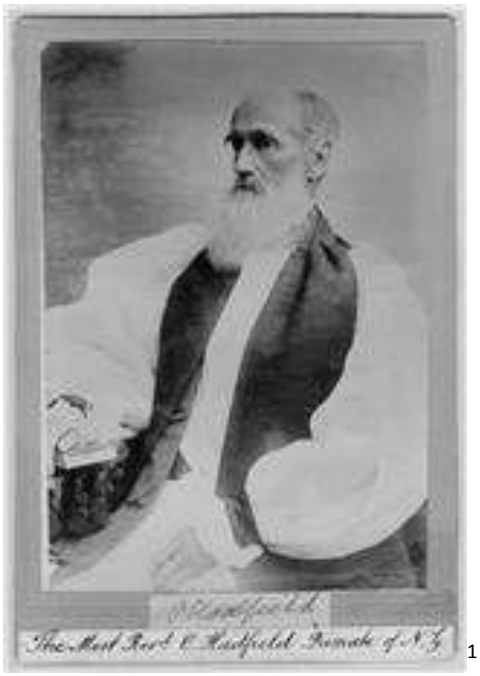
The life and works of Kapiti missionary Octavius Hadfield – from a Christian perspective – a basic missiological primer



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Bernie Townsend CA (Retd), MTh
December 2011

[1] Photo from http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz

Dedication

To my wife Dawn and family, Philip, Jacqueline, Laurence, Stephanie, Matthew, Christopher, Samuel, and Hannah. I am leaving something for you which might endure.

To my Christian family in Kapiti, these wells have been dug, the foundations already laid.

Contents

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In faith we worship, we proclaim, we teach, we serve, we care

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1. Introduction

We have needed a presentation of the story of Bishop Hadfield, early CMS missionary, from a Christian perspective. Other material on him and his life substantiate Hadfield's value and stature as a man who made a major contribution to the establishment of the foundations of society in early New Zealand. His work with and among Maori, specifically within the greater Kapiti region, was significant. However, Hadfield was a man of faith, faith in the works and promises of Jesus Chris; a faith in which contemporary Christians should not only be proud of, but also recognise and celebrate.

In his research and this writing, Bernie Townsend has captured elements of the faith of the pioneer missionary. He describes how Hadfield undertook his role as a missionary compared with other contemporary CMS missionaries in the pacific. He analysis the values which motivated and inspired the Hadfield's missionary works, and he relates these values for our contemporary consideration. Finally, he demonstrates a good understanding of Christian public theology, and from his analysis of Hadfield's three public letters, Bernie presents the reader with some relevant guidelines for Christians who might engage in the practise of Christian public theology –which is all members of the Christian church.

This book is not only useful for students of missionary praxis, but also for people of God who want to meditate on the life and values of Christian men of faith, in New Zealand's immediate history, to emulate and be productive in extending the Kingdom of God; as Hadfield was.

The Right Reverend Dr Thomas J Brown
Bishop of Wellington
Dec 2011

1.1 Abstract

This book examines the life and works of Octavius Hadfield from a different point of view. It consists of three sections, each looking at a different aspect of the life and works of this significant Anglican missionary who worked among Maori in Kapiti in the nineteenth century.

Previous biographies of Hadfield's life and works have majored on historical views of his life, his church building and the early land wars.[2] This current tripartite review is unique in that it focuses on Hadfield's effectiveness as a Christian missionary and its relevance for contemporary New Zealand society.

The first section reviews his early life and examines the way he went about his missionary work amongst the Maori in Kapiti Coast of New Zealand. His approach to this work and the methods he used are examined against missionary principles developed by John Hitchen from his review of John Chalmers' work in Papua New Guinea with the Church Missionary Society, carried out at the same time Hadfield was working in New Zealand.

The second section reviews Hadfield's early life from a Christian point of view and traces separately the development of Christianity in the Kapiti Coast up to Hadfield's arrival in 1839. The section finishes with a summary of the Christian values Hadfield displayed in his work and writings as they applied to his work with Maori and within the Anglican Church. Wherever possible, Hadfield's personal values are commented on from a current perspective and made relevant to modern Christian believers for their own ministries.

The final section looks at the three public letters which Hadfield wrote as a result of Governor Thomas Gore Browne's declaration of war on Taranaki Maori over land issues. These letters are examined and assessed in the light of current thinking and the discipline of Public Theology. Christians entering into public debate may benefit from the commentary provided, which is based on observing Hadfield's work.

1.2 Introduction and coverage

Hadfield's lifestyle, missionary approach, work methods, and relationships all contributed to a flourishing Christian Church in the Kapiti region in the mid-nineteenth century. With Hadfield's vision, encouragement, and strong dependence on the Holy Spirit, local Maori chiefs and their tribes demonstrated the positive impact of Christianity, with many being converted and baptised. Thirty years of peace followed, with impressive social and commercial achievements.

The research material for this book comes mainly from Hadfield's writings in the form of letters, papers (official and private), addresses, sermons, published works, articles in newspapers, colonial government papers, and biographies compiled from these sources. The research results were then classified based on Hadfield's relationships within significant and distinct stakeholder groups, particularly Maori, the Anglican Church, and the then government.

[2] Refer Ramsden, MacMorran, Starke, and Lethbridge

The research initially identified, described, reviewed and evaluated the main Christian values displayed by Hadfield in relation to these three stakeholder groups. The review process for each Christian value considered its definition, its historical and cultural context, relevant biblical reference, description of how Hadfield demonstrated that value, and the effectiveness for Hadfield's missionary work.
Bible references are predominantly NIV.

1.3 Acknowledgements

I wish to thank sincerely all who have helped me in the development of this dissertation. In particular I acknowledge my wife Dawn, who supported and encouraged me for the duration of the work. She also assisted by attending interviews and searching archival records with me. Special thanks go to my supervisor Dr. Nicholas Thompson for his unfailing encouragement and constructive suggestions. I also record appreciation to Sarah Rutherford (nee Woods), Ross Callaghan, Mervyn Monk, and Dr. John Wallaart, who all assisted greatly by providing strategic and independent reviews, argument development, research suggestions, encouragement and support. Not forgetting Zena Moran, who painstakingly edited the manuscript. Finally, this acknowledgement would be incomplete without tribute to Liz Tisdall and the staff at Carey Library, who went out of their way to provide books and material through the internet and post, as and when required.

2. A biographical account of Hadfield's missionary activities

We encounter here the young Octavius Hadfield up to the time of his calling to mission in New Zealand. This is not an introduction to a biography of his life: the books by MacMorran and Lethbridge do full justice to Hadfield's life and times. Instead, the second part of this section examines his missionary work in the light of the missionary theology of his contemporaries, in particular the principles enunciated by James Chalmers, a CMS missionary who worked in Papua New Guinea, showing the similarity of approach of the two men. [3] This comparison is important because the writings of Chalmers were pivotal in laying down an early and sound foundation for the subsequent science of anthropology. Often the writings of early missionaries were consulted by commercial interests and early settlers before they came to a new land.

A chronological timeline of Hadfield's life and the times in which he lived in New Zealand is set out in Section 5.

2.1 Octavius Hadfield –his early life

Octavius Hadfield was born at Bonchurch, Isle of Wight, on 6 October 1814, the tenth child of a family of twelve. The Hadfield family traced its lineage through Derbyshire forebears to a Yorkshire seat. His father was Joseph, a man of commerce and trading – a silk merchant - and his mother Amelia was the daughter of General White, an Indian Army Officer. [4]

At the age of four, Octavius left England with the rest of his family and for the next 10 years lived on the Continent. His father spent a great deal of his time traveling and working throughout France, Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Octavius commenced his schooling in Paris and spent much of his early years amongst the nobility of France. With his brother George, he loved to fish on the banks of the Loire.[5]

He returned to England in February 1829 and was admitted to Charter House. He read Latin, Greek and Mathematics. In 1831, while in the sixth form, he became ill with chronic asthma and returned home to recuperate. While recuperating, he would go to the sea to sail and to fish. In 1832, he went to Pembroke College, Oxford, but in May 1833 his health again broke down and he was forced to give up formal university studies. Eighteen months in the Azores on the Isle of St. Michael restored his health. There he read Portuguese, and for recreation he rode a mule around the rough island roads. [6]

He returned to England in the summer of 1835 and assisted his older sisters teaching in a school. At home with his brother George, he read Aristotle, the Greek New Testament, and works of theology. George held the perpetual curacy of Whitchurch in Hampshire and was the specific recipient of many of the letters which are referred to throughout this paper.

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[3] Hitchen John -*Training Tamate - The Missionary and the Church* – Reflections on the "The European Missionary role in establishing churches"–with reference to the work of James Chalmers and John Williams p 679-91, henceforth referred to as "Hitchen"

[4] Barbara MacMorran- *Octavius Hadfield* – Wellington: David F Jones, 1969 - p4 – Henceforth referred to as "MacMorran"

[5] MacMorran p6

[6] MacMorran p6

Early in 1836, Octavius made up his mind he would go to work somewhere as a missionary. He admits in his writings that he did not attend any missionary meetings or read any missionary literature, but he studied the New Testament.[7] He was deeply impressed with the fact that after the lapse of eighteen centuries, Our Lord's Great Commission in Matthew 28; 19-20[8] had been so imperfectly obeyed. This strong impression left a sense of duty upon him, a duty which could not be disregarded. He wrote to the Church Missionary Society on September 11, 1837 offering himself as a missionary and saying that he was prepared to go to any part of the world.[9]

Continuing on with attempts to become a missionary

In 1837, he visited London, where he was accepted as a missionary to New Zealand on the understanding that he be ordained by the Bishop of London, but the Bishop objected to this as Octavius did not have a university degree. The matter was resolved by Rev. Henry Venn, a member of the committee of the Church Missionary Society. He arranged for Octavius to be ordained by the Bishop of Sydney. .[10]

In February 12 1838, aged 23, Hadfield left for Australia on the ship *John*. The voyage took just over four months, and he arrived in Sydney on July 1 1838. On September 23 1838, he was ordained deacon by Bishop Broughton in Sydney.[11] In December, he sailed with the Bishop for the Bay of Islands, (name?); on board the naval ship *Pelorus*, arriving at Paihia on December 21. He was ordained a priest by the bishop on January 6 1839 at Paihia – the first priest to be ordained in New Zealand.[12]

His first assignment was teaching the sons and daughters of missionaries in the school at Paihia. He studied a little of the Maori language with William Williams, with whom he stayed, but because of his teaching commitment, most of his conversations were in English. He taught for almost a year on a three day a week basis.

Hadfield's call to his place of work

This extract from one of his own letters to his father, dated 1839, best describes what happened:

> 'Rauparaha', the principal Chief of the southern part of the Island, and who has hitherto by his very name caused terror in all directions having been a bloodthirsty savage, having in a providential manner had a few leaves of the Gospel of St. Luke brought amongst his people, and a native, formerly a slave, having given them instruction from this, has lately sent two young chiefs to us requesting missionaries. My wish on this subject being known, it was proposed to me to go there, and I readily assented. . I yet know next to nothing of the language…I will take one or two Christian natives for teachers…[13]

[7] MacMorran p7
[8] "Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, [20] and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age."
[9] MacMorran p7
[10] MacMorran p7
[11] MacMorran p8
[12] MacMorran p11
[13] MacMorran- p152

Hadfield arrived at Waikanae on 11 November 1939; where he and his fellow missionary Henry Williams were welcomed by 1,000 people. They immediately held a short church service with the local residents within the pa. The two missionaries discovered that groups of Maori were already meeting for Christian prayer using the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*, parts of which had been translated into Maori.[14] Christianity was beginning to transform a part of New Zealand which - from anecdotal evidence and first-hand experience - had been known for its cruelty.[15]

The day following their arrival, Williams and Hadfield were taken over to the small island south of Kapiti where Te Rauparaha lived. Te Rauparaha received them graciously and entered fully into discussions about politics and the necessity of laying aside evil ways.

2.2 Hadfield's missionary work amongst his people on Kapiti Coast and beyond

In order to understand Hadfield's missionary work,, and to evaluate the nature of the work, I have used the roles of European missionaries contemporary with Hadfield as exposited by John Hitchen, referring to the work of London Missionary Society Missionaries James Chalmers and John Williams. Chalmers belonged to the generation of missionaries after Hadfield, and Williams to the generation before him.[16] The two specific roles of missionaries of that time were to prepare the way for evangelism and to train native agents**.**

These two roles are explored more fully in Section 3, where I review some of the issues around conversion of Maori and the role of the Holy Spirit in that process. I also discuss the role of Maori evangelism when the previous captives in both Paihia (initially) and Kapiti returned to their homes. Section 3 also contains a fuller treatment of the development of an indigenous Church and Hadfield's role in that process.

2.2.1 The first role of a missionary was understood as being to prepare the way for evangelism

I have broken the role of preparing for evangelism into seven distinct elements. For each element, I have provided evidence of how Hadfield demonstrated that element. This is useful for mission praxis, because Hadfield's evidence provides a good example of what is required for each particular element to make the overall role effective (from a missionary praxis point of view). These seven elements are:

- **To understand and respect social structures.**

  This requires the missionary to recognise the influences of various chiefs and the chain of command through the character and habits of the people. For the missionary to practise an absolute respect for the centrality of decisions made by local leaders, there must also be respect for important places and locations.

[14] MacMorran – p20
[15] Peter McKenzie *The sequel of Tarore's story*, *Wellington: Stimulus: the New Zealand journal of Christian thought and practice* Vol 6 Issue 2 May 1998
[16] Hitchen -p679-91

Hadfield became a trusted friend to Te Rauparaha and spent long hours with him and other chiefs, including Matenga Te Matia and Wiremu Kingi (who later returned to Waitara in Taranaki). Initially they were to him a band of tattooed warriors[17]. Here is a description of the evening Hadfield and Te Rauparaha spent together in the forests at the back of Otaki, where Te Rauparaha selected and cut the log for the centre of the first Otaki church:

> As I sat by the fire with this old man …there was a humane side of the character even of a man who had the reputation of being the most desperate and unscrupulous of his race. [18]

Hadfield's effect on local civilization was significant, as the following extracts show:

> There was peace amongst the people, along the Kapiti Coast and in Nelson and its bays (Dusky and Queen Charlotte sounds) [19].Visiting government officials and church leaders could and did worship un-interrupted . These services were held with both settlers and Maori alike. Local Maori often took the service -Riwai te Ahu was one such lay leader. Hadfield coordinated the building of local churches and schools – in Waikanae, Otaki, and Nelson; local Maori contributed the labour and materials.[20] He taught how to cultivate crops and establish the flax and flour milling trade.[21]

- **To recognize and deal with changes in relative position, influence and resources of local chiefs.**

  Moving towards a Christian society meant the emergence of leaders in Christian practices and observances not only in an indigenous church but also society at large. This put pressures on existing leadership.

  Hadfield was an influential leader who was naturally accepted. His leadership was not domineering but was exercised through local Maori leaders with whom he cultivated good working friendships. [22]

  Otaki had become a centre of strategic, economic and geographic importance and was a pivot for religious education and practice. This was particularly so after the deaths of local Maori chiefs (Te Rauparaha in particular) and the departure of a major group, the Ngatiawa, to Waitara.

- **To understand and respect the expectations of the people and present the gospel message in a contextual way, and to facilitate opening doors for evangelism, enabling the locals to embrace the new spiritual dimensions.**

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[17] Ramsden –p151
[18] MacMorran –p49
[19] MacMorran –p56
[20] Ramsden Eric *Rangiatea* – AH & AW Reed Wellington 1951 – (henceforth referred to as "Ramsden") -p108, later after his release, Te Rauparaha was determined to complete the building of the church in Otaki, he was reported as saying "To the glory of Io, the true God, the God of his forbears" – (date unknown), also MacMorran –p46.
[21] MacMorran –p43
[22] Ramsden– p201, p151

The "One who sent him" had gone before Hadfield and opened the people's hearts through supernatural happenings [23]

He traveled extensively and constantly,[24] visiting small villages up and down the coast on horseback and in canoes. His area of influence stretched from South Taranaki, through Manawatu and Wairarapa, and across to the South Island. He taught the people, baptised and married them, and conducted church services and classes. He always involved the local chiefs in his work and encouraged the training of local teachers, which increased the credibility of Christianity and earned him wide respect.[25]

- **To offer and make peace. Lasting peace was a key feature of the gospel message, and this had to be effected, demonstrated and lived out amongst the locals.**

Hadfield's first goal was to achieve peace amongst the tribes.[26] He was an active peacemaker.[27] .J Wakefield writes in "*Adventure in New Zealand*" [28]

> Happily there was a gentleman living at Waikanae who had great influence with the Maoris allied to Te Rauparaha, and was equally respected by both races, the Rev. Octavius Hadfield, now the revered Bishop of Wellington. At the risk of his own life and after a severe struggle with the chiefs, Hadfield managed to stop the old man's project of immediately marching on Wellington.

Another war was averted through his presence when Te Heu Heu, Chief of the Taupo Tribes, led a war party down the coast to avenge some wrong.[29] In a tribute on Hadfield's retirement, Rev James McWilliams wrote:

> Few know how much Wellington was indebted for its safety to his influence in the early days. Bishop and Mrs. Hadfield prevented the local tribes from joining the King movement and thereby may well have saved the lives of all the settlers in Otaki upwards to Taranaki[30].

During the 20 years he was on the Coast, no person had died as a result of violence.[31]

- **To make an impression through observing the Sabbath and practising the Christian sacraments, festivals and ritual,**

This includes praying to and receiving guidance and support from an invisible God, the one supreme and living God who supplants and reigns over all other gods.

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[23] Hitchen –p683
[24] MacMorran- pp28-66
[25] MacMorran p64 – a good description of the outworking of a day with the Maori
[26] Ramsden -p34
[27] Ramsden –p24 – Hadfield's first action on reaching Waikanae, was to visit the local chief Te Rauparaha; he shared the gospel and prayed with him -
[28] Cited in MacMorran –p36 –"Hadfield had succeeded in frustrating all these war-like preparations."
[29]Ramsden -p269
[30]Cited in MacMorran – p133 –
[31] Ramsden -p219

Hadfield was a man of God. He preached from the scriptures, he administered sacraments, he observed the Sabbath. He prayed fervently and long, relying at all times on the Holy Spirit to do God's work.[32]

Hadfield catechized and taught all those locals who were interested. He commenced lessons after his morning prayer, which began at 4.00am daily, and evening lectures closed at about 9.00pm. About 600 meet daily to learn to read and write and study the catechisms. [33]

He translated church services and completed translation and publication of a new Maori catechism.[34]

He baptized those who had demonstrated their desire to follow Jesus. On D'Urville Island, he baptized eight. They had remembered all that he had said to them in February and "seemed exceedingly clear on doctrinal points, such as election, justification, sanctification." [35]

In 1842, writing to his sister, Amelia:

> On Sunday last, at Otaki, I baptized 30 adults and have been this week occupied in examining about 56 persons whom I purpose to baptize this Sunday"[36]

- **To provide medical care and attention for the sick, weak, and infirm.**

  Often this required the use of European remedies for (often) European diseases. This was done in love in the name of Jesus and increased credibility and goodwill. Hadfield attended the sick, especially during outbreaks of flu and measles, which killed many local people.[37]

- **To display extreme courage in unforeseen circumstances and hostilities and in the face of antagonistic decisions by local leaders.**

  Missionaries always work in the face of many foreign dangers, many of which arise from lack of understanding of local customs and protocols.

  Hadfield was an active advocate for justice for the Maori people, as these quotations show:

  > He spent much time on the question of land titles. Clauses of the Treaty were causing concern amongst both the Government and Maori. There were many issues here, not the least being the Maori pattern of communal life, and land ownership."[38] He also worked for peace and loyalty to the Crown during the formation of the Maori King movement.[39]

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[32] MacMorran- pp159-162
[33] MacMorran –p36
[34] MacMorran –p42 – to have Bibles and catechisms in the vernacular was one of the primary objectives of all European missionaries
[35] MacMorran –p34,39
[36] MacMorran –p39
[37] Ramsden -p150;pP195
[38] MacMorran –pp52-53, p86
[39] Ramsden pp212-218

A Maori, sentenced to ten years transportation to Tasmania for robbery was eventually reprieved from this sentence largely through the efforts of Hadfield, fighting from his sick bed, on having discovered that the man was innocent.[40]

Hadfield opposed the government of the day during the land issues concerning resettlement of Waitara. [41] His view of justice aligned him with the Maori over land issues and the subsequent Taranaki wars, much to the disgust of NZ Government officials.[42]

2.2.2 The second role of missionary endeavour was to train native agents.

Hadfield worked on the formation of a Maori Church with Maori clergy. [43] He provided for successive generations (including for his own children and grandchildren) by seeking to acquire land for their upkeep, by educating them in various academic and practical endeavours, and by developing Maori church succession.[44]

He saw the value of Maori ministry to the church; he laboured for this vision for many years, not only ordaining his successors, but also molding the careers of their successors and providing means for their support.[45] His view for the Church was missionary. His charges went out to Manawatu, Wanganui, Rangitikei and Wairarapa. His first ordained priest went to Gisborne to work. He taught Aparahana, a Maori chief, how to read using mainly the New Testament.[46]

In 1853, a student of Hadfield, Rata Wautoma, was ordained a deacon in Auckland, after which he went to work in Gisborne. In 1856, Riwai te Ahu, also a student of Hadfield, was ordained in Auckland before returning to Otaki.

He worked with William Williams to establish a boarding school for boys, which was to be self-supporting through its own farm.[47] This boarding school in Otaki was subsequently closed, but the concept was pursued with more success in Wanganui and Hawke's Bay (Te Aute).

2.3 Reflection on Hadfield's practices as a missionary

Hadfield suffered ill health and, in fact, was absent from Otaki, confined to bed in Wellington, for almost five years, but this did not keep him idle, as the following extracts show: [48]

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[40] MacMorran p53
[41] Ramsden-pp 211-231
[42] Ramsden -pp52, p211,p221
[43] Ramsden -p208
[44] MacMorran –pp84-85; Ramsden p208
[45] Ramsden p289
[46] Ramsden p291-296.
[47] This work was similar to Selwyn and Patteson's work in Kohimarama and later Norfolk Island , where selected young men were brought aside for training for the Ministry – Refer Ramsden p166
[48] National Library – *The building of Rangiatea* http://www.rangiatea.natlib.govt.nz, MacMorran -pp51-52, and Ramsden – p138. He was active during his convalescence in Wellington; he was replaced in Otaki by Samuel Williams, who worked locally, Williams was fluent in Maori, and continued with work on the church at Otaki. Hadfield's prayers during illness included "Curious life I lead, but I am open in the hands of an all-wise Father" Ramsden p126

He was carried on a litter by some of his Maori friends to Wellington – so began his long sojourn in bed at the home of his family friends, the St.Hills, lasting four years"[49]

During this time he was consulted by the leaders of the land, including Governor Grey. From his bed, he does more to preserve the peace of this district than all of the soldiers. He heard from his Maori teachers, who continually visit, and has more than once prevented an attack on the town.[50]

Also during this time, he spent reading. His favourite topic was meta-physics, the explanation of the unseen, through reason; he was regarded as being familiar with all of the recognized masters of the time.[51]

He compiled a new edition of the Maori Catechism, orders of service, and a New Zealand Constitution for the Church.[52]

Summary of Hadfield's missionary activity

Hadfield's missionary activity complied closely to the missionary roles outlined by Hitchen from the lives and works of John Williams and James Chalmers. The effectiveness of these roles was ably demonstrated in the work of Hadfield and the communal life of the Maori in the Kapiti region.

Key to Hadfield's success was working closely with the local Maori people in such a way that they were able to take over the evangelizing and discipling work themselves. He traveled extensively, living amongst his people. He used education and agriculture to help the Maori people flourish. He used preaching, regular services and sacraments to extend the kingdom. Maori travelled extensively themselves, taking the gospel message with them wherever they went. This was most noticeable when those held as captives in the Kapiti region were released and returned to the South Island, taking the gospel with them for their people.

Despite cautions from CMS London, Hadfield did get involved in the politics of the governance of New Zealand. In some ways, this position was forced on him as his charges were being "taken advantage of" and the local Maori saw him as their only voice (refer later sections).

Hadfield (and Samuel Williams) also developed the model for education of young Maori, first in Otaki and later at Wanganui and Te Aute. This education model - using local teachers and providing agricultural, academic and theological education, and funded to a degree by practical work on school-owned farms - has lasted until this day.

One could conclude that he was well-trained, well-suited, and eminently successful in his work both for the Church and the people,the Maori of the wider Kapiti region in the nineteenth century.

[49] MacMorran –p51
[50] http://www.socialjustice.org.nz " this time, the new governor, George Grey, visited Hadfield almost daily and generally accepted his advice"
[51] MacMorran –p52
[52] MacMorran –p57

3. An account of Hadfield's Christian values as a missionary.

The thesis of this chapter is that the works and deeds of missionary Octavius Hadfield, as recorded in his various writings, left an exemplary foundation of Christian values for contemporary New Zealand society.

In developing the original hypothesis, I considered Hadfield's lifestyle, missionary approach, work methods, and relationships. All of these factors contributed to reports of a flourishing Christian Church in the Kapiti region in the mid-nineteenth century. With Hadfield's vision, encouragement, and strong dependence on the Holy Spirit, local Maori chiefs and their tribes demonstrated the impact of Christianity. They developed a church environment which resulted in many being converted and baptised, thirty years of peace, and impressive social and commercial achievements.

My research centred on Hadfield's relationships within significant and distinct groups - Maori, the Anglican Church and the government of the day - through his public theology. For each of these groups, I have identified, described, reviewed and evaluated the main Christian values displayed by Hadfield. The review process for each Christian value considers its definition, its historical and cultural context, relevant biblical reference, description of how Hadfield demonstrated that value and the effectiveness for Hadfield's missionary work. The outcome of each analysis informs a potential statement of application for contemporary New Zealand society.

Some definitions of "values" are pertinent. Values are defined as "established ideas of life; what members of a given society regard as being desirable."[53]. Values define who we are and why we behave consistently, both toward ourselves and toward others who may seek to define and understand us. Our values give meaning and purpose to our lives. They underpin all our priorities, decisions and behaviours. Values energise us and give us stories to tell.[54]

3.1 The environment leading up to Hadfield's arrival in the Kapiti region

"The Lord himself goes before you and will be with you; he will never leave you nor forsake you. Do not be afraid; do not be discouraged." Deuteronomy 31:8

> Much of the historical accounts quoted here are from Maori folklore and tradition passed down from generation to generation. Some tribes simply do not have the recorded details because early Maori had no written records of their history.

A necessary foundation for this part of the research is to start at the very beginning and consider God's view of his creation. If we desire to know the design, we should consult the designer.

The work we are considering together is about Him, God the Supreme Being, the creator.
"Unless the LORD builds the house, its builders labor in vain. Unless the LORD watches over the city, the watchmen stand guard in vain" (Psalm 127:1).

[53] World Book Dictionary
[54] Callaghan, "Values in education and training: Where do they come from? Where are they going to?"

