

MORMONISM IN A MAORI VILLAGE
A study in Social Change

by

ERIK GABRIEL SCHWIMMER
M.A., Victoria University of Wellington, 1949

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
M.A.

in the Department
of
Anthropology and Sociology

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

May, 1965

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Anthropology and Sociology

The University of British Columbia,
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date 31 May 1965

ABSTRACT

This is a descriptive account of Mormonism in a Maori community in New Zealand. Though this millennial movement has had a deep impact on the community, elements of the traditional religion and social structure continue to function, so that behaviour may be legitimized by either of two cultural systems. While the chapters on church organization, belief and ritual, and the teaching of values focus upon Mormonism, traditional aspects of culture and society have been given some attention and contradictions between the two systems are shown in some detail. An attempt has been made to demonstrate that specific crises in the community are leading to a progressive acceptance of Mormonism. The Church makes less drastic demands upon the Maori than the dominant white society, but these demands seem to provide for the minimum of social change needed by the people of Whangaruru to cope adequately with the socio-economic problems that are facing them. The Maori Mormon combines in his self-concept the ideals of rapid modernization and of sacral linkage with tribal ancestors.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	1
General Survey	23
Church organization	47
Religious Life in Modern Whangaruru	77
The Bipolar Value System	105
The Process of Change	131
Conclusion	152
List of Books Quoted	156
Appendices	
o Appendix I: Map of Whangaruru	161
Appendix II: Maori Population of Whangaruru by localities, census data 1936-1961	162
Appendix III: Utilisation of Maori Land in Whangaruru District	163
Appendix IV: Age and sex distribution: Maori of Whangaruru	164
Appendix V: Maori religious affiliations	165
Appendix VI: Chart of Mormon Church organization in the Northland District	166

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work utilizes part of the field data I collected during my stay in Whangaruru in 1960-1961. Analysis of these data was begun while I was still in New Zealand and in submitting this first instalment of my research report in the form of a thesis, I should mention the help I received. Generous financial support from the Maori Purposes Fund Board enabled me to do the fieldwork and to write a first version of the report. A number of New Zealand scholars gave me advice and guidance, notably Prof. E. Beaglehole, Prof. R. Piddington, Prof. J. E. Ritchie and Dr J. Forster. The Turnbull Library gave extremely valuable help in the collection of sources for the historical aspect of the work. Though this aspect is dealt with only briefly here, it acted as a buttress to my entire argument. Finally, of course, I could not have organized the data with the degree of coherence they have now without the stimulus of study at U. B. C. I should also acknowledge my immense debt to the people of Whangaruru, but this may perhaps better be expressed later, on a more appropriate occasion.

E.G.S.

I

INTRODUCTION

I

This short work represents the beginning of the analysis of field material I collected in the Whangaruru district of New Zealand in 1960-61. The subjects of my study were 370 Maori most of whom belonged to the Mormon religion. Though this religion had been established in the district for over 70 years, a sudden revitalisation occurred shortly before my arrival. During my period in the field this resulted in rather far-reaching changes in the way of life of the community. The purpose of my study was to obtain data on the process of change which took the general shape of a mass conversion. I am using 'conversion' here in the traditional religious sense of a 'turning to God', and not in the more formal sense of a transfer of allegiance to a new faith.

As a result of conversion, people's thoughts turned not only to God, but also to a millennial future in which the burden of guilt would be lifted and racial equality would be achieved; to service in the church organization; and to the contemplation of a hereafter where they would meet their ancestors in the Celestial Kingdom. As a result of this belief, far reaching changes occurred in social relations, in philosophy and in values.

A Social anthropology cannot ignore structure, so that much of this work will be taken up with the establishing of a structural model of the social system. The structural

complexities of millennial movements have recently been greatly clarified by the works of Belshaw, Burridge, Jarvie and Lanternari¹ but as these authors do not always agree with one another I have to say briefly what my own approach has been.

I am not quite convinced by Jarvie's view that millennial movements cannot be studied within a structural-functional framework. In order to demonstrate this point he distinguishes between internally and externally caused change. Having established that millennial movements can be placed within the second category, he then proceeds to show that only the 'internal' category is capable of structural-functional explanation (Jarvie: 158). But I do not think the terms external/internal are quite as exclusive as he proposes.

Instead, I would follow Lanternari who says: 'Whenever external impact generates crisis, the society is internally placed before alternative choices between a traditional life already outdated by events and a new life to be elaborated inside the culture itself.'²

Burridge does not explicitly present this type of dialectic, but implies it. He depicts the roles developed as a result of colonisation in the form of a triangle, formed by the administration, the missions and Tangu themselves. All crucial relationships are perceived by Tangu as occurring in this triangle. These relationships are of two types; among

¹Authors underlined are included in the "List of Books Quoted".

²Lanternari 1960:295. The English translation published by Knöpf in 1963 has a vague paraphrase of this sentence on p.310. Italics are the author's. Regrettably, it is still necessary for accuracy to go to the Italian original.

the Tangu themselves they are oriented towards the ideal of amity and equivalence; between Tangu and the white groups, a colonial type of relationship prevails. The goal of the millennial movement is to establish amity and equivalence as a norm of interaction throughout the triangle. In so far as the ideas of the millennial movement derive from Christianity and therefore have what Jarvie calls an external source, they are still generated within the triangle which Burridge calls the Tangu social system. Ethnographic evidence shows that Lanternari's dialectic is a feature of interaction within this triangle.

Belshaw, Burridge and Jarvie see the behaviour of the cult followers as rational within the framework of their own cognitive system. They analyse this cognitive system in detail showing its affinity with earlier Melanesian systems and its logical coherence. In my own analysis I shall find it convenient to follow Talcott Parsons' distinction between a cultural and an action system. The cognitive symbol system, the expressive symbol system and the system of value orientation standards make up the main elements of culture. This is the source of value orientations which are institutionalised and internalised. A useful feature of this theory is that it recognises cultural patterns (of which Burridge's 'myth-dream' would be an example) which are not institutionalised or internalised but which are creative variants serving as objects of orientation. (Parsons & Shils: 182-3)

The usefulness of the concept of the myth-dream is acknowledged explicitly by Jarvie and implicitly by Belshaw

and Lanternari. The myth-dream is 'a body of notions derived from a variety of sources such as rumours, personal experiences, desires, conflicts and ideas about the total environment which find expression in myths, dreams, popular stories and anecdotes.' (Burridge: 27) The myth-dream makes intelligible, in terms of the cultural tradition, the intolerable situation that has arisen in the society. Externally generated crisis is a necessary precondition for a myth-dream in this sense. In the beginning, as Burridge indicates, it is a set of unstructured spontaneous creations, but 'over a period of time, which may be days, weeks, months, years or a generation parts of the myth-dream sift themselves into a relatively few demands or precepts which gain doctrinal, compulsive force as tension mounts.' Prior to the messianic movement, this remains strictly an innovation in the symbol system; it does not enter the 'action system'. This happens only later, through the mediation of the messiah.

Burridge's paradigm makes an important point about belief systems: far from being an 'automatic reflection' of the messiah's activities, the Tangu belief system was demonstrably anterior, but its institutionalisation and internalisation had to await the establishment of the millennial movement.

II

With this framework in mind, it is possible to give a fairly straightforward account of the history of Whangaruru

Mormonism. The myth-dream developed very early in the contact period: in the millennial movements of the Far North which started in the 1830's, in the Hauhau influences which reached the district in the 1880's and - in the most complete form - in the Io religion, which I shall discuss below.

It was nurtured in the wars, the severe epidemics, the disastrous economic instability and the constant deterioration of racial relations which characterised the period. It was associated with a loss of confidence in the orthodox mission religions, in particular Anglicanism which had become well-established in Whangaruru by 1840. (Henry Williams I:100, Maning 1868, Holmes 1921, Edward Williams 1872, Reed 1953: 79; 1936: 339; Carleton II: 294, 331)

When Mormon missionaries first visited Whangaruru in 1887, they were able to say that they had come to fulfil the Maori myth-dream. The god Io was known to them; the Mormon founder Joseph Smith had revealed that the Maori were children of Lehi, descendants of the Chosen People; like the ancient Maori, they raised their hands in prayer and they baptised by total immersion. But the missionaries had not come only to reiterate what the Maori already knew; they also had new and fuller, more precise millennial truths to reveal. To summarise a long story, it was on this basis that they were accepted, (Tatana, Zobell)

We should now consider how we can analyse the effect of the Mormon incursion on Whangaruru social structure.

There is fairly wide agreement today that structural

models need not be static. Certainly they contain only what is invariant, but they are 'event-structures' in time (Nadel 1957: 128-9) they should 'show the seeds of change in the apparently stable society' (Firth 1964:22). Levi-Strauss (1958:28-9) proposes: 'Even the analysis of synchronic structures implies a constant recourse to history. Only by showing institutions in transformation are we able to discover the structure underlying multiple formulations and enduring through a succession of events.'

This sums up very precisely the problem to be faced in analysing Whangaruru social structure. We find a useful approach to it in 'Political Systems of Highland Burma', where E. R. Leach built a model containing two alternative systems, the stratified gumsa and the egalitarian gumlao systems. Thus 'the facts under consideration at any one time will appear to belong to several quite different systems.' They present a persistent structured set of verbal categories and 'it is always in terms of such categories as these that Katchins seek to interpret (to themselves and to others) the empirical social phenomena which they observe around them.' (Leach 1964:xii-xiii)

Similarly, the Whangaruru Maori always had two systems to choose from, perceived by them as being 'old-time' and 'Mormon'.

These alternatives are open at all levels of the structure (Levi-Strauss 1958:305-6, 347-51; 1962:123), including the social, ritual, religious and philosophic levels.

At the level of social structure, for instance, each system contains its own concept of genealogy and of qualifications for leadership. At the ritual level, each has its own set of observances that are enjoined, permitted or forbidden; and contradiction between the two systems can arise, most notably in the conducting of funerals. At the religious level, the traditional system retains some of the pre-contact pantheon. To the Mormon, this is idolatry so that choices between contradictory beliefs can and do arise. Finally, on the philosophic level, we find for example two different epistemologies which can again conflict as there are types of 'revelation' (Maori term: matakite) which in the Maori system are a source of knowledge whereas in the Mormon system they are not.

In speaking here of a traditional and a Mormon system, we are using folk categories. Traits (such as hapu flags, Maori language bibles or the food called panikeke) may be demonstrably post-contact but still seen as definitely belonging to the traditional Maori category. Children would place them in that category spontaneously in school essays. These categories have, of necessity, a shifting content for as acculturation proceeds, any cultural element may be transferred from the modern to the traditional. Furthermore, there are elements of Mormonism which at present are not understood and therefore do not belong in the Whangaruru universe at all, though later they may enter it.

One of the elements of Mormonism that seems to have become firmly established is its conception of time. The Mormons believe in an eternally progressing universe in which a crucial event, due to occur in the not distant future, is the

coming of the millennium. The Maori often discuss among themselves how the world will be in the millennium. It is part of doctrine that the Maori will acquire a white skin and along with this, those aspects of the traditional order which are contradictory to Mormonism will disappear. To put this in a different way, they see the Mormon alternative in any choice situation as 'progressive' and the traditional Maori alternative as 'vanishing'. On this point, I collected a good deal of evidence in the form of informants' statements where this kind of conceptualisation occurred. I have not presented this evidence in the present work since my purpose is different.

It may well be argued that in the world of Whangaruru there were a number of influences other than Mormon ones and I have not accounted for this in the structural model. The significance of these influences for internal structure is perhaps best tested on the philosophical level: what propositions does the Whangaruru Maori regard as true? I would say there are only two categories of such propositions, namely those validated by the traditional system and those validated by Mormon authority. The Mormons teach that the secular schools, the secular medical services, the land development and housing schemes of the Department of Maori Affairs are good and should be supported. In this lies their ultimate legitimacy. The Church, as a matter of strict policy, supports the State. Unlike many other religious organizations, the Church of Latterday Saints never argues with the State. Thus there is contradiction between the two only where the State presumes to argue with the Church. Occasionally a government officer tries this, but without effect. It also

happens from time to time that one of the local farmers heap scorn on the Mormon attitude to the hereafter or to the prohibition on liquor and tobacco. Again, no sort of authority is assigned to such statements. Though the white population is constantly deeply influencing the situation, it does so from a distance, externally, therefore outside the Whangaruru social structure, whereas Mormonism has become part of the internal system. In order to show that this is so, I would need to analyse relationships with government officers and with the local white population, a task which again lies outside the subject of the present work, but would not be difficult with the field data available.

