB, August 1954, 176

had discerned God's prompting to apply.[170] Joan's induction service elicited memories of Baptist folklore regarding William Carey, the great Baptist missionary, and his 'famous enquiry' into mission amongst Māori.[171] Finally, it seemed, his vision was coming true. This was made even more cognizant by the fact that the Union's President at the time was a direct descendent of Carey's.[172] In addition to Joan Milner, Baptist College student, Des Jones, asked the Council to also assign him to the Lower Waikato work.[173] He was to start work over the summer on student placement, capitalising on the work being done by Pukekohe Church members in Pukekohe and Port Waikato (commencing full-time work in 1956). Joan was to further 'train' for the work by being placed at Shelley Beach Women's Hostel in town for two months before commencing her time in Pukekohe in January 1955. These first full-time workers were soon joined by others, namely Dora Whitehead and Trevor Donnell[174], and became affectionately known as "the pioneers".

Over the next two decades the missionaries initiated various evangelical activities that included ministries such as Cottage meetings, women's groups, Sunday Schools, mid-week bible and prayer meetings, services held at Churches across the Lower Waikato district on different settings such as marae and community halls. Other activities involved in tangihanga, hospital visitations, evangelistic crusades and youth camp. The overall aim was to evangelise and disciple Māori, with early Māori converts such as Mrs Millie Sherman, Mrs Dixie Pukepuke (both of whom were the first to be baptised during the Baptist Māori mission), and Mrs Doris Phillips forming "the nucleus of adult Christians" who would eventually become "a focal point in the direction of the mission".[175]

Activity in the Lower Waikato field was reported primarily through speaking tours that the missionaries would make or in written articles published in the New Zealand Baptist. Reports entitled 'Maori work' were regular features in the overseas mission section in the NZB for several decades. These often-contained reports detailing the progress of the mission. Sunday school attendee numbers were tallied, Baptisms recorded, fundraising campaigns were launched. It was an important medium of communication between those on the field and their supporters throughout the country. As early as the 1930s articles were published imploring Baptists to financially support the Maori work. One group that supported the work, both before its inception and throughout the duration of its existence, was the Baptist Women's Missionary Union. During the Lower Waikato Mission their patronage remained unswerving. Enthusiastic support from Baptist organisations such as the BMWU that

[170] NZB December 1954, 274.
[171] NZB, December 1954, 274.
[172] Ibid.
[173]Des possessed a 'personal affection' for Māori that was he described as being awakened while on placement at Timaru Baptist working amongst the Māori community in Temuka. See NZB, March 1954, 57.
[174] Other helpers included volunteers from the Pukekohe Church as well as students on placement from the Baptist College who were regular assigned to the mission field.
[175] Baptist Maori Mission Department and Baptist Union of New Zealand, "Whakatupu."

enabled Joan Milner, the first dedicated worker in Aotearoa, to leave a legacy amongst Māori, arguably, far greater than any other missionary in the history of New Zealand Baptist mission.[176]

"She was that kind of person."

> I was only a young girl then. I was 7 years old and Joan Milner took me. She led me to the Lord. Praise the Lord for her. [My upbringing] in the Christian walk—Born-again Christian, with really going to Sunday school. Joan pick us up. Well she comes over to Pukekohe to Waiuku three days a week. Take us for bible study. Sunday school on a Sunday. Women's bible study on during the week. And youth club during the week. I grew up in that... in that with Joan's leadership.[177]

Joan Milner entered the Lower Waikato field as a single, Pākehā woman whose background gave no real indication of her eventual success. With a strong sense of call she endeavoured to give herself wholeheartedly to the ministry—as illustrated in Te Whaikoha's testimony. Fellow missionary Des Jones described her while in her first year at Pukekohe as a "quick learner" who was "very sensitive to needs and situations" of the work.[178] One such example was the repeated mention of her mode of transport.[179] At first, she only had a push bike for transport which she in fact learnt to ride in Pukekohe. When it was realised that she needed a vehicle for pickups and drop-offs funds were raised and a van was subsequently purchased. Her commitment to getting people to various ministries such as Sunday schools, women's bible studies, baptismal studies, and cottage meetings was well-documented.[180] It was this wholehearted service and persistent presence that endeared her to many.

Joan's commitment to the Māori to which she had been sent impressed many who came across her path. This extended to the wider community. Te Whaikoha Astle shares a story of one particular gathering at the local marae in which, during the whaikōrero, she witnessed a Kaumātua acknowledging Joan. He said that if "anything happen to you…the Lord call you home we're going to take you up to the marae".[181] In other words, if Joan were to pass away he wished for her to be buried at the urupā. To be asked to be buried amongst them, is one of the greatest signs of respect in Te Ao Māori, especially towards non-Māori who immersed themselves in Māori communities. The fact that local Kaumātua acknowledged Joan as someone worthy to bestow this honour onto demonstrates the significant impact she had on Māori.

Joan was particularly known for her remarkable ability to relate to Māori especially women

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[176] NZB, January 1930, 54.
[177] Te Whaikoha Astle, interview by Caleb Haurua, August 3, 2017.
[178] Jones, "Baptist Maori Ministry," 60.
[179] Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira, and Tony Hira, "Korero with Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira and Tony Hira," interview by Caleb Haurua, March 24, 2017.
[180] Stephen Hewlett, "Adam's Helper : Women's Roles in Evangelical Churches in New Zealand from Colonial Times to the End of the 20th Century : A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in History at Massey University" (Thesis, Massey University, 2004), http://mro.massey.ac.nz/handle/10179/8408.
[181] Ibid.

both young and old. Toroa Thompson was someone directly impacted by Joan's ministry. She attended Pukekohe Baptist before hearing about bible study classes for Māori women:

> I was seeking so I went there. I was seeking purpose in my life. And these people welcomed me. [When I first went to Pukekohe] Baptist Church at the bottom of Victoria street... there were… two Māori kids there. With their Pākehā parents. Those were the only Māoris I saw. But then later on I went to... Joan Milner's classes.[182]

These classes provided Toroa with strong connections with fellow Māori women and the kind of encouragement and acceptance she needed at that time in her Christian walk.

During this time segregation was a reality in Pukekohe.[183] Dame Joan Metge who was raised in Pukekohe remarked that there was a clear "social and economic divide between Maori and Pākehā". This was seen in the inadequate housing provided to market gardeners.[184] Māori were also excluded from certain public places such as barbers and pubs.[185] One place where this segregation was most evident was at the local cinemas where Māori were only allowed to sit at the bottom stalls whereas Pākehā sat at the top section. Theatre proprietor, B. Blennerhouse defended the measure at the time saying that Māori patrons were in fact 'substandard' in terms of cleanliness and behaviour'.[186] A similar situation 'up the road' in Papakura in South Auckland become headline news in 1959 when Dr Rongomau Bennet, who was senior medical officer of health at Kingseat Hospital experienced racism first-hand when he was refused service at a hotel—an event which caused then Prime Minister Walter Nash to make a public statement.[187] Toroa Thompson used this event to paint a picture of what it was like for Māori-Pākehā relations at the time:

> I'm just thinking now because of how Pākehā have treated Māori in the past… I was here in that time when Bennett came with his wife and he was told he couldn't go upstairs with his wife. She could go upstairs and he had to go downstairs... I was here. That was the normal. Nobody asked to go upstairs. Not... if you were a Māori. You don't ask to go upstairs. You know the law here for a Māori. You stay down. You didn't get a haircut and all those things.[188]

It was in this context that Joan ministered. Toroa Thompson further commented that Māori sometimes did not understand Joan's radical refusal to accept social norms. They were often surprised to meet Joan and be treated differently than they expected from a Pākehā. Yet Selina Hira believed that if Joan Milner went to a segregated cinema she would have sat downstairs with Māori

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[182] Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira, and Tony Hira, interview by Caleb Haurua, March 24, 2017.

[183] Michael Boutar, "South Auckland Segregation," *Mana : The Māori News Magazine for All New Zealanders*, November 2013.

[184] Dale Husband, "Joan Metge: On Maori and Pakeha," *E-Tangata.co.nz*, June 28, 2015, https://e-tangata.co.nz/news/joan-metge-on-maori-and-pakeha.

[185] Michael Boutar, "South Auckland Segregation," *Mana : The Māori News Magazine for All New Zealanders*, November 2013.

[186] New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga, "4. – Theatres, Cinemas and Halls – Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand," /en/https://teara.govt.nz/en/theatres-cinemas-and-halls/page-4

[187] "Obituary: Dr Henry Bennett," *New Zealand Herald*, December 2, 2000, sec. National, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=162817.

[188] Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira, and Tony Hira, "Korero with Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira and Tony Hira."

because "she was that kind of person".[189] Joan was present, demonstrating God's love and actions as she knew how. This incarnational ministry was further demonstrated in Joan's visits to the homes of Māori, where she would often sit and eat with them. She simply listened and did not attempt to evangelise them without relationship. Joan's actions reflect a vigorous theological response to the needs of Māori that went beyond a focus on spiritual conversion to involve the whole person with their physical and social needs. This apparent incarnational ministry would be a testament of the interactions Joan and the Baptist missionaries would have amongst Māori in the Lower Waikato.

Missionaries Depart

> When you look back at those Pākehā missioners, deaconesses... and so forth. They weren't people who were dominant in anyway at all. They were there because there was a calling. And they were fulfilling the purpose of that calling. And once they got to the point that there was another calling, yeah, they moved into that. None of them were dominant, or oppressive in anyway at all.[190]

Over the first two decades of the Lower Waikato Mission, the Baptists experienced new works taking place amongst other Māori communities and an emergence of Māori Baptist leadership. Intentional Māori-Baptist engagement was occurring in the Waikato, Bay of Plenty and inner-city Auckland.[191] 1972 saw the commissioning of the first full-time Māori worker for the New Zealand Baptist Māori Department, the Rev Truby Mihaere, who would go on to give "valuable leadership in bicultural issues".[192] Māori were beginning to receive more control over the direction of the Baptist work.

This growth in Māori-Baptist engagement was encouraged by some Pākehā. For instance, Trevor Donnell purposefully took the title of 'Tumuaki' in 1975, replacing the former title of 'Superintendent' of the Māori Board. Although the name change came in the last year of his tenure, Trevor Donnell nonetheless saw it as an important variation that helped signal that "the direction of the Māori work should no longer be in the hands of pakehas [sic]".[193] Charles Joe would reflect on Trevor Donnell's departure, saying that: "Once he moved to Whangaparoa from a Baptist Church he really withdrew from his involvement so maybe he was setting the example for others."[194]

Pākehā withdrawal from Māori mission work would continue. A report by the Baptist Māori Department 'Whakatupu', which was released in 1979 for the Department's 25th Jubilee would signal the changes that would have to be made as part of this transition to Māori leadership:

> Naturally, Maori leaders will reflect Maori attitudes and concepts in our work more than their Pakeha

[189] Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira, and Tony Hira, interview.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Hewlett, "Adam's Helper," 38.
[192] Lionel (Rawiri) Stewart, "Kia Kotahi Tatou - Let Us All Be One," 26.
[193] Edgar, Baptist Union of New Zealand, and New Zealand Baptist Historical Society, *A Handful of Grain*, 43. A further symbol of this change was reported by the NZB in the farewell service of Trevor Donnell. He was given a carved model waka, a metaphor for "those who were relinquishing their place in the canoe and those who were moving to take up the vacancy and keep the canoe of the gospel moving along." NZB March, 1980, 10.
[194] Charles Joe, "Korero with Charles Joe."

> predecessors. The present trend in Maoridom is towards more separate activities as part of the expression of new Maori identity. Churches are not immune from these community trends and our Maori leaders will need the understanding prayer of the denomination as the work becomes more 'Maori'.[195]

Maori students training for ministry at the Baptist Theological College such as Tori Toka (associated with Hutt Māori work), Hemi Ransfield (Wainuiomata), and Jack Teepa (Gisborne), would be referred to as new emerging Māori leadership.[196] Finally, before their own people "Māori men [were] taking up their tasks in the work and in their own marae context" to emerge as the new leaders of the mission work.[197] Therefore, the departure of the missionaries was an indication of the next phase of the Baptist Mission where the work was to be led predominantly by Māori, "as was intended from the outset". This transition was characterised retrospectively as moving from benevolent concern that mirrored government assimilationist policies in the 1950s to a "partnership in the bicultural era of the 1980s".[198] By the 1980s the pioneer missionaries had left the Lower Waikato area with the lone exception of Joan Milner who continued to live in Pukekohe following her retirement from full-time missionary work.[199]

Charles Joe, whose leadership would represent the new phase of Baptist Māori mission, reflected on the departure of the missionaries in a favourable light:

> I think that these folks had known what their role was in establishing the work and once they could see leadership coming through they did a lot - well Des Jones moved out fairly quickly when it got to a certain stage and he went up to Rotorua and that was fine - because the Rotorua Baptist Church already had some outreach into the Māori community and so by Des going there he would have provided that stronger link we thought, ah with the Māori community as such. [200]

Others who were directly impacted by the missionaries such as Te Whaikoha reflected on the Baptist missionaries:

> Well Trevor was awesome. He's another one. I like him. Cos he korero'd the reo. And Des Jones. Des Jones and his wife… And Dora. Dora Whitehead. They were the helpers. They were the ones that... was only few of them that was running the Māori work then. And um Joan, Des Jones and Joan Milner and Dora. They were the top. They were the boss you know running the things. And um Trevor Donnell was awesome. When he finished with

[195] Baptist Maori Mission Department and Baptist Union of New Zealand, "Whakatupu."

[196] "In the years ahead, men such as these will pastor, lead and extend our Maori work - they are men of their own people and generation. There is still a need for others - not only those to enter full time ministry but also to take more prominent roles as Church leaders. Some of our [Pākehā Baptist] people are looking towards the end of their years of service and we will need more to stand in their place." Ibid.

[197] NZB March, 1980, 10.

[198] Lionel (Rawiri) Stewart, "Kia Kotahi Tatou - Let Us All Be One," 26.

[199] When he left in 1965, Des Jones moved to Rotorua to pastor the Baptist Church there—which was heralded as a restarting of the previous mission initiated in 1882 by Alfred Fairbrother. Des would later pastor in Invercargill where he would also establish contacts with local Māori in the community before finishing his pastorate in Hillcrest, Hamilton. Dora Whitehead moved to work amongst Māori in the Auckland City Mission. It was here that she met her future husband, Eddie Crown. Soon after she retired and moved to Rotorua to assist in the work there with Des Jones. Robert Bollen and Trevor Donnell would later leave to take up pastorates elsewhere too.

[200] Charles Joe, interview.