God had a plan – for us, His creatures on the earth, which is the reason why and how He created. "*So God created mankind in his own image, in the image of God he created them;*
male and female he created them. God blessed them and said to them, "Be fruitful and increase in number; fill the earth and subdue it. Rule over the fish in the sea and the birds in the sky and over every living creature that moves on the ground." (Gen 1:27, 28).

Paul, when he addressed the Greek leaders in Athens, put God's plan, this way:
"From one man he made all the nations, that they should inhabit the whole earth; and he marked out their appointed times in history and the boundaries of their lands. God did this so that they would seek him and perhaps reach out for him and find him, though he is not far from any one of us. 'For in him we live and move and have our being.' As some of your own poets have said, 'We are his offspring'." (Acts 17:26-28).

Paul explains that in God's plan for the inhabitation of the earth, each people group had an appointed time and a right place for them to inhabit, prosper, rule, and reign.

Jesus' last words to his disciples on this earth were:
"*But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth*." (Acts 1:8)

Here, Jesus relates God's plan as being for all of the peoples of the earth, and he was prepared to be fully involved with his chosen peoples in building this kingdom and choosing and discipling those who would belong to it.

This truth is very big for our minds to absorb. He is a big God, and very, very personal too.
His large plan involves people residing in Kapiti. Their history and well-being are mapped out by God himself.

God's plan for Aotearoa
God's chosen time for the settlement of Aotearoa (New Zealand) was the tenth century.
In 925 AD, Kupe left Hawaiki in his canoe Matahourua and landed in Northland (Hokianga), from where he traveled around both islands. Returning to Hawaiki, Kupe told of his adventures and convinced others to migrate with him. Traditions about Kupe appear among the peoples of Northland, Ngāti Kahungunu, Tainui, Whanganui-Taranaki, Rangitāne, and the South Island.
Subsequent pods of canoes (including Arawa and Tainui) are recorded as arriving and settling with their people and precious belongings from the 11th century. They were the people now known as Mäori who settled in Aotearoa (New Zealand).

Then, in 1350 AD, a 'great fleet' of seven canoes – Aotea, Kurahaupō, Mataatua, Tainui, Tokomaru, Te Arawa and Tākitimu - departed from the Tahitian region and landed and settled in Aotearoa.

This time is very recent for indigenous people groups on Earth - we in New Zealand belong to a young country.

It is reported that Kupe had "eternity in his heart" and he bought the revelation of Io with him, which was already evident in Polynesian folklore and mythology. New Zealand Maori retain knowledge of the Supreme and Alone Creator, Io, who has the same attributes as the Lord God of the Bible.

In 1766, a Maori visionary on the East Coast, Toiroa Ikariki of Nukutaurua, prophesied the coming of Pakeha. He drew images of them in the sand with their ships, carts and horses, and he wove items of their clothing out of flax. He made many different items representing Pakeha technology, including the pipe and a wooden sailing boat with a rudder. Toiroa spoke, "Their skin will be as white as the pipi shell, and their potato will become our potato, and their God will be our God. The name of their God will be 'Son who was killed'. He is a good God, but his people will still be oppressed." From this we can appreciate that there was, in the culture and hearts of the people, some anticipation of the arrival of Europeans.

These events and prophetic insights predate any missionary influence, and they occurred before the arrival of explorers Abel Tasman and Captain Cook. [55]

Reflecting specifically on the region of Kapiti

Kapiti Island is particularly alluring because it combines a dramatic physical presence with a remarkable history and an unusual role as a refuge for native birds. To many, the island has a spiritual dimension that exerts a peculiar magnetism.

For the early Maori, Kapiti was a fortress. Being strategically placed between North and South, it held command over Cook Strait and the fertile Kapiti Coast. It was seen as having a 'sanctuary of spirits.' It was the center for training spiritual warriors, especially in the practice of spiritual healing. Maori believe that a flow of energy, exists in and around Kapiti which attracts people to the Coast and that a spiritual portal similar to a 'stargate' exists between Paremata and Foxton.

A strong sense of spiritual power has been documented by people who have spent time on the island, and also those who have walked the coastline and the hills behind. [56]

It is relevant to survey the various streams that contributed to the development of the Christian faith in the life of New Zealand before Hadfield's arrival. Williams, a CMS missionary, suggested that there was a prior and preemptive move of God's Holy Spirit which influenced the hearts and minds of Maori towards embracing Christianity, initially in the Bay of Islands. This laid the foundation for an indigenous Maori Christian Church. Early letters and diary entries show that when Hadfield and Williams arrived in Kapiti, much spiritual development had already taken place within the Church Missionary Society and its members in New Zealand and amongst the Maori. [57] The work of the Holy Spirit and an indigenous Maori Church would form Hadfield's base for making Christian disciples from that time onwards.

Hadfield's call to the mission field

Biographer MacMorran records that, early in 1836, Hadfield decided that if his health improved he would go to work somewhere as a missionary among the "heathen".over eighteen centuries Jesus' command at

[55] Reece et al., "The Gospel Story in Aotearoa."
[56] Maclean, *Kapiti*.
[57] Evans and McKenzie, *Evangelical Revivals in New Zealand*, 17.

the close of his work in Matthew 28:19-20[58] had been very imperfectly obeyed seemed like a "duty" to him, which required his personal response. On 11 September 1837, Hadfield wrote to the Church Missionary Society offering himself as a missionary and saying that he was prepared to go to any part of the world. A growing sense of dedication to mission amongst the "heathen" also drew him to suggest New Zealand as a place for his work. His doctors agreed that, because of his chronic asthma, New Zealand would suit him,.

After visiting the Church Missionary Society in London, Hadfield was accepted for missionary work and assigned to New Zealand. CMS secretary Henry Venn arranged for him to be ordained in the field, (Sydney) as he did not have a university degree. Hadfield left his family in Ventnor, Isle of Wight, and sailed on 12 February 1838 from Gravesend on the ship *John*. He had five months in Sydney, where he studied, preached, and learnt of New Zealand and the mission station at Paihia. On 23 September 1838, William Broughton, Bishop of Australia, ordained Hadfield as a deacon, and in December, they sailed on the naval ship *Pelorus* to the Bay of Island, New Zealand. Hadfield arrived at Paihia on 21 December 1838 and initially spent time teaching in the local mission school. Broughton subsequently ordained him as a priest at Paihia, Bay of Islands, on 6 January 1839. Hadfield was the first priest to be ordained in New Zealand.

A historian's view of the general impact of early Christian Missionaries

Historian Dr. Keith Sinclair wrote that, initially (prior to 1835), Maori were not converted to European civilization or its religion. He commented that what they acquired from the Europeans was instead used mostly for the purposes of Maori, and added that muskets were very much in demand.[59] Despite this, the Maoris protected and, up to a point, respected the missionaries. Some of them were willing to learn European methods of agriculture and send their children to be instructed in reading and writing English at the local mission schools. However, up until 1835, the missions failed in their prime aim of conversion. Maori showed no inclination to heed the message of the gospel; Christianity was not seen as being suitable for warriors.[60]

The development and practice of a missionary approach by the Church Missionary Society

Samuel Marsden brought the first Church Missionary Society (CMS) team to New Zealand from Britain in 1814. On Christmas day 1814, he preached the Gospel for the first time on New Zealand soil at Paihia. [61] The first missionaries accompanying Marsden were non-church professionals: John King, a shoemaker and rope-maker; William Hall, a carpenter; and Thomas Kendall, a schoolteacher. Marsden, and the CMS at that time, were committed to developing civilization as a precursor to the introduction of Christianity.[62] Marsden left this group of lay workers in New Zealand to commence the missionary task. The initial sermon and the work of the tradespeople were not readily productive for the gospel, as Sinclair's insight above suggests.

However, in 1823, a change in approach occurred through a CMS missionary assigned to the Bay of Islands. Henry Williams introduced a new order and discipline into New Zealand missionary efforts. He turned away from Marsden's view that "an axe was the best missionary tool" and concentrated on

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[58] *"Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age."*

[59] Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, 39.

[60] Ibid., 38.

[61] Ibid., 37.

[62] Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, 8.

preaching the gospel. Williams moved towards combining agriculture with religious instruction. By 1840, he had reported that half the Maori people of the Bay of Islands had been at least nominally converted to Christianity as a result of this change in focus. Sometimes a whole tribe would follow its chief into the new religion. Christian doctrine spread far ahead of the missionaries as converts, notably ex-slaves or prisoner, carried the word of the gospel even to the most distant tribes.[63] Williams established schools for boys and girls in the Bay of Islands. In 1835, a young lay missionary named William Colenso printed and distributed the first edition of St Luke's Gospel translated into Maori. Historian Christopher Lethbridge could say that by conversion through missionary efforts, the native people gained a degree of new confidence, and their ability to read and write gave them standing with the settlers and traders.[64] Williams, writing in 1839, described the scene as:

> The progress had been hitherto slow but certain. During the year 1839, God had poured out His Holy Spirit, and had inclined great numbers to listen to the invitation given them. At all the old mission stations in the north there was a great increase in the congregations, and in six months two hundred and twenty-nine persons were received into the Church. Those natives who had embraced Christianity gave this proof of the sincerity of their profession that they endeavoured to bring in their relatives also who continued in heathenism. Often converted chiefs would travel around the district, testaments in hand, inviting their countrymen to partake of it and was thus the means of inducing many tribes to join the Christian band, who before had remained aloof.[65]

William Woon, a contemporary Wesleyan missionary (Methodist, not Anglican or CMS), writing home in 1846, expressed a similar positive view of the impact of Christianity on the New Zealand environment, confirming the experience of his colleague Williams. He wrote:

> Men whose hands were against every man, and every man's against them, who used to kill and devour their enemies in war, are now walking in the fear of God, and in the comforts of the Holy Spirit, who love their neighbour as themselves, and all mankind for Christ's sake. Children, who were ignorant and debased by the corrupt example of their parents, are now instructed and taught in schools, and can read fluently in the New Testament scriptures.[66]

These descriptions from two frontline missionaries clearly indicate a change in the hearts of Maori because of embracing Christianity. Further, Williams gives evidence of a zeal for evangelism amongst the converts. Both missionaries ascribe this change to the supernatural work of God's Holy Spirit. Conversion to Christianity appeared to result in a change of heart, especially towards living for peace, not war, freeing war slaves or prisoners to return to their tribal regions, and a drive to share the "Good News" of Christianity amongst other tribes.

The conversion of Maori spirituality into Christian spirituality

Maoris did, and still do, embrace the past and the present, the spiritual and the secular, and life and death. Their gods were not distant from the world of people. They believed in an afterlife, though not one in which reward or punishment was given for conduct in this life.[67] An early missionary, Richard

[63] Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, 42.
[64] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 33.
[65] Evans and McKenzie, *Evangelical Revivals in New Zealand*, 17.
[66] Ibid., 6.
[67] The Maori concept of *utu* was believed to balance out rights from wrongs, leaving all things "squared off" at death

Taylor wrote, "the Maori had no knowledge of a single omnipotent Supreme Being."[68] However, Keith Sinclair reached the conclusion that while their behaviour did not seem to have been what Europeans might regard as that of spiritual people, a religious-type spirituality pervaded the life of the early Maori. Their spirituality was very informal. Their religious practices were quite simple and unceremonious, and there were no temples or "houses of worship."[69] Alan Davidson writes:

> The whole of Maori life was understood within a spiritual context. The concepts of life were all fully intertwined in Maori society. *Mauri,* or the life principle of the individual, *tapu*, the sacred force controlling all behaviour, *wairua* the spiritual dimensions of life, *mana*, the power or prestige which is part of a person's identity both given and gained, and *noa,* the ordinary or acceptable in which people were free of *tapu*. [70] The "ministers of religion" were the *tohunga* who were usually chiefs, though they did not form a hereditary or distinct caste. They were regarded as specialists; they underwent arduous training, and were often unmarried. The *tohunga* were not only able to communicate with the various gods, and interpret their wills, but they were the scholars, and the living repository of tribal history and knowledge. There were several grades of *tohunga*, experts in carving, tattooing, building canoes, etc. The higher class of *tohunga ahurewa* could recite the *karakia* (prayers, incantations, spells) rituals in connection with war, birth, sickness, etc. They could make or break *tapu* (blessings and curses).[71]

The commentaries of both Sinclair and Davidson demonstrate the gap between Maori spirituality and European liturgical Christianity. Maori spirituality was unwritten, practised as lived, and internal; European Christianity was also lived, but very much externally with church buildings for public worship, liturgies, sacramental observances, religious articles like vestments, books, crosses and candles, and formal Sunday services.

European Christianity presented concepts like the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, grace, salvation, redemption, resurrection and heaven. These were all very foreign for Maori who wished to convert. Both Williams and Woon gave credence to a God-founded Holy Spirit movement which placed Christian truths in the lives of the converts. In balance, Sinclair offers some of the non-spiritual reasons that the Maori turned to Christianity. He suggests that:

> Overall their society was being undermined and their confidence with it. Increasingly they were unable to cope with the new complexities of life. For instance, over half of the land in the Bay of Islands had been traded for European goods. Their *tohunga* could not cure the new diseases, sometimes the missionary could. The missionary were impervious of the powers of their *atua* (god) and *makutu* (witchcraft) – they sometimes intentionally defied it with little or no effect. Losing faith in their own gods and culture, they turned in hope or despair to the European for guidance. One of the more important causes of conversion was the spread of literacy among the Maori. The only written material they had initially were the Bible and the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. During the 1830s, Christianity and exhaustion brought a halt to tribal wars. Finally, with the advance of Christianity, the tribal governing chiefs, *tapu,* and *tohunga* were challenged and often replaced by converted Maori

[68] According to Nga Puhi reverend, Māori Marsden, Io is: "both Being-itself and absolute Nothingness. That is, He is truly infinite, encompassing within himself both the absolutely Positive and absolutely Negative."
[69] Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, 24.
[70] Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, 3.
[71] Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, 21.

and their Christian practices. These converts held de facto church-given authority and power as they conducted formal services and schooling.[72]

Williams, Woon, and to a lesser extent Sinclair, indicate that there had been a dramatic change in the hearts and lives of Maori in the 1830s leading up to Hadfield's arrival in the Kapiti Region. A key factor for the impact of Christianity throughout the country was the freeing of Maori who had previously been held captive. The prisoner release reflected the Christian principles of setting captives free and led to freed former prisoners of war returning home from Paihia to both the east (Tauranga and Gisborne) and west coasts (Taranaki and Waikanae), spreading Christianity wherever they went.

Introduction of Christianity to the Kapiti region.
Christopher Lethbridge relates the story:

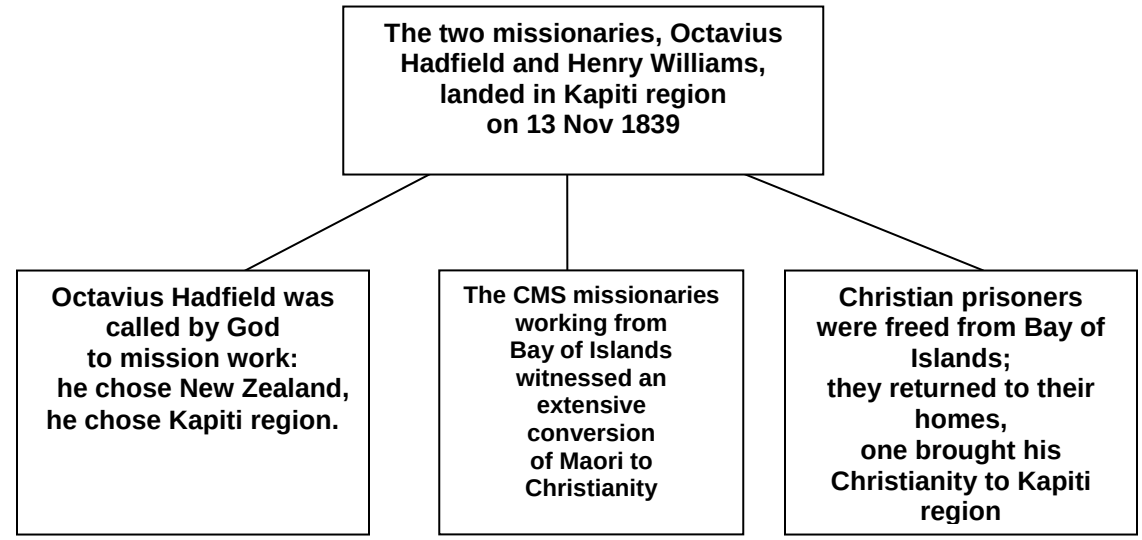
> Te Ripahau (he was also known as Matahau) had been carried away from his homeland near Lake Taupo by a raiding party from the Bay of Islands in the 1820s, but he was released after his captors turned Christian. After spending time in the mission school learning to read and write, he joined a war party to Rotorua in 1836. Ripahau journeyed on until he reached Otaki early in 1838 (his *Hapu* had shifted from Taupo to Otaki). He was not overly welcome in Otaki, but made friends with Katu Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi, two local Maori residing further south in Waikanae. He taught them and others to read and write and recite prayers, using the Gospel tracts as a primer. The two Maori, with the agreement of their chief (father and uncle) Te Rauparaha, traveled to Bay of Islands to obtain a missionary to work in their tribal area.[73]

From this commentary, it is clear that Hadfield was not responsible for the introduction of Christianity to Kapiti. Te Ripahau (Matahau) and others who had received the new teaching in the north had already accomplished this. Their work included establishing groups of potential converts in Waikanae amongst the natives and their slaves/prisoners (who were mainly from the South Island), establishing schools, and erecting places of worship in several of the villages.[74]

Te Rauparaha, the Maori chief at Kapiti, dispatched Katu Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi to the Bay of Islands to request a missionary for his region. Hadfield, a young, energetic ordained teacher and preacher from England, arrived in Kapiti (Mana) on 13 November 1839. The people were familiar with the Gospel and many were praying, reading and writing from the New Testament and related texts. The foundations of faith laid by the Holy Spirit were producing life-giving sustenance and dramatic conversions of heart and action for some. The prior works of the *tohunga* with their historical traditions and stories, their blessings and curses (*tapu*) and their prayers (k*arakia*) had been replaced to a degree. Church buildings were available for services. The indigenous church had been founded and the sheep were ready for feeding and leading. Their shepherd had arrived.

[72] Ibid., 41.
[73] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 45.
[74] It was not a normal practice of Maori to build houses specifically for worship.

Diagram of early beginnings of Christianity in Kapiti Region



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3.2 Christian values as demonstrated in Hadfield's interaction with Maori

"*Then Jesus came to them and said, All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Therefore, go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age*." (Matt 28:18-20).

This chapter reviews the Christian values demonstrated in Hadfield's interaction with Maori. Originally, Hadfield regarded Maori as "heathen", but his attitude changed as he invested more and more of his life in their spiritual and material welfare. He was never a numbers person, although he often diarized numbers of attendees and those who received sacraments or attended schools, for reporting purposes. His life focused on developing people to be followers of Christ with resultant spiritual and social improvements.

In Hadfield's interaction with Maori he demonstrated many Christian values. Let us focus on four of these values: peacemaking, advocacy with officials on behalf of his Maori flock, living amongst the Maori people and cultural immersion with them, and developing an indigenous church. I analyse Hadfield's application of each value and its potential in relation to contemporary NZ society. This chapter of research concludes that Hadfield's values can inform our thinking about peacemakers; suggest improvements for some advocates working for justice and change in the contemporary New Zealand environment, challenge current immersion practices, and highlight inadequacies in the building of indigenous churches.

3.2.1 Hadfield's Christian values as demonstrated in interaction with Maori as a peacemaker

In Hadfield's interaction with Maori he demonstrated many Christian values, one of which was the value of peacemaking.

The definition of Peacemaking
The term "peacemaking" is used primarily in four senses:

1. Settlement or termination of a war or dispute by explicit agreement among the belligerent parties or others ("peace settlements").
2. The process of transition from hostility to amity, or from war to peace ("ending hostilities and preferably also resolving the active issues of war"), with or without explicit agreement.
3. The development of procedures and institutions to facilitate conflict resolution, or termination or prevention of wars or conflicts ("pacific settlement of disputes").
4. Efforts to create the foundations or conditions for lasting peace ("peacebuilding").

Biblical view of peacemaking
Peacemaking is basic to Christianity. Jesus highlights its value as a Christian principle explicitly in the Sermon on the Mount.

He promises, "*Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called sons of God."* (Matt 5:9).

Matthew Henry suggests in this regard that "God will own the peacemakers as such, and herein they will resemble Him. He is the God of peace; the Son of God is the Prince of peace.." [75]

The *peace-makers* are those who have:

> 1. *A peaceable disposition:* as to *make peace,* is to have a strong and hearty affection to peace. [7] "I am *for* peace, but when I speak, They are for war." (Psa 120:7 NAS). It is to love, and desire, and delight in peace; to be put in it as in our element, and to study to be quiet.
>
> 2. A *peaceable conversation;* industriously, as far as we can, to preserve the peace that it be not broken, and to recover it when it is broken; to hearken to proposals of peace ourselves, and to be ready to make them to others; where distance is among brethren and neighbours, to do all we can to accommodate it, and to be *repairers of the breaches. The making of peace* is sometimes a *thankless office,* and it is the lot of him who parts a fray, to have *blows on both sides;* yet it is a good value.
>
> Now, (1.) Such persons are *blessed;* for they have the satisfaction of *enjoying themselves,* by keeping the peace, and of being truly serviceable to others, by disposing them to peace. They are working together with Christ, who came into the world to *slay all enmities,* and to proclaim *peace on earth.*
>
> (2.) *They shall be called the children of God;* it will be an evidence to themselves that they are so; God will own them as such, and herein they will resemble him. He is the God of peace; the Son of God is the Prince of peace; the Spirit of adoption is a Spirit of peace. Since God has declared himself reconcilable to us all, he will not own those for his children who are implacable in their enmity to one another; for if the peacemakers are blessed, woe to the peace-breakers!
>
> Now by this it appears, that Christ never intended to have his religion propagated by fire and sword, or penal laws, or to acknowledge bigotry, or intemperate zeal, as the mark of his disciples. The

[75] Matthew Henry's commentary for this scripture reference - accessed from "Bible Works" [Tm] on 6 Nov 2010

children of this world love to fish in troubled waters, but the children of God are the peace-makers, the *quiet in the land.*

Other New Testament scriptural references on peace

Ephesians 6:15 *"…and with your feet fitted with the readiness that comes from the gospel of peace."*
John 20:21 Again Jesus said, *"Peace be with you! As the Father has sent me, I am sending you."*
Luke 10:5 "*When you enter a house, first say, 'Peace to this house*."
Luke 6:42 "*How can you say to your brother, 'Brother, let me take the speck out of your eye,' when you yourself fail to see the plank in your own eye? You hypocrite, first take the plank out of your eye, and then you will see clearly to remove the speck from your brother's eye."*

Hadfield's value of peacemaking

Hadfield's desire for peace developed throughout his entire life. During his teenage years in France, he spent family time with, and was influenced by, some of Napoleon's generals and their families. This was just after the great Napoleonic wars (England, France, Russia), a time when peace was being promoted actively.[76] Also, the ideals of freedom for all and non-exploitation (both attributes of peace) were prevalent amongst English society at the time of his commissioning as a missionary (the time of Wilberforce and the abolition of slavery).[77]

Hadfield's first mentor and companion in New Zealand, Henry Williams, indicated in his letters from the period that, "The main missionary effort was that of being a peacemaker."[78] The following extracts and commentaries from Hadfield's writings indicate the extent of his work for peace.

On arrival in Kapiti

In the Kapiti region in November 1839, Hadfield and Henry Williams were immediately thrust into peace negotiations between two local Maori tribes**.** MacMorran reports that within eleven days, the two missionaries left the *Pa* in Otaki and proceeded to Waikanae to endeavour to establish peace. The natives joined them and requested they be led in prayer. After some speeches, they were determined to establish peace. Matahau (also known as Te Ripahau –the slave freed from Paihia who brought Christianity to the region) was sent out with conditions of peace.[79]

In a letter to his brother Charles on 19 December 1839 about the above situation and its resolution, Hadfield stated:

> The people on arrival were in a state of warfare. The people in the *Pa (*Waikanae*)* were attacked about five weeks before suddenly in the night by natives from about 11 miles further north (Otaki Maori- Raukawa). They (Waikanae Maori -Ngatiawa) only acted on the defensive, and contrary to native custom and precedent instead of eating the dead bodies, they buried them with all the spoils. The people of this place have been slightly instructed in the truths of the Gospel by a native (Matahau) who came down a few years ago from Paihia, one of our (northernmost) settlements. Peace has now been established.[80]

[76] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 6.
[77] Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, 64.
[78] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 33.
[79] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 159.
[80] Ibid., 163.

In this incident the two missionaries confronted the bellicose Maori in person, prayed with the Maori for peace, and supported their discussions. The missionaries remained separate from the negotiations and ensured both parties were involved in the peace process. Matahau, as a Christian, was nominated by the Waikanae Maori to negotiate the peace terms, and he did this successfully.

Heuheu invasion

Another tribal war was avoided when Te Heuheu ventured down from Taupo to avenge a previous wrong**.** Hadfield held a conference with a large body of local Maori on the impending attack from Te Heuheu's war party. Hadfield dissuaded the local chief, Whatanui, and the great part of his tribe from engaging with the Taupo warriors. Hadfield then faced up to Te Heuheu and, with reason and discussion, managed to change the war party's minds so that they returned to their home in Taupo.[81] Both dialogues were conducted in Maori, and Hadfield was on his own before all the parties involved.

Kingite movement

Some years later, Hadfield and his wife prevented the Otaki Raukawa and related tribes from joining the Kingite movement[82], and thereby saved the lives of all the settlers from Otaki northwards right through to Taranaki.[83] During this incident, the Hadfields and their Maori friends raised the Crown's Union Jack and sang the Queen's anthem, while groups from other churches in the immediate locality raised the Kingite flag. Thomas Bevan writes:

> It was in 1861 during the bellicose attitude of the Kingite Maoris, that the Rev. Hadfield rendered services invaluable to this country. The Maoris at Otaki had raised the Kingite flag, drilling, and other war-like preparations were in progress, plans for driving the *pakeha* into the sea were evolved, and the whole country was in ferment. (At that time there were about 60,00 Maori and 2000 Pakeha - mostly coastal). During this time, Hadfield held counter meetings amongst the Maori in Otaki and Waikanae, and strongly opposed bloodshed becoming rampant in his locality. His efforts were successful, and but for him there would have been another story to tell.[84]

Hadfield's proud boast was that since his arrival in 1839 (with the exception of the fighting that same year at Te Kuititanga) and his labouring alone in the field for almost thirty years, there had been no blood shed on the Kapiti coast.[85] Governor Grey commented favourably on Hadfield's missionary work as a peacemaker amongst the Maori people. He was particularly impressed by the fact that, within a few days of arresting the most important leader on the coast[86], he (the Governor) could go, almost alone and certainly unarmed, among the people in Waikanae over whom Te Rauparaha had for so long exercised sway.[87] One other result of Hadfield's peacemaking efforts was that the Kapiti chiefs released their slave/prisoners, and many of them returned to the South Island spreading the Gospel.

