

## *Mission to Primal Religious Groups in a Postmodern Context*

By John M. Hitchen

### ***Introduction:***

Primal religious thinking has formed the backdrop for the missional task of the Christian church since its inception. What we may call the 'primal consciousness' continues to play a major formative role in the folk, or popular, versions of the major world religions, Christianity included. But this primal imagination, once called 'animism', has faced serious challenge as the Western world has moved from the 'modern' to 'post-modern' era, and the influence of this change has become a world-wide reality through the processes of globalization. How the Christian church has related, and continues to relate, to the primal imagination is something of a litmus test of its readiness for global mission in our contemporary world. This paper explores the contribution, positive and negative, of post-modernity to primal religious peoples, calls for deeper understanding and appreciation of the 'primal consciousness', and proposes biblical models for a missiological approach to the primal imagination in the context of postmodernity.

*The 1910 Conference Legacy:* Within the Edinburgh 1910 World Missionary Conference's overall purpose of considering "missionary problems in relation to the non-Christian World",<sup>1</sup> Commission IV focussed on "The Missionary message in Relation to Non-Christian religions". 'Animistic Religions' were included: twenty-five of the one hundred and eighty-five responses to Commission IV's fact-finding questionnaire came from missionaries working amongst 'animistic' peoples. The "Animistic Religions" chapter of Commission IV's Report definitively summarized the challenge of mission amongst such groups for the ensuing century.<sup>2</sup> The Report reflected the respondents' varying perspectives, and imposed an integrative emphasis compatible with the preferred missionary strategy recommended for other world religions, leaving ample material for continuing academic discussion and debate.<sup>3</sup> This debate most recently assesses the gem-studded 1910 material from the perspective of postmodern or post-colonial discourse.<sup>4</sup>

Johannes Warneck, the great German mission administrator and theorist, concluded Conference discussion of Commission IV's Report, on Saturday 18 June 1910, thus:

It is of great importance for all missionaries among the different animistic nations to observe carefully which part of the Gospel is the most needed there, and that should be emphasised first in our preaching. Therefore, we require a careful study of the heathen mind and of the effect of the Gospel on that mind. It is my conviction that Christ is not only the Saviour for all mankind, but that He has a special gift or blessing too for each nation according to its special wants and needs. And so, if we consider the effects of the Gospel on the different heathen peoples, we see with astonishment and joy that Christ grows greater and greater, and all kinds of men [sic] find in Him what they need and seek.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The title pages of the official preparatory Conference Report Volumes were headed, "World Missionary Conference, 1910 (To consider Missionary Problems in relation to the non-Christian World)"; see, e.g., *Report of Commission IV, The Missionary Message in relation to Non-Christian Religions*, Edinburgh & London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910: v

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-37. See summary below.

<sup>3</sup> See, J. Stanley Friesen, *Missionary Responses to Tribal Religions at Edinburgh, 1910*, New York: Peter Lang, 1996, who identifies five different models for approaches to primal religions in the Responses to Commission IV: a German Lutheran Continuity and Change model; a religion as Moral foundation for Society model; a Religion as foundation for Ethics model; a dialectical radical rejection and fulfilment model; and a fulfilment through affirmation of human nature model. Cf., Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910*, [Studies in the History of Christian Missions] Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009:235-45, who finds Friesen's analysis "unpersuasive" (p240), and emphasises the ways in which the differing responses can be used to illustrate differences being espoused by different contributors to post-colonial critique of Western studies on African 'religion' during the twentieth century, while at the same time showing how the Edinburgh 1910 Responses question assumptions commonly held by post-colonial writers.

<sup>4</sup> Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910*: 240-45.

<sup>5</sup> World Missionary Conference, 1910, *Report of Commission IV: The Missionary Message in relation to Non-Christian Religions*, Edinburgh & London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 300-01.

This 1910 three-fold anticipation of what we now call 'contextualization', of 'postmodern' insights on the distinctiveness of each cultural 'Other', and of awareness that cross-cultural communication of the Gospel can expand our knowledge of Christ, sets a helpful foundation for our discussion.

### 1. *Postmodernity's Gift and Challenge to Primal Religious Peoples*<sup>6</sup>

By confronting modernity's presuppositions and priorities, postmodernity has contributed significantly to the context within which a resurgence of primal or indigenous consciousness has been possible in the final quarter of the twentieth century. In this sense postmodernity has been a gift to primal societies facilitating their voice on the global stage. A resurgence of awareness amongst primal societies is incontestably evident across the African continent; amongst First Nation peoples of North America; tribal peoples in South America; in Polynesia, Melanesia, Micronesia and Australasia; among those Andrew Walls calls the "Himalayan-Arakan" peoples spanning the South East Asian boundaries of Nepal, India, China, Myanmar, Thailand and the Malay Peninsula;<sup>7</sup> and amongst the migrant and tribal peoples of Europe and mainland Asia.<sup>8</sup> As we shall see, how to explain this resurgence is hotly debated, but its reality as a postmodern phenomenon cannot be ignored.

#### *Aspects of Postmodernity's Contribution to the Resurgence of Primal Consciousness.*

At least the following features of postmodernity contributed to this new awareness of primal beliefs and values.

- Postmodernity rejects the hegemony of any particular 'metanarrative' applying to all peoples and welcomes instead plurality and diversity of perspective and viewpoint.<sup>9</sup> Insofar as modernity's commitment to the meta-narratives of rationalism and the "Enlightenment project" muted the expression of alternative explanatory myths from a primal perspective, postmodernity has broken that previous hegemony and opened the arena for fresh primal input.
- As a consequence of this, 'Postmodernism has been particularly important in acknowledging "the multiple forms of otherness as they emerge from differences in subjectivity, gender and sexuality, race and class, temporal ... and spatial geographic locations and dislocations"'<sup>10</sup> The welcome for diversity in the postmodern intellectual climate invites those marginalized by modernity's criteria to now step forward, speak up and expect to be afforded the same dignity as others.

<sup>6</sup> This paper does not attempt to give a definitive description of the nature and features of postmodernity or postmodernism. We expect other papers in this volume will do that. As a working basis we are assuming definitions such as those of Stanley Grenz, *A Primer on Postmodernism*, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996: 12

<sup>7</sup> Andrew F. Walls, 'Commission One and the Church's Transforming Century,' in David A. Kerr and Kenneth R. Ross (Eds) *Edinburgh 2010: Mission Then and Now*, Oxford: Regnum, 2009:34

<sup>8</sup> Descriptions of such resurgences abound: Kolig, describes the New Zealand Maori movement: "While perhaps no more than twenty years ago it seemed as if Maori 'traditional' culture, or any resembling form of it, was inexorably sliding towards its ultimate, inevitable disappearance, it has bounced back thanks to concerted efforts by leading Maori, and perhaps also by some Pakeha [whites of European extraction]. The ceremonious congregation on the *marae* [tribal meeting ground], *iwi* (tribal) structure and leadership, language and spiritual traditions have been reinvigorated and play an increasing role in the lives of those people who wish to emphasise a Maori identity. ... Maori renaissance is tantamount to a mobilisation of indigenous culture as a 'strategic resource' in political programmes. Such programmes are aimed at achieving a number of objectives such as an economic betterment, political empowerment ... cultural prestige and recognition, strengthening of ethnic pride and cohesion so as to offer a more effective front towards the majority of Pakeha." (Erich Kolig, 'From a "madonna in a condom" to "claiming the airwaves": The Maori cultural renaissance and biculturalism in New Zealand,' in Meijl, Toon van, and Jelle Miedema (Eds) *Shifting Images of Identity in the Pacific*, Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004:146-7)

<sup>9</sup> E.g., as Stanley Grenz summarizes it: "The postmodern outlook entails the end of the appeal to any central legitimating myth whatsoever. Not only have all the reigning master narratives lost their credibility, but the idea of a grand narrative is itself no longer credible. We have not only become aware of a plurality of conflicting legitimating stories but have moved into the age of the demise of metanarrative. ... Consequently the postmodern outlook demands an attack on any claim to universality – it demands, in fact, a "war on totality"'. Grenz, *A Primer* ...:45, citing Jean Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*, Minneapolis: MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1984:82

<sup>10</sup> David Harvey, *The Condition Of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1990:112, citing A. Huyssens, 'Mapping the Postmodern,' *New German Critique*, Vol 33 1984:50

- Postmodernity's re-evaluation invites fresh consideration of concepts and ideas previously relegated to the periphery, downplayed or devalued by modernity's priorities. Even beliefs and values contradicted or apparently disposed of by modernity's ruling narratives may now be re-considered. In each of these cases the characteristics of a primal consciousness (as we shall see in our next section) have something fresh to bring to the discussions.
- Postmodernity's focus, the concerns of a primal consciousness, of the indigenous resurgence and of Christian mission, all coalesce around the issue of cultural identity. As anthropologists like Simon Harrison point out, "increasing trans-national flows of culture seem to be producing, not global homogenization, but growing assertions of heterogeneity and local distinctiveness".<sup>11</sup> This in turn means that "communities may often mobilize themselves by representing themselves as having clear boundaries which are *endangered* – as having essential qualities ... or distinctive ways of life, which are under threat from the outside".<sup>12</sup> Representations of such perceived threats, according to Harrison, can either see cultural boundaries being 'polluted' by the intrusion of foreign cultural forms; or see the threat coming from foreign misappropriation, 'piracy', of their local cultural forms.<sup>13</sup> The common assumption is that cultural identity can only be retained if the assumed cultural boundary is protected from erosion. This cultural identity issue has long been a factor in the response of primal religions to the Gospel. Harold Turner classified new religious movements in primal societies according to their response to the Christian Gospel by grouping them along a continuum from 'Neo-primal', to 'Synthetist', to 'Hebraist', to 'Independent Church'.<sup>14</sup> Concerns over cultural identity 'pollution' or 'piracy' are important motives in movements at the 'Neo-primal' end of the continuum, whereas claims to a renewed, transformed or fulfilled cultural identity predominate at the 'Independent Church' end. Missiological discussion of 'bounded' and 'open' sets provides a further framework for considering these identity questions.<sup>15</sup> Our point is that postmodernity has significantly opened up this intellectual context for articulating the identity issues and thereby drawn fresh attention to primal perceptions of these concerns.

In at least these ways, then, the resurgence of primal religious consciousness and indigenous resurgence globally in the late twentieth century can be related to trends and drivers stimulated by Postmodernity.

#### ***Aspects of Postmodernity's Challenge to a Primal Consciousness***

This positive contribution by postmodernity is counter-balanced, however, by challenges postmodern emphases bring to a primal consciousness.

- Postmodernity's discourse on primal societies can easily become an idealised discussion of a romantic view divorced from the tensions many primal societies face. Using the Maori within New Zealand society as an example, social anthropologist, Steven Webster suggests a "contradictory and ideological relationship between prevailing definitions of Maori culture and the realities of Maori society has developed historically... it has been brought to a head by postmodernist interests in Maori culture."<sup>16</sup> Commenting from a socialist perspective Webster warns, "Maori culture must not be seen abstractly in the Romantic tradition as a 'whole way of life' somehow unique, integral, harmonious and Other than that supposedly led by European societies [in New Zealand]." Rather, "it must be grasped concretely as *a whole way of struggle* inextricably bound up with a particular colonial history."<sup>17</sup> Likewise, Erich Kolig speaks of the "ideal as well as imaginary and highly fictitious scenario" that credits New Zealand with "an international reputation of tranquil, even peaceful, race relations, exemplary protection of indigenous rights, complete

<sup>11</sup> Simon Harrison, 'Cultural Boundaries', *Anthropology Today*, Vol 15(5) Oct 1999:10

<sup>12</sup> Harrison, 'Cultural Boundaries': 10, citing A.P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, London: Tavistock, 1985:109. Italics in original.

<sup>13</sup> Harrison, 'Cultural Boundaries': 10-11

<sup>14</sup> Harold W. Turner, 'New Religious Movements in Primal Societies,' in John R. Hinnells (Ed), *A New Handbook of Living Religions* [Penguin Reference Books], London: Penguin 1997:581-593

<sup>15</sup> See, e.g., Paul G. Hiebert, 'The Category *Christian* in the Mission Task' in *Anthropological Reflections on Missiological Issues*, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1994:107-136; and, Michael W. Payne, 'Mission and Global Ethnic Violence', *Transformation*, Vol 19(3) July 2002:206-216.

<sup>16</sup> Steven Webster, 'Postmodernist Theory and the Sublimation of Maori Culture', *Oceania* Vol 63 (3) 1993:226

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*

religious freedom, and social and legal egalitarianism".<sup>18</sup> Webster and Kolig both warn against the danger in postmodern discussion of idealizing a view of the indigenous reality on ideological grounds or for the sake of a postmodern 'political correctness'. Many, if not most such primal ethnic groups seeking to make their mark in a globalised postmodern world, grapple with serious contradictions both in applying their traditional cultural values in their very different Westernised settings, and in the ongoing 'way of struggle' resulting from pressures and long-standing inequities in relationships with the dominant culture, as Webster highlighted. If postmodern theorising is unable to account for and address these conflicting realities then it is inappropriate. But with no recourse to explanatory meta-narratives to account for both evil and good in the same humans and their societies, postmodern theory can easily damn with faint praise the cultures they want to idealise or at least treat as equals. Postmodernity's inability to offer solid hope to answer the darker side of the primal societies' daily realities, invites an alternative missional evaluation and prognosis from those with a Gospel grounded in a biblical realism about the human predicament.

