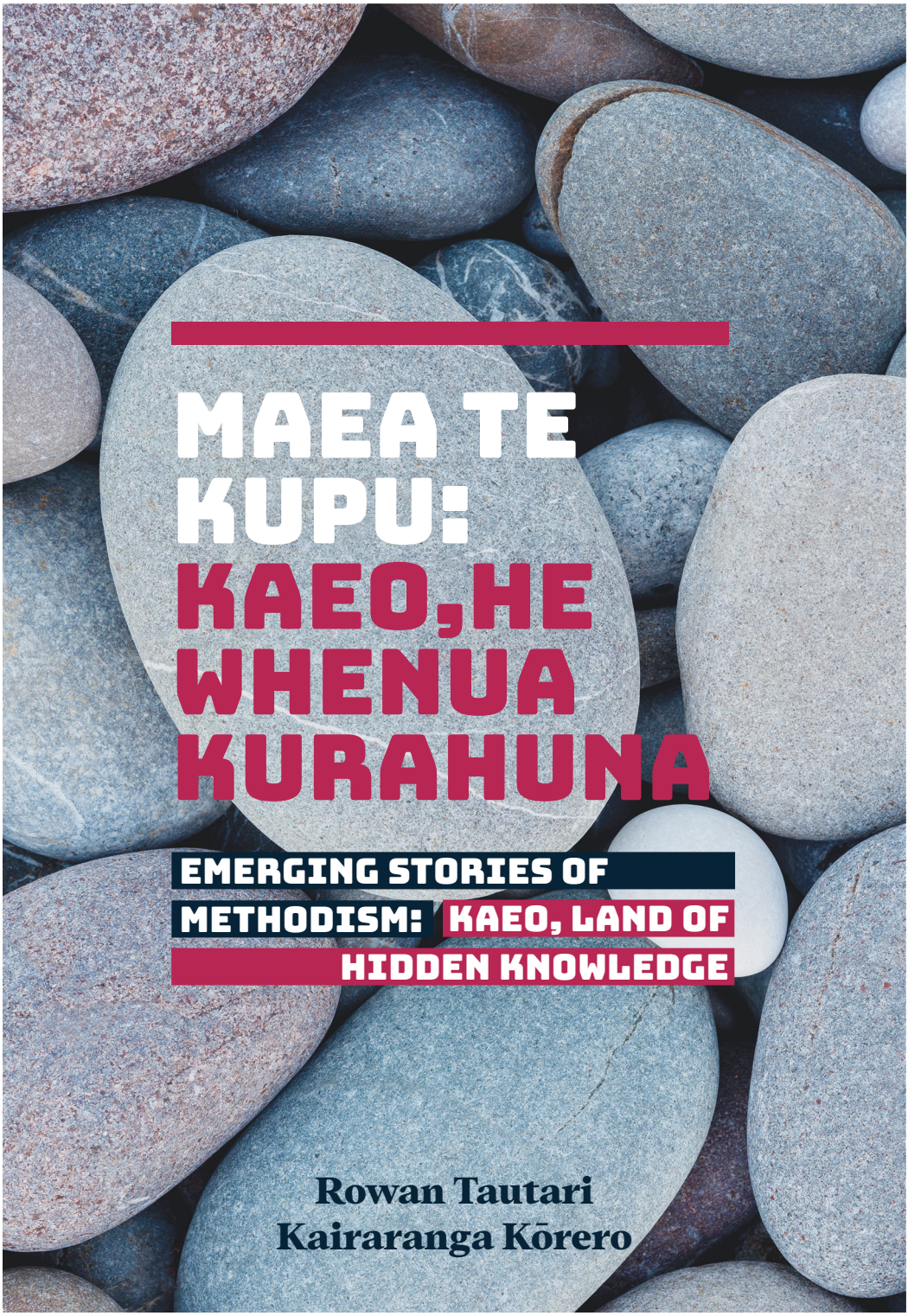
MAEA TE KUPU:
KAEO,HE WHENUA KURAHUNA
EMERGING STORIES OF METHODISM: KAEO, LAND OF HIDDEN KNOWLEDGE
Rowan Tautari
Kairaranga Kōrero

MAEA TE KUPU: KAEO,HE WHENUA KURAHUNA

EMERGING STORIES OF METHODISM: KAEO, LAND OF HIDDEN KNOWLEDGE

Rowan Tautari
Kairaranga Kōrero

Maea te Kupu: Kaeo, he whenua kurahuna – emerging stories of Methodism: Kaeo, land of hidden knowledge

Published by Te Taha Maori Property Trust
Weteriana House, 50 Langdons Road, Papanui, Christchurch 8053

Published November 2022

ISBN 978-0-473-66236-3 (softcover)

ISBN 978-0-473-66237-0 (PDF)

A catalogue record for this book is available from the National Library of New Zealand.

Design: Imelda Morgan
Cover image: istockphoto
Printed in New Zealand

RĀRANGI TAKE

MIHI

"Toitū te kupu, toitū te mana, toitū te whenua".

He mihi tēnei ki a Ranginui e tu iho nei ki a Papatūānuku e takoto nei. Ka huri ngā mihi ki a koutou te hunga kua riro ki tua o te arai, okioki mai ra.
Ka hoki mai ki a tātou ki te hunga ora tēnā tātou katoa.

Ko ngā mihi nui ki te kaituhi i whakapau ai ōna pukenga kōrero kia whai take ai tēnei kaupapa i tēnei te rua rau tau o te Hāhi Weteriana o Aotearoa. E mihi ana ki te wairua me te tapu o ngā kōrero kurahuna i roto i tēnei kohinga kōrero. Nāu ra mātou i hāpai i manaaki i ngā rangahau mō tēnei kaupapa whānui. Ko te tūmanako, mā roto i te rangahau ka hua ake he whakaaroaro anō hei whāinga mō te reanga i muri i a mātou. Nā reira e te tuahine Rowan he aroha nui tēnei ki a koe.

