

Peacemaking in the Musket Wars

- the impact of the Christian Gospel.



"For I know the plans I have for you," declares the Lord,
"Plans to prosper you (shalom/peace/health) and not to harm
you (not for evil but good), plans to give you hope and a
future (aharit/what comes after)"
- Jeremiah 29:11

Whakatauki: "*Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua*"
*My past is my present is my future, I walk backwards into the
future, with my eyes fixed on my past*

Musket Wars circa 1807- 1840

- 3000 inter-tribal battles, raids, skirmishes
 - 30+ years utu = displacement by fear and force
 - Old grievances ignited, new alliances forged
- A myth to assume peaceful golden age pre-muskets
- Up to 90% of all known societies engage in war.
 - Tribal warfare 20x more deadly than 20th century warfare
 - Casualty rate up to 60% compared to 1% in modern warfareWar Before Civilization: the Myth of the Peaceful Savage, Keeley 1996
- Maori engaged in multi-generational inter-tribal wars



Scholars challenge peacemaking role?

- Belich, Wright etc
 - Christianity flourished after peace was made
 - Wright: Christianity didn't cause decline in wars
 - Belich: 'peace ... made Christianity more than Christianity ... made peace'.
 - Echoes of, ending cannibalism/slavery simply good ideas



Sources: H. Wright, *New Zealand, 1769-1840*, pp 180-181, Belich, James, *Making Peoples*, p 168

- The evidence is unconvincing.
- I propose:
Missionary involvement 1814-1840
pivotal to peace, renewed prosperity & Treaty



Painfully interwoven histories

- **1805-06:** Marsden befriends Te Pahi & sons in NSW
- **Te Pahi stays with Gov Gidley King for 3 months**
 - Given prefab house, tools, seeds, plants, stock & medal
- **1809: Boyd burning & wrongful killing of Te Pahi**
 - Missionary plans delayed 5-years (musket use)
- **Easter 2014: Te Pahi's medal to be auctioned, Sydney.**
 - Maori protest outside Southeby's; injunction filed
- **Nga Pahi spokesperson Deidre Brown:** The pre-fab house and medal symbolised the promise of "an equitable inter-cultural relationship that we were robbed of in the confusion which followed the Boyd attack".
- **Gospel Bicentennial right time for taonga to return**
- **Te Papa & Auckland Museum won it for \$NZ400,000**



Advance party sets scene

- **June 1814: John Hall & Thomas Kendall arrive**
 - Fruit trees, wheat, potatoes, chooks, flour mill.
 - Seal the deal with Ruatara for mission station
- **Ruatara introduced them to uncle Hongi**
 - A commander of 600 fighting men
- **Kendall describes him:** "a man of mild disposition... remarkably steady and decent in his outward behaviour". A musket with; another 11 elsewhere
- **Hall & Kendall promise mission families will love the people, teach children, if protected**



Moving into musket mode

- **1790s: Muskets traded for flax, timber, pigs, potatoes**
 - Initially for killing birds and pigs
- **1807: First use of muskets in wartime**
 - Ngati Whatua attack Ngapuhi at Maunganui Bluff
 - Slow reloading opens way for slaughter
 - Hongi Hika loses two brothers and an uncle
 - Survives by hiding in a swamp
- **Hongi determined to acquire & master muskets**
- **1812-1815: Undisputed Ngapuhi warlord**
 - Leads wars parties against northern rivals
 - Takes slaves to raise crops to buy more muskets



Marsden's pre-Christmas peacemaking

- **Marsden overnight with Whangaroa iwi who sacked Boyd**
 - Mediation, gifts, forgiveness, ends utu with Te Pahi's tribe
- **Christmas Day 1814:** Marsden's 'Good news' to all people
- **March 1815:** Ruatara dies. Hongi Hika mission protector
- **Rangihoua unsuitable:** Maori provide security, travel, supplies.
- **Missionaries unprepared, fearful and exploited**
- **Gospel dismissed as 'an idle tale':** '...blankets if we believe?'
- **Kendall sets precedent; muskets for supplies.**
- **Marsden condemns this**
 - CMS agree only if no alternative
 - Kendall and Hall interpret this liberally