III

The Church of Latter Day Saints has spread the authority to perform sacraments much more widely than the orthodox Christian churches. Any adult male member in good standing can be ordained to the Melchidezek Priesthood, which entitles him to perform all the sacramental acts reserved in other churches to the professional clergy. But these 'elders' are not in the strict sense professionals, for they perform their religious duties part-time. (Wach:360f) Nonetheless they all possess charisma of office, so that the whole membership is held together, as one might say, by a web of charisma. Furthermore, the Mormon idea of religious life is wider than that of the orthodox churches: it is believed that in the millennium the dichotomy between sacred and secular

will fade and the church will control all aspects of human organization. At the present time, it recognizes the authority of the State in the sphere where the State claims primacy, but outside this, the Church still concerns itself with all the activities of its members. Thus it conducts subsidiary organizations in the social and economic sphere. To these organizations it ascribes a religious character; it exercises a very detailed control over their activities maintaining its characteristic power relationships. The authority of office-bearers in the organizations is perceived - at least in Whangaruru - as charismatic.

One feature of church administration is elaborate record-keeping of all activities, and the forwarding of these records to central authority. To this sacral significance is also ascribed, for these records - showing the activity of individual members - affect in some way a member's status in the hereafter. People in Whangaruru definitely felt that God was the ultimate receiver of these records. Thus, the demanding bureaucratic activities of church officers were also imbued with charisma.

It is paradoxical that in this church such a vast amount of formal preaching, organizing, bureaucratic and financial control occurs with hardly any professional or full-time servants. The church copes with this problem by its extremely detailed system of supervision, while concurrently it places high value on constant and pleasurable communication between the church workers at all the different levels. Thus,

a vast amount of time is given over to the maintaining of a communication system; indeed, a very large number of roles seem to have no other function than the communicating of instructions from one level to another. A sacred character is attributed to all messages that are thus communicated by church officers, so that our short sketch of the web of charisma is not complete until we include charismatic messages as well as charismatic persons, activities and records.

As a result of these factors, a very large proportion of the Church membership of all ages and sexes fulfil functions in the formal hierarchy. They are involved in it from two vantage points: as authority figures in some functions, as ordinary members in other functions. They learn to keep these two types of role separate. I shall discuss this phenomenon in more detail below, and am concerned here only to show the extent to which active members in Whangaruru experienced hierarchical organization; and also to suggest that their Church involvement, whatever form it took, was always participation in charisma.

Every organization has a system of belief which legitimates it and maintains a system of ritual determining aspects of role performance. In later chapters I shall deal with the organizational arrangements, beliefs and rituals of the Mormon Church. My present concern is to show that organization is to a striking extent an aspect both of Mormon belief and ritual. It is no accident that the Mormon sacred writings contain so many passages taken up with the details of Joseph Smith's administrative control over his

Church. It is in fact his model of the social structure of the millennium. The realising of this model is, to Church members, a religious task of the first importance.

Now the question arises how Whangaruru related itself to this aspect of the Mormon faith. We have seen, in a general way, that the church in Whangaruru was accepted because it provided an institution through which a pre-existing myth-dream could be realised. We have also seen that important parts of the Mormon system of belief and ritual responded to the content of the myth-dream. Can it be said that there was anything in the myth-dream presaging Joseph Smith's vision of the millennial social structure?

Curiously there was such content in the myth-dream, and it is found in the eschatology of the Io religion.

It is a debatable question whether this cult, celebrating the high god Io, is of pre-contact origin, nor is it important from the viewpoint of this essay. Johansen 1958 shows that no evidence at our disposal can either prove or disprove Io's antiquity. What concerns me here is to demonstrate that the Maori, from at least 1860 onwards, have had a divine charter for the institution of elaborate administrative hierarchies, even though these were missing from the pre-contact social structure.

In the Maori sources, the Io religion was presented as ancient and secret, passed on only to the highest class of Maori priesthood. The secret (real or supposed) was perfectly kept until the eighties, when two large intertribal

meetings were held discussing versions of the Io tradition and a house of learning was opened (1865). Here a number of young men were taught a highly developed Maori cosmology, metaphysic and very ancient history. (Percy Smith 1913). The principal effect - and probably also the principal purpose - of this teaching was to prove that the Maori were descended from, or were created by the will of an omnipotent god (Io), as in the Bible.

(Herbert Williams 1937:107, Johansen 1958:48f)

'There are no less than two intermediate links between Io and the world.... Apart from the angels of Christianity it is most natural to compare them with the intermediaries that are inserted when food is served for very tapu persons.... It is remarkable how these highest authorities in the pantheon have been appointed by Io (through Tane) to definite offices, and the Poutiriaoas are subordinate to the Whatukuras as ordained by Io.... Their whole position obviously presupposes a knowledge of European administration. Indeed, it is an element of the mythology which has had a special growing power towards the end of the last and the beginning of the present century. Whereas the Poutiriaoas in Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu (i.e. the 1865 version of the doctrine) are only anonymous bands, we find a detailed account in a late recorded text in Best.' (Johansen 1958:46-7, Best 1924a:251f.)

The belief in Io has been influential among the modern Maori even though the Io rituals never became widespread. Io became identified with the Christian monotheistic God who could thus be claimed to be also known to the ancient Maori.

But there was an element of awe before the Io pantheon that has endured until today. A Whangaruru informant, shown a pamphlet containing the strange mellifluous Polynesian names of gods, angels and celestial beings, said to me thoughtfully: 'These few words mean something no English can convey.' Ngata and Sutherland have written: 'It may well have been through the story of Io that many Maori learnt to shudder at the majesty of the Omnipotent Creator and thus to understand more deeply the nature of the Christian God.' (Sutherland 1940:349)

When the Mormons started preaching to the New Zealand Maori (about 1880), they presented their religion as being a fuller and more correct version of what the Maori had already learnt about Io. It was not therefore a new idea that the Mormon God was only accessible through a number of sacred intermediaries. This idea was already available, as Johansen penetratingly suggests, in the traditional concept of tapu and in the Io universe. All that remained was to accept the Mormon authorities as proper intermediaries.

Acceptance of Mormonism therefore meant to the Maori, probably from the very beginning, more than the acceptance of a new system of belief and ritual. It also implied an unconscious orientation towards a new social structure which can be expressed in model form. But it did not imply - and in practice could not imply - that in 1887, their society at once began to conform absolutely to this new model.

Instead we may discern, as I have already indicated, a social structure containing two basic categories

- the traditional and the Mormon - one of which was perceived as vanishing and the other as progressive. But this perception of the Maori structure as vanishing (which was shared generally by all Maori in New Zealand) did not imply that henceforth it ceased to exist, or ceased to be accorded legitimacy. Rather, the Whangaruru people adjusted themselves to the existence of two legitimised alternatives. Of these, the Mormon alternative was seen as an ultimate goal towards which the community, by fits and starts, was progressing.

IV

One of the best ways of learning to understand the complex structure of Whangaruru culture was to follow closely, while I was in the field, what V. Turner: 1957 has called the 'social dramas' which periodically obsessed the community. In this work I have described far fewer than I recorded, but it was a feature of all of them that the basic structural contradiction in which the community was involved soon imbued conflict with ideological content. The Church tended, at least symbolically, to be ranged on one side and Maori tradition on the other. The drama became an allegory.

But on what principles does the community decide between such alternatives? One cannot appeal to any structural regularities for an answer, as these regularities themselves are being acutely challenged. The only basis for choice lies in the bed-rock principles of social organization, such as have been

proposed by Firth: exercise of responsibility, accommodation, status involvement, economy of effort, coordination, basic compensation and foresight. (Firth 1964: 70-75, 80-82; 1951: 75-78)

The study of process offers us facts on the choices made in actual crisis situations. On what principles is the crisis resolved? Is it possible to use traditional procedures effectively? If not, does Mormonism offer a solution? The collapse of a millennial movement may well be explainable by a succession of crisis situations it fails to solve. The staying power of Mormonism over the years in Whangaruru suggests that it was a useful tool in coping with crises. We may ask what qualities made it so.

Many of the most critical conflict situations can be ascribed to 'factionalism'. This term labels a bundle of complex phenomena. First, it covers what Radcliffe Brown (1952) called 'opposition', a 'combination of agreement and disagreement, of solidarity and difference.' Gluckman used the term 'conflict' in a somewhat similar sense; both authors hold that this type of relationship has the function of promoting cohesion. Winiata has shown that conflict in the segmented socio-political system of the pre-contact New Zealand Maori served the same function:

'Te iwi (the tribe) was the largest socio-political organization that existed in Maori society. It was a loose federation of smaller constituent groups, related by common descent and ties of affinity. The structural relations within the tribe were maintained by the constant interaction between

constituent groups, expressed through war on the one hand, and on the other by kinship, sentimental attachment to a specific district, common leadership, common gods and a history that traced back to a romanticised past. The process of interaction found in the forces of conflict and cooperation was fundamental to the maintenance of the Maori socio-political system at all levels and is particularly important in the structure of the relationships in the tribe.' (Winiata 1956:216)

In this context it is impossible to distinguish, as Siegel and Beals have suggested, between schismatic and pervasive factionalism because segmentation occurs down to the level of extended families. Each of these segments (families, sub-tribes, tribes) can, in Winiata's terms, be in opposition to segments on the same level and join together in vying with members of a more inclusive segment. Thus, 'schismatic' factionalism is by implication always pervasive as well. Conditions of cultural change have, in this respect, changed nothing.

On the contrary relationships of 'opposition' can be helpful in promoting cultural change as was demonstrated in one interesting case by Redfield (1950:112), who showed how schism created awareness of vital issues to which the community had not previously given consideration. This is as true for Whangaruru as for Chan Kom: as soon as a matter becomes controversial, and only then, does learning begin. When two factions are at odds over the terms of a lease of land, they inquire into the technicalities of leases; if they differ in religion, theological knowledge is acquired as a valuable weapon against

the opposition. Factionalism may lead to constructive rivalry: if one faith has a piano for its Sunday services, the other faith must have one too.

But the term 'factionalism' also covers phenomena of a quite different order. It may describe the absence of legitimate authority to take responsibility for activities the community has to undertake. This may occur in conditions of culture change when the structural model contains two alternative social systems between which accommodation cannot be found. Or chiefly authority may be rejected without an alternative source of legitimate authority being available. In that case factionalism is a pseudo-problem and the absence of legitimate authority is the real problem.

There may be an appearance of total rigidity in the attitude of conflicting groups, even though the conflict has an apparently trivial basis. Status involvement seems to assume an importance far greater than the action that has to be performed. In Whangaruru this was seen as the cause of failure of many enterprises; people felt that nothing could ever get done.

But this feeling was only partly justified: the funeral societies flourished, the church functioned. The same types of conflict occurred, but accommodations were found, whereas any obstacle occurring, say, in the building of a new tribal meeting house resulted in an immediate and protracted cessation of work. Nonetheless, the protagonists in the conflicts were always the same people. Much seemed to depend on the importance attached

to the goal that was being pursued. People could unite if the reward was great enough.

The principle involved is economy of effort. The finding of accommodation between conflicting groups requires a great deal of effort, ingenuity and careful management. Therefore, as soon as conflict occurred, the question arose whether it was worth resolving. How important was the goal, really? Was the conflict perhaps an omen warning against its immediate pursuit? Thus altercation had the function of sifting important goals from less important ones.