Maea te kupu, he whenua kurahuna shares origin threads and themes to an evolving *Kaeo whenua story*. Not one dominant reality, but a divergence of many. The stories and histories of the Kaeo whenua are as a rendering of parables, multi-layered and meant to be told so we might hear the hidden voices and share of the sacred knowledge they tell. In our history making spanning 200 years new insights of knowledge emerge, challenging us to reconcile our own understandings of sacred lands, people, and awaken us to fresh pathways forward.

Our Papatūānuku past reveals much about her treatment and re-identification by the Church for purposes of a Wesleyan Mission. The hidden narratives of Māori encounter Western conceptions of knowledge *Kaeo as settler colonial imaginary* highlights where *Kaeo exclusions and inclusions* intersect in our lives as a cross-cultural story of relationships. With each generation contextualised understandings of whenua have influenced the arbitrary relationship between Māori and Tauiwi in church and society. The gains have come not without negotiation, contestation and struggle. In caring for climate justice for future generations, restoration of ecologies of natural habitats, and heritage values, our sacred lands are sites of deep wisdom. Borrowing from our past and our shared heritage raises further reflections

on a future of Kaeo whenua reimagined and inclusive of the diversity present in our church.

What remains is the permanence of Kaeo as whenua kurahuna valued as it was last century, and now two centuries later. The themes stir within us a deep reflection of our attitudes and beliefs to land and people, and the ongoing relationship of tangata whenua and Tauiwi embodied in the church. Maea te kupu he whenua kurahuna contributes significantly to understanding the forces at play in the evolving *Kaeo as yearning story*, and as a body of knowledge for all who draw affiliation to our Methodist roots in Aotearoa/New Zealand. What emerges is a gleaning of the past, before, after and for the future.

Whenu (strands) of the kōrari (flax plant) come in complimentary pairs, bringing the balance in mahi raranga (weaving). As each whenu is laid the kairaranga (weaver) seeks to maintain a horizonal ara (the pathway) and the weaving unfolds. In some designs of the poutama (staircase of knowledge) the whakatū motif dictates that the weaving move vertically. The ara disappears, in faith the kairaranga continues weaving upwards and across. The ara returns when the gradient of the step is achieved. Patterns of this nature invite us to move into the unknown without fear, and with faith prompting us to move where the wairua leads us. We are challenged to take heed of the voiceless of our past, the voiceless in our midst, and for future generations are encouraged to seek innovative, constructive and transformative ways to move us forward. Conscious always, although not obvious to all, that which is hidden is never forgotten.

Rev. Akinihi Keita Hotere

HE KUPU TĪMATATANGA

"The Treaty of Waitangi is the covenant establishing our nation on the basis of a power-sharing relationship, and will guide how we undertake mission."

Mission Statement, Methodist Church of New Zealand

This is a contextual study about the origins of the Methodist Church in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Origins refer to beginnings, specifically 'the point at which something begins or rises from which it derives.[1] In this story, origins are linked to themes. A theme is a recurring idea, a broad message with an underlying meaning. Themes reflect broad shifts in time. They are not always evident in the beginning. They may become more apparent with time, hence the title, maea te kupu (emerging words). Themes may be obvious to some but not to others. The expression whenua kurahuna, invites reflection of Kaeo not only as a physical place and a literal site, but as a symbol with multiple reference points depending on one's location.

While this document can be described as a story or a series of stories, it is also offered as an outline to guide a reconsideration of origins, and to generate discussion about what a bicultural history might look like in 2022. The themes discussed in this story have been extrapolated from Methodist Church of New Zealand (MCNZ) archives, land story questions, Conference papers, and the Church's mission statement. They reflect the Church's historic and ongoing role as an agent of transformation and change. The story is also shaped by scholarship that sits outside the Church, by revisionist history, as well as postcolonial and Kaupapa-Māori theory. Finally, it reflects the broader Aotearoa/New Zealand context that has always influenced the Church, including the natural environment.

While this story makes reference to tangata whenua of Whangaroa it does not claim to tell their stories. Kōrero tuku iho (oral tradition) is best told by those who, through whakapapa and appropriate training, have the

[1] https://www.google.com/search?q=origins+meaning

right to do so. In saying so it does make general observations. Published and unpublished accounts, including evidence submitted to the Waitangi Tribunal hint at a complex world involving rangatira, hapū, decisions made, actions taken, collaborations formed amidst constant negotiation, and a deepening awareness of the world beyond. The reasons why tangata whenua chose to engage with Wesleyan missionaries have been explored by many historians. Apart from noting the existence of personal commitments and expectations between Māori (including clergy) and the Church, that appear as fragments in personal papers and offer a counterpoint to general theories, this story does not seek to relitigate or join those debates.

STRUCTURE

The themes in this study span two centuries of Methodism in Aotearoa and are loosely divided into three time periods, 1822, 1922, and 2022. While each time period is allocated two themes, these are not restricted to a particular time or location. For example, the theme of Kaeo as whenua precedes 1822, extends beyond 2022, transcends Western concepts of time, and applies to all whenua in Aotearoa. The themes also overlap in terms of their subject matter. For example, there is a constant interplay between Kaeo as exclusion and inclusion, and between Kaeo as remembrance and yearning.

Kaeo as whenua focusses attention on a Māori ontological relationship to land. This relationship is mediated by Papatūānuku (earth, creation). While much has been written about Papatūānuku in academic scholarship, the normativity of Papatūānuku to Māori is overlooked in Church histories and until recently by the Church.[2] This theme also provides a wider cultural context for understanding the influence of tikanga in shaping Māori relationships including with each other, with the missionaries and with te taiao (environment). This theme explains why the first transaction of land between Māori and the Church was predicated on tikanga.