- Postmodern thought presents a further threat by treating primal voices as just one more view in a diverse range, all of equal significance. Rex Ahdar illustrates this problem in his paper dealing with ways the New Zealand legal system has handled the renewed interest in Maori spirituality.<sup>19</sup> For Ahdar, "New Zealanders' reactions to Maori spirituality and its official fostering and recognition have been mixed, ranging from hostility and ridicule, at one end of the spectrum, to warm acceptance at the other." He identifies "at least five distinctive views, three of which are critical and two that are sympathetic and supportive..."<sup>20</sup> Ahdar classifies these varying views as those of 'Secular rationalists', 'Egalitarian Liberals', 'Conservative Theists', 'Liberal Theists', and 'Affirmative Action Liberals'. Ahdar points out that this renewed, albeit varied, focus on Maori culture and spirituality only came to fruition in a wider context of "such diverse ideological streams as postmodernism, anti-colonialism, post-colonial guilt feelings and fascination with New Age values".<sup>21</sup>
- Our point is that such a climate is inherently contradictory: while supporting respect for resurgent Maori spirituality, the postmodern commitment to equal validity for all viewpoints provides no adequate basis for judging between them or resolving their contradictions. Ahdar tersely sums up from the legal perspective the inherent clashes of belief systems, worldviews and practical administrative difficulties encountered when a secular state attempts to publicly recognise such a primal religious consciousness: "It is the sort of messy, ad hoc, postmodern situation that has something in it to offend almost everyone".<sup>22</sup> This is hardly the level of public support committed adherents of Maori spirituality desire, but postmodernism's presuppositions require just such a downplaying of any wholistic integration of life around a spiritual centre, despite claiming to respect and honour those views.
- Probably the most serious challenge to a primal consciousness comes from postmodernism's emphasis on constructivism and the way it can be, and has been, used to explain, or explain away, the whole primal religious "renaissance". We shall again refer to Maori as our example. The fact of Maori cultural 'reinvigoration' is undeniable. How to understand it is controversial. In late 1989, recognised Pacific anthropologist, Allan Hanson, published in *American Anthropologist* an article, 'The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and its Logic'.<sup>23</sup> His abstract begins, "'Traditional culture' is increasingly recognised to be more an invention constructed for contemporary purposes than a stable heritage handed on from the past. Anthropologists often participate in the creative process..." Hanson's fellow American Social Anthropologist, Steve Webster, analyses and explains the furore this article occasioned amongst New Zealand academics.<sup>24</sup> Webster sees Hanson's position as the natural flowering of modernist symbolic, meanings-based (semiological)

<sup>18</sup> Erich Kolig, 'From a "madonna in a condom" to "claiming the airwaves": The Maori cultural renaissance and biculturalism in New Zealand,' in Meijl, Toon van, and Jelle Miedema (Eds) *Shifting Images of Identity in the Pacific*, Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004: 135

<sup>19</sup> Rex Ahdar, 'Indigenous Spiritual Concerns and the Secular State: Some New Zealand Developments,' *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, Vol 23(4) 2003: 611-637

<sup>20</sup> Ahdar, 2003: 623.

<sup>21</sup> Ahdar, 2003: 631

<sup>22</sup> Ahdar, 2003: 636.

<sup>23</sup> A Hanson, 'The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and its Logic,' *American Anthropologist*, Vol 91(1989): 890-902

<sup>24</sup> S Webster, 'Postmodernist theory and the sublimation of Maori culture,' *Oceania*, Vol 63 (3) 1993:222-239

anthropology into a fully fledged postmodern understanding: "Hanson argues that the construction of cultures is not essentially different from the development of linguistic meanings, a process of (in Derrida's terms) 'sign-substitution in a play of signification.'" <sup>25</sup> Again, Webster explains, "Hanson addresses the dilemma of how anthropologists can be taken seriously if there are no clear criteria by which an account of culture can be assessed as more or less authentic, and if, furthermore, anthropologists are active participants in the 'invention' of culture." Hanson suggested that focusing on cultural authenticity in terms of a 'primordial culture' or 'historically fixed tradition,' in Derrida's postmodern categories was a form of 'metaphysics of presence,' 'logocentrism' or 'nostalgia'. 'Cultural authenticity,' from this postmodern perspective, can mean no more than that bearers of the culture claim it as their heritage. <sup>26</sup> Webster goes on to contrast positions taken by other New Zealand academics in response to Hanson's article, distinguishing between those retaining a concrete historical and political approach with those espousing modern 'meanings-based' or semiological views. For Webster the latter face the same philosophical problems as Hanson's more consistently postmodern approach. <sup>27</sup> We need not pursue the ongoing debate.

- Our point is that if, as a postmodern position suggests, there are no criteria for evaluating the validity of claims to have 'revived' or 'reinvigorated' a 'traditional culture', and if pragmatic present-day political, socio-economic or prestige concerns really motivate cultural renewal or 'invention', then the so-called 'renaissance' is on shaky ground indeed. Nor is this simply a Maori cultural issue. To cite just two examples from a growing international list of materials: In his assessment of Australian Aboriginal claims to a cultural renaissance, while couching much of his argument around a questioning of the semantic validity of the word 'renaissance' for what has been happening in Australia, Kenneth Maddock comes to similar conclusions to Hanson as he evaluates 'modern constructions' amongst Aboriginals. Maddock gathers historical data for the loss of Aboriginal culture from neglected mid-twentieth century anthropologists to throw doubt on the historical continuity of cultural traditions at the heart of contemporary Aboriginal claims. <sup>28</sup> Or again, in his careful study of the Zulu Shaman, Credo Mutwa, David Chidester presents careful documentation to support his claims that significant "invention" of traditional ritual and "appropriation of authenticity" has been occurring in the shaping of at least one present-day African folk religion. <sup>29</sup>

Postmodernity, then, proves an ambivalent friend of the primal religious consciousness. The reality of the move beyond modernity's hegemony over intellectual discussions to a more open, respectful and welcoming public space with room for primal perspectives is a real gift for primal societies. But the "often unacknowledged" <sup>30</sup> alternative metanarrative of postmodernism which threatens to become a new hegemony, leaves any primal viewpoint vulnerable in these new debates.

## 2. *Developing Missiological Appreciation of the 'Primal Imagination'*

Our next step is to clarify the leading features of the 'primal imagination' or 'primal consciousness' about which we are speaking. We look first at two snapshots: one from Edinburgh 1910, the second from twentieth century doyen of the study of primal religious movements, Harold W. Turner.

<sup>25</sup> Webster, 1993: 229

<sup>26</sup> Webster, 1993: 230

<sup>27</sup> Webster, 1993: 231-4. Webster's discussion raises the probability that Christians confronting some postmodern philosophical positions may find in continuing Marxist theorists, like Webster, if not allies, then at least co-belligerents!

<sup>28</sup> Kenneth Maddock, 'Revival, renaissance and the meaning of modern constructions in Australia,' in Erich Kolig and Hermann Muckler (Eds), *Politics of Indigeneity in the South Pacific: Recent Problems of Identity in the Pacific* [Novara Bd 1], Munster: Lit, 2002:25-46. Cf., Erich Kolig's careful documentation and argumentation regarding the 'traditional validity' of testimonial evidence used in the "construction of indigeneity" in the 'women's business' aspects of the 'Hindmarsh Island Case', in his, 'Legitimising Belief: Identity Politics, Utility, Strategies of Concealment, and Rationalisation in Australian Aboriginal Religion,' *Australian Journal of Anthropology*, Vol 14 (2) 2003:209-228

<sup>29</sup> David Chidester, 'Credo Mutwa, Zulu Shaman: The Invention and Appropriation of Indigenous Authenticity in African Folk Religion,' in Chidester, David, Abdulkader Tayob and Wolfram Weisse (Eds), *Religion, Politics and Identity in a Changing South Africa*, [Religion and Society in Transition, v6] Munster: Waxmann: 2004: 69-88

<sup>30</sup> Webster, 1993: 223

- **“Animism” at Edinburgh 1910**

The Edinburgh 1910 Commission IV Report’s chapter on ‘Animistic Religions’ set a benchmark for understanding primal religions at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Report addressed the features of Animism under the headings set by the pre-Conference Questionnaire sent to missionaries.

The Report began with two definitions of animism reflecting the best of current anthropological and missionary theorists’ thinking, from Edward Burnett Tylor and Johannes Warneck respectively.<sup>31</sup> Under the subheading, “The Religious Value of Animism”<sup>32</sup> the Report summarised the nature of the spirits (souls, anima, life force) at the centre of animism as, capricious, needing to be placated, able, in the form of ancestor spirits, to either bless or punish the living, to cause sickness and possess or bewitch humans. Animism is based on traditions passed down from the ancestor and embodied in rituals, sorcery and witchcraft which engender fear that ensnares and debilitates the living. The only consolation Animism offers its adherents is a sense that if properly appeased the spirits may have friendly intentions towards them. Fears and ritual observances may restrain anti-social or violent behaviour towards other kin and taboos can protect property and crops;

Under the section headed “Points of Contact between Christianity and Animism”<sup>33</sup> the Report expanded these basic ideas, referring to: the widespread belief in the existence of a Higher Power or Supreme Being – now thought of as the distant Creator; belief in an afterlife – even immortality of soul; the dead can bless or harm the living; the idea and practice of sacrifice seen as a preparation for Christian teaching; in some cases there is a rudimentary moral sense and dim consciousness of sin; and the concept and use of prayer - occasionally to the chief Spirit – were all noted as helpful points of contact.

Assessing the “Appeal of the Gospel” to Animists,<sup>34</sup> the respondents’ consensus listed theological insights which appealed to the animist, such as: God as a Loving, all-powerful Father, a Living God, Personal and accessible; redemption by Christ, especially as deliverance from evil powers; hope of everlasting life; and the impartial justice, kindness, adherence to truth, brotherhood and works of love characteristic of Christian life. The evidence suggested different aspects of the Gospel appealed more directly amongst different peoples as effective starting points for appreciating the Good News. Some require clarification of Old Testament ideas before Christ’s death is explained – others responded quickly to God’s love in Christ. Occasional mention was made of dreams, answers to prayer, confessions, Christian sacraments, preaching of the sinfulness of sin, regeneration, forgiving those who sin against us, fear of the law, and the promise of deliverance from evil habits and propensities. Aspects of the Gospel arousing opposition included: high moral standards; confronting local custom regarding status of women, or individual responsibility over against tribal loyalty, etc. The idea of the resurrection of the body proved incomprehensible for some. The Report called for missionaries working amongst Animists to cultivate three basic attitudes: “...study and get to know the native religion. ... strive to understand the native conception of things and the heathen method of thinking”; “The whole attitude of the missionary should at all times be marked by sympathy”; “The missionary should look for the element of good [in the animist’s religion], should foster it, and build upon it, gently leading on to the full truth. ... In all his labours,

<sup>31</sup> *Report of Commission IV*, 1910:6. Citing Edward Burnett Tylor, the recognised academic authority of the day, “The theory of Animism divides into two great dogmas; first, concerning souls of individual creatures, capable of continued existence after the death or destruction of the body; second, concerning other spirits, upward to the rank of powerful deities”, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom*, 2 Vols, London: John Murray, 1871, Vol 1: 426; and For Johannes Warneck, leading Continental missionary thinker, “Animism is a form of paganism based on the worship of souls. Men, animals and plants are supposed to have souls; and their worship, as well as that of deceased spirits, especially ancestral spirits, is the essence of a religion which probably is a factor in all heathen religions,” *The Living Forces of the Gospel*.

<sup>32</sup> *Report of Commission IV*, 1910: 7-12

<sup>33</sup> *Report of Commission IV*, 1910: 24-28

<sup>34</sup> *Report of Commission IV*, 1910: 28-33

however, the missionary must never attempt to combine Animism and Christianity. A syncretism is impossible.”<sup>35</sup>

These features of the missiological understanding and approach to animistic thought in 1910, accurately reflect prevailing understandings of comparative religion and are in line with the coteremporary European academic orthodoxy on such matters.<sup>36</sup> In 1910 missionary contributions to ethnography, as primary data collectors, were at a high point, and the developing study of anthropology drew heavily on missionary sources for its data.<sup>37</sup> The Report also points in a particular direction, encouraging ongoing study, greater empathy and constructive interaction, all on the basis of clear convictions about the nature of religious truth.

- **Harold W. Turner’s Six-Feature Analysis of Primal Religions:**

For a more recent assessment of the primal imagination, we have chosen Harold W. Turner.<sup>38</sup> We do so with respect for the depth of his scholarship, and in recognition of the respect given this New Zealand missionary theologian, and trailblazer of the study of primal religions as a University subject in West Africa and Great Britain, by leading African scholars such as the late Kwame Bediako. Bediako uses the same article we have chosen by Turner as the foundation for his own summary of primal religion in his influential, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion*.<sup>39</sup>

In his 1977 article, ‘The Primal Religions of the World & Their Study’,<sup>40</sup> Turner first explains his preferred terminology. On the grounds that “One of the first principles in religious studies is that the terms used should, if at all possible, be acceptable to the people described by them”, Turner shows that many terms for describing this kind of religion, like ‘tribal’, ‘animist’, ‘ethnic’, ‘pre-literate’, or ‘traditional’, have become unacceptable, inaccurate, and not universally applicable. He therefore proposes ‘primal’ as the preferred term as the most satisfactory:

“Here [the term primal] conveys two ideas: that these religious systems are in fact the most basic or fundamental religious forms in the overall religious history of mankind, and that they have preceded and contributed to the other great religious systems, ... they are both primary and prior; they represent a common religious heritage of humanity.”<sup>41</sup>

We use ‘primal’ as our preferred term. Turner next offers “a six-feature framework to assist in the analysis and understanding of these religions.”<sup>42</sup>

- *Primal Religions Acknowledge Kinship with Nature*

<sup>35</sup> *Report of Commission IV*, 1910: 19-24

<sup>36</sup> See, for example the then Reader in Social Anthropology at Oxford University, R.R. Marrett’s chapter, ‘Anthropology (Social and Religious)’, pp125-132, which includes coverage of Animism, in one of the first publications to come out of the Edinburgh 1910 follow-up process: H.U. Weitbrecht, (Ed), *A Bibliography for Missionary Students*, London: Board of Study for Preparation of Missionaries, and Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1913

<sup>37</sup> See, John M. Hitchen, ‘Relations between Missiology and Anthropology Then and Now – Insights from the Contribution to Ethnography and Anthropology by Nineteenth Century Missionaries in the South Pacific’, *Missiology*, Vol 30(4) October 2002:455-478

<sup>38</sup> For biographical details on H.W. Turner, see, J.M.Hitchen, ‘Harold W. Turner Remembered’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol 26(3): July 2002, 112-3.

<sup>39</sup> Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion*, Edinburgh & Maryknoll, NY: Edinburgh University Press & Orbis Books, 1995: 93-96. One should also confess, that as a fellow post-graduate student with Kwame studying under Andrew Walls and Harold Turner at the University of Aberdeen in the late 1970s and early 1980s I share Kwame’s deep admiration for Turner’s work which deserves to be better known in contemporary mission circles.

<sup>40</sup> Harold W. Turner, ‘The Primal Religions of the World & Their Study’, in, Victor C.Hayes (Ed), *Australian Essays in World Religions*, Bedford Park, South Australia: AASR, 1977: 27-37

<sup>41</sup> Turner, *Primal Religions*, 1977: p28. We note that the term does not make a judgement on the historic pattern of development of religions. It does not assume either an evolutionary development from polytheistic to monotheistic religions, nor a degeneration moving in the opposite direction, the term leaves that set of issues to be addressed on other grounds. It simply is making the statement that in the historic interaction of religious systems the other major world religions each came to, or arose in, a setting where primal systems were in fact already present.