The bundle of phenomena subsumed under the term 'factionalism' undoubtedly was an obstacle, a weakness in Whangaruru social organization, though it was one that could be overcome when the community's need was strong enough and though it fulfilled a useful function by enforcing the evaluation of public issues. Culture contact did not create this weakness, but certainly accentuated it. The Mormon Church organization was able to help by offering its adherents an effective procedure for reaching decisions in the frame work of its own authority structure. It was a less 'democratic' procedure but it met the exigencies of the situation. As Firth (1964:247) demonstrates, it is a common function of religious beliefs and practices to act 'as a supernatural buttress to support the weakest points of ... social organization.' Thus, people will sacrifice status involvement and other principles, which commonly motivate them, for reasons which are overtly religious but their actions suit administrative exigencies of which the community may not

be fully conscious.

Finally, the study of process provides raw material for the analysis of values. It was possible to discern two alternative value systems corresponding to the two alternative world views to which Whangaruru was oriented. In my analysis I concentrated on those areas where conflict between the two systems was of acute concern to the community. For this purpose I was able to make use of a list of thirteen binary oppositions compiled by Clyde Kluckhohn. They express 'fundamental questions of value upon which all cultures have felt compelled to take a position, explicit or implicit..... The entities of value-culture cannot be expected to have the 'all or none character of a simple physical event like a phone found in language culture. Rather they will have the character of weightings or emphases that are, on the whole, dominant in a culture.' (Kluckhohn 118-9)

Now in Whangaruru, two systems coexist and their value emphases differ. Thus the traditional Maori system has a passive emphasis, the Mormon system an active one. From this viewpoint, Kluckhohn's binary oppositions³ fall into three categories:

- a) those where Maori and Mormon emphases coincide, such as the opposition self/other, where both systems are other-oriented;
- b) those where Maori and Mormon emphases are opposed, and where the contradiction leads to intensive search for an accommodation;

³Kluckhohn expressed 'much sympathy' with the suggestion that these pairs may be regarded 'not as dichotomies, but rather as bipolar dimensions' (ibid. p. 131). This is the approach I have adopted here.

c) those where Maori and Mormon emphases are opposed, but where no need seemed to be felt for an accommodation (e.g. the opposition tense/relaxed).

It is the second of these categories on which this study will concentrate. Let us take as an example the opposition:

passive (trad. Maori) / active (Mormon)

I was able to note that in critical situations, the community perceived a passive choice as 'traditional Maori' and an active choice as Mormon, and the same with the other binary oppositions. Efforts to be a 'good Mormon' involved rejection of strong inclinations to be passive, self-indulgent and present-oriented; it meant accepting dependence where early life experiences would have prompted insistence on autonomy. I did not systematically test the internalisation of Mormon values, but have included by analysis of binary oppositions in the present essay so as to show at least to some extent the implications for the individual of accepting Mormonism.

More generally, the purpose of my study of process is to show how a 'Maori community' in Whangaruru was being transformed into a 'Mormon community'. This profound transformation affects kinship structure, authority structure, the boundaries of the socio-political unit, the pattern of accommodation with the white New Zealand society; it introduces a new epistemology, new concepts of social roles and new value orientations.

The result is not strictly integration with the dominant New Zealand society for outside the sphere of State authority the Mormons regard themselves as a community set apart. But it does mean integration with the white Mormons:

it means an ideologically motivated movement towards equal standards in the educational and socio-economic sphere.

Furthermore it means familiarity, through the experience of the Mormon authority structure, with formal organization and therefore with rational processes of control in an advanced social system. It is largely on the ability to understand and use such processes that social development depends.

GENERAL SURVEY

I

The Setting

The Whangaruru district, as defined in this study, is a stretch of rocky coastline which extends from the settlement of Mokau, 28 miles north of Whangarei northwards to Ngaiotonga, a distance of 11 miles. It is reached by a narrow winding road; one bus a day each way provides public transport.

The population of the district, according to the 1961 census, was 310 Maori and 110 whites. The Maori were mostly in six localities,⁴ namely

1. Mokau: the traditional centre of the hapu (sub-tribe) Uri-o-Hikihiki. Ten houses, seven occupied, lie along a narrow river flat from the seashore to about half a mile inland. The meeting house, burnt down in 1951, was not rebuilt.
2. Oakura: A predominantly European locality, with many holiday cottages along a beautiful beach. There are two storekeepers; one runs the school bus, the other the mail van.
3. Ohawini: Not reachable by road, this beach settlement contains a few Maori houses and a post office, and telephone exchange.
4. Punaruku: The largest Maori settlement, with 20 residences, almost all occupied, situated along the main road 3 - 5 miles

⁴For map see Appendix I. An analysis of population by localities, is given in Appendix II.

north of Mokau. It has far more extensive alluvial river flats than Mokau or Oakura. There are two Maori-owned community halls, also a Maori District High School.

5. Ngaiotonga: A settlement of 13 Maori houses situated next to the Maori Land Development Station, a sheep station managed by the government on behalf of its Maori owners. It has an elementary school and a large complex of tribal buildings, intended to serve the entire tribe, not only the locality.

6. Whangaruru Peninsula: This hilly area, which has recently become accessible by clay road through Ngaiotonga, was in earlier days the centre of a number of hapu and had a population of over 1,000. Today it is still regarded as the centre of the hapu Ngati Tautahi; it still houses 6 families. There was, until recently, an elementary school.

Of the Maori population 75% speak good English; the rest, mostly older people, know enough English for everyday needs, but prefer to speak Maori. Children are only bilingual to a limited extent, but there are few adults who cannot speak Maori. Some claim to have learnt the language in adulthood.

Of the adult Maori population, 25% has had secondary education, but virtually all young people now growing up reach the tenth or eleventh grade. Few pass the 'school certificate' examination at the end of grade 11 at the local Maori District High School. A minority attend boarding schools outside the district where academic results are somewhat higher (judging by examination figures).

Of 61 households, 31 have been housed with government

loan finance. These dwellings fall into two categories, the most common having a large living-room/kitchen, three moderate sized bedrooms, a combined lavatory/bathroom and full plumbing facilities. Tank water is used, but heating is in a copper. The lavatory is an outdoor pit. The second category of houses, built since the middle fifties are fully modern dwellings. Regular payments are made to pay principal and interest. The other houses (30), constructed by the occupiers, are generally but by no means always inferior to the government houses. Ten of them are very poor. For the others, the government scheme set a standard they sought to live up to.

Maori population in the district is declining, which leads to the abandonment of the poorest houses.

Today, sea, forest, garden lands and streams supply but a minute fraction of the community's food and working materials. The major natural resource is pastoral land.⁵ Out of a total of 16,000 acres of land in the district to which Maori hold title, the utilisable total for pastoral purposes is at most 6,000, but even this does not include much first-class farm land which has been mostly sold to whites. It does include a small, extremely fertile acreage of river flats.

The Department of Maori Affairs established a farming scheme on this land, lending individual settlers money for dairying. In addition, the Ngaiotonga Land Development Station was established, in the hope of subdividing in the future and

⁵An Analysis of Maoriland utilisation in Whangaruru is given in Appendix III.

settling local farmers on it with dairy herds. Again, the basis of financing is by interest-bearing loans which are secured by assignments on the produce and bills of sale on the stock. The holdings, though adequate when they were established in 1930, are far too small for economic farming under today's conditions. The number of holdings actively farmed declined from 27 to nine in 1960; most of these are still uneconomic and 1,500 acres developed since 1930 are now idle. The land is of average quality and would support perhaps 25 economic farms, if the Ngaiotonga station were settled, existing holdings were redistributed and adequate farming instruction was provided.⁶

Though land interests are owned individually, most blocks have multiple ownership which makes it difficult to deal with them for development purposes.

Farm instruction to settlers was given by an official of the Department of Maori Affairs, called a 'field supervisor'. As settlers were in the department's debt, and were dependent on the department for further loans, the role combined administrative and educational attributes. Interaction was entirely between the supervisor and individual settlers, no attempt being made to change group norms with regard to farming. The only control was by a system of rewards and punishments related to the granting or withholding of loan finance. The production being very small, neither the rewards nor the punishments meant much. Most settlers left to take up more lucrative jobs elsewhere.

⁶This estimate is based on my own detailed survey of the land resources, together with a private communication from C.E. Ballinger, Farm Advisory Officer, Department of Agriculture, Whangarei, dated 9th June 1961, in which he analyses the geographic and agricultural features of the district.

Apart from farming, there were few ways of making a living. Eight non-farmers had regular jobs in the district; fifteen men had town occupations and came home only for weekends, if then. The number of pensioners is very large in proportion to the total population, as people of working age move elsewhere. School-leavers mostly migrate to town. Of the adults now resident in the district, there are few whose life history does not include a lengthy absence. Age distributions shows the extent of migration: 62.1% of the population was under 16, and only 23.5% were between the ages of 16 and 50.⁷

Thus there is no great difference in outlook between country and town Maori. This is not merely, as Joan Metge (1964) suggests, because the town Maori remain countrymen at heart, but also because the country Maori are mostly one-time urbanites who have decided they prefer the country. They have of course been born in a village and the town veneer has always been superficial. Nonetheless, they know almost as much about town as their kinsmen who have settled there permanently.

By average New Zealand standards, Whangaruru is poor though the older inhabitants stress the great increase in wealth since the days they were children. Diet has suffered under the decline in gardening; except for this deficiency, it conforms to the general description of Maori diet given by Dr Ian Prior (unpublished MS) and is excessive in bread, though I would not

⁷Age and sex distribution of the Whangaruru Maori is set out in Appendix IV.

say in fatty meat, butter, potatoes or sugar, for income in most families did not suffice for such over-eating.

There used to be a heavy consumption of strong liquor, especially the home-brewed 'paikaka', but this was confined to a small minority of families since the Mormon conversion.

II

Social Structure

I shall now attempt a brief summary of that part of the contemporary social system which the community regards as 'old time Maori'. In doing so I am hampered by the absence, in spite of a great number of available sources, of an adequate account of Maori social structure. Facts have been recorded on the geographic, social, religious and philosophic levels, but the interconnections between the different levels, which alone will help us to understand Maori culture as a system, have not been traced. The sketchy treatment I give the subject here only serves to supply the background needed for later chapters of this work. Sources have been noted in the bibliography, but no criticism of them is attempted here.⁸

Starting on the philosophical level, the Maori world order takes the form of a genealogy. The Maori philosopher makes statements on subjects such as psychology, physiology,

⁸For factual data, see Firth 1941, 1959a, Buck 1950, Best 1924a, 1924c, Grey 1955, Johansen 1954, Ritchie 1963; and for the theoretical basis, Levi-Strauss 1962, van der Leeuw 1938, Scheffler 1964. Other sources are given below.

astronomy; these are all cast in genealogical form. All creation, including the stars, winds, waves, plants and animals are part of this genealogy, which implies that they are con-natural with man. At a Mormon church meeting, we still heard argument that man is not superior to the animals, based on these grounds.

Thus, all relationship can be only genealogical relationship. Just as 'thought', 'memory' and 'consciousness' can only be seen as related concepts by making one the father of the other (Taylor 1855), so human beings can only be seen as standing in any relationship if a genealogical link between them can be traced (according to ambilineal principles.)

Hence the threads of the social fabric are genealogies. The only possible principle of coherence in a human group is genealogy.

Turning now to the geographical level, there is a very general type of Maori myth, also prevalent at Whangaruru (Piripi 1961 and 1962), identifying landmarks with the ancestor of a tribe. Winiata, writing about the Arawa who live some distance south of Whangaruru analyses these myths very usefully: "Tamatekapua spied the point at Maketu, and he claimed it as the tip on the end of his nose. Hei also looked and claimed Otawa as the belly of his son Waitahanui..... By identifying the various landmarks with parts of the chief's body, title to that area was fixed and acknowledged." (Winiata:215)

Tamatekapua is the ancestor from whom all members of the Arawa tribe trace their genealogy. As this myth shows,

all the land to which the Arawa tribe lays claim is actually the body of Tamatekapua. Therefore anyone who has Tamatekapua for ancestor not only can lay claim to the land; he is the land. Genealogy is therefore not only the link between humans, but also between humans and the land; it is similar to the link between man and his totem in other cultures, in that man and his non-human counterpart are permeated by a common life which is continuous. (Durkheim:224)

War, conquest and land sales to Europeans have complicated this ideal picture - a matter into which I cannot enter here - but one detail must be mentioned. The communion between land and man is maintained by the keeping alight of fires. If man leaves the land his unity with it fades; or to put it in legal terms, his right to it is lost, or 'grows cold' as the Maori put it. This applies to communities who do not occupy a piece of land; it also applies to an individual who goes to live elsewhere. His son can still claim his inheritance; but if the son does not reestablish contact with the land, the grandson has no claim. Such at least was the pre-contact rule, though the law today is different. (Firth 1959: 386) The rule is crucial for otherwise there would be, under the pre-contact system, no way of 'closing' the group of people who owned a piece of land.