> us...well... Pākehā's they don't... You know, they don't stay on. I think... It's been too much for them. I believe. I believe it's been too much for the Pākehā. A time for them to move on. Another one... Charlie Joe's okay... cos he's got Maori in him. Truby Mihaere was okay, he's good. Everyone I tell you, every one of them was good. Really good.[201]

Looked at as spiritually superior, the missionaries lack of continuity severely hampered the Baptists' witness in the Lower Waikato in the eyes of Māori. The missionaries' task was to initiate the mission by evangelising local Māori communities before moving on to let indigenous leadership continue the work. Sam Emery would justify this approach:

> The legacy was obviously to reach our Māori people. That was the vision and the primary legacy the pioneers were faithful and committed to achieving in the South Waikato area, Pukekohe, Tuakau, Mamaku and Port Waikato. They focused on the children and cottage meetings in the homes for adults and children.[202]

It can be understood that, although the missionaries themselves saw their roles in the Māori mission as 'time served', from a Māori perspective it created the impression that they could not cope with the demands on their time and energy therefore ultimately needed to leave. Though this may not have been the intention of the missionaries, it has left a lasting impression on those Māori who remained in the Lower Waikato. In response to the coming and going of the various missionaries, Toroa Thompson stated: "well, we're here. Here to stay. Te haukāinga."[203]

As the 'home people', Māori understood themselves as tangata whenua and the missionaries as manuhiri. Implicit criticism varied amongst other Kaikōrero interviewed. Sam Emery suggested that the original marae-based approach of the likes of Des Jones and Joan Milner was culturally appropriate though not without its flaws:

> Overall their main focus in starting was... children's ministries. So, they'd go onto the marae back home. They were out on the marae and they built the work from there that... but see... they... they could never... um the Maori families could never see themselves merging into a Baptist Church. They... the marae was the Church eh? That was their base.[204]

Although the missionaries were effective in their interactions with Māori communities there remained a lack of understanding around a Māori connection to whenua that were dissonant with Pākeha Baptists' views of what constituted as 'church'. The difference in worldviews would prove to be a significant counterpoint in Māori-Baptist engagement in the LWM.

Kaupapa Māori Lens on Te Pou Tuatahi

This section applies a retrospective Kaupapa Māori lens on developments in Baptist Māōri mission in *Te Pou Tuatahi.* Māori *control*, *challenge* to power and the need for positive *change* are three of the lens used to examine the developments. The centrality of Māori *culture* and operating through

[201] Te Whaikoha Astle, "Korero with Te Whaikoha Astle," interview by Caleb Haurua, August 3, 2017.
[202] Sam Emery, "Korero with Sam Emery," interview by Caleb Haurua, October 27, 2016.
[203] Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira, and Tony Hira, "Korero with Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira and Tony Hira."
[204] Sam Emery, "Korero with Sam Emery."

Māōri type *connection* and with *credibility* to Māori are the other three lenses used to critique the events of Te Pou Tuatahi.

Applying that lens on developments of the times shows that Māori had little to no *control* over the mission. This even extended to how Māori were represented in the written record about the mission. As previously noted, Māori were the subjects that were written about and their own voices were all but absent. The times of Te Pou Tuatahi were characterised by this voicelessness and powerlessness.

From this subordinate position, Māori of the time tended not to *challenge* Pākehā authority. This was in keeping with the times, particularly in the Pukekohe area where Māori were essentially second-class citizens. The most unusual aspect of mission at this time was the use of Māori *culture* by Pākehā missionaries who learned the language and were regular attenders at marae, tangi and in Māori homes. The *connection* with these missionaries was very close because of their incarnational approach; an approach being practiced by Baptist missionaries that were serving in other countries during these times. Living in the community, and particularly for those missionaries that stayed, resulted in tremendous *credibility* among Māori. Positive *change* for Māori was primarily seen in terms of salvation and entry into the Christian family. This was a fruitful time for Māori conversion and discipleship of which there were many under the incarnational model of pioneer missionaries, Joan Milner and Des Jones.

It is significant that the written histories of the early years of mobilisation for evangelisation amongst Māori—which saw a query about Māori mission initially in the 1940s eventually established in 1954—have been shaped predominantly by Pākehā.[205] That Māori consultation was not sought was indicative of the absence of Māori within Baptist Churches—their absence being a primary factor in starting a mission in the first place.[206] Kaupapa Māori *control principle* critiques this absence of Māori voices as a fundamental weakness of the overall control of the mission being ostensibly linked to the Pākehā missionaries. The Te Whaikoha Astle poignantly illustrated this point when she described them as "running the Māori work", as "the top" and "the boss…running the things."[207] Her words were indicative of the kind of attitudes Māori had not only about the missionaries but consequently of themselves as the 'subjects' of the Baptist mission. Māori control was thus ceded to the missionaries who were perceived as spiritually superior.

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[205] S. L Edgar, Baptist Union of New Zealand, and New Zealand Baptist Historical Society, "Maori Work," in *A Handful of Grain: The Centenary History of the Baptist Union of N.Z. Volume 4* (Auckland, N.Z.: N.Z. Baptist Historical Society for the Baptist Union of New Zealand, 1982), 38–43; Jones, "Baptist Maori Ministry."

[206] Te Pou Tuatahi drew mostly on written sources such as NZB articles and Baptist historical pieces. This was mainly due to the historical time period (roughly 1950s-1970s), that meant more written material (by Pākehā), existed as opposed to Māori testimony. This was a limitation of the research while also a reflection on the absence of Māori reflections on the Lower Waikato mission generally.

[207] Charles Joe, "Korero with Charles Joe."

The belief that the Pākehā Baptist missionaries were 'in control' of the mission persisted despite Māori workers such as Mere Pou, Truby Mihaere, and Charles Joe being involved in the Lower Waikato Mission.[208] A consequence of this was that throughout the interviews there seemed to be an almost hagiographic depiction of the Pākehā missionaries that painted them in a mostly favourable light and as spiritual superiors.

One such example of this benevolent outlook by Māori is inferred by the term bestowed on the missionaries as the 'pioneers'—a common refrain from the Kaikōrero throughout the interview process.[209] This term was used in an endearing manner and implied the ground-breaking nature of the mission as an attempt by Baptists at evangelisation with tangata whenua. Considering the Kaupapa Māori *challenge principle* which calls for an analysis of the power relationships involved, the term reveals a paternalistic relationship between Māori and the missionaries. Examples of this mindset are evident throughout the NZB reports penned by Pākehā missionaries and visitors to the mission field.[210] Despite this what is clear from the Kaikōrero themselves is that 'pioneer' was adopted by Māori as a positive term that gave proper respect to the missionaries—based on a Māori value of honouring one's elders.

However, Māori did not always see the Pākehā missionaries as above reproach, some making critical assessments of them based on their own self-understanding of being Māori. An example of this is found in the different opinions of Charles Joe, Te Whaikoha Astle and Toroa Thompson in regards to the missionaries' departures. Charles saw their exit from the Lower Waikato as a natural progression that coincided with the new phase of the mission from Pākehā to Māori leadership. Meanwhile, Te Whaikoha and Toroa (who generally shared affectionate views of the missionaries), involuntarily revealed their own self-awareness about the struggles that faced the Pākehā missionaries. Te Whaikoha would critique the missionaries by claiming that their departures occurred because the work amongst Māori had "been too much for the Pākehā."[211] Her comment relates to the *challenge principle* whereby Te Whaikoha contests the missionaries' effectiveness as non-Māori ministering amongst Māori. Toroa also alluded to this when she referred to Māori from the Lower Waikato as "te haukāinga" in comparison to the temporary status of the missionaries, adding that "we're here. Here to stay". Such quotes also indicate a connection to the Kaupapa Māori

[208] Generally, when the 'pioneers' were referred to by Kaikōrero it was implied.
[209] It is unknown whether Māori coined this term or not but it was used favourably nonetheless by Kaikōrero
[210] NZB, August 1958, 491. The NZB was a medium through which the missionaries reported their work in the Lower Waikato field. Not only did this inform readers of mission work but they also reinforced the Pākehā missionaries' views through reports that were based on their own worldview and perspective (usually under the heading of 'Māori work' in a reoccurring column from the late 1950s onwards). This implicitly signalled Pākehā hegemony over the mission and conversely the lack of agency by Māori. For example, numbers of baptisms and Sunday school attendees were commonly referenced – depicting Māori in ways that outside of their own control. In fact, the vast majority of NZB reports on the Lower Waikato mission during Te Pou Tuatahi were written by Pākehā missionaries and visitors to the mission field.
[211] Te Whaikoha Astle, "Korero with Te Whaikoha Astle."

culture principle which emphasises Māori concepts, practices, protocols, language and cultural practices as normative. This highlights the contrasting values between the written sources of the Baptists and the Māori narratives when it comes to the goal of the Baptist Māori mission: Baptists saw it as important to withdraw once local leadership could continue the work and this differed from a Māori understanding of place, of land and of the importance of the whenua. As Tate contends, a Māori theology is three pronged—Atua, Tangata and Whenua. Māori involved with the mission had an innate relationship with the whenua of the mission that was doubtless not understood or shared by the Pākehā missionaries of the period of Te Pou Tuatahi.

The Kaupapa Māori *culture principle* can be applied to other aspects of the Māori-Baptist engagement in these early stages of the mission. Māori culture was normative in the sense that many of the early meetings with the first missionaries occurred on their own pā across rural areas such as Te Kohanga, Port Waikato, Waiuku and Tuakau. With Māori identifying with their local marae the missionaries were obligated to have an itinerant ministry across various locations in order to effectively witness amongst them.[212] Des Jones and Joan Milner had previous experience with Māori before they arrived in the Lower Waikato that equipped them to better relate to Te Ao Māori.[213] They both had incarnational ministries that sought to value Māori cultural values and practices. For example, through his contacts with Māori communities on marae Des would focus on learning about Māori tikanga that would lead him to value such customs as tangihanga.[214] This no doubt led to him learning Te Reo Māori.[215] Although Joan Milner did not learn the language, she displayed affection towards Māori wāhine through meeting with them in their own homes and by transporting them to activities such as bible studies. Manaakitanga expressed from Māori to Joan, and reciprocated in turn, highlight cultural values at play. This also relates to the *connection principle*, with its focus on whakawhānau ngatanga, that saw Māori actively engage with the missionaries. However, it was a paternalistic relationship that saw Joan providing transport and carrying the spiritual 'mana' or authority.

Rather than a 'hit-and-run' type of evangelism, the missionaries and Māori both engaged in an active negotiation of values that included the Christian gospel as the primary concern. Linked to the *change* and *credibility principles*, this saw Māori 'started' on the journey that is Christian

[212] The missionary approach to the Māori mission was similar to their overseas counterparts in India involving evangelism through outreach activities that included the running of Sunday schools, bible studies, and home visitation.

[213] Des Jones had student placements in the Lower Waikato while training for ministry at the Baptist Theological College. This also included his engagement with local Māori in Temuka in conjunction with the Baptist Church that led him to an affinity with Māori ministry. Joan Milner preparations included a 3 month stay at the Māori women's hostel in Auckland City.

[214] Another sign of Des Jones' acceptance within the various Māori communities he ministered in was the fact that Kaumatua gave all four of his children Māori names at their births.

[215] Trevor Donnell, who joined as a full-time worker in 1964, also "korero'd the reo" and earned the respect of Māori such as Te Whaikoha Astle. See Te Whaikoha Astle, "Korero with Te Whaikoha Astle."

conversion and subsequently discipled by the Pākehā missionaries, mostly in Māori homes. Although Māori did not have control, this was nevertheless a fruitful time of strengthening the triune relationship between the God of Christianity, the people and the land.

2. Te Pou Tuarua: Development of a Māori Fellowship

> The fostering of continued corporate worship and service is practised and encouraged with the aim of eventually worshipping together as a Church family on one physical location… There will always be the need of separate meetings to help preserve and identity the culture of our Māori people.[216]

For the first two decades of the Lower Waikato Baptist Māori Mission there existed no central place, no tūrangawaewae, for the mission and its activities. Much financial and prayer support was sought to build homes for the missionary homes and eventually also a home for the mission itself. Progress in this area was slow but occurred nonetheless in three distinct building projects that culminated in the 1970s in the establishment of the Māori Fellowship at Puna O Te Ora in Pukekohe.

The first building made specifically for the Baptist mission was 'Huia Mai' at Tuakau in 1963. Meaning "gather together" it was opened on March 24th and dedicated by Mr Tiaki Hira. It filled a pressing need for the Baptist work as the population had significantly increased to the point that the town was once described as "fast becoming a Maori township".[217] It was remarked that the section it was built on in Carr Road, directly opposite Nga Tai E Rua, the 'paramount' pā of the Tuakau district, was also warmly supported by the marae committee.[218] A simple hall, it would be purposed as an outreach to the community through meetings and regular services.[219]

The second building project was a proposed hall and manse to be built on the site of land purchased by the Māori Department at Kayes Road in Pukekohe. The manse was needed to house then Pastor Robert Bollen and his family, while the hall would "bring under one roof all the activities" that had been scattered across the Pukekohe borough.[220] These included the Sunday School that had met in the local school hall for over ten years, the Youth Club that convened in an "overcrowded" Church hall and Sunday evening services that occurred in a play centre.[221]

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[216] Charles Joe, "Baptist Maori Fellowship Centre - Proposed Plan to Re-Site 'Huia Mai' Hall at Pukekohe," 1980, A/N 1646, New Zealand Baptist Archive.

[217] NZB, December 1962, 328.

[218] Ibid.

[219] NZB, April 1963, 103. Even so, a 1968 report from the NZB's 'Maori Department Briefs' several years after Huia Mai was built summarised the situation "Excitement is running high, for it seems there may be a possibility of a long-felt need being met in the Pukekohe area. For many years the work here has had no permanent "home," Youth Clubs, services, and Sunday Schools having been held in different places and in some cases inadequate facilities have been available. But during the last few months, sub-committees have met, plans have been discussed and even sections looked at, but still we cannot believe it is true! In fact, of course, it is not true as yet, but we pray that the dream may become a reality. Please pray with us.". See NZB, September 1968, 20.

[220] NZB, December 1968, 17.

[221] Ibid. This surely contributed to the fact that Maori Department Chairman Mr H. G. Massam was to report to Baptist General Assembly that year that "the need was so critical" work had already commenced on the new project despite there not being enough money to complete it! The necessity for a "focal point in a

On August 2nd 1969, the Pukekohe building project was officially opened. It was to be called "Puna O Te Ora", meaning "Spring of life"—a name inspired by Jesus' words in John 4:14. The NZB reported that Māori and Pākehā from the Pukekohe Baptist Church and Māori Fellowship were on hand for the momentous occasion that also included dignitaries from the Baptist Union as well.[222] Despite it seeming as if this was, finally, the building project that had been much awaited in the Lower Waikato it would not be the case as different factors contributed to one final development. Between 1975 and 1977, Huia Mai in Tuakau saw relatively little activity with Sunday Schools and services being held inconsistently by local church members and College students due to a "variety of reasons" such as "attendance or tangi's at the marae opposite the hall".[223] The disparity of the activities in the hall[224] led to a decision in 1977 to combine with Puna O Te Ora in Pukekohe for their Sunday morning services. By 1979 the Waiuku Fellowship was also meeting regularly at Puna. This led to a process of deciding what to do next. Ideas such as transporting or even selling Huia Mai to Waiuku to focus efforts there were offered before it was eventually decided that "a Centre would be of greater value for Lower Waikato as well as the whole of the Denomination" as other denominations such as the Methodists, Presbyterians, Anglicans, Catholics and Brethren's had either maraes or complexes where their Māori work was based.[225]

The third and final building project would be accomplished by joining Huia Mai and Puna O Te Ora side-by-side in 1980 at the site Pukekohe. Huia Mai was relocated with the section in Tuakau subsequently sold to the Department of Māori Affairs for the building of Kaumatua flats (or Elder's flats). This in addition to their monthly marae services in Tuakau and Waiuku signalled their ongoing commitment to the people in those areas.[226] However, other areas that were also previously included such as Tauranganui Pā and Te Awa Marahi were disbanded as they "were not able to

central building" was apparent. See Ibid.