Hadfield's peacemaking was based on:

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[81] Ibid., 36.
[82] The Kingite movement was a Maori response to land issues by the Colony especially in the Waikato. The movement established their own king in deference to the British Queen, and were generally aggressive towards settlers and their intentions. Its roots were founded in the Waikato, where they still remain.
[83] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 272.
[84] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 107.
[85] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 285.
[86] Governor Grey and troops at Porirua arrested Te Rauparaha on 23 July 1846. He was placed on board a ship and transported to Auckland where he was held in confinement.
[87] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 94.

- confronting those pursuing strife,
- personal risk
- prayer
- seeking peaceful solutions, and
- encouraging participants to work through the process themselves and take responsibility for sustaining peace.

In his diaries, Hadfield wrote that the only thing which kept the peace in the Kapiti region was the consistent Christian behaviour of the leading Maori converts.[88]

Some contemporary peacemakers
In his role as a Christian peacemaker Hadfield demonstrated skills of confrontation, discussion, listening and a deep commitment to achievement of peace. He did this even when there was an element of personal risk.

Each of these elements are evident in the work of the following representative New Zealand peacemakers.

Michael Allan Lapsley is a New Zealand born Anglican priest and social activist. He went to South Africa as a missionary and, in 1998, worked for the Trauma Center for Victims of Violence and Torture in Cape Town. He assisted the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, then started the Institute for Healing of Memories. His work in the republic currently addresses the ongoing trauma between the government and various native tribes from the apartheid period.[89]

Sir Don McKinnon is the former Commonwealth Secretary-General and the former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of New Zealand. Sir Paul Reeves said of him, "Don is a New Zealander who's worked well in the international arena for the causes of peace and social justice. He has expressed abroad those values which he thinks flow and grow out of his local situation."[90] In his peacemaking role for the Commonwealth, McKinnon had to deal with issues such as Zimbabwe under the leadership of Robert Mugabe and George Speight's attempted nationalist coup in Fiji.

A recent history of NZ Peacekeeping and Observer Missions
Kashmir 1952–76, Rhodesia: Operation Agila 1979–80, Multi-National Force and Observers 1982–present, Former Yugoslavia 1992 – 2007, East Timor 1999–2003, 2006, Solomon Islands 2000–present, Iraq 2003–present, Tonga 2006–present, Afghanistan ???

Peacemaking in contemporary New Zealand society
Few contemporary New Zealanders have experienced war firsthand, so peacemaking at the international level is not as pressing as in many other countries. The armed forces and police have responsibility for maintaining law and order within and beyond our borders, so many New Zealanders do not feel a firsthand responsibility for peacemaking. Hadfield's peacemaking attributes are not fully demonstrated in the government agencies because they are directed and resourced by the government of the day. Political expediency and budget restraints are influential and the main driving force for New Zealand peacemaking efforts.

[88] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 117.
[89] *http://*www.sahistory.org.za/pages/people/bios/lapsley accessed on 1 September 2010
[90] http://www.aut.ac.nz/news/aut-news/2010/august/sir-don-mckinnon accessed on 14 October 2010

Contemporary New Zealanders might be content with the efforts of the government agencies, but one could not substantiate an era of peace within New Zealand society at the current time. Newspaper and TV news reports indicate a significant lack of peace between generations, geographical locations, races, families, and even Christian churches.

Hadfield informs peacemaking in contemporary New Zealand society by challenging us to confront those pursuing strife; pray for peace; seek peaceful solutions to national, local, and personal strife; and take responsibility for sustaining peace. This is particularly relevant for Christians, as the Sermon on the Mount was intended for all believers.

For contemporary New Zealand society, Hadfield's challenge is for everyone to be continually pro-active in seeking peace and to work towards reconciliation between individuals, families, races, factions, churches, and nations and to develop credibility, either personally or as a Christian representative, in actively supporting peacemaking initiatives through the public square.

Peacemaking – the Bible challenges that the final frontier is peace within yourself:
Luke 6:42 "*How can you say to your brother, 'Brother, let me take the speck out of your eye,' when you yourself fail to see the plank in your own eye? You hypocrite, first take the plank out of your eye, and then you will see clearly to remove the speck from your brother's eye."*

Ps 131:1-3 "*O Lord, my heart is not proud, nor my eyes haughty; Nor do I involve myself in great matters, or in things too difficult for me. Surely I have composed and quieted my soul; Like a weaned child rests against his mother, my soul is like a weaned child within me. O Israel, hope in the LORD From this time forth and forever."*

Consider the reported gospel accounts of Jesus' activity after His resurrection and that there is no record of his blaming anyone for his suffering and death. Jesus did not appear to the soldier who took his garment and demand it be returned, he did not front up to the two soldiers who flogged him and ask for an apology – no, he spent time with his disciples, teaching and guiding them to build the Kingdom of his Father.

The question being raised here is, should we be actively seeking revenge and recrimination for the hurts in our lives?

3.2.2 Advocacy for and on behalf of Maori

The New Testament shows how advocates plead their client's situation with a judge or person in authority. The Apostle John writes of the role of Jesus as humanity's advocate with God the Father on our behalf.[91] In Jesus, Christian believers have an advocate for their support, protection and refuge. Further, Jesus promised to send an advocate, the Holy Spirit, to mediate on our behalf with his Heavenly Father. (John 14:16, 26).[92] Other biblical examples of advocates would include Moses, who represented the case of the Jewish slaves with Pharaoh, and Esther, who represented her people, the Jews, before her King and husband Xerxes to avert their annihilation in Persia.

[91] 1 John 2:1
[92] Matthew Henry's Bible commentary for this reference

In England during Hadfield's formative years, the Anglican Church and the State enjoyed good relationships, and advocacy with government by the Church was the norm.[93] Christians were in powerful positions of government, and as the Church of England was established by law, dialogue between the two bodies was routine. This relationship between Church and State continued to a limited degree in early New Zealand, and Hadfield was reported as having many representative meetings with government officials and the Governor-General, especially while he was based in Port Nicholson (Wellington).

Hadfield's personal advocacy on behalf of Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata with Governor-General Grey was credited with bringing about the abandonment of the chiefs' plans to attack Wellington after the Wairau incident.[94] The two chiefs wanted to attack Wellington in the aftermath of Wairau in retribution for wrongs done, including the death of Te Rangihaeata's wife. Both chiefs attempted to stir up Maori in the Kapiti region to attack European settlers in the Hutt Valley and Wellington. Hadfield talked with the Maoris and then went to Wellington to inform the authorities of what was going on. He explained the background to the situation, outlined the Maori grievances and described their current attitude towards the affair. Back in Kapiti, he talked with the Maoris and tried to persuade them not to do anything rash, and used every means in his power to pacify them. As a result of Hadfield's advocacy, local chief Wiremu Kingi[95] used his influence to prevent Te Rauparaha's proposed attack on Wellington by not letting any would-be attackers through his territory. George Clark, the official Government Protector of Maori for New Zealand at the time, referred to this incident. He wrote:

> Things were getting dangerous now for us all. The Maoris were exasperated at what they considered our treachery, and our own people were thirsting for revenge. Happily, there was a gentleman living at Waikanae who had great influence with the Maoris allied to Te Rauparaha, and was equally respected by both races, Rev. Hadfield. At the risk of his own life and after a severe struggle with the chiefs, who were almost mad at the sight of the handcuffs which Te Rauparaha bought with him, Hadfield managed to stop the old man's projects of immediately marching on Wellington. [96]

After Hadfield's discussions, the Governor promised a full hearing into the incident. This hearing was subsequently held between the Governor and the Maori chiefs at Waikanae. The meeting included Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, his cousin. Both chiefs were exonerated for the incident and no charges were made against them. In the "Wairau incident", Hadfield confronted those with retribution and warlike intentions; helped the Governor-General understand the Maori concerns, and negotiated a peaceful solution. As with his previous peacemaking negotiations, he also gave over ownership of the solution to the affected parties.

Later, while convalescing in Wellington, Hadfield is reported as having advocated many times on behalf of Maori. In one reported instance, a Maori man sentenced to ten years' transportation to Tasmania for robbery was eventually reprieved from this sentence when Hadfield discovered that the man was innocent.[97] This again shows Hadfield's willingness to get involved and advocate for justice.

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[93] Advocates like Wilberforce were very active in Parliament on behalf of interest groups at the time.
[94] At Wairau, despite many representations to the contrary, Government surveyors attempted to measure out the land for occupation. Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata and their war party from Kapiti prevented them. A scuffle eventuated, and there were deaths recorded on both sides. This incident is widely reported in New Zealand historical records.
[95] Kingi was the chief who subsequently returned to Taranaki, and was the target of Governor Browne over the Waitara Land dispute.
[96] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 45-47.
[97] Ibid., 53.

Hadfield showed that effective advocacy demands fearless personal confrontation with the main parties involved, expertise in the field concerned, a relationship with the persons involved, and being forthright in situations where justice is required. He relied on the special relationship which he had with government officials and which he developed with Maori. He listened to both sides of the argument and used his expertise and experience to obtain an acceptable solution. A feature of his advocacy was to use a range of means, including personal and legal representation, the media, and influence in the public arena.[98] He also showed reliance on God and great personal courage.

Application of advocacy for contemporary New Zealand society

New Zealand has a very active and extensive advocacy regime. Typical examples include advocacy for women's rights, animal rights, and concern for solo parents and the aged. Most employee groups have good advocacy representation and processes. New Zealand also has official advocacy roles in an Ombudsman, a Human Rights Commissioner, a Disabilities Commissioner and a Families Commissioner. Legislation requires these commissioners to listen to the needs of the people and to report to their respective government departments and ministers of parliament.

If contemporary advocates are to be effective they will reflect Hadfield's practices of confrontation, building relationships, listening, persuading, using a range of influencing approaches, and taking ownership in seeking solutions for the concerns they champion. Advocacy requires people to be available, skilled, and willing to be involved.

3.2.3 Immersion in the culture of Maori

The word immerse is derived from *baptizo,* a Greek word that is transliterated into the modern word baptize. The meaning is reflected in the action of dyeing wool by dipping it in water and dye so that the end product is quite different from the original. The "Immersion"[99] courses provided by Te Wananga-o-Raukawa University based in Otaki capture the depth of the meaning of this Christian value. Immersion is about respect for and acceptance of the culture and behaviour of the people, in this case Maori. The university considers that immersion is about giving people hope. By developing a closer relationship between younger and older people, or people from different backgrounds and cultures, a deeper and wider scope of aspects of love and care is produced. With immersion, not only is language strengthened but also relationships. Immersion requires the participants to spend quality time together. The value expresses *aroha* or loving empathy one for another.[100]

Immersion is seen in the Bible at the beginning of John's Gospel, where the Apostle explains the Incarnation of Jesus. The Son of God became immersed so he was at one with humanity. John writes, "*The Word became flesh and made his dwelling among us. We have seen his glory, the glory of the One and only, who came from the Father, full of grace and truth."* (John 1:14)[101]. Matthew Henry comments that Jesus' *dwelling among us* is about his immersion here in the natural and finite world. Having taken upon himself the nature of man, he, Jesus, put himself into the place and condition of human beings.[102]

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[98] There were similar ones reported in the biographies, and others with the Land Court in relation to the tenure of land in Horowhenua district, demonstrates his willingness to get involved and advocate for justice, in the courts, and the public arena

[99] *Heke Mātauranga Maori*

[100] Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, "Te Reo Maori."

[101] Jesus immersion in humanity is also referred to in Gal 4:4 and Phil 2:6-8.

[102] Adapted from Matthew Henry's commentary for this verse – accesses through "Bible Works^{Tm}" on 21 Oct 2010

When Hadfield first chose to make his home among the Maori in the Kapiti region he knew little of their culture or their language, but he committed himself fully to their wellbeing and development as Christians. Hadfield's upbringing enabled him to become culturally immersed with the people of the region no matter what their culture. He had spent considerable time amongst people in France and the Azores, as well as in England. He was already literate in six languages when he arrived in New Zealand. Before his arrival, Hadfield spent considerable time and effort both in Sydney and in Paihia learning the language and the customs of the people whom he would serve.

In Waikanae he did not focus on the comforts he was used to back in England. This is in contrast to other missionaries who remained separate in their living quarters and tried to retain their English comforts. Hadfield lived with and amongst the Maori in a *whare* within their *pa,* a place of lively discussions, cooking, eating and sleeping. He lived for almost 10 years within *pas* in Waikanae or Otaki and traveled frequently between Port Nicholson (Wellington), Rangitikei and Taranaki, and made many boat trips to the South Island. In each place, Hadfield established rapport and close friendship with local Maori. He had a special relationship with Witi, the young senior Maori chief later known as Wiremu Kingi, who was an enthusiastic convert to the new faith. Hadfield was also friendly with another of chiefly rank named Riwai Te Ahu. Riwai could read and write and was very familiar with the Gospels and the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, both available in Maori. It was not long before Riwai was teaching in the local mission schools and taking both the daily prayers and Sunday services.[103] Hadfield's immersion in the tribes and his special relationships with leaders meant he was fully accepted and able to operate within the existing tribal structure and culture. This opened up unimpeded access for his missionary activities.

Hadfield's commitment to cultural immersion meant he had a distinct affinity for the Maori with whom he worked in the Southern Region. He had a new and visionary view of Maori, quite different from that generally held by missionaries located and resident in the far north. He wrote:

> They are founded on the Bible. I always have and shall continue to reprobate the idea of mixing up civilisation with the Gospel of Christ. Trying to raise the mind and affairs heavenward, and, at the same time drawing those to worldly things, appeared to me absurd. It is a fact that the Gospel has prospered most at places distant some ten or twenty miles from the missionary stations. I wish to live as much as possible among the Maoris, regardless of personal inconvenience, seeking only the glory of God and the welfare of souls.[104]

Hadfield's attitude expressed here was not a romantic vision. He developed his judgments only after a close, long and, at times, difficult relationship with Maori in the various localities within the region.

Hadfield also had a basic disposition towards Maori which was positive, regardless of the situation. Reflecting on the state of the Maori when he first arrived, Hadfield wrote:

> It is true that they had some good qualities. There was nothing mean or cowardly about them. They were independent and self-reliant. They were however, under the influence of degrading superstitions. Human life was not valued very highly.[105]

He also wrote:

[103] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 65.
[104] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 30-31.
[105] Hadfield, *Maoris of By-gone Days*, 27.

> I am persuaded that the Maori possess natural musical powers.[106]

A very good insight to his attitude to Maori is shown in a letter to his brother Charles within the initial six-month period. He wrote:

> I walked about 350 miles overland to Taranaki, among natives[107] who had not seen a missionary before. I had an opportunity of preaching the glorious Gospel of my Master. I am disposed to take a different view of the natives from that generally taken by the missionaries here. I think them a most pleasing, interesting, intelligent set of people. Some, who had not seen a book before, can now, within five months, read and write well. I have many interesting enquiries concerning Jesus. One is certainly under the influence of the Spirit and I shall shortly baptize him. There are for the most part young men who are disposed to give up sin of every kind and serve Jesus. They have reverence for the Word of God.[108]

Hadfield's positive disposition toward Maori was a foundation on which his value of cultural immersion was built.

Hadfield consciously worked on developing his own fluency in the Maori language, which he saw as a necessity for relating with Maori. He knew that however accurate a Pakeha's knowledge of the Maori language might be, he could never follow the working of the Maori mind; neither was it always possible for a Pakeha, however well-intentioned, to sympathize with Maori prejudices. [109] During his convalescence in Wellington,[110] he completed a Maori spelling book which the government later printed and distributed for use in schools. Hadfield keenly advocated the dissemination of literature in the Maori language.[111]

Hadfield showed that mutual respect can be developed between individuals and groups of differing cultural persuasions. Differences occurred between him and the various Maori groups, but there was a willingness to spend enough time together to achieve mutual understanding. Hadfield was committed to Maori, lived with them, took on their culture, became proficient in their language, and had an affinity for, and a positive attitude towards, the people. His immersion values had him working in direct contrast to many missionaries of his time. Other missionaries lived within their own cultural setting, remaining separate from the Maori, and in some situations, enforced their culture on those they were seeking to serve. Hadfield showed that effective missionary work takes place through cultural immersion.

Application of cultural immersion in contemporary New Zealand Society

Hadfield was not judgmental or racist, and Maori accepted him unequivocally as part of their *whanau.* His approach to cultural immersion informs the ultimate aims and objectives of *Kohanga Reo* and warns against the risk of it becoming separatist. *Kohanga Reo* courses must embrace social values and norms ascribed to non-Maori New Zealand as well their Maori values. Only then will graduates from *Kohanga Reo* achieve true New Zealand national identity. While Hadfield encouraged the development of Maori literacy in the vernacular, he taught and demonstrated respect for both cultures and for living peaceably

[106] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 65.
[107] His early references used the descriptor "native", this was subsequently amended to Maori, expecially in his public writings.
[108] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 164.
[109] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 289.
[110] He was convalescing for some four wives.
[111] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 168.

in a multicultural environment. He also worked hard at retaining loyalty to the Queen of the United Kingdom, and for Maoris to be full British subjects.

Hadfield's demonstration of cultural immersion also asks many questions of contemporary New Zealand church society, for both Maori and Pakeha alike. In order for the Church to be fully representative, respect for all cultures comprising the particular denomination is essential. Hadfield demonstrated this. He lived with, traveled amongst, and developed his work in such a way to reflect traditional Maori culture, without compromising his own.[112] Tensions can easily arise when basic understanding and respect have not first been established. Close relationships can only be built by mutual acceptance, communication and commitment, leading to the reality of Christians being all one in Christ Jesus (Gal 3:28). This challenge is particularly relevant for non-Maori church members. For Pakeha to obtain any degree of understanding, respect and influence, they should immerse themselves in the culture of Maori groups and families. The initial objective for Pakeha immersion would be to understand Maori ways and, in showing their understanding, be accepted by Maori., Only then can mutual respect be achieved. If Christians want to be more effective in New Zealand's multicultural society, then Hadfield's immersion model provides the foundation for building understanding and trust.

3.2.4 Indigenous churches for Maori

An indigenous church stands on its own two feet, with Christ as its head and local elders guiding it. After a time, it no longer needs much, or any, help from a missionary. Henry Venn (1796 - 1873) and Rufus Anderson (1796 - 1880), who were contemporaries of Hadfield, were the modern pioneers of indigenous church mission theory. They defined an indigenous church as one that is self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating. Their proposition was that the training and development of national workers is the key to effectively evangelizing any country. Venn encouraged missionaries to work towards the 'euthanasia' of their mission and the growth of the indigenous church in the country of origin.[113]

Hadfield's upbringing in England, France and the Azores enabled him to experience a range of cultures, so when he came to New Zealand he readily adapted and was soon fully accepting of Maori and their ways. By the time he arrived in the Kapiti region, church services and schooling were already being conducted by the local Maori in their own language. These services were based on translated Anglican texts, which were provided from Paihia Bay of Islands Mission Station (translation and printing was attributed to the CMS missionaries Colenso and Maunsell).

Throughout his life, Hadfield stressed the value of a "native" ministry because he believed that only Maori could completely communicate with Maori.[114] None of Hadfield's wide ranging mission work would have been possible without his local teachers. He didn't have the health or strength to do it himself. He particularly invested in Rota Waitoa and Riwai Te Ahu, who were later the first Maori to be ordained as ministers in the Anglican Church.[115] Both Rota Waitoa and Riwai Te Ahu were regarded as de facto tribal leaders after their ordination.[116] Hadfield wisely introduced Christianity under the authority of the chiefs, which helped facilitate a change in traditional tribal authority and leadership. [117] Hadfield reports:

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[112] Refer subsequent chapter concerning application of sacrament of Confirmation
[113] Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, 44.
[114] Burton, *Hadfield of the Kapiti Coast*, 7.
[115] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 83.
[116] Ibid., 165.
[117] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 65.

> I can recall very many instances of faith in Christ having produced marvelous and lasting effects on the lives of converted Maoris belonging to that class of men and women apparently the most hardened. In hundreds of instances, I have known converts whose faith and general consistency of life to the last, have satisfied me that their religion was the work of the Holy Spirit in their hearts. The work of the Church among the Maoris of this diocese is –with the exception of two English clergy – entirely carried out by the ministrations of Maori deacons and lay readers. The Maori church should be regarded as a special sphere of work provided in God's providence for us who dwell in this country."[118]

He also wrote:

> I venture to express an opinion on the value of a Maori ministry. I have come to the conclusion that a Maori ministry is essential in all missions and that such a ministry ought to be the ultimate aim of all missionary efforts.[119]

The help and support of Maori lay ministers was also key to the success of the mission. Hadfield identified and recognized leaders and sought to develop their successors for the ongoing good of the Church. Otaki became the mother church for lay Maori missionaries.[120] Henare Herekau and Ihakara were made available for ministry in Manawatu, Himona for Horowhenua, Hohua for Poroutawhao, Hoani Meihana for Puketotara, Hakaraia Kiharoa for Otaki, and Riwai Te Ahu for Waikanae.[121] Maori ministers also went from Otaki to labour in Wairarapa, Whanganui, and Rangitikei. [122] Like the Apostle Paul, Hadfield then went on missionary journeys to visit and encourage the lay missioners.

Henry Venn wrote, "It presupposed that a vigorously mission-minded church had developed, that a formal mission structure was an abnormality to be removed as early as expedient, and that the true calling of a mission was to be engaged in continuous advance into the 'regions beyond'."[123] This attitude is evident in Hadfield's development of the New Zealand Anglican Church in Kapiti Region and in his attitude towards landholding and usage. He was very adamant that land would only be acquired for church use as needed and appropriate for buildings, and put into production for the support and upkeep of local students. He did not accumulate significant landholdings for himself. Further, as he worked on developing the Anglican Constitution for New Zealand, he required not only a full Maori ministry, but also that the laity was represented in the governance of the diocese and that they also supported financially any clergy they might need.

Hadfield's effectiveness as a missionary was unquestionable. As he looked back on his achievements, he saw that three great tribes were professing Christian faith. They were Ngatitoa, Raukawa and Ngatiawa. He traveled hundreds of miles and, by the end of 1841, was ministering to some 7,000 widely scattered Maori and supervising 18 schools set up to provide an elementary Christian education combined with the teaching of agricultural, academic and domestic skills. He had personally baptised 1200 people. He witnessed significant changes in lifestyles by many key people. He was proud to celebrate that the region

[118] Ibid., 123.
[119] Ibid., 115-116.
[120] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 274.
[121] Ibid., 66.
[122] Ibid., 289.
[123] Shenk, "Henry Venn , 1796 to 1873," 16-19.

was peaceful; there had been no death by violence recorded in 20 years.[124] In hundreds of instances, he had personally known converts whose faith and general consistency of life to the last had satisfied him that their religion was the work of the Holy Spirit in their hearts.[125] He had established a Church which was fully indigenous and capable of developing within itself without dependence on the CMS or its missionaries.

Application of indigenous churches for contemporary New Zealand society

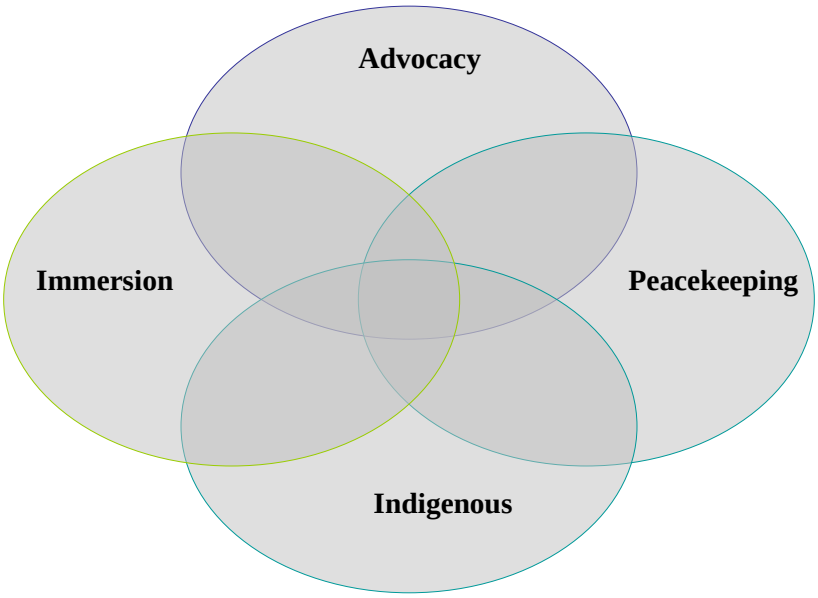
There are many ethnic groups existing within the framework of New Zealand society. These operate both within a national and local level. Such groups exist for the benefit, support and representation of local members from various cultural backgrounds, origins and cultures, including Maori, Pacific Island nations, Chinese, and Indian. While such groups are self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating in their aims and objectives, each group exists and operates within the New Zealand environment and culture and none is separate or elite. They are mainly subordinated to New Zealand society and would very seldom oppose the good of New Zealand. Of the major ethnic groups mentioned in this paragraph, all have representation within the New Zealand political party system. Maori have guaranteed seats within parliament. This level of representation for each major ethnic group means that it is able to participate in the highest level of policy development and also have an avenue for communicating its constituents' needs.

This suggests that Hadfield's model of a fully indigenous church is no longer realistic for the contemporary New Zealand multi-cultural environment. While it is good for similar ethnic groups to develop their own church membership and activities for safety, security and other reasons, in the end they must be subjugated to the overall goals and objectives of the church in New Zealand to which they are affiliated. This affiliation of ethnic groups within a church denomination provides for common theological development and praxis, which goes some way to lessen the risk of deceptive schisms, heresies and sects. There are isolated occasions where some ethnic groups have attempted to reverse this overall good of all New Zealand and sought independent local or national sovereignty and authority. Such a separatist movement as this was dealt with by Hadfield in his co-opted (?) opposition to the Maori Kingite movement.

Hadfield's establishment of indigenous churches might have been appropriate for a time in history where settlement and colonization was undertaken in conjunction with missionary activity, but for contemporary New Zealand such a movement would be counter-productive. The Apostle Paul expresses God's desire for unity in Christ Jesus. Paul writes, "*You are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus, for all of you who were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus."* (Galatians 3:26-27). All being free and all being equal is the Christian foundation for contemporary New Zealand, based on individuals' commonality and diversity within society. This basis does not support the development of indigenous churches on a national scale.

[124] Burton, *Hadfield of the Kapiti Coast*, 9.
[125] Hadfield, *Maoris of By-gone Days*, 28.

Diagram of Hadfield's values in his interaction with Maori



3.3 Hadfield's Christian values as demonstrated within the context of the Anglican Church

"Unless the LORD builds the house, its builders labor in vain. Unless the LORD watches over the city, the watchmen stand guard in vain" (Psalm 127:1)

This chapter reviews the Christian values arising from Hadfield's interactions as a member of the Anglican Church, which itself was in a state of change. Hadfield saw the full involvement of lay persons as being relevant for New Zealand. He was very effective in this approach, as previous chapters have described. In this he worked differently from other missionaries of his time.

Hadfield's diaries and writings demonstrate the way he worked within the confines of the Anglican Church's beliefs and practices. His practices are viewed here within the context of the indigenous New Zealand Anglican Church existing independent from its British counterpart.