Kaeo as settler colonial imaginary concerns the perceptions of the non-Western world by Western observers, beginning with accounts of Māori by missionaries. Church origin stories based on missionary accounts depicted Māori through a deficit lens based on stereotypes held about indigenous people. Despite the apparent health and well-being of Māori, they were described as heathen, uncivilised, filthy, depraved, bestial, and savages

[2] Whenua Papatupu policy (proposed), Methodist Church of New Zealand

with badly behaved children. This theme makes explicit the colonial logic that underpinned the purchase of land at Kaeo for the Wesleyan mission. One in which land was remade as property and missions marked as sites of civilisation. That Māori did not see themselves or their surroundings in this way was irrelevant.

Kaeo as exclusion explores the invisibility of those who do not appear in the origin stories of the Church. This includes women, largely perceived as adjuncts to men, yet as a group were and are diverse. There are other silences in the Kaeo story. Categorisations that involved children and people with disabilities. Heteronormative discourses that assume uniformity and conformity and block cultural diversity, invisibilising sexual orientation and other gender identities. Hegemonic narratives that subjugate the environment, privilege human exceptionalism and enable other-than-human whanaunga (kin) including rivers, mountains, forests, wetlands, trees, birds and fish to be treated as an inexhaustible resource.

Kaeo as inclusion seeks to expand our definition of origin stories beyond linear readings of missionary journals and archival records. It also suggests alternative methods from which to construct Methodist history as a counterpoint to the written word. Material objects can embody and reveal other ways of knowing and being. The dominance of te reo in Aotearoa in 1822, and its ongoing expression in Māori spaces via whaikōrero, wānanga and waiata suggest other ways to define origins. This opens the door for a wider decolonial discussion of origins in 2022 through the lens of Māori women and girls.

Kaeo as remembrance explores what is remembered and why. The act of remembering is recorded in the names of Methodist dead and in the honouring of their deeds. Kaeo mission as a site of remembrance symbolises the beginning of this tradition; the names listed on the cairn, the Kaeo Memorial Church, the cemetery recording the names of early settlers. As the Church's acts of remembrance necessitate engagement with public history and overlap with touristic consumption and local remembrance, public and private spaces collide. Acts of remembrance sit uneasily alongside acts of forgetting. Understanding why some things are remembered and others are not is revealing of these tensions.

Kaeo as yearning draws on the historic role of yearning in shaping the present, and its present role in shaping the future. It explores the aspirations of Māori who saw opportunity in developing relationships with

the missionaries, with the technologies that they brought, and the world that they had come from, who were enriched by some engagements and impoverished by others. The yearning to possess, appropriate, erase and recategorise is explored in the Kaeo as settler colonial imaginary theme. However, this theme looks beyond what was envisaged two centuries ago to the Church's bicultural journey and beyond. Yearnings to belong, to be included, to find purpose and relevance, and to be in relationality with all creation. Perhaps it is in this space of shared yearnings, pathways of mutual and relational responsibility emerge.

In adopting a thematic approach this study considers origins by applying whakapapa as methodology. Whakapapa is inclusive of relationships, past and present. Guided by Church documents this study makes connections between Church origins and three critical issues that challenge the Church and nation today. The first issue concerns Te Tiriti o Waitangi which is articulated by the Church in its bicultural journey. The second issue concerns climate justice which has roots in the transformation of the landscape of Aotearoa from whenua to property. The third issue concerns the Abuse in Care Royal Commission of Inquiry and specifically, abuse in faith-based care. One may consider this approach overtly presentist yet all three issues interlock and reveal systemic and historic inequities within Aotearoa/New Zealand. Their existence calls us to question power and privilege and their links to what we choose to remember, including what we define as origins.

This story acknowledges the intersections of colonialism, racism and patriarchy, their roots in the origins of the state, and in the history of Methodism in Aotearoa. In doing so it seeks to approach the origins of Kaeo differently. Not as a chronology of famed clergy valorising deeds that reflect linear, traditional church hierarchies, but as a series of points that are emergent, that provide opportunity from which to accommodate divergences and contradictions, expanding our collective view of what constitutes the Church and its history.

WĀHANGA 1: KAEO, 1822

THEME 1: KAEO AS WHENUA

"It is important to appreciate that Māori understanding of land differs from that of Pākehā, not only in terms of collective ownership – something held within the tribe and handed on from generation to generation, not a commodity to be bought and sold – but also that, for Māori, land has spiritual value from which they draw strength."

Our Land Story and Guidelines for Taking Action on Land and Responding to the Waitangi Tribunal, Bricks and Mortar, 1991

This theme is a prologue to the establishment of Kaeo mission. It acknowledges the wairua (spirit) and mauri (life force) of whenua, and their nurturing of human existence and endeavor.

Prior to the creation of tangata (people), there was whenua. The ancestors of Māori left Hawaiki and crossed Te Moana Nui a Kiwa (Pacific ocean) to Aotearoa, but they did not come alone. They brought mātauranga (knowledge) with them. This knowledge emerged from Oceania and was shaped by thousands of years of accumulated experience and observation. It included wayfinding, the ways of the ocean, weather patterns, the movement of the stars. It was a complete system of how to live. Knowledge transfer was porous, embodied and performative. It was experimental and responsive. It was expresssed in te reo Māori, in kōrero tuku iho (oral tradition), waiata (song), whaikōrero (oratory), whakapapa (genealogy), whakairo (carving), raranga (weaving) and held in numerous other repositories.