[222] NZB, September 1969, 11.

[223] Charles Joe, "Proposed Plan to Re-Site 'Huia Mai' Hall." Interestingly the location of Huia Mai opposite Tuakau was seen as an advantage as it would help foster greater relationships the marae and local Māori but it seems to have had the opposite effect.

[224] "Joan Milner held women's Bible Studies, the occasional clothing sale, a youth group met weekly in 1975, and the marae committee made use of 'Huia Mae' as an overflow during large gatherings." Ibid.

[225] Charles Joe, "Proposed Plan to Re-Site 'Huia Mai' Hall."

[226] "There is still a lot of reaping to be done in Tuakau, [Te K]ohanga], Pukekawa etc. The many children and families who have had contact with the fellowship still recognise the Baptist as their Church. The Fellowship needs to plan wisely as to the most effective way of drawing those families into the Kingdom. The majority of people in those areas shop in Pukekohe. The Baptist Church members travel into Pukekohe for services and so do the Mormons. Presently, adherents and members of the fellowships attend at least one of the Sunday services in Pukekohe. Centralising the Sunday morning worship at Pukekohe has its advantages by bringing together a stronger group, numerically and spiritually. The balance of older mature Christians help in nurturing, encouraging, inspiring and teaching the others. We become very interdependent on each other. With the leadership maturing and responsibilities shared an effective programme can be set up in Tuakau to meet the spiritual needs of the people centred back into the homes rather than a building. Home fellowships, the use of other Church and marae facilities for a special occasion will be sufficient to maintain a witness in that community." Ibid.

stretch themselves out that far" as a newly combined Fellowship.[227]

A foyer with a giant cross in the centre as well as a new kitchen and ablution block were added in Pukekohe. This maximised the use of both facilities and allowed for extra rooms for teaching, a dining room for recreation and youth activities; in addition to it becoming a kind of Christian marae that hosted weekend huis, discipleship training programmes and conferences.[228] The NZB reported that it was now ready to be used as a "Church-centred marae".[229]

Charles Joe: Mission Convert to Māori Minister

> When I came on board, we moved into a development of a Māori fellowship. Didn't really have a fellowship as such [of] Christian believers meeting together for worship, running the Sunday Schools, running the youth club and some other activities that we developed. And we did all of that in Puna O Te Ora.[230]

The first Māori pastor of Puna O Te Ora, Charles Joe, would herald a new phase in the Baptist Māori mission in the Lower Waikato as he would spearhead developments in the Puna O Te Ora Māori Fellowship. He was the son of a migrant Chinese father who worked in the market gardens and a mother of Tainui descent. Born and raised in Pukekohe, his early interactions with religion included occasional Chinese Sunday School and on his mother's side a strong belief in Pai Mārire karakia belief and practices.[231] He came to faith through a Trans-Pacific evangelistic crusade in the Nga Hau E Wha Maori Hall at Pukekohe in 1965. It was this conversion experience alongside his future wife Sandra (nee Sleeman) that introduced him also "into the Baptist fold".[232] He would soon be identified as someone with the potential for leadership and encouraged by the likes of Joan Milner and Robert Bollen to study at the New Zealand Bible Training Institute from 1971–1972.

> So, 1971 I ended up at Bible College with a family of four children, so we had no money. I grew up in a market garden and didn't take any income, didn't have any other job as such. So we were dependent on the Baptist Women's Union, we were dependent on a lot of other Churches, Baptist Churches to help get us through that one year at BTI and then in 1972… we decided to apply to the Baptist Theological College… I managed to get in as the first Māori convert from the Baptist Māori Mission. So in a sense I got in or they accepted me on the basis that here we have someone who as the first Māori convert coming into Theological College, it was a commitment, responsibility that they felt that they had to put me into that role.[233]

Coming from a background where education was not prioritised and his own youth spent working at the market gardens, Charles struggled academically at NZBTI and then The Baptist Theological College remarking that he did not have the opportunities to develop his academic ability before tertiary study.[234] As the first Baptist Māori Mission convert—and in fact the first Māori

[227] Charles Joe, interview by Caleb Haurua and Rawiri Auty, October 20, 2016.
[228] Charles Joe, "Proposed Plan to Re-Site 'Huia Mai' Hall."
[229] NZB, February 1982, 7.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Charles Joe, interview.
[232] Ibid.
[233] Charles Joe, "Korero with Charles Joe."
[234] Ibid.

student at the Baptist Theological College in general—he would be a student from 1973–1975.[235] During these years he not only sat papers for the degree but also spent time on placement in places such as Hastings, Gisborne and the Auckland City Mission – towns with existing populations of Māori that would also later feature Baptist Māori work.

In 1975, Charles would return to Pukekohe after his graduation and become an ordained Baptist minister and the first Māori pastor of Puna O Te Ora. In 1980 who would break new ground once again in being appointed Superintendent of the Baptist Maori Department—a title he would subsequently change to 'Kaiwhakahaere' to better represent his own interpretation on the nature of the role.[236] He explained that:

> From my point of view, you see I'm half Chinese, quarter Maori, quarter Pākehā and so even standing on the Marae and that I knew my place in terms of āhua so I said that "look I don't want to take on the role of Tumuaki"… I said "I'm happy to take on a Superintendent role."[237]

In his roles as Kaiwhakahaere and Baptist Pastor, Charles would represent the change that the Baptist Māori Department had signalled earlier. Twenty years after the Baptist mission started a local convert would be leading the new phase of the mission by Māori and for Māori. Charles' leadership of the Māori fellowship in Pukekohe would have a marked impact on the Lower Waikato Mission and indeed Baptist Māori work as a whole.

Puna O Te Ora: Centre, Church, Community

> There was quite a large group of people that were really the fruit of that ministry that initiated in the 50's. Those were kids that had grown up, fully grown adults, they had their own families now. Lots had gone...you know to do their own thing but there was a certain crowd that had been involved with what was quite a vibrant expression of Church.[238]

Puna O Te Ora[239] was the central point, and indeed the spiritual home of Baptist-Māori engagement in the 20th century. During his pastorate, Charles Joe would state that his main areas of focus were on growing the local fellowship, community development and marae ministry.[240] In regards to the first area, Charles shared about the overall focus:

> We ran our own Sunday School, we ran our own youth group and we started to build up a group of around 35 to

[235] Another Māori student, Truby Mihaere, studied around the same time as Charles but was not converted through the Baptist Māori mission. Converted as a Chaplain in the New Zealand Air Force, he was a member of the Ranui Baptist Church and would go on to become the first full-time Māori worker for the Māori Department in 1972 who was of Maori descent. See NZB Feburary, 1973, 20.

[236] Charles Joe would also hold other leadership roles during his tenure in the Lower Waikato. One significant position he would hold would be as the Baptist representative and at one-time chairman of the Māori section of the National Council of Churches.

[237] Charles Joe, "Korero with Charles Joe."

[238] Luke Kaa-Morgan, "Korero with Luke Kaa-Morgan," interview by Caleb Haurua, October 27, 2016.

[239] Written sources refer to Puna Te Ora with variation on its names. For the purposes of this study 'Puna O Te Ora' will be the preferred term and is used interchangeably to both the physical location and its buildings in Pukekohe, as well as the congregation that met there.

[240] Charles Joe, "Korero with Charles Joe."

> 40 regular adults and children. So that's why we had fellowship.[241]

Puna O Te Ora had morning services designed particularly as family services targeting whānau from the immediate area. Charles believed that getting a handful of families on board would draw in others. Adults and children would attract their peers to build up the fellowship.[242] Eventually Puna O Te Ora would have its own Sunday School and youth groups, at one stage regularly having forty adults and children present.[243] In addition to a communal focus on building up the congregation as a whole, Charles also was gifted at more one-on-one discipleship across a range of ages. Tony Hira remembered joining the local youth group in large part due to Charles:

> I was only young. I got involved with… going to... what do they call it. Youth. Yeah getting involved with the youth. That's how I started going along. When they had... you go Thursday nights. Go play games with the other young people. Yeah... for me it started off... being involved with the young people my age. And getting invited. And who was... probably would have been Charlie Joe. Charles Joe would have been around then when I was started going... when I started going. Being involved with that.[244]

Tony's mother-in-law, Toroa, recalled Charles' friendship with her late husband Jack both before and after he became a Christian. Charles possessed an uncanny nature to walk alongside people wherever they were at in life. This undoubtedly influenced what he would call his two main focuses of his tenure in Pukekohe: community development and marae ministry.

Lionel Stewart would remark about Puna O Te Ora that "one of the [success] stories would be that the local community even the non-Christians regard Puna as theirs."[245] Indeed, newspaper articles published in the local courier would signal their standing in the area.[246] An example of their community outreach was the Rural Mission Programme:

> We had a bit of a block of land that we leased right at the back of Puna O Te Ora and for about 3 or 4 years we developed that into a market garden opportunity for people to learn different skills, grew potatoes, vegetables, onions, anything that we could.[247]

The Rural Mission Programme was a unique approach by Māori Christians at Puna O Te Ora intended to address the impact of unemployment, school drop-outs, former gang members and others not able to cope with the education system.[248] This would run for several years before another local organisation that used land and equipment from the Rural Mission Programme, the Huakina

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[241] Ibid.
[242] Charles Joe, interview.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira, and Tony Hira, interview.
[245] Lionel Stewart, "Kia Kotahi Tatou - Let Us All Be One," in *Meet the Baptists: Postwar Personalities and Perspectives*, by Elaine E Bolitho (Auckland, N.Z.: Christian Research Association of New Zealand, 1993), 21–42.
[246] "Te Puna O Te Ora, A Centre For Commitment and Outreach," *Franklin County News*, July 21, 1976.
[247] Charles Joe, interview.
[248] Charles Joe, "RE: Huakina Trust Application," August 2, 1983, A/N 1646, New Zealand Baptist Archive.

Trust, was deemed a more fruitful venture for the fellowship to instead support collaboratively.[249]

The fellowship also helped re-establish the Pukekohe Maori Committee in the district as both trustees and members.[250] Charles became a board of trustee member at Pukekohe High School, a Counties joint force team comprised of police officers, social workers, and members of the community aimed at responding to issues such as gang problems in a more holistic way. In his roles Charles admits that people acknowledged him as a local pastor focused on the needs of the Māori community. This outward focus of Charles and the fellowship did however include more traditional evangelical permutations such as public meetings and "quite a few outstanding Māori preachers" who would lead these.[251] Another key aspect of the work was the children's homes which were established. *Te Oranga* and *Arataki* were parented by members of the fellowship such as the Tauariki's, Te Whaikoha, and Tony and Selina Hira.[252] It was a whānau approach that lasted a few years before eventually closing.

The Māori fellowship at Puna O Te Ora also had focused on relating to local marae involved in the Kīngitanga movement including the Pōkai feasts that were held annually.[253] Tangihanga were another key aspect that Charles prioritised for himself and the fellowship, with local people from other denominations and non-religious backgrounds requesting him as minister to reside over their services.[254] As he would say "when the opportunity was given to you to take the karakia… well you would do that." Charles noted struggles with his ethnic makeup and the fact he was raised more in touch with his Chinese heritage over his Māori heritage, meant that this was an area he had to grow in.[255]Adding to the difficulties in regards to his interaction with Māori was his relative youthfulness, remarking in a local newspaper: "I have to work twice as hard, because I am not a minister of a Church long-established among Maori people…For a Maori minister, too, age brings respect."[256]

Charles also showed awareness around the impact that the amalgamation of the Lower Waikato Māori work had by sustaining marae attendance at previously established areas that would serve as an intentional missional practice:

> But we still needed to maintain a link in Tuakau so we had monthly meetings on the marae. That was just open

[249] "The development of the Huakina Trust within Pukekohe and Waikato has brought about a re-think in the fellowship's programme. The Fellowship's has given its support to this Trust and is investigating the ways in which it can work with and assist Huakina. The request for funds by Huakina Trust has the support of the Fellowship. The resources, programmes and goals of Huakina's educational scheme are far reaching. It is obvious that the Trust will be able to meet the existing and future educational needs of the Maori people. The Fellowship will no longer be seeking to provide an alternative education system but instead give its support to Huakina's proposed scheme." See Ibid.
[250] Charles Joe, interview.
[251] Ibid.
[252] Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira, and Tony Hira, interview.
[253] "Te Puna O Te Ora, A Centre For Commitment and Outreach."
[254] Ibid.
[255] Charles Joe, "Korero with Charles Joe."
[256] Untitled newspaper article, Carey Baptist archives.

> to the community and so we would, instead of holding our service [at Puna O Te Ora], we would go across there. Nga tai e rua yeah. And then we decided well it was breaking into the morning as such so we had those in the afternoon at 1.30 pm something like that so that the Tuakau [and] Waiuku people could come across to it, so we would have quite a presence and we would run the service at the marae.[257]

There were ecumenical ramifications as well that meant inter-denominational participation, while limitations of the centralized fellowship in Pukekohe consequently meant that previous connections established at marae from the Pākehā missionaries had to be abandoned. As Charles described it:

> So that lasted for a few years and you had other members of Apostolic and other groups coming along, Brethren groups coming along, they were always there to support that. So we tried to maintain that link. We didn't do a lot to maintain the link with Tauranganui or Te Awa Marahi, just couldn't spread ourselves out that far.[258]

Examples such as these highlight Charles' ongoing commitment to work amongst the community in ways that were not only culturally relevant but missionally-minded. He summarised his ministry involvement by saying that:

> I think trying to maintain a balance of working with the Māori community and earning the respect and trust of the Māori community by being involved with the struggles that we were facing in Pukekohe… [like] the young people and the gangs. For me it was really getting yourself involved. Getting myself involved in the real things that were hurting the community at that particular time.[259]

Community involvement meant that they willingly pooled their resource and chose to attend events. This had an adverse effect on the fellowship's relationship with Pukekohe Baptist Church at the time and led to an intriguing dynamic between the two congregations.

The Mother Church

> So you had Puna O Te Ora as a fellowship and then you had the Pukekohe Baptist Church. We were only constituted as a fellowship because we were part of the Church, they were like the parent group.[260]

Throughout the interviews many referred to the Baptist Church as "the Mother Church", or even the "main", "mainstream" or "home" church. Conversely, the Pukekohe Church had always considered the Puna O Te Ora to be a part of them as they were constituted as a fellowship of the Baptist Church—not an outright 'church' by Baptist specifications.[261] During his pastorate, Charles noted that there was often tension between the Māori and Pākehā contingents especially in regards to their differing schedules that affected their agreed pattern of alternating services. Charles explained that from his point of view the unique issues facing his Māori congregation immersed in the needs of their local congregation, negatively impacted their relationship with the congregation from Pukekohe

[257] Charles Joe, "Korero with Charles Joe."
[258] Ibid.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid.
[261] Charles Joe, interview.

