

The Waikato mission schools of Reverend Robert Maunsell: Conflict and co-operation

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ABSTRACT

Robert Maunsell was a missionary who rapidly made his mark on the area where he chose to establish his mission station and a man who made very many converts to Christianity in a very short time. Yet he was also subtly challenged by the very people among whom he chose to spread his gospel, and by the volatility of the political upheavals of the 'crucial decades' of the 1840-1865 period. While the missionaries and the Maori people struggled over the syncretic responses to the mission, both were marginalised by the emerging political strength of the Settler Representatives, so much so that by the late 1860s the world views offered by both these former groups had been dominated by the latter.

Introduction

Missionary evangelism in New Zealand can be seen as having arrived in two waves. The first, which began with the arrival of Marsden in 1814 and was centred in Northland, was very limited in its impact and influence. It was very slow to win converts and was limited in the success of its mission to Christianise and 'civilise' the 'natives'. The second wave, a generation later was more widespread in location and diverse in the denominations offered, and was rapidly accepted by the Maori. It was widespread in its impact and influence and much more successful in meeting its objectives.

An understanding of the reasons for the differing success of the two waves lies in the context within which these two waves flowed. The context of the first wave was a period of limited contact between Maori people and European culture, whereas by the second wave the context had rapidly changed to one of widespread contact, if not physical then by word of mouth. The desire of the Maori people to take part in the emerging opportunities offered by the increased trade and social contact with the Europeans created a need to learn the key to the new prosperity, the means of communication that 'oiled the new system' in order for them to participate wholeheartedly in the new emerging order (Ward, 1973).

An example of a second wave missionary was Reverend Robert Maunsell, himself just born when the first wave missionaries arrived in New Zealand. Maunsell was a missionary who rapidly made his mark on the area where he chose to establish his mission station and a man who made very many converts to Christianity in a very short time. Yet he was also subtly challenged by the very people among whom he chose to spread his gospel, and by the volatility of the political upheavals of the 'crucial decades' of the 1840-1865 period.¹ Maunsell, like others of the second wave missionaries, was unwilling to come to terms with the fact that the Maori people had a satisfactory system of making sense of the world; indeed a system that was flexible enough to rapidly assimilate

and integrate those aspects of the new culture of the Europeans that were of use and to make sense of them in terms of the old. However, while the missionaries and the Maori people struggled over the syncretic responses to the mission, both were marginalised by the emerging political strength of the Settler Representatives, so much so that by the late 1860s the world views offered by both these former groups had been dominated by the latter (Ward, 1973).

The Reverend Robert Maunsell

The Reverend Robert Maunsell (Maunsell was pronounced Mansel - Hamilton, 1970: 360) was a Missioner of the Church Missionary Society, an Anglican Church mission based in London. He was born on the 24 October, 1810 near Limerick A graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, he was ordained Deacon on 22nd December 1833 and Priest on the 21st December 1834. Soon after he departed for New Zealand, arriving at Paihia in the Bay of Islands on 26 November 1835. He opened his first station with Reverend Hamlin at Moetoa on the Manukau Harbour in 1836 (Maunsell to C.M.S., July 27 1839). Moetoa closed in 1839 and Maunsell moved to Maraetai, Waikato Heads, due to a "declining populace in that area" (Garrett, 1991). Reverend Ashwell assisted at the station until 1842, when he left to establish his own mission station upriver at Taupiri. Reverend Morgan of Otawhao (later to be known as Te Awamutu) also began his journey up the river from the station at Maraetai (Moore, 1966). As well as Ashwell and Morgan, Stack, Volkner and Purches were some of the other Missionaries 'initiated' at Maraetai. Maunsell moved again in 1853 upriver to Kohanga where he established a larger mission, boarding school and a supportive farming enterprise. He became Archdeacon of Waikato in 1859. In 1863 he became a chaplain to the Colonial troops fighting in the Waikato, and ministered to the troops at Rangiriri. In 1864., following a fruitless attempt to return to Kohanga, he moved to Auckland to a new parish. He became Archdeacon of Auckland from 1870 to 1883. He died in Auckland on the 19th April 1894.