The concept of whenua comes from Te Orokohanga, the creation story, and begins with Te Kore (darkness, potential). Te Kore reflects the various states of becoming, which is also the development of knowledge, from darkest night to dawn, to Te Ao Marama (the world of light). In this cosmos, which reflects the shape of a koru (spiral) as opposed to a linear progression, Papatūānuku and Ranginui (earth and sky), formed from Te Kore, hold seemingly incompatible atua (natural forces personified) together in a state of balance. This is a cosmological whakapapa in which everything has a place and is in a process of becoming. Whenua, as land and placenta,

was the life support system of te ao Māori. Whenua is linked to humanity, to whānau (birth, extended family), hapū (pregnancy, kinship group), iwi (bones, extended kinship group), and ūkaipō (mother). Through complex life cycles, some known and many unknown, whenua supplied their needs.

Māori relationships with whenua were mediated through tikanga. Tikanga as a system of practices enabled people to live their lives with ethical and mutual responsibility, in accordance with what was tika (lawful, just). Tikanga framed relationships with whenua within a space that existed outside of Gregorian time, in a knowledge system that incorporated maramataka (Māori lunar calendar). Honed by constant returnings and rememberings, this was a generative space that required creativity, connection and focus.

While colonisation introduced a legal system and economic conditions that altered the natural landscape and restructured Māori ways of life, Te Orokohanga evidences an alternative reality that emerges within whenua and exists beyond and irrespective of the colonial project. While much has been written about Papatūānuku in academic scholarship, Methodist histories have overlooked Māori understandings of whenua. This can be traced to the missionaries who associated Māori beliefs and values with heathen practices. This created a binary where Māori were considered uncivilised and the missionaries civilised. Yet for Māori to accept Christianity, they needed to participate as themselves, as Māori.

With the arrival of the missionaries, Māori interest in the world beyond te ao Māori, in the material objects that were seen and tested, in the knowledge associated with this world and its potential benefits, grew. In the report, He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti, the Waitangi Tribunal discussed Māori – non-Māori relationships in the Bay of Islands and Hokianga, between 1769 and 1840.[3] What seems clear during this period is that rangatira were not interested in the wholesale change to their beliefs, values, and practices. Instead, they wanted to enhance their world, to improve their collective quality of life and the standing of their hapū within it. While open to other knowledge, their desire to learn did not constitute a cession of authority or a renouncement of themselves as Māori.

[3] He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti – The Declaration and the Treaty: Stage 1 of the Te Paparahi o te Raki Inquiry (Wai 1040), Waitangi Tribunal, 2014

Locating Kaeo mission within this context, Whangaroa rangatira had travelled overseas by 1823 and had exposure to a different world. However, their knowledge of this world remained limited. By 1840, many more transactions had taken place between Māori and land speculators. Very little written information survives as to the detail of what was agreed to. Between 1841–1844, these transactions were investigated by a commission that focussed on documents written in English and the evidence of one party rather than what was discussed and agreed to by both. There is more information on this in the next section.

Given the early date of the Kaeo transaction, it seems unlikely that Māori would have overriden tikanga, the only law they understood, and consented to an exchange of property that effectively alienated them from their whenua in perpetuity for "two blankets, three red cloaks and fifteen axes."[4] Accepting that the first transaction of land between Māori and the Church was (for Māori) predicated on tikanga, warrants a reconsideration of its implications. Recent work undertaken by the Church on whenua and climate justice reintroduces Māori concepts of whenua into Methodist spaces and focusses attention on Papatūānuku as an alternative way to visualise and be in relation to earth.

THEME 2: KAEO AS SETTLER COLONIAL IMAGINARY

"Hardly anywhere on the face of the earth could there be found a need more terrible and clamorous than that of the Natives of New Zealand. Hence the Missionaries came, saw and conquered."

Centenary Sketches of New Zealand Methodism, Rev. W. J. Williams, 1923, p.8

This theme draws on a field of study called settler colonialism to theorise the contradictions and inconsistencies between colonisation as a force for good and indigenous ways of being, in essence between whenua and property. The term "imaginary" refers to a common set of values, laws, practices, institutions and conventions used to interpret the unknown and make sense of the inexplicable. In 1823, Kaeo mission was named and claimed by Wesleyan missionaries. They depicted an inferior and savage people who were required to learn the external trappings of civilisation in order to be saved. In their descriptions of te ao Māori (Māori world), a

[4] Copy of Deed of Purchase of the Wesleyan Mission Station at Kaeo, 1823, Methodist Church of New Zealand Archives Catalogue number: MS-288, Personal Papers Historical Records Collection

settler colonial imaginary at odds with how Māori perceived themselves was deployed.

Converted into a site of civilisation, like many other early missions Kaeo became the vanguard of Empire, Dominion, British rule, and the Crown. Following the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, church and state assumed a transfer of authority from Māori to the Crown had taken place. This understanding is made explicit in Church histories. That Māori consistently regarded this as a myth did not weaken its power to be projected into the future. Throughout the Te Paparahi o te Raki (Northland) Inquiry hearings, many claimants, including from Whangaroa hapū, denied that sovereignty was ceded by their tūpuna. In 2014, the Waitangi Tribunal concluded that Ngāpuhi did not cede sovereignty.[5] The history of Kaeo mission reflects this contradiction one where opposing views overlay shared space and co-exist in tension.

Kaeo mission can be viewed from multiple perspectives that are either valid or not depending on their framing. As a tuku whenua (customary means of allocating land). As an exchange of goodwill that signalled the beginning of an enduring relationship based on Christian beliefs and values. As a site that marked the introduction of Methodism. As a display of power by two parties of sovereignty and mana (authority, control). As a moment in which whenua was converted into property. As a precursor to the Church's bicultural journey. As a marker of the future direction of the Church. Kaeo speaks of all these moments and its significance to the church is never static.

What is apparent in terms of church history, is that from the very first encounter concerning a transaction of land, Kaeo as shared space was splintered. This theme explores how that happened and asks with the benefit of hindsight whether a sale occurred in 1823.