Missionary meltdown...Hongi's crackdown



- **King no longer making shoes for Kendall;**
 - Hall, builds own house refuses to build for the others
- **Jane Kendall has affair with freed convict-servant.**
- **Kendall emotionally broken**
 - Prefers Māori company researching culture
- **1818: Hongi attacks Ngati Whatua.**
 - Destroys 50 villages to Tolaga Bay, 2000 slaves.
- **1819: Brown Bess muskets + bayonets** (ex Nap wars)
 - Hongi's attacks = massacres, potatoes & dried heads
- **1819: Attacks Ngati Porou: 2000 slaves.**



Lost in translation

- **March 1820: Kendall, Hongi & Waikato go to England**
 - Despite Marsden refusing permission
- **King George IV parades Hongi & Waikato in court**
 - Contradicts missionary stories of peace and morality
 - Denies Marsden's ban on musket sales
 - Shows Hongi the Woolwich armament stores
 - Talks of Napoleonic wars & parades troops
 - Discusses extramarital affairs/planned divorce
 - Hongi boasts of his several wives
- **Hongi chest of gifts inc chain mail + 2 muskets**
 - Waikato given helmet + 1 musket
- **Kendall and Prof Samuel Lee complete first Maori vocabulary/ dictionary**
 - Despite CMS opposition gets ordained (NZ only)



Hongi's true colours revealed

- **Sydney June 1821: Hongi stops Thames chiefs going to London**
 - Bad for his health...but he has other plans in mind
- **Hongi uplifts 500 muskets, bayonets, swords, powder and ball***
 - Sells King George's gifts plus 16000ha in Hokianga
 - Kendall helps broker these shady acquisitions
- **Baron Charles De Thierry imagined 'King of New Zealand'**
 - Also patron of a French colony (sold alleged deed to French)
- **1837: After debtors jail De Thierry tried to claim the land**
 - Chiefs Patuone and Waka Nene gave him 40ha out of pity
 - He ended up as piano teacher in Auckland



* King / Moon

Hongi's relentless revenge

- **1814: A musket = 150 baskets potatoes + 8 pigs.**
- **1822: 70 buckets potatoes + 2 pigs.** (King)
- **Hongi annoyed with the missionaries**
 - Insists all Maori labour, supplies paid in muskets
- **1821: Musket Wars in overdrive.**
 - Hongi adds 500 muskets to existing arsenal
 - Often fronts troops in King George's chainmail
 - Attacks Thames with 2000 men in 50 waka
 - Attacks Tamaki kills 2000 warriors + families
 - Waikato outguns Nga Puhi.
 - They join forces against Te Awara (Rotorua)



Hongi Hika: From a wood engraving by Arnold Frederick Goodwin, ATL



The great scattering

- **1824: Ngati Whatua forced from Tamaki Makaurau**
- becomes an uninhabited buffer zone
- **Cannibal feasts follow massacres** at Thames, Waikato, Rotorua and Hokianga
- **1000s killed or taken into slavery**
- **1810 - late-1830s:**
Te Rauparaha (from Kawhia),
Te Wherowhero & Te Waharoa (Waikato),
Te Heuheu (Taupo) and other chiefs create fear across the motu displacing many tribes

Balance of power & boundaries changed



Seeds of a literary revolution.

- Nov **1820**: 500 x Lee & Kendall's *Grammar and Vocabulary of NZ* to mission schools (Lord's Prayer + reprints)
- **Schools now have basis for translation and teaching**
- **From 1819: Wesleyans work with CMS on Bible translation:**
'Every believer should have a Bible.'
- **Increase in children, youth, slaves at mission schools**
- **Missionaries still landlocked in Far North**
- Promising baptism candidates join war parties
- Schools frequently disrupted by warfare