Maunsell was a seminal figure in the lives of those who lived in the Lower Waikato. He developed inland mission stations as well as Maori run village schools. Garrett (1991) reports that only a year after establishing his station on the Manukau, he and Hamlin had fourteen schools established and running in the local area. This development was to be replicated upon his move to Waikato Heads. He befriended local Maori chiefs, made many of them his converts, and gained great mana among the Maori people.

Maunsell also became an eminent scholar and practitioner of the Maori language. Lady Martin, on a journey down the Waikato in 1852, visited the mission station at Kohanga soon after it had been shifted from Waikato Heads and commented:

We heard Archdeacon Maunsell preach on Sunday to a large native congregation. He spoke in Maori with great fluency and precision (Martin, 1884: 117).

An exacting measure of his ability was the task he undertook of translating the old testament from Hebrew into Maori. He completed this translation in 1857 - for the second time. This translation work was to be a testament to his tenacity and perseverance, for the first manuscript, when almost completed, had been destroyed when their house at Maraetai was razed to the ground on the night of the 21st July 1843 (Wily & Maunsell, 1938; Garrett, 1991). To recommence this enormous task illustrates those character traits of tenacity and self-denial that were to be of such significance in the twenty years he lived in the Lower Waikato.

The new mission and school at Waikato heads

Following his shift to Maraetai, Maunsell soon established his mission station and school. Initial response was strong. For the first nine months after his arrival there was one European pupil and about twelve Maori (Moore, 1966). The following year saw rapid expansion:

As early as the end of July 1839, there was an average daily attendance of seventy scholars at the school (Maunsell to C.M.S., 30 July 1839).

Only eighteen months later attendance had grown dramatically:

Our Scripture Evening-Meetings, held three times a week, are regularly attended, to over-flowing. The average attendance at the Schools has been' Boy's morning school, 36; Sunday 200; Girls Morning School, 30; Sunday, 80; Children's Morning School, 12; Sunday 26 (Missionary Register, 1841: 235).

The response to the school and the desire of the Maori for the benefits of literacy were such that the public examinations held early in 1840 attracted 1500 people, of whom 300 were examined in writing, ciphering and history and another 450 were questioned on the catechism. The feast "as prepared in Maori style - in one hangi alone were 12 whole pigs, and there were 100 baskets of potatoes, corn and kumaras (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974: 29).

Reading, farming and simple industrial skills were the core curriculum of the village schools that Maunsell established. Reading the Bible and catechism, in Maori, was of paramount importance. The schools spread from and around the mission station to the extent that when George Clarke, Chief Protector of Aborigines, travelled through the Thames and the Waikato districts in the late 1840s he found "scarcely a village without its own school" (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974: 26). Parr (1961) concludes that by 1840 there could have been 'few if any villages without some inhabitants who could read and write' (in Barrington & Beaglehole: 26). In his report for 1841, Maunsell enthusiastically summarised that 'our station was formed and occupied amidst considerable opposition and discouragement; but the opposition has died away. Our Settlement Congregations average between 250 and 350: our Outdoor Congregations also consist of considerable numbers; embracing, exclusively of those of Manukau, about 1500. Our native teachers, 30 in number, are posted through all parts of the district' (Missionary Register, 1841: 235).

Great interest was shown by Maori in the new message of Maunsell. He reported that the whole district, spread mostly along the banks of the Waikato river, was made up of some '7000 souls' of whom "we compute that full three-fourths have embraced the gospel", (Missionary Register, December 1841: 545).

Maori initiatives

Howe (1970, 1973, 1984), Ellsmore (1985, 1989), Parr (1961, in Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974), and Morrell (1967) illustrate how Maori people began to respond, adapt and modify Christianity to their own needs, to take from Christian teaching those features useful to them. These authors conclude that the Maori saw this education system as empowering for it enabled them to take from the European world technical elements and non-material attitudes and beliefs that enhanced their own life-styles, while they were able to maintain their own basic social divisions of whanau, hapu and iwi. Ward concluded that the Maori response to Western contact was highly intellectual, flexible and progressive, and also highly selective, aiming largely to draw upon the strengths of the West itself, and to enable them to enjoy its material and cultural riches co-equally with the Westerners (1973: viii).