"A suitable selection of land was purchased at Kaeo, at the entrance to a beautiful valley of that name, seven miles up the river from the harbour. In connection with that first purchase of land by the Wesleyan Church in New Zealand – a property which the Church still retains – it should be stated that the validity of the purchase has never been successfully disputed."

Centenary Sketches of New Zealand Methodism, Rev. W. J. Williams, 1923, p.18

[5] He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti – The Declaration and the Treaty: Stage 1 of the Te Paparahi o te Raki Inquiry (Wai 1040), Waitangi Tribunal, 2014

The story begins in 1989, when, in response to the bicultural journey, a land story policy was developed by the Church. This policy paved the way for a more bicultural assessment of the Church's history of land acquisition to take place.

The splintering of Kaeo begins with a contradiction, between a conversation that took place and the meaning later ascribed to it. What is known is that encounters between Church Missionary Society (CMS) and Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS) church men took place in Australia and then Aotearoa. Encounters between rangatira and the same missionaries also occurred. Then on 16 August 1823, a deed of purchase confirms that a sale took place. What is not well known is whether Māori, unlikely to speak or read formal English, understood the land purchase deed, and considered themselves party to a sale.

The Waitangi Tribunal provides an explanation for such a discrepancy. Without repeating their arguments, they state that prior to 1830, Māori had little understanding of English land tenure and operated in accordance with tikanga (Māori law). In the Tribunal's opinion, context was important.[6] Māori would have granted use rights in exchange for a reciprocal, mutually beneficial relationship.

There are other inconsistencies concerning Kaeo mission including explanations concerning the raid that occurred in 1827. Muru (raid, to take ritual compensation) were undertaken for perceived offences to restore fairness and balance. It was a practice designed to resolve rather than cause conflict. Missionary accounts of what happened reflect geuine alarm and anxiety. The existence of a muru suggests the authority and tenure claimed by the missionaries was provisional.

Did the raid arise because of disagreements between rangatira that were unrelated to the missionaries? Could Māori have been disappointed in the missionaries for not fulfilling some purpose expected of them, but unknown to the missionaries? Were local Māori understandings of non-Māori shaped by events surrounding the Boyd in 1809? Is there some other explanation that was missed by missionaries intent on saving souls rather than understanding tikanga? While kōrero tuku iho (oral tradition) may provide insights, without a comprehensive understanding of the local context, we can only speculate.

[6] Muriwhenua Land Report (Wai 45), Waitangi Tribunal, 1997, pp 74-75

After the mission ended in 1827, several years elapsed. Then between 1841–1844, an Old Land Claims Commission was set up to inquire into numerous claims (more than 1000 old land claims) made by non-Māori concerning pre-1840 land transactions. Successive generations of Māori have considered this a controversial inquiry that resulted in the alienation of thousands of acres of land in the Bay of Islands, Kaipara, and Auckland. Areas of land considered valid sales by the commission were typically doubled in size. Under this scheme, the Church was granted 100 acres of land at Kaeo, double the area described in the deed of purchase.

After Kaeo was disbanded a Wesleyan mission was established at Te Mangungu, Hokianga in 1828. Kaeo land lay in abeyance for several years. Having realised a need to train Māori to minister to Māori, in 1844, a school was established at Grafton in Auckland for Māori youth. This was moved to Three Kings in 1848, before being moved to its present site at Paerata, in 1924. Over the years, many students came from Te Tai Tokerau (Northland).

It was not until 1869 that Kaeo mission was used again when a church building was erected. This reflected an internal shift in the Church towards supporting the needs of settlers, who nationwide were beginning to outnumber Māori. Meanwhile, Māori continued to live in separate communities that were either encircled by settlers or pushed to the margins.

While the Church continued to support Māori communities in late nineteenth century Te Tai Tokerau, this was undertaken by Māori ministers and much later, deaconesses, both Māori and Pakeha. When the 1869 church building outgrew its purpose, it was replaced by another church and parsonage in 1886. The site of the current memorial church is located on land donated by a local, long-serving Methodist family and lies outside the mission property.

For many years the remainder of Kaeo mission was leased or used for farming and the proceeds managed by Whangaroa circuit. Between the 1950s and 1970s most of the land was subdivided and sold. With the establishment of Taha Māori in 1973, the Tumuaki took on shared oversight of the property. What remains of Kaeo mission is currently administered by Te Taha Māori Property Trust.

There are many property-related records concerning Kaeo mission, the church buildings, administrative trusts, the local parish and circuit. Collectively these documents provide a timeline of decisions made and

actions taken. Less is known about the Māori Methodist community, a church that was built in the early 1900s, and relationships to ancestral whenua including Kaeo mission. Some of this history can be deduced from education records, from attendance at Wesley College, at Kurahuna School of Domestic Science and Hygiene for Māori girls, and training in the ministry at Trinity College. The records reflect a system that privileged legal and administrative practices and structures and ultimately upheld the view of the missionaries, described in this context, as the settler colonial imaginary.

WĀHANGA 2: KAEO, 1922

THEME 3: KAEO AS EXCLUSION

"Before long, the log-raupo hut that had so imperfectly sheltered Mr and Mrs Leigh, gave way to a comfortable wooden building, the frame of which had been brought from Sydney. The ground was well fenced and well tilled and the Mission Station at Wesleydale, as it was called, stood out in the midst of a moral and physical waste as an advanced post of civilisation."

Centenary Sketches of New Zealand Methodism, Rev. W. J. Williams, 1923, p.21

This section explores invisibility and silences. It emerges in response to the overwhelming number of accounts that focus on the observations of missionaries and clergy who tended to be men. While a lack of records makes it difficult to fill in the blanks about other people, it attempts to surface this issue by reflecting on the materiality of a simple fence and its relation to people rendered invisible.