Second wave of missionaries

Henry Williams takes firm hand

- **1823: New CMS head sorts out the mess**
- With Marsden on 4th visit (Kendall sacked)
- **Naval officer: Brings stability, discipline, direction**
- 'Gospel first' not Marsden's 'civilise first'
- Transformation via literacy & Bible translation
- Ends musket trade, mission becomes self sustaining
- **Wins chiefly respect/mana as bold peacemaker**
- Steps between warring tribes, reasons with chiefs
- Builds relationships in other territories for future mission work
- **From 1825: First baptisms increase interest in school-Gospel**
- Maori becoming literate and reciting from Bible

William Williams champions te reo

- **1826: William Williams. Scholarly surgeon**
- Head of schooling & WMS/CMS Bible translation
- Worked on *Kawenata Hou* + dictionary:
"He appears not to learn it; it seems to flow naturally from him," said Henry
- **Early translations of Bible books, prayers, hymns etc printed in London.** Distributed through mission schools
- **Hongi's constant warring prevents mission expanding**
- **1827: Wesleydale mission at Kaeo burned by Hongi's rivals**
- Wesleyans return to England / CMS consider abandoning work.
- Few qualify for baptism. Evidence required of change of heart.



Dark hours before the dawn

- **Jan 1827: Hongi shot in chest reclaiming Whangaroa land**
 - March 6, 1828. Dies 14 months from infection
 - Calls William Williams but not interested in spiritual advice
 - "All was midnight darkness"
- **Post Hongi: Ngapuhi chiefs actively seek missionary mediation**
 - Often takes days but Northern outbreaks mostly averted
- **1830-31: Maori acquisition of muskets escalates** (saturation 1828 onward)
 - Musket, powder & ball 40% of all trade from Sydney (Ulrich 1970)
 - NSW Customs reports 8,000 muskets, 72,000 pounds of gun powder, 42,000 flints, plus shot, balls, flasks and belts imported from Australia
 - Mostly ex Napoleonic Wars sold to Maori by sealers and whalers*



Source: John Osborne, 4 July 2007

Maori missionaries lead the way

- **Slaves released after attending Far North mission schools**
 - Paihia, Waimate North, Te Kaeo, Hokianga
- **October 1833: At Thames with 200 Māori**
 - Astonished they knew hymns and responses to prayers
 - Many asked for books and slates for ongoing instruction.
- **1834: Henry Williams; 1000 at church near Gisborne**
 - Influenced by Ngati Porou chief Piripi Taumata-a-kura
 - 20-years peace between Ngati Porou and Whanau a Apanui
- **April 1835: Tamihana Te Waharoa converted**
 - Son of Ngatihaua warlord Te Waharoa
 - Reading, writing, teaching in 6 months
 - Continues teaching after missionaries attacked
 - **1838 – 1846: Peria Village (*Bereans) 10 Commandments**



William Colenso Printer, missionary, botanist

- After 20-years of joint WMS/CMS translation work
- **30 Dec 1834, Paihia, aged 23 with Stanhope press**
- **Oops!! No imposing-stone, brass rules or paper**
- **Improvised. 7 weeks = 25 Maori x Philippians & Ephesians using missionary's stationary.**
- **Dec 1835: 1000 x Luke** (Te Ruka).
- **1837: 5000 copies of Kawenata Hou**
- **1838: 10,000 more produced in England etc etc**
- **Maori literacy revolution underway**
- **Huge Demand for Bibles, teachers, writing materials**



Hohepa Ripahau (aka Matahau) Evangelist, storyteller, peacemaker

- **Ngati Raukawa slave returning to Waikanae**
- **Oct 1836: Attack on Rev Brown's Matamata station**
 - **Tarore**, 12-year old daughter of a Waikato chief
 - **Wiremu Ngakuku** (Maihi/ a preacher) killed trying to escape
- **Paora Te Uita of Te Arawa (Rotorua) takes Gospel of Luke**
- **Ripahau reads Luke** (Prodigal Son, Samaritan) **to him**
 - **Te Uita** asks forgiveness from Tarore's dad (unknown concept)
 - Peace confirmed between Waikato - Rotorua.
- **1838: At Otaki, Ripahau teaches Tamihana (Katu) Te Rauparaha, Matene Te Whiwhi and others**

Matamata Anglican church





Kapiti Bible College

- **1839:** Kapiti cousins go to Paihia.
- **Sickly 24-year old Hadfield offers to go:**
'... I may as well die there as here.'
- Responsibility from Taranaki to Stewart Is
- **Hadfield befriends & defends Maori:**
- becomes 'Conscience of the nation'



- **1843:** Tamihana & Te Whiwhi seek forgiveness from Ngai Tahu, preach, confirm peace with "the words of the Gospel of the Lord".