<sup>42</sup> Turner, *Primal Religions*, 1977: p28

In primal thought there is 'a profound sense ... that [a human] is akin to nature, a child of Mother Earth and brother to the plants and animals which have their own spiritual existence and place in the universe.' This 'ecological aspect' means plants and animals may have a totemic relationship with humans, they may become tutelary or guardian spirits, and thus the whole environment is to be 'used realistically and unsentimentally, but with profound respect and reverence and without exploitation.'<sup>43</sup>

- *Primal Religions Accept Human Weakness*

'There is the deep sense that [a human] is finite, weak and impure or sinful and stands in need of a power not his own. ... This sense in primal peoples is no mere reflection of their lack of technological, economic and political power, which was painfully real; rather it is an authentic religious sensibility coupled with a realistic assessment of [a hu]man's condition.'<sup>44</sup>

- *Primal Religions Recognize Humans are not Alone*

Humans are 'not alone in the universe for there is a spiritual world of powers or beings more powerful and ultimate' than themselves. 'Primal peoples live in a personalized universe, where there is a will behind events...' These unpredictable powers belong to another, transcendent dimension surpassing the human realm, and some form a benevolent hierarchy of ancestors, spirits, divinities and high gods. But there is also a variety of evil spirits, demons, malevolent divinities and, 'lesser more earth-born occult powers of wizards and witches.' Even the benevolent divinities are ambivalent and 'may prove hostile'. 'But behind all the terrors of the evil spirit world there is the still greater comfort that men [sic] are not left alone in this mysterious universe and without direction, for there is the world of the gods and these provide the meaning and the model for all human needs and activities.'<sup>45</sup>

- *Primal Religions Expect Relations with Transcendent Powers*

Humans 'can enter into relationship with this benevolent spirit world and so share in its powers and blessings and receive protection from evil forces by these more-than-human helpers.' Thus they look for a more than merely human religion. There is a yearning for the true quality of life that comes from the spirit world and transcends merely human experience. The gods have given religious specialists, powerful rituals, correct sacrifices and proper customs to lead toward this better life. Primal religions are not merely 'mechanistic and ritualistic'. The 'profound emphasis on the transcendent source of true life and practical salvation' is basic.<sup>46</sup>

- *Primal Religions Believe in Human Afterlife – The 'Living Dead'*

The human relationship with the gods extends beyond human death, 'which is not the end.' The 'shaman figure ... has seen into the invisible world and the realm of the dead and brought back word of what lies beyond death. In the majority of these religions the ancestors, the "living dead", remain united in affection and in mutual obligations with the 'living living.' Concern for proper relations with recently departed ancestors often becomes so absorbing that other divinities appear to fade into insignificance, and the ancestors' mediatorial role overlooked. The hope continues that the living and dead 'will be reunited and both will share in the immortality of the gods.'<sup>47</sup>

- *Primal Religions Respect the Physical as sacramental of the Spiritual*

For Primal peoples the "physical" is the vehicle for 'spiritual' power. The universe is sacramental in the sense that 'there is no sharp dichotomy between the physical and the spiritual.' This accounts for the carefully observed ritual, the sacred objects, fetishes and charms used in divining, healings, magic and witchcraft. Moreover the physical realm is meant to be patterned on the spiritual – the one is the microcosm, the other the macrocosm. – with a common 'set of powers, principles and patterns' running through and unifying earth and heaven into a single cosmic, monistic, system, qualified only by an ethical dualism of good and evil. Primal thought sees the cosmos, then, as a unified and essentially spiritual system.<sup>48</sup>

Turner is careful to highlight the diversity within the range of primal religions sharing these six common features. The balance of emphasis put on the different features also varies considerably,

<sup>43</sup> Turner, *Primal Religions*, 1977: p30

<sup>44</sup> Turner, *Primal Religions*, 1977: p31

<sup>45</sup> Turner, *Primal Religions*, 1977: p31

<sup>46</sup> Turner, *Primal Religions*, 1977: p31-2

<sup>47</sup> Turner, *Primal Religions*, 1977: p32

<sup>48</sup> Turner, *Primal Religions*, 1977: p32



with one or more particular feature apparently or well-nigh absent in some cases. He also notes these are living religions, changing and adapting to external pressures and internal circumstances.<sup>49</sup>

- ***Kwame Bediako's 1995 Development of Turner's Analysis,***

Bediako, in his chapter, 'The Primal Imagination and the Opportunity for a New Theological Idiom',<sup>50</sup> develops Turner's analysis in significant ways. He uses Turner's analysis not only to illustrate the features of primal religions, but also as a summary of the pervasive primal world-view found 'across a wide front from worshippers in a continuing primal religious system to Christian believers,' and which Bediako therefore calls the "primal imagination".<sup>51</sup>

Bediako also picks up on Turner's later point that primal religions have a 'special relationship' with Christianity since, 'in the history of the spread of the Christian faith ... its major extensions have been solely into the societies with primal religious systems.' Turner had suggested,

"There seems to be affinities between the Christian and the primal traditions, an affinity that perhaps appears in the common reactions when Christian missions first arrive ('this is what we have been waiting for') and that is further evident in the vast range of new religious movements born from the interaction between the primal religions and Christianity..."<sup>52</sup>

Bediako expresses surprise Turner did not go further and ask, 'how the primal imagination might bring its own peculiar gifts to the shaping of Christian affirmation?' For Bediako the clue is found in Turner's final feature – the way Primal religions see the physical as sacramental of the spiritual, or, as Bediako frames it – the insight that the cosmos is a unified and essentially spiritual system.<sup>53</sup>

For Bediako, both African and Western Christian scholars have struggled with the primal concept of the multiplicity of spiritual beings inhabiting the cosmos, and have sought a resolution by emphasizing the transcendence of God – and thereby downplaying the multiplicity of other divinities of the primal imagination. But Bediako proposes another approach building on ideas raised by John V. Taylor, and elaborated by African Francophone theologians, Alexis Kagame and Mulago. Whereas many before him had stressed the African Transcendent God concept as the key to meeting the needs of the primal world, Taylor noted the primal world was much more concerned about *this* life, *this* existence and its cares, and joys. For Bediako, "both views were correct: only ... there was no dialogue between them." He then quotes Kagame and Bulago approvingly when they show that the primal imagination "has as its two fundamental notions and vital centres, God and man."<sup>54</sup> Bediako sees in their insight a crucial link with Turner's sixth feature of primal religions, ...namely that the primal understanding discloses a universe conceived as a unified cosmic system, essentially spiritual, in which the 'physical' acts as sacrament for 'spiritual' power. In such a universe ... the Transcendent is not a so-called 'spiritual' world separate from the realm of regular human existence, since human existence itself participates in the constant interplay of the divine-human encounter. Consequently, the conclusion of Kagame and Mulago that at the heart of the universe and of religion is a divine-human relationship for the fulfillment of man's divine destiny, constitutes a real advance and lies at the heart of the

<sup>49</sup> Turner, *Primal Religions*, 1977: p33-34. One of his summary statements is worth noting:

"There is nothing so strange about these developments if we pause to recognize the contemporary Western replacement of religion by magic and the occult or its central activity of material acquisition. It is more understandable in the case of primal societies which live so much on the margins of survival than it is in our modern affluent societies. What is remarkable is the sheer spirituality of the religion of so many primal peoples who might have been expected to have little thought for anything but the next meal." p33

<sup>50</sup> In, Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion*, Edinburgh & Maryknoll, NY: Edinburgh University Press & Orbis Books, 1995: 91-108

<sup>51</sup> Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 1995: 93

<sup>52</sup> Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 1995:95-6, citing Turner, *Primal Religions*, 1977:37

<sup>53</sup> Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 1995: 96

<sup>54</sup> Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 1995:97-101, citing John V. Taylor, *The Primal Vision: Christian Presence and African Religion*, London: SCM press, 1963; Alexis Kagame, 'La place de Dieu et de l'homme dans la religion des Bantu,' *Cahiers des Religions Africaines*, Vol 3(5) January 1969:1; and Gwa Cikala M. Mulago, *La Religion Traditionnelle des Bantu et leur vision du monde*, Kinshasa: Faculte de Theologie Catholique, 1980:166

contribution which African theology from a primal perspective can make to a fresh Christian account of the Transcendent.<sup>55</sup>

Or, again, in the 1977 words of the Ecumenical Association of African Theologians at Accra:

For Africans there is unity and continuity between the destiny of human persons and the destiny of the cosmos ... The victory of life in the human person is also the victory of life in the cosmos. The salvation of the human person in African theology is the salvation of the universe. In the mystery of the incarnation, Christ assumes the totality of the human and the totality of the cosmos.<sup>56</sup>

For Bediako, then, "the revelation of God in Christ is therefore the revelation of transcendence." The incarnation, for the primal imagination, is the unveiling of the nature of the whole universe as "instinct with the divine presence". The divine destiny of humans is seen as "an abiding divine-human relationship." Although the consummation awaits the end time, "its reality in present existence must also be allowed," so we should expect outbreaks of transcendence here and now in visions, prophecies and healings.<sup>57</sup> Thus the primal imagination's contribution to theology includes restoring spirituality to its proper place:

Because primal world-views are fundamentally religious, the primal imagination restores to theology the crucial dimension of living religiously for which the theologian needs make no apology. The primal imagination may help us restore the ancient unity of theology and spirituality.<sup>58</sup>

• ***Implications for our Postmodern Context:***

Let us briefly note some of the conceptual overlaps between these historic snapshots of the primal imagination and features of our contemporary postmodern intellectual climate:

- Our last points from Bediako, as with their roots through Turner, back to Edinburgh 1910, suggest a congruence between the pervasive place of spirituality in the primal imagination and postmodernity's call to reclaim the spirituality lost during modernity's over-weaning dependence on rationality.
- Primal religions' concern for experience of transcendence and spiritual power in daily human affairs resonates with postmodernity's call for pragmatic experiential realism;
- The primal imagination's unwillingness to separate the sacred and secular parallels postmodernity's wholistic emphases;
- As Turner noted in 1977, the primal 'ecological aspect' links with the ecology movements in the West in postmodernity.

Even a bare list like this highlights the potential for mutually beneficial interaction between those upholding the primal imagination and new generations of thinkers immersed in a postmodern mindset. As Bediako has shown, we can expect significant initiatives from the primal religious world into creative thinking on these issues in a postmodern climate.

### ***3. Towards a Missiological Approach to the Primal Imagination in a context of Postmodernity***

To this point we have explored aspects of postmodern thought and the primal imagination and their inter-relationship. But we must go further. For comparison, mutual understanding, respect and appreciation are not yet missional involvement, necessary as they may be as preparation and to cultivate ongoing attitudes. We propose two further, more directly missional, steps.

#### ***a) A Necessary Bridge***

We shall turn again to Harold Turner for two components to form a bridge between the analysis thus far and the biblical and missiological comments which conclude our paper.

- *Turner's Call for Deep-Level Mission:*

<sup>55</sup> Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 1995: 101

<sup>56</sup> Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 1995:102 quoted in, K.Appiah-Kubi and Sergio Torres (eds), *African Theology en route*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1970:193

<sup>57</sup> Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 1995: 102-3

<sup>58</sup> Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 1995: 105

Harold Turner made a brief contribution, 'The Three Levels of Mission in New Zealand,' to a 1993 conference evaluating the evangelistic readiness of the church in his homeland.<sup>59</sup> His paper explained how missionaries relating to a new culture interact with the culture's "Level 1" - surface customs and living habits; the "Level 2" - social structures and institutions; and the deep "Level 3" - basic axioms, presuppositions and convictions which drive the culture. Turner called for an approach to mission in Western cultures that embraces all three levels of the host culture - in this case New Zealand culture. He challenged the conferees to realise that until the deep level culture - the worldview and presupposition level - comes under the transforming and renewing impact of the Gospel the task of mission is still incomplete. In considering mission to primal societies in a postmodern context in the twenty-first century we face the same challenge. But what does such deep mission look like when addressing the primal imagination? What kinds of worldview level change are necessary?

- *Turner's analysis of the Worldview level transformations necessary in Primal Societies for Gospel penetration*

Turner offers a possible answer to these questions in another of his lesser known articles, contributed in 1985 to a symposium entitled "God and Global Justice: Religion and Poverty in an Unequal World."<sup>60</sup> After introducing explaining and illustrating the nature and potential for socio-economic change of the new religious movements burgeoning in primal societies at that time, Turner has a section headed, 'Cultural Foundations for economic Change: A New Worldview.' He sets out the worldview level changes primal societies would need to embrace for them to contribute to a new level of economic change and development. As he put it, "...changes that lead to adoption of a whole new worldview".

It would be easy to label such suggestions as a classic example of a Westerner imposing his hegemonic metanarrative upon another society. But from his African experience and global awareness, Turner knew well what Myk Rynkewich has illustrated and documented convincingly: that in our postmodern, globalized world, even in the apparently most geographically isolated, culturally insulated, and traditionally committed of primal societies, like the Trobriand Islands of Papua New Guinea, ideas, especially worldview level religious ideas from the whole world flow quickly and freely with life- and community-changing impact.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, missiologically minded people today know it is not a matter of whether worldview level challenges and changes will come to primal societies, but which challenges, and in what direction will the changes move those societies? Hence Turner's recommendations, rather than being a post-colonial imposition, are critically important. They represent the mature reflections of a person who had given his life serving primal peoples by studying how new religious movements transform primal societies. He offers a deep level missional insight into ways the Christian Gospel interfaces with the primal imagination as it transitions into a globalized postmodern context. Turner suggests the worldview changes:

... may conveniently be examined in terms of five transitions: (1) from a *cosmos* based on necessary internal relations to one revealing contingent relationships; (2) from dealing with *power* through magic and ritual to dependence on science and faith; (3) by the addition of history to myth as a new category for dealing with *time*; (4) from a *society* that is closed, unitary, and sacral, to one that is open, pluralist and secular; (5) by seeing *evil* as involving moral rather than ritual pollution, and as located internally in the individual as well as externally in evil forces.<sup>62</sup>

Let us briefly outline each of these:

- *From a Closed, Unitary, Sacralized Cosmos, to an Open, Desacralized System with Contingent Interrelations.* For Turner, the primal religious regard for harmony between the earth, plant and

<sup>59</sup> Harold W. Turner, 'The Three Levels of Mission in New Zealand,' in Bruce Patrick (Ed), *The Vision New Zealand Congress*, Auckland, Vision New Zealand, 1993, 61-68

<sup>60</sup> Harold W. Turner, 'The Relationship Between Development and New Religious Movements in the Tribal Societies of the Third World,' in, Frederick Ferre and Rita H. Mataragnon, *God and Global Justice: Religion and Poverty in an Unequal World*, New York: Paragon House [A New Era Book] 1985:84-110

<sup>61</sup> Michael A Rynkewich, 'The World in My Parish: Rethinking the Standard Missiological Model', *Missiology* Vol 30(3) 2002:301-321