Maunsell was not impressed by the development of this initiative. He had little respect for traditional Maori beliefs and "filthy waiatas" (Wily & Maunsell, 1938) and was insistent that they had no role in the future other than to "facilitate the Maoris' acceptance of the new religion" (Morrell, 1967: 246). Maunsell understood Maori cosmology but he discounted its value. He wrote:

As yet they make but little progress in either regarding or attacking in the abstract, and their objections are almost too silly to be noticed. Their metaphysics and philosophy are for the most part confined to ancient legend, to dreams or to immediate divine agencies, the subject of thought and sensation they ... express themselves as ... in the Ngakau (Maunsell) to C.M.S., 8 June 1841).

Like Grey, Maunsell saw traditional Maori cosmology (and their political and other cultural organisations) as interesting material for the museum but irrelevant to his time, for now they were to be educated into the 'culture' of the Gospel (Morrell, 1967).

However, no matter how much these men tried to belittle the Maori, the reality of the period was that social controls were essentially locally based, and the controlling society was still Maori in content and context. Thus the context for learning remained Maori, their initial response was syncretic, and this eventually caused Maunsell to create a new institution, ostensibly beyond their control (Ward, 1973; Belich, 1987).

Amidst Maunsell's glowing reports of 1841 was the first mention of concerns that were to plague him for the coming decades. He reported that:

Of the folly of their own system the natives are now pretty generally convinced; but of the Scripture truth, the natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, we have every day abundant evidence (Missionary Register, 1841: 545).

While knowledge of the Word of God was rapidly spreading, Maunsell was concerned that "we could hail Christian Feelings and Christian Character as advancing in the same proportion" (ibid: 235). In other words, his concern was not only that Maori people were not learning the Christian message, it was that his aim to create a Christian community was being subverted by Maori combining influences of the old ways with the new. He reported that 'on the whole, an attentive examination presents a strange motley of old habits and opinions, seeking to mould and rule the new principle' (ibid: 235). He continued to express this concern throughout the decade:

attractions of the new and stupendous doctrines of the Gospel were beginning to lose their novelty, and with their novelty, a large measure of their force; children were daily being baptized into the church, and yet the means for feeding these lambs of Christ were most inadequate. An immediate change therefore in our system was absolutely needed ... (Maunsell, 1849: 4).

The reasons why Maori people embraced the gospel concerned Maunsell. He also emphasised that the problem was not attracting potential candidates for baptism, but rather in keeping the numbers manageable to allow the missionaries to select the most suitable. In other words he very quickly was losing control of the process and direction of the Christianising mission. Maunsell was concerned that Maori were taking from the new teachings what they wanted, rather than what he wanted them to learn.

He acknowledged that Maori were indeed very capable of making sense of the message of Christianity and of incorporating it within the cosmology with which they were familiar, in order to make sense of the new world. Indeed this amalgamation of ideas was so successful that it was *"too often obtaining the mastery"* (Missionary Register, 1841: 235, italics added). His lamentation of the development of this initiative became a constant theme of his reports and letters and eventually led him to develop another institutional form to counter the process.

This new institutional form was the boarding school. The educational initiative was strictly oriented to promoting the world view of Maunsell, and aimed at maintaining Maunsell's control over the Christianising process. He felt that he could not control the development of the new theocracy adequately through the village school system, for his intentions were too easily subverted. Indeed Maunsell was pivotal in the development of legislation that promoted further boarding schools, for as a leading educational practitioner of the period, he was one of the major architects of the Education Ordinance proposed by Governor Grey in 1847 (Morrell, 1967). Grey had been instructed by Lord Russell, the Colonial Secretary when he was appointed Governor, to "encourage and work through the established missions ... , and to aid, from the public revenue, the efforts of the missionaries to educate and instruct their proselytes" (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974: 36). Maunsell's proposals conveniently fitted these criteria.