This chapter majors on Hadfield's application of his faith through the values of the sacraments, the Holy Spirit and missions within a commercial context. The examples demonstrate that he was a preacher of the Word and that he administered the sacraments to extend and grow Maori within God's Church. In the latter years of his work, he involved himself with commercial and social development. He was working ahead of his time in each of the areas covered in this chapter. He challenged the Anglican establishment in Britain with his application of sacramental life. He ended up writing a new and full

constitution for the Anglican Church in New Zealand, which reflected a clear and important role for lay people. Hadfield challenged the application and administration of the sacraments; he recognised the spirit of the intention as opposed to a liturgical ceremony of rote. He displayed an exemplary relationship with the Holy Spirit, whose power and presence he actively sought and relied upon. Hadfield also challenged proponents of the prosperity gospel by developing work and commerce opportunities and channelling funds for the purposes of God's Kingdom.

3.3.1 Review of Hadfield's unique philosophy towards his missionary work and spiritual conversion

Converting Maori to Christianity

Conversion is the central message of Jesus. Writing in his Gospel, Matthew quotes Jesus as teaching, "*Truly I say to you, unless you are converted and become like children, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven."* (Matt 18:3).

Henry Williams, the Anglican CMS missionary who was a contemporary peer and mentor of Hadfield, explains his Anglican view of the spiritual aspects of conversion of life and accepting and following Jesus Christ. In 1839, he wrote,

> True Christianity requires a change of heart that is designated as a new nature, the evil and corrupt being removed, and another heart of a very different character being given in the stead of it. When the work is of God, this is the manner of it."

He also commented ."that when Christianity came to be received on an extensive scale, by a wide group of persons for example, there would often be an incongruous mixture of the good (Christian) and the bad (previous Maori)." In these cases, he observed "that the new doctrines were frequently grafted upon a stock which yet retained much of the old superstition. This resulted in many for whom the change was little more than external or superficial, which to him was not acceptable as an indicator for true Christian conversion. [126]

In the Anglican mission stations in New Zealand, both Williams and Hadfield were confronted with predominantly adult candidates. They saw conversion as more than alternative membership and they viewed the process in accordance with an internal change of heart. Hadfield was well aware of the warning of duplicity in Williams' observation mentioned above. Specifically, Hadfield concerned himself with the prospect of change from Maori spirituality to a spirituality which provided an eternal reward or punishment after death (called heaven or hell), and dealt with evil and wrong-doing (sin) in the person's life by way of embracing a redeemer in the person of Jesus. These two concepts were foreign to Maori, and Hadfield saw the Holy Spirit repeatedly bridge this particular gap in the people around him. The story of the 12-year-old girl Tarore and her father Uita's subsequent forgiveness of his daughter's murderer, which Te Ripahau (Matahau) related from his experiences traveling south from Paihia through Rotorua and Matamata, was a source of great amusement and also serious enquiry from local Maori. They were searching for an alternative spirituality outlined in the story, which incorporated the (foreign but new) heart-related conversion and the requirements for forgiveness and reconciliation, both of which are foundational Christian principles.[127]

[126] Evans and McKenzie, *Evangelical Revivals in New Zealand*, 18.
[127] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 45.

The examples from Hadfield's writings show that he insisted that evidence of conversion should be observed and tested over a period. This sometimes lengthy proving period (often spent in the company of a Christian mentor) was effective as it contributed to the low rate of recidivism amongst his Anglican converts

3.3.2 In his missionary role, Hadfield exercised a culturally relevant method of administering the sacraments

Sacraments are defined as outward signs of inward grace, instituted by Christ for our sanctification.[128] In the Anglican denomination there two sacraments ordained by Christ (Baptism and Holy Eucharist) as well as five other ceremonies commonly called "sacraments": Confirmation, Ordination, Holy Matrimony, Penance, and Unction (anointing of the sick).

For Anglicans, Baptism is conducted with sprinkling of water on the baptised in the name of the Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit). Those baptized are united with Christ in his death and resurrection; born into God's family, the Church; cleansed from their sins; and given new life in the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:37-39). In infant baptism, parents are thanking God for his gift of life, making a decision to start their child on the journey of faith, and asking for the Church's support. For candidates, baptism marks the start of a journey of faith which involves turning away from all that is evil, turning towards Christ and becoming a member of the local and worldwide Christian family. Baptism is a "sacrament" a visible sign of God's love. In baptism we are thanking God for his gift of life and publicly acknowledging his love. We are acknowledging that we all need to turn away from selfishness and evil and accept God's offer of a new start.[129]

As a separate rite, Confirmation marks the point in the Christian journey at which the participation in the life of God's people begun at baptism is confirmed through the laying on of hands by the bishop to transfer the Holy Spirit into the lives of the candidates. Those who have previously been baptised affirm for themselves the faith which they have embraced and declare their intention to live a life of responsible and committed Christian discipleship by the power of the Holy Spirit. Through prayer and the laying on of hands by the confirming bishop as representative, the Church too asks God to give the candidates power through the Holy Spirit to enable them to live in this way[130] (refer Matthew 3:16-17).

Hadfield writes about the sacraments of Holy Eucharist and Ordination (when he was a bishop), but this chapter deals only with baptism and confirmation. Little is known of his church activities in his early life. One can assume (from the evidence of his personal reading of the Bible and family church practices) that he was baptised and confirmed and participated in Holy Eucharist as a practising Anglican in England and France. His application of the sacraments was consistent with Anglican theology and practice, but, as he worked towards establishing an indigenous church, he saw the need to make them relevant for the people by including local customs and culture, in particular the Maori preference for meeting together (hui) and their love of singing (responsorial psalms).

[128] http://celticanglican.wordpress.com/2007/06/18/what-are-anglicanepiscopal-sacraments/ accessed on 8 September 2010
[129] http://www.cofe.anglican.org/lifeevents/lifeevents/baptismconfirm/baptism1.html#rightage#rightage accessed on 6 November 2010
[130] http://www.cofe.anglican.org/lifeevents/baptismconfirm/chapterc.html accessed on 6 November 2010

The sacrament of Baptism

In Hadfield's times, adult baptism followed a prior moment of conversion. Hadfield never baptised an adult candidate unless he saw strong signs of "fruits of the Spirit" and a changed life.[131] He wrote:

> On Sunday last I baptised 30 adults and have been this week occupied examining about 56 persons whom I propose to baptise this Sunday (Wellington). They are recommended to me for admission into the church from their holy and blameless conduct and I examine them in order to ascertain their knowledge of the doctrines of the gospel. I can assure you that their knowledge of these is equal if not superior to that of the generality of pious persons at home.[132]

Lethbridge reported Hadfield as having visited Wellington on business, to see the various Maori settlements about the town. His purpose included the baptism of candidates, whom he had prepared previously. He had left them in charge of a clergyman at the Hutt to see how they would go on. Hadfield was very much against their being baptised immediately on their conversion, and without thoroughly understanding what they were about.[133]

Hadfield's examination of candidates required them to describe and demonstrate their understanding of the theory and practical application of three faith principles. These were: election (all creatures are called by God's great love), justification (candidates are saved by faith alone and not by their own achievements) and sanctification (candidates grow in holiness through the work of the Holy Spirit within).[134] These principles were specifically developed by Hadfield to express understanding of the need for a saviour and redeemer, a cornerstone of Christian belief.

The sacrament of Confirmation

Hadfield required a similar standard of evidence of a changed life for confirmation candidates. He recorded, "The Bishop confirmed over 100 adults at both Waikanae and Rangiruru near Otaki." Author Lethbridge records, "Hadfield's standards for candidature were high. He insisted that before he would even contemplate presenting them to any bishop, the candidate had to have given full and consistent evidence of continued Christian faith and conduct for several years after their baptism."[135] Hadfield adapted a way for examining his confirmation candidates which recognized the social and family assembling tendencies of Maori. The examination process, prior to confirmation was described by Lethbridge this way:

> In regards to confirmation, he examined potential candidates publicly in front of the rest of the tribe. He did not question on formal catechism, but often rephrased them into a variety of Maori idioms based on common occurring situations and events. (He eventually produced his own Maori translation of the official Anglican catechism). In this way, only those who fully understood the catechism meanings in relation to their own lives were able to give acceptable answers. These 'public performances' were an instant success. It became a celebratory and social all-inclusive event. The

[131] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 82.
[132] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 39.
[133] Ibid., 70.
[134] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 85.
[135] Ibid., 116.

whole hapu would turn up in support of their candidate, and so the rest of the tribe was educated at the same time."[136]

It was Hadfield's aim to supply Maori with broad principles of action for the regulation of their (Christian) conduct and to teach them to apply these principles for themselves in all the practical details of life." [137] Hadfield, describes a typical mission day as being: "Every morning, as soon as the church service was concluded, school commences, which is attended by almost the whole of the congregation, consisting of old and young, men, women, and children. The adults are formed into classes in the church; the young are drafted off to the schoolhouse. The majority of adults can both read and write well. Some classes write from dictation, and seldom are any of these known to make a mistake in spelling. They seem to have a peculiar facility in learning to write." [138] The material used for class work was predominantly from translated Anglican Church documents. He recorded in a letter, "I attend school at 4 o'clock in the morning daily and my evening lectures close at about 9 – during all this time I am liable to be interrupted. Yesterday I added up a list of my schools in different places around me and found that about 600 meet daily to learn to read and write and to learn the (Maori) catechisms which they have in use. About one half of them can read and write tolerably, but there are many hundreds who have learnt without any regular schools."[139] This regime involved exercising the mind (study), the soul (prayer service) and the body (work – usually in the fields). This was a feature of Hadfield's own life; he saw this life balance as basic to good living and encouraged Maori to do likewise. [140] He also spent time and energy in training Maori teachers for the various villages along the coast.

Both baptism and confirmation increased the likelihood of candidates remaining Christian in the days ahead; they also provided a modicum of assurance against candidates reverting to prior allegiances and practices. Hadfield's writings indicate that both processes were developed around candidates making Jesus Lord of their lives, leaving their old life habits (and friends and situations) behind, and providing verifiable evidence of a new life being lived in accordance with Christian values and tradition. In this he enhanced the sacramental life of his converts, but he did not contradict Anglican teaching or practice. He administered a spiritual and scriptural approach to the sacraments, which added meaning and substance to a nominal and formal practice.

Application of Anglican sacraments for contemporary New Zealand society

Contemporary New Zealand society has almost completely marginalized Christianity. Christianity is regarded as only one of many ways of expressing modern spiritual needs. Pluralism, which is widely accepted as the New Zealand way, acknowledges the equality of all religions. Nowadays, Christians are in a minority and often regarded by society with contempt. Further, the Christian Church has resorted to holy alliances based upon denominational lines, with little or no dialogue, acceptance, or commonality of beliefs and praxis between denominations. The alliances operate both regionally and nationally. There is little interaction between churches and society at large. Professor Christopher Marshall laments this current inability of Christian churches to develop a common stance on social issues and to speak with a unified voice.[141] This common stance is especially true with regard to the Christian Church's understanding and application of conversion and the rites of baptism and confirmation.

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[136] Ibid., 82.
[137] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 64.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid., 36.
[140] Burton, *Hadfield of the Kapiti Coast*, 7.
[141] Marshall, "What Language shall I Borrow?: the Bilingual Dilemma of Public Theology."

Hadfield demonstrated that genuine conversion does occur in an adult person's life and that Jesus Christ can be embraced as personal redeemer and saviour. According to Hadfield, it was vital that conversion and reliance on Jesus was supported by verifiable life-changing evidence. Today, the practice of formal and liturgically-based infant baptism within the Anglican and other mainstream churches is still widespread. These signs are not readily achievable with infants. The baby, the font, and the godparents feature in the performance, surrounded by family and friends who would seldom otherwise attend a church,.[142]

Hadfield recognized the existence of the spirit world - the forces of good and evil - and the need for baptismal candidates to embrace Jesus as Lord and Saviour and to follow the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life.

3.3.3 In his missionary role, Hadfield demonstrated the value of remaining intimate with the Holy Spirit

The Spirit-filled life is the life by which Christ lives in and through His believers and followers in the power of the Holy Spirit (John 15). The Father sent his Spirit to bear witness to his Son; without his witness ours is futile. Conviction of sin, faith in Christ, new birth and Christian growth are all the Holy Spirit's work. Further, the Holy Spirit is a missionary Spirit; thus evangelism should arise spontaneously from Spirit-filled people and build Spirit-filled communities.[143] The apostle Paul, who traveled vast distances preaching about Christ and making converts, wrote to new Christians in his Letter to the Ephesians, "*You put your faith in Christ and were given the promised Holy Spirit to show that you belong to God. The Spirit also makes us sure that we will be given what God has stored up for his people. Then we will be set free, and God will be honored and praised."* (Eph 1:13-14).

Early in Hadfield's life he was influenced by this text in Matthew 28:19-20.[144] (Do you need to write it out?) He had not been to missionary meetings, nor had he been reading missionary literature.[145] His response was a burning desire to preach the gospel and work in the mission fields; a desire which he carried out all of his life.

The same Holy Spirit was credited with moving amongst the Maori in New Zealand prior to Hadfield's arrival in the Kapiti region. As Henry Williams, writing in 1839 (referred to in the introductory chapter of this dissertation), wrote:

> The progress had been hitherto slow but certain. During the year 1839, God had poured out His Holy Spirit, and had inclined great numbers to listen to the invitation given them. At all the old mission stations in the north there was a great increase in the congregations, and in six months two hundred and twenty-nine persons were received into the Church.[146]

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[142] The practice of infant baptism has to be seriously questioned in the light of scripture and the requirement for repentance and personal choice. Anglicans do not exclude adult baptism, their liturgy provides for a catechumenate (time of learning) leading to baptism.
[143] Such an event is described by Williams in the early New Zealand environment.
[144] Matt 28:19-20 "Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you."
[145] Burton, *Hadfield of the Kapiti Coast*, 1.
[146] Evans and McKenzie, *Evangelical Revivals in New Zealand*, 17.

Hadfield witnessed the protection of the Holy Spirit on his life shortly after his arrival in Kapiti region. While visiting in Otaki, he unwittingly broke *tapu* in the garden of the high chief Matenga Te Matia. Hadfield apologised, but the tohunga cursed him and told him that he would die. Next morning, the tohunga chief was dead. While Hadfield attributed the occurrence to influenza, the Maori knew differently - they had seen the outcome of the conflict between Mäori and Christian spirituality. From that point on, his mana with the people of the region grew immensely.[147] From this episode and an associated "sign from above", Hadfield's work continued unimpeded, though it was still a year or two before the attitude of the local Maori of Otaki became generally cooperative. Te Matia later became a Christian and a regular and loyal member of the church. It is reported that similar incidents took place later at Waikanae and near Porirua. [148]

The Holy Spirit was Hadfield's constant refuge in prayer. He would pray, "Oh may the Lord pour out His Holy Spirit upon them and upon me, that I may come among them with the fullness of the blessing of the Gospel of Peace."[149] In an extract from one of his many letters to his brother Charles, he wrote "My congregation at one place is about 400, and the other 150. I have many interesting enquiries concerning Jesus. One such enquirer is certainly under the influence of the Spirit, and I shall shortly baptise him."[150] Again he wrote, "In hundreds of instances I have known converts whose faith, and general consistency of life to the last, have satisfied me that their religion was the work of the Holy Spirit in their hearts."[151]

Hadfield never baptised a candidate unless he saw strong signs of "fruits of the Spirit" in changed lives.[152]The Holy Spirit brings a person into a deeper relationship with Jesus. Hadfield discusses this intimacy in the following diary extract:

> I have for five months been living alone without a Christian brother, save two natives who are sometimes a comfort to me, had but little time for reading or praying or fasting, and I feel that that my soul has declined, I feel I hear Jesus saying to me in the midst of my labours and works "*I have somewhat against thee because thou hast left thy first love*", and this pierces my soul. O how much easier it is to preach than it is to pray, how much easier to endure hunger, thirst, cold and body fatigue than to love my God, my Saviour, my precious Christ. [153]

Hadfield acknowledged the Holy Spirit and experienced the Spirit's active role in his mission work, he referred to the Holy Spirit as a powerful advocate, influence, and comforter. On his arrival in Kapiti he was immediately confronted with the spiritual world through inter-tribal war. In his time, the Holy Spirit became a power, a presence, and person. Hadfield knew that he was in a spiritual battle and that the Holy Spirit was needed for him to succeed. He interceded for the Holy Spirit's influence, which was much more than a mere liturgical presence.

The Maori people were familiar with the unique role of their *Tohunga,* the priestly practitioners of Maori esoteric knowledge, in a spiritual world of good and evil. The T*ohunga* had the power to bless and to curse people, places, and situations. Maori demanded powerful confrontation, as much with spiritual powers as earthly enemies, and they repeatedly saw the Holy Spirit rise up and reign supreme in clashes

[147] Burton, *Hadfield of the Kapiti Coast*, 6.
[148] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 67.
[149] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 158.
[150] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 70.
[151] Hadfield, *Maoris of By-gone Days*, 28.
[152] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 82.
[153] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 164.

between Maori and Christianity. This was evident when prayer in the name of Jesus cured a range of sickness and disease which their *Tohunga* were unable to alleviate. They came to recognise the powerlessness of *tapu* (spiritual prohibition) and *utu* (revenge as a duty) and actively sought and valued peace.

Hadfield's reliance on the Holy Spirit was effective and active. He had an ability to sense the Spirit's presence in people, which gave him the freedom to baptise them.

Application of the Holy Spirit for contemporary New Zealand society

Hadfield empowered his Maori people to minister to and with one another; he never had the strength to cover the territory or the needs himself. He was fully dependent on the work of the Holy Spirit. Sadly, now, many New Zealand churches do not leave room for input and intervention by the Holy Spirit or Spirit-filled persons and the five-fold ministry governance. There have been times when Spirit-filled leaders have "fallen from grace" and the Church's response is to elevate professional administrators with worldly systems and procedures. The Holy Spirit's presence is often merely acknowledged within the various liturgical prayers and services. Often the rationale is that the leadership has consulted with and is anointed by the Holy Spirit. Hadfield shows that this attitude is flawed, for he experienced the Holy Spirit flowing where he willed, on clergy and laity alike.

Hadfield experienced and embraced the Holy Spirit. He realised the reality and power of the Third Person of the Trinity as active in himself, in others, and in situations around him. This approach challenges the mainstream churches. While marginalization of the Holy Spirit with his fruits and gifts may be practical from a church governance and control viewpoint (orthodoxy), the reality is that his power is so needed in this lost world. Church members who live and operate without power have no effective witness or authority in a post-modern world. The world at large acknowledges the presence and effect of a spirit dimension. Popular expressions of spirituality include nature, the stars, colours,and crystals, none of which recognize God's Holy Spirit. Hadfield viewed life differently; he saw the Church as being for people and their lives, empowered by the Spirit, for the extension of God's Kingdom (mission). He was challenged by the spirit world of Maori, and repeatedly observed the Holy Spirit triumph over it,in many spectacular ways.

Hadfield was led by the Holy Spirit to seek more time and space with his Saviour He did not always have access to written devotional material, and he sought the Holy Spirit in his prayer life and obeyed His voice. What is needed today is a hermeneutic recognizing the voice of the Holy Spirit, whereby followers are encouraged to reach out and embrace the Holy Spirit's presence, rather than a prayer book or hymnal. Such a hermeneutic requires experience and time, and involves waiting quietly in God's presence and listening.[154]

The current theological work (name it) on studying and emphasizing the role of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity with regard to world events, discipleship and eschatology is to be commended.[155] Such works under the title of pneumatology, while capturing previous writings from theologians, are providing good, useful material for consideration and use by many Pentecostal believers who are seeking rationality for their beliefs and practices. This material has not always been readily available to lay persons for a raft of reasons. The results of such pneumatological studies are not just for theologians; they need to be shared for the equipping of the members of the Church, the lay people, who go about their business at work and

[154] Townsend, "Third Article Theology," 17.
[155] Pinnock, *Flame of Love; A Theology of the Holy Spirit*.

at home and have opportunity to bring the Holy Spirit into everyday situations, which was the experience of Hadfield.

3.3.4 In his missionary role, Hadfield valued commercial development in conjunction with his mission work

In the New Testament, in his parables on the Kingdom of God, Jesus constantly refers to commercial work.[156] He also speaks of the various aspects of women's work[157]. He compares the apostolate to the manual work of harvesters,[158] or fishermen.[159] He refers to the work of scholars too.[160] Paul when writing to the Ephesians expounds the theme that productive work is required of those whose hearts have been turned from evil. "*He who has been stealing must steal no longer, but must work, doing something useful with his own hands, that he may have something to share with those in need*." (Ephesians 4:28)

The Anglican Church of Hadfield's time encouraged commercial development as a means of providing resources for the work of the clergy, capital development and maintenance of the church and its buildings. This aspect of work-based mission activity was referred to earlier in association with Samuel Marsden's initial foray into New Zealand. Marsden introduced work and crop development as part of his approach to Christianity amongst the Maori. He bought with him laymen who were skilled in the trades. Hadfield, on the other hand, was primarily concerned with teaching and preaching the Word of God, and circumstances focused his attention on peacekeeping in the first instance. Hadfield was very suspicious of the way some mission families had acquired land cheaply from the Maori. Author Lethbridge reports from Hadfield's writings home, "I am determined to have nothing to do with this." Also, Lethbridge records that Hadfield always lived within his official salary from CMS.[161]

He saw value for social improvement for his church family members. On this approach he wrote:

> One objective (of mine) has been to render the Maoris more attractive to those who only look at the outward appearance, and thus gain for them more respect. For when the lower classes of people see those whom they so lately regarded as savages, neatly dressed, living in decent houses, cultivating wheat, keeping cows, (for self-sufficiency) able to read and write, and also attentive to their duties to God, the same are lead to treat the Maoris with more attention and respect. This has tended, also, to make the pakehas far more attentive to Christianity than they were disposed to be a few years ago.[162]

Hadfield developed routines in and around the mission, including formal liturgical prayer. This prayer was interspersed with work in both the classrooms and the fields.[163] Hadfield's development of land for support of wider mission activities and for commercial gain came later in his ministry life. At that stage,

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[156] That of the shepherd, the farmer, the doctor, the sower, the householder, the servant, the steward, the fisherman, the merchant, and the labourer.
[157] *Mt* 13:33; *Lk* 15:8-9
[158] *Mt* 9:37; *Jn* 4:35-38.
[159] *Mt* 4:19.
[160] *Mt* 13:52.
[161] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 34.
[162] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 142.
[163] A typical day embracing prayer and work on the mission is described in the Sacraments and Education chapter..

he spent time in the fields encouraging the people to cultivate their lands better and to plan a greater variety of crops. He encouraged them to grow potatoes and raise pigs. Hadfield also taught them how to cultivate wheat and used his influence to support the establishment of the flax trade.[164] This commercial effort was also assisted by the Central Government who contributed capital for establishment of flour mills. Within ten years of his residence in the Kapiti region, six hundred acres were in production to support the clothing, food, accommodation and travel of those who attended the local mission school. The pupils worked on the farm and each hapu and kainga had their own special plots. The area also developed a reputation for stock breeding. [165]

Hadfield had his people work physically and co-operatively in conjunction with study and prayer. He provided leadership and support for their work efforts under the auspices and through the resources of the Church. For Hadfield, physical work was part of the lifestyle balance which he personally demonstrated and encouraged and supported Maori to emulate.[166]

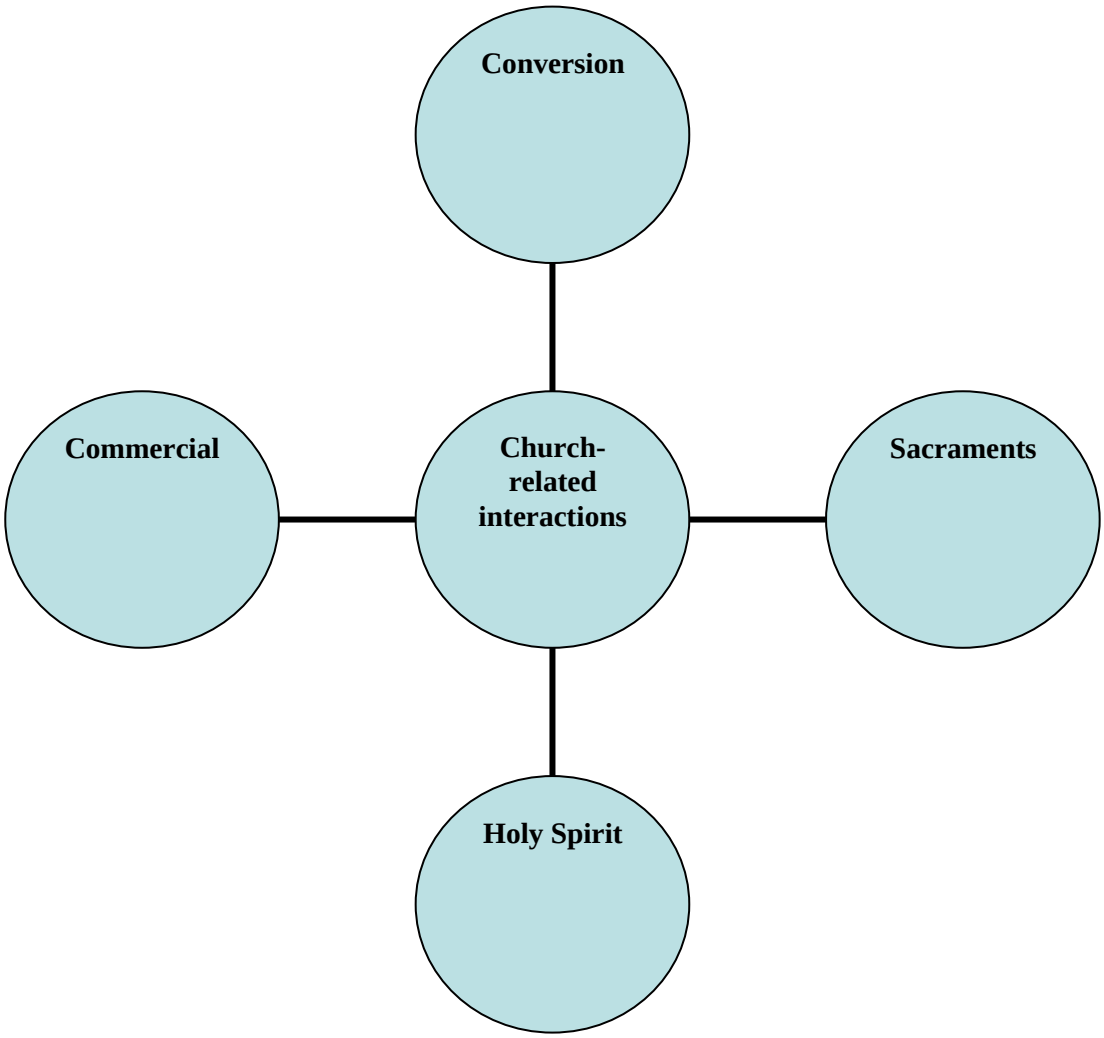
Application of Christian commercial activity for contemporary New Zealand society

The way that Hadfield became involved in commerce and production-oriented activities within his mission provides a wake-up call for contemporary society. With regard to commercial activity, Alistair Mackenzie proposed that "The evidence strongly suggests that the church in general seems uninterested in, unaware of or unsure of how to help the laity integrate their faith identities and teachings with their work-place occupations, problems and possibilities."[167] My research affirms Mackenzie's hypothesis.[168] Hadfield therefore sets a challenge for today's Church to recognize and raise the profile of the workplace as a place of real spiritual, emotional and physical worth. Some churches do have such work-based support groups, and many workplaces have inter-denominational prayer support groups. While this represents a good foundation, much more needs to be done. The onus for progress here is really with the laity as the matter does not naturally fall within the scope or experience of the clergy.