A Maori social unit, then, according to the pre-contact ethos, is defined by two necessary conditions: (a) common descent from an ancestor whose body is identified with the land the social unit occupies; and (b) a degree of continuity in

occupation of that land. Therefore Fortes 1959 was undoubtedly right when he said that descent rule alone does not define the boundaries of a Maori group. On the other hand the group is bound together by a more positive structural rule than is implied by his sketch of a land-holding joint stock company of kindred. It was not true, for the pre-contact Maori, that he could indefinitely claim land or citizenship in any social unit where he could claim common ambilineal ancestry. This was only true for two generations, thus leaving a certain flexibility in allegiance, but not the degree of chaos Fortes suggests. This only began with the operations of the Maori Land Court.

Even today, the dual qualification for membership in a Maori group persists. A person needs not only genealogical linkage but a share in the land to have full political rights in a Maori community. (Laughton 1954, part II)

The Whangaruru Maori sees himself as part of the following socio-political membership units:

1. iwi The word means 'bones'; the Maori, when speaking English among each other, often use the phrase 'my bones' meaning 'my relations'. The iwi, in anthropological usage, is a loose confederation of villages, bound together by a common ancestor and a common territorial domain. In Whangaruru, people called themselves Ngati Wai, an appellation which covers a number of coastal settlements between Whangarei and the Bay of Islands, very scattered and not very populous. The iwi used to have a common meeting house on the Whangaruru peninsula;

they still have some common corporate landed property.

2. hapu The word means 'pregnant'; it denotes a less inclusive segment than the iwi, which, in pre-contact days, had exclusive usehold over part of the iwi territory. Often the members of a hapu formed a village community; it was the largest economic, political and military unit which had a significant amount of ongoing control over its members. Land sales, national government and the pax britannica eroded most of the functions of the hapu; two of them subsist in Whangaruru as socio-political alignments, providing a focus for factionalism, but also for cooperation in weddings and funerals, and for political representation in dealings with outsiders. On a genealogical basis alone, nine hapu can be defined in Whangaruru, but the members of the other ones emphasise their lines of descent to the two hapu ancestors who are politically significant today.

3. whanau Each hapu was made up of a number of extended families. It is still common for extended families to live together in the same dwelling (23 out of 60 households), while another common pattern is to build houses in clusters of 2 to 4 houses, which together accommodate a whanau, or part of one. Thirty out of 60 households are part of 12 such clusters.

4. locality Mainly as a result of land development, residence patterns in Whangaruru no longer conform to hapu alignments. Members of the hapu resident on the peninsula and in Mokau, created farming settlements on the fertile flats of Punaruku and Ngaiotonga. By 1960, most functioning organizations were set up on a locality basis: there were four branches of the

Mormon church, four funeral societies, each on a locality basis; community halls existed in Punaruku and Ngaiotonga whereas halls that burnt down in Mokau and on the peninsula were rebuilt. Each of these localities had developed its own distinctive style and atmosphere. Though usually it would be possible to find genealogical links which would present localities as kindreds, this was not the basis of recruitment. Cohesion both in Punaruku and Ngaiotonga was an uneasy alliance of members of rival hapu. Nonetheless, locality loyalty was very strong. In everyday affairs, rivalry between the localities was far more obvious than rivalry between the hapu.

III

Tapu, Mana and Stratification

Turning again to the philosophic level, it is necessary to refer briefly to the basic opposites distinguished by the Maori world view. The two primal parents are Sky and Earth, respectively the male and female principle. Eternal life and ritual purity (ora) were assigned to the male or celestial category; fate, death and pollution (aitua) to the terrestrial.

On the religious level, tapu is a collective term for avoidance customs designed to prevent a conjunction of the spheres of ora and aitua in those situations where it was regarded that the two spheres should remain disjoint.⁹

⁹For a theoretical discussion of the terms 'conjunction' and 'disjunction' see Levi-Strauss 1964: 292-305. For detail on the situations where conjunction should be avoided, see Steiner.

Animals and plants utilised as food or working materials belonged to the sphere of 'ora' and contact with them could therefore pollute, unless certain ritual precautions were taken authorising the setting up of a conjunction. Examples are: the opening of the season for oysters, for muttonbirds. In practice such prohibitions are no longer enforceable unless supported by State law. But one family roasted the first kumara harvested in their garden, as a ritual, before eating of their crop. Other avoidances of similar significance such as leaving oyster shells and fish heads exposed on the beach, or burning unwanted pieces of flax, were still observed. Of the personal tapu, once very rigorous, a few vestigial rules remain. The tapu most strictly kept were those preventing the most dangerous conjunction of all, namely between the living and the dead. The tapu of burial places was strictly observed. The wake for the dead (tangi) and the funeral were the occasions when the most elaborate precautions were taken.

But whatever precautions man takes, the sphere of fate and death will always intrude; indeed, human activities often depend on actually seeking access to it. Even hunting, fishing, industry, is subject to fate; even more so war and, in the terms of the Maori world-view, sexual intercourse. The last-mentioned danger is, in fact, the most unavoidable and in Maori myth is the true cause of man's mortality. But as for the other dangers, it is possible for man, if he is strong and spiritually potent enough, to prevail over them. It is this strength and spiritual potency in a sphere where fate normally

rules, that the Maori of Whangaruru call mana. (See Schwimmer 1963, utilising the theoretical approach of Firth 1941.)

Mana, though individuals may have it, is deposited primarily in the tribal ancestor and therefore in the land which is his body. According to the principle of primogeniture, it is passed on from the tribal ancestor to his successors, so that the man who has it usually referred to in English as 'chief' is genealogically the most senior in the iwi; while a lesser amount of mana is held by the most senior man in the hapu. It is maintained as long as the chief and his people do not suffer misfortunes and defeats; for these, whatever their cause, are signs of diminution of mana. Thus, no holder of mana can afford the appearance of defeat, or of deference to any other person. To the conflict between mana and the authority of Mormon Church, at times very real, we shall return later.

The mana of the dead, far from disappearing, increases; a large part of the mana of any tribe are its ancestors. It is the duty of the living, not to worship them - for they are not gods - but to acknowledge their mana (manaaki) which is done by giving them a proper tangi, by tending their graveyard and by heeding the advice and warnings they offer in dreams or visions. Some people in Whangaruru bring offerings of bread to the graveyard. One source of mana are those ancestors who have entered specific members of an animal species and who assist their descendants with advice and warnings.

One other - and modern - form of 'manaaki' is the organising of funeral societies called poukai (= food untress).

These societies make gifts to the bereaved family when anyone dies. Although there has been a good deal of factionalism in the operation of these societies, and even defalcation of the funds, they still continue; in order to remove them from the sphere of status involvement they have been handed to the women of the four localities to administer.

The structural principles on the religious level, briefly summarised above, legitimise the principles of social stratification, which are:

1. In the traditional world-view there are two social classes, the line of demarcation being 'determined structurally by proximity to the senior line of descent according to rules of succession.' Generally, succession to mana implied also succession to the chieftainship. 'The aim in Maori society was to preserve chieftainship through intermarriage with people of similar class. Continued intermarriage ... tended to increase the distance of the junior from the senior lines'. (Winiata: 229)

Though clear demarcation of rank was a Maori ideal, in practice there was flexibility in the status of all but the most senior and the most humble members of the community. Under the system of ambilineal descent each person has a large number of genealogies he can quote, so that a person can be junior to another in one line but senior in another. Furthermore, though there may not have been a 'fictional attempt at arranging genealogies to suit' (Winiata:223), there was plenty of room for honest disagreement. Competition between people of similar status was therefore unremitting. Until the second

world war, Whangaruru chiefs were able to exact obedience and wielded real power. Today this power is inadequate to ensure support for a communal enterprise though chiefly veto still counts for a good deal and the community's diffuse dependence on the chief seems obvious.

2. Because of the flow of mana from the hapu ancestor down the generations, a man does not acquire his full status until after the death of his father. Control of the extended family is still in the hands of the elder (kaumatua) even though wage employment has greatly lessened the kaumatua's power. In decisions affecting the family or the community as a corporate group, the authority of the elders was uncontested. Certainly the younger men often had 'executive power', but if we must pursue this metaphor (viz Ritchie: 1963:100), the elders were 'the board of directors'.

3. Women, devoid of mana and usually also of personal tapu, stand outside the male pattern of status rivalry. While the men cannot participate in public affairs without being constantly concerned about their personal status, the women find it easier to play the universalistic and specific roles required to conduct a modern organization. Hence they were able to succeed with the poukai where the men failed.

To these traditional principles of stratification we should add two which, though of recent origin, deeply influence the Whangaruru power structure of today:

4. Wealth, independent of genealogical status, first became a source of prominence in the period of Maori land sales and

determinations of individual titles, when two educated men, not necessarily of the highest tribal status, accumulated wealth as attorneys for the community. One previously comparatively subordinate family accumulated so much land that its elder has now the status of hapu chief. Also prominent, though not within the hapu framework, is an immigrant who became comparatively wealthy as a farmer and built a meeting house on his land.

5. Some educated men, not of high rank, have become prominent in the community as secretaries and chairmen of modern organizations, such as the Maori village council (up to 1945), the tribal committee (since 1945), the Ngati Wai Trust Board (administering tribal trust lands since 1945), the school committees, the sports and recreational clubs and, especially, the church.

There was a certain reluctance to acknowledge the leadership of these men who undoubtedly, in the instrumental sphere, commanded more wealth than anyone else, even though they could have done little in the face of a chiefly veto. The pattern was to change the tenancy of some of these offices rather frequently to maintain a balance of power. The Mormon Church too preferred such episodic leadership roles to permanent ones.

After the decline of the chieftainship, corporate groups in Whangaruru generally have found it hard to operate successfully. A meeting of the iwi decided in 1938 to build a new meeting house on the peninsula, where the highest chiefs

of the iwi used to live. Financial support was forthcoming but the building materials were burnt and somehow the job was never started. For the other meeting houses support was equally hard to get because of factional disputes. On one occasion a timber mill was bought and much cooperative work done to mill timber for sale to earn money for the meeting house at Ngaiotonga, but this also became a failure.

The tribal committee, set up under legislation passed in 1945 for a scheme of limited Maori self-government, lost its repute partly because it had been associated with the timbermill debacle, but before that it had tried to fulfil a judicial role in settling community disputes. Here it had failed because the job that needed to be done was ultra vires.

In the economic sphere, the Maori land development scheme had also been a failure, for the holdings were too small and the necessary skills had not been mastered. The government station at Ngaiotonga, in which the community was vitally interested but for which it bore no responsibility, never covered even its annual operating expenses and was destined to remain forever in a financial state where subdivision and settlement was impossible. More intimate symptoms of a sense of failure were poverty and debt, the heavy drinking pattern, not infrequently coupled with heart disease and the children's lack of success at school.

While the Maori in the rest of the country were often rapidly progressing economically and socially, Whangaruru, lacking opportunities other than migration, remained static.

IV

Mormonism among the New Zealand Maori and at Whangaruru

Statistics of religious affiliations for 1961¹⁰ show that in New Zealand at that time about 4% of the total population adhered to the churches and sects usually classed as millennial,¹¹ whereas the Maori percentage was 26.3%. Those founded by Maori prophets had a membership of 16.5% of the total Maori population. The Church of Latterday Saints claimed the support of 7.3%, or 12,941 Maori out of a total New Zealand membership of 17,978. The percentages are not very exact, because 13.1% of the Maori refuse to state their religion, and because some claim adherence to one of the orthodox churches while their real allegiance is to one of the Maori millennial sects.