The main provision of this Ordinance was to institute a school as a boarding establishment where there was to be industrial as well as religious training. The medium was to be the English

language, and the schools were to be subject to annual inspection. In essence, in return for relief from the constant concern of his mission about funding, Maunsell had agreed to forgo some of the autonomy of his position to the government. This struggle for autonomy with the government was to take up much of his energies in the ensuing years. Maunsell became obsessed with the need to make this new institution self-sufficient, in order that he might limit his diminution of autonomy (Nathan, 1973). This concern was so dominant in his mind that it played a significant part in motivating the move of the mission from Maraetai upriver to Kohanga, where the land was supposedly more appropriate for agricultural self-sufficiency.

Nathan (1973: 48) claims the primary objective of the industrial boarding schools was to develop "a way of consolidating Christianity, a means of fostering Western Standards and maintaining racial harmony, and finally as instruments of assimilation". She also emphasises the objective of removing the child from the 'unsatisfactory parents', who were unsatisfactory 'because of their casual attitude.' This may have been so, but it tends to ignore the role played by Maori people. This role and the interactions between the missionary and the Maori people are crucial for understanding events of this period. For example, the 1847 Education Ordinance and the new institutional developments were necessary to intensify the hegemonic progress of Missionary Christianity in response to alternatives favoured by Maori people.

Meanwhile, another major concern to Maunsell was the development, by the mid 1840s, of "a general tendency of disillusionment among his converts, manifested in the outbreaks of tribal quarrels and in declining attendance at services" (Nathan, 1973: 56). This disillusionment was caused by the political marginalisation of Maori people which culminated in legislation - mooted in 1846 and finally passed by the General Assembly in 1852 - that disenfranchised owners of land held in communal title (Ward, 1973). This was a serious breach of the Treaty of Waitangi and the resistance was eventually to grow into the initiative of the King Movement, ironically a further anathema to Maunsell (Garrett, 1991).

The disillusionment was not with education as such, for Maori people had sought education to enable themselves to take part in the new world. Rather it was with the lack of opportunities to take part in the new order. Therefore the rejection of Maunsell's message was tempered partly by the political struggles in the wider context beyond Lower Waikato (Ward, 1973; Pearson, 1990). The relegation of Maori to a subordinate position in the new order destroyed their enthusiasm to take part in the teaching offered by the missionary.

Maunsell was outraged at this breach of the Treaty, and he wrote a strong protest to Governor Grey in 1847. It is important to note that the English version of the Treaty was signed at Port Waikato, hence his comments regarding sovereignty and pre-emption:

I trust, Sir, that I never see the day in which Englishmen will forget that national honour is an essential part of national dignity. The greater the power the more striking will be an act of meanness. From the day on which the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, the conduct of the New Zealanders to the British has been marked by a spirit of chivalry, of friendship and of good faith. They have cheerfully ceded the rights of sovereignty and pre-emption, and for a very small compensation have willingly endured fatigues, and face death against their relatives in defence of that authority thus ceded What, I would ask has been given by the British government to them in return? this colony has been founded, not by force, but by compact. A compact implies advantages given as well as received. What has been received by the British Government is visible to all: what has been given to the New Zealanders it is difficult to discover (GBPP, 1884, 1002: 9).

Maunsell, a man of strong integrity who believed in justice and the moral obligation that the Treaty placed upon the British (GBPP, 1841, 311: 99), was convinced of his own obligation to guide and protect the Maori people. He saw their syncretic developments as futile attempts to cope with the onslaught of the Western World rather than as a Maori initiative, and he was convinced that their salvation lay in his message of Christianity, protected by the Treaty of Waitangi from the rapacious greed of the Settlers.

The boarding school

The Boarding school was established not long after Maunsell's arrival at Port Waikato. By 1849, he was able to proudly summarise his progress in the Report of the Waikato Heads School of 1847 to 1849:

The Institution comprises four different departments, viz. 1. Boys' School. 2. Girls' School. 3. Adult men and women under instruction. 4. Pakeha Pupils ... The boys are taught reading, writing, geography, arithmetic, pronunciation of English, Scripture History, and the Church Catechism ... Out of School they are chiefly employed in tending the sheep and cattle of the Institution, in milking, in the garden, or other cultivations; assisting the carpenter, post and rail fencer; in some parts of the house duties, in cooking food for the boys' school, working the oxen and horses, sewing ... The girls receive in school nearly the same instruction as the boys, and out of school are employed in duties in the missionary's family, in washing, ironing, sewing, and cooking food for the girls' school (Maunsell, 1849: 30-31).