A reflection of Hadfield's model for church funding challenges contemporary society because he allocated church-related commercial funds for the benefit of the people's needs and development and for mission outreach. There was no state-funded welfare system; in Hadfield's day, the Church provided this support for its people and the community. Hadfield was to develop in his Consitution for the New Zealand Anglican Church the objective that a group or location could have ordained clergy only if they could afford it between themselves. Hadfield viewed finances as being primarily for Kingdom purposes, which did not include buildings or their maintenance.

[164] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 48.
[165] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 165.
[166] Hadfield's lifestyle balance featured; prayer, study, and work to exercise and develop the spirit, mind and body.
[167] Mackenzie, "Faith at work: Vocation, the Theology of Work and the Pastoral Implications."
[168] Townsend, "Missions in the Workplace - a New Zealand view."

Diagram of Hadfield's values demonstrated within the church environment



3.4 A Reflection on Hadfield's Christian values

In view of the preceding research and analysis, especially in this chapter, my conclusion is that the Christian values which Hadfield demonstrated within both the Maori population and the church in the Kapiti region are still very useful for contemporary New Zealand society.

This foundation of Christian values was formed through gradual and hard-fought victories in the spiritual realm and at a great personal cost to Hadfield himself. If members of the modern Church wish to avail themselves of the benefits and blessings already deposited in the spiritual realm over the Kapiti region, then they must acknowledge the role of the Holy Spirit in mission and conversion and embrace the foundational values established by Hadfield and his Maori co-workers. These values do not have to be re-established from scratch for church-building in the region, only acknowledged, reclaimed and built upon, irrespective of the denomination.

Prior to Hadfield's arrival in Kapiti, the Holy Spirit had moved both in his personal life to prepare him for his missionary task ahead and in Kapiti itself. An indigenous church of believers was already awaiting his arrival, This was recognized as the supernatural work of the Holy Spirit.. Such a move of God (referred to in contemporary circles as "revival") is again possible within the Kapiti Region.

With regard to contemporary relationships with Maori, I conclude that Hadfield's values could inform our thinking about peacemakers, improve the work of advocates working for justice and change in New Zealand society, challenge current immersion practices, and highlight inadequacies in the building of indigenous churches.

In the matter of relationships within the Church, Hadfield challenges the application and administration of the basic sacraments by recognising the spirit of the intention as opposed to a liturgical ceremony of rote. He provides an exemplary relationship with the Holy Spirit, whose power and presence he actively sought and relied upon. Hadfield challenges proponents of the prosperity gospel by the way he developed work and commerce and distributed funds amongst those in need.

He was a pioneer for New Zealand and his values are worth emulating, even today. Historian W.H. Oliver writes:

> The most lovable, the one man of shining goodness among the missionaries, was Octavius Hadfield, whose utter devotion to duty and to the Maoris seems to bear some relation to his conviction that that his life was to be a short one, and should be fully used.[169]

This chapter has elaborated on eight values of Octavius Hadfield. The following table shows each of these and suggests that the value was equally demonstrated by Jesus in his lifetime. In that followers are encouraged to imitate Jesus, the values demonstrated by Hadfield provide a good source of reflection for contemporary New Zealand Society. The table speaks for itself in terms of Hadfield's life: he led a Christlike life, he did Christ's work.

Hadfield's life values demonstrated compared with those of Jesus		
Hadfield	**Jesus**	**Bible Reference**
Immersion	Yes	John 1:14
Advocacy	Yes	Hebrews 7:25
Peacemaker	Yes	Matt 5:9, James 3:18
Indigenous	Yes	Matt 16:18, 1 Cor 14:12
Conversion	Yes	Matt 3:2, Matt 3:8
Sacraments	Yes	Matt 3:11, Acts 2:38

[169] Oliver, *The Story of New Zealand*, 43.

Holy Spirit	Yes	Matt 3:11, John 14:26, Acts 1:8
Commerce - work	Yes	Matt 9:37, John 4:35-38, Matt 4:19.

The works and deeds of missionary Octavius Hadfield as recorded in his various writings have left a foundation of Christian values for contemporary New Zealand Society.

4. Hadfield's public writings on the Taranaki land wars from a perspective of public theology.

4.1 Introduction

This section is concerned with Octavius Hadfield's three published writings on the Taranaki land war. The hypothesis is that they comply - in general - with contemporary criteria for good public theology, and to that extent, provide an example for its practice.

Firstly, we trace the life and times of Octavius Hadfield leading up to his arrival as an Anglican missionary in the Kapiti region. This chapter describes how the Church Missionary Society's work in New Zealand developed and also how Christianity came to the Kapiti region before Hadfield;s time.

We then investigate the role and application of public theology in Hadfield's mission activity and develop a set of criteria for evaluating Hadfield's letters from contemporary theological writings. The six criteria are that public theology:

1. raises significant issues
2. demonstrates a clear vision of what it is to achieve
3. contains authoritative material
4. uses appropriate language
5. includes development of good relationships, and
6. suggests viable proposals leading to effective outcomes.

In his three letters, Hadfield approached statesmen in New Zealand and Britain as a clergyman who expected his opinions to be heeded. Our purpose is to examine his relationships with central and provincial government and his reason for writing the letters, the Taranaki land war starting at Waitara. The Governor, Thomas Gore Browne, had declared martial law on a tribe of Maori who had claimed rights to a block of land which they had declared was not available for sale for settlement purposes. At the time of Hadfield's correspondence the tribe had been expelled from their land by force. We examine in detail how Hadfield seeks redress for the usurping of land held by some of his former flock and the hostilities which resulted. His representations, inter alia, resulted in the recall of the Governor and the restoration (for a time) of the land to the Maori.

The chapter concludes with an evaluation of Hadfield's public writings against the six agreed criteria. Hadfield's three public letters on the Taranaki land war resulted in an effective and satisfactory outcome for the tribe, and therefore his writings provide a useful example of effective public theology. However, from a contemporary viewpoint there were some respects in which his letters do not meet current standards for the practice of public theology.

4.2 Hadfield's relationship with Central and Provincial Government.

It is important to clarify Hadfield's relationship with the governors of New Zealand and with statesmen within government, as these were the people he was seeking to influence in his letters relating to the Taranaki land war. In general terms, the relationship developed to a point where Hadfield's opinion was valued, sought after and respected, especially by those in central government. This relationship of

respect is key to establishing the grounds upon which Hadfield was able to write credible public letters that proved effective.

Anglican Church and State

In England during Hadfield's formative years, the Anglican Church and the State enjoyed good relationships. Advocacy by the Church was the norm.[170] Conscientious Anglicans were in powerful positions in government and, as the Church of England was established by law, dialogue between the two bodies was routine.[171] This relationship between Church and State continued to a more limited degree in early New Zealand, and Hadfield was reported as having many representative meetings with government officials and the Governor-General, especially while he was convalescing in Port Nicholson (Wellington) and, subsequently, when he was Bishop of Wellington.

Hadfield's diplomacy while in Wellington

Hadfield received every civility from government officials and gradually developed enough credibility to be consulted for advice and information concerning Maori, especially on issues related to language, manners and custom. In time, he became unofficial adviser to the highest officials in the administration.[172] While he was convalescing in Wellington, Hadfield's role became more that of a statesman than a missionary. The leading men of the land, including the then Governor, Sir George Grey, constantly consulted him on the affairs of the country.[173] Grey admitted that Hadfield gave sound advice on Maori affairs and that he had restrained him from committing errors that would have eventuated if he had listened to representations from certain other people.[174] Hadfield was also able to interpret government policy for Maori sympathetically and with authority. [175]

Hadfield's advocacy with Governor Grey

Hadfield's personal advocacy with Governor Grey on behalf of Te Rauparaha and his cousinTe Rangihaeata was credited with bringing about the abandonment of the chiefs' plans to attack Port Nicholson (Wellington) after the Wairau incident.[176] The two chiefs wanted to attack Wellington in retribution for wrongs done, including the death of Te Rangihaeata's wife. Both chiefs attempted to stir up Maori in the Kapiti region to attack European settlers in the Hutt Valley and Wellington. Hadfield talked with Kapiti Maori before going to Wellington to inform the authorities of what was going on. He explained the background to the situation, outlined the Maori grievances and described their current attitude towards the affair. Back in Kapiti he tried to persuade his people not to do anything rash, and used every means in his power to pacify them. As a result of Hadfield's advocacy, a local chief, Wiremu Kingi[177], used his influence to prevent Te Rauparaha's proposed attack on Wellington by not letting any would-be attackers through his territory. George Clark, the official Government Protector of Maori at the time, referred to this incident. He wrote:

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[170] Advocates like Wilberforce were very active in Parliament on behalf of interest groups at the time.
[171] By this I mean Evangelical Anglicans and others who took their religious particularly seriously
[172] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 35.
[173] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 50.
[174] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 97.
[175] Ibid., 140.
[176] At Wairau, despite many representations to the contrary, Government surveyors attempted to measure out the land for occupation. Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata and their war party from Kapiti prevented them. A scuffle eventuated, and there were deaths recorded on both sides. This incident is widely reported in New Zealand historical records.
[177] Kingi was the chief who subsequently returned to Taranaki, and was the target of Governor Browne over the Waitara Land dispute.

> Things were getting dangerous now for us all. The Maoris were exasperated at what they considered our treachery, and our own people were thirsting for revenge. Happily, there was a gentleman living at Waikanae who had great influence with the Maoris allied to Te Rauparaha, and was equally respected by both races, Rev. Hadfield. At the risk of his own life and after a severe struggle with the chiefs, who were almost mad at the sight of the handcuffs which Te Rauparaha brought with him, Hadfield managed to stop the old man's projects of immediately marching on Wellington.[178]

After Hadfield's discussions, the Governor promised a full hearing into the incident. This hearing was subsequently held between the Governor and the Maori chiefs at Waikanae. The meeting included Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata. Both chiefs were exonerated for the incident, and no charges were made against them. In the "Wairau incident" Hadfield confronted those with retribution and warlike intentions, helped the Governor-General understand Maori concerns, and negotiated a peaceful solution.

Hadfield and advice to Governor Browne

In 1856, Hadfield was asked by the new Governor, Thomas Gore Browne, for his opinion as to the feelings of the Maori people of Kapiti towards the Government. The missionary's recommendations concerning future Maori policy were embodied in an important letter which he wrote to Governor Browne on 18 April 1856. Hadfield's main points were:

- The primary object should be to make the whole Maori population amenable to law. Maori respect for the law would be facilitated by Maori involvement in the legal process.
- He should do nothing to establish the influence of the chiefs and should raise the position of inferior men through the equal action of law.
- All transactions with Maori on the purchase of land should be entered on with the greatest caution and care. These should be entrusted to those only in whom the Government had perfect confidence.
- Government should show its good will towards the Maori by encouraging the spread of education, and by assisting with employment through public works.
- Great care should be taken that the military force in the country should not be so divided and scattered as to be rendered ineffective.[179]

In view of subsequent developments, particularly the rapid deterioration of relations between the settlers and Maori, this policy statement is significant. In particular, Wiremu Kingi's opposition to Te Teira's attempt to sell land at Waitara a few years later was a case which would not have ended in dispute and war if Hadfield's recommendations on land transactions had been heeded.[180]

Hadfield and Education

The Education Act was passed in 1877. This made schooling free, secular, and compulsory. There was no agreed unity on how Christianity should be taught. The result was that legislators accepted that primary teaching should be entirely of a secular character.[181] Hadfield bitterly opposed the omission of religion in this legislation.[182]

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[178] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 45-47.
[179] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 205.
[180] Ibid., 206.
[181] Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, 65.
[182] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 118.

Otaki School inspections - 1858[183]

Hadfield's church school for Maori was established at Otaki early in the 1840s. Governor Grey had taken a great interest in it and had given financial aid for its development. This aid had continued beyond Grey's tenure, but Hadfield was determined that the school would become self-sufficient. He hoped that the students' farm associated with the school would fully support the school costs, as he was opposed to any dependence by the Church on State aid. However, the school roll had declined and, early in 1858, the Central Government sent a commission of four to inspect it. The commission was instructed to "report upon the condition of the school and station … and to …. suggest improvements to their future management." [184]

Hadfield sent a circular letter to the commissioners warning them that they would not be received at the school. When they arrived in the district, Hadfield refused to allow the commissioners to inspect the school, or to discuss it with him. He made his stand on the grounds that Church and State should be independent, and that the school was a church school and was self-sufficient. In their report, the commissioners unanimously pronounced the Otaki Maori Church School "a failure", though they would not say whether or not this was Hadfield's fault. If Hadfield had been willing to talk with the commissioners, he might have conveyed some of his optimism about the future of the school and would have certainly been able to address any issues they might have had.

Voting and election disputes at Otaki 1855-1858 [185]

Between 1852 and 1858 there was much discussion amongst central governors about the rights of Maori and their inclusion in politics with voting rights. The criteria for Maori to vote were unclear and provided ample scope for disputes. Hadfield had interpreted the Constitution's provision as meaning that those Maori with five-pound household tenure should be permitted, or even encouraged, to vote. He believed that they should be told of their rights, and was sorry that the Government had not sent notices to Maori in his district telling them how to register.

Seventeen Otaki Maoris registered their names on the Electoral Roll in 1858, and forty-nine more attempted to do so the following year. The Provincial Superintendent, Dr Isaac Featherston, retained the voting applications and wrote to the Premier Edward Stafford, saying that Hill (who is Hill?) and Hadfield were attempting to swamp the electorate with Maori voters. The fear was that, through Maori representation, the missionaries would exert "great influence" on provincial politics.[186]

In 1857, Superintendent Featherston was re-elected, but his polling was low in Otaki. He charged Hadfield with having prevented the circulation of newspapers supporting him during his campaign. The suggestion was that Hadfield had hidden the papers in his own house. It turned out that that the papers actually contained election material, and that Featherston's name had been pre-written on the voting papers.[187]

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[183] Woods, "Octavius Hadfield and the Waitara Dispute," 47-53.
[184] *New Zealand Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives*, *1858*, *E-1*, quoted in Woods, "Octavius Hadfield and the Waitara Dispute," 54-5.
[185] Woods, "Octavius Hadfield and the Waitara Dispute," 41-46.
[186] *New Zealand Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives*, *1858*, *E-2*, 2 quoted in Woods, "Octavius Hadfield and the Waitara Dispute," 42.
[187] W.L. Renwick; "Self-Government and Protection", 294 quoted in Woods, "Octavius Hadfield and the Waitara Dispute," 44.

Sarah Rutherford (nee Woods) writes that, while Hadfield never directly influenced the Maoris in his district in the use of their votes, he would certainly have indicated clearly his political preferences. He did become directly involved when he discovered shams associated with voting, and vehemently opposed Featherston and also the subsequent Prime Minister William Fox on their views on disenfranchising Maori, and also their voting malpractices.

Hadfield's actions in concealing so-called "pre-printed voting papers" demonstrates his principled stand and his lack of fear in facing up to the provincial government and its leaders.

Hadfield and the House of Representatives[188]

On 14 August 1860, Hadfield was examined at the Bar of the House of Representatives in an attempt by the representatives to instigate an enquiry into the origins of the Taranaki Land War. The examination triggered an in-house debate. Hadfield claimed that his evidence had forced the House to modify a motion sweepingly approving the Government's Waitara policy.[189] It was afterwards fairly widely accepted that (first name) McLean (the principal Land Purchase Officer of the time) was possibly the chief culprit in the Waitara dispute. After having advised McLean to go ahead with the purchase in March 1859, McLean then neglected most of his essential investigative and advisory duties into the title rights of the owners of the land under negotiation (I don't understand this sentence). Hadfield severely criticised McLean's purchasing methods. [190]

These examples of relationships with central and local government demonstrate Hadfield's principled nature. He was autocratic and sometimes combative in style because he strongly believed that what he was advocating was best for Maori. As a missionary, he was selective in the issues he chose to engage in and was not afraid of confrontation with those in the public arena who perpetrated what he considered to be injustices, ill-conceived policies or bad practices. (first name) Starke from a review of Hadfield's official correspondence describes him: "a good administrator, Hadfield had a reputation for being austere and dictatorial."[191] While this attitude and approach may not be readily tolerated in contemporary society, it was certainly effective in the second half of the Nineteenth Century. Indeed, as shown previously, Hadfield gained a strong degree of credibility and respect from his peers.

4.3 Developing criteria for evaluating Hadfield's Public Theology

Public theology

"Public theology" is a concept which has only recently been raised and considered by theological writers. Arguably, the concept has always been understood by God's people whenever they have tried to explain about God and his ways to others in the public arena.

Max Stackhouse is one of the early acknowledged "public theologians"[192]. His definition of public theology is founded on the elements of God and his will and his design for mankind. He writes:

[188] Woods, "Octavius Hadfield and the Waitara Dispute," 197.
[189] Hadfield, "The Second Year of One of England's Little Wars," 57.
[190] Sinclair, *The Origin of the Maori Wars*, 196-7.
[191] Stark, "Hadfield, Octavius - bibliography" http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h2/1 accessed on 12 Dec 2010.
[192] Dr. Max L. Stackhouse is a professor at Princeton Theological Seminary and director of the Seminary's Kuyper Center for Public Theology. He is president of the board of the Berkshire Institute for Theology and the Arts, and past president of the

> "Public theology …The idea is rooted in the interaction of biblical insight, philosophical analysis, and the ethical conviction that believers have the responsibility to engage in historical discernment and formation of the social order by giving it a new centre, the church, and in and through that new centre to have an effect on moral, familial, economic, political, cultural, and vocational life."

While Stackhouse is representing here the Church as being at the centre of a new social order, he subsequently places God and his principles clearly at the forefront. He writes:

> "…The power of God's reign, it was believed, was working within and among the powers and principalities of the world, and it would harness and transform them so that they might contribute to the common good."[193]

He also forewarns of the complexity of communicating ideas and principles, particularly in the present pluralistic and post-modern world.

> "A key assumption of public theology presumes that it is possible to discuss these matters on a cross-cultural and interreligious basis."[194]

In similar vein, Harold Breitenberg Jr also focuses on the correspondence between Christians and the public. He writes:

> "Among other things, the term (public theology) is used to refer to a body of literature, a form of discourse, a way of doing theology and ethics, a tradition within the Christian church, and a field of study…Public theology is theologically informed discourse that seeks to be understandable both to those within its own religious tradition and to those outside it. Such discourse is generally intended to be convincing within its religious tradition, while some also think that it should strive to be persuasive to those outside the tradition as well."[195]

This definition is predominantly concerned with literature and writing, which was the medium Hadfield used, but this is not necessarily the only medium applicable to public theology.

Public theology in the Bible

Biblical examples of public theology assume the existence of God's people interacting with their neighbours, friends and enemies within the wider world. Examples from the Old Testament of God's people entering into dialogue with the non-Jewish tribes and nations include: Jonah going to Nineveh where he speaks prophetically to the people concerning a coming judgment (Jonah 3:3-10), Daniel facing King Nebuchadnezar of Babylon without hesitating to acknowledge God in heaven, through whom he interprets the king's dreams (Daniel 2:24-26), and Nehemiah's appeal before King Artaxerxes, referring to the ancestors of the Jewish people and the need to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem, which led to Artaxerxes sending him and the exiles back to Israel, (Nehemiah 2:1-15).

Society of Christian Ethics. His chair designations include the Stephen Colwell Professor of Christian Ethics and director of the Project on Public Theology, and the Rimmer and Ruth de Vries Professor of Reformed Theology and Public Life. http://rfiaonline.org/about/editors/263-max-stackhouse accessed on 8 Mar 2011

[193] Stackhouse, "Public Theology," 443.

[194] Ibid., 446.

[195] Breitenberg Jr., "What is Public Theology?" 4-5.

Similarly, in the New Testament gospels Jesus challenged the religious people of the day (Scribes and Pharisees), but only in a limited number of occasions did he dialogue directly with public officials. Jesus spoke of faith to the Roman centurion (Matthew 8:8-13), and of spiritual armies to Pontius Pilate. However, he did venture a conversation with Pontius Pilate about the concept of his kingdom being beyond the realm of the known world (John 18:36). In Luke's account of Paul's journeys and work for God's Kingdom, much is written about Paul's presentation to the court officials and judges. In most cases, he uses the words of testimony, of the miraculous things that had happened to him which pervaded his travels, actions, and speech. However, in his public speech to the gentile philosophers in Athens, Paul mentions God being the creator, self-sufficient, and giving to all (Acts 17:22). Paul uses one of the commonly accepted religious sacramentals of the time, the Greek altar to "an unknown God", as the lynchpin for his description of the God of the New Testament. He describes God's character: God is Lord not only of all creation, but also of history; not just the history of Jews, but of all men. This is a typically biblical worldview, and it is interesting that as Paul went on to describe Jesus' resurrection from the dead, the crowd immediately rejected the idea and confronted him. While not explicitly described as public theology, all of these biblical examples show God's people demonstrating elements of public theology as they seek to explain about God and his ways in the public arena.

Writings of contemporary public theologians

John Sullivan writes, "It (public theology) is all about language and relationships." He continues, "Serious attention to those we enter into dialogue with requires that we temper our words so that they take account of 'the particularities of each person - in training, commitment, experience, and disposition.'"[196] The key element of this dialogue is that the proponents know their target group. This can best be achieved through research and through developing and sustaining relationships, as described in the secular model using market research suggested by Sullivan.

Marion Maddox agrees with Sullivan when she writes about groups of Christians entering into political arenas to extend their influence.[197] She suggests that there is nothing new about theology, but there needs to be more care taken when the aspect of public aspiration is included in the deliberations. She expands her definition when she writes of reconciliation as being within the scope of public theology. This point is well argued by both John de Gruchy[198] and Sebastian Kim[199] in their respective books. Kim, as editor, writes of theoretical issues such as the political and economic implications of reconciliation, interfaith and biblical perspectives, and the role of religion in peacemaking. De Gruchy affirms the possibility and necessity of reconciliation associated with governments and their policies. Donald Shriver affirms the culpability of the State through the line of successive governments in the context of reconciliation for past misdemeanors by the State. Examples of recognition of this culpability from contemporary New Zealand would include the Prime Minister's formal apologies on behalf of the people of New Zealand during the previous decade, to Chinese workers (in Feb 2001),[200] to Samoan immigrants (in June 2002)[201], and to Vietnam War veterans (in May 2008)[202].These examples demonstrate the outworking of God's justice and reconciliation in the government arena, and one could speculate that

[196] Sullivan, *Religious Speech in the Public Square*, 5.
[197] Maddox, "A Case for Public Theology in Secular Contexts," 6-12.
[198] De Gruchy, "Public Theology as Christian Witness: Exploring the Genre.",26-41
[199] Sebastian Kim, Pauline Kollontai, and Greg Hoyland, *Peace and Reconciliation: In search of Shared Identity* (UK York St. John University: Ashgate, 2008).
[200] http://executive.govt.nz/minister/hawkins/chinese/2.htm accessed on 13 October 2009
[201] http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/hi/asia pacific/2024214.stm – accessed on 13 October 2009
[202] http://www.reuters.com/articles/atestCrisis/idUSWEL267920 - accessed on 13 October 2009

biblical principles are at the root of such actions. The writers suggest that such reconciliation attempts stem from Christian "insights of faith"; as such they are a gift to the secular world.

Andrew Badstock, speaking in seminars at Laidlaw College[203] and St. Paul's Cathedral, Wellington,[204] is recorded by this author as suggesting that the Church should only be involved, as a Church, in the public decision-making process when it has a significant issue to raise, and that its submissions should describe clearly how the case was researched and developed and the conclusion reached. [205] This is to enable readers to follow the thought process and challenge or validate the conclusions offered in public. His decisive test for entering into public debate is the strategic importance of the issue, and whether the Church's involvement provides a fresh perspective, as opposed to a negative view.[206] Furthermore, in his 2009 Ferguson Lecture, Bradstock encourages a Christian contribution to national social and economic issues to inform public opinion. He strongly urges that the Christian view be a constructive one.[207]

Peter Matheson provides his own definition of public theology, which is not dissimilar to that offered by Bradstock. Matheson, like Bradstock, is in favour of Christians contributing to the formation of public opinion. He asks the Church to consider making a contribution, from a Christian perspective, to debates within New Zealand about national priorities - economic and social - and what it is to be human as a bicultural people in this place.[208]

Justin Whelan argues that members of the Church need a broader understanding of public theology that includes public action on the part of the Church (or members of the Church) that speaks directly to the public arena. He suggests that Christian non-violent direct action should be seen in this light, and that both the acts themselves and the public statements made by the actors are clearly designed to articulate a Christian message in response to critical problems of their time.[209] His approach extends the boundaries beyond written literature. In this context, the inclusion of Christian public demonstrations and acts of reconciliation between parties and governments are considered within the scope of public theology.[210]

Writers on public theology, then, suggest that those engaging in public theology are concerned with addressing the social significance of the Christian gospel in issues facing the modern world. Adherence to the Christian gospel is declining in our current pluralistic and post-modern society , so Christian ideas and thoughts must be communicated in a strategic and relevant way if is the gospel is to inform public opinion effectively.

[203] June 2009
[204] 27-18 August 2009
[205] Professor Andrew Bradstock holds the Howard Paterson Chair in Theology and Public Issues and is Director of the Centre for Theology and Public Issues. Andrew is creating the Centre for Theology and Public Issues at Otago University. This is part of a network of similar international centres, and seeks to raise the profile of public theology in New Zealand and make a significant contribution to public discourse and policy thinking. http://www.otago.ac.nz/theology/staff/otago013671.html
[206] Bradstock, "Public Theology practice."
[207] Bradstock, "Mind the Gap: Inequality, Theology and the Quest for an Inclusive Society."
[208] Matheson, "Public Theology," 6-16.
[209] Whelan, "Christian Nonviolent Direct Action as Public Theology."
[210] Townsend, "Thinking Biblically, Speaking Secularly," 15-18.

Public theology as a gift

Contemporary writers like Peter Matheson[211] and Andrew Bradstock[212] view public theology as seeking to bring the Christian gospel as a gift to existing socio-political structures, rather than seeking to dismantle such structures. Bradstock, in particular, likens the "gift" element as representing a contribution of worth into the secular environment, without expecting anything in return. He alludes to the fact that the act of giving contains the value, and that because it contains "insights of faith", it constitutes a "gift".[213] Both Bradstock and Matheson agree with Stackhouse when they write that by its nature, "public theology" focuses on justice-related issues of public concern; "domestic" issues like housing, inequality, community cohesion and crime; "global" issues like poverty in the developing world, peacemaking, climate change and the economic recession. Harold Breitenberg provides a quote from Stackhouse which affirms Matheson and Bradstock's approach within broader social issues in society. He writes, "Stackhouse has written about public theology….including constructive proposals concerning economics, human rights, globalization, and marriage and family."[214] Finally, David Hollenbach highlights the need for a contemporary public theology which would attempt "to illuminate the urgent moral questions of our time through explicit use of the great symbols and doctrines of the Christian Faith."[215]

Language of public theology

Christopher Marshall writes that public theology faces two major challenges in its endeavours.[216] The first is arriving at an authentic and credible Christian position on whatever issues are under debate in the public arena and the second is deciding how Christian perspectives are to be expressed in terms that are intelligible in the marketplace.