Whangaruru was one of a limited number of Maori communities where the majority of the population was Mormon. Mormon allegiance was 72%, orthodox churches 20%, Ratana Church 8%.¹² Those who professed membership of the Church of England,

¹⁰For Maori religious affiliations in 1961 and comparison with 1956, see Appendix V.

¹¹The word millennial is used throughout according to the meaning proposed in Cohn 1962:31.

¹²The Ratana Church is an ecclesiastically organized Messianic movement which grew out of the visions of the prophet Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana. The movement reached its peak in the 1920's, but still has a large membership and much political influence. (Henderson, 1963; for typology see Lantemari 1960:296)

the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian or the Methodist Church were widely scattered and had hardly any contact with their clergy, nor any sort of religious organization. This no doubt was partly the reason why these churches were constantly losing ground in the district. All the Ratana's lived in Ngaiotonga, where they had regular religious services and a strong sense of identity.

I shall not pursue here the general question why the Maori are more prone to follow millennial religions and why this tendency was particularly strong in Whangaruru. The general reasons advanced by Worsley, Lanternari and Jarvie for the genesis of millennial movements no doubt also apply to the New Zealand Maori. In other words, initial converts suffer under a special deprivation and the solution provided by the millennial movement is rational in terms of their cognitive symbol system.

A measure of the sense of deprivation is obtained by observing the extent to which Maori still join such religions today. Nonetheless it would be unwise to trust to census statistics as an accurate measure of the 'deprivation' felt by the Maori today. On that assumption, the Maori did not feel much less 'deprived' in 1961 than in 1956, for in these years the proportion of adherents to millennialism dropped from 26.7% to 26.3%. Changes can, however, be discerned if we scrutinise the details.

First of all, Maori Messianic churches, while their membership is increasing, are growing much more slowly than

Maori population, whereas the Mormon Church is growing slightly faster than Maori population over the same period. Other Messianic churches of white origin showed a remarkable statistical increase, confirming a general impression that they were drawing members from Maori Messianic churches. The most impressive gain in Maori membership from 1956 to 1961 was achieved by the Roman Catholic Church. Meanwhile, the percentage of adherents of the Church of England declined fairly sharply. Most of the Roman Catholic and Mormon converts were Maori urban migrants seeking guidance in an unfamiliar environment.

We should not read too much significance into the fact that the two last-mentioned churches are hierarchical while the Church of England, which dropped in popularity, is less hierarchical. If this was a precondition of success, how would we explain that the Presbyterian Church scored a higher percentage increase than the Latterday Saints. The Presbyterians, like the Catholics, had a strong organizations helpful to Maori urban migrants. Similarly, as we shall see, Mormon organization in Whangaruru was very strong. Organization therefore seems to me the key to denominational expansion among the New Zealand Maori at the present time.

Certainly, the regeneration of the Mormon Church at Whangaruru was only possible with careful planning and the allocation of considerable resources by the church authorities. In 1959, Whangaruru was regarded by these authorities as problematic (see pages 54-55 below) just as the Departments of Maori Affairs and Educationa regarded it. Episodic expressions of

genuine faith, a small nucleus of conformists, a huge turnout of devoted eyes for prominent Mormon visitors did not together amount to real obedience to the Mormon religion. All but a dozen or so ignored the Word of Wisdom, eg. smoked and drank. Tithes were paid haphazardly. Very few of the men had been ordained elders, which is an index of the reliance placed on members' conformity. Of these few elders, even fewer in fact lived according to the Mormon commandments. Church services were not liturgically correct; altogether it seemed as though Whangaruru's development into a Mormon community, after a promising beginning, had been arrested half-way in a similar manner to land development. The only difference was that the Church was held in greater affection than the authorities in charge of land development.

The change that occurred in Whangaruru can probably be ascribed to four factors. The first, to which I have already referred, is the sense of unusual deprivation that was felt in the district as a result of the failure of chiefly authority and of all attempts at progress. The second factor, by which people in interviews explained their individual conversion, were private crises, either a radical breakdown in health or acute domestic conflict which made a change of habits imperative. These crises were genuine enough, and whatever social reasons we give for the emergence or regeneration of millennial movements, we can never ignore that the threat of a breakdown in the family, or of heart failure if a man continues drinking, or the death of a child are all vicissitudes which may be called

the universal perceptual basis of religious thought.

The other two factors of the Mormon revival lie in the sphere of church organization. First, there was the building of a temple and college in Hamilton, most impressive edifices which not only provided Mormonism with a striking religious centre in New Zealand, but also offered a chance for all members in good standing to be sealed to their ancestors. This is believed to be the only chance for these ancestors to enter the Celestial Kingdom where they can share the highest exaltation with their Mormon descendants. This temple undoubtedly provided a very strong incentive for religious conformity; if Whangaruru would not readily follow the commandments for the good of their own souls, it was a easier sacrifice to make for the sake of serving their ancestors. And admission to the temple strictly required a 'pure life'.

Shortly after the temple was completed, the church began a campaign to improve the standard of conformity, especially with regard to the following of the Word of Wisdom, (a revelation of Joseph Smith, laying down the dietary prohibitions), regular activity in the church and its associated organizations and the paying of tithes. This campaign also held out the promise of the great advantages full membership of the church would bring. There was not only the opportunity of visiting the temple and doing 'work' for one's ancestors, but also of exercising sacral authority, for instance in anointing and blessing the sick. I must stress that by itself the opening of the temple would have had little effect on Whangaruru; it

was only the campaign which made the other three factors I have enumerated operative in bringing about a religious revival.

The campaign was a complex nationwide effort; it included gathering Maori as labour missionaries and sending them to Hamilton for service; this built up a cadre of youthful church workers. It also included the organizing of leadership meetings in Whangarei to which the district's many ecclesiastical office-bearers including those from Whangaruru went for one day a month, to learn about their official duties. But the brunt of the attack was the sending to Whangaruru, towards the end of 1959, of a task force of about twelve American missionaries who spent some months visiting homes, and giving lessons in the local hall. There were courses for children and for adults; even the most apathetic of members attended. In the background were vague rumours that the most hardened sinners would be excommunicated. But the main event was that the Church had firmly taken control. Its messengers lived in the houses of the local members, borrowed their horses; though they were God's deputies from distant Utah (or rather because of this) they lived a life theoretically open to the families they stayed with: equally humble, entirely devoted to God. At the end of three or four months, they were withdrawn, but the Church had been reestablished. At the end of 1960, among 82 Mormon adults in Whangaruru the degree of conformity is represented by the following table:¹³

¹³The majority of the 170 Church members under the age of 16 (from 4 years upwards) were 'active' in that they attended Church, Sunday School as well as a weekly meeting of Primary or M.I.A. A number of parents who kept away from Church were happy to send their children.

Conformity

Non Conformists	28
Near Conformists	5
Complete Conformists	<u>49</u>
Total	82

The total number of members above the age of 16 was 90, but I have reliable data on only 82, as shown on this Table

Criteria of conformity are, as stated, adherence to the Word of Wisdom, payments of tithes, regular Church attendance and Church activity. Conformists are those who, in the view of village Church authorities, satisfied these criteria; non-conformists are those who, according to the same authorities, did not satisfy the criteria. The intermediate category are people whose known transgressions were trivial enough to be overlooked.

CHURCH ORGANIZATION

I

In the brief general survey given in the last chapter I have presented an incomplete sketch of the Maori world order and none at all of the Mormon world order. As my main concern in this work is the interaction between the two systems, I propose to present my more detailed material by describing a series of concrete situations and typical dilemmas where the two systems are seen in opposition to one another. Before this can be done, a further preliminary question must be dealt with, namely how the two systems entered into communication and how they are maintaining this communication.

A useful theoretical approach to this question was proposed by Herbert Kelman, who distinguishes three processes of opinion change. The first process, compliance, occurs when the target group does not find the new behavior intrinsically satisfying, does not adopt it except where observable by the agent, does not accept the underlying opinion, but where the agent is able to enforce the behaviour by punishments and rewards external to the innovation. On the other extreme, Kelman places 'internalisation', to which he assigns the same meaning as Parsons. The originality of his approach consists in positing an intermediate mode which he calls 'identification'; he writes:

'Identification is similar to compliance in that the individual does not adopt the induced behaviour because its content per se is intrinsically satisfying. Identification differs from compliance however in that the individual actually believes in the opinions and actions that he adopts. The behaviour is accepted both publicly and privately and its manifestation does not depend on observability by the influencing agent. It does depend however on the role that an individual takes at any given moment in time. Only when the appropriate role is activated - only when the individual is acting within the relationship upon which the identification is based - will the induced opinions be expressed. The individual is not primarily concerned with pleasing the other, with giving him what he wants (as in compliance) but he is concerned with meeting the other's expectations for his own role performance. Thus, opinions adopted through identification do remain tied to the external source and dependent on social support. They are not integrated with the individual's value system, but rather tend to be isolated from the rest of his values - to remain encapsulated.'

I have quoted this at length because Whangaruru Mormonism has many of the features he describes, though there are differences as well. Kelman is the only theorist, to my knowledge, to have proposed an intermediate process between compliance and internalisation.

Though I shall show later that the Mormon Church uses several types of communicator, the prototype setting the tone

for all the others was the young missionary from Salt Lake City, who was seen by the Maori as an attractive figure & messenger from God, yet like a brother, one of the family - whose influence is accepted because his hosts want 'to establish and maintain a satisfying, self-defining relationship with him'.¹⁴ Nobody questions that over the years it was the occasional visits of these missionaries that kept the church alive in Whangaruru. Any protracted interruption in these contacts used to lead to a decline in church activity. Also, one regular criticism Whangaruru Mormons used to make of each other, or of their congregation in general, was that they were 'only Mormons on Sunday'. For the years 1960-61 this criticism was, as we shall see, unfair, but there is no doubt that for a long period many activities, contrary to the spirit of the church, were very prevalent indeed and, at least as a first approximation, we may accept the picture of the church role being 'encapsulated' in a culture whose ethos was quite different.

Where Kelman's model does not apply is in his treatment of the agent as introducing something that is utterly alien to ideas pre-existing in the 'target culture'. I have shown that before Mormonism formally entered the scene there was in Whangaruru a myth-dream which contained many of the core ideas introduced under the flag of Mormonism. The first missionaries met not a vacuum but a dialectic.

¹⁴Cora Du Bois 1962, in a discussion on Kelman's concept.

which led to the development of two oppositional systems of thought in Whangaruru - a traditional Maori and a Mormon one. I shall now clarify this in an example.

In the former system, ancestors are honoured by ferocious wailing at tangis and by following the commands they give in dreams and visions. In the Mormon system, they are honoured by temple visits, and the traditional relationship with the ancestors is thought wrong. In Whangaruru today, there are some people who, in these respects, adhere to the traditional way, others who adhere to the Mormon way. The question what is the right thing to do is a subject for open discussion. Behaviour follows a choice, sometimes made with much heartburning, between the two alternatives.

Now this is not a situation where one can say that Mormonism remains encapsulated. It is possible to say that the community's 'cognitive field is reorganised', which is a criterion of what Kelman means by 'internalisation'. Yet we cannot say that internalisation is complete for then there would not be the choice between alternatives, nor the dependence on visits of the elders. In other words, the Whangaruru situation is somewhere between the modes of 'identification' and 'internalisation'.

We began this chapter by asking how the Mormon and the Maori system maintained communication. We now see that this has to be split into two questions: How is the process of identification maintained? How is the process of internalisation promoted?

The process of identification was maintained through a vast external network of communications, of which the American missionaries were only one aspect. Far more frequent were the interactions with the many dozens of officials who were New Zealanders - Maori or white - and who maintained contact with Whangaruru as part of their work in the hierarchy. Though these officials occasionally met the Whangaruru membership as a whole, their particular function was to encourage the local Whangaruru officials to identify with them; i.e. to help these officials to see themselves as religious leaders representing the forces of Mormonism.