This includes Māori as whānau, hapū, iwi. While the profile of women in the Church has increased significantly across all spaces, it includes women whose marginalisation at various points within Church history restricted participation. It includes children whose silences can be read in the scarcity of personal records concerning schooling and children's homes. The absence of records and/or poor record-keeping was noted by the Abuse in Care Royal Commission of Inquiry as a cause of distress and trauma for those whose voices were ignored.

People with disabilities are also hidden from view as are those who are not British, who did not identify with the missionaries or the culture they brought with them. It includes people who are diverse in other ways whether by way of sexual orientation or in the naming of gender. People who experience cultural, ethnic, social, geographic and economic marginalisation. It can also mean a combination of all the above.

Records shape how we remember the past. While the Methodist Church has created an archive of value, records tend to focus on administration

and property matters, meeting minutes, building repairs, and expenses. This is not to say that documents that hint at the existence of other stories, or experiences, do not exist. However, such content may have survived more by accident than by design.

Until the 1970s, official histories of the Church tended to be written by men who were clergy, or appointed by clergy. Well-researched and well-intended, reflecting the way history was written in New Zealand at the time, these documents provide information in painstaking detail. However, they do not convey the voices of those who occupied marginal spaces.

Acknowledging that to some extent matters of inequity have been or are being addressed by the Church, the issue of a scarcity of records concerning the silenced remains. When sweeping statements have been made about an entire population, as was the case with Māori, should we respond to the absence and provide an alternative? Is it necessary to plug early acounts and histories with gap fillers? Or should we use our time differently and allow those stories to stand in their context and consider other ways to tell ours?

Reflecting on this methodological dilemma, the image of fences comes to mind, their ubiquity and perplexity. Whether they are protective or offensive barriers depends on context and one's position. Before the missionaries came to Kaeo, Māori already had fences. Tūwatawata used to fortify pā, takitaki comprised upright posts used in palisades or to protect gardens and food stores from wind and birds, taiapa were constructed horizontally. They were relatively simple structures as there were few terrestrial animals. Rather than rely on external structures Māori applied tikanga and whakapapa to order and maintain relationships to whenua, to identify who belonged where.

It is difficult to visualise the Kaeo mission without fences. Paintings and sketches seem to stress the allotment of space. To the missionaries the division of land was synonymous with Englishness. Fences were associated with domesticity, gardens, homely buildings. Visually they conveyed a sense of safety and peace. It was important that these spaces were brought under their control. In their sketches, trees have been cut down, and the land cleared and plowed. Gardens and fruit trees have replaced the forest. Letters describe the tidy appearance of the mission. There is genuine pride in these achievements, in the labour undertaken to tame the land and bring it under human control.

Fences demarcated wilderness and waste land from domesticated space, whenua from property. They demarcated who was in and who was out, who mattered and who did not. Within the mission fence, Papatūānuku and other diverse expressions of living earth, other-than-human whanaunga (kin), native plants, birds, mountains, trees, rivers and stones were silenced, depicted as insentient or inanimate. Separating humans from nature, fences reinforce invisible hierarchies, subject-object binaries, the power to define, to represent and enforce new realities, to create imagined borders, and foreclose creative responses to alterity.

Fences tell stories. They speak of salvation offered by the missionaries and colonialism, of purchase deeds and survey lines on a map. To step through the mission gate was to leave civilisation and enter a barbaric world. For the missionaries, barriers were important yet the raid in 1827 revealed the tenuous nature of their existence and destroyed the illusion of stability. Fences were taken down and destroyed. Goods removed and valued possessions plundered. Fences reveal silences in the record, what took place and what did not, who was present and who was absent, what was removed and what was left behind. Most of all fences speak of the loneliness of empty spaces, of separation from the land, and the opposite, of renewal and continuity. In considering invisibility and silence, the metaphor of a mission fence provides a useful starting point from which to explore exclusion.

THEME 4: KAEO AS INCLUSION

"The fugitives consisted of the Rev. Nathaniel Turner and Mrs Turner, with three children, the youngest only five weeks' old, Miss Davis, a visitor from Kern Kern, Rev. John Hobbs, Luke Wade, an English servant, and his wife, who was in a very delicate state of health, five Native boys and two Native girls."

Centenary Sketches of New Zealand Methodism, Rev. W. J. Williams, 1923, p.24

This theme examines the experience of Māori women and girls. In 1827, a raid on Kaeo mission causes the missionaries to flee some twenty miles overland to Kerikeri. Two Maori girls join the journey and are mentioned in passing. Like the five Māori boys, they remain nameless. We do not know their ages, whether they were children or young adults. In this story their identities and the details of their lives are irrelevant.

Stories of Kaeo mission focus on the efforts of missionaries to preach the Gospel, convince Māori of the unsuitability of their ways, and educate them in English ways of civilisation regarded as the best measure of one's proximity to a Christian God. Such was the value placed on outward expressions of English beliefs and values, it was not considered appropriate or feasible that Māori would respond to the Gospel in their own way, as Māori.

While they were keenly interested in the world beyond Aotearoa, and the potential opportunities that it offered to prosper, Māori were less convinced of the need to alter practices they had maintained for a millenia, for example, communal living. Their refusal to do what they were told was problematic for the missionaries who associated such behaviour with a stubborn mindset rather than a choice based on logic.

The ostracisation of Māori women by missionaries is well documented. Considered depraved and vile, they were expected to discipline their bodies, minds, and spirits by emulating the superior behaviour and morals of missionary wives. In 2021, evidence presented at the Waitangi Tribunal Mana Wahine inquiry described the assault on Māori women through the undermining of whānau and hapū structures.[7] It was asserted that despite many women being rangatira, and most women having rights to whenua, missionaries and early settlers expressed a preference for dealing with men. This practice of separating individuals from whānau resonates with the treatment of Māori children who were separated from their whānau at mission schools.