In the text of his article, Marshall specifies the quandaries facing those who choose to enter into public debate on issues from a Christian perspective:

- Do they use the language of faith? Alternatively, do they adopt the secular language of mainstream political discourse?
- Can the Christian ethic be translated, without loss, into a general ethic incumbent on all people, irrespective of personal belief? Alternatively, is every attempt at such translation, however well intentioned, already an admission that Christian faith is essentially superfluous to public life?

On this issue, Marshall is supported by Stackhouse, who wrote, "public theology not only should be understandable to those outside its own religious tradition but should also strive to be persuasive to those both inside and outside its own tradition."[217] Also, David Ford describes a parallel thought to Marshall's. Ford writes, "God is creator of all, and is constantly concerned with every aspect of life: human and non-human; public and private; individual and social; religious, cultural, economic and

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[211] Matheson, "Public Theology," 6-16.
[212] Bradstock, "Public Theology? No Thanks, I'll Stick with the Normal Kind," 4.
[213] Ibid., 4-5.
[214] Breitenberg Jr., "What is Public Theology?".
[215] David Hollenbach "Public Theology in America: Some questions for Catholicism after John Courtney Murray." *Theological Studies* 37, No. 2 (June 1976): 299 quoted in ibid, 9.
[216] Marshall, "What Language shall I Borrow?: the Bilingual Dilemma of Public Theology."
[217] Max L. Stackhouse, "The Pastor as Public Theologian" in *The Pastor as Theologian* ed. Earl E. Shelp and Ronald H. Sunderland (New York: The Pilgrim press, 1988), 106-29, 133

political; past, present, and future. However, the conversation needs wise interpretation, so that it takes the contemporary situation into account. We do not have a purely religious world with which to deal; rather it is simultaneously both religious and secular in complex ways."[218]

While Marshall deals in general with biblical language in this particular article, he deals more thoroughly with these specific issues in an earlier article, which he wrote in 1994.[219] Here he asserts that the Bible is an indispensable framework for understanding the human situation in general, and the task of the Christian community in particular. However, the fundamental issue from a public theology viewpoint, according to Marshall, is not whether the Bible is authoritative for ethics, but how Christians move from biblical ethical principles to present problems and consider this evolution from principle to public consideration both inside and outside of the Christian community.

Use of scripture in public theology

Marshall writes that there is no shortage of ethical material in scripture. But it comes in a huge diversity of literary forms including: commands[220], laws[221], warnings, exhortations[222], prohibitions, wisdom teachings, proverbs[223], allegories, prayers[224], parables, visions of the future[225], narratives, living examples[226], dialogues, and vice and virtue lists[227].

For Marshall, the issues of moving any particular insights from scripture into the public arena include:

- How we do justice to the variety of perspectives scripture offers, without imposing our own agendas?
- How we determine the continuities and moral priorities of scripture? and
- How we bring some degree of organization and integration to biblical teaching*?*

Kim Workman, on the occasion of the retirement of one of his prison chaplains in October 2007, presented a paper that warned of the pitfalls he (an enthusiastic, evangelical new Christian) experienced as he developed the case for a Christian faith-based unit in the Rimutaka Correction facility.[228] His address was entitled "Think biblically, write and speak secularly." This concept fully complements Marshall's points on written and spoken language in the public arena.

Purpose of public theology

The first purpose of public theology is to attempt to persuade decision-making groups to consider Christian principles in their decision-making process. This purpose can be identified as the specific aim and objective of Hadfield's first letter to the Duke of Newcastle.

Good management and accountability practice would suggest that for effective decision-making, communication should be addressed to a person or persons who have the power and authority to make

[218] Ford, "God and our Public Life: a Scriptural Wisdom," 62-64.
[219] Marshall, "The Use of the Bible in Ethics - Scripture, Ethics, and the Social Justice` Statement," 107-146.
[220] Exodus 24;12
[221] Psalm 119
[222] Hebrews 13:1
[223] Book of Proverbs
[224] Matthew 6:9
[225] Daniel 4
[226] John 8:12
[227] 1 Corr 12
[228] Workman, "The Impact of Faith on Social Wellbeing."

a decision on the information contributed, and that the communication include alternatives, and that the risks of these alternatives be enumerated.[229] This ensures that the "material" gifted will be available to the decision-maker without bias, and not for the sole purpose of being "aired."

Any such communication for decision-making should require measurement, which is readily identifiable, verifiable, and obvious.[230] For instance, on introducing the Family Group Conferences for New Zealand youth offences in 1989, the then Chief Social Worker, Mike Doolan, made formal submissions to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Social Welfare, which resulted in significant changes in the treatment of youth justice offending in New Zealand.[231] Also, Phil McCarthy and Kim Workman's submissions to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Justice in 2003 resulted in the establishment of a unique (Christian) faith-based unit at Rimutaka Corrections facility.[232] Both of these political developments are New Zealand examples where public servants who are professed Christians provided information to appropriate legislative bodies which could, and did, make the decisions. Both resulted in a satisfactory and unique outcome for New Zealand and are still in operation to this day. For public theology to be effective, then, it must provide information for decision-making to relevant bodies which are able to influence society.

The second purpose of those entering into public theology is to contribute to a specific public debate on an issue, or issues, and to inform public opinion. In New Zealand , issues of public concern are strongly promulgated by the media. Public opinion on these issues is identified through opinion polls and market research, and only occasionally is the Christian perspective actively sought. Christians form a significant part of society and have a valid voice which needs to be heard. It is within the context of informing public opinion that Stackhouse, Bradstock, Matheson and Marshall all see the role of public theology. Their perspectives on how the Christian voice is actually shared within the public arena give strong insight into ways Christians can effectively contribute to public debate and inform public opinion.

Working definition of public theology

From the above review it is apparent that public theology can be constructive in shedding a Christian perspective on issues and can contribute effectively to debate for the purposes of developing public opinion and formulating and promulgating public policy. This can be seen as a gift from the Christian community to the rest of society. Public theology is not about promoting the interest of "the Church", but drawing on the resources of the Christian faith in a mature and deliberate way to contribute to the welfare of all in local, national and international society. Andrew Bradstock defines public theology as "involving inputting constructively to contemporary discourse in the public square, drawing upon the insights of the faith it offers as 'gifts' to the secular world."[233]

This definition is current and incorporates the concerns of such early writers as Stackhouse and Breitenberg, quoted above. It contains elements relevant for an evaluation of Hadfield's three letters and, as such, will be used as the working definition of "public theology" in this context.

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[229] Refer such references as http://sourcesofinsight.com/2009/03/19/5-elements-of-an-effective-decision-making-process/

[230] Refer to Project Management SMART *Goals* should be specific, measurable, attainable, realistic and timely

[231] Judge P.D. Mahony, "Family Group Conferences in New Zealand" (Paper presented at the IAYFJM Congress, Melbourne, October 2002)

[232] Phil McCarthy, "Faith Based Unit - Rimutaka" (Dept of Corrections, 2003), http://www.corrections.govt.nz/news-and-publications/media-releases/2003-media-releases/faith-based-unit

[233] Bradstock, "Public Theology? No Thanks, I'll Stick with the Normal Kind," 4.

Criteria for evaluating Hadfield's letters

The definitions, examples, language, and purposes of public theology discussed above suggest to me six criteria for evaluating Hadfield's three public letters. While they are based on Bradstock's guidelines, they incorporate ideas from all the public theologians reviewed. Bradstock makes direct reference to the six guidelines, [234] but also includes reference to informed theology (in terms of the significant issue being raised) and to making a contribution with confidence (in terms of the timing and the language used). Matheson's writings are also reflected in the six criteria. In addition, he recommends the development of listening skills and the need for Christians to demonstrate that they are living out what they are contributing in the public square.[235] The extra issues raised by both Bradstock and Matheson are, to an extent, included in the six criteria suggested here.

The six criteria reflect current thinking about public theology and are relevant for the New Zealand environment. As such, they are useful for a retrospective evaluation of Hadfield's three letters arising from the Taranaki land war. The evaluation will identify whether Hadfield's writings comply with the six criteria and whether his writings make a contribution towards the practice of public theology in contemporary New Zealand.

[234] Bradstock, "Using 'God-Talk' in a Secular Society: Time for a New Conversation on Public Issues."
[235] Matheson, "Public Theology," 16-18.

The six criteria are:

Criteria	Source
Raises issues which are significant from both a secular and Christian view.	Bradstock
Demonstrates a clear vision of what the approach into the public square is to achieve (the objective should be either for decision-making or informing of public opinion).	Bradstock, Matheson, Stackhouse
Contains authoritative material which can be independently proven.	Bradstock
Uses appropriate language for the occasion and for the secular audience.	Marshall, Workman, Whelan, Stackhouse, Ford
Includes development and maintenance of good relationships with the target persons or group.	Sullivan, Maddox
Suggests viable proposals leading to effective outcomes for all concerned.	Maddox, De Gruchy, Kim

4.4 Waitara land dispute, war, and Hadfield's three public letters

A number of aspects of the Waitara land dispute contributed to the declaration of war between the New Zealand Government and Taranaki Maori. These include the attitudes of government, local settlers, church groups, and people from Hadfield's parish. In her thesis, Sarah Rutherford (nee Woods) provides a comprehensive coverage of all aspects of the dispute, and researchers who need to enquire further should consult this document. [236]

The sequence of events

The original land dispute at Waitara, which led to the start of the Taranaki Land War, was the focus for Hadfield's three letters, subsequently published in both Britain and New Zealand. What Hadfield believed to be the facts of the situation leading up to the declaration of war over the land at Waitara were included in his first letter to the Duke of Newcastle. This particular account was later accepted as accurate by his peers.[237]

The Waitara land dispute.

The account is taken from Sarah Rutherford (nee Woods): [238]

[236] Woods, "Octavius Hadfield and the Waitara Dispute," 120-145.
[237] Selwyn and Abrahams of the church, Sir William Martin, Fox, Featherston and William Swainson all eventually sided with Hadfield and supported his facts, although for some of them, it took a long time.
[238] Woods, "Octavius Hadfield and the Waitara Dispute," 120-145.

In April 1859, one of the governor's officers wrote to Wiremu Kingi (referred to in English correspondence as William King) saying that the Governor was taking up Teira's offer to sell the land at Waitara and that Kingi was not to interfere in the sale unless he had a claim on the land.[239] Kingi wrote back to the Governor "I will not agree to our bedroom being sold (I mean Waitara here), for this bed belongs to the whole of us. You may insist, but I will never agree to it. I am not talking nonsense. None of this land will be given to you, never, never, not till I die."[240]

In July, he (Kingi) wrote to his friend, the missionary at Waikanae, Octavius Hadfield. "Greetings to you who reflect the images of my ancestors who have passed on. I have much affection for you, and respect for your teaching. I would like you to talk with the Governor and Mr. McLean about Waitara. They support Teira. I have always said I do not wish to sell Waitara. I can never allow Waitara to be sold. Parris (Land Purchase) says that I am going to be put in prison, and that he would like to see me dead. Many settlers say that I am an evil man. I do not know what wrong I have done. Please write to Parris, he is willing to accept offers from any Maori, but this is not right. Please speak strongly to the Governor, McLean, and Parris and stop them trying to buy Waitara."[241]

On November 29, 1859, Teira went to New Plymouth to get the money for the sale of Waitara. Wiremu Kingi also went along with about thirty of his people to prevent the payment. When they arrived they could hardly believe what was happening. Money was being paid for land which they never agreed to sell, to a person who as far as they were concerned had no right to sell it. Also, the land had not even been surveyed. To the Maori that meant the Government didn't know what it was buying. In great anxiety, Kingi again wrote to Hadfield, asking him to explain what was happening… "They say that Teira's land belongs to him alone. No, that piece of land belongs to us all; it belongs to the orphan, it belongs to the widow."[242]

The Governor decided to act. He ordered the block of land to be surveyed and soldiers to be ready to occupy the land if the survey was resisted. The officer in command of the soldiers at New Plymouth sent a message to Kingi telling him that resisting the survey was rebellion. He would send soldiers to the Waitara if Kingi carried on with his opposition. (In the first attempt at a survey the women and children removed the pegs, and hugged the surveyors so that they could not do their work.)

Kingi and his followers had erected a pa on the site under dispute, and this was interpreted by the Government as provocation. On March 16, 1859, the war began between Kingi and his tribes and the British soldiers. This was the start of the first Taranaki land war. Many people were killed and the homes and cultivations of many Maori and Pakeha settlers were destroyed."

Hadfield's relationship with Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake, of Ngati Awa

Wiremu Kingi was one of Hadfield's most astute and faithful friends. He was a Christian, and a member of Hadfield's church mission. Kingi was loyal to the Government during his stay in Waikanae, and he and his tribe were key players in restraining Te Rauparaha from invading Port Nicholson during Hadfield's negotiations for peace with the Government concerning the Wairau incident.

[239] Te Teira, was a sub-chief, under Wiremu Kingi, the official acknowledged Te Atiawa Maori chief and leader.
[240] Woods and Keith, "Bitter Payment: War at Waitara," 6.
[241] Ibid., 7.
[242] Ibid., 8.

In April 1848, the majority of the Kingi's Ngati Awa tribe living in Waikanae returned to their former home near Waitara, North Taranaki, which they had left in 1827. There were disturbing rumours of Crown-sponsored survey activity in Taranaki around the land which the tribe still owned there. During the tribe's stay in Waikanae, viable land in the Kapiti region was becoming more difficult to obtain, with the resettlement of villages and the impact of the colonists settling on prime sites. Further, Kingi's tribe was concerned that Waikato tribes might re-assert their claims on the tribe's original land in Taranaki which was increasing in value. Re-possession had seemed to be the only course. The tribe, numbering about 580, left Waikanae to return to their home in Taranaki with Wiremu Kingi in command of one of the canoes.[243]

Kingi wrote to Governor Browne about the tribe's desire to retain the Waitara block. He had also written to previous Governors clarifying his intention to retain the Waitara land for tribal use. He also wrote to Hadfield on several occasions during the dispute to see if he would advocate in the dispute because of the Government's stance.

Apart from the general principle at stake – that is, whether disputed land could, without legal investigation, be seized and aggressively defended by the Crown, Hadfield had another reason for espousing Kingi's cause. Hadfield's associate, convert, deacon, and friend Riwai Te Ahu also had an interest in the block that Te Teira had presumed to sell. "It is understandable then, because of their long association that Kingi and Riwai should have appealed to Hadfield for advice.[244]

Hadfield's involvement

Hadfield was at first unwilling to become involved. In time, however, he found that nothing was being done for Kingi and his people and that the Governor was single-minded in his desire to possess the land and to overcome any Maori resistance to this possession. Hadfield became a lone voice standing against officialdom for Kingi and his Ngati Awa people. He is reported as having written:

> I have no doubt in my own mind as to what my right course is. I marvel at the lukewarmness of people who profess to love justice and hate iniquity. If I see my way clearly it is quite indifferent to me whether I obtain the sympathy and approbation of others or not. I was almost alone in this country when I raised my voice against the Governor's unjust and mad conduct at Taranaki. My assertions as to facts were denied, my predictions as to what would follow were ridiculed. Now, all my facts are now acknowledged and all my anticipations have been realised.[245]

Strategic approach.

Hadfield developed a very purposeful and comprehensive strategic approach to his land war opposition and the fight for justice for his people. His approach was twofold: firstly to make representations to key people who held the power and the authority to remedy the situation, then to inform public opinion in both New Zealand and Britain. This was backed up by his inclusion of a wide network of relationships, developed to create and establish a groundswell for verification of the facts, and a call to politicians in Britain to act on the situation.

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[243] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 221.
[244] Ibid., 215.
[245] Letter to his brother Charles on 5 December 1859 as quoted in MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 109.

Approach in Britain.

Hadfield's first approach was to convince the powers in London that Governor Browne had acted illegally and therefore should be recalled. His first and main letter was to the Duke of Newcastle, who was the British Cabinet Secretary responsible for the Colonies. At the same time as he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, he wrote to Secretary Henry Venn of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) to use its powerful influence in parliament to bring pressure to bear on members of the Colonial Office.[246] The CMS did not approve of its missionaries being involved in political controversy, but Hadfield was able to supply such evidence that the CMS eventually exerted considerable pressure on various prominent British Cabinet ministers.[247]

Otaki Maori also wrote a petition direct to the Queen, believing that she would intervene personally and assure them of their land rights.[248]

Anglican Church involvement

The Anglican Church and its missionaries were involved in the land settlement issue at Taranaki from the very outset. Bishop Selwyn was familiar with the area, as he had been invited by Governor Grey to visit Taranaki in 1855. He issued a strong pastoral letter attacking settlers' greed as "covetousness", but he also advised Maori "to sell all the land which they were not able to occupy or cultivate." [249] This established a precedent for subsequent public involvement by the Church.

Wellington's Bishop Abraham took up the call against the Governor's action of declaring martial law over an uncompleted and disputed land claim when he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, in conjunction with Hadfield, through Governor Browne, a letter which was subsequently published in the *Southern Cross* on September 1 1860:

> We had no idea of the sudden *coup de main* your Excellency was planning, and the proclamation of martial law in the province of Taranaki came upon us before we had any opportunity of remonstrance. I should never have understood that you were going to introduce a new principle in deciding of Maori titles to land, and that you were going to ignore the tribal right of ownership, and to accept the usufructuary possession as being a title to the fee simple.[250]

Governor's rebuttal of Anglican Church representation

While this dissertation is concerned with the style and content of Hadfield's public letters, and not with the Waitara land dispute, readers might find it useful to peruse Governor Browne's dispatch to the Duke of Newcastle entitled "Recent disturbances in New Zealand."[251] This dispatch deals in detail with the Governor's view of events and refutes the allegations of Bishop Abraham. In short, Governor Browne advised the Duke that the (New Zealand) Executive Council on 25 January 1860 authorised the surveying of the land in question and that adequate military protection should accompany the survey party. The

[246] He wrote, "I think the Governor's conduct so disgraceful that I am prepared to bear any amount of blame in discharging what I consider an imperative duty in the cause of truth and justice. The letter was written very hurriedly but you may depend on all the facts, and I hope my arguments are sound." Source?

[247] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 213.

[248] Ibid., 212.

[249] Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, 40.

[250] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 96.

[251] NZ12:1861 [2798] 74-79 British Parliamentary Papers, Colonies of New Zealand, Session 1861 – Recent Disturbances in New Zealand -Dispatch No. 27.

Council resolved that the land should be occupied, by force if necessary, until further instructed and that William King (Kingi) be advised accordingly. Governor Browne also advised the Duke that he had investigated the land tenure for nine months, and that William Kingi and his men had obstructed and taunted the troops accompanying the survey ground parties. He closed his letter of rebuttal to the Duke by writing:

> To refuse this purchase, therefore, at the instance (?) of a chief at enmity with the vendor, would have been an act of injustice with the spirit of the Treaty, deserving that condemnation which his Lordship, in the absence of accurate information, now awards."[252] (Hadfield's evidence and Grey's subsequent investigation questioned both the thoroughness of the investigation and the lack of protocol for using military force, and found them both wanting).[253]

Approach to New Zealand Statesmen

The next part of Hadfield's approach was to inform public opinion in New Zealand, both inside and outside the government. Hadfield personally appeared before the New Zealand House of Representatives and answered eighty-eight prepared questions. He is reported as having generally convinced an increasing number of New Zealand statesmen that the war was wrong.[254] As Hadfield continued his representations on behalf of Kingi and his disadvantaged tribe, he found others supporting him locally. Bishops Selwyn and Abraham and politicians Sir William Martin, Sir William Fox, Dr. Isaac Featherston and William Swainson all eventually sided with him and supported his stance, although it is reported that for some of them it took a long time.[255]

Involving the Press

Hadfield also sent letters to his brother Charles in London keeping him fully informed. Charles informed key people in England through private contact and letters in local newspaper columns. By the time of Hadfield's third publication, prominent New Zealand politicians Sir William Fox and Sir William Martin had also published letters in national newspapers and political forums supporting Hadfield's position.[256]

Hadfield's public letters

The three letters were written and published over an eleven month period. The first letter, *One of England's Little Wars,* was written in May 1860 and addressed specifically to the Duke of Newcastle, the Government Cabinet Secretary for the Colonies.[257] The second publication, *A Sequel to One of England's Little Wars,* was written in February 1861 and addressed to the editor of *The Times* in London for publication because Hadfield's name had been repeatedly brought before the public through this newspaper.[258] The third publication, *The Second Year of One of England's Little Wars*, was written in April 1861 to the general public through *The Times* in response to various newspaper articles on the New Zealand Waitara land wars. Hadfield judged these publications to be incorrect and misleading[259]. The spurious allegations referred to in this third publication had been compiled and published by Professor Harold Browne, the brother of the New Zealand Governor.

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[252] ibid.
[253] Gorst, *The Maori King: Or, the Story of Our Quarrel with the Natives of New Zealand*, 233.
[254] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 191.
[255] MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 95.
[256] Mr. Fox's pamphlet, "The War in New Zealand," published in London, and Sir William Martin's "Taranaki Question," have confirmed every statement of importance. Refer opening paragraph in Hadfield's "second year" letter,
[257] Hadfield, "One of England's Little Wars.", 1-26
[258] Hadfield, "A Sequel to One of England's Little Wars.", 1-16
[259] Hadfield, "The Second Year of One of England's Little Wars.", 1-23

First letter: ***One of England's Little Wars***

This was a letter of 5979 words spread over seventeen paragraphs. Hadfield alleged from the outset that there had been a flagrant act of injustice by Governor Browne against William King (Wiremu Kingi). Hadfield introduces himself as having known William King for over twenty years and as having written to Governor Grey fourteen years previously on matters pertaining to aboriginal land settlement. The main issue which Hadfield raised with the Duke, in his opening paragraph, was that legal remedies normally available to British citizens were not available to the Maori chief William King. He was referring to lack of access to legal representation and to the lodging of appeals by persons affected by the Governor's decisions, both of which were not available to King. Hadfield questioned the authority of the Governor to make unilateral land decisions. He saw this particular land decision as being contradictory to the Queen's assurances in the recently negotiated Treaty of Waitangi settlement. He claimed that the Governor had committed an act of injustice on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen. Hadfield described an official document put forth by Governor Browne, in which the Governor had declared his position on land settlement. Hadfield argues that Governor Browne's document was in contradiction of the Queen's Treaty assurances in that it tried to negate the Queen's promise that all the natives shall be free to sell their lands to her, or to keep them, as they may think best. He reiterated that the main issue was that the Maori chief's access to justice was being debarred. He questioned, "Are chiefs to be debarred from all right to defend their titles in a competent court of law?"[260]

Three full paragraphs follow which trace Hadfield's understanding of the background and origins of the dispute. The letter traces the history of the relocation of the Ngati Awa tribe back from Waikanae to Taranaki, the assurances made by the Governor for dealing with land settlements under dispute[261], the vendetta between Te Teira and Kingi, and also the lack of attention given to representations of the tribe and its elders not to part with the Waitara parcel of land. This background exposition is followed by five paragraphs in which Hadfield challenges the truth of the Governor's view of the situation. Here he reiterates the injustice caused by the lack of access to British courts and law for Maori as a whole, and King in particular. He reiterates the illegality of the transaction in view of the Queen's intentions expressed in the Treaty, and offers his thought that the Governor was acting out of insanity. Next he surveys possible political fallout facing Britain by the described government incompetence. This is dealt with in terms of war, the costs of war, and the political fallout for Britain at war. He restates the loyal character of William King in the context of the Governor's declaration of martial war. He justifies his reasons for writing the pamphlet and concludes by raising his doubts about the effectiveness of evangelising for the Christian faith, not to mention colonizing, in circumstances where the local government lacks integrity.

The argument in this letter is based on natural justice and fairness of treatment for both European and Maori alike. This is in accordance with Hadfield's Christian principles, and indeed with his upbringing. [262] Hadfield's desire for peace and fairness had been developed throughout his entire life. We have seen how in his teenage years in France, he spent time with some of Napoleon's generals just after the Napoleonic Wars, and was influenced by them at, a time when peace was actively being promoted. The ideals of freedom for all and non-exploitation (both attributes of fairness, justice and peace) were prevalent amongst British society at the time of his commissioning as a missionary. This was the time of

[260] Hadfield, "One of England's Little Wars," 6.
[261] Governor's verbal promise. "that he never would consent to buy land without an undisputed title."
[262] Refer Lev 19:15; Ps 9:16; Ps 11:7; Matt 12:18-20; Acts 17:31

Wilberforce, Exeter Hall, the Clapham Sect, and the Aborigines Protection Society.[263] Hadfield 's only overt reference to his Christian values is in the question: "Are we in the middle of the nineteenth century to confess to the whole civilized world that our Christianity and our civilization have given us no advantage over these people but that of a more scientific use of material force?"[264]

To his credit, Hadfield suggested a course of action which might remedy the situation. He wrote:

> What is demanded by the natives is, an impartial court in which their respective claims can be stated; and before which they may bring evidence to be received on oath. Nothing short of an inquiry conducted on such principles as these, can be considered an "investigation" of their titles to land. [265]

Second letter: *A Sequel to One of England's Little Wars*

This letter was larger than his first. It contained 9434 words spread over twenty-four paragraphs. It was a general letter and its purpose was to inform the public of Britain of the wrongdoings that were occurring in New Zealand. The construction of Hadfield's ideas was very similar to the first letter, repeatedly returning to the major point of justice and the lack of access to it for Maori.

Hadfield's main purpose in writing was for, "recalling attention to the real origin of the war, its present stage, and the future prospects of the Colony."[266] His concern was that, "It must be quite evident to all who have paid the least attention to the subject, that Governor Browne blundered into the war; that he had no notion when he first took possession of Waitara, and wrote to the Secretary of State, saying that he intended to hold it by means of a block-house, to be defended by twenty men, that he was about to involve Great Britain in a war with the whole Maori population."[267]

Hadfield reviewed his understanding of the situations leading up to the declaration of martial law and concluded that King and his tribe would have abided by decisions of a British court of law had one been available to them in relation to the Governor's proposal to annex the land. In the next few paragraphs, Hadfield questioned the integrity of Browne's actions in the light of his previous written and verbal assurances given publicly to Maori. The crux of Hadfield's understanding of the Maoris' concern was that, "The universal complaint heard from them is, that all minor matters are regularly adjudicated on; but a man's land, which he has inherited from remote ancestors, is taken away at the caprice of the Governor, or even by a subordinate land-agent."[268] The real reason for Browne's action and for the war, Hadfield suggests, was, "nothing else than the acquisition of 600 acres of land which the settlers were anxious to obtain, and which the Governor thought proper to imagine were 'essential for the consolidation of the Province'."[269] Hadfield wrote:

> The war was begun without anything like even a decent pretext for it: on the 25th January, 1860, before a single overt act of any description had been committed, a proclamation of martial law was

[263] Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, 64.
[264] Hadfield, "One of England's Little Wars," 24.
[265] Ibid., 18.
[266] Hadfield, "A Sequel to One of England's Little Wars," 4.
[267] Ibid.
[268] Ibid., 6.
[269] Ibid., 9.