The process of internalisation of Mormon values was promoted largely by the Maori church officers in Whangaruru itself through the consistency with which they played these roles at meetings, in contacts within the community and in their own homes.

In this survey I have classed all the communicators or mediators in five categories. The first two are made up of the American emissaries who may belong (a) to the top ranks of the hierarchy; or (b) to the New Zealand Mission, either as senior officers or as youths in their early twenties, sent on a two-year mission to New Zealand. In addition there are (c) the white New Zealanders who have positions in the Mission and District hierarchy; (d) the Maori, usually from outside Whangaruru, with positions similar to the last category; (e) the Maori of Whangaruru, making up the entire local branch organization.

The Mormon hierarchy, of which all these people are members, differs essentially from that of Roman Catholicism, Mahayana Buddhism and other authoritarian religions in that most members of the Mormon hierarchy follow ordinary occupations, do not get paid for religious work, are called to their duties for limited periods (often 2-3 years). Furthermore, the priesthood and consecrated Church offices are far more widely spread than in fully authoritarian religions, for every male in good standing progresses to the highest priesthood order, and the whole of the Church's theological training proceeds through channels normally open to the ordinary member. The usual distinctions between clergy and laity are thus blotted out. Rather is the Mormon Church a brotherhood of equals; the hierarchical structure, with its careful limiting of the authority of each rank save the Church Presidency, has the function of containing charisma so that the Church can maintain the unity of an army carrying out the undisputed will of God.

(O'Dea p 165)

The Mormon of Whangaruru sees the charisma of the Church hierarchy as follows:

- (a) The President of the Church has personal charisma in the fullest sense as prophet, seer and revelator and as such is infallible. This is standard doctrine, but for the Maori the same aura of infallibility surrounds the Apostles who occasionally visit New Zealand as the President's personal representatives.
- (b) The other Americans of the mission, irrespective of rank, have unmistakable charisma; the people say they regard them

as messengers from God. Yet it is recognized that these people have limited authority, laid down by the Church, even though this authority is much wider than their own. Spending their full time on their priestly functions and financially supported (even if only nominally) by the church, their role is similar to that of other clergymen, except that Mormonism confers upon them powers of healing and-within limits-revelation.

Among the New Zealand officers of the church, whether Maori or European, the direct contact with Zion was lacking and the life of the local officers is only partly dedicated to religion. They were respected and obeyed as holders of church authority in virtue of specific callings. For instance, a Sunday School Superintendent would be consecrated in that calling, so that any rulings he might make in that capacity had sacral force. Outside the Sunday School, he would be like any other member. Such people might achieve a certain personal charisma if they were exceptionally good teachers or effective healers, but the Church did not recognise this and during my visit there were no Whangaruru examples, though earlier there had been.

II

External Mediators

How do carriers of these types of charisma or authority function as mediators? In the rest of this chapter, I shall

summarise the role assigned to each type, leaving for later chapters the description of the ideas taught and the processes of change occurring under the impact of these interactions and ideas.

(a) Apostolic visits. Tours of New Zealand by Apostles of the Church of Latter day Saints (the twelve Apostles, together with some others, make up the General Authorities or top leadership of the Church) occur about yearly and usually last a fortnight or three weeks. In such a short time, extensive contact with Maori mediators or congregations is hardly possible; yet contact with the 'grass roots' of Maori Monmonism takes up a good part of these tours. For instance, Punaruku was visited in January 1959 and again in November 1960. The object of these visits was to inspire the membership and to make first-hand observations on which new policies were based.

Both Punaruku visits were followed by drastic changes: in January 1959, Joseph Fielding Smith, President of the Council of the Twelve (i.e. Apostles), and a direct descendant of the Prophet, met the people at the local hall, where he was given a report by the presidents of the four Whangaruru branches, setting out the rather depressing statistics of membership, ordinations, attendances and other church activities. The Apostle's speech and general attitude was designed to inspire and establish fellowship rather than admonish; his wife also spoke, very charmingly, and sang a Maori song; but

shortly afterwards, three of the branches were fused into one and no less than 12 missionaries assigned to this small area to 'activate' it.

By the time the second Apostolic visit came, in November 1960, the objectives of the first had largely been met. Again a general meeting was held; Apostle Kimball's address, though full of inspiring generalities, was slightly more hortatory on the finer points of the Mormon way of life. Again consequences followed: the two remaining branches were fused, a chapel for Punaruku was approved, and (on a less local level) translation of the Northland mission district into a regular Stake of the Church was postponed, but preparations for the change-over accelerated.

In a church as centralised as the Latter day Saints', significant decisions, even regarding the distant New Zealand mission, are made by the General Authorities of Salt Lake City. Though this is undoubtedly a reason for Apostolic visits, Apostles may still be classed as mediators in that both made face-to-face contact with the Whangaruru Maori at a lengthy meeting, to which they came well-briefed on local problems; both made a deep impression through their speeches and their meetings with branch officers; furthermore, both were given unusually frank appraisals of the local situation by the Whangaruru people themselves. Decisions were taken only after these contacts, which were therefore significant and close enough to place the Apostles within the category of mediators.

(b) New Zealand Mission and Zion Elders. Since 1897, New Zealand has had a Mormon mission; recently, a second one was established for the Southern areas. The Northern one, under which Whangaruru falls, is still called the 'New Zealand Mission'.

The Mission President is always an American of mature age, called to this full-time task for a limited period - perhaps three years. He is in charge of district organizations nowadays usually controlled by part-time New Zealand officers, European or Maori. In addition he has at his disposal some 160 young American missionaries, volunteers from solidly Mormon families, whose qualifications are good education, suitable personality and a short missionary course. During the two years of their mission, their main task is to find converts, but they also visit members, aiming to strengthen their church allegiance and when necessary, they help in the mission organization. Lastly, a few senior men are attached to a mission full-time for special tasks, e.g. the Temple President, the Building Superintendent.

As local organization is still relatively undeveloped in mission areas, the mission president holds the crucial powers: nobody can visit the temple without his personal approval; he appoints senior branch officers, ordains men to the Melchizedek priesthood. He is the only one who can decide the contested site of a chapel - as at Whangaruru; on all questions of doctrine, worship and administration, he is final arbiter.

The Whangaruru leaders often encountered the mission president: every month at district leadership meetings, at all conferences of the mission, and many of the district; for one reason or another, the Mission President was seen about once in two months at Whangaruru. These were special occasions: the annual branch conference; appointment of a new branch president, amalgamation of branches, farewell upon his departure for the United States. His fast car crossed the winding mountain range when Whangaruru leadership had to plan the burial of a deceased branch president or once, when new visitors to the temple had to be instructed. He always gave an address, saw officers and members who had problems, noted and commended any progress he noticed (and he seemed to notice everything, down to a new tablecloth), and discreetly hinted at imperfections.

While the mission president's main task is with congregations and office holders, the young Zion elders concentrate on the religious life of the individual. Today, their tasks in church organization in the New Zealand Mission are few, for local members have taken over. For the Whangaruru people the most characteristic contact with missionaries occurs when two of them stay in the district for about four months, as happens every year. Supposedly, they travel from home to home, living with the people they visit, but as many of the homes are too cramped, have not even a hope of clearing a spare room, it is the slightly larger homes that harbour them. Mostly they have no transport and walk or hitchhike or borrow a horse. Every

Mormon home is visited twice; where lapsed members give any response, they come much more frequently, seeking to win them back. They also visit non-members, seeking to convert them, but concentrating on those who are most likely to respond, often people the branch president has mentioned to them, close relatives of members, whose conversion would - apart from religious benefit, - promote family harmony, fulfil the deep desire a member always has that close relation shall join him.

Influential too, among American mediators, were the Temple President and his wife. Both were met not only at the Temple, but also at mission meetings, when the wife spoke gently, warmly, charmingly, and made herself very popular, while the husband was forceful, blunt, severe; he was the only Mormon speaker ever, to my knowledge, to refer to damnation and to flail the sinful, like a Protestant minister. The Mormons were usually far more tactful, but the contrast was refreshing and the Maori were impressed, respectful.

(c and d) New Zealanders in Mission and District Hierarchy. As a mission district becomes stronger in membership, activity and conformity, church policy provides that it should be taken out of mission control and organised as a regular "Stake" of the Church. In 1960-61, the Northland district had not quite reached this stage but it had been reorganised after the elaborate pattern of a Stake in preparation for the change of status.

The accompanying chart¹⁵ sets out the plan of the mission and district hierarchy, in 1961, in as far as it directly affected Whangaruru. There are three levels: mission, district and branch. Only at the mission level some (but not all) officers are American.

Within the hierarchical structure, the burden of mediation falls therefore upon New Zealand-born church members who hold the positions in the district and (to a great extent) mission leadership. A good part of the New Zealand-born hierarchy is Maori; for all church appointments are made without regard to race. The chart shows that the district personnel are very numerous; their contact with officers in branches like Whangaruru is quite extensive, limited only by problems of transport. Institutionalised face-to-face contact occurs on the following occasions:

(1) Visits to Branch - At least once monthly, district officers visit branches. The most regular visitors to Punaruku were: the member of the High Council of the District Presidency assigned to keep in touch with the branch; the member of the High Council of the District Relief Society who had the same function. In addition there were a dozen or so officers who would come about twice a year. These included: the District President, officers of the Priesthood Quorum, the Sunday School, M.I.A., Primary, Genealogical Society and the District Chorister. These organizations will be described later.

¹⁵See Appendix VI.

(ii) Leadership meetings - At these monthly meetings, called by the district presidency, the mission president, his advisers and organizing assistants, as well as numerous district authorities would always be present; so would the leaders in all spheres of church work in the branches. Addresses were given, instructions passed on; branch officers asked for what help they needed. Even where correspondence was lax, all current business was reviewed on these monthly occasions.

(iii) Periodic rallies - The mission, district presidency and all the auxiliary organizations run conferences or rallies, either once, twice or four times a year; these are special occasions, somewhat festive, carefully prepared for, with displays and performances, further strengthening the contacts between officers inside and outside the branch.

The vastness of this organization shows the importance the Mormon Church attaches to the processes of communication. Over 70 officers in the district organization functioned as intermediaries between mission and branches; if we add the mission personnel itself and the American traveling elders, the number of mediators in touch with a Northland church membership of 2000 was truly impressive. It was a heterogeneous group not only in national and racial background, but also in education, social status and religious knowledge. They were united, however, in strong allegiance to Mormon doctrines and procedures. As mediators, their function was often mainly to pass on messages to the leaders of the various branches, but they also spoke to full congregations. Even so, they always

made sure that a certain part of the message was given only to the top officers so that these would have a real job in passing on to the membership things that had not been heard before. Also, they reported back to their own higher organizations the impression created by branch activities or any branch problems raised before them.

The membership of this group was always changing: a person might be on the High Council for a period, then return to a branch position. Certain highly qualified officers would form a constant core of mission and district organizations, but the rest was made up of a fairly random ~~choide~~ choice of active, conforming and experienced members.

III

(e) Maori of Whangaruru as Mediators

Like any other branch of the Mormon Church, those at Whangaruru had a great many officers. Even when all the branches were combined there were over 40 posts to be filled; before amalgamation the number was far greater. Some members held more than one post; even so, there was a great number of members whose position seemed to correspond to that of a mediator, for as holder of the post they represented Church authority in their dealings with those they were teaching or instructing; when reporting on their activities to the district authorities or when receiving instructions from them, they were acting as representatives of Whangaruru.

If we call all these people mediators, how can we make a distinction between the 'mediators' and the 'ordinary members' at Whangaruru - those to whom the mediator is communicating? For it looks as though a very large percentage of the membership consists of mediators.