Baptist Church. He explained:

> We started to have what you'd call combined services, every second Sunday, you would combine at one of the places. So [sic] Pukekohe Baptist would come across to Puna O Te Ora or we would go across to them the following Sunday. They always loved coming across our way, we were getting used to going the other way, so you fit in with whatever format that was organised. But there were many times when we weren't there in the evening because the Tangihanga had precedence, so if you had someone who had died and it happened to include a Sunday night, it was our commitment to the family, to the ministry, to run those services. There were many times, even when it was the combined one, that hey we couldn't be there and I know that [the Pukekohe Baptist pastor], he just wasn't happy at all yeah, and couldn't really understand why we didn't support those services.[262]

A lack of understanding around the need for Puna O Te Ora congregants to maintain a presence with their local people during events such as tangihanga—and an implicit critique of Pukekohe Baptist Church members lack of cultural competency—contributed to a strained relationship. As Charles saw it, the Māori congregation was not dependent on the 'Mother Church' but a separate entity that functioned

> But we needed to have our own fellowship to be able to use Te Reo Maori, Himene Maori and be able to do things differently, same sort of format, but differently in terms of how we ran our services.[263]

Despite the often strained relationship that the congregation's shared there remained "some very strong support from the members of the Pukekohe Baptist Church… in terms of outreach programmes and a lot of them [would] attend the marae meetings".[264] Conversely, Te Whaikoha recounted that members of the Māori Fellowship would also support Pukekohe Baptist Church because when an event occurred at the mother Church, "as Māori" they had to go and support "since they were a part of it".[265] Charles would conclude that tensions between the two congregations existed mostly through their respective leaders rather than congregants:

> So, you know, we did have some issues, we did have some issues with - but not with individual, um members of the Baptist Church. Because the individuals of the Baptist Church who are really supportive of the Baptist Māori Mission, um, they continued to be supportive of the work that was being done into the Māori communities. It's just that sort of approach of, "hey, no you really need to come - we are the mother Church!" I think we called it "Mother Church". "We're the Mother Church and therefore you know, you need to be part of it".[266]

Unhelpful attitudes of paternalism from the Pukekohe Church were aided by the fact that the facilities at Puna O Te Ora were owned by the Baptist Union and in a sense owned by Baptists both locally and nationally as 'their' Māori work. Luke Kaa Morgan reflected on that this causes unequal relationship between the two congregations whereby

> the 'Mother Church' was the money and the power and had influence over them. [Pukekohe Baptist] were also

[262] Charles Joe, "Korero with Charles Joe."
[263] Ibid.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Te Whaikoha Astle, interview.
[266] Charles Joe, "Korero with Charles Joe."

> the practical people that could help contribute towards the establishment of Puna and the money did come from this Church. And the resource came from many people in this Church to establish those buildings. They were really committed to the mission of that. So, they were always the superior ones and Maori were always inferior and that was just the reality of it.[267]

Present-day reflections make it clear that the attitude of the Pukekohe Baptist Church being the "parent" Church to the Māori fellowship led to the next phase of the mission, and its eventual culmination in the merger.

Kaupapa Māori Lens on Te Pou Tuarua

From a Kaupapa Māori perspective, *Te Pou Tuarua* represented significant developments within the Baptist Māori mission in the Lower Waikato. The balance of power had shifted from Pākehā control of all aspects of the mission to more Māori *control*—particularly in the area of leadership. A Māori convert from Pukekohe, Charles Joe, spearheaded change on the local and national level as the first Māori to pastor the Māori fellowship whilst also being the first Māori 'head' of the Baptist Māori Department. Puna O Te Ora would provide the base of Baptist-Māori engagement with a fellowship that were able to gather 'as Māori for Māori'. Wider *connections* were maintained with the community with missional and contextual engagement with Māori whānau . There remained however a paternalistic relationship with the "mother Church" of Pukekohe Baptist that would be a source of tension throughout the period.

As the original missionaries had intermittently departed over the first three decades, Māori leadership had begun to emerge and in particular a mission convert led the continued development of the mission. Charles Joe, went on to study at the Baptist Theological College for the purposes of training for ministry back in Pukekohe.[268] Based on Kaupapa Māori *control* and *challenge principles*, Charles Joe's leadership marked a significant change in the ownership of the mission whereby now Māori could determine best practice for themselves as Christian believers. The consolidation of the work preceding his appointment that saw different buildings erected in Tuakau and Pukekohe eventually led to the centralisation of the different activities with Māori at Puna O Te Ora in Pukekohe.[269]

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[267] Luke Kaa-Morgan, "Korero with Luke Kaa-Morgan."

[268] Charles training college involved next to no involvement of his cultural heritage despite him choosing to write his final dissertation on tangihanga and its potential for biblical and theological input. Certainly, Charles stated that the only form of Māori related topics that were taught was a paper on the Treaty of Waitangi, a new subject that he hadn't engaged with before (due to his lack of connection to his Māori culture and the general silence around the Treaty of Waitangi in New Zealand society at the time). In reflection, the Baptist movement saw that theological training was prerequisite for ministry but failed to ultimately prepare Charles as a Māori pastor for a Māori Church.

[269] In addition to the local focus of Puna O Te Ora, the national significance of it as a semi-autonomous 'fellowship' meant that there was now a centralising point for all other Māori engagement. Hui, noho, and wananga held at Puna allowed for Māori culture to be expressed in explicit ways that helped create whānau ngatanga between Māori leaders and rōpu from the various works across the country. At these meetings they were able to wrestle with theological questions related to their Māoritanga and gain greater

The fellowship at Puna O Te Ora operated in a space that was predominantly Māori using laypeople to minister to each other, which allowed processes of decolonisation such as worshipping in Te Reo Māori. Having their own established building, they were able to develop different approaches to the forms of church that they had inherited from the missionaries and New Zealand European culture—adopting some practices whilst taking up new Māori ways of "doing" church based on tikanga.[270] Indeed, as a separate fellowship they were granted more theological freedom to practice Christianity as Māori together—a significant achievement in light of the *change* and *culture principles*. According to Tate's Atua-Tangata-Whānau, the Māori Fellowship represented a dramatic shift in that they were able to form significant relationships with each other as a congregation 'by Māori for Māori', now having their own whenua at Puna O Te Ora. Although this had been an earlier struggle, finally they had their own tūrangawaewae, with their own people, as a Christian Church. Indeed, for those whose whakapapa connected them to Pukekohe this would have been a significant feature for them as mana whenua.

However, it must be noted that although the fellowship developed new forms of integration between their dual-realities as Māori and Christians there were variances since indigenous expressions of 'church' were new for Baptists and thus still couched in European understandings of 'church' inherited from the missionaries. Luke Kaa-Morgan commented that the congregation still remained entrenched in a format of church that closely resembled a Pākehā Church.

Other changes that came from Charles leadership of Puna O Te Ora were found in the fellowship's engagement with community development and marae ministry. As Māori they established whakawhānau ngatanga (the *connection principle*) as a key component of their wider interactions. Charles explained that his focus was on incorporating local whānau into the church. He understood that Māori cultural underpinnings of whakapapa and the valuing of extended family would help maintain with links in both the wider community and church. Through this whānau based approach Charles was able to gather adults and children for Sunday services, Sunday schools, and youth group. Puna O Te Ora was run by Māori with various activities designed to engage in ways that met the needs of Māori in their immediate community. These included a rural mission programme that offered employment, re-establishment of the Pukekohe Maori Committee and Children's homes were run at different periods with members of the church as foster parents. Another feature of the fellowship was their focus on marae involvement which saw them participate in

understanding around issues of evangelising Māori back in their respective home locations.

[270] A struggle for many years in the Lower Waikato was the lack of a central base and the right kind of facilities to house all the missions' scattered activities. As Stephanie Robson remarked about 19th century New Zealand Baptist mission (which is equally applicable to the Lower Waikato), Baptists have long had "a commitment to having especially designated buildings as a site for many different kinds of ministry activity". See Stephanie Robson, "Missional or Misguided? Exploring the Ecclesiology of New Zealand Baptist Churches Without Church Buildings" (Thesis, University of Otago, 2013), 29, https://ourarchive.otago.ac.nz/handle/10523/4472.

tangihanga when they occurred and also Kīngitanga pōkai feasts that were held annually. In doing all these activities Charles Joe and the Māori fellowship were able to, in light of the Kaupapa Māori *change* and *credibility principle*s, provide positive transformation for themselves and those in their communities. Most of this period was a time of strengthening the relationships between the Atua, tangata and whenua.

However, despite the significant gains, unhelpful attitudes from the Pukekohe Church hampered the Māori fellowship's sense of self-determination. Known by many as the 'Mother Church' (and other similar paternalistic names), the Pukekohe Baptist Church still exerted a level of control over Puna O Te Ora as 'their' fellowship. The development of a Māori fellowship that was essentially 'by Māori for Māori' at Puna O Te Ora was strained in its relationship with the Pukekohe Baptist Church. The Mother Church sought meaningful engagement but ultimately through their own paternalistic (and Pākehā) perspective were unable to rectify the needs of the 'Other' congregation.

3. Te Pou Tuatoru: The Merger

Shortly after Charles Joe left the pastorate in 1984 to join the RNZAF as chaplain the whole shape of the Māori work swiftly changed. Within a few years the Baptist Māori Fellowship that met at Puna O Te Ora would be dissolved into the Pukekohe Baptist Church in what would colloquially become known as "The Merger". From 1985 several key figures and decisions would advance this process including the calling of a new Māori Pastor in Pukekohe, a change in national Baptist Māori work, the reinstatement of the 'Tumuaki', and the audacious plan to create a new combined Baptist Church in the Franklin district.

New Directions in Māori-Baptist Engagement

On February 10th 1985, Truby Mihaere would be welcomed as the second Māori pastor of Puna O Te Ora. He re-entered the Lower Waikato field after initially being assigned there as the first full-time Baptist Māori worker of Māori descent in 1972 before moving to start engage in a Baptist Māori work in Tauranga.[271] That same year he would also hold the role of Kaiarihi, director of training for the Baptist Department of Māori Ministry. As Pastor, Truby, his wife Anita and their children were well loved by those to whom he was sent including those Kaikōrero who were directly involved with him:

> Yeah Truby had a different style I have to say [to Charles Joe]. But he was a loving guy, you know. And um I think if he wanted to press a point, I don't know whether that was his regimental background or something. But, you know, he could... but he was always loving. I believe, yeah I remember that. Him always being loving. Yeah, I thought it, you know, they fit well because their family was a loving family.[272]

Toroa Thompson noted his involvement with his Māoritanga that impacted not only Puna O

[271] NZB, March 1985, 5.
[272] Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira, and Tony Hira, "Korero with Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira and Tony Hira."

Te Ora congregants but the wider community:

> And one wonderful thing that Truby did was that he started some Maori classes. Yeah, had to laugh sometimes. Because you know, he'd mihi to us and then he might make a mistake but it was, it was wonderful because people were gaining confidence. Yeah, my husband was one who was very shy to speak. And he gained confidence to speak on the marae. And I know of another man too, he became a teacher. Not in a Church because there was, this was open to anyone. But it was at Puna O Te Ora…That was a wonderful thing that was for the community as well. But also helping people in the Church.[273]

A lasting legacy from Truby's time as Pastor and Kaiarihi were the hui hosted at Puna O Te Ora.[274] For many Kaikōrero, the hui at Puna O Te Ora, was where they were first introduced to Baptist Māori work outside of their own local contexts.[275] From a national perspective, Puna O Te Ora was seen as a marae for the various works across the North Island by Baptist Churches and individuals. Hui and noho were frequently held at Puna O Te Ora to enable workers to experience whakawhānau ngatanga as Māori Christians, monthly runanga would involve leadership delegates from the different regions involved in Baptist Māori work. Luke Kaa-Morgan's would remark that "it was a real connecting point for Māori ministry around the country." Rewai Te Kahu recounted his initial involvement:

> Up until that point I would just come up for a wānanga or noho's or the rūnanga. The rūnanga used to be the monthly gathering of all leadership delegates from the regions that had Māori workers; so they all came to Pukekohe and have a marae noho over the Friday/Saturday. And that's where you would give regional report backs; you would give anything that was going on in relationship to your own development side of things. So, I would attend those.[276]

Selina Hira shared a similar sentiment, highlighting the focus on "networking" where Māori Christians were able to hear each other's stories and how their work in their communities were going on, where "you might be able to input something into those people you know? Awhi [them]".[277] For the vast majority of those who attended these events it was the rare occasion where they could gather as the dominant culture—as Māori—whilst in the company of fellow Christian believers. These meetings would give inspiration and solidarity with Baptist-Māori engagement throughout the regions. It was also a place where many of them were able to gain a greater understanding of what it meant to be Māori Christians by listening to korero from one another. As Luke Kaa-Morgan recalled:

> The noho was awesome because it was the first thing I had seen within our denomination that addressed things

[273] Ibid.
[274] 'Hui', 'Runanga', 'Noho' and 'Wananga', were the kinds of words used to describe the same or similar events at Puna O Te Ora from the 1980s onwards (both prior to and after the merger took place in 1986).
[275] David Moko, interview by Caleb Haurua, December 22, 2016; Luke Kaa-Morgan, interview by Caleb Haurua, October 27, 2016; Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu, interview by Caleb Haurua and Rawiri Auty, October 28, 2016.
[276] Rewai and Josie Te Kahu noted that it was at one of these hui's that they first met. Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu, "Korero with Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu," interview by Caleb Haurua and Rawiri Auty, October 28, 2016.
[277] Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira, and Tony Hira, "Korero with Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira and Tony Hira."

> like Maori and spirituality and the Kingdom. Christianity and a little bit on the Treaty… so that was my first actual initial point of contact.[278]

David Moko, expressed a similar sentiment, about Truby Mihare being "instrumental" in

> those formative years of my learning was still about what it means to be Māori and a Christian…and being a follower of Jesus, all that sort of stuff. And that feed that deep desire to be authentic in being a Māori believer.[279]

David Moko went along with Frank and Zoe Grant, (leaders of the Māori work in Te Puke), describing his first experiences of the hui as opening his eyes to the national work amongst Māori:

> Going to those up at Puna o te Ora…where we would listen…just go sit and listen. I think was at that time, you know…God was instilling in me this bigger sense…well a bigger picture of the work. Cos, you know from Te Puke we knew what we were doing…you know, it was driven by a passion to witness. And you go to Puna o te Ora and you sit and listen to this korero. The same passion was there on a national scale, as we listened to all these regional people. You know, give their report or something, what God is doing.[280]

While juggling his national role with his pastoral appointment, Truby would face a new shift in the first couple of months into his pastorate at Pukekohe with the Baptist Māori work being steered in a new direction. He was tasked with convening a two-day conference at Puna O Te Ora in order to create a report for the Union Council to "assess the continuing role of the Department". Times had changed as the Maori Baptist Department no longer sent full-time workers to different fields as they did previously, but rather individual Churches were funding and responding to their own local situations themselves. The report signalled that Baptist Churches should not enforce a strict model of engagement with Māori:

> We are primarily concerned with winning people to the Lord, and if that is better achieved by a separate Maori work, then we have a responsibility to have one. If our aim is better achieved by an integrated work, then we should integrate. We believe there is no hard and fast rule. One area achieves a response one way, and another in another way. Our job is to provide the facilities for whichever work is necessary in whatever district.[281]

The report concluded that after thirty years the Departments original vision of seeing Māori evangelised, discipled, and nurtured into or alongside existing churches was still relevant. A renewed call to the churches was presented to "share in the vision we have to evangelise all Maori people".[282] A strong theme throughout the report was that the work needed to "change the battle strategy". This was due to several changes amongst Māoridom in recent years. The report cited the "present upsurge" of Taha Māori such as Kohanga Reo, and Matua Whangai; which had caused other denominations to respond to the increasing call of "bi-culturalism" that was ringing out across the

[278] Luke Kaa-Morgan, "Korero with Luke Kaa-Morgan."
[279] David Moko, "Korero with David Moko," interview by Caleb Haurua, December 22, 2016.
[280] Ibid.
[281] *Report to Union Council on the Continuing Role of the Maori Department* (Puna o te Ora, Pukekohe: Baptist Maori Department, June 10, 1985), A/N 1646, New Zealand Baptist Archive.
[282] Ibid.

land.[283] This 'Māori renaissance' forced Churches into new forms of engagement as old forms of mission and ministry were now ill-effective in witnessing to Māori.