> signed and sent down to Taranaki. This was bad enough; but it is not all: the proclamation was so rendered into the Maori language that it actually proclaimed war on all the natives in the Province of Taranaki, and even implied a permission to fight until the Governor revoked that permission.[270]

Hadfield restates that the absence of justice (representation and redress) for Maori is the issue in question, and he doubts Britain's ability to win any war and exterminate the Maori. Like the first letter, he appeals to the ethic of the British Government outworking in New Zealand as a world colonizing nation and the difficulty of CMS missionaries presenting Christian values from the Maori point of view in this obviously unjust situation. In this letter, Hadfield states more clearly his Christian view on the situation. He writes:

> I have laboured for twenty-two years among them, and I take this opportunity of saying that I never, before the war broke out, was so thoroughly convinced of the deep hold the Christian religion had taken of those under my charge as I have been since that event. However, now I am amazed that people born and educated in the midst of Christianity, can be guilty of such premeditated wickedness, and tempted to think that Christianity, if such be its fruits, may be a sham after all.[271]

As he concludes this publication, Hadfield presents what he considers the two moral options for consideration. He challenges the Home Government to retract its position or continue and defend its illegal stance. He writes:

> But the real question is, which is most derogatory to a Government, more especially when dealing with a brave and honourably minded people such as the Maori, to confess a blunder made by a Governor, and a Governor, let it be remarked, for whom personally the natives never had any respect, or to persevere in an act of injustice which will have the effect of utterly destroying all further confidence both in the Government and in the white man?[272]

Hadfield does offer a solution:

> A Governor of known and tried ability ought to be sent out. An investigation ought to take place as to the title to the Waitara block of land from which William King and his tribe have been driven. And if it is satisfactorily proved that an act of injustice has been committed, compensation ought to be awarded to the survivors. I believe that this would restore peace and confidence throughout the country and that the British Government would be again respected, trusted, honoured, and obeyed.[273]

This solution calls for the replacement of Governor Browne, followed by an independent investigation. The letter concludes by stating Hadfield's credentials to write on the issue at hand. He expresses his opinion that he is more "thoroughly acquainted with the Maoris than any other European in the country."[274]

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[270] Ibid., 10.
[271] Ibid., 12.
[272] Ibid., 15.
[273] Ibid., 16.
[274] Ibid.

This particular publication is quite derogatory of Governor Browne and it paints a picture with little hope for the appointed governor. Hadfield mentions him by name thirty-three times throughout the document. Hadfield wrote:

> There is only one honourable course left to the Home Government; Governor Browne, who ought never to have been placed in the responsible post he has held, ought to be immediately recalled. His name is execrated throughout the land. It is absolutely impossible that peace can be made, or confidence restored, while he remains here."[275]

It should be noted that this publication is addressed to the general public and not to a single person for a specific purpose, and it contains very judgmental statements in relation to the current governor. Hadfield implicates the Queen's Government and the British nation in the actions of the New Zealand Governor. This demonstrates his understanding of the nature of governmental accountability and law. He writes that the particular action in question at Waitara against William King had introduced a lack of respect, honour, and obedience for the British Government amongst the Maori. However, this statement is very general and without sustained proof.

Statements like these would not normally be expected from a church leader in contemporary society.

Third letter: *The Second Year of One of England's Little Wars*

This was Hadfield's shortest letter, containing 3504 words spread over fifteen paragraphs. The letter was addressed publicly through *The Times* and the main purpose was to inform the public of England about the land issues in New Zealand. Hadfield draws on independent evidence to verify his statement of facts[276] and identifies errors of fact in the actions of the current governor; then he refutes these with evidence of his own. The construction of Hadfield's ideas is very similar to that in his first letter and second pamphlet. Once again, the major point repeatedly made is lack of access to justice for Maori.

In his opening paragraphs, Hadfield develops his aim to refute accusations made about himself and the information described in his two previous publications. He provides his reason for writing as:

> I believe that great crimes ought to be called by their proper names; and that the interests of truth and justice ought to be paramount to every other motive. Surely at a time when sycophants and flatterers abound, a little toleration may be shown to the few who are bold enough openly and plainly to denounce oppression and spoliation, although committed by a British Governor. [277]

The succeeding twelve paragraphs expose errors of fact in Harold Browne's published endorsement of his brother's actions as Governor. Hadfield wrote:

> What is now proposed is to direct attention to some circumstances connected with the subject which seem to have escaped general notice, and likewise to expose some of the numerous inaccuracies into which Prof. Browne, while amiably intent on defending his brother's conduct, has fallen.[278]

[275] Ibid., 15.
[276] As Mr. Fox's pamphlet, "The War in New Zealand," published in London, and Sir William Martin's "Taranaki Question," have confirmed every statement of importance contained in my letter
[277] Hadfield, "The Second Year of One of England's Little Wars," 4.
[278] Ibid.

The allegations included:

- The Waikato Maori who had previously fought and defeated Taranaki Maori were the rightful owners of the land in question. "The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible, that the rights of W. King and his tribe to their ancient territory at Waitara were in no degree whatever affected by the Waikato invasion that occurred during their absence."[279]
- The New Zealand Company had purchased outright the land in question. "But the most complete proof of its absolute inapplicability to the point now at issue, appears on the face of the deed itself, the whole of the Waitara district, and a considerable portion of the land both to the north and south being excluded from it."[280]
- Governor Grey had prohibited King and his tribe from returning from Waikanae to Taranaki. "Nothing whatever occurred during the interval between W. King's departure from Waitara in 1827 and his return to that place in 1848 to affect his rights at Waitara."[281]

Hadfield's third publication deals with each of these issues in detail, and then he summarises the Governor's contentions, including his denial to provide King the right of an investigation. "The Government contents itself with …. refusing any investigation", and, "It will probably be inferred from the constant reference to claims that some Court formally investigated the respective titles of claimants to the land at Waitara. No such investigation ever took place. This is notorious here in New Zealand." [282]

He concludes by tracing the times and places in which King had advised successive governors of his tribe's ownership of the land and his intention to retain it for his tribal use. "My word is not a new word, it is an old one; Governor Hobson [in 1840], Governor Fitzroy, and Governor Grey have all heard it, and now that you have come, O Governor Browne, I send the same word to you, that I have sent to the Governors to hold back my land."[283]

The publication has six appendices containing independent writers' views of the facts as presented, together with the statements of the Native Secretary Mr McLean and memos from the Land Purchase Department.

The outcome

The first Taranaki war lasted for a year and one day, and a ceasefire was signed on 18 March 1861 with neither side admitting defeat or responsibility for the battle.

Governor Browne was recalled late in 1861, and Sir George Grey reappointed, but by then much damage had been done to relationships between the Government and Maori. In 1863, Governor Grey initiated a new investigation of the ownership of the Waitara land. He found that the investigation of Teira's title to the land had not been properly carried out and that the Government had broken its own laws by attacking the Maoris. Grey decided that Browne had been at fault, and decided to return the land to the Maori owners.[284] Despite this intention and a peaceful stalemate between the settlers, the Crown and the Ngati Awa people, the land was again confiscated in 1881 under the New Zealand Settlements Act and has remained in various modes of central and local government ownership since that time.

[279] Ibid., 7.
[280] Ibid., 8.
[281] Ibid.
[282] Ibid., 11.
[283] Ibid.
[284] Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, 137.

Modern government response

On March 17 2010, the 150th anniversary of the start of the Taranaki land wars was marked by the signing of terms of negotiation for a Treaty of Waitangi settlement which would incorporate the Waitara block of land. The New Zealand Treaty Negotiations Minister Chris Finlayson said that "the Taranaki land wars and the confiscation that followed, and the invasion, have been acknowledged by the Crown in the Waitangi Tribunal as an injustice, and as breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi."[285] Prime Minister John Key said, "We are negotiating redress for what the Waitangi Tribunal calls unlawful invasion of this region and large-scale confiscation of Ngati Awa lands. The government's intention is clear - to move towards reconciliation between Crown and Ngati Awa Iwi. To go forward and embrace the brighter future in front of us. Wednesday's ceremony at Owae Marae formally begins the Treaty of Waitangi settlement process with Ngati Awa."

Chris Finlayson said, "The Taranaki land wars unfairly labelled Taranaki Maori as rebels.".[286]

The current government's actions represent the final stage in the fight for justice which Hadfield, among others, undertook. The whole story encompasses confiscation of land, injustice, hostilities, advocacy, peacemaking, resettlement, reconciliation and restoration. Underlying the successful outcome of this process are biblical principles of public theology requested by Hadfield in each of his three letters and referred to in Chapter 5.

Summary

From the settlers' viewpoint, it could be said that the wars were just a setback to the settlement of the North Island. Certainly, many lands were devastated or too dangerous for farmers. However, the main obstacle for settlement had been the Maoris' refusal to sell land. This resistance had now been overcome so that colonization could proceed - at the cost of a long war, but with quite small casualties (about 1000 Europeans and friendly Maori were killed).[287]

From the Maori tribes' viewpoint, the consequences were more complicated. How many were killed is uncertain, though their losses have been estimated at about two thousand. The wars intensified hatred of Europeans and many concluded that even the missionaries had been insincere. They said that the missionaries pointed towards heaven, and while they pointed the settler stole their land. Thousands of Maoris abandoned the missionary churches in favour of none, or one of the several new Maori religions.[288]

So Hadfield had an authentic and credible position, which required him to write from a Christian justice and peace perspective. His support was requested by Kingi and his tribal members, and he responded to the obvious injustice being experienced by Maori. Hadfield had very good reason to write publicly because public officials were involved and his recommendation of a thorough and impartial investigation offered a solution that was effective and acceptable.

[285] http://tvnz.co.nz/national-news/anniversary-taranaki-land-wars-marked-3420247 - accessed on 27 Jan 2011
[286] http://tvnz.co.nz/national-news/anniversary-taranaki-land-wars-marked-3420247 - accessed on 27 Jan 2011
[287] Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, 145.
[288] Ibid.

4.5 Evaluation of Hadfield's public writings as Public Theology

"Hate evil and love good, then work it out in the public square." Amos 5:15 (The Message)

This chapter begins by considering whether Hadfield's publications can be appropriately assessed within the context of public theology. Then the criteria identified in Chapter 5 are applied retrospectively to evaluate the writing and publication of Hadfield's three letters. The work goes on to reflect on issues which might still be relevant despite the time lapse between Hadfield's writings and present day theological thinking. The chapter concludes with a summary of this book's findings.

4.5.1 Can Hadfield's writings be validly regarded as an expression of public theology?

This question is crucial to the study. The working definition of public theology as "involving inputting constructively to contemporary discourse in the public square, drawing upon the insights of the faith it offers as 'gifts' to the secular world"[289] is dissected and applied here in response to this question.

Public theology involves *"inputting constructively to contemporary discourse in the public square"*
Hadfield, as an Anglican missionary, was writing on an issue which, in his view, was of national importance: the conflict between the Governor and a Maori chief over a parcel of tribal land. The Governor had declared martial law against all Maori in the Taranaki region over this issue.

Hadfield's first published letter was addressed to the Duke of Newcastle.[290] Here he outlined his view of the various events contributing to the dispute and made suggestions as to what the Duke could do about the situation. His main point, which he made several times in the letter, was that Maori lacked access to independent review, investigation and resolution. He wrote that this was a grave act of injustice to Maori. Three contemporary questions were raised in the letter, and all were relevant to the issue of social justice being established. They were framed as open questions, and all required a response. The three questions were:

- Is a native chief to be forcibly ejected from his land when an individual member of his tribe tells a subordinate land agent that it is his, and not the chief's, and the agent believes him?[291]
- Are chiefs to be debarred from all rights to defend their titles in a competent court of law?[292]
- Does the land agent have the right to deprive the chief of his land and justify the Governor in having recourse to arms? [293]

At the conclusion of this first letter, Hadfield offered constructive suggestions for the Duke to consider in dealing with the issues. He wrote, "What is demanded by the natives is, an impartial court in which their respective claims can be stated; and before which they may bring evidence to be received on oath.

[289] Bradstock, "Public Theology? No Thanks, I'll Stick with the Normal Kind," 4.
[290] Hadfield, "One of England's Little Wars," 5.
[291] Ibid.
[292] Ibid., 6.
[293] Ibid.

Nothing short of an inquiry conducted on such principles as these, can be considered an 'investigation' of their titles to land."[294]

Hadfield's second and third letters, both directed to inform public opinion in Britain and New Zealand, included similar themes.

Public theology is *"Insights of faith offered as a 'gift'"*

Hadfield does not raise theological issues overtly in any of his published letters. He does, however, base his case in each of the letters on access to justice for the Maori, whom he claimed were being victimized. Unlike the European settlers, the Maori in this instance had no recourse to legal representation and no media to present their situation.

The working definition's "insights of faith" are represented in Hadfield's call for access to justice to Maori. Justice for oppressed peoples is certainly consistent with scriptural principles and with bible teaching.[295] Bible verses relating to God's justice would have been very familiar to Hadfield as they were recited by, and with, him repetitively in the Anglican daily services of Matins and Evensong.

Hadfield's writings and insights were offered as a "gift." At times his concern for Maori was considered treasonous, and the environment was hostile towards him and towards Maori.[296] Nevertheless, he continually and steadfastly presented the truth as he saw it on behalf of the disadvantaged Maori people in Waitara.[297]

Hadfield's insights of faith relating to justice can also be seen, in some sense, as a constructive "gift". For example, his requests for the Duke to decide in favour of affected Maori, to change his mind over the appointment of a governor to New Zealand, and to hold an independent review into the matter were practical solutions to significant problems being faced at the time. By publishing his letters, Hadfield was also informing the public in Britain, and in New Zealand, of the seriousness of the situation without himself receiving anything in return, thus constituting a "gift".

Hadfield's letters were addressed as "gift" to the Duke, the Governor and the public of Britain and New Zealand. All of these can all be considered part of the secular world as they are not directly associated with any Christian/religious organization.

Hadfield's writings meet contemporary criteria for public theology as in the working definition, so his works can be viewed as public theology despite the time differential between his letters and current definitions of public theology. It could be argued that, first and foremost, Hadfield is appealing through principles of British justice, rather than divine justice. But biblical principles of God's justice as reflected in his Word lie vaguely in the background of each letter, as they do behind British notions of justice. Hadfield was writing as a Christian missionary on behalf of victimised people. His motives were those of an advocate for peace and righteousness for the poor and disenfranchised. He went public to have the situation recognised by, and to obtain resolution from, the Cabinet Secretary for the Colonies, and to

[294] Ibid., 18.
[295] Refer for example; Deut 16:20, Is 1:17, Ps 10, and Matt 12
[296] Starke reports, "The clergy were concerned at the 'intemperate unwise language' used by Hadfield to express his deep anger, which resulted from his conviction that war could have been avoided. Many settlers regarded his actions as bordering on treason." Stark, "Hadfield, Octavius - bibliography" http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h2/1 accessed on 12 Dec 2010.
[297] Woods, "Octavius Hadfield and the Waitara Dispute," 178.

inform public opinion for the same purpose. In this, Hadfield is an example of a Christian operating in the public square, seeking to influence policy direction and outcomes. He is a church leader using his position, faith and theology to have an impact on society. Justice for an oppressed people is the particular insight of faith gift which he offered to the secular world.

4.5.2 Retrospective evaluation of Hadfield's writings against criteria for public theology praxis

Is the issue raised significant from both a secular and Christian view?
The argument for consideration here is the significance of the occupation, possession and alienation of land by the Governor. This arbitrary decision was being raised by Hadfield as an issue of equal access to justice for Maori affected by the Governor's decision to forcibly alienate the land in question. In order to assess this issue's scale of significance it is important to view land from a threefold perspective: the way God sees it in scripture in relation to Israel, and the separate Maori and Pakeha views of land in a secular environment.

For the people of Israel, the land was first and foremost a gift from God. Land was given in fulfillment of God's promise to Abraham, and received in the course of Israel's redemptive history.[298] Christopher Wright suggests, "It was therefore a huge symbolic tangible proof to every Israelite that he and his people had a special relationship with God. The Israelites always saw themselves as being involved with land and with Yahweh." [299] Sir Paul Reeves reflects, "Thus, to belong to an Israelite household living in God's land was to experience secure inclusion within the covenant relationship; it was the place of Life with God. The land, in short, meant security, inclusion, blessing, corporate sharing, and practical responsibility."[300]

There is no single Maori view which parallels the biblical view as described for the people of Israel, but the following quotes are indicative of many current Maori writers. Sydney Mead contributes:

> The Maori word for land is *whenua***.** The word means more than land; it also means 'placenta', 'ground', 'country', and 'state'. Whenua as placenta sustains life and the connection between the foetus and the placenta is through the umbilical cord. This fact of life is a metaphor for whenua, as land, and is the basis for the high value placed on land.[301]

For Maori, land is a focal point. It has character, and it is concerned with bonding with the environment. Mead develops the point further:

> The land and the environment in which people live become the foundation of their view of the world, the centre of their universe and the basis of their identity as citizens or as members of a social unit. Traditionally the bonding to the land was necessary as a means of strengthening the resolve of the warriors to fight for their land whenever it was coveted by others. Land had to be defended and protected against all comers. Therefore a warrior force was always necessary. Land

[298] Deut. 26:5-10 and Deut.6:10-11
[299] Wright, *Living as the people of God*, 94.
[300] Speech by Sir Paul Reeves – *Land as Heritage at Darfield, North Canterbury* 17 July 1987 – http:/www.gov-gen.govt.nz.utilities/printspeech.asp?ID=186 accessed 23 Nov 2007
[301] Mead, *Tikanga Maori - Living by Maori Values*, 269-270.

was also necessary as a means of maintaining social solidarity. Land was the foundation of the social system, the base, and the means of giving reality to the system in the forms of residences, villages, gardens, special resource regions, and so on. Continuity of the group depended very much on the home base, called "te wa kainga", where people would live like an extended family and actually see it on the ground as a working reality."[302]

The European pakeha view of land was more utilitarian. Settlers wanted both ownership and possession of land they had bought or considered they had an entitlement for. They were aware that ownership brought independence and power. The desire to be a freehold farmer or the owner of a small plot of urban land was a powerful theme for settlement and for development of early land policy. The settlers surveyed and established precise boundaries, which were often delineated with fences and hedges. They drew up and registered title deeds reflecting singular or, at least, family entitlement, and deeds were transferable and could contain encumbrances such as mortgages. The settlers cleared areas as appropriate and built houses and utility sheds. Their ownership was related to chattels and worth, as well as food production and rural development.[303]

Hadfield's concern was that the government and the New Zealand settling companies considered they had a right to take land because it was needed for urban or rural development, and that the settlers could make better use of it than the Maori. This was the case in both the Wairau and the Waitara blocks, with which Hadfield was involved directly.

The paradox facing Hadfield, in the context of mission theology, was to respect the attitude and rights of the Maori to bring their possession of the land into its fullness as expressed by bible principles, while working with Maori to bring forth the blessings associated with righteous living. The way Hadfield represented the issue was based on his understanding of God's justice, as represented in scripture. The Governor's alienation of Maori by force and their lack of redress had to be represented to the secular world of governance and the public in general. It should be noted that Hadfield's submissions were made on the basis of the broader principle of natural justice, a principle which he believed should be practised and exemplified by any Christian, and thus by "civilised society". His writings are silent on both biblical principles regarding land and on the Maori traditional and cultural view of land possession and occupation. Nevertheless, the principles which Hadfield enunciated in his letters are theologically sound, and certainly significant. Thus, the issue raised is significant from both a secular and Christian view, and complies with the subscribed criteria.

Do the three letters demonstrate a clear vision of what Hadfield's approach into the public square was to achieve?

Hadfield's first letter was addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, **"**Your Grace, as Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies". [304] The purpose of the letter was to "call your attention to the facts of the case." He established his authority to write to the Duke on the basis that he had "Known the complainant for 20 years" and that he had "written to Governor Grey fourteen years ago on issues pertaining to Aboriginal entitlement to their land." [305] The key point which he wished to raise was that there had been a "flagrant act of injustice – based on access to remedies available to English citizens, not readily available to the

[302] Ibid., 272-273.
[303] Jim McAloon. 'Land Ownership - Early Pākehā Land settlement', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 4-Feb-10 http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/land-ownership/2
[304] Hadfield, "One of England's Little Wars," 1.
[305] Ibid.

aboriginal chief William Kingi." [306] The justification for writing to the Duke was Hadfield's view that the issue was a critical one and his perception that the the Governor was incapable of rescuing the situation from potential disaster. He wrote, "Nothing but the deepest conviction of the present critical state of this colony, and Colonel Browne's utter incapacity to rescue it from disaster and ruin, has induced me to address your Grace."[307] His request to the Duke is enclosed amongst other writings about the cost to England of war. He wrote, "It is still possible that the presence of some superior man might restore the confidence that is lost." [308] Here Hadfield is suggesting to the Duke that one solution would be for the Governor in New Zealand to be physically replaced.

Hadfield's second letter was addressed to the editor of *The Times.*[309] The reason for the letter was that "my name has been repeatedly brought before the public in your columns, in connection with New Zealand matters."[310] His purpose in writing was to inform and persuade the reading public and to defend his reputation. He did this in his letter by "recalling attention to the real origin of the war, its present stage, and the future prospects of the Colony." The solution which he offered was "A Governor of known and tried ability ought to be sent out. An investigation ought to take place as to the title to the Waitara block of land from which William Kingi and his tribe have been driven. And if it is satisfactorily proved that an act of injustice has been committed, compensation ought to be awarded to the survivors. I believe that this would restore peace and confidence throughout the country and that the British Government would be again respected, trusted, honoured, and obeyed."[311]

Replacing a governor is a simplistic approach that would not readily be acceptable in contemporary society, nor would it necessarily be accepted as good public theology in terms of the criteria subsequently developed by contemporary public theology writers. Today's approach is more focused on education, communication, reconciliation, mediation and development of improved relationships. In saying this, if New Zealand experienced an outbreak of widespread violence or war, then it might be quite appropriate for a public theologian to call for resignations in government. In Hadfield's defence, the shocking violence of the situation against which he was protesting puts him in quite a different context to the one in which contemporary New Zealand public theologians are operating.

However, proposing an investigation is practical and constructive. This reconciliatory approach is more acceptable in contemporary society because it introduces the concept of mediation. It is unfortunate that Hadfield's investigation/arbitration proposal was not included in the first letter directed to the Duke of Newcastle. In terms of contemporary management decision-making theory, and in terms of good public theology, this would have been a more constructive approach for the Duke to consider – provided it was coupled with a cessation of hostilities, which most modern mediation processes would require in similar circumstances.

Hadfield's third letter is an open letter for publication in the British press.[312] The reason for the writing and publication was in response to various publications on the Waitara land wars. The publications referred to were documents published by Harold Browne endorsing his brother Governor Browne's actions. In this letter, Hadfield restates a range of facts raised in the public arena concerning the affair,

[306] Ibid.
[307] Ibid., 24.
[308] Ibid.
[309] Hadfield, "A Sequel to One of England's Little Wars," 1.
[310] Ibid.
[311] Ibid., 16.
[312] Hadfield, "The Second Year of One of England's Little Wars," 1.

and refutes each one exposing the errors contained therein. The refutations include documents from prominent New Zealand statesmen of the time. Hadfield wrote, "Mr. Fox's pamphlet, 'The War in New Zealand', published in London and Sir William Martin's 'Taranaki Question', have confirmed every statement of importance contained in my letter."[313]

His allegations are also rather aggressive. He wrote, "I believe that great crimes ought to be called by their proper names; and that the interests of truth and justice ought to be paramount to every other motive. Surely at a time when sycophants and flatterers abound, a little toleration may be shown to the few who are bold enough openly and plainly to denounce oppression and spoliation, although committed by a British Governor." [314] This is supported by appendices containing charges and counter-charges on other facts surrounding the situation, the land title contention, and the side-issue of correspondence between Kingi and Hadfield.

The purpose of the third letter could then be regarded as a public refutation of facts for the purpose of clearing the position and name of the writer. In addition, Hadfield makes clear from the outset that he wants to inform public opinion about certain misconceptions. Another possible purpose is included in an appendix to this letter referring to a proposal that Hadfield be a possible mediator in the dispute. He had not been asked, and he advises that, if asked, he would not accept.

All three letters contain a clear vision of what Hadfield wanted to achieve. He wanted to have the Governor replaced, he wanted to inform public opinion about injustice to Maori, and he wanted to publicly refute misconceptions about his role.

Do the publications contain authoritative material which can be independently proven?

The material included in Hadfield's three letters was authoritative. Primarily, he wrote as clergyman and missionary, which implies a position of respect and trust amongst the people whom he represented. The information which he quoted was sourced primarily from representations made by Kingi in his letters to Hadfield during the dispute. Kingi was a personal friend of Hadfield's, being with him in the early days of the Waikanae mission, before Kingi moved with his tribe back to Taranaki. Sarah Rutherford (nee Woods) alludes to the fact that a remnant, a disenfranchised group remaining in Waikanae, was also one of Hadfield's sources of information.[315] The Waikanae group was lead by Riwai Te Ahu, who became one of Hadfield's early deacons in the Kapiti church. Hadfield also had access to officials such as Mclean and Parris of the Land Purchase office, Governor Browne himself, and other officials in Wellington, along and their official documents. He also spent time in Auckland at the Legislative Assembly, where he discussed issues about the war with members of the New Zealand House of Representatives. These members were examining the situation and tried to hold the Governor accountable for his actions and for the war so that the cost would be borne by England and not New Zealand. The information which Hadfield conveyed in his letters was the subject of a lengthy cross-examination process by the Bar of the House of Representatives for New Zealand in Auckland on 14 August 1860.[316]

[313] Ibid.
[314] Ibid., 4.
[315] Woods, "Octavius Hadfield and the Waitara Dispute," 200.
[316] Ibid., 197.

In his third letter, Hadfield makes reference to publications by independent and prominent New Zealand statesmen who authenticated the facts which he conveyed. He wrote, and enclosed proof, that both "Mr. Fox's pamphlet, 'The War in New Zealand', published in London and Sir William Martin's 'Taranaki Question', have confirmed every statement of importance contained in my letter."[317]

While the facts leading up to the outbreak of war were clearly set out in Hadfield's first letter to the Duke of Newcastle, and these were reiterated and clarified in his subsequent letters, the main point of Hadfield's writing was to obtain access to justice for the Maori victims of the dispute. The fact that the Maori being affected had no access to arbitration or to representation was irrefutable.[318]

Finally, when Governor Grey returned to New Zealand, after Governor Browne was removed, his investigation confirmed Hadfield's allegations that Governor Browne had not followed protocol in the land deal and, also, that he failed to follow proper procedure in declaring martial law and going to war. Governor Grey's official findings and his action of returning the land to Kingi and his tribe vindicated Hadfield's adversarial stand, based on the truth of the facts which he presented.[319]

Marshall writes that it is important when writing in the secular world, to present facts in a way in which those working secularly operate and think. Facts which might appear valid to Christians in a Christian context are not necessarily acceptable or credible in the secular world. In his three public letters, Hadfield presented verifiable facts in a worldly manner, and he drew on independent and reputable support as authentication, for the public to consider. The three letters thus meet the contemporary criteria for evaluation of the effectiveness of public theology.