In the Mormon system, it is the rule for a person to perform at different times the role of teacher and of congregation, or - if we put this in organizational terms - of the role of superior and subordinate in an authoritarian system. Let us take the example where a person holds office in one of the district organizations, e.g. on the Committee of the District Genealogical Society or the District Relief Society Board. Such a person attends ordinary branch services as a member, and as such is subject to the authority of the branch officers. He is a common member of the congregation. As soon as the branch holds a Genealogical or Relief Society meeting, the situation changes: the member then suddenly becomes a district representative, a member of a higher tier in the hierarchy, and - from the Whangaruru point of view - a revered outsider superior to the local people, attached to the donor rather than the receiver culture. Though the district representative outranks the others present at the meeting, he is under instructions not to interfere with branch leadership if properly performed. This means in practice that the branch authorities carry on with their usual programme, but that the district representative will, at a suitable moment, communicate information or instructions he has received at the

latest meeting of the district committee or board. At this point he becomes the voice of authority. If the district representative is somewhat bumptious, he or she has a second source of power, namely the threat to report to the next district meeting an inadequacy of local organization. This again sets up the representative as a bearer of superior authority.

Yet he may never preside at the meeting; that is the prerogative of the branch officer.

He too has a dual role. Thus the president of the branch genealogical society must be in touch with the district organization too. He is not part of it, but he too gets his instructions there. He reports his branch activities at a higher level and transmits to his flock what he has been told. Yet when he attends the Sunday School or his Priesthood group, he is an ordinary member of the congregation; his high position in the genealogical society no longer counts. He is both a mediator and an ordinary member.

The Maoris of Whangaruru take great satisfaction in this dual role. They do not often get the opportunity to take a responsible kind of European role and they usually do not greatly aspire to such roles because they are, in many respects, associated with experiences of failure at school and in other dealings with Europeans. The Mormon Church offices are without such dangers; for the higher authorities are not harsh in their criticism and never declare any church work a failure. Also, the ties with the rest of the people are never severed;

the office holder, though 'set apart' for his church task, remains in other respect part of the congregation. The performance of subordinate roles in the authoritarian church system is made much more congenial by the knowledge that, in another church role, followers becomes leader and is obeyed in his turn.

Let us consider briefly the most important mediating roles we find in a Mormon Church branch such as Whangaruru.

The highest in seniority is the Branch President, always, since the establishment of the branch in 1887, a local Maori who, more than any other officer, feels the burden of his responsibility, for while the others can frequently slip from their role of officer into that of congregation, the Branch President is, for most of the time, the centre of attention as representative of the Church. When new officers are to be elected, the community talks only of one question: who will be the next president? Everyone speculates; when the Mission President makes his announcement, at the end of a Sunday service, people feel deeply moved as though they had heard a portentous revelation. Most indeed believe that revelation prompts the decision, even though those who have themselves been Branch Presidents themselves know how it is really done, - one or two prominent local members are consulted, merits of rival candidates are carefully weighed during the discussion. As such discussions do not leak out, the sense of mystery remains.

The only new Branch President I saw elected, normally a

stolid man, began to sob, could make no speech except a few jerked incoherent sounds, told me afterwards in an awed voice that he would never have believed that one day he would be God's representative in Whangaruru.

As quite a number of men in the branch have authority to perform spiritual ordinances, the President does not owe his special position, like a Protestant minister, or Catholic priest, to the sacramental acts he performs, but to the administrative function of presiding. A Sunday service would have the same ritual force in his absence; others are as qualified to bless the sick and dying; but the tithes can be received by none but him; nobody else can recommend a member for a Temple visit; he is, furthermore, expected to give a number of other members their monthly assignments (which he does regularly); to control the officers of all the auxiliary organizations (which he avoids whenever possible, for he knows how much these other officers value their independence). Sitting on the platform of the hall, at the centre of the table of officials, facing the congregation, he is watched by all during the service, but he also watches the others. He surveys carefully, for instance, their state of ritual purity. One Branch President told me he could do this un-faillingly during the Sacrament service, for nobody who had been smoking or drinking would dare to take the sacrament. If they have sinned in the previous week they hesitate at that moment; they are afraid; they keep out of sight. By tokens such as these, and by the community gossip, the president knows his flock.

Certain ordinances are peculiarly his province: baptisms and confirmations, funerals. Also, according to Mormon practice, he has special responsibility for the young men aged 12-21, who belong to the lower Priesthood; on Sundays he takes them to a quiet spot, perhaps his own house across the road, and while the other adult men have their priesthood meeting, he instructs them, according to the programme laid down.

At times, it is his task to give his flock instructions, which often are passed on to him by the District President; regularly every month he must report the full statistics of his branch work to higher authority, account for branch moneys, explain any difficulties his people may be meeting in following the church programme.

Next to the branch president the highest authority is vested in the priesthood. The Mormon Church believes it has restored all the offices of an ancient priesthood existing in Israelite times. We find, therefore, in the Mormon Church the names of all the priestly orders mentioned in either the Old or the New Testaments. These have been arranged in rank order, the lesser or Aaronic Priesthood comprising, in ascending line, the offices of deacon, teacher and priest. A boy of twelve, of good behaviour and regular in Church activities will be ordained a deacon, at fifteen a teacher, at seventeen a priest. If he continues to live the Gospel and remains active in the Church, he will, at the age of 19 or shortly after, enter the higher or Melchidezek Priesthood. He is then

called 'elder'.

Male adults in the Church are only in full good standing if they belong to this Priesthood, which gives them authority to perform the spiritual ordinances of the Church - confirmations, ordinations, blessings, the conduct of meetings, though for some of these ordinances he needs instructions from his Branch President. Only elders may go through the Temple.

At Whangaruru, until recently, the number of elders was quite small, partly because the Church was cautious about ordaining Maori to this order, partly also because a great many used to leave the district when they were still in the Aaronic Priesthood and lost touch with the Church or, even when they stayed in Whangaruru, stopped living the Gospel. When an adult, after many years of haphazard living, returns to the Church, still a deacon, or not in the Priesthood at all, his progression through the offices is much faster than that of adolescent boys. Twelve to eighteen months of activity is usually enough for reaching, by gradual degrees, the status of elder.

Thus, over the years 1960-61, the number of Whangaruru elders reached 19. It was they who, in turn, blessed the sacrament, blessed the sick, presided over most of the auxiliary organizations. For one hour, after the weekly sacrament meeting, they met as a body to discuss the business affairs of the branch, to hear a special religious lesson more recondite, more theological than any others taught by the Church. During the months I attended the Priesthood, the subject was 'the great

apostasy', - the history of the Christian Church showing how the early Church fathers made one doctrinal change after another which divorced the Church from its sacred base. The doctrines of the Church fathers were systematically set out; no attempt was made to make them seem wicked, though the history assumed that at the time of Christ there was a Church resembling essentially the Mormon Church of the present, and that its sacredness was lost. This was the main subject the Priesthood discussed, apart from the branch business.

At the head of the priesthood of Whangaruru was the branch priesthood group leader, whose main function was to preside over the weekly meetings, but he did not actually control the business discussions, for the man in charge of branch finances was indubitably the Branch President. The elders of Whangaruru all belonged to one of the two Elders Quorum's of the Northland district. These quorums, both close to the ritually appointed number of 96 members, met once a month at the leadership meetings. In fully established Stakes of the Church, they are very influential, and in Northland the meetings had long been the highlight of the Church life of the previously rather select group ordained to the Melchidezek Priesthood.

Whangaruru elders had ridden on horseback for many hours to be at the Priesthood meetings which were usually in other parts of Northland.

The main local mediator in the priesthood was the group leader who received instructions from the Quorum President,

reported his group's activities to him and acted as intermediary in the organization of quorum picnics, a feature introduced in 1961. His mediating role was rather a formal one, of presiding and passing on routine information, but our group leader explained to me that his was the highest position in the Church next to the Branch Presidency; he had the feeling of wielding real authority and felt a strong pressure to behave generally in a way his Quorum President, and the local community, would expect from one in his position. If he should not, in the end, live up to this ideal, he would see this as a regrettable failure, though one man who held the position, had an irrepressible urge to pursue a personal and family feud by flouting the authority of a new Branch President.

In the hall where the Sunday services are held, the priesthood meeting is from 1 to 2 pm, after the Sacrament meeting is over; the men sit on the platform, while the women and some children, who must wait for the bus to take them home, sit about chatting in the main body of the hall. In order to ensure the necessary privacy for the Priesthood meeting, a curtain is drawn between hall and platform. The women are never quite sure what goes on behind the platform; to them it is secret, or sacred. For the men, belonging to the Priesthood, have special sacral powers which the women deeply respect. Their authority to officiate and to bless is emphasised by their weighty position, every Sunday, behind the curtain.

The women have a parallel organization, the Women's Relief Society; Though this does not have the authority of the priesthood, its power reflects the Church bias towards equal rights for women in education, employment, suffrage, already advocated by Brigham Young. In earlier times, the Women's Relief Society's chief function was to care for poor and sick; today, every branch of the Church operates its own relief society, whose weekly meetings are devoted, in rotation, to the teaching of theology, family health, social questions, and literature. There are also 'work meetings', following out a set monthly programme of craft work.

The Relief Society receives from the district organization texts on which the weekly lessons can be based; it appoints four branch teachers, one for each of the courses. These teachers were in the fullest sense mediators, because their essential task was to interpret the rather alien material contained in the lesson material and impart it to the members of the relief society. They were helped and stimulated by the leadership meetings, held monthly by the district organization. Here the monthly programme of craft work was displayed in a bazaar and talks were given on the subjects set for the next period. At one single leadership meeting, the women teachers might hear about child care, the form of prayer and the art of public speaking. Nevertheless a gap remained between what Salt Lake City planned and what Whangaruru could achieve. The function of the relief society president was to narrow this gap; she could ensure that at least the homecraft work was

done and the child care programme understood. Social questions, theology and literature, especially the last-mentioned, were subjects the President herself might not understand. Nonetheless, they were discussed, much time being given to the interpretation of words and phrases whose comprehension was a necessary preliminary to understanding the concepts. At times, district personnel visited the branch, such as the District President of the Relief Society who was a trained nurse born in Whangaruru.

The largest teaching organization is the Sunday School, which in the Mormon Church offers courses for all ages. The Salt Lake Centre headquarters of the 'Deseret Sunday School Union' has prepared 24 age-graded courses, all in printed books. For children too young to read, there are teachers' guides suggesting word-for-word plans for all lessons, as well as the teaching aids that may be useful. For the others, there are personal copies of textbooks, issued free of charge, and a teachers' guide printed separately, again greatly simplifying the task of lesson preparation, but not fully understood in Whangaruru.

As Church attendance rarely exceeds 100 even since the branches were amalgamated, it would be absurd to offer 24 courses and in fact I never saw more than five classes given - three junior ones for the age groups 4-8, 8-12, 12-16 and two senior classes.

Though plenty of discussion was allowed, there was hardly ever a questioning of doctrine, but rather an attempt to

discover, from authoritative sources, what the printed lesson really meant. If the teacher did not know, a class member would give an explanation. It did not often happen that nobody knew the main point of a Sunday School lesson, as it always dealt with basic doctrines.

The Superintendent presiding over the branch Sunday School received instructions from the District Superintendent, reported to him on branch progress and supposedly helped and supervised the teachers. But I have never seen a Branch Superintendent take up this task of professional supervision, nor would such a role have been appreciated by the branch teachers unless the Superintendent was notably more knowledgeable than they. His role was ceremonial and administrative: he sat at the officers' table, told classes when to start and finish. He made sure that teachers were available for all classes (this was his hardest task), wrote his reports.

Transmission of doctrine was not the only, perhaps not even the main function of these lessons. The teacher, whatever the degree of his knowledge, was conscientiously playing the teacher's role, in that he summarised the appropriate portion of the syllabus, offered explanations of difficult points, aimed at liveliness, asked the class questions and encouraged discussion and either kept strictly to the point or allowed the class to focus on a question of special interest, still broadly within the subject. Thus, the role of teacher and the role of learner were firmly institutionalised. And these roles were not played in a formal, ceremonial fashion. The teacher had to

speak with fervour and conviction, for he was also judged by the norms of Maori public speaking, yet he was teacher rather than orator for his first duty always remained to 'put over' the lesson. Among the class, there was a minority who engaged in animated discussion, but yet it would have felt incomplete without the old ladies in the background who were there to demonstrate that the lesson had the sanction of the community at large, and they did this by mere presence, by drowsy assent.