In the case of children, salvation was to be achieved through the education and schooling of young minds. While schools would eventually become a powerful mechanism for separating Māori children from their language and culture, at Kaeo missionaries were disappointed in the intermittent attendance by children who were, according to them disorderly, unreliable and filthy. Despite the purported unreliable behaviour they were still considered more malleable than the adults with the girls showing particular promise in needlework.[8]

In considering visibility and inclusion perhaps the materiality of needlework and raranga (weaving) can be deployed to draw attention to the liminal space that is neither complete exclusion or total inclusion.

[7] The Waitangi Tribunal Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry (Wai 2700) is ongoing.

[8] Owens J.M.R, Prophets in the Wilderness: the Wesleyan Mission to New Zealand 1819-27, (1974) p.52

Patchwork is a process of needlework whereby strips of fabric are sewn together to form a quilt. In many cultures, the quilt has come to be a symbol of stability and family. In Aotearoa/New Zealand they are linked to coloniality and women's work. While performing a functional purpose, quilts tell stories through the layering of imagery, color, and texture. The woven banner displayed at Conference provides an example.

In pre- and post-colonial times, Māori women also made functional items of clothing, kete, nets, and mats. Such items were ubiquitous at all kainga (village). Despite being ordinary, everyday objects they were embodied with spiritual meaning and mātauranga (knowledge). This mātauranga was associated with the whakapapa (genealogy) of weaving materials like harakeke (flax) and linked to Te Orokohanga (creation story). Whenua, referred to in the first theme of this study, is embodied in the materiality of raranga.

At Kaeo mission, two worlds collide in a knowledge exchange that takes place between women and girls through the medium of needlework. This is not a balanced exchange. There are presumptions of superiority, of civilising as a subject. Certainly, there are misunderstandings. However, it is an encounter, an engagement, in which difference is confronted. In this exchange of cultures, perhaps analogies, allegories and metaphors were employed on both sides to sew and weave new understandings together. A story of origins through the practice of sewing and raranga, offers a bricolage of impressions, images, and words that reveal female spaces, expanding the origins of Methodism at Kaeo beyond the male gaze.

While the stories of Māori women in the missions are inaccurate and inappropriate in framing them as fallen women, in looking for other stories about Māori women in the Church it is interesting to note how little has been written about the work of the deaconesses in Maori communities in the early to mid-twentieth century. In 1893, Conference agreed to a Methodist Deaconess Order to support religious and social ministry to Māori women and children. The records reveal an impressive amount of work undertaken.

It was not until 1921 that the work of the deaconesses in Te Tai Tokerau (Northland) began in earnest. A review of their files shows a depth of experience and contact with Māori women in whānau settings. In some instances, deaconesses developed relationships with whānau that transcended generations. Māori women also trained in the order and were

stationed in Te Tai Tokerau and around Aotearoa/New Zealand. Allocated cars to support them to undertake their role, they became well-known and respected figures in the communities they served.

While the deaconess order intersects with Kaeo on many levels, their work in the field remains under reported. It could be that they undertook a similar role to that of missionary wives, as agents of assimilation, but this would be simplistic. Using the resources of the Church to support Māori whānau in isolated, rural communities, their work anticipated the Church's bicultural journey decades later.

Returning to the two girls who departed Kaeo with the missionaries and remain nameless, a contradiction is exposed. The story of their salvation is mediated by the missionary gaze and a particular cultural frame of reference that renders them invisible. While they are not credited with any greatness, we can assume that they offered to journey with the missionaries as a gesture of kindness. Unlike the missionaries, they lived on both sides of the fence and navigated two worlds. Whatever their fate, their presence and absence in this story reveals the complicated place of Māori women in the Church. As helpers undertaking their own spiritual journeys, included, but kept at a distance, leaders amongst their whānau and hapū, working in the background in the service of the Church.

WĀHANGA 3: KAEO, 2022

THEME 5: KAEO AS REMEMBRANCE

"With the last stroke of twelve at midnight, the Book of the First Century will be closed and sealed, only to be opened again in that Day when all the Books will be opened. Of every entry in the Book of the First Century of New Zealand Methodism, the Recording Angel will say, "What I have written, I have written."

Centenary Sketches of New Zealand Methodism, Rev. W. J. Williams, 1923, p.212

Remembrance can be viewed in many ways, yet its basic purpose is to serve the ideals of continuity and connection. Church histories traditionally begin with stories about the missionaries who follow a historical trajectory that frames them as forefathers and founders of a nation. For the Methodist Church of New Zealand, their presence at Kaeo mission marks the beginning of this tradition.

Acts of remembering are recorded in the annual announcements of Methodist dead and the honouring of their deeds, in the existence of Kaeo Memorial Church, in the names listed on the cairn in 1922, and in the cemetery naming early settlers. At times symbolic, remembrance merges with pilgrimage and the broad outlines of Church history. At other times it merges with touristic consumption and public history. As a site of power, Kaeo resonates with a deep emotional charge and demonstrates the ongoing power of place. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that Kaeo is remembered in the same way by everyone. Acts of remembrance sit uneasily alongside acts of forgetting.

Local remembrance is complex. In the context of Church history, the lived experience of local people including tangata whenua can be overlooked. The lifespan of Kaeo mission was short. Within six years the missionaries had abandoned the area and settled at Te Mangungu. In practical terms, it is the presence of local Methodists, Māori and Pakeha, who have kept a Methodist presence alive at Kaeo. While their stories are entwined with the Church, they are also personal and intersect with family history, kōrero tuku iho, and whakapapa. The presence of residents who are not Methodist

adds to the richness of these local stories that are not necessarily easily understood by or relatable to outsiders.

Understanding why some things are remembered and others are not is just as revealing of the present as it is of the past. The presence of whenua evokes ways of remembering at odds with the single trajectory approach that begins with the missionaries and ends with a subdivision. It suggests a need to create discourses other than the Church's settler colonial heritage. While addressing the detail may surface previously unknown facts that do not sit easily alongside established orthodoxies, in its bicultural journey, confronting the past has been explored and taken seriously by the Church, for the past 40 years.