The school regime was very different from any other way of life at the time. For example, the whole School was examined in Scriptures and prayers, in winter at sunrise and in summer at 6.30am. The classes took the following pattern:

Smaller children - DAY 2 hrs. EVENING 1 hr.

Larger, and Native teachers - DAY 3 hrs. EVENING - 1 hr, 30 mins.

Pupil teachers - DAY 3 hrs. EVENING - 2 hrs (ibid: 9).

The habits, and methods of inculcation, that he preferred included:

Familiar knowledge with the leading doctrines of the Bible, the English language, singing, reading, writing, geography, arithmetic (ibid: 6).

He bemoaned the continual lack of teaching materials

from which the infant of an Englishman gains so much knowledge, ... which the intelligent New Zealander has, from his contracted sphere, no other means of attaining (ibid: 6-7).

The orientation of this education process was primarily to the theocratic world view. Above all, he said the missionary must be persistent in pursuing the path that will be opened up by the teaching of

catechization, and nothing but catechization, will give thought and sound knowledge to the New Zealand scholar. A New Zealand mind, ... though astute and lively, breaks down very soon in any connected process of reasoning (ibid: 8).

Another example of the methods preferred by Maunsell is found in his report to Sir George Grey in 1852, prior to the shift to Te Kohanga (GBPP, 1852-54: 154-155). He was pleased to note the continued increase in the numbers of students, "our average number last year was 67, our average number this year is 85" and he justified his policies of separating students into 'classes' or 'families' according to age. He continued:

We find that in order to produce a good effect upon the younger boys, in whom we wish to form more strongly civilised habits, it is quite necessary to keep them detached from the older scholars (ibid).

These children were kept in a separate "board building" with their "very good European master [and] a very worthy native teacher". They were 'well taught in reading Maori, the English language, geography, writing and ciphering' (ibid). However

They have their meals by themselves, with their European Master ... They also work in their garden by themselves, and play by themselves ... They also have with their native monitor the care of the sheep, the preparing of their food, and the care of their house and schoolroom (ibid).

Maunsell carefully detailed the principles upon which the school needed to be organised in order to produce the end result he desired for "his people". These principles included:

- Steady independence;
- A Self Supporting School, in order to cope with the constant shortfall of funding and also to promote the habit of self reliance;
- Habits of order and obedience; and
- A taste for the diet, clothing, comforts, and habits, of the European

(Maunsell, 1849: 12).

Another major concern was "to avoid that root of all evil, that bane of colonial born children, idleness". Work and duties were to be fostered, to 'battle this scourge' (ibid: 12).

His central concern, however, was that missionary schooling should prepare the student for life as a Christian with a new view of the world:

Above all things recollect that yours is a Religious Institution; that therefore religion must be made the basis of your system; religion, not as consisting in a mere attendance on services and ceremonies, but religion as brought home to the intellect and feelings of your scholars by a daily catechization in, and exposition of its blessed precepts by yourself (ibid: 10).

Problems

The Boarding Schools must have posed many problems of adjustment for the children, especially considering the sparse living conditions, poor food and long hours of work, schooling and study. The diet was minimal and limited:

Ground corn with milk, (a little sugar or molasses being sometimes for a reward added in,) is a most favorite meal with native children. The pointing out to the people its proper uses, will, we may hope, soon cause them to discontinue their present mode of preparing the 'kaanga kopiro' (Maunsell, 1849: 22).

Clothes were barely adequate - "some boys only had a shirt and no trousers" (Stack, 1935). Three or four boarders had to share a blanket and as late as 1860, sixteen boys slept in a room of eleven feet square. Nevertheless Maunsell was adamant that "scanty however as may be our resources, we must remember that poverty is no excuse for untidiness" (Maunsell, 1849: 23).

The need to provide self generated funding for the schools meant that in the new school pupils might spend much of their time helping to keep the school going rather than having lessons. Indeed, the first two years will most probably be occupied in those labours which absolutely needed by the Institution, in making and repairing their clothes, in washing, grinding, sifting flour, making and baking bread, fencing, gardening, cooking food, etc. (cited in Nathan, 1973: 52).