<sup>62</sup> Turner, *Development & NERMs*, 1985: 92

animal creation and humans and the spirit world, reflected, 'a particular view of the cosmos as a closed and unitary system, to be regarded as sacral at all points, with nature, man [sic] and the gods each playing their *necessary* parts in maintaining the harmonious functioning of the whole. The keyword here is *necessary*, and the main concern is conservation of the given structures in their fixed interrelationships, including those of the creator to the creation.' That view contrasts with the Semitic view where 'the Creator remains free and sovereign over the creation,' not constricted by the materials at hand, and 'not compelled to create or play any necessary and fixed part in the world' whether of nature or humans. The divine - human relations are always '*contingent* upon the free will of the [creator] and the free responses of [humanity].' This view desacralizes the natural world and social structures, removing inherent fears of spirit powers, so as to open up the universe for scientific exploration and productive use.. 'Nature is no longer left in its chaotic or undeveloped state, but is now a gift to be developed, controlled, and enjoyed' by humans as responsible 'stewards to a God who transcends nature.' This does not mean 'desecration or exploitation of nature, but retains the primal religious reverence for nature on a new basis that establishes [human] freedom over against [the] environment.' In matters relating to land usage, travel, and readiness to adopt new forms of agriculture, or industry, 'there is a new element of contingency, openness and responsibility, replacing the fixities and fatalities of the old cosmology...'<sup>63</sup>

- *Access to Power through Science and Religious Faith instead of Magic and Religious Ritual.*

Traditional primal societies control the powers of nature and the spirit world by magic or appropriate religious ritual. Magic seeks to 'manipulate power through occult knowledge or skills, or potent objects.' Ritual 'relies on ceremonies, sacrifices, words of power,' the skills of sacred specialists, or 'spirit powers present at sacred places.' The two processes 'tend to coalesce and gravitate toward the magical.' For innovative use or development of tribal resources a worldview change is needed, involving not just new scientific and technological information but new moral and social views as well. Likewise in the spiritual realm, the move will be away from magic and ritual to embrace prayer and faith coupled with a new attitude to hard work which takes on religious value as 'vocation'.<sup>64</sup>

- *The Addition of History to Myth in Dealing with Time.* Primal societies are 'essentially conservative.' Respect for ancestors means the past regulates and legitimizes the present. 'As for the future, although there might be great changes at one level through wars, conquests, fission, natural disasters, or migrations, at the deeper levels of worldviews and basic social forms and sanctions no changes were desired, much less deliberately planned and worked for.' Security was assured by conserving resources and maintaining past norms, not in planning or working for a better, ampler future on a new model. 'Religion was concerned with the regular renewal of the vitalities of man and nature, but not with their radical extension or transformation.'<sup>65</sup> Any eschatology, if present, focussed on a return to origins, or repetition of the patterns of culture heroes and 'maintaining reciprocity with the ancestors' - "'more of the same'" rather than any real innovation.' Christian teaching and conversion potentially brings a genuine turn around in this primal view of time. It re-orientates a previously past-focussed community to see the possibilities of purpose in a future focussed life-style. Celebrations take on a new historic rather than merely ritualistic orientation. 'The myth form is still needed to deal with the boundaries of time, but it neither dominates the dealing with history nor is confined to the images of the past - eschatology has a new freedom to deal with the future,' offering hope and ultimate consummation.<sup>66</sup>

- *From the Closed, Unitary, Sacral Society to the Open, Plural, Secular Society.* Turner points out that 'in most traditional societies in Africa, the tribe, its rulers, and institutions were set within a sacred cosmic order that formed part of the traditional worldview.' The cosmic order prescribed the social structures and its regulating sanctions, and the leaders 'were important channels through which cosmic spiritual forces operated for [the society's] welfare.' The religious and political leadership were normally closely related in these societies which could be called 'unitary and sacral or "ontocratic."<sup>67</sup> Turner shows that while the churches in Africa - both mission and independent -

<sup>63</sup> Turner, Development & NERMs, 1985: 92-3

<sup>64</sup> Turner, Development & NERMs, 1985: 94-6

<sup>65</sup> Turner, Development & NERMs, 1985: 96

<sup>66</sup> Turner, Development & NERMs, 1985: 96-7

<sup>67</sup> Turner, Development & NERMs, 1985: 98

have often continued to entertain, at least for a time, the integration of religious and political leadership by church alignment with particular political parties, the trend, especially in the independent churches, is towards: ‘passage from a closed, sacral, and unitary society to a modern secular state and religiously plural society capable of reaching beyond the limitations of clan, tribe and language toward new national entities and new international relationships.’ These new social structures, often offer unheard-of opportunities for leadership both by women and the young along with a radically different voluntary social form.<sup>68</sup>

*- Evil Involves Moral rather than Ritual Pollution and is Located Internally as well as Externally.* Cultures vary considerably in how they understand and where their societies locate responsibility for evil. Turner discusses these issues particularly as they relate to socio-economic development, but their application is much broader.<sup>69</sup> Primal societies locate the cause of misfortune, sickness or disasters in ritual pollution through breaking taboos or neglecting required sacrifices or ritual obligations. Or they may be attributed to witchcraft or sorcery as retribution for failure in obligations to others or to spirit powers. The source is located in an external process or power – seldom if ever is the person held responsible, and natural or physical causes are not accepted as sufficient explanation. While neither downplaying nor ignoring the reality and influence of evil forces and spiritual powers, a worldview level transformation is needed to recognise personal responsibility – whether at a basic physical level, as in not taking practical hygiene measures, or at the level of moral choice and decision-making. Accepting personal accountability – rather than attributing blame to witchcraft or sorcery or to some spirit power – requires a new understanding of a range of theological and social realities – from the nature of sin and accountability of creatures to their Creator, to relationship with a loving and merciful Heavenly Father. But the witchcraft and sorcery which persists, or even increases, in long-evangelized parts of the primal world highlights the importance of this worldview-level change.

Turner has indicated five crucial worldview changes in direction, each with fundamentally religious factors at their centre, and each needing an appropriate missiological response, to enable the primal imagination adequately to address the contemporary postmodern challenges.

**b) A Biblical Platform for Mission to Primal Religious People in a Postmodern Context:**

Two particular letters of the Apostle Paul offer a basis for the kind of mission our study has shown is necessary amongst primal religious people in our postmodern context. The first, the Letter to the Galatians, outlines essential emphases of the Gospel message as it relates to a primal society. The second, 1 Thessalonians, offers models both for delivering and receiving that Gospel message and for appropriate worldview transformations. We offer these as a tentative, evangelical example of what Gorman calls the “missional hermeneutic” needed in exegesis today – “... a decidedly post-colonial approach and for Western practitioners, a post-Christendom approach to mission and biblical interpretation.”<sup>70</sup>

• **Galatians: Essential Contours of the Gospel Message for Mission to Primal Religious People in a Postmodern Context**

Working on the basis that the Galatian churches included, along with many Jewish converts, significant numbers of converts from a primal religious background,<sup>71</sup> the major themes addressed in this letter offer an agenda contouring the essential features of the Gospel as it applies to peoples

<sup>68</sup> Turner, *Development & NERMs*, 1985: 99

<sup>69</sup> Turner, *Development & NERMs*, 1985: 99-101

<sup>70</sup> See Michael J. Gorman’s chapter, ‘Theological Interpretation of Scripture,’ (pp139-166), in his *Elements of Biblical Exegesis*, Revised and Expanded Edition, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson: 2008:155

<sup>71</sup> This section assumes the most likely addressees of the Galatian letter were the young churches of the Roman province of Galatia, the churches established during Paul’s first missionary journey as recorded in Acts 13-14, we also take for granted that, as the internal evidence suggests (with its references to ritual, ceremonial and the *stoicheia tou kosmou* [elemental powers of the universe]) a substantial proportion of each of these Galatian churches was from a primal religious background as made explicit in the case of the church at Lystra in Acts 14: 8-20. See the standard commentaries, e.g., F.F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians : a Commentary on the Greek text* [The New International Greek Testament Commentary], Exeter; Grand Rapids: Paternoster; Eerdmans, 1982

from such backgrounds. These themes provide the theological foundations for the kind of worldview level transformations we have been considering. These foundations are more secure than those inherent in the postmodern de-constructionists' doubts. The special relevance of the themes of the Galatian letter arises from the letter's central concern to counter the imposition of the rites and requirements of the dominant religious culture of Judaism on the now Christian converts in the different cultural settings of Galatia. For the Apostle Paul, evidently all the themes addressed are essential for dealing properly with the issues at stake in such situations of assumed religio-cultural hegemony.

i. *Keeping Loyal to the Apostolic Gospel as Universally Applicable for All Cultures*, 1:1-2:10. The first section of the letter upholds the apostolic teaching of the Gospel as the unique and unchanging standard for every cultural setting. Heeding a distortion of the Gospel too quickly becomes turning away from God's free grace given in Christ. To put some other religious formality, such as circumcision, above gratitude for the love and forgiveness offered in Christ is culpable betrayal of Christ's love, and turns a vital personal relationship into a merely formal ritual - an ever-present danger in both primal religious and postmodern contexts. Upholding the apostolic Gospel as the one and only standard for teaching in every culture directly challenges postmodern assumptions that meta-narratives are necessarily exploitative. The Apostle insists that imposing a single culture's religious rituals is hegemonic and exploitative, not the Gospel meta-narrative. By insisting on the global applicability of the one and only Gospel message Paul claims that this particular meta-narrative, far from being exploitative, is actually liberating and enriching for every culture, as the themes of the letter will explain progressively.

ii. *Welcoming the Justified of all cultures as equally accepted by God & socially welcome in church*, 2:11-21. The Judaizing delegation from Jerusalem polarized the Syrian Antioch church ethnically. Even Peter and Barnabas opted to keep the peace and withdrew from fellowshiping with non-Jews with whom they had previously gladly shared hospitality (2:11-13).<sup>72</sup> For Paul this threatened Gospel truth (2:14). Refusing to sit at table with another believer because of culturally-based religious rules totally contradicted the message and work of Christ. Only faith in Christ Jesus justified anyone before God (2:15-16). Religious ritual and rule-keeping cannot make us acceptable to God. Therefore it must be the same for acceptability with each other. We will welcome gladly anyone Christ welcomes. Our social behaviour is a clear test of how adequately we have grasped the essence of the Gospel. This gives dignity and honour to every culture, for peoples of each culture are justified before God in the same way - on the basis of faith alone. The Gospel also provides a unique basis for respecting cultural diversity without hegemonic domination. This Good News indeed for both the global resurgences of indigenous identity and the longings of postmodernity for integrity in communal relationships.

iii. *Maintaining through faith both ongoing dependence on the Spirit & sharing in our adoptive heritage*, 3:1-18. Having clarified the way justification works through faith and results in the believers' dynamic union with the Living Christ (2:20), Paul goes straight into a strong rebuke lest the Galatians forget or underestimate the role of the Holy Spirit in bringing them to faith and equipping them in every aspect of life and service as Christ's followers (3:1-5). Moreover, one purpose of justification through Christ's redemptive work is that we enjoy the reality of the Holy Spirit sharing in our daily lives (3:10-14). The Galatians' previous primal dependence on capricious and unpredictable spirit powers is transformed into continuing reliance, not on a ritualistic or legalistic self-competence, but on an ongoing relationship with the Holy Spirit of God actively working in response to vital faith in the message of the Gospel (3:1-5). This rich spirituality also answers the postmodern yearning for something more than rational self-competence. Christian spirituality focused on the Holy Spirit is also deeply rooted in human history. The Gospel gives us new faith-ancestors and a new cultural inheritance. By sharing in the faith principle by which Abraham lived, we become his descendants and he our "father". Believers receive roots and rights making us heirs of the Christian-Jewish-Hebrew past, and we also share in and anticipate the blessings and culmination of the promises God made to Abraham and confirmed repeatedly through the salvation history of his heirs.<sup>73</sup> The fulfilment of true spirituality found in the Holy Spirit is sustained by the depth of historical adoptive roots and identity together with a reorientation towards a forward looking and hope-filled future.

<sup>72</sup> Andrew Walls sets out the issues succinctly in Andrew F. Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002:77-8

<sup>73</sup> See Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of the Faith*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996:9ff on this concept of the "adoptive heritage" of Christians

iv. *Respecting the local cultural & religious heritage*, 3:19-4:11. The Gospel created a major problem for Jews by offering a way to be true children of Abraham that was not based on the Mosaic Law they were meticulously observing. "What, then, was the purpose of the Law?" (v19). How should they regard this central aspect of their cultural heritage? Paul replied: the Law defines the depth and seriousness of our sin-problem as an instructor, and prepares God's people for their Messiah as a protective custodian (3:19-26). These instructive and protective roles were vital, though limited: Jews knew all too well that Law cannot in itself give new life. But what about those of other cultures in the Galatian churches? Their religious heritage and philosophy focused on elemental spirit beliefs about unseen forces active in every realm of daily life - the feared elemental spirit powers of wind, fire, earth and water. Paul ascribes to these traditional religious beliefs the same kind of protective and preparatory role for non-Jews as the Law fulfilled for the Jews. For their followers, primal religions restrain evil, confirm human sinfulness and show how much a divine initiative is needed for ultimate human welfare (4:1-3). In these respects at least, the Apostle recognises a positive role for pre-Christian cultural values. We are to understand, appreciate and respect the preparatory role of, and recognise the quest inherent within, the traditional religion even as we present Christ as the Fulfiller of the "desires of the nations". As Kenneth Cragg puts it: "Christianity cannot address men [sic] and ignore their gods: it may not act in the present and disown the past ... in seeking men for Christ's sake, it is committed to the significance of all they are in their birth and tradition, both for good or ill. To obey a world-relevance is to incur a multi-religious world..."<sup>74</sup> Unlike postmodernity's deconstructive doubts about attempts to revive traditional religious beliefs, the Gospel offers a constructive appreciation of the traditional religion with its preparatory, protective and instructive role leading to the culture's conversion to Christ and subsequent transformation. The cultural heritage is not replaced by some other religion - not even another ethnically dominated version of Christianity. Rather the whole heritage is renewed as aspects that are incompatible with Christ are discarded, and compatible aspects find a new centre and significance as members of the culture themselves re-orient their cultural traditions to serve the living Christ. The values, art forms, architecture, communication processes and spiritual insights find new integrating and creative development potential with Christ as their Lord.<sup>75</sup> As the converts themselves, and their children, find their cultural fulfilment in Christ himself, so they bring their now renewed cultural riches of understanding and devotion to contribute to the global appreciation of the diversity which is in Christ Jesus their Lord and ours, as Johannes Warneck said at Edinburgh 1910.<sup>76</sup> Andrew Walls speaks of the need to redeem the history of each new cultural group as they respond to Christ.<sup>77</sup> Re-valuing cultural heritage in the light of Christ's fulfillment is a vital aspect of mission in response to the religious quest of primal societies in our postmodern context.

v. *Living up to our dignity as Christ's family & not reverting to previous cultural norms*, 3:25 - 4:31. Christ offers what no other religion can achieve and he accomplishes all the protective and preparatory Law and elemental spirits could not do. His work transcends social and cultural barriers which normally keep us apart. Every Christian has equal access to the new family

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<sup>74</sup> Kenneth Cragg, *Christianity in World Perspective*, London : Lutterworth Press, 1968, p65, cited by Kwame Bediako, 'The Holy Spirit, the Christian Gospel and Religious Change: The African Evidence for a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism', in James Thrower (ed), *Essays in Religious Studies for Andrew Walls*, Aberdeen, Department of Religious Studies, University of Aberdeen, 1986, p45.