However, the Baptist Maori Department recognised that this task of resourcing churches and enabling them to carry out Māori evangelisation was not currently feasible. The main reason given was the serious lack of funding from the Baptist Union, which had rapidly declined since its highest peak at 25.62% of the budget in 1971 to a measly 9.13% in 1984—its lowest ever. Funding was essential, the report argued, for its call to reinstate the position of Tumuaki[284] as an "immediate appointment of a person as the Pou Tokomomanawa or centre pole or post to whom people will look for inspiration, leading and guidance in all aspects that relate to Maori work."[285] his would include general oversight and support of Baptist work in areas such as Pukekohe, Kaikohe, Auckland City Mission, Papakura, Waiuku, Te Puke, Gisborne, Rotorua, Wanganui, Wainuiomata, East Tamaki, Hastings, and Christchurch. However, there were many more churches in communities with Māori populations—untried fields that needed to be impacted by the gospel. This new role, unlike Charles Joe's previously, would require a new type of leader who would encourage and educate churches to be able to take up the task of evangelising Māori.

> Well, we had this conference up in Puna to discuss the issue of whether the position of Tumuaki, or whatever it was gonna be, would be resurrected, and we all wrote a paper, at least one accordingly, so just from memory, my focus was... a reconciliation. But, so something must have hit a chord with the Māori board as they would have thought, no you're not the kinda guy that we want, they probably didn't know what they wanted either, full stop. But they did recognise there was a need to resurrect this position, to try and give some lead to Māori and Baptist Churches.[286]

The major decision that came out of the conference held at Puna Te Ora in regards to the continuation of Baptist Māori work was to reinstate the position of Tumuaki, which was ultimately settled with the appointment of Lionel Stewart. Originally from Christchurch, Lionel was an elder and on the pastoral team as a full-time co-ordinator of the Home Group Ministry in Spreydon Baptist Church.[287] Earlier in his life he had been a specialist lecturer in education and Māori studies at Christchurch's Teachers College, as well as teaching in Southland and the Bay of Plenty. Despite having Ngāti Kahungunu whakapapa through his mother he did not identify with being Māori until his late teens when he felt "stirring" to explore that side of his heritage. He would later come to faith in an Anglican Church in Christchurch before moving to Spreydon Baptist Church where he would become involved in wider Baptist Māori ministry.

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[283] Ibid., 5.
[284] Technically this title was changed by Charles Joe when he became Kaiwhakahaere (administrator) of the Baptist Department. Before him Trevor Donnell used the title Tumuaki, which has often been used for roles such as for a principal of a school.
[285] *Report to Union Council*.
[286] Stewart, "Kia Kotahi Tatou - Let Us All Be One."
[287] Kevin Ward, "Against the Tide: Spreydon Baptist Church 1960 to 2000," *N. Z. J. Baptist Res.*9 (2004): 14.

As Tumuaki, Lionel's became well-known for his catch-cry of "*Kia Kotahi tatou*" ("let us all be one"), a personal slogan that he would come to embody his tenure. Reconciliation tours[288] were the main vehicle of his bicultural message that Māori and Pākehā in the church, especially the Baptist denomination, needed to be able to share relationship on an "interpersonal relation level" as equals.[289] With the Tumuaki role having its base at Puna O Te Ora, Lionel would join the Māori Fellowship about a year before the eventual merger.

Leadership Decides

> We had no inkling that it would come to an end. And so, it was rather painful for some. Some of the people dropped out. We were told to go to... that it was closing up. And that we would have to go to Pukekohe Baptist Church. That, that was how it was announced. And I think some people still carry that hurt today… But we accepted, my husband and I accepted it, that we were to go to Pukekohe Baptist Church and so we did. And thank God, there was somewhere to go.[290]

In 1986, the Pukekohe Baptist Church, Puna O Te Ora Māori Fellowship and Waiuku Baptist Māori Fellowship combined to become the Franklin Baptist Church. Prior to this no formal amalgamation had yet been considered suitable and they existed in mutual support of the other. So, what were some of the main influences for this decision to merge? As already discussed, times were changing in the larger Baptist movement. They were responding to the Māori renaissance occurring in society, the limited funds required to assist other churches to engage in the Māori-Baptist work in their communities—which were increasingly more due to the influence of Lionel's reconciliation tours. Specifically, though, the merger occurred largely because the leaders from within both Pukekohe Baptist and Puna O Te Ora had decided that a combined effort would be a greater witness to the community. [291] With approximately 45 of the 250 congregants at Franklin Baptist being originally from the Māori Fellowship it seemed that the new Franklin complex with its combined congregations could be a unique testament to biculturalism enacted in a Christian context.[292] Lionel Stewart described the general intention behind the concept to merge into one Church:

> When the idea started to grow about actually combining Puna and the [Pukekohe] Church, ah it was, it was very interesting that journey. Brian Winslade had come to a Scriptural conviction that this would be a God honoured move if we could bring it off. But he said "I want to let you guys know that when I sing in Māori it does absolutely nothing for me, but because we figure that we've got a good scriptural base for the journey I want to travel on it.[293]

Brian Winslade, Senior Pastor of Pukekohe Baptist Church, appeared to have personal reservations about the merger but thought that it was in accordance with scripture. This scriptural

[288] He would undertake these tours as Baptist Vice-President in 1989 and Baptist President in 1990. For more on this see *Te Pou Tuwha: Post-Merger*.
[289] Lionel (Rawiri) Stewart, "Kia Kotahi Tatou - Let Us All Be One," 22.
[290] Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira, and Tony Hira, "Korero with Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira and Tony Hira."
[291] Ibid.
[292] NZB, October 1986, 5.
[293] Lionel Stewart and Adrienne Stewart, interview.

basis resonated with Pastor of Puna O Te Ora, Truby Mihaere, and Tumuaki, Lionel Stewart, who were instrumental in the decision to amalgamate the Baptist Churches in the Lower Waikato.

However, further to Brian's indication of personal inconveniences (i.e. singing in Māori doing "absolutely nothing for me"), the NZB front cover story on the opening of the new church, reported that Brian said,

> We are going to be misunderstood as a Church. Some will say we are selling ourselves out to Maoritanga, while others will accuse us of selling ourselves out to become brown Pakehas. We need to turn a deaf ear to the enemy.[294]

Brian Winslade's comments paint a picture of the Pukekohe Church and their Pākehā congregants having to deal with the struggle of engaging with Māori in a very one-sided assessment. Nowhere in his statement does there exist a hint of sympathy for the Māori congregation who would be joining with Pukekohe Baptist. Despite Brian's questionable motives for the merger—and lack of overall tactfulness—his strong emphasis on scripture warranting the formation of a bicultural church was a key driver that resulted in the Māori leadership of Puna O Te Ora supporting the move.

Truby Mihaere would have a key role in the merger as the Pastor of Puna O Te Ora, as well as Lionel who was Tumuaki at the time.[295] For Lionel in particularly, there were several core convictions that led him to embrace the idea of merging with Pukekohe Baptist. Firstly, his conviction of *Kia Kotahi Tatou* was grounded in the scriptural mandate that the Church be one and he saw the merger as a chance to embody this New Testament command. He firmly believed that separate Māori Churches or fellowships went against this ideal. Secondly, his personal reflection was that Māori in Baptist Churches had more to offer than just playing the guitar. He believed that they were gifted to contribute to church and "the life of the Kingdom" but overwhelmingly were not being given the chance to do so.[296] Thirdly, and a key theological factor for Lionel, was that not only did he believe in a Church being bicultural in practice and understanding (that is, combined worshipping communities as opposed to separate ones), he also had charismatic leanings. Spreydon Baptist, where he pastored prior to taking the role of Tumuaki, was known within the Baptist movement as a charismatic church and according to Adrienne Stewart had been swept up in revival before they arrived at Puna O Te Ora.[297] Lionel would later note that the trend towards more

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[294] In the NZB article, Brian Winslade further explained about the merger that over "…recent years we have felt the Lord drawing us together and healing past tension. We now view ourselves as a multi-congregational Church, each with a particular ministry focus (ethnic or geographical) but intimately related to each other to provide a comprehensive ministry to the Franklin County." NZB, September 1987, 1.

[295] Truby Mihaere's role in the merger was not explicitly expounded on by Kaikōrero and as he has since deceased I was unfortunately unable interview him. As a result, I have chosen not to discuss his influence on the merger but rather have focused on Lionel Stewart's role as I was fortunate to interview him before he passed away in 2016. This focus is not meant to overemphasise Lionel's role in the decision-making process around the merger, nor is it to equally intended to underappreciate Truby's influence.

[296] Ibid.

[297] Lionel Stewart and Adrienne Stewart, "Lionel Stewart."

bicultural churches were emerging primarily through churches with charismatic tendencies.[298] Puna O Te Ora did not have the same leanings, and that coupled with other internal issues and a less than desirable outlook of its future contributed to his overall support of the merger.[299]

"Like a trail of tears"

According to several Kaikōrero interviewed, outside of the main leadership of Puna O Te Ora, the decision to merge was not made in direct consultation with its members.[300] Strikingly, those who were directly impacted by the merger almost all agree that the merger was seen as a positive at the time.[301] Both Te Whaikoha Astle and Toroa Thompson willingly moved, seeing it as an act of obedience to God and to their leaders. For Te Whaikoha Astle, Joan Milner had provided significant reasoning for her to join up with the 'Mainstream Church':[302]

> Yeah. I loved it. I loved it there… because Joan Milner is still alive. And it [took] a Pākehā sister to lead me to the Lord. So, a Pākehā and a Māori relationship - good! And I don't, I will never regret that. [If it had been] a Māori person that led me to the Lord well... I'd be okay. But when it took Joan, the Lord bought Joan Milner and then… I started to think "oh yeah time for us to move up to the Franklin Baptist".[303]

However, the merger was not without its difficulties as Te Whaikoha Astle further explained:

> But I tell you something. It was hard. It was hard…we loved Puna O Te Ora so much you know. Lot of Māori people were there. Lot, a lot of us were there. And when we moved to the Franklin (Baptist Church), to our Pākehā stream… it was hard cos we'd been at Puna O Te Ora for a long time. And we'd been able to do the Lord's work there reaching our people. But when we move up to the Franklin they all disappeared.[304]

Toroa Thompson reflected that despite her overall positive disposition towards the merger she was also saddened by it although she "didn't want to admit it" at the time.[305] Toroa and Te Whaikoha both had a strong sense of loyalty to their leaders which meant that they saw the merger as a positive step. However, not all congregants reflected the same sentiments with many (an exact number being hard to quantify based on the oral narratives) refusing to join Franklin Baptist. For some it was too much to go from a much smaller Māori congregation to a Pākehā majority. Selina Hira said,

> I was dreading it. I… was thinking, you know to go from Puna to that. And I was thinking, we need to change our whole way of life pretty much. And I thought, what I loved about our fellowship was, you know if you had

[298] Lionel (Rawiri) Stewart, "Kia Kotahi Tatou - Let Us All Be One."
[299] Lionel Stewart and Adrienne Stewart, interview.
[300] Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira, and Tony Hira, "Korero with Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira and Tony Hira"; Te Whaikoha Astle, "Korero with Te Whaikoha Astle"; Luke Kaa-Morgan, "Korero with Luke Kaa-Morgan."
[301] Lionel Stewart and Adrienne Stewart, "Lionel Stewart"; Te Whaikoha Astle, "Korero with Te Whaikoha Astle"; Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira, and Tony Hira, "Korero with Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira and Tony Hira."
[302] Te Whaikoha Astle, "Korero with Te Whaikoha Astle."
[303] Ibid.
[304] Ibid.
[305] Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira, and Tony Hira, "Korero with Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira and Tony Hira."

> a testimony that you wanted to share something that you were excited about. You could just get up and share. We always had sharing time. And you know someone wanted to sing a song they could. And I knew that it was gonna be "this is the way this goes" and... the structure. It wasn't going to bow to us.[306]

Reservations about what 'church' would now look like post-merger no doubt contributed to the decision of some to leave altogether. But overall, the vast majority of Puna O Te Ora would decide to willingly move. As Te Whaikoha recounted, the fellowship felt that God had spoken to them about the merger and with that, combined with the wisdom of their leaders, they acted in obedience and joined Pukekohe Baptist to create the new Franklin Baptist Church.

The merger was heralded as a bicultural witness to the Franklin community and indeed the Baptist denomination as whole. Lionel Stewart confirmed that at the time of the merger it was seen as "an enthusiastic union" with some promising engagement between Māori and Pākehā.[307] He noted that the Franklin services would have a mihi (greeting) at the beginning of the service, worship songs in Te Reo, and "things that honoured the protocol of Māori". This included one incident where an attempt at a modified pōwhiri to celebrate the graduation of some Māori congregants was met with resistance from Pākehā constituencies with one man questioning the theological premise of its occurrence.[308]

> We knew a lot of his relatives would come so I asked the congregation that at the beginning of the service if the visitors could come in through the main foyer and for the regular congregation if they slipped in through side entrances and one guy got very hostile. For me it was a chance to touch those people with the message, for them to see something being done in Māori, the proper protocol so, to travel the journey, the bi-cultural journey is quite… difficult for some people.[309]

Lionel also noted that the merger was critiqued by other Baptists who questioned the legitimacy of biculturalism as combining Māori into Pākehā Baptist Churches:

> Yeah, it didn't come without some flack. [A prominent Baptist leader] approached me and said, "don't you think Māori would feel better if they met together rather than meeting as a combined thing that you're suggesting". So, so that was his view…which is thinly veiled racism.[310]

Overwhelmingly, other Kaikōrero who were interviewed offered more negative views about the merger, particular in regards to the leadership of Pukekohe Baptist Church and Puna O Te Ora. David Moko, current Kaihautū of Manatū Iriiri Māori, critiqued the one-sided nature of the merger which favoured the Pākehā congregation in terms of power and control.[311] Others such as Luke Kaa-

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[306] Ibid.
[307] Lionel recounted one congregant refusing to attend the Franklin Baptist Church. He also noted that since the merger that opinions amongst Māori that suggest Puna O Te Ora was forced to merge are merely "hearsay". Lionel Stewart and Adrienne Stewart, "Lionel Stewart."
[308] Ibid.
[309] Lionel Stewart and Adrienne Stewart, "Lionel Stewart."
[310] Ibid.
[311] David Moko, "Korero with David Moko."