While this journey continues, other interconnected issues of global and national magnitude are at the forefront of consideration by the Church. This can be confronting however, re-evaluating our remembrance of the past may lead us to discover a Church history replete with unknown stories of other forms of leadership, resilience, and kindness. Perhaps this is what the Kaeo cairn ultimately speaks of, stories scattered like stones, waiting to be gathered, circumventing and drawing us back to the whenua.

Rather than seeing our history as something to be contained, closed, and sealed in a Book of the Century, perhaps we could consider a history that unfurls like the ponga (silver fern) frond. in a state of perpetual regeneration and growth, conveying beauty and strength, held together by whakapapa and connection, always returning to its origins which are simultaneously points of departure.

THEME 6: KAEO AS YEARNING

"The condition of the residue of the Maori race, whose appalling need first drew Missionaries to New Zealand, is such to-day as to call for a more vigorous and advanced policy on the part of the Churches than is at present pursued...Any readjustment of Church relationships that would secure a more consecrated and intensified effort to secure moral and religious welfare of those dusky Children of the Dawn, would be in the way of justifying, in the handsomest way possible the European occupation of New Zealand."

Centenary Sketches of New Zealand Methodism, Rev. W. J. Williams, 1923, p.213

In this theme Kaeo as yearning is a liminal space that looks forward to the past while turning back to the future. That reinscribes the ponga frond as

a generative pattern that enables continuity and renewal. Te Orokohanga (Māori creation story) explains how Papatūānuku and Ranginui were once bound together by their shared aroha. Their ensuing separation created freedom and space for their children but left a perpetual yearning for wholeness. Yearning is posited as aspirational, as a search for belonging, roots, and unity. As something that is given different expressions depending on one's context.

The missionaries came to Aotearoa with a deep-seated yearning. To preach the Gospel and impart their understanding of how to lead a good life. This reflected their response to the Gospel. Māori saw a world beyond Aotearoa filled with promise and opportunity and yearned to be a part of it. To participate in this world education was vital and they sent their children to learn this knowledge entrusting them to the care of the missionaries. When their expectations were not met, they challenged the missionaries and their authority.

If yearning drives actions and decisions, history shows the results rarely match expectations. In 1922, a century after the arrival of the missionaries, Māori are impoverished and survival is their priority. The detail of how this happened is well established yet none of this history is referred to in the Church's centenary sketches account in 1923. The yearning to preach the Gospel has merged with a yearning to possess, appropriate, erase and recategorise. To forget the promise of earlier relationships forged on shared soil. Instead, it focuses on settler colonial stories of church progress and growth.

Kaeo mission can be viewed from multiple angles. One aspect that makes it fascinating is that it reflects so many strands prevalent in New Zealand history. Those strands are also underpinned by yearnings, hidden motivations that lie beneath the surface, behind certain actions. It could be said therefore that yearning is common to all. On this basis, Kaeo stories can provide guidance to anyone who yearns to exist in a respectful relationship with whenua, to share Christian beliefs and values, to mark sites with meaning, to observe the covenant of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, to collectively decide the future direction of the Church. This is an inclusive space.

Pacific immigration to Aotearoa began a thousand years ago when Māori first arrived in Aotearoa. The Church has had a unique history with the Pacific through Wesley College, the training of clergy and in parish life. Yet despite this history, there is little mention until the final chapter of the centenary sketches account in 1923.

"...raised by Missionary devotion from savagery to civilisation, New Zealand lies to-day in the midst of Southern Seas as a predestined centre of Missionary effort that is to sweep within its compass other groups in the Pacific, in which heathen savagery is still rampant."

Centenary Sketches of New Zealand Methodism, Rev. W. J. Williams, 1923, p.213

Perhaps it is time for a reorienting of sacred geographies and histories to show the true diversity that exists in the Church not only of today but historically as well. In raranga many strands are combined to make a kete. Is it time to expand our kete of Kaeo mission stories, to enable it to hold multiple encounters and perspectives simultaneously? The story is never one-sided or straightforward, there is no beginning or end, instead, we are always looking to find our way to the centre, yearning to belong, to be included, to find purpose and relevance in relationality with all creation. As mentioned at the beginning of this study, in this space of shared yearning, of listening to the stories of others and accepting them without the need to silence, pathways of mutual and relational responsibility can emerge.

HE KUPU WHAKAMUTUNGA

This study began with a simple request from Te Taha Māori Property Trust, in 2018. To write he kōrero papatupu whenua (land story) for Kaeo mission. A search through the archive revealed many permutations and gaps in the story. As time passed research began to surface concerning the entwined and separate histories of Taha Māori and Tauiwi. Te Taha Māori Property Trust asked that this land story be prepared in time for Conference 2022. Multiple strands of Church history began to emerge revealing alignments and discrepancies with Kaeo mission. It soon became clear that a chonological account was not adequate to tell a story that is as much about exclusion as it is about inclusion.

I wish to acknowledge Te Taha Māori Property Trust for requesting this study and in particular Jo Smith, former Methodist Archivist, for her invaluable assistance and Rev. Dr Arapera Ngaha for supporting the entire process. That said, all mistakes, errors and omissions are my own.

Aku mihi ki a koutou katoa.
Ahakoa he iti, he pounamu.

RĀRANGI PUKAPUKA

All materials used in this study are either noted in the text or can be located on the Methodist Church of New Zealand website.

www.methodist.org.nz

Maea te Kupu: Kaeo, he whenua kurahuna–emerging stories of Methodism: Kaeo, land of hidden knowledge

Rowan Tautari

ISBN 978-0-473-66236-3 (softcover)

ISBN 978-0-473-66237-0 (PDF)