<sup>75</sup> Though often castigated for its apparent failure to enable cultures to find their fulfilment in Christ, particularly in expressions of their faith, the modern missionary movement was aware, from its beginnings of this duty - as the "Fundamental Principle" of the London Missionary Society indicated as early as 1796. See Richard Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, Vol 1, London: Henry Frowde . 1899:49-50

<sup>76</sup> See at footnote 5 above.

<sup>77</sup> In his August 2000 Burns Lectures at Otago University, N.Z. See his article 'Old Athens and New Jerusalem: Some signposts for Christian Scholarship in the Early History of Mission Studies' *IBMR* Vol 21(4) Oct 1997:146-53, with his conclusion, p153: "The Christian consciousness of Africa and Asia is likely to reflect the pre-Christian cultural processes, including the pre-Christian religious processes, of these continents. On all past showing, these processes are not replaced - that would be the way of the proselyte. They are redirected, for that is the way of the convert. Christian Theology - active, *working* Christian theology - is constructed under the Spirit's guidance from pre-Christian materials. The vessels and hangings of the tabernacle, whole divinely directed in the making, consist of Egyptian gold and Egyptian cloth. The most urgent reason for the study of the religious traditions of Africa and Asia, of the Amerindian and the Pacific peoples, is their significance for Christian theology; they are the substratum of the Christian faith and life of the greater number of the Christians of the world."

entitlements regardless of race, socio-economic standing or gender. Clothed in Christ and his own life-qualities we become joint-heirs in his new, united, multiethnic family (3:26-29). He rescues us from our own estrangement and condemnation before God and comes to share God's life with us through the indwelling of the Spirit. He adopts us as full members of his intimate family circle, imparting the privileges of mature children, including direct access to the Father through prayer and a guaranteed share in the family inheritance. In sacral primal societies, personal and communal identity are closely related to the shared religious beliefs of the community – to convert calls their identity into question. The Gospel offers a new identity as family of God in Christ (4:4-7). Christ also frees us from a fearful slave-like relationship with religious systems or powers. He enables us to see their weakness in comparison to Christ's love-based, relationship-enhancing power, recognizing that any actual strength elemental spirit powers have, like that of a beggar, is merely ascribed by the worshipper and not inherent nor derived from a genuinely divine nature. Grasping this breaks the shackles of subservience to such powers and their associated formal rituals and ceremonialism, motivating us not to revert to a merely traditional, ritualistic level of interaction with God. Proper respect for traditional religion is quite different from going back into its bondages and limitations (4:8-12). Rather, we are to live up to our position as children of God, letting Christ be formed in us with all that means for a process of ongoing growth into him (4:12-20). Here is the balance to the last section. Proper relationships across cultural boundaries will foster both an exclusive loyalty to Christ and a proper respect for cultural traditions.

vi. *Sustaining our vital, cruciform redemptive encounter with Christ through the Spirit*, 1:4; 2:15-21; 3:10-14, 26-29; 4:4-7, 9, 19. Running through Galatians chapters 1-4 is a series of Trinitarian, Christological, theological statements we have only mentioned in passing. These form the substance and heart of the theological and experiential thrust of the message, centring on each believer's dynamic life-transforming encounter and ongoing relationship with God in Christ through the Holy Spirit. In Galatians the believers' relationship with Christ is redemptive. From the announcement in the opening greeting of Christ's self-giving to rescue us from the present corrupt age to fulfil God's will, Paul uses both forensic, "justification", and commercial, "redemption" explanatory metaphors to unpack the impact of Christ's death for us. The objective, historical realities of pardon, restored relationship with God, and release from servitude, on the one hand, and, on the other, the richly subjective, personal and communal union with and incorporation into Christ Jesus the Risen living Lord, receive due emphasis (2:15-16, 20-21; 3:10-13, 26-29; 4:4-7). Galatians particularly stresses being crucified with Christ to share a cruciform self-denial of the patterns and values of self and the world (2:20-21; 5:13-18, 24; 6:14, 17). The vital reality of this encounter and continuing faith relationship forms the evangelical heart of the message for people whose previous lives have been dominated by other spirit powers, and who, in a postmodern context seek wholeness of life.

vii. *Expressing our freedom in Christ across the whole culture, Allowing the Spirit to transform our personal, social & communal lifestyles*, 5:1-6:10. The Apostle in the rest of the letter addresses what for the postmodern mindset is rejected *a priori* – that a metanarrative (other than their own postmodern one) can be universally applicable and at the same time genuinely liberating. But this is the Galatian message: the one universal Gospel frees people of every culture in the fullest possible sense. This Gospel frees believers from bondage to other hegemonic cultural expectations (5:1-6). Apart from putting faith in Christ, there is no single universal cultural requirement or experience which other cultures must adopt to live as true Christians. Circumcision, the unique indicator of membership amongst God's people under the old arrangements, or any other such cultural particular, is no longer necessary under the Gospel. In Christ, all we need to enjoy God's acceptance and pleasure is freely accessible, through faith alone, directly from each of our own cultural backgrounds. Regardless of the pressures the dominant religious culture may apply to conform us to its customs and expectations, in Christ we can be ourselves and know Christ accepts us just as we are: "...in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision has any value. The only thing that counts is faith expressing itself in love" (5:6). Christians are still adept at tripping up their fellow runners by wrong teaching on such cultural matters. Galatians calls us to pick ourselves up, stand tall in our own cultural integrity, and rejoin the race (5:7ff).

Gospel freedom is also distinctive in its understanding of freedom, not as license to indulge self-centred desires, but being freed from them to serve others. Knowing who we are culturally and how fully we are accepted in Christ frees us to live beyond the petty confines of cultural bigotry and to serve each other without back-biting or character assassination. God looks for Christ-like love that



breaks out of our cultural norms to serve those who don't think or act like us. Accepting our ethnic identity in Christ, frees us for such service (5:13-18).

Gospel freedom and inter-cultural relationships in the church develop within a wider spiritual context of conflict between the ways of the Holy Spirit of God and the ways of selfish humanity (5:19-26). The church is called in each culture to live by the Spirit, not by the attitudes, values and life-styles of the "flesh" – our personal, ingrained self-centred choices and habits. Here is a worldview-transforming understanding, enabling us to face the awful depths of evil and depravity in our societies and instead of attributing them to external spirit powers or non-personal agency, we can face the evil squarely and acknowledge that along with any real external factors, and more basically, accountable human agency is at the root of our social and personal dysfunction, since these evils are properly named 'works of the flesh.' In a primal society, as in the postmodern intellectual climate, this is a radically new analysis and prescription. Our desires, thoughts and choices are the root cause of sexual indiscipline which dehumanizes. Human jealousies and actions distort worship. Our human attitudes and actions, not spirits of ancestors or place, continue and renew subservience to sorcery and idolatry, even where the Gospel has done away with them at earlier stages of Christian growth in primal societies. The ethnocentric and narrow, proud attitudes which divide and disrupt attempts at inter-cultural partnership arise in the hearts of humans. To blame other spirit powers, or neuroses, or other societally imposed deprivations for these 'works of the flesh,' contradicts this biblical description of their nature. Only the overflow of the fruit of the Holy Spirit in our lives is sufficient to transform these basic attitudes ingrained within each of us personally from our own ethnic backgrounds. Christ's love, his joy, and his self-control are unnatural to the basic bias of every human society and culture. The productive activity of the Holy Spirit, sourced through dynamic dependence on him through faith, is essential for this depth of life-style liberation. This choice between 'works of the flesh' and bearing "fruit of the Spirit" places moral responsibility firmly on us as human beings. The Gospel calls is to freedom in the Spirit, whereby we "keep in step with the Spirit" within our own cultural context. God's own life released through our redeemed personalities as we unite across our ethnic divisions is the pattern (5:22-25). As he concludes the main teaching of the letter, Paul emphasizes further particulars essential, both negatively, for a community threatened by cultural conflict, and positively, for healthy multiethnic cooperation in a congregation impacting its society (6:1-10).

viii. *Summary: Exalting in our new, but crucified life as the people of God, not trusting the dominant culture's religious rituals, 6:11-18.* Paul takes up the pen from his secretary to sign the letter. He can't resist a summary paragraph. He pointedly labels the colonizing intention of the circumcision party as cowardice. They attempt to impose their own cultural norms upon others because they cannot face the costly demands of making Christ's crucifixion the pattern for their own life-styles. To really grasp what Christ did for us in his death means dying to our own pride of person, of possessions and of culture; laying down all our boasting at the foot of the cross. Then, as the undeserved grace of God overwhelms and re-creates us, we rise as full members of our own culture, to take our place alongside every other new creature within the true "Israel of God" – a title no longer restricted to one ethnic or cultural group, but now rightly attributed to the 'one new humanity' God is creating from both Jews and peoples of other cultures.<sup>78</sup> To glorify Christ crucified and to share with others as the multiethnic people of God - these are the true goals of the Gospel message for primal peoples grappling with our contemporary postmodern context.

In these inter-dependent Galatians themes, we suggest, The Holy Spirit has set out key contours of the Gospel with special relevance for believers living within or from a primal religious background. They also address many of the areas of overlap between postmodern and primal perspectives, and thus have special significance for mission today.

• **First Thessalonians: Biblical Models for Receiving the Gospel and Worldview Transformations amongst Primal Religious People in a Postmodern Context**

If Galatians draws the contours of theological emphases appropriate for mission in primal societies, then 1 Thessalonians turns our attention to our methodologies and goals in mission. We focus on three aspects of the models presented in this letter:

<sup>78</sup> As explained most fully in Ephesians 2:14-18, and expounded eloquently by Andrew Walls, 'The Ephesian Moment,' in *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2002:72-81

i. *The Vulnerable, Cruciform, Whole-Lifestyle Example of the Missionaries*, 1 Thessalonians 1:5b; 2:1-12; 2:17-3:6. As Paul reminds the Thessalonians of the beginnings of the mission amongst them, he unselfconsciously reveals his own approach as their pioneer missionary, calling on the Thessalonians repeatedly as witnesses to the truth of his testimony. He speaks of how he, literally, “became among them, for them”, 1:5b, indicating the depth of identification and relationship he developed “incarnationally” with them. His persistence and integrity characterise his expanded summary of that initial claim as he recounts his movements from facing insults and suffering at Philippi, to courageously telling the News in Thessalonica. Reviewing his motives he claims he was not people-pleasing. He guarded carefully against error, impurity and deceit in his communications. He did so because of his deeper level motivation, to always be God-pleasing. What he really valued were the humbling, responsible assurances that he was approved, entrusted and attested by God himself (2:1-4). In similar vein, in 2:5-12, Paul reminds the Thessalonians his method was not “image”-making, he did not rely on flattery, and could not be accused of greed. He was no mere popularity-seeker, and as became his regular missionary approach, he did not demand even his basic rights from those he served. He did not just objectively pass on a message, but was selflessly committed to them personally: caring, loving, and sharing as a nursing mother with her children. In his work patterns he was never merely clockwatching and made it a point of honour not to financially burden those he served. In personal relationships he could conscientiously claim, expecting both God and the Thessalonians to confirm, he had been pure, upright and blameless. In pastoral relationships, which he accepted as an inherent aspect of his missionary task, he adopted a pattern of parenting believers to equip them for a worthy lifestyle, fitting them for the new kingdom in which they were now citizens. His sudden departure left him feeling bereft and orphaned from these with whom he had developed such warm relationships so quickly. He felt very vulnerable, anxiously awaiting news of how they had fared in the pressures associated with his eviction from the city (2:17-3:6). This open, unselfconscious testimony reveals an understanding of mission as primarily a people-forming exercise. For Paul, effectiveness in serving the Gospel was measured by his integrity as the messenger, the resulting lifestyle maturity of the believers being served, plus realistic acceptance of the inherent costs and inter-personal strains of the process.

ii. *The Thessalonians’ Effective Reception of the Gospel Message*, 1:5-8a; 2:13-16. Our Gospel (literally) “became among you...” wrote Paul (1:5), as he rejoiced in the way it was distinctively received: “Not only in Word.” It certainly did come in the preaching of the Word - cf., 1:6, 8; 2:13; and the range of verbal communication terms used in Acts 17:2-4. The preached Word was essential - but not sufficient on its own. Three things accompanied their welcoming of the Word: *The Word came ... With power*. Outward evidence, authority, and attestation accompanied the preaching. God was seen working manifestly and effectively among them. They submitted to his Word and he transformed them. The significant proportion of the Thessalonian congregation from a primal religious background knew the importance of this. The primal imagination is all about power: power to control a world of spirit powers, magical formulae, and religious rituals ordering and dominating every aspect of daily life. Into their world had penetrated a new power— the power of another kind of effective word. The word of the Gospel worked in demonstrable ways in bringing the wholeness and renewal the scriptures call salvation. Their understanding of power changed. Power now related to the Good News that God had broken into their world in person in Jesus Christ. In love he had given himself to meet their deepest needs. This strange message of love in Christ was “the power of God for salvation”- the new restorative power for which they had been searching. Now they linked power, not with magic, witchcraft and sorcery, nor with ritualistic ceremonial, but with the news of the love of Christ. *The Word came ... With the Holy Spirit*. Their conversion involved a personal encounter with God Himself, for the preachers were empowered with Spirit (both are possible readings). The coming of the Word meant coming into living contact with the Spirit of God, meeting, welcoming, knowing him in real life encounter. Again, this was good news for primal religionists. Their world had been populated by capricious, unpredictable spirits of ancestors and fearful sacred places. What a difference to now be in a personal relationship with a clean, pure, reliable Spirit, the very Spirit of God himself. The Spirit-endowing word was not disposing of, but renewing and enriching their whole understanding of the spiritual realm, now permeated with the presence of the Living God. *The Word came ... With full Conviction*: both of the preachers and of the hearers. Personally relating the Word to their assumptions, presuppositions and worldview beliefs, converting their thought-world and bringing it under the Lordship of Jesus

Christ. Letting the Word convict attitudes, habits, plans - seeing and owning their selfishness and sinfulness. Coming to *plerophoria*, a full assurance, and strong grasp of that Word.