Morgan, current associate Pastor at Franklin Baptist Church, criticised those such as Truby Mihaere and Lionel Stewart as not understanding the negative impact the merger would have on the Māori congregants:

> It was flawed. And it was flawed expressly evident in the nature of the people. One of the woman here said to me "that was like a trail of tears" - which comes out of a native American experience eh? But she said that was our trail of tears going from there to here. Cos, it didn't get understood. They had this innate trust of their leadership which was "well if you think that's right then we should just adhere to that". But when you get them to unpack their story they're all going "how is this going to work?". They couldn't see it working though they knew the principles were right. They didn't know how the practice was going to be.[312]

Sam Emery, who was on the Māori Board during the merger, suggested that rather than merging they relocate Puna O Te Ora buildings to Franklin Baptist. This was suggested so that the Māori congregants might feel more at home—in the same manner Huia Mai was originally relocated to Puna O Te Ora all those years ago.[313] He cited his difference to Lionel's 'Kia Kotahi Tatou' mantra, instead believing that separate Māori fellowships—albeit associated still with other pre-existing churches—were in fact beneficial to Māori Christians.[314] In all the years since the merger the debates about whether or not it was beneficial to Māori remain contested, however, it was not to be the final act of the Lower Waikato Mission—that was still to come.

Kaupapa Māori Lens on Te Pou Tuatoru

Te Pou Tuatoru details the event of 'The Merger' that occurred as the leadership of both Pukekohe Baptist Church and the Māori fellowship in Pukekohe sensed that combining into one worshipping community would provide a positive counternarrative to racial hostilities occurring nationwide. Since Baptist Māori work no longer relied on full-time workers networking across the various fields but supported individual churches in their own contexts and resources, it was no wonder that Franklin Baptist--a culmination of the Māori mission in many respects—would seek to once again 'pioneer' what they saw as the next logical step by merging their Pākehā and Māori congregations into one. However, much of the earlier gains that the Māori fellowship had through establishing themselves at Puna O Te Ora were lost as over time they were subsumed into the 'Parent' Church. From a Kaupapa Māori perspective this happened in a number of key ways.

In light of the *control principle*, the merger signified a familiar outlook of the earlier mission as the Māori fellowship at Puna O Te Ora relinquished control of their previous facilities to join the new combined Franklin Baptist Church. More than the physical renouncing of their former premises, the merger also signalled their willing surrender of autonomy as a self-governing community. Ways of being and doing 'church' had to change although at that point no one fully knew to what degree

[312] Luke Kaa-Morgan, "Korero with Luke Kaa-Morgan."
[313] Sam Emery, "Korero with Sam Emery."
[314] Ibid.

this would occur. Some members of the Māori fellowship saw this transition unfavourably and anticipating future issues refused to 'go up the road' to the new premises on Victoria street. Others, including those interviewed for this research project such as Lionel, Te Whaikoha and Toroa willingly supported the merger.

The credibility of leadership, particularly the leadership of Lionel and Truby Mihaere, and their support of the merger was further enforced by a strong belief in God's sovereign will as mediated by church leadership.[315] Therefore it was an act of obedience to go to Franklin Baptist Church. It can be observed that Māori congregants who did support the merger had significant relationships (the *connection principle*) that influenced this. Truby and Lionel's leadership was one such connection.[316] During interviews it was alluded to by some that the decision to merge was primarily negotiated by the leaders and that congregants were not consulted. The *challenge principle* critiques this power dynamic of the leadership and their isolated decisions while also acknowledging Māori cultural values of taking advice from elders/leaders. Additionally, it is clear that there was also a strong sense of connection with the Pukekohe Baptist members prior to the move. This aided their ability to adapt to a new way of doing 'church'.

In regards to the Kaupapa Māori *culture principle*, Te Ao Māori was utilised and adapted for use in the Franklin services which included Māori greetings, songs, and attempts at other protocol such as pōwhiri. However, theirs was not the dominant culture and as such they experienced much resistance from Pākehā congregants as alluded by Lionel Stewart and others. As a result, some would leave, while others such as Te Whaikoha Astle would continue to break down racial barriers by staying despite negative views about their culture. Therefore, Māori ways of understanding were no longer normative as they had been in Puna but instead had to be negotiated with the Pākehā constituency of the Franklin Baptist Church.

In regards to the Kaikōrero not directly involved with the Merger, it was obvious that their lack of first-hand experience of the event, coupled with the benefit of hindsight, readily critiqued the Merger, detailing the different ways that the Māori Fellowship would have to assimilate with the Pākehā Church at Franklin. In regards to the *challenge principle*, some saw that the Māori congregants, as minority (both in regards to ethnicity and numbers), would have less clout as they were the ones who had "moved up the road" to merge with the larger Baptist Church. Through Tate's conceptual triad of 'Atua-Tangata-Whānau', a critique was offered about the leaving behind of the Puna O Te Ora buildings which had represented their whenua—with Sam Emery suggesting at the

[315] Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira, and Tony Hira, "Korero with Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira and Tony Hira"; Te Whaikoha Astle, "Korero with Te Whaikoha Astle."

[316] During interviews it was alluded to by some that the decision to merge was primarily negotiated by the leaders and that congregants were not consulted. The Kaupapa Māori *challenge principle* critiques this power dynamic of the leadership and their isolated decisions while also acknowledging Māori cultural values of taking advice from elders/leaders.

time that they should have been ‘moved up’ to Franklin Baptist when The Merger occurred. Interestingly it was the idea that it was God’s will that the merger take place, that led to breaking the strong connection that had existed between Atua, tangata and the whenua in the times of Pou Tuatahi and Pou Tuarua.

From a Kaupapa Māori perspective, overall, the events of the merger did much to undo the developments that took place whilst Puna O Te Ora and Pukekohe Baptist were separate yet connected entities. Through all Kaupapa Māori principles of control, challenge, credibility, change, connection and culture there is substantial critique of the merger and its effect on the former Māori fellowship.

4. Te Pou Tuawhā: Post-Merger

Baptist-Māori engagement in the area of the Lower Waikato was irrevocably changed after the Merger. Subsequent events in the early 1990s culminated in a remarkable feat called Te Whare Amorangi (TWA), a Maori theological training school. TWA was, in many respects, a significant seedling of the Lower Waikato Mission. It was a long-awaited dream from the time of the pioneer missionaries, its beginnings were hosted at Puna O Te Ora and it holds parallels with the Lower Waikato Mission in that it started with great enthusiasm in Pukekohe for Māori Baptists, before concluding several years later through a merger with a larger Baptist entity. Thus, *Pou Tuawhā* will outline the story of the Māori leadership school founded by Māori Baptists and the factors involved in its creation, the people who influenced it, and its wider impact on Māori mission within the Baptist denomination as whole.

Lionel Stewart: Kia Kotahi Tatou

1990 marked the sesquicentennial commemorations of the Treaty of Waitangi which sparked heated protests and public debates about race relations particularly in regards to Māori and Pākehā. Churches in Aotearoa New Zealand were also impacted by the social and political discourses. Lionel Stewart would play a significant role in addressing the fears of the mostly Pākehā Baptist denomination through ‘Reconciliation tours’ that he undertook as Vice-President (in 1989), and President (in 1990), of the Baptist Union. These tours were aimed at bridge the divides that were occurring within society between Māori and Pākehā. Lionel recalled his message receiving a general sense of openness by Baptist Churches, stating that “I don't think we ever met an antagonistic Baptist Church apart from the odd person”. As he summarised:

> We tried to go to Churches that would listen, so there was always a submission of questions which had been recorded before we got there… invariably there'd be some Church or somebody in the Church who wanted to know "is it wrong to wear a tiki?"[317]

[317] Lionel Stewart and Adrienne Stewart, “Lionel Stewart.”

Such questions illustrated the level of engagement Pākehā Baptists had with Te Ao Māori especially regarding Māori spirituality. Lionel remarked that many Pākehā in Baptist Churches had "no idea of the history of race relationships in New Zealand" including the early settler governments unjust actions towards Māori. He saw his role as an educational one. Specifically, his role was not so much to educate Māori but Pākehā *about* Māori, or as he would put in his own words, proving to Pākehā that Māori culture involved "more than just the hāngī, the hongi and the haka."[318] For Lionel, these caricatures were to be disavowed through teaching about Māori culture.[319] Furthermore, Māori culture had many aspects that fit into the "life of the Kingdom", that is, in a Christian context.[320]Lionel would argue for the legitimacy of Māori values within Christian settings so long as they aligned with scripture, unafraid to point out aspects of Māoritanga and Wairuatanga that did not corroborate with the gospel message.[321] The impact of Lionel's leadership on the Baptist movement in the 1990s would prove pivotal to an increased Baptist conscience towards Māori.

In his dual roles as Tumuaki and Baptist President, Lionel Stewart would influence the ground-breaking decision to host the 1990 Baptist General Assembly at Nga Hau E Wha, a local marae in Pukekohe. The headline cover of the NZB would summarise:

> This is a significant year for New Zealand, and a first for New Zealand Baptists, with a President of Maori descent and two new Churches Waiuku and Kaiti who can claim to have its beginnings through initiatives to reach Maori families for Christ. This Assembly could result in attitude changes that should affect the future direction of our Churches composition and influence to the whole community.[322]

This was a four-day conference, with over one-third of the 615 delegates housed in the Wharenui for the duration of the event. This event was not without its challenges. Many Māori members of Franklin Baptist Church and also from the local community would help out at the event as Te Whaikoha recalled. One NZB report would remark that it would be "one of the most logistically demanding assemblies ever held", with a need for additional marquees and tents erected to provide facilities for accommodation, dining, bookstalls, prayer and meetings.[323] For the majority of attendants, Pākehā Baptist pastors and leaders, the experience would be their first not only onto a marae but in a predominantly Māori setting. General apprehension and unfamiliarity with marae kawa was made apparent in a NZB published column that year penned by Superintendent Gerard

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[318] Lionel Stewart and Adrienne Stewart, interview by Caleb Haurua and Rawiri Auty, May 18, 2016.

[319] Lionel's strong belief in this is illustrated by the fact that whenever he was involved in a public setting and Te Reo Māori was spoken or sung there had to be a translation in English otherwise the lack of comprehension, he thought, could cause a setback for racial relationships. In his opinion, not doing so was seen as wilful ignorance or even worse "eye-for-an-eye, tooth-for-a-tooth stuff". He added that because Māori could speak both languages they needed to go "the second mile" with their Christian brothers and sisters to show that "in the Kingdom we march to the beat of a different drum." See Lionel Stewart and Adrienne Stewart, "Lionel Stewart."

[320] Ibid.

[321] Ibid.

[322] NZB, 1990 October, 1.

[323] Ibid.

Marks, addressing questions such as "are mattresses provided", "how do I dress and undress", and "are there showers?"[324] Despite the challenges, this was a significant forward step for Baptist-Māori engagement. It was the first time in New Zealand Baptists' 108-year history that the annual assembly[325] would be hosted on a marae—significant marae connected to the first mission started in the Lower Waikato.

The synergy between his role of educating churches on bicultural harmony and leading the denomination as president was expressed by his catch-cry 'Kia Kotahi Tatou' ("Let us all be one") being adopted as the official theme for assembly that year. Capitalizing on the general goodwill from his reconciliation tours to churches throughout the nation and the good relationships with leaderships fostered along the way, he believed that by taking up of the president's role it "gave a bit more clout" to therefore have his induction at national assembly on a marae. Moreover, he believed that taking on the role "would help some in the Churches to believe that Māori don't have to sit in the back of the bus all the time".[326]

According to interviews with Kaikōrero Lionel Stewart and Sam Emery, the Marae Assembly in Pukekohe was supposed to be the beginning of a commitment from the Baptist Union Council to host its assembly on marae every six years. Indeed, in 1996 it would be held at Sam Emery's marae in Rotorua for his own induction as Baptist President. Since the Rotorua Assembly, however, this pattern would discontinue as Sam would comment:

> It'd be great to have a Marae hui again… the Union Council did agree to it way back that it would be a more, a regular thing but that sort of got lost…[327]

Sam Emery backed up Lionel's claim saying that:

> Maybe it's been the biggest disappointment, that they Baptist Union never maintained the agreement that every six years the Baptist Assembly would be held on a marae and organised by the Baptist Maori Ministry Board. The response to why it didn't continue was "we the Baptist Union Council haven't got this recorded in the BU minutes"…But I can clearly remember. So, can Lionel Stewart.[328]

Other Kaikōrero made similar recollections[329] and felt disappointed that Marae Assembly have not been followed-up. No real resolution has been found in regards to this and it remains a source of discontent among Māori even today. After the 1990 assembly there was however a new surge of energy that was positively predisposed to Māori initiatives within the Union that would lead to change in other areas.

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[324] NZB, 1990 August, 2.
[325] The Baptist General 'Assembly' would have a name change to "Gathering" in 2001 and then "Hui" from 2014 till the present day. The present-day term came about as a result of the 2014 gathering at Waitangi and discussion around Baptist involvement in biculturalism.
[326] Lionel Stewart and Adrienne Stewart, interview.
[327] Lionel Stewart and Adrienne Stewart, "Lionel Stewart."
[328] Sam Emery, "Korero with Sam Emery."
[329] Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu, "Korero with Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu."

Te Waka Moana Nui

At a Komiti Matua meeting (Māori Board Executive), at the end of 1990, the Māori Board made several new targets for 1991.[330] They reiterated that their focus was in assisting and encouraging local churches to incorporate Māori from their community—stating firmly that they "did not support the concept of separate Maori Churches."[331] Other targets included the need for church-planting in Māori communities without previous evangelical church presence, the development of leadership training of Māori for ministry, and finally an ambitious plan for Māori men and women to engage in overseas mission.

This last target would be the first to come to fruition in August of 1991 with the launch of Te Waka Moana Nui (meaning 'the deep-sea canoe'), which consisted of three teams of thirty-four—mostly Māori from all the various Māori works around the country—travelling to Fiji, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. It came largely as a result of a 1989 World Mission Conference held in Suva, Fiji, which "called people to undertake cross-cultural mission from island to island".[332] The wider vision of the trip therefore was, as Rob Bellingham articulated, that "if the people themselves express the gospel, or their nearest neighbours do it, it is very effective".[333] In this way it was hoped that the venture would help Māori "gain a world view of the Great Commission".[334] Many that went had, as Toroa would remark "a great time" that empowered them to see their own ability to engage missionally and relate to other South Pacific cultures.[335] Lionel Stewart commented that this was an intention of the mission trips:

> We took three groups years ago, one to Fiji, one to the Solomon's and one to Papua New Guinea, and often… those kind of groups, they got their evangelist on board and they go into the country and you're not realising that there's hundreds of evangelists already there. So, we said to our groups, "look, we're not going to these countries to preach the gospel as such, we're going to encourage these people to think that there are things in their background that fit equally as well as English things in the life of the Kingdom". So that was our major objective.[336]

However, the deep-sea voyage mission trips would not continue as a regular occurrence like the Komiti Matua had intentioned. Despite this, what did emerge from it was a recognition that Māori were mobilised and available for mission and ministry.

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[330] '*Maori Department targets projects for 1991'*, NZB, February 1991, 15.
[331] Ibid.
[332] Rob Bellingham, "Crossing Cultural Confines: At Home with Missionary-Oriented People," in *Meet the Baptists: Postwar Personalities and Perspectives*, by Elaine E Bolitho (Auckland, N.Z.: Christian Research Association of New Zealand, 1993), 50.
[333] Ibid.
[334] Ibid.
[335] Toroa Thompson, Selina Hira, and Tony Hira, interview; David Moko, interview; Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu, interview.
[336] Lionel Stewart and Adrienne Stewart, "Lionel Stewart."