Is there appropriate language for the occasion and for the secular audience?
A combined analysis of the construction of Hadfield's three writings reveal that 8% of the writing includes social and relational references (concepts like "ignored", "denied", "access", "justice"), 15% are cognitive aspects (concepts like "matter", "force", "wanted", "marginal") and 0.01% contain reference to religion, specifically Christianity. This analysis of Hadfield's writings demonstrates that in writing publicly about access to justice for Maori, he was attempting to express himself in a way to which British politicians and the public of both Britain and New Zealand could relate.

In Hadfield's first letter addressed directly to the Duke of Newcastle, he makes religious reference to God, the Bible, or Christianity only in a very small paragraph towards the end of the letter. This language of faith accounts for 0.13% of the total letter.[320]

In the Bible there are many direct and indirect references to justice.[321] Hadfield does not use any of this biblical language directly. He uses secular language so that his allegation is right up front for the attention of the secular reader. For example, the words "flagrant act" are used to capture the importance of an act of injustice, and the issue of injustice is identified as being between Governor Browne and William Kingi.[322]

[317] Hadfield, "The Second Year of One of England's Little Wars," 1.
[318] Hadfield, "One of England's Little Wars," 1.
[319] Woods and Keith, "Bitter Payment: War at Waitara," 10.
[320] Hadfield, "One of England's Little Wars," 1.
[321] Injustice:- 2 Chr 19:7; Ps 58:2 and 64:6; Prov 13:23 & 22:8; Is 58:6; and Eze 9:9
[322] Hadfield, "One of England's Little Wars," 1.

In the opening paragraph of his first letter, Hadfield made the point that legal remedies normally available to British citizens were not available to William Kingi.[323] There are many and varied scriptural references to justice (which includes legal remedies) and access to it for people, in both the Old and New Testaments.[324] Hadfield paraphrases this biblical insight within a secular context when he uses the words "legal remedies" as opposed to justice. This phrase has more local meaning than the word "justice", which has a broader and somewhat emotional meaning. Hadfield compares access to this legal consideration enjoyed by the British public and points out that the same privileges are not being made available to the Maori chief Kingi. In fact, at that stage of the development of the New Zealand colony, the rights of Maori had not been defined by law.

The Bible has many references to the word treaty. Many of the references refer to the Israelites - as they established their nation and settled in the land, they were encouraged to enter into treaties.[325] Some of the scriptural references relate to broken treaties[326]. In his writings, Hadfield does not indicate that he has sourced his statement from the Bible, nor does he use faith language. He simply questions the authority of the Governor to make unilateral land confiscation decisions as being contradictory to the Queen's assurances in the recent Treaty of Waitangi settlement.

In his first letter, Hadfield's only reference to Christian principles per se is in his penultimate paragraph. He wrote to challenge the Duke's Christian conscience (and the public readers at large, for the letter was subsequently published in both England and New Zealand) on the matter "Are we in the middle of the nineteenth century to confess to the whole civilized world that our Christianity and our civilization have given us no advantage over these people but that of a more scientific use of material force?"[327] In this statement, Hadfield is equating Christianity with civilization. Hadfield's statement is a faith statement, addressed to a predominantly Christian audience in Britain, but it is not faith language.[328]

Hadfield's first pamphlet and second writing was larger than his first.[329] In this letter addressed to the general reading public of *The Times*, he makes religious reference to God, the Bible or Christianity only in a very small paragraph towards the end of the letter. This language of faith accounts for 0.12% of the total letter and features in the closing paragraphs.

In this second publication, Hadfield's concern about Maori focuses on the removal of a man's inheritance from him – without adjudication or redress. The language which he uses is not the language of faith; however, the phrase "ancestral land" is suggestive of Old Testament references. Hadfield wrote, "The universal complaint heard from them is, that all minor matters are regularly adjudicated on; but a man's land, which he has inherited from remote ancestors, is taken away at the caprice of the Governor, or even by a subordinate land-agent." [330]

Hadfield raises the issue of the proclamation of war. He writes, "The war was begun without anything like even a decent pretext for it: on the 25th January, 1860, before a single overt act of any description had been committed, a proclamation of martial law was signed and sent down to Taranaki. This was bad

[323] Ibid.
[324] For instance Amos 5:12
[325] Treaties:- Gen 21:27; 21:32; 26:28; Ex 34:12
[326] Broken treaties:- Is 33:8; Eze 17:15-16
[327] Hadfield, "One of England's Little Wars," 23.
[328] Used in the context of British society in general which in 1860 was not pluralistic or post-modern.
[329] Hadfield, "A Sequel to One of England's Little Wars."
[330] Ibid., 7.

enough; but it is not all: the proclamation was so rendered into the Maori language that it actually proclaimed war on all the natives in the Province of Taranaki, and even implied a permission to fight until the Governor revoked that permission." [331] Again, secular language is being used here. There are scriptural references to war proclamations[332], but these cannot be traced through from Hadfield's faith, or from his biblical readings, to his writings.

Hadfield makes a strong appeal to British reader's ethics. Here he disassociates himself from his role as a Christian missionary and uses secular language, rather than faith language. "But what would the people of Great Britain think of this process of exterminating the Maori race? What would civilized Europe say of it? Do I ask these questions as a missionary? I ask them as an Englishman." [333] This point is very significant within the paper. Hadfield's public theology expressly demonstrates that he is not writing as a clergyman, or church member, but using the secular language of common (British) citizenship.

Hadfield includes his Christian perspective in the letter. His accusation is secular; however, it could have been made from reflecting on the biblical principal of integrity. The scriptural references to integrity are common in the Psalms and the Book of Proverbs.[334] He wrote, "I have laboured for twenty-two years among them, and I take this opportunity of saying that I never, before the war broke out, was so thoroughly convinced of the deep hold the Christian religion had taken of those under my charge as I have been since that event." [335] He judges critically the lack of integrity of the English-appointed New Zealand Government, when he writes, " I am amazed that people born and educated in the midst of Christianity, can be guilty of such premeditated wickedness, and tempted to think that Christianity, if such be its fruits, may be a sham after all." [336]

Here is a major difference between Hadfield's situation and our own contemporary society. Hadfield can assume that his audience in Britain adheres at least nominally to a Christian identity and to Christian values, so that he can use the accusation of hypocrisy (professing to the values of a "Christian civilization" while doing the opposite) to try to shame them into an alternative moral viewpoint. This is a strategy that might not work as well today because of our pluralist society and post-Christian views. Nevertheless, the main part of Hadfield's strategy is to use judicial and rational arguments. Here, perhaps, he provides a better model for the kind of approach than both Marshall and Bradstock are seeking.

Hadfield's third letter is the smallest. [337] Once again, the letter is addressed to the readers of *The Times* and the purpose is to inform public opinion. In this letter, 0.23% reference is made expressly of God, Bible, Christianity, or religion. The religious references relate solely to the title "Archdeacon", used in quoted references to Hadfield. All of the writings in this letter are secular; there is no reflection of Christian or biblical principles, as the main purpose of this letter is to refute allegations made about Hadfield and the issues which he had previously raised on the dispute.

In the above review of the three letters from a scriptural context, it can be seen that all of Hadfield's public writings were secular in nature. In some cases, bible references and principles were available, but

[331] Ibid., 5.
[332] Proclamation of war:- Joel 3:9; Jer 4:16
[333] Hadfield, "A Sequel to One of England's Little Wars," 12.
[334] Integrity:- Ps 7:8; 25:21; 41;12; 78:72; and Prov 11:3; 13:6; 29:10; and 2 Cor 1:12
[335] Hadfield, "A Sequel to One of England's Little Wars," 12.
[336] Ibid., 13.
[337] Hadfield, "The Second Year of One of England's Little Wars." 1-23

the actual biblical references and language did not feature in any of his three letters. His representation for the rights of access to a justice review system for Maori in this instance could be interpreted as his attempt to relate to the reading public. Hadfield translated the Christian ethic of "justice for all" into secular language so that the issue could be readily understood.

However, one could well question, even in those times, the efficacy of a leading missionary asserting that the appointed Governor for New Zealand is being motivated by "folly bordering on insanity."[338] In considering the acceptability, or not, of his language choice in this instance, it would be appropriate to reflect on Hadfield's relationship with Central Government. In Chapter 4, Hadfield is described as demonstrating a selective lack of respect for the current government and some of its officials.[339] He refused to allow the proposed official inspection of his school, and he is reported as personally withholding provincial election material. In contemporary society, such actions as these would diminish his credibility.

By publicly attacking the Governor personally, Hadfield does not meet the criteria for effective public theology in our times where consensus, acceptance of differences and respect are more the accepted norm.

Does the work associated with the publications indicate development and maintenance of relationships with the target persons or group?

Hadfield developed a very purposeful and comprehensive strategic and relational approach to his public writings. His approach was based on relationships with key people who were decision- makers; this was backed by a wide network which verified the facts and joined him to call on politicians in Britain to act on the situation.

His main purpose was to convince the powers in London that Governor Browne had acted illegally and, therefore, should be recalled. His first and main letter was to the Duke of Newcastle, the British Cabinet Secretary responsible for the Colonies. There is no evidence of any relationship between the Hadfield family and the Duke. However, the relationship between Church and State at the time of his writing was legally enshrined.[340]

At the same time as he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, he wrote to Secretary Venn of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) to use its powerful influence in parliament to bring pressure to bear on the Colonial Office.[341] Venn was the person who recruited Hadfield and arranged for him to be commissioned for work in New Zealand. The Society did not approve of its missionaries being involved in political controversy; however, Hadfield's relationship with the society was such that the CMS eventually exerted considerable pressure on various prominent British Cabinet ministers, based on information received from Hadfield.[342]

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[338] Hadfield, "One of England's Little Wars," 21.

[339] Refer chapter 4

[340] In England, Church appointments are Crown appointments. The Church carries out important state functions such as coronations, and a number of bishops have seats in the House of Lords.

[341] He wrote, "I think the Governor's conduct so disgraceful that I am prepared to bear any amount of blame in discharging what I consider an imperative duty in the cause of truth and justice. The letter was written very hurriedly but you may depend on all the facts, and I hope my arguments are sound." MacMorran, *Octavius Hadfield*, 97.

[342] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 213.

His position within the hierarchy of the Anglican Church in New Zealand was one of respect. An Anglican lobby spoke out strongly against the purchase of land and the use of force by the Governor. Bishops Selwyn and Abraham were among the leading protagonists. Hadfield and his bishop, Abraham, jointly wrote a submission to Governor Browne on the illegality of the war.

His relationship with the statesmen of New Zealand and the New Zealand public was well developed and generally respected, as evidenced by his appearance before the New Zealand House of Representatives Bar in Auckland. He answered eighty-eight prepared questions and generally convinced an increasing number of representatives that the war was wrong.[343]

He retained good relationships with his brother Charles in London, and kept him fully informed of developments. Charles informed key personnel through private contact and letters in local newspaper columns. In view of the fact that Hadfield had two major letters published from overseas, his relationship with the editor of *The Times* in London must have been good. Perhaps his brother should receive credit for this relationship.

Finally, he had good relationships with the previous New Zealand Governor, Sir George Grey. The two men had spent considerable time together while Hadfield was convalescing in Wellington and, subsequently, in Kapiti. Hadfield advised Grey on many Maori issues, and he was able to mediate a peace proposal with Grey over the "Wairau incident".[344] This relationship was rekindled on Governor's Grey's return to New Zealand.

Conversely, from his writings it appears that Hadfield did not have a good relationship with Governor Browne, even though he had previously provided Browne with a paper on issues pertaining to dealings with Maori.[345] Rutherford (nee Woods) comments that Browne saw himself as holding a position of impartiality between the polarised missionary-settler groups. He believed that the "labour and zeal" of the Anglican missionaries was motivated by "jealousy … fear of losing, and vexation at having lost, their influence over the Maoris, [and] intolerance of secular interference with their proselyte subjects." Mrs. Browne's opinion of Hadfield was particularly bitter.[346] In return, Hadfield's words in his letters were quite aggressive about the Governor, which seems to indicate that relationships had soured and trust and respect had been lost. There is no record of his personally confronting Browne or of trying to achieve a settlement or understanding with him prior to writing to the Duke of Newcastle in Britain.

From a contemporary public theology view, Hadfield's lack of a constructive relationship with Governor Browne and the tone of his written references concerning the Governor do not constitute effective practice. Bradstock suggests that approaches should be made which are constructive.

However, Maddox and Sullivan recommend that all good dialogue stems from relationships, and there is adequate evidence that Hadfield was very aware when publishing his letters of the need for relationships to be developed and that he demonstrated effective public theology in this regard.

[343] Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion*, 191.
[344] Refer chapter 4
[345] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 205.
[346] Woods, "Octavius Hadfield and the Waitara Dispute," 180.

Does Hadfield suggest viable alternatives which provide effective outcomes for all concerned?
In the first letter, Hadfield suggested a course of action which might remedy the situation. He wrote, "What is demanded by the natives is, an impartial court in which their respective claims can be stated; and before which they may bring evidence to be received on oath. Nothing short of an inquiry conducted on such principles as these, can be considered an 'investigation' of their titles to land." [347] This represents a viable alternative which might provide an effective outcome for all.

In the second letter, Hadfield suggests two courses of action. Firstly, "A Governor of known and tried ability ought to be sent out." Secondly, "An investigation ought to take place as to the title to the Waitara block of land from which William King and his tribe have been driven. And if it is satisfactorily proved that an act of injustice has been committed, compensation ought to be awarded to the survivors." [348]

His call for a replacement governor, made in a public context, is not a good position to take for a Christian missionary, nor does it necessarily comply with current public theology, where a more conciliatory approach would be favoured. Further, "known and tried ability" is hardly a statement of key credentials for a national leader who is required to negotiate a peaceful solution and lead a country with very diverse cultural backgrounds and beliefs into nationhood. In this letter, Hadfield's call for an independent investigation is more developed than the suggestion which he made to the Duke of Newcastle in the previous year.

In his third letter there is no mention of reconciliation or reparation. This letter's main concern is with proving the inaccuracies of statements made about the war and the events leading up to it.

From a contemporary point of view, Hadfield's action in writing for effective outcomes falls short of contemporary good public theology practice. This paper has already dealt with his shortcomings in relation to political and governance issues. The evidence seems to point to Hadfield's remaining in Kapiti to write these letters. Hadfield's diaries provide no evidence of him visiting Taranaki and pastoring his people through the crisis. There is no suggestion of reconciliation between the parties and the kind of restoration which features prominently in contemporary reconciliation and which is outlined in Chapter 5 by Maddox and others and in the restorative justice writings of Zehr.[349] This point of reconciliation and advocacy is relevant when you consider that Hadfield's role with Governor Grey is considered in relation to the Wairau incident referred to in Chapter 4. Here he talked extensively with both Maori and the Governor, and was able to mediate a solution which was sustainable and peaceful. Reflecting on Hadfield's involvement, for example in both the Wairau incident and negotiating a peaceful settlement when Te Heu Heu came with a raiding party from Taupo to attack and seek revenge from the Maori in Kapiti, it would seem that he was more comfortable dealing with confrontation between Maori than with the Crown and its agents.[350]

It has already been suggested that Hadfield's relationships with the two governors were quite different; and it could be that his judgments of Browne were clouded, as his writings did indicate a degree of lack of respect. In terms of public theology, one could validly ask the question as to why Hadfield did not opt for a negotiated solution over the Waitara issue, as he had on previous occasions. This might have led to

[347] Hadfield, "One of England's Little Wars," 18.
[348] Ibid., 16.
[349] Zehr, *Changing Lenses: a New Focus for Crime and Justice*, 270.
[350] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 269.

a different outcome for the war. His choice in this instance was to approach and influence directly parties external to the dispute.

Bradstock writes in his Fifth Best Practice Guideline of the need to find an alternative course of action.[351] Hadfield's recommendations are not well thought out by today's standards. They do not provide any alternatives in the light of the risks involved. Hadfield's written solutions are tinged more with emotion than our outcome-based ideal. It could be that the overriding purpose of the letters was to inform public opinion so that decision makers would seek alternative counsel.

4.6 Issues pertaining to the lapse in time between Hadfield's writing and current public theology

The question of such a person as Hadfield having a right or responsibility to use his position in the Church to write in the public square needs to be addressed in the context of the governance of New Zealand in his time. The idea that Hadfield had any "rights" in this regard would be less plausible in contemporary New Zealand society because of the accepted split of roles and functions between Church and State. Hadfield's role was seen by some as extending beyond Church. Ramsden writes:

> As time passed, Otaki assumed more and more importance as a focal point for the tribes. The authority once exercised by Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeta passed into the capable hands of Hadfield. His was essentially a moderating influence, working out his plan of a Maori ministry for the Maori people.[352]

In Hadfield's time there was no land tribunal, no treaty settlement process and no legislative authority, other than the Treaty of Waitangi, to which Kingi and Hadfield could refer their grievances. Kingi had already written to the Governor, to no avail. He also wrote several times to Hadfield seeking his intervention and support. The responsibility for Maori affairs was the Governor himself, and he had condoned the sale and authorised martial law, which was declared in January. Shortly afterwards, the land in question was occupied by the troops and the natives retreated to the woods. It was considered to be a war begun in utter ignorance of the real merits of the question.

Law and order was still being developed in the colony of New Zealand, and the full rights of Maori had not been established and agreed. Significantly, there was a lack of recognition of rights, including access to justice for Maori. The New Zealand Company was focused on settling its clients on land suitable for their purpose. The rationale was that European settlers would make better productive use of land seemingly vacant, irrespective of ownership rights. Sinclair writes:

> The business of the company (The New Zealand Company 1838) was fully dependent on its ability to purchase land at a ridiculously low price from the Maoris in New Zealand, then sell it for a 'fair' or high price in Britain.[353]

In these circumstances, Hadfield resorted to the only course of action available to him on behalf of his affected people. While he could have written directly to the Duke alone, his actions of publishing the first

[351] Bradstock, "Using 'God-Talk' in a Secular Society: Time for a New Conversation on Public Issues."
[352] Ramsden, *Rangiatea: The Story of Otaki's Maori Church*, 201.
[353] Sinclair, *Te Aro Hurihuri – Aspects of Maoritanga*, 97.

letter in both England and New Zealand had an element of informing public opinion, in addition to requesting a decision of the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary to the Colonies and Governor Browne's "employer", on the issue.

Hadfield did not regard other churches highly. He was very opposed to the French Catholic Church missionaries and their Roman Pope, and some of his letters home suggest a distrust of Wesleyan missionaries on the basis of their lack of depth of both scriptural teaching and sacramental life. Nevertheless, both of these missionary groups did make representations to the Governor on war and land issues, but the representations were not from a combined church viewpoint. Hadfield's Anglican Church and the Church Missionary Society were the dominant church organisations operating in New Zealand at the time, and there was an element who regarded their missionary activity as part and parcel of the English settlement deal for colonisation.[354]

It may also be that Hadfield enjoyed influence in government as a result of his social class and his English background. This, in part, accounts for his approach and attitude to the English press and the statesmen whom he addressed. This is one aspect in which Hadfield's historical context probably differed from our own contemporary society. Even though New Zealand had no state church from the beginning, many of the early settlers would have been operating on a default assumption that the Church of England, or at least 'Christianity' broadly speaking, would be central to public discussion, and that the Church had an important role to play in national, moral, and even political, discussions, as they were accustomed to back home. From this viewpoint, Hadfield's conduct, including his writings, would have been acceptable behaviour to the settlers and statesmen of the day.

It has already been mentioned that Hadfield's suggestions for the Duke to replace the Governor, would not be valid for today, and other alternatives would be deemed more appropriate.

4.7 Summary of evaluation and overall conclusion.

Based on the evaluation against the six developed criteria, Hadfield's three public writings provide general evidence of having demonstrated good practice of public theology. The following table summarises the evaluation of Hadfield's public theology in the light of the established criteria.

Guideline	**Evaluation against contemporary public theology criteria**
Raises significant issues from both a secular and Christian view.	The significant issue raised in all three letters was the lack of access to (British) justice for disenfranchised (Maori) people.
Demonstrates a clear vision of what the approach into the public square is to achieve. (The objective could be either for decision making or the informing of public opinion).	The objective was to replace the Governor and to hold an enquiry into the dispute. All three letters informed public opinion about the dispute.
Contains authoritative material which can be	Authentication and verification of the

[354] The CMS missionaries wrote up and printed the Treaty documents, and were expected to obtain signatories from the chiefs where possible. Refer http://www.socialjustice.org.nz/?sid=115 accessed on 25 Jan 2011

independently proven.	facts were provided by independent New Zealand statesmen. Hadfield appeared before the House of Representatives to verify his allegations, and the final outcome of the dispute by Governor Grey proved they were valid.
Uses appropriate language for the occasion and for the secular audience.	All three letters were based on the biblical principles of justice, encapsulated in secular language. Some credibility was lost in "name-calling" Governor Browne.
Includes development and maintenance of good relationships with the target persons or group.	Hadfield demonstrated extensive and close relationships with British and New Zealand statesmen and the press. However his relationship with Governor Browne was strained, such that Hadfield and Browne were unable or unwilling to dialogue on the matter.
Suggests viable alternatives leading to effective outcomes for all concerned.	From a modern standpoint, viable alternatives were not adequately explored. Alternative solutions involving advocacy and mediation were not sought. The Governor's replacement request, although accepted, was not well represented or justified in terms of risks. Hadfield's solutions did not deal equally with the dispute, its resolution, and aftermath.

Hadfield's three public letters provide exemplary compliance with four of the criteria suggested for contemporary public theology. These are:

1. raising significant issues
2. demonstrating a clear vision of what is to be achieved
3. containing authoritative material, and
4. using appropriate language

In some aspects his letters do not demonstrate effective practice against two of the established criteria. These are:

5. development of good relationships, and
6. suggestion of viable alternatives leading to effective outcomes

Hadfield's seemingly strained relationship with the Governor, and his way of describing the Governor publicly, would not be acceptable from such a prominent church person today and could significantly reduce his credibility in the modern public forum.

Hadfield could have offered more viable alternatives to the Duke, beyond removal of the Governor. In particular, his solutions did not feature options such as peacemaking (pulling back and allowing both parties time and space to think about consequences) and advocacy (bringing the parties together to broker a solution). Further, his solutions were not holistic in that they did not deal equally with the dispute, its resolution, and aftermath.

In his favour, though, Hadfield was writing a century prior to the deliberation and dissemination of such public theology theory. In that he did achieve a satisfactory outcome for all parties - Maori, Government, and to a lesser extent himself - he can thereby be adjudged as successful.

The study of Hadfield's public writings in relation to the Taranaki land war stemming from Waitara can provide insightful benchmark material for Christians working in the public arena. His work provides a thought-provoking reference for the Church in today's society.

Based on the considerations expressed within this book, and summarised in this particular section, it can be concluded that Octavius Hadfield's three published writings on the Taranaki land war do certainly comply, in general, with contemporary criteria for good public theology and, to that extent, provide an example for the practice of public theology.

5. Timeline of events during Hadfield's lifetime

1799 – CMS established –John Venn – Refer Appendix 3

1808 –– Britain – CMS -NZ Missionary launch – Marsden

1814 – Initiation of NZ Mission – Bishop of Sydney Bishop Broughton
1814 – Christmas Day – Bay of Islands – sermon on Luke 2 – Marsden
1814 – Birth of Octavius Hadfield
1832 – February Returns to England from Continent – attended Pembroke College, Oxford
1837 – Offered himself to CMS – as potential missionary.
1838 – Sails for New Zealand – Hadfield – Sailing ship *John* – arrives Sydney 1 July
1838 – Sept 23 Hadfield ordained a deacon by Bishop Broughton in Sydney
1838 – Dec 21 – Hadfield arrives Bay of Islands – naval ship *Pelorus.*
1839 – Jan 6 – Hadfield ordained a priest by Bishop Broughton
1839 - Matene Te Whi Whi and his cousin Tamihana Te Rauparaha sail to Paihia to request a missionary for the Kapiti Coast
1839 – October 21– sails from Bay of Islands – for Kapiti – *SS Columbine*
1839 – Nov 11 – Hadfield arrives at Waikanae –with Henry Williams,
1840 – Hobson annexed New Zealand – Maori chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi
1840 – Travelled up the Manawatu river (x2)
1841 – Travels to Wellington to meet up with Governor Hobson
1842 – May – travelled to South Island – as far south as Banks Peninsula
1843 – June -Wairau massacre –land ownership rights – 23 Europeans and 4 Maori killed.
1844 – end – Carried by litter to Wellington – Chronic asthma, and in great pain
1845 – Gavett appointed to work in Otaki during Hadfield's absence
1846 – Te Rauparaha captured and imprisoned by Governor Grey
1846 – Earthquake destroyed pa at Waikanae – One Maori tribe returned to Taranaki
1847 – Samuel Williams appointed to Otaki in place of Hadfield
1849 – Church in Rangiatea was built
1849 – Hadfield starts to recover from his sickness
1849 – October –Hadfield returns to Otaki
1852 – May -Married Kate Williams
1853 – Ordained Rata Waitoa, one of his students – Rata went on to Gisborne
1854 – Samuel Williams leaves Otaki for Hawkes Bay – lays foundation for Te Aute College
1856 – Ordained Riwai te Ahu – one of his students – Riwai returned to Otaki to work
1856 – First service in Maori by Maori – in Otaki – Riwai te Ahu
1858 – April – Hadfield and Kate sailed on *Southern Cross* for England
1860 - Writes (x3) about Governor Browne and his inequitable land enforcement tactics
1864 - Government fell and coalition was formed
1862 – George Grey re-appointed Governor of New Zealand
1864 - Seat of government moved from Auckland to Wellington
1866 – Te Kooti deported to Chatham Islands
1870 – Hadfield was ordained Bishop of Wellington
1888 - Hadfield elected Primate of New Zealand
1892 - Hadfield retired – resided in Marton, with his family – 10 children
1904 – December 11 – Hadfield died.

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Bernie Townsend is a recently retired Public Servant, a Chartered Accountant, with significant years of service in finance and financial systems of The Treasury, Social Welfare, Education and Housing. He is a member of Gateway Christian Fellowship, a small Pentecostal church in Paraparaumu. He has recently been accredited Master of Theology through Laidlaw College. His research and dissertation work was based on the Christian life and values of CMS Missionary Octavius Hadfield. It is original work, and represents a new view of the life of this pioneer New Zealander from a Christian view. Bernie suggests that the foundations which Hadfield laid in the Kapiti region are relevant for contemporary church members to embrace and build upon.

Cover Photos

Front Cover:…

The life and works of Kapiti missionary Octavius Hadfield

Kapiti at nightfall – by kind permission, Kathy Callaghan