The Christian spirit of self-reliance through self-denial, discipline and hard work was promoted by Maunsell by his own example, and he expected no less from his scholars.

One of the manifestations of these adjustment problems was the high proportion of runaways. Nathan reports Maunsell's amazement at one small boy who swam the Waikato River to escape, a feat that the missionary had only heard of once before (1973: 57).² The time spent catching these reluctant scholars before they reached their homes, put a strain on the staff of the institution!

Doubts were raised by Maori parents and other adults, about the reason for the School existing at all, with its lack of recreation, holidays and emphasis on work. Some bitter complaints were received from the relatives of the children but Maunsell was adamant. He warned of the danger of not persevering with the need to 'judiciously feed their minds with knowledge while employ(ing) their hands in action' (Maunsell, 1849: 10).

Nathan (1973) suggests a prime reason that the school grew in the face of these difficulties must have been Maunsell's personal mana, but she neglects the support offered him by Waata Kukutai. He was the leader of Ngati Tipa, an early convert of Maunsell's, who had donated the 750 acres of agricultural land to enable Maunsell to move his school and Mission from the less arable Putataka Bay in 1853. Kukutai also encouraged six young chiefs to "willingly [submit] themselves to this regime" (Nathan, 1973: 57). Kukutai established a successful tribal farm at Kohanga. He moved Ngati Tipa to Te Kohanga from Waikato Heads to be near his friend and to offer Maunsell his support. Just how much success Maunsell would have had without Kukutai is debatable.

Maunsell's orientation was toward the 'civilisation' of the Maori communities into model Christian communities that would have maintained their separate identity. Kukutai took this so seriously that as well as moving most of Ngati Tipa to Kohanga to live in association with the new Mission in 1853, upon the cessation of hostilities in 1864, he proposed that Ngati Tipa would shift from Te Kohanga to a new model village, to be built along 'modern', that is, English, lines. Maunsell and Kukutai were opposed to the further selling of land; they fostered industrial training, and they helped establish flour mills. These policies were a constant source of conflict with the settlers representatives.

Maunsell kept the running of the institution to himself. The results of this control were not always positive:

I have just returned from a trip of seven weeks of absence from my station ... we had 84 males in this institution before I left, many of whom I was obliged to send away in my absence as I had no means of conducting the institution during that time ... I have the work now of 1) gathering the others back into the institution and 2) of reducing those who stayed here into order. The European cloathes of the boys have vanished and Mrs Maunsell with her women will have to work some time in repairing the loss (Maunsell to C.M.S., 19 April 1850).

This was written more than ten years after Maunsell's arrival at Maraetai and some four to five. years after the establishment of his boarding school, yet he could not leave the institution in the hands of anyone strong enough to control these young men. The limited numbers of students whose parents were willing for them to participate was not enough to offer a pool of support that would enable the school to become a community asset. Optimists like Kukutai supported Maunsell's vision, but Maunsell would not trust any local with his mission - as did Ashwell at Taupiri, where he trained Heta. Tarawhiti to replace himself. It is signal that Maunsell does not appear to have developed any local novitiate or any apprentices for he obviously understood or feared that no Maori was going to pursue the agenda that he had in mind.

Maunsell was patronising toward those native teachers whom he did foster. He saw them as having a great potential, but not really being able to conduct such a boarding institution. He considered that 'a native cannot at present bear well such stimulants without injury. The missionary must keep a steady and constant eye upon the whole system' (Maunsell, 1849). This may seem strange when one considers his earlier claim of having some thirty native teachers in village schools. However when one considers that the rationale for the boarding school was to promote his evangelical mission, and to do this he essentially had to abandon the village school, Maunsell's opinion is not so strange. He could not trust a 'native' to pursue his Christian orientated curricula in the face of the Maori people's preferred alternatives. Nathan (1973: 58) misinterprets the reason for the failure of these paternalistic schools (for by 1864 the school had all but disappeared). She says it was because Maori were not competent to take over from the forceful, dynamic teaching of Maunsell. An alternative interpretation is that Maori were too competent and they would have subverted Maunsell's agenda with that of their own.