Te Whare Amorangi

> The thinking behind it was that we knew Carey basically did things in a sort of Western Theological institutional kind of way, and we knew that there were Māori out there who had been gifted more than just being able to play a guitar, and we thought if we can encourage them to launch themselves a bit further we could end up with a supply of Māori Baptist pastors.[337]

During 1991 a series of planning meetings were held by the Department of Maori ministry about the potential of creating a leadership training school. With wider support from the Baptist Union and a growing sense of urgency around Māori discipleship made even more apparent by the success of Te Waka Moana Nui, it was deemed an urgent need. With more than 403,000 Māori in New Zealand and an additional 70,000 in Australia it seemed right to 'strike while the iron was still hot'. The Māori Board had rightly assessed that Baptist Churches in the movement, as well as the Baptist College, were ill-equipped to meet the spiritual needs of Māori in ways that were both relevant and effective for them.

Therefore, a new Māori leadership training school was established called Te Whare Amorangi.[338] TWA was to be an on-site programme delivered through intensive block courses, with an optional second year as an internship programme. The second year would be officially recognised by New Zealand Qualifications Authority[339] and the certificate of ministry would be offered by Baptist training as well. The main curriculum would have three dimensions: biblical studies, Māori language and culture, and weekend ministry activities.

TWA was located on the grounds of Puna O Te Ora which lay mostly unused since the merger. Gifted back to the Māori Department, it would once again be the central hub of Baptist Māori activity in the area. There were several reasons for this. Firstly, the vision behind TWA was shared by former pastor Truby Mihaere who had in earlier years expressed the need for a training centre for Māori, whilst Joan Milner was also cited as having "longstanding dream" that a Bible school for Māori men and women. Another reason was that Puna O Te Ora would be ideally suited to the TWA programme. Its manse would provide housing for the course director and the main hall its lecture room. Housing was to be sought in areas such as the old children's homes as well. In regards to potential outreach it was deemed also encouraging as it was close to nearby marae and tribal groupings. Finally, a major reason for Puna being the location of TWA was due to its significance in relation to the local and national story of Baptist Māori mission—its tūrangawaewae. As Lionel wrote in the Komiti Matua minutes, "because of historical factors, numbers of Maori people have a strong identification with Puna O Te Ora and so the complex has some 'standing' in

[337] Ibid.
[338] In Lionel Stewart's own words:"Amorangi" is a traditional Maori word for chief or priest and when joined with "te whare" has the literal meaning "the house of the chiefs." An equivalent modern-day translation is "Leadership Training Centre." NZB, August 1991, 16.
[339] Approved during first year.

the minds and hearts of the people."[340] Therefore, because of its connection to certain figure heads, its building facilities, and its history, Puna O Te Ora became the location for TWA.

The socio-political situation and the Baptist Union's recognition of further discipleship for Māori contributed to the fulfilment of the long-awaited dream for a Māori theological training school—located in the 'heart' of Baptist Māori mission at Puna O Te Ora, Pukekohe.

Return to Pukekohe

The leadership of Te Whare Amorangi is crucial to the story of the school and the impact it would have, (the connection to the LWM). There were two key leaders: Sam Emery and Rewai Te Kahu. This next section outlines the events that occurred under their leadership from their perspectives and those of other Kaikōrero.

In a Māori Board hui in Rotorua, Lionel put Sam Emery's name forward to head up this new Māori initiative. Hailing from Ngati Pikiao, Ngati Maniapoto and Ngati Kahungunu, He came to faith when living in the United Māori Mission Hostels in Auckland City doing a training course. As chairman of Maori Ministries at the time, he explained:

> So, at the meeting they... agreed to ask me to see if I would come and oversee Te Whare Amorangi. I said "I'm not a lecturer, I'm not a teacher - I was raised on a dairy farm". But Lionel kept pushing it. He said "well I've seen what you do in your community here."[341]

Originally from Rotorua Central Baptist, Sam Emery helped run community ministries such as Shalon Whānau which helped people gain skills for employment. He was also Pastor of the daughter congregation of Rotorua Baptist Church, the Western Congregation or Te Ara Hou (meaning "the new life), as "a culturally appropriate means for outreach to Maori and Pacific Island families" in the Rotorua area.[342] Despite feeling inadequate for the role, Sam recognised the need for Māori Christians to be given a "basic grounding in Kaupapa Māori", as well as:

> How to reach Maori. How to grow them. Disciple them. And of course, in a Maori context... that if you want to develop your emerging leaders it wasn't a hierarchical thing but a hands-on practical training model. You're able to assess the gifts, talents of the different ones. And then slowly develop them into taking the leadership role.[343]

In 1992 the course would start with Sam Emery as Kaiwhakahaere and Franklin Baptist pastor John Rew as Kaiawhina, as well as Pane Kawhia and Betty Bent assisting in secretarial roles. Te Reo Māori tutor, Eddie Ngatai would also be involved for an initial period. Throughout the year they would be joined by a mixture of Māori, Pākehā, and Pasifika lecturers from various denominations and other affiliated Christian organisations such as BCNZ and YWAM.

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[340] Lionel Stewart, *Komiti Matua/ Franklin Baptist Elders "Puna O Te Ora" Meeting Report* (Puna o te Ora, Pukekohe, March 15, 1991), A/N 1646, New Zealand Baptist Archive.
[341] Sam Emery, "Korero with Sam Emery."
[342] NZB, July 1991, 8.
[343] Sam Emery, "Korero with Sam Emery."

Twelve students started that year at the training school in the Lower Waikato. This group was comprised of two students from the Solomon Islands and the rest Māori. Nearly all of them came from working class backgrounds without prior tertiary education. In all other accounts it was a diverse group with various ages, backgrounds and faith stages. As Sam Emery summarised: "the mix of students was quite incredible. Cos, you got a gang member from one extreme to others that were raised in the Church." The former gang member was Tuhoe Isaac, an ex-Mongrel Mob leader whose dramatic conversion story would be published with Brad Haami in '*True Red'*. Sam Emery described convincing Tuhoe to join TWA:

> And I said to him "Tuhoe, we're starting this leadership training would you like to come be part of that?" And he jumped at it eh, he said "yeah, sure". I said "one thing you need to know you're moving into Black Power territory". He went quiet for a while. He said "yup okay that's all good". And it was. It was amazing. And that is because Puna O Te Ora was known by all the Maori families and so they knew regardless whether he was Mongrel Mob, Black Power, whatever.[344]

Some students, like Tuhoe Isaac, came from largely non-Christian backgrounds and were in need of discipling within a larger community. Others from church backgrounds were identified as having leadership potential and sent to TWA to become pastoral candidates. Luke Kaa-Morgan, who was on staff, suggested that the inadequate discipleship of Māori in churches hindered their leadership:

> But we had, particularly out here for example, people that had been in the Lord - or whatever you might say - for many years. But not going into positions of leadership. So, in our local Church experience here we'd have Maori represented in leadership who weren't always...well often weren't influential. Not representing the people and the needs or the ways of the people. So, they either didn't have an opinion or couldn't express their opinion well or just didn't have influence. [345]

Through the training at TWA, discipleship and leadership skills were developed. Toroa Thompson, herself the product of the Lower Waikato Mission, was in the first intake alongside her husband Jack. Encouraged to join by Lionel Stewart she remarked that she thoroughly enjoyed the "wealth of fantastic lecturers" that were on hand. She attributed her husband Jack's later involvement in marae ministry to TWA, stating that "he gained confidence and grew in his faith there".

Fostering confidence and communication was an important aspect of the course with students being placed at various Churches to intern and frequent weekend trips all over New Zealand to visit and lead services. Sam Emery noted the importance of this practical component, explaining that

> I didn't want to fill their heads with a whole lot of knowledge and they had no idea how that's gonna work out there. So, every weekend - it may have been tough I know that - but every weekend they knew. All the student body knew that one of them would be appointed to be the leader and they would have to prepare a program

[344] Sam Emery, interview by Caleb Haurua, October 27, 2016.
[345] Luke Kaa-Morgan, interview.

because we're going to a Church to do the whole program.[346]

Sam's insistence on this practical element of ministry alongside the more theoretical classroom learning was arduous at times for the students but he saw it as helping "to identify their gifts their talents and their knowledge and how they were able to communicate that right."[347]

Over the next few years under Sam's leadership TWA would go through peaks and troughs. 1993 began promisingly with twelve of the previous year's students graduating and several staying on to complete the second-year internship,[348] which included block courses, readings, assignments and ministry experience. The new intake would have fifteen students consisting predominantly of Māori with both a Malaysian, a Pākehā student, and two Solomon Islanders. Both Luke Kaa-Morgan and Tony Hira, co-leaders of the Te Ara Hou congregation in Rotorua, would join TWA as staff and student respectively. Consequently, Lionel Stewart would move the headquarters of Māori ministries back to Pukekohe. Overall, the trajectory of the school was trending upwards.

No doubt buoyed by the initial successes of the school an ambitious proposal was put forth at Baptist assembly that year to expand the buildings of TWA in anticipation of further growth in its student population and in response to the growing needs of the community. An extra four acres next to the Kayes street location was offered for sale to the Māori Board who saw it as an opportune time for the proposal of an extensive building project that would include a new wharenui, wharekai, lecture room, medical centre, kohanga reo, retirement homes and even a "Kingdom bakery" that would offer employment skills training for students.[349] Urgent financial assistance was needed as it projected to cost $150,000. At the 1993 Assembly TWA staff and students announced the new vision to a receptive delegation and subsequently hopes were high that the necessary funds would be raised.

However, by 1994 only $35,000 had been pledged to the cause.[350] Not only were funds insufficient but the sale offer for the land had lapsed and was now on the open market.[351] In addition to this, there were not enough numbers for a new intake and so the school only ran for second-year students in the internship programme.[352] A similar turnout in 1995 led to a review that concluded that intake would occur every two years. Part of the reason given was that this would allow more time and resources to be given to second-year students, yet it was also a pragmatic approach to the

[346] Sam Emery, "Korero with Sam Emery."
[347] Sam Emery, interview.
[348] Such as Rarangi (Zena) Carr at Hamilton Central Baptist Church. See 'Single, Solo… Maori Women… Leaders..!' NZB, April 1993, 13.
[349] NZB, December 1993, 11.
[350] In 2001 it would be reported that the $100,000 in funds had been raised and then put into an investment account. The 4 acres of land to be purchased fell through with the owners death in 1997. By 2001, then Tumuaki Sam Emery wrote in the NZB asking to reallocate the funds to pay for various expenses. NZB, February 2001, 23.
[351] NZB, March 1994, 2.
[352] NZB, April 1994, 9.

declining numbers.[353] In the same review it was noted that TWA had made a commitment to "developing closer links with Carey Baptist College in the areas of teaching, block courses and a growing demonstration of our relationship in the bicultural journey".[354]

Underlying these discussions with Carey, and indeed many of the problems that TWA faced, was the reality of the kinds of graduates the school was producing. Many went on not into Christian ministry but secular jobs such as teaching and social work.[355] Others also faced the reality of home churches that did not necessarily utilise them in leadership roles nor continued to invest in them after returning from Pukekohe. As Lionel would later write in an NZB column:

> The Lord has taken previous students in directions we did not imagine. For example, three began university degree courses, one of whom will complete his BA at Waikato this year. Others have been called into pastoral positions in Churches. We have lost some. One will rejoin us to complete his course following a four-year prison sentence based on a voluntary confession.[356]

Promising signs appeared in 1996 with a new crop of students for the reactivated year-one course was taken with eleven Māori and two Solomon Islanders.[357] Soon three interconnected changes would have ripple effects across Māori ministries as a whole. Sam Emery would take up the role of Baptist President at the assembly held at his marae in Rotorua.[358] In 1997, this would be followed by his relinquishing of the directorship to take up the role of Tumuaki after Lionel Stewart had become pastor at Franklin Baptist Church. The new director would be Rewai Te Kahu whose leadership would help chart the course of TWA into new territories away from Puna O Te Ora and the strong connection to the place of the LW mission.

A New Kind of Merger

Rewai Te Kahu's first involvement with Te Whare Amorangi came after he finished training at the Bible College of New Zealand and was invited to be Kaiawhina staff member part way through 1996. Originally from Palmerston North Central Baptist, his role included teaching Te Reo Māori to students.[359] His appointment to Kaiwhakahaere in 1997 was followed by the shifting of TWA from Pukekohe to Otara in South Auckland. Offered the use of Otara Baptist during the week, the thinking behind the shift was that most students lived in South Auckland and that financial pressures

[353] 'What's happening at Te Whare Amorangi?', NZB, June 1995, 7.
[354] Ibid.
[355] Sam Emery, interview.
[356] NZB, November 1996, 18.
[357] NZB, April 1996, 12.
[358] "This year, according to our pattern, the nominations should be for a person in ministry. While of course the opportunity is open for anyone in membership in a New Zealand Baptist Church, the nominations this year carry one special requirement. As the 1996 Assembly is to be held on a marae in Rotorua, it is important that anyone nominated should be aware of the protocols and procedures of a marae Assembly. One nomination, that of Mr Sam Emery, Kaiwhakahaere of Te Whare Amorangi has already been received." NZB, August 1996, 4.
[359] NZB, April 1996, 12.

associated with the travel would be relieved. As Rewai explains:

> It went quite well. Most of our lecturers came in from other areas and so whether it was coming in to Pukekohe or coming into South Auckland it didn't really bother us, because they were coming in anyway, but it was just more convenient for the students.[360]

By the end of the year both the location and delivery of TWA would change once again. Otara Baptist Church would not grant another year of using its building, while talks with Carey Baptist about partnership had gained such momentum that the second-year internship was now done as the Diploma in Mission as a Carey qualification.[361] In his own words, Rewai Te Kahu explained other factors, including financial pressures, that led to the shift from South Auckland to Penrose:

> When the other training organisations started to withdraw and it became apparent that we were going to be left carrying the baby and the water and we just didn't have the depth to be able to run it, that's when we started having to crossover, firstly with the diploma programme, then into the degree. Then when Carey said we are willing [to] register your certificate courses and flow on into do the diploma we then formally closed down Baptist Training Ministries because we were the only ones left to do it. The fees were that was like, "We can't pay that." It was just crazy.[362]

The partnership with Carey would consist of TWA students taking the overall qualification and attending certain classes while Rewai Te Kahu was seconded onto staff as an adjunct lecturer. Alongside building relationship with the Baptist College, he also maintained connections with BCNZ for more strategic reasons. He explained:

> Now in the background while I was trying to shape with both Laidlaw and Carey was the two organisations working together to provide training for Māori leadership. Because as I saw it you had the Knox – what they were doing down in Otago; you had the Anglican and Wesleyans doing what they were doing over at St Johns; and I thought, "Man we're positioned in a space where we could sit in the middle and offer training in Māori leadership development and that's actually unique compared to those two activities."[363]

Rewai Te Kahu would recall that Paul Windsor, the new Carey principal would be "quite open to discussions" in regards to TWA's involvement with the Baptist College. Paul wrote a NZB article about the urgent need for Carey to partner with TWA.[364] This was contrasted by the appointment of the new BCNZ principal whose appointment resulted in the Māori department being cut.[365] At this point Rewai Te Kahu identified the role Carey Baptist College could play in regards to a bicultural relationship with TWA, referring to a conversation he had after the new of BCNZ's disbandment of their Māori Department:

> I really pushed Carey. [Carey Baptist College and TWA] are now, from an evangelical position, are the only ones that have actually got a voice in speaking into training Māori or training pastors to be sensitive and to know

[360] Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu, "Korero with Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu."
[361] NZB, October 2001, 10.
[362] Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu, "Korero with Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu."
[363] Ibid.
[364] NZB, October 2001, 10.
[365] Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu, interview.

how to work in Māori contexts.[366]

Rewai Te Kahu would note that he established a memorandum of understanding that effectively kept him employed whilst running TWA and lecturing at Carey. According to his recollection, this meant that TWA was self-funding throughout its existence at Baptist College.[367] This was important not only for TWA as a Māori initiative working within a larger Pākehā institution to prove its legitimacy, it also eased the burden on Rewai Te Kahu and his whānau as they also were associate pastors at a church in Otara, voluntarily from 2000 to 2003. Eventually, in 2005 a lack of financial support would determine that TWA would cease to exist.