Kapiti Island Bible College founders: Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matene Te Whiwhi-o-te-rangi (plus Ripahau, Riwai Te Ahu, Rota Waitoa and 6 others)

A neglected Christian heritage

- **Musket Wars peaked between 1822 -1836**
- Most serious activity in 1832-33 ravaging country
- Over 30-years at least 20,000 Maori lives lost
- More New Zealanders than any other war (1)
- **Maori evangelised themselves** (North & South)
- Piriipi Taumata a Kura (1834) & Rawiri Kingi (1838)
- Done in a way that made cultural/practical sense
- **1836: The most successful mission field in world**
- **1839: NZ Company buys "everything to skyline"**
- British hand forced after 26 years of mission work
- 1840: Treaty of Waitangi (protect Maori)
- **By 1840 less than 2000 Europeans in the country**
- 90,000 – 110,000 Maori and rapidly diminishing
- 50%- 80% had made some Christian commitment.



1) Michael King, History of New Zealand, Penguin, p139
2) George Clark, Protector of Aborigines, 1849, in Davidson and Lineham, Transplanted Christianity, 1989, p.47

What ended the Musket Wars?

- **Peace doesn't just happen**
- Smartly constructed and heavily defended pas?
- Military parity between the main warlords?
- Depletion of resources and sheer exhaustion? Arrival of settlers?
- From 1823 Henry Williams challenged chiefs/warring tribes
- **1827: Post-Hongi Hika, Maori actively seek mediation**
- Conflicts ended, avoided, minimised through trust & reasoning
- Negotiation on equitable terms / Breaking the utu cycle
- Gifting disputed land in trust (buffer zone/ contentious)
- Communications revolution. Many Maori more literate than settlers
- **1834/5: Flag/ Independence** (sense of emerging nationhood)



Eye for eye vs Love thy neighbour

- **Utū (reciprocity/ generosity or revenge)**
- Payback for offence, injury, breach tapu (sacred/ set apart) etc
- No concept of mutual forgiveness (Haami)
- Closest is muru (plunder/ property or goods to compensate)
- **Forgiveness: Faith-based (trust) intervention nullifies guilt and blame**
- Paying it forward; 'love thy neighbour as thyself';
- 'do unto others.' (Matt 7:12/Luke 6:31)
- Peter asked Jesus 'how many times ...Up to seven times?' He answered, 'not seven times, but seventy-seven times.' (Matt 18:21-22).
- **Our forgiveness comes from our painful history...**An apology, forgiveness, leads on to the greatest prize, which is reconciliation."
- **Sir Paul Reeves**, deputy chairman of the Port Nicholson Block Settlement Trust, on reading first statement of forgiveness from an iwi to the Crown ahead of \$25m settlement, 31 July 2009



Impact of the Christian Gospel (pre-1814-1840+)

- **Created space for peacemaking, reconciliation**
- **Catalyst for moral and social change**
 - Faith in one God (Io, Atua, Matua, Ihoa, Jehovah)
 - Reconciliation work of Ihu Karaiti (ultimate mediator)
 - End of class system: All equally loved
 - Slaves freed, rules of war changed. Cannibalism ended
 - Cycle of fear/superstition tapu/spirits/curses challenged
 - Renewed focus on tribal stability/ economics / trading
- Too much focus on Maori as compliant and gullible and missionaries as agents of cultural destruction and colonisation, rather than celebrating the pre-Treaty transformation that resulted in relative peace across the country.



To Maori, the Musket Wars dislocation is present history and context for 'Walking backward into the future.....'

Treaty settlements? "Blessed are the peacemakers", Matthew 5:9



At right, Glad Tidings, Paula Nowak (2009)