This wholistic Thessalonian reception of the Gospel Word is explained further in 2:13-16. Paul thanks God for the exemplary way the Thessalonians processed the message. They received for themselves the word heard through the missionary heralds, welcoming the Word for what it is, not a merely human message, but in reality, God's Own Word. What began as an interaction with the messengers in responsive listening and acceptance, became a living encounter, through their message, with God himself as they heard his voice in the words and message proclaimed. Their faith commitment was the active ingredient enabling this change in reality and perception.

iii. *The Worldview Transformations Modelled in the Thessalonians' Response.* This letter summarizes succinctly the outcomes of effective mission in a primal society. Four key transformations which had become common knowledge in their region (1:7-8):

- **A Personal Relationship with the Living God in place of a magico-ritualistic subjection to Spirit Powers, 1:9.** They had *“turned to God from Idols to serve the living and true God.* They had **converted** - changed their minds and life-styles and discovered the difference between bondage to idols and a vital relationship with the Living and True God. In Thessalonica religion focused on idols devoted to the powers – whether of the Emperor, or the spiritual powers abounding in local primal beliefs, or the traditional Greek pantheon. Idols, too, devoted to pleasure as in the hedonism and worship of the human body characteristic of their time. Behind the comment, “turned from idols”, then, lies a depth of insight and awareness that converting to the “Living God” from that context was a radical, demanding and socially costly turning indeed. But idolatry is the ultimate human frustration, for human meaning is found only in personal “I-You” relationships - never in “I-it” relationships. But the latter are all that idols can offer. Add to this the alternative primary concern and past-time of Greek philosophy with its noble, but endless quest for reality, truth, and wisdom, and the turn “to the Living and True God” also takes on fresh contextual relevance. To personally embrace the One who with integrity could call himself “The Truth” involved a radical realignment of loyalties and devotion – a new kind of service. Again a significant contrast is implied with the kind of temple service common in their context. Religion was no longer a formal ritual, devoted to capricious spirits, material things, frightening omens or implacable cosmic forces, or their idols and supporting philosophies. Rather they were pouring out their love and devotion to the Sovereign God, their new Lord, Ruler of the Universe, True and not counterfeit; God Himself, not human substitutes; the God who had disclosed himself as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

- **An Understanding of Time re-oriented to a hope filled expectation of future consummation, and consequent reorienting of personal purpose and moral accountability 1:10; 2:19-20; 3:13; 4:13- 5:11, 23.** They had *“turned ... to wait for [God's] Son from heaven whom he raised from the dead – Jesus, who rescues us from the coming wrath” (1:10)* Again this short-hand summary of the Thessalonians' Christology and eschatology speaks of in-depth contextualization in process right from the start of mission in their midst. Jesus, as Son of God shared his nature and deity, He is coming from heaven –implying his present ascended position and control of history. He had been raised from death – implying awareness of the redemptive nature of his death and victory over the forces of evil confirmed in resurrection; as well as his presence with and for them as the Living Lord. He rescues from coming wrath – implying a grasp of the justice of God and the human dignity inherent in human accountability; as well as the sense of purpose and destiny such awareness of accountability brings. This implies a new understanding of humanity as well as human history and God's purposes. Again, it lends depth to Paul's appreciation of their endurance of hope, and his repeated encouragements to moral responsibility in the light of their personal accountability before this returning Judge and Saviour. They now have a new understanding of history – they await the Returning Son of God – time is moving forward to a purposeful goal – not merely repeating itself in endless cycles. Instead of myth and looking backward to past ancestors to control the unknown future, there is now a hope-full expectation and anticipation of a personal consummation and communal re-union as the goal of human history. Mission to the primal imagination involves this depth of worldview transformation.

- **A practical theology of vulnerable, cruciform suffering in the Spirit, 1:6; 2:2, 9, 14; 3:1-5.** Through both his frank auto-biographical transparency in Chapters 1-3 and in his exhortations throughout the letter, Paul conveys a consistent experience and understanding of the centrality of

suffering and enduring hardships in Christian life and mission. Empowered by the Holy Spirit to embrace such realities joyfully, enduring suffering becomes an evidence of the integrity and validity of their response to the Gospel. (2:14-15a). In this the Thessalonians were also imitating the Judean churches which had suffered persecution (Acts 8:1-4; 11:19). Suffering from fellow-countrymen has been the common lot of God's people through the ages. God utilises suffering both to promote Christian growth in the suffering community and to show the serious culpability of those who continually oppose God's messengers. Pointing for his example to Jews who consistently opposed the proclamation of the Gospel to peoples of other cultures, Paul notes that such opposition to the mission of God displays ethnic pride, displeases God, multiplies guilt and guarantees God's judgement. Effective mission has always produced both positive and negative reactions from those in the believers' communities. Therefore, developing an adequate theology to account for hardships in service is a measure of the maturity and stability of new believers, as Paul's open acknowledgement of his own Christ-like vulnerability shows in his reflections in 2:17-3:5. This attitude requires a worldview level thought transformation in societies where sensual pleasure, prompt self-gratification and hedonistic enjoyment are valued as the norm, as in so many postmodern contexts today.

▪ **Epistemological change from dependence on ritual & magic to trust in the Word of God as their practical life-style authority**, 1:5; 2:13ff. We explained above the Thessalonians' steps in processing the heralding of the Gospel message. A world-view level epistemological change was implicit in those verses – from formal ritual and magical language appeasing idols and empowering sorcerers, to welcoming, receiving, and responding in faith to the preached and written Word of God through his messengers. This is a massive epistemological re-orientation in a primal society – just as it is a huge epistemological step to trust the Word of God as the living authority for faith and life in a reductionistic science and reason dependent Western world.

This warmly biographical, open letter evidences the deep level at which the Gospel had converted the believers and their assumptions, values and beliefs in Thessalonica. We suggest, in doing so the letter has modelled patterns of mission methodology and outcomes of special significance for mission in primal societies in our postmodern context.

Combining the contours of missional theology from the letter to the Galatians with these methods and outcomes exemplified in 1 Thessalonians gives a strong missiological foundation to address the tensions, issues and insights we have gleaned from our analysis of postmodernity and the primal imagination.

### **Conclusion:**

As we face mission at the centennial of Edinburgh 2010, then, our postmodern context presents special challenges for primal societies and the 'primal imagination.' We have traced postmodernity's gift and challenge to primal religious peoples. We have outlined a developing missiological appreciation of the 'primal imagination'. We have suggested steps towards a missiological approach to the primal imagination, concluding with a biblical platform for mission to primal religious people in a postmodern context.

We conclude as we began, with a provocative, Edinburgh 1910 gem, this time from the final sentence of the Commission IV Report's chapter on Animistic Religions. Perhaps it still carries a prescient tone if we make due allowance for its unabashed paternalism:

“... just as many a parent has re-learned religious lessons by coming into touch with the piety of childhood, so it may well happen that the Christianity of Europe is destined to be recalled, if not to forgotten truths, at least to neglected graces, by the infant Churches that are just beginning to live their lives on the basis of the mercy, the commandments and the promises of God.”<sup>79</sup>

Migration patterns and demographic changes in global Christianity as we enter the twenty-first century, and the argument of this paper, suggest “boomerang challenges” from churches with primal backgrounds are by no means inappropriate, not only for European, but for Northern Christianity generally in 2010.

<sup>79</sup> *Report of Commission IV, p37*

## **Missionaries and New Zealand**

By Peter Lineham  
For Te Ara

This paper is a discussion of an entry which was commissioned for me from Te Ara, the NZ government encyclopaedia on the subject of Missions in and from New Zealand. There are very tight constraints on the format for Te Ara entries; they must be brief, segmented into screens or pages; contain references to other government sources, in particular the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, and focus on the needs of users who are not professionals - most will be school children or people undertaking an initial search for material.

This paper was prepared before I had completed the entry; further focusing took place, partly as a result of the discussions at the conference. Doubtless the entry will be available in due course. The challenge of clear perspectives, technical accuracy, and brevity without being cryptic is important for a subject so obscure to the modern mind as missions.

### **Screen 1. Understanding Missionaries**

The missionary movement has had a huge impact on New Zealand. The missionaries who came to New Zealand were part of a voluntary religious movement rather than an official expansion of churches. Protestant states had little idea of an international Christian community. Within Catholicism the Jesuits developed this vision, but they depended on the support of Catholic states, and so conversion was often brought about by the sword.

The Pietist Movement within Protestantism in the 17<sup>th</sup> century emphasised that true conversion required an individual decision within the heart. Some pious Anglicans had established the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1701. Then in the 1730s Evangelicalism emerged in England, as Wesley and his friends espoused a theology of redemption through the death of Jesus and a 'heart-warming' experience of trusting Christ. In the 1780s Calvinist Methodists developed a deep conviction that the gospel must be preached throughout the world before the return of Christ. In 1795 the London Missionary Society was founded and it sent its first group of missionaries to Tahiti in 1796. Interest in the Pacific had been aroused by Cook's explorations, but the Evangelicals rejected the positive view of the Islanders, claiming that 'natives' needed redemption.

Evangelicals in the Established Anglican church felt that Britain needed to have a moral purpose. It needed to atone for the slave trade. William Wilberforce and his 'Clapham sect' – a small group of evangelical Anglican politicians – wanted to transform church and state. So the Church Missionary Society was founded in 1799. Because there were no surplus ordained ministers with an evangelical outlook, their first mission was staffed by German Lutherans. New Zealand was their second mission and was staffed by artisans who were not ordained.

The mission faced opposition from church leaders. It was dependent on voluntary donations from supporters. Missionary meetings and magazine reports of New Zealand awoke great interest. Gradually the mission became respectable. The growth of Evangelicalism and increased international awareness made missions significant. New Zealand was very popular with supporters.

### **Screen 2. Marsden and his Missionaries**

Samuel Marsden was a northern Englishman who came under the influence of Evangelicals. He was appointed chaplain to the prison colony of New South Wales in 1794. Marsden keenly supported the work of the London Missionary Society and helped its Pacific missionaries. On a visit to England in 1807, Marsden approached the CMS and asked them to

begin a mission not of Australia but New Zealand, because he felt that Maori were more receptive to Christianity than the 'wretched' aborigines.

Nevertheless the first task of mission work was to civilize the Maori, teaching them basic culture and industry. So the first missionaries were pious artisans, who could teach the Maori useful crafts. William Hall and John King were his first recruits. A delay occasioned by troubles in New Zealand enabled Thomas Kendall, a primary school teacher, to join them.

Marsden's greed and his harshness as a magistrate have led to questions about his work in New Zealand, and certainly this included extensive trading. He ensured that the ship which supplied the mission, operated profitably. Yet he had a romantic vision of missionary work and put time and energy into the mission.

In December 1814 the first missionaries and their support staff were taken to New Zealand. Marsden conducted the first service on Christmas day 1814 at Rangihoua. This site on the northern side of the Bay of Islands was protected by the mana of the rangatira Ruatara, whom Marsden had met in England. Unfortunately Ruatara died in 1815, and thereafter the mission was dependent on the protection of Hongi Hika, who was focused on political aspirations.

Marsden made seven visits to New Zealand to guide the missionaries. Kendall operated a school but there were tensions and lack of direction from the outset. Kendall visited Britain with Hongi Hika and another rangatira. There he published a Maori dictionary and was ordained. His significant skills were lost to the mission after he was suspended for adultery in 1822.

A new mission station was opened at Kerikeri in 1819 under the sponsorship of Hongi Hika, who demanded guns in return. Additional missionaries came, including the Rev John G. Butler, who became superintendent. Marsden suspended Butler in 1823 after falling out with him, accusing him of drunkenness. Meanwhile the Musket Wars of the early 1820s disrupted Maori society but many captives brought to the Bay of Islands attended mission schools and heard missionary preaching.

### **Screen 3. Williams consolidates the Mission**

In 1823 Henry Williams, a retired naval captain, volunteered for the mission. Williams was ordained and his wife Marianne saw herself as a missionary too. Williams took responsibility for the mission and he was well able to bring clear direction to it.

In 1826 Henry's brother William and his wife, Jane arrived. Other ordained missionaries included A.N. Brown and William Yate (until his dismissal for homosexual activity). There was also a growing team of lay missionaries.

These new missionaries aimed to build a more evangelistic mission, and services and preaching spread quickly. Missionary wives created a more stable community, with their neat cottages, and ministry of schooling and medical care.

The death of Hongi Hika in 1828 freed the mission to develop its own focus. Henry Williams gained recognition when he negotiated peace between two tribes. The return of the captives after the musket wars spread news of Christianity. The first inland mission station at Waimate North included a productive farm. The launching of a mission boat, the Active, enabled the missionaries to visit beyond the Bay of Islands.

Evangelicals place emphasis on the bible, and Henry Williams encouraged bible translation. In 1827 the first publication was issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society's Sydney branch.

Williams' role has caused controversy in recent years, based on his alleged cultural insensitivity, his land purchases and his role in the Treaty of Waitangi. He acted in these ways to provide for his large family, and because of his sense of paternalistic responsibility for the Maori.

#### **Screen 4. The Methodist Mission**

The Wesleyan Methodist movement in England grew rapidly from the 1790s. Lay Methodists, who were mostly of relatively humble backgrounds, wanted their own mission. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society rejected bishops and the Calvinism of the LMS and CMS. It saw the primary goal of the mission to make converts, and so it rejected Marsden's emphasis on 'civilizing'.

Samuel Leigh, their first missionary, was a Methodist minister to the convict settlement of New South Wales, and Marsden encouraged his visit to New Zealand. As a result he appealed to the WMS to establish a mission in New Zealand. A team of missionaries were sent to Tonga and New Zealand in 1822. Leigh did not last long, but William White, Nathaniel Turner and James Stack, and a lay worker, John Hobbs stayed.

On the advice of the CMS missionaries, the mission station was placed at Kaeo near the Whangaroa harbour, north of the Bay of Islands. The site was too close to the Boyd massacre, and disruptions forced the missionaries to flee in January 1827. Three missionaries returned a year later to Mangungu on the Hokianga. The mission baptised its first converts in 1830.

As new missionaries arrived, additional stations were established along the west coast, at Kawhia, Manukau, Kaipara and Raglan. The superintendent, William White, was dismissed in 1836. Some missionaries also served in Tonga. The CMS and the WMS entered into a comity agreement in which Wesleyans focused on the West Coast as far as Taranaki, and the South Island while the CMS mission took the East Coast and the lower West Coast of the North Island.

The mission grew quickly in the 1840s with a further addition of notable missionaries. Stations were opened at Port Nicholson and at Cloudy Bay in Marlborough and at Waikouaiti, in Otago, while new Taranaki and Waikato stations were commenced.

#### **Screen 5. A Breakthrough with the Maori**

The 1830s were enormously significant for the missionaries. New bases were established further afield at Kaitaia, Thames, Tauranga, Matamata and Te Awamutu. Then in 1840 William Williams opened a base at Turanga (Gisborne), Octavius Hadfield went to Otaki while Richard Taylor was placed at Wanganui. These very able missionaries extended the base of the work. The numbers attending services, the sales of the New Testament, the numbers baptised and received into communion all increased rapidly. By 1840 the mission seemed everywhere triumphant.