Maunsell's intolerance of Maori initiatives finally came to a head in 1863. He had become increasingly angry with 'his' Waikato people, in particular the development of the Maori church:

never did a church more need a violent humbling and shaking than the Maori church. The spirit of worldly mindedness, self-will and pride for a while restrained by the spirit of the gospel seems

again in too many places to be rising its head and power. Drunkenness has prevailed in some places and Christianity has very extensively assumed the form of a cold formalism (Maunsell to C.M.S., 20 May 1863).

He also questioned those events that had given the Maori a "low idea of English and an exalted idea of Maori prowess". The dramatic change in his attitude was exhibited by his support for the invasion of the Waikato by the British troops. He justified the forthcoming conflict by claiming that it would actually be good for the Maori for it would bring them to their senses. He hoped that the Lord would be 'pleased to chasten and humble, not to destroy them in the forthcoming conflict'.

Maunsell joined the army and became an Army Chaplain. His reports of the time he spent as an army chaplain are full of the same enthusiasm he had displayed two decades before upon his arrival at Maraetai. The 'Christian Civilising Mission' had given way to his enthusiasm to control the Maori people. Concern that a 'sharp lesson' was needed permeates his and the reports of other Missionaries reports of this period (Belich, 1987). He became adamant in his support for the war because he saw his earlier efforts at civilising being thwarted 'temporarily' by Maori response and initiatives. He had supported aspects of the resistance against the demand for wholesale land sales, for he too was opposed to land sales by the Maori, but his deeper fears outweighed his concern for the Maori. His support of the war effort appears to have been for a temporary admonishment that would get his people 'back onto the track'. However in this he misinterpreted the savagery with which the Governor and the settler's representatives were to pursue the annihilation of the Maori people (Simpson, 1979; Belich, 1987).

Maunsell also made another serious miscalculation about the Maori people when he considered they would return to the 'correct path' after the war. He returned to Kohanga as soon as the fighting moved away from the northern Waikato. Here he planned to recommence his school. However, he appears to have underestimated Maori resistance, and the problems that 'loyalist' Maori would face after a civil war. He was not the only one to underestimate this phenomenon. Kukutai was to find himself very unpopular with his Kingite cousins when the war finally ceased. It would also appear that both of these men had severely underestimated the lengths that the settler Government would go to extend their control. Thus, when a difference of motivations finally emerged, Maunsell left the Mission station and Kukutai became extremely disillusioned. Maunsell was motivated by a desire to admonish and return 'his natives' to the right track the full assimilation. The settlers were motivated by a desire to remove the Maori from the choicest areas of land, to remove them from the sphere of economic competition as they had been before the war, and to exert unquestioned control over the destiny of the people and places of New Zealand, including Maori. The settler insistence on one rule for all meant just that, their rule!

Conclusion

Maunsell believed that the Maori people could be civilised into a Protestant Christian lifestyle. There was nothing inherently inferior about the Maori, indeed they were eminently capable of being civilised, as long as they followed his model for development.

He strongly believed that Maori syncretic initiatives were futile attempts to cope with the emerging 'new order'. However, it was these initiatives that prompted him to adapt and change his education institutions in order that he could maintain power and control over the educational process. Similarly, those outside influences that limited the adherence of the Maori to his own 'civilising influence', in particular, the rapacious, land-grabbing, disenfranchising, Treaty-breaking, secular Europeans, were to be battled on behalf of his flock

This was true until his flock turned too far from his own path. Until then Maori initiatives could be overcome by 'subtle' persuasion, but in the last resort he joined the forces of coercion - a tragic miscalculation which effectively destroyed the mission that he had spent twenty years of his life creating.

Notes

1. More detailed considerations of his life are available in Wily and Maunsell (1935) and Garrett (1991).
2. The struggles for political supremacy that typified these decades are pivotal in understanding the subsequent century of domination of Maori culture by that of the secular Pakeha leaders of New Zealand (see Ward, 1973; Bishop, 1991).

The Waikato river at Kohanga is over 300 metres wide, and a very large, swiftly flowing river. It would possibly have been even more swift in those days before the mid 1920s when the dams on the river began to slow down the river.

References

Abbreviations

GBPP - Great Britain Parliamentary Papers

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