In Laurie Guy and Martin Sutherland's *An Unfolding History: A History of Carey Baptist,*[368] the low student numbers enrolled in the TWA programme "led to Rewai Te Kahu taking up a chaplaincy with the New Zealand army and the formal closure of TWA at the end of 2005".[369] However, in his interview Rewai Te Kahu revealed more to the story than the Baptist historians summarised. The memorandum of understanding around the financial set-up of his staff position through TWA student's fees would be terminated by the Carey Board. At the time, and with one of the highest numbers for TWA enrolments, it was decided that TWA was receiving unfair financial concessions and as a result Rewai Te Kahu had to inform the TWA Board, and principal Paul Windsor, that 2005 would be their final year of TWA.[370]

Lionel Stewart believed that TWA could be a bridge for "men and women who could have fallen over at Carey College".[371] Despite his aspirations he poignantly summarised that

> It never happened… went in different directions so we definitely got people started, but they didn't go in the direction that we had originally thought that we would be able to create a pool of Baptist Māori Pastors.[372]

Sam Emery would echo the sentiment that the outcome for many students was that they did not go into pastoral ministry but rather other tertiary degrees and qualifications. It is clear that the educational aspect of TWA provided an opportunity for further study that set people on different paths. Josie Te Kahu noted that a major flaw of TWA was linked to its relationship to wider theological training and employment opportunities; with only a certificate level qualification to begin and a lack of wider support for Māori pastors in the first place. As Josie Te Kahu would argue:

> What was not there necessarily was the demand for Māori seeking theological training; you really had to hunt them down and most of those people that did go through Carey didn't go into pastoral roles, most of them went into social services… [they] didn't actually move on into theological studies.[373]

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[366] Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu, "Korero with Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu."
[367] Ibid.
[368] Martin P Sutherland and Laurie Guy, *An Unfolding Story: A History of Carey Baptist College*, 2014, 214.
[369] Ibid.
[370] Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu, interview.
[371] Lionel Stewart and Adrienne Stewart, "Lionel Stewart."
[372] Ibid.
[373] Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu, "Korero with Rewai Te Kahu and Josie Te Kahu."

Despite its flaws, Te Whare Amorangi would be remembered as a pioneering endeavour that started with energy and commitment.

Kaupapa Māori Lens on Te Pou Tuawhā

From a Kaupapa Māori perspective, the events of *Te Pou Tuawhā* saw Baptist-Māori engagement take on a more national focus as a bicultural *challenge* to the denomination. Māori were seemingly more in *control* with key events such as the 1990 Baptist General Assembly and 1991 Deep-sea canoe voyages galvanised bicultural awareness within the denomination. This led ultimately to Māori Baptists establishing a separate, distinctive Māori leadership training school, operating by Māori *culture* and values—to train Māori laypeople for pastoral training located at the 'heart' of Baptist Māori mission at Puna O Te Ora. Te Whare Amorangi was seen by Māori Baptists as a ground-breaking endeavour that fulfilled the aspirations of the original Lower Waikato Mission in reaching and growing Māori Christianity. However, after more than a decade TWA succumbed to a similar fate as the Māori-led congregation at Puna O Te Ora in that it too merged and became subsumed into a larger predominantly Pākehā Baptist entity. In both of these endeavours, the promise shown for Māori to have *control* over their own affairs was lost as control again returned to Pākehā hands.

Overall Te Whare Amorangi was a remarkable attempt in regards to Māori-Baptist engagement. TWA was a Māori initiative that sought to rectify the disparity between Māori and pastoral ministry within the Baptist Churches of New Zealand. At the centre of this attempt by Māori Baptists was a recognition that *change* needed to occur on a national level (the *change principle*). It was also a case of Māori exerting ownership (the *control principle*), over their own people within Baptist Churches at the time. Its main teaching staff, the perspective of its course content, and the overall delivery would be done through methods approved by Māori.

Māori leaders identified that the Pākehā Baptist denomination was severely lacking in their ability to develop Māori Christians. Identifying that Māori leadership was a need—and also related to the lack of Māori trained at the Baptist Theological College—those on the Māori Board were able to challenge the Baptist hegemony of theological education[374] (the *challenge principle*).

This analysis of the 'glass-ceiling' that Māori had to deal with within Baptist Churches in regards to being considered for leadership was also related to Kaupapa Māori principles of *credibility* and *culture*. Luke Kaa-Morgan, former staff member of TWA critiqued Baptist Churches as being unable to effectively disciple Māori within their congregations.[375] TWA therefore attempted to correct the lack of credibility that Māori voices had in both their Churches and their own identity as

[374] In many ways TWA was an attempt at applying a Māori specific training model of Pastoral leadership training currently offered at Carey Baptist College.
[375] Luke Kaa-Morgan, "Korero with Luke Kaa-Morgan."

Māori. It did this by offering a course designed specifically for Māori needs as well as Pākehā modes of theological education.[376] Utilising Māori *culture*, there were language courses offered as well as teaching on Te Ao Māori. Another key aspect was the practical focus of internship and weekly service leading across New Zealand that meant the cohort of students and staff were constantly applying their theoretical learning from lectures. Moreover, the key location of Puna O Te Ora which many referred to as the marae for Māori Baptists help to ground TWA in a Māori environment for learning.

In regards to the *connection principle* which emphasises relationships based on a Māori understanding, TWA initially built on the contacts of Māori in the Franklin area—many of whom were involved in the earlier Lower Waikato Mission. When the school moved locations to Otara it also draw on students from South Auckland. Although TWA was designed specifically for Māori as their primary concern it was officially regarded as being open to all ethnicities. Pākehā, Malaysian, and Pacific Islanders also attended TWA, with Solomon Islanders in particular being regular students from its inception through to its closure. The connections with the Solomon Islands were forged through the deep-sea canoe mission trips and specifically Sam Emery's contacts that had been established there.

From its beginnings in Pukekohe at Puna O Te Ora, TWA possessed a rich whakapapa as a seedling of Māori-Baptist engagement in the Lower Waikato. Seen through Tate's Māori concepts of 'Atua-Tangata-Whānau', Māori were being trained for Christian ministry; by Māori for Māori' on their own whenua. The early attempts to expand the site in Pukekohe was a testament to this fact. However, an inevitable loss of place occurred when TWA was subsequently moved to Otara and then to Penrose (at Carey Baptist College). Pukekohe Māori did not move with TWA, maintaining their *connection* with Atua, tangata and whenua. However, the moves left TWA with no particular link to any iwi, hapū or whenua.

Despite the overall successes that TWA had in a Kaupapa Māori frame of reference it would eventually succumb to a conclusion similar to that of the Lower Waikato Mission where all the promise for a Māori controlled and operated leadership training school was lost as it was subsumed into a large mainstream, Pākehā-run institution.

[376] Te Whare Amorangi would be approved as a NZQA accredited course in 1993.

Chapter Six: Whakarāpopototanga *Conclusions*

This study explored Māori-Baptist engagement in the Lower Waikato Baptist Māori mission. It reviewed the literature, particularly in New Zealand historiography, revealing the challenge to write history from the unique but marginalized perspectives of Māori Christians. Oral history and postcolonial theology were addressed as theoretical partners for this re-writing, as the study was written to shed light on Maori perspectives about the historical interactions with Baptists and vice versa.

This qualitative study ensured that mātauranga Māori was positioned at the centre of the research by interviewing twelve Kaikōrero who experienced the mission in the Lower Waikato district, in order to discover what could be learned about the LWM and the significance of that learning for Māori and the Baptist Movement. The exploration of the 'kōrero tuku iho' revealed diverse perspectives from Māori; perspectives not previously written. Different opinions helped to paint a picture—or in Māori terms—weave a whāriki in regards to the people, places and events of each Pou as understood by the Kaikōrero themselves. Their perspectives as Māori Christians, were critiqued through Kaupapa Māori principles and Henare Tate's 'Atua-Tangata-Whānau' conceptualisation in order to base this thesis in an indigenous theological frame.

In Te Pou Tuatahi: The Pioneer Mission, the first phase of the LWM traced the involvement of Pākeha Baptist missionaries in establishing evangelical activities with Māori in the Lower Waikato region. Maori reflected on their impact in mostly positive—though paternalistic—views of the Pākeha control of Baptist Māori work. Overall, it was a period in which Māori were predominantly the 'subjects' of the mission, without control over decisions that affected their lives. However, the missionaries were incarnational, living and ministering among Māori. This allowed Māori to come to Atua through the actions of the missionaries (tangata) maintaining connection with their whenua.

Te Pou Tuarua: The Development of a Māori Fellowship, described the changes involved in the growth of Māori Christians in the region, highlighting the role of Charles Joe and the Māori-led congregation that met at Puna O Te Ora. Māori were in control and Māōri culture was normative at Puna o te Ora. Māori were also on their own whenua. It was a period that transitioned towards an approach 'by Māori for Māori' across the Lower Waikato and Baptist Māori work as a whole. Maori were the main instigators of Christian evangelisation and discipleship, growing in their sense of being Māori Christians.

Te Pou Tuatoru: The Merger, detailed the main influences involved in the decision to merge the Māori Fellowship at Puna O Te Ora with Pukekohe Baptist Church. The Merger would irrevocably alter the experiences of the Māori involved, with various socio-political factors contributing to its occurrence as a bicultural attempt by Baptists to show unity in diversity. The

period can be seen as one where Māori lost some of their control, having to challenge the Pākeha dominated institution in order to maintain their culture within the church. Differing opinions about the successes and failures of the amalgamation were expressed by Kaikōrero.

Finally, Te Pou Tuawha: Post-Merger, revealed that as the local Māori work in the Lower Waikato changed, the national surge of support for Māori within the Baptist denomination saw a reiteration of 'by Māori for Māori' primarily through Te Whare Amorangi as a Māori Christian response to theological training. Initiated as a seedling of the LWM, it ended up disconnecting from the whenua of the lower Waikato and relocating on whenua in Penrose, breaking that all-important connection.

Overall, the findings of the research, exploring the stories of the Kaikōrero about the LWM show complex layers and differences of opinions that provide a richness and reality to the events surrounding the LWM and Māori-Baptist engagement that is not easily summarised. However, the Takarangi or double spiral that guided my personal research process perhaps offers a useful metaphor for understanding the pattern of movement that has occurred between Māori and Baptists. Māori-Baptist engagement has at various stages in the LWM mirrored the double spiral design in that it came together initially through the Baptist missionaries in the 1950s, then moved apart in the 1970s as Māori leadership emerged, coming back together again through the merger in the 1980s and then apart again following Te Whare Amorangi leaving the Lower Waikato region in the 1990s. Similarly, the Kaupapa Māori theological lens shows that principles important to Māori such as Māori culture including Te Reo Māori, tikanga, whakapapa and connection to whenua have been in constant movement—ebbing and flowing towards the centre and back out to the periphery of Baptist-Māori mission.

In recent years, Maori have been gaining national recognition with a Baptist denomination that is now committed to bi-culturalism, premised on Te Tiriti o Waitangi. There is celebration among Māori that our culture and our priorities are becoming more widely accepted. There is also concern that the pattern may be set to repeat, where our desire to be a part of the bigger Baptist picture may lead again to our concerns being subsumed within the wider institution of the denomination.

From some perspectives it may appear as if we are going around in circles—but it needs to be noted that the takarangi is a three-multidimensional spiral that can be viewed from many perspectives, cycling around but never coming back to the exact place it was before. The hope is that each cycle is bringing us as Māori and Baptists closer to each other, connected through Atua and the whenua o Aotearoa New Zealand. Furthermore, another perspective on the takarangi is that the double spirals both emanate from the centre. Within this perspective, the centre can be seen as Atua from whom everything comes. The place of connection to whenua is less obvious, suggesting an

important area for ongoing research as Baptists work out this movement, together. When the two spirals emanating from the centre, which is God, are envisaged as Māori and Pākeha expressions of church and mission we see a picture of constant connection between Atua and tangata that gives us reason for hope for the future. God will hold us together, distinct but together.

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Āpitihanga 1: ***Consent Form***

Consent Form

Research Project: Retelling the stories of the Second Baptist Māori Mission

Researcher: Caleb Tangaroa Haurua (Te Rarawa, Nga Puhi)

This consent and feedback from form will be held for up to ten years in a secure location only accessible to the researcher.

You have the option of giving your consent on this form, or through a verbal recorded consent.

Can you please tell me your name? _____

Are you happy to be identified by name in any research results or alongside any statements you have made today?

YES / NO (Please circle one)

Has the reason for this interview been explained to you with an opportunity for you to ask any questions you might have?

YES / NO (Please circle one)

Are you ok with the fact that I have recorded this kōrero and understand that I will use the content of this recording in my research and findings?

YES / NO (Please circle one)

Other than your name, how would you like to be identified in the research?
(Perhaps iwi, pepeha or some other way?)

Date: _____
Signed (if consent if written): _____

Āpitihanga 2: *Participant Information Sheet and Questions*

Participant Information Sheet

Research Project: Retelling the stories of the Second Baptist Māori Mission

Researcher: Caleb Tangaroa Haurua (Te Rarawa, Nga Puhi)

Dear [insert name],

Thank you for considering assisting me in my research.

I am a student in the Master of Applied Theology program at Carey Baptist College. This research is an exploration into the history and significance of the Baptist Māori mission at Pukekohe. I will be re-telling these stories through my thesis with the aim of honouring the Māori voices who were involved. My hope is to present my findings as unique and legitimate history that may learnt from for ministry and mission with Māori today.

I invite you to participate in this research. If you agree it will involve an interview at a time and place that suits you – but it will be no longer than 2 hours. If you desire you can have whānau and support people with you as well (i.e. spouse, kaumatua, kuia, pastors, etc). At the conclusion of the interview you may also suggest other people that I could talk to who would be helpful for this research.

Because this is an academic study you need to give consent to my talking to you. Also, the interview will be recorded and you need to be happy about that as well. Any information that you wish for me to not include may be edited if you so wish. I will send you a draft of the information I wish to use to seek clarification and permission to use it. At the conclusion of my work I will offer to revisit and share with you both a presentation and a digital copy of the thesis if you so desire.

I wish to stress that your participation in the research and the information you offer is voluntary and can be withdrawn at any time, without reason, up until the 1st December 2016.

Thank you for thinking about being part of my research.

Regards,
Caleb Haurua

My contact details are:
Phone: (09) 268 0561
Mobile: 022 395 6034