There has been a long debate about why the mission finally succeeded. It needs to be seen in the context of the Pacific missions, all of which had a long struggle and then a sudden phase of success, which profoundly reshaped the Pacific worldview. It is important not just to look at the European missionaries. Captives returning from the musket wars spread Christianity before the missionaries arrived. A key feature of the conversion of tribes was the response of rangatira. Some including Pautone, Tamati Waka Nene, Rawiri Taiwhanga were baptised; others became eager to have missionaries in their villages.

A number of other factors were clearly important. Peace-making by missionaries began when Henry Williams intervened in tensions among the Hokianga tribes in 1828. Eventually missionaries became trusted intermediaries, and hence their opinions became important at

Waitangi. Another factor was medical assistance in the face of the new European diseases. Perhaps the key factor was the eagerness of Maori to learn to read. Reading was perceived as conveying power. The New Testament was published in 1837 and 60,000 copies were sold by 1845.

## **Screen 6. The Catholic Mission**

The Catholic mission to New Zealand originated in very different circumstances. The Church responded to the grim experience of the French Revolution, The Society of Mary was one of many religious movements which emerged in a post-revolutionary Catholic recovery. Led by Jean-Claude Colin, it attracted men of heroic faith and devotion. The Pope approved the new order in 1836 and they were asked to support the new Vicariate Apostolic of Western Oceania. Jean Baptiste Pompallier who was closely linked with the early Marists, was appointed bishop and vicar apostolic.

Pompallier and his small team (one priest and one lay assistant) arrived in the Hokianga in January 1838, near the Methodist station. There was intense hostility from the other missions, but Pompallier's initial following came from disgruntled Maori.

Pompallier's philosophy of mission was strikingly different from that of his protestant rivals. He viewed the responsibility of the mission primarily as baptising converts, not challenging the lifestyle of Maori. The rituals and vestments of his mission were also attractive.

The mission was strengthened in 1839 with the arrival of seven priests and five brothers. The mission centre was established at Kororareka in the Bay of Islands in 1839. Further bases were established in Northland but also in the Bay of Plenty at Akaroa, Auckland, Wellington and Otaki from which priests itinerated.

The mission grew rapidly and by 1845 had baptised 5000, but lack of money and Maori warfare led to a subsequent decline. Moreover tensions emerged between Pompallier and the Marist order, which led to the formation of a Marist-based diocese of Wellington from 1850. Thereafter Pompallier struggled to find priests for Auckland Catholics.

## **Screen 7. From Mission to Church**

The 1840s marked an important point of transition. The advent of British rule of New Zealand forced the CMS to evaluate their plans. Rev Henry Venn, the General Secretary of the CMS, expounded the theory that the goal of mission was self-euthanasia and the building of a church which was self-governing, self-financing and self-reproducing. In Africa and in New Zealand this led to important changes. In 1854 the CMS decided to gradually phase out its mission.

The CMS missionaries and the Wesleyans welcomed the Treaty of Waitangi. They were well aware that the Pacific islands had been vulnerable to European interference and they were dismayed by the French annexation of Tahiti. Disappointed at the immigration of settlers, they hoped that the Treaty would protect Maori. They assisted in the translation, and collected signatures for the Treaty. One missionary, George Clarke, was appointed chief protector of aborigines. Pompallier, having received the assurance that all religions would be tolerated, accepted the Treaty.

The arrival of Bishop Selwyn in 1842 profoundly affected the mission. Selwyn's position was partly funded by the CMS and they undertook to place their missionaries under his supervision, but Selwyn's high church values were suspected by Evangelicals and they challenged his attempt to control the mission. There were sharp conflicts.

In 1847 Governor Sir George Grey accused the missionaries of encouraging disloyalty among Maori. In an attempt to stifle this, Grey accused Williams of improper acquisition of land.



Bishop Selwyn insisted that missionaries cooperate with the government and his letter to the CMS in London led to the dismissal of Henry Williams. While this action was withdrawn five years later, the damage done to the mission was large.

Meanwhile new missions emerged. The North German Missionary Society, based in Bremen, sent missionaries to New Zealand from 1842, among them J.F.H. Wohlers, J.F. Riemenschneider, who worked alongside the existing missions while the Berlin Missionary Society sent missionaries to the Chatham Islands in 1843. In 1844 the Reformed Church of Scotland sent two missionaries.

But the situation had changed profoundly. Land politics, settlers and trade lessened the respect of Maori for missionaries and enthusiasm for Christianity waned.

## Screen 8. Maori Missionaries

Maori from the first took the Christian message and developed it in their own ways. New Maori religious movements copied the European missionaries' zeal. Maori Anglicans and Wesleyan catechists and preachers began to lead their local churches. Some converts were employed as catechists; others developed their own missionary work. Maitu and Rihomana were early Christian martyrs. Tamihana Te Rauparaha was trained by the CMS as a missionary.

There were Christian dimensions in the birth of the King Movement. Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipi Te Waharoa began to establish Christian villages and advocated a King movement, as a way to establish a Christian society.

This was contrary to the missionary vision of a united Christian community and most missionaries opposed kingitanga. The missionaries withdrew from their posts and some including Selwyn became chaplains to the troops. Maori believed stories about Selwyn's involvement in the burning of Gate pa and when the German CMS missionary, Carl Volkner, returned to Whakatane, he was killed as a spy. It was a dramatic rupture.

Overall the settlers showed little enthusiasm for the Maori mission. They regarded the Wars as evidence that the missions had failed, and Maori often took the same point of view. The Mormon mission to the Maori flourished from 1882 in a direct reaction to the low reputation about Christians among Maori.

The Christian missions gradually revived after 1865 but with much less backing. The CMS reduced its support and finally cut off funds in 1903. Although the obligation to support the Maori church passed to the local Anglican Church, the missionaries had been very critical of the settlers and Anglican settlers for their part had little sympathy with the Maori mission. Meanwhile in the Waiapu diocese in particular, Maori Anglican clergy were ordained - twenty-three in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The Wesleyan mission became the responsibility of the Australasian conference from 1855. Methodist missionaries also had responsibility for European settlers and this provoked difficult conflicts of interest. John Whiteley's death in 1869 was a result of the clash of loyalties. Some new missionaries like Robert Ward of the Primitive Methodists, who arrived in 1844, in fact focused entirely on the settlers.

Catholic missionary work continued on a reduced scale. The Sisters of Mercy and the Mill Hill Fathers became involved in the north. Sister Suzanne Aubert worked at Meeanee near Napier and then in the villages of the Whanganui River and a new order of nuns emerged around her.

There was a new interest in later years, but philo-Maori and paternalistic values never had the same currency. In 1895 the Rev Henry Fletcher began a Presbyterian mission in Taupo.

Ministry then commenced among the Tuhoe in the Uraweras. Rev John Laughton gained the cooperation of Rua Kenana for this mission. Other independent protestant missionaries began work from this era.

## Screen 9. Overseas Missions

New Zealand also became a country which sent as well as a received missionaries. Bishop Selwyn developed a mission to the islands of Melanesia. He travelled there in 1847 and trained boys at a mission house in Kohimarama (henceforth named 'Mission Bay'). John Coleridge Patteson became missionary in 1855 and his martyrdom aroused more interest in missions.

New Zealand Wesleyan Methodists inherited responsibility for missions in Polynesia and later in the Solomons in 1855 and sent missionaries especially to the Solomon Islands. Local Presbyterians supported work in the New Hebrides. The independent Queensland Kanak Mission was begun by Florence Young in the Solomons, (later the South Seas Evangelical Mission).

By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century many settlers were inspired by the vision of world mission. Alexander Don's outreach to the Chinese gold miners led the Presbyterian Church to establish the Canton Village Mission, while the Bolivian Indian Mission was founded by people from Dunedin. Popular missions like the China Inland Mission and missions in India were supported by many Protestants, while some Catholic men and women joined religious orders with a missionary focus.

Missions after 1850 placed a strong emphasis on a personal missionary call, and single women were welcomed as recruits. Rosalie McGeorge and Jean Begg are two striking examples. By the 1970s New Zealand boasted the highest rate of sending missionaries in the world. Some made a significant mark in the countries they went to, among them Garfield Todd, who became Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia in the mid 1950s.

The Diocese of Waiapu (which held its proceedings in Maori) voted at its first synod to support missions to the heathen. In later years some Maori have been distinguished missionaries to other countries in recent years.

Ironically missionaries continue to come to New Zealand particularly focusing on new communities of settlers while others seek to evangelise European New Zealanders.

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Greiler, Alois, ed. *Catholic Beginnings in Oceania: Marist Missionary Perspectives*. Edited by Alois Greiler, *Marist Series*. Hindmarsh, South Australia: ATF Press, 2009.

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## Missionaries and Missions in and from New Zealand

Peter Lineham  
ANZAMS  
31 October 2009

## A Conceptual Puzzle

- Invited to provide section for Te Ara on missions and missionaries in New Zealand
- Allowed to include something on overseas missions
- First port of call for many students

## Formatting Issues

- 2500 words
- A series of screens
- Inserts, illustrations and references to resources
- Aiming for basic levels of understanding

## Framing Issues

- Essentially determined by principal context of Maori mission
- Historical issues and prejudices

## Contrasts

- Support for Maori mission and overseas mission not from same people
- Change of generations meant new flavour of missions
- Yet voluntary societies are important

## Awkward Bits

- Need to contain Melanesian mission with its very different flavour
- Need to contain Catholic missions and orders and different flavour
- Need to contain women's missions with their flavour

## Bridges to Cross

- evangelicalism
- denominations as competitive but not enemies
- Catholic-Protestant divide
- links with politics and social concern
- religious diversity

## Language for Missiology

- Civilize and convert, westernise
- Selwyn's view of church-based
- The voluntary society
- Revival waves
- Monotheism
- Conversion
- Social transformation
- Need to give agency to people

## Screen 1: Evangelical



Wesley's Holy Club

- Information on CMS formation

- Text explains a movement and its origins and precursors
- Text explains why Protestant overseas missions began in 1790s
- Text has to explain catholicism and Christendom

## Screen 2: Marsden and Missions



Russell Clark, Christmas Day 1814 (1964)

Marsden's Cross at Rangihoua today

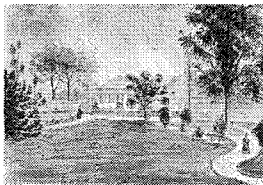
- Box on first service in New Zealand?
- Picture of Christmas Day 1814
- Box on Ruatara

- Debate in Australia on Marsden
- His background
- LMS to Pacific and his links
- Choice of missionaries and theory of mission
- Kendall's fall
- 'Native reactions'



Kendall, Hongi & Waikato

## Screen 3: The Williams Years



Williams house at Paihia

- Bible translation
- Missions and shipping

"Power of God's Word" H & W Williams give out bibles

- Henry Williams, wife and brother and wife
- Growing missionary team
- Williams and his land purchases
- Women and mission



## Screen 4: Methodist Mission

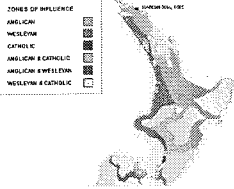


Picture of Wesleydale, Whangaroa

- Burning of Boyd

- Samuel Leigh, Tonga/New Zealand mission of Wesleyans
- Whangaroa and its sack
- New mission in Mangungu & Hokianga
- Struggles within mission

## Screen 5: Breakthrough



- Box on first converts
- Box on Tarore story

- First converts
- Spreading from Bay of Islands
- Comity of missions
- Growth in mission team
- Explaining the peace and reading theories of conversions

## Screen 6: Catholic Mission

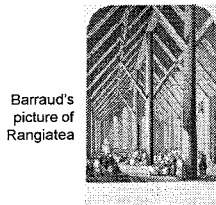


Pompallier's bones at Whaiora, Auckland

- Pompallier's bones

- Reasons for Catholic mission
- Extent of Catholic missions
- Marist origins and Pompallier
- Pompallier's mission strategy
- Appeal of Catholics

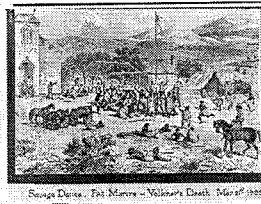
## Screen 7: Treaty and Trouble



- Melanesian Mission
- Rangiata Church and Te Rauparaha

- Role of missionaries in Treaty and enforcement
- Arrival of Selwyn and his different views to Wesleyans and CMS
- Crisis for Williams
- Settlers and missions

## Screen 8: Maori Converts and Questions



Volkner's death from Illustrated London News

- Box on Volkner and Mokomoko and New Zealand prayer book

- Maori missionaries and catechists
- Decline in Maori support
- Bible completion
- King Movement's religious roots
- Withdrawal of missionaries, death of Volkner and Whiteley



Rota Waitoa, first Maori Priest

## Screen 9: Missionaries and Settlers



Rua Kenana and JG Laughton 1918

- Boxes on Laughton and Rua
- Box on Ratana and the missionaries

- Withdrawal of CMS
- Disappointment of Williams & Waiapu Diocese
- New Catholic missions
- Settler hostility to missionary defence of Maori
- Presbyterian Mission and Rua

## Screen 10: Overseas Missions



- Alexander Don and Chinese

- Melanesian Mission
- Patteson's death
- Presbyterians and New Hebrides
- Methodist Pacific links
- Women and missions
- The appeal of China and India
- Maori missionaries?

## Summary

- Bibliography
- Recognition of work  
undone



White Sunday in Auckland

## PROPOSED ILLUSTRATIONS AND TEXT BOXES FOR MISSIONARIES PAGES IN TE ARA:

### SCREEN ONE

**Text Box:** The London Missionary Society in the Pacific: The Missionary Society, as it was initially called (there were no rivals) was formed in 1795. They sent a group of 30 missionaries to the 'South Seas' on the Duff, beginning in Tahiti. They welcomed people from all churches, and their famous missionaries included John Williams (killed in Erromanga in 1839, David Livingstone in Africa and Robert Morrison in China. It was later essentially an organisation of the Congregational Churches.

**Picture:** Foundation of Church Missionary Society. Picture as in <http://webarchive.cms-uk.org/yes/1999/AMJ/new%20society.htm>

**Caption:** Picture of the meeting of the Eclectic Society, forming The Society for Missions to Africa and the East (the original name of the Church Missionary Society), at the Castle and Falcon Inn, Aldersgate Street, London, 12 April 1799: This was a group of evangelical Anglican clergy, chaired by John Venn rector of Clapham, and the group includes 16 clergy and 9 lay people. The first officers included William Wilberforce and John Newton of *Amazing Grace* fame. They recognised that an exclusively Anglican Society would give less offence to the Anglican bishops.

Alternative picture [already used in NZHistory.net but it is a nice one!]

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=32726&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=32726&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

**Caption:** CMS hymns about New Zealand showing people learning in school about the bible. This illustration shows the way in which images of missionary work served to confirm the notions of the transforming and civilizing effect of conversion even for 'natives', who, one may observe, are not dressed in European clothes.

### SCREEN TWO

**DNZB:** Marsden, Samuel; Kendall, Thomas; Hongi Hika, Ruatara; Te Pahi

**Illustrations:**

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=19254&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=19254&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

**Caption:** 1913 engraving recreating the arrival of Marsden at Rangihoua on 19 December 1814.

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=31499&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=31499&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

**Caption:** Rangihoua: This picture which exaggerates the height of the hill, shows the pa as it existed when the mission was begun but the drawing dates from the 1850s.

[http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/DruMars-fig-DruMars\\_P006a.html](http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/DruMars-fig-DruMars_P006a.html)

**Caption:** The KeriKeri mission station, the second station of the CMS founded in 1819. This picture by a French observer shows the early buildings including the stone store and James Kemp's house. [to be honest I don't know where the book got the illustration from but this is the clearest one. Other more familiar options follow.]

OR

[note for this illustration that there are copies with different attribution to Ambroise Tardieu at Auckland Art Gallery and WTU.]

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=21921&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=21921&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object) OR

<http://collection.aucklandartgallery.govt.nz/collection/results.do?view=detail&db=object&id=7385>

**Caption:** Antoine Chazal's picture of the mission station at Kidikidi [Kerikeri] in 1824.

OR

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=27230&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=27230&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

**Caption:** Kiddeekiddee (Kerikeri) in 1830. By this time the stone store had been erected so that supplies for the growing number of missionary stations could be held and accounted for. In this drawing James Kemp's house and the stone store are evident.

[You may also like a reference to NZETC: Butler's diary.]

**Text Box:** [should you want one. You could also use the account of the service in Marsden's journals.]

Christmas Day in New Zealand: Probably a number of the ships (particularly the French ships) that had visited New Zealand held services on board ship when in New Zealand waters although no reports have been discovered. Cook is likely to have led a service for his crew every Sunday. However Marsden's service at Oihi was probably the first on land and was the first where any attempt was made to include Maori. Marsden followed the readings for Christmas Day in the



Anglican Prayer Book and attempted to speak a few words in Maori, and deliberately chose the day as a significant one in the Christian calendar, as the coming of Christ. Many artists have imagined the scene, and the site now has a significant memorial on it and more is planned for the bicentenary in 2014.

### SCREEN THREE

**DNZB:** Chapman, Anne Marie and Thomas; Clarke, George; Williams, Henry; Williams, Jane; Williams, Marianne; Williams, William

**Text Box:** Darwin on the Missionaries: [from the Voyage of the Beagle, chapter 18, I suggest the entry for December 21<sup>st</sup> and the end of December 23<sup>rd</sup> and Christmas Day.] [Another possibility could be part of one of Marianne's missionary journals, if we need to highlight the gendered perspective.]

**Illustrations** [several alternatives, some could form a sequence]

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm RC=REPO02DB&pm OI=19608&pm GT=Y&pm IAC=Y&api 1=GET OBJECT XML&num result=0&Object Layout=viewimage object>

**Caption:** The Power of God's Word: Henry and William Williams point Maori to the Bible. Drawn 1856. This sketch is intended to emphasise the evangelical message of the missionaries.

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm RC=REPO02DB&pm OI=6533&pm GT=Y&pm IAC=Y&api 1=GET OBJECT XML&num result=0&Object Layout=viewimage object>

**Caption:** Passing through a swamp in New Zealand. A sketch by Henry Williams showing Henry Williams, John Morgan, AN Brown, and William Fairburn on the way to Matamata. The sketch gives some idea of how teams of missionaries would seek to pioneer new mission stations.

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm RC=REPO02DB&pm OI=73810&pm GT=Y&pm IAC=Y&api 1=GET OBJECT XML&num result=0&Object Layout=viewimage object>

**Caption:** This letter by Eruera Hongi to CMS missionaries asks for writing paper and requests missionaries to arrange for him to visit England. It is the oldest Maori holograph, c1825.

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm RC=REPO02DB&pm OI=88618&pm GT=Y&pm IAC=Y&api 1=GET OBJECT XML&num result=0&Object Layout=viewimage object>

**Caption:** Launch of the Herald in 1826 at Paihia. It was this ship, the vision of the former naval captain, Henry Williams, which enabled the mission to spread beyond the Bay of Islands. Sketch by Philip Walsh.

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm RC=REPO02DB&pm OI=32553&pm GT=Y&pm IAC=Y&api 1=GET OBJECT XML&num result=0&Object Layout=viewimage object>

**Caption:** Paihia Mission station as portrayed by Louis Auguste de Sainson, (1836).

[There is an alternative image maybe by Henry Williams in 1843:

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm RC=REPO02DB&pm OI=33165&pm GT=Y&pm IAC=Y&api 1=GET OBJECT XML&num result=0&Object Layout=viewimage object>

## SCREEN FOUR

**DNZB entries:** John Hobbs, Samuel Leigh, Marianne Gittos, Eruera Maihi Patuone, William White, [Samuel Lawry] John Whiteley

### Illustration:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an9131032>

**Caption:** The Rev. J. Waterhouse superintending the landing of the missionaries, Rev. Charles & Mrs Creed at Taranaki, New Zealand painted by George Baxter, (London : Published by George Baxter, [1844]). While the image is somewhat romantic it is very expressive of the glamour attached to the heroism of the missionaries.

### I suggest a sequence of pictures of Wesleyan mission stations:

(1) Wesleydale Kaeo Whangaroa 1827: [http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/Gov10\\_12Rail-fig-Gov10\\_12Rail023a.html](http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/Gov10_12Rail-fig-Gov10_12Rail023a.html)

(2) Mangungu Mission station Hokianga from WTu. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/northland-region/6/3>

(1) <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an2938536> • Hoyte, J. C. (John Clark), 1835-1913. Rev. James Buller's mission station, N.Z. [picture] [ca. 1870] 1 watercolour ; 39.3 x 53.8 cm. [Taingataroa];

(2) Waingaroa (Raglan) 1850s:

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm RC=REPO02DB&pm OI=60427&pm GT=Y&pm IAC=Y&api 1=GET OBJECT XML&num result=0&Object Layout=viewimage object>

## SCREEN FIVE

We really need a map of the mission locations – there is a nice one in the 1966 encyclopedia. And in the Historical Atlas

**Text Box:** We could take the Tarore story from my book bible and society. See also

<http://biblesociety.org.nz/the-tarore-story/> or [http://www.monumentalstories.gen.nz/bio\\_27.html](http://www.monumentalstories.gen.nz/bio_27.html)

**Text box:** Table of total number of CMS missionaries 92 males in all, 42 ordained, as per *Mission and Moko*, ed. R.M. Glen, p. 34:

8 in agriculture, 25 tradesmen, 5 in nautical industry, 1 clerk, 18 teachers, 2 military officers, 7 professionals, 42 clergy, 2 family members.

**DNZB:** Alfred Nesbit Brown, Charlotte Brown, Colenso, Elizabeth, Colenso, William Hadfield, Octavius; Kissling, Margaret; Maunsell, Robert; Morgan, John; Rymill, Mary Anne; Taylor, Richard; Yate, William

### Illustrations:

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm RC=REPO02DB&pm OI=42061&pm GT=Y&pm IAC=Y&api 1=GET OBJECT XML&num result=0&Object Layout=viewimage object>

**Caption:** Distribution of bibles at Taranaki about 1850. The Wesleyan missionaries provide the bibles in exchange for kumera. The illustration from the Working Men's educational Union.

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm RC=REPO02DB&pm OI=505&pm GT=Y&pm IAC=Y&api 1=GET OBJECT XML&num result=0&Object Layout=viewimage object>

**Caption:** the baptism of Te Ngahue a rangatira on his deathbed at Te Arika Lake Tarawera by Rev Thomas Chapman on 29 December 1849 by CC Clarke, A CMS illustration in 1851. Some of the early baptisms were at the time of death, concerned by the Christian perspective of the afterlife.

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm RC=REPO02DB&pm OI=25027&pm GT=Y&pm IAC=Y&api 1=GET OBJECT XML&num result=0&Object Layout=viewimage object>

**Caption:** A.N. Brown makes peace between warring tribes at Tauranga in 1852 – an illustration in the Church Missionary Society Gleaner, 1884.

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=40055&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=40055&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

**Caption:** Maori gather for celebration of the Lord's Supper by CMS missionaries at Orona, Taupo, 1845. This is a striking indication of the stark features of the new religion with the plain dress of the Anglican minister.

IF OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS ARE NEEDED HERE ARE SOME OF THE CHAPELS OF THE CMS:

(1) <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an2939027>

Caption: Grubb, Alexander, 1842-1925. The Mission Church, Te Papa, January, 1865 [picture] 1865. 1 watercolour ; 13.8 x 22.5 cm.

(2) Waimate North: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an9129628> Church mission station at the Waimate in New Zealand [picture]. [London? : s.n., 183-?] 1 print : wood engraving ; 10.1 x 14.8 cm

(3) Mission Station and church and Waimate 1844:

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=72440&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=72440&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

(4) Thames photo in 1867:

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=13759&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=about\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=13759&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=about_object)

## SCREEN SIX

**DNZB:** Jean Lampila, Louis Catherin Servant, Jean Baptiste Pompallier

**Box:** if you want an interesting piece why not a brief photo essay on the return of Pompallier's bones [see website <http://hokiangapompallier.org.nz/?q=node/7>

## Illustrations:

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm RC=REPO02DB&pm OI=41228&pm GT=Y&pm IAC=Y&api 1=GET OBJECT XML&num result=0&Object Layout=viewimage object>

Caption: Pompallier as he was at the time of his consecration as bishop on 30 June 1836. Drawn by Meunier.

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm RC=REPO02DB&pm OI=82494&pm GT=Y&pm IAC=Y&api 1=GET OBJECT XML&num result=0&Object Layout=viewimage object>

Caption: Edward Ashworth's illustration of a Catholic priest in cassock and biretta with Maori converts in the Auckland region about 1844.

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm RC=REPO02DB&pm OI=21470&pm GT=Y&pm IAC=Y&api 1=GET OBJECT XML&num result=0&Object Layout=viewimage object>

Caption: St Mary's Church Otaki, photographed c1886.

## SCREEN SEVEN

DNZB: George Clarke, William Hobson, George Augustus Selwyn,

**Rangiatea**, the great Maori church with the dimensions of a cathedral, was built in Otaki by Octavius Hadfield with the co-operation of Te Rauparaha. A single totara provided the massive spine of the church.

Illustration of Rangiatea: The famous Barraud image with Hadfield in the pulpit c 1852.

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm RC=REPO02DB&pm OI=15726&pm GT=Y&pm IAC=Y&api 1=GET OBJECT XML&num result=0&Object Layout=viewimage object>

\*\*\* Inside the Turanga Church (Gisborne), William Williams' church, built in 1851. Notice the plain style of the CMS.

<http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm RC=REPO02DB&pm OI=25026&pm GT=Y&pm IAC=Y&api 1=GET OBJECT XML&num result=0&Object Layout=viewimage object>

\*\*\* Arrival of T.S. Grace and his wife at Pukawa Lake Taupo March 1855. An illustration in the Church Missionary Gleaner.

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=93625&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=93625&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

Images: Richard Taylor's station at Maraitai

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=39653&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=39653&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

\*\*\* Bishop Selwyn examining Maori for confirmation at Rangitikei, February 1855. Drawn by Richard Taylor.

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=39717&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=39717&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

Turanga Archdeacon Williams house in 1855.

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=1108&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=1108&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

Something about Pakaraka where Williams based himself. [i HAVE A SET OF NICE PHOTOGRAPHS]

## SCREEN EIGHT

**DNZB:** Aubert, Mary Joseph; Baucke, Johann Friedrich Wilhelm, Colenso, Elizabeth; Grace, Thomas Samuel; Stack, James West; Te Atua Wera, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Hone Riiwi Toia, Rota Waitoa, Tamati Waka Nene, Eruera Maihi Patuone, Papahurihia, Penetena; Williams, William Leonard; Wohlers, Eliza; Wohlers, JFH; Lawry, Samuel; Whiteley, John

Story: How Volkner and Mokomoko are both in the NZ Prayerbook (published in the late 1980s).

[See entry for 2 March on Anglican Saints list

<http://www.anglican.org.nz/Liturgical%20Resources/Other%20Liturgical%20Resources/FATSweb/fatscal.html>

Photographs: Benjamin Yate's Mission School at Taupiri 1859:

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=1108&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=1108&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=15590&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=15590&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

\*\*\* Tamihana Te Rauparaha at St John's College in 1845. He was trained as a missionary at the Islington College of the CMS.

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=20925&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=20925&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

\*\*\* Missionary meeting at Kaitia with money given by Maori rangatira, Veili 1856, with William Puckey and Joseph Matthew looking on.

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=19607&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&&Object\\_Layout=about\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=19607&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&&Object_Layout=about_object)

Ruapake Island Mission Southland 1881.

<http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/ObjectDetails.aspx?oid=22978&coltype=Photography&regno=C.015907>

Riemenschneider's station, Warea 1850 on Te Ara (link) <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/taranaki/3/1>

Potiki-tiki-tike at Ruatahuna

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=63845&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&&Object\\_Layout=about\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=63845&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&&Object_Layout=about_object)

Morgan's house at Otawhao Waikato 1847.

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=96815&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=96815&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

Cuthbert Clarke's image of the Matamata CMS church on 15 December 1849 showing Maori worshippers.

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=656&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=656&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

\*\* Turanga Mission under William Williams flourished among Ngati Porou, and this artist conveys the people at worship in very plain CMS style in 1852.

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=12918&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=12918&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

\*\* In the 20<sup>th</sup> century a Maori Mission choir would tour New Zealand Methodist churches raising money for churches. Here is Inia Te Wiata on such a tour in 1932.

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=20892&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=20892&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

## SCREEN NINE

**DNZB:** John Inglis; Kathleen Hall, Annie James Jean Begg, Elizabeth Colenso

**Pictures:** The Melanesian Mission's barque Southern Cross, 1881.

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=15738&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=15738&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

Melanesian Mission at Mission Bay in 1860:

[http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm\\_RC=REPO02DB&pm\\_OI=53600&pm\\_GT=Y&pm\\_IAC=Y&api\\_1=GET\\_OBJECT\\_XML&num\\_result=0&Object\\_Layout=viewimage\\_object](http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object.xslt&pm_RC=REPO02DB&pm_OI=53600&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_result=0&Object_Layout=viewimage_object)

Add illustrations of Presbyterian overseas mission from the Presbyterian archives:

<http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/photogallery9/page1.htm> for China;

<http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/photogallery16/page1.htm> for the New Hebrides.