The roles of teacher and learner excluded quite rigidly all external relationships; a father became a fellow-pupil, so did a chief, so did the adversaries in the current factional quarrel. One could attend church lessons from week to week without realising the existence of these other relationships. Only the meaning of the lessons counted: church roles were strictly universalistic, and specific, and affectively neutral.

The only sign of tension was the fixity with which these role attributes were maintained; members never permitted themselves what Goffman 1961 calls 'role distance'. This would have been too dangerous. It was necessary, for the sake of solidarity, that the torrents of sentiment should be kept in check.

The other Church organizations active in the community were the Primary, the M.I.A. and the Genealogical Society. The first of these undertook the religious education of children between 4 and 12 years, the second implements the elaborate recreational programme, while also teaching some theology to those above 12 years of age, men and women. The Genealogical

Society sought to induce members to record their family trees in a form suitable for Temple work. The former two of these organizations had regular weekly meetings, well attended by members, whereas the third met more irregularly and, during the period of my visit, did not make very much headway.

From this brief survey, one can see the extent of mediation carried on by branch members. Yet the picture is not yet complete: the control of most of the seven organizations mentioned was not in the hands of a single president, for he was usually assisted by two counsellors and a secretary. Therefore, the control of the organizations alone called for the performing of 22 distinct roles. In addition the branch had 20 teaching positions, most of them calling for one lesson a week, but some for one lesson a month. Furthermore, both the Branch Presidency and the Relief Society assigned a number of people each month the task of making home visits, perhaps 6 a month, during which they were to give a devotional lesson either to the family as a whole, or to the woman of the house. Theoretically such visits also serve to make the Church aware of any domestic troubles, but in Whangaruru such troubles became known through other, less formal channels.

IV

Mormon Roles

There is no doubt that people liked playing their

church roles. While in daily life the Maori insist on informality and the personal touch, they liked their church roles enough to carry them over to non-church activities like the poukai (where they also called each other 'Brother' and 'Sister') and even into their homes during the Family Hour which was a popular weekly event for many, especially the children.

The love of this role was undoubtedly characteristic of what Kelman called 'identification'. When they played it they felt themselves servants of God and the Church. It was a feeling they liked. It was not the whole of life, but it was - from one point of view - the most significant part of life. And it gave strength to face many difficulties that were otherwise hard to overcome.

In the daily life of the church, playing the role meant first of all giving and listening to and discussing the lessons. These lessons took up most of the Church time - altogether at least twelve hours of every week. To play the role meant to show intellectual curiosity. The lessons were really too difficult, particularly because they were written in difficult language. Most of the time was occupied in grappling with meaning. For a servant of the Church, it was highly desirable to learn about it, to acquire its cognitive universe.

It was also part of the role to be a reliable and efficient administrator. This lay otherwise outside the experience of most people in Whangaruru. Monthly reports had to be sent in in time, lessons had to be prepared and Church meetings

had to start at the proper time. They were the only meetings that always did start on time; and they finished not a minute later than the official schedule laid down. It was always stressed in preaching that the Church is the one human organization where there is perfect order: to play his part in that order is the task of the Church servant. Though church administration was burdensome, it was valued for the confidence and security it gave in an environment otherwise disorderly.

It was part of the Church role to take responsibility as servant of a hieratic colossus that encompassed the universe. The fact of being 'set apart' as a 'President' or a 'Superintendent' in that organization gave unchallengeable authority; to disobey would be apostasy, it would be denial of the Holy Ghost. Thus it became part of the church role to obey authority without question. To exercise authority was more difficult and more painful for obedience did not eliminate critical gossip and - worse still - a suspension of future activity by the injured parties. Nonetheless the authority was always available for coming to a decision; and the external Church organization made sure that decisions were taken. If sorely pressed, the branch president could have the decision taken by a higher authority, which was always effective.

I have already pointed out that Church roles are characteristically universalistic, specific and affectively neutral. It was for this reason, no doubt, that unpopular decisions were accepted by people when acting in their church roles. Tribal projects, since the decline of the chieftainship,

had always foundered on status involvement; but the status the men felt bound to protect and to promote was in the tribal structure where they dared not allow a rival to bypass them. In a Church situation, a high chief could afford to give in to a man of much lower rank, for his tribal status was not in question. Outside, his will might be paramount (which in any case it was not) but in Church the decision was made according to Church rules, had no effect outside the Church sphere and was outside the reach of family feelings. It is understandable therefore that the poukai women called each other 'Sisters' and that they called the men who tried to intrude into their authority 'Brothers'. By thus fictively establishing Church relationships, they managed to persuade those present to play the kind of universalistic roles which could lead to peaceful, effective decisions.

We notice here again that the Mormon role is no longer 'encapsuled' and 'isolated' from the rest of the Whangaruru value system. Rather it is alternative value system which is spreading and competing in many areas with the traditional one. This trend is encouraged by the extensive participation of teenagers in the church administration. These young people become secretaries and teachers so that the Church principles of organization are assimilated by them at a very young age. It is likely that when they grow up, they will conduct public affairs to a large extent according to the Church pattern. I shall return to the process of Mormon education in the next chapter.

Whatever is done in the Church is perceived as sacred and all the authority that is wielded is charismatic. Whatever is done in the Church is recorded in heaven. The teen-age teachers are respectfully listened to. The whole structure is seen as rising above the limitations and miseries of daily life, as being a foretaste of a millennial existence. It is not only concerned with man as a mortal being, but with the life hereafter and with the ancestors who are already in another world. Though the organization as I have sketched it in this chapter is earthly enough, it reaches out at every point to eternity.

It therefore equals, in its mystical comprehensiveness, the traditional Maori world order, where communion was open between the living and the dead and where mastery over the universe, conceived as mana, was also available to man. Later, I shall show how Mormon doctrine is prevailing over mana but I shall first, in the next chapter, set out the content of the two world views as they oppose one another in modern Whangaruru.

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN MODERN WHANGARURU

I

When the Church of Latter day Saints was founded in 1830, it was in opposition to the established Christian denominations. Joseph Smith believed that all Christian churches had lost the blessing of the Holy Spirit as early as the third century A. D.; it was through him that the Church of Jesus was restored.

This same spirit of opposition to the established Christian churches also determined Mormon mission activity outside the United States. Missions were established only among peoples previously converted to Christianity, so that it was possible to present the Mormon view of the gospel in the same framework as at home. Whangaruru had been Anglican since the eighteen thirties, though the Catholics had also made a number of converts. By 1887, the Maori both in Whangaruru and elsewhere, had become somewhat dissatisfied with these churches and not only the Mormons but also many nativistic prophets introduced faiths in opposition.

The Mormon task in recently Christianized countries such as New Zealand had a complexity absent from its mission among the whites, for in New Zealand there were two religious systems to which opposition was necessary: the orthodox Christian one and the traditional Maori one, full of beliefs

inconsistent with Mormon doctrine. There was the further circumstance that the Maori, being of Polynesian descent, were regarded as children of Laman, part therefore of the Chosen People and supposedly still possessing, in a confused form, some memories of the revelations given to the people of Israel. Concepts like mana and tapu, the patriarchal aspects of the social structure, the emphasis on hospitality and generosity, last but not least the belief in Io, - all these created a relationship in which opposition was tempered by agreement.

Mormon strategy, in these circumstances, was to begin by stressing the agreement, and to direct their opposition in the first instance to the teachings of the mission churches rather than to the problem of idolatry. This was introduced gradually; and the gradualism was not mere expediency, as the enemies of Mormonism have often charged, but consistent with the Mormon vision of the divine plan which allows for gradual progress by a series of revelations, and thus a gradual increase in mastery over the universe. To this doctrine I shall return.

My analysis of the Maori and Mormon world view will show, in any case, that there are significant areas where Mormonism can genuinely side with traditional Maori religion, in opposition to the orthodox churches. There is for instance the fact that while orthodox Christianity is pluralistic (in the sense of Kluckhohn 1956) both the Maori world view and Mormonism are unitary.

This appears in the attitude to the health and well

being of the body. Mormonism teaches that the soul of man is composed of body as well as spirit and that there is no essential difference between the two. Tending of the body therefore becomes religious service: health, education, recreation, economics provide a crucial opportunity for the progress of the soul.

Another such essential area where Mormon and Maori combines against the orthodox churches is in the question of man's original sin. The Maori had no such doctrine in their pre-contact system and it is interesting to read, in the diary of Rev. Baker whose ministry in 1835-42 was the highwater mark of Anglicanism in Whangaruru, an entry, dated 27 May 1841: 'I found it exceeding difficult to teach a New Zealander that he is saved by Living Grace. He cannot easily conceive that there is no merit in his own works, but alas the mistake is not confined to the New Zealanders.' It is a likely gloss that by 1887 Whangaruru, though grasping the basic message of Christ, had not come to terms with Paulinism.

The Mormons told them there was no need to. From the doctrine of the unity of body and soul follows the view that the punishment for Adam's sin was mortality of the body, 'but divine justice forbids that we be accounted sinners solely because our parents transgressed.' (Talmage:474-5) For this doctrine, again, they would easily get wholehearted Maori support.

In the rest of this chapter I shall show the pattern of agreements and disagreements between Mormon and Maori doctrine out of which modern religious life in Whangaruru emerges.

II

Objects of Religion ¹⁶

The Mormons disapproved of the respect shown for such traditional religious objects as food plants and working materials, as expressed in avoidances and rituals, but as these are in any case passing into disuse under European influence, Church teaching does little more than issue a warning from time to time. Yet if many people felt uncomfortable burning flax, and preferred to bury it, this was hardly a serious religious issue.

Man is a dwelling place of the divine in traditional Maori thought, in Christian thought and, in a special way, in Mormon thought. What distinguishes the Maori from the Mormon view of man's potential Godhood is the Mormon notion of obedience. The Maori saw mana as a means of gaining mastery over the universe - 'to succeed where by human reckoning he ought to fail' - (Lehmann:9) and the expectation of the active Mormon is precisely the same. But it was essential for the man with mana to maintain constantly his superiority over all other men, as well as over that aspect of the natural order over which his mana extends; whatever supernatural help he may receive, if he achieves mastery, it is in his own name,

¹⁶In this and the following two sections I have followed a phenomenological method of description based on Van der Leeuw. Facts are derived from various Mormon standard works, especially Talmage and Widtsøe 1939.

his personal name and - which is identical - his tribal name.

In this respect the concept of mana conflicts with Christianity. The basis of this conflict, for orthodox Christianity, is stated by van der Leeuw: 560, in the following words: 'Faith is essentially hostile to every form of domination of the world without exception, since it regards this as rivalry with God.'

The Mormon position would need to be put in slightly different terms. Here God is not regarded as creator, but as the father of the human race, the spearhead of man's eternal progression in a developing universe, infinitely more advanced than man in intelligence and purity, yet still connatural with him. (O'Dea:124,126,128,133) Man has all the God-like attributes in potentia. Even today, he can speak in tongues, cast out devils, miraculously heal the sick, open the eyes of the blind, etc. Man therefore can, in potentia, dominate the world. In this respect Mormonism accepts the concept of mana.

This advancement towards Godhood is only possible, however, in as much as man obeys God's ordinances which reach him through the Mormon Church, to whose authority he must defer. (O'Dea 122-8, Doctrine and Covenants 84, 67-9). He is, as O'Dea: 152 points out God's subordinate engaged with Him in gaining control over the world. Both God and man are part of this world, and their mastery is of the same type - an external, manipulative kind of mastery'.

It is therefore logical that Mormonism took issue quite seriously against the idea that men can have mana, and that in

the many speeches on this subject the emphasis fell always on the need for obedience, for accepting the Church's authority. (van der Leeuw: ch 84)

On this basis we can understand the many sermons that were preached concerning the idea of mana. In the Mormon view, man has supernatural power, but this can come from two sources, namely God and the Devil. If this mana is exercised by a duly authorised officer of the Church, in obedience to God's commands, then it comes from God. In other circumstances it is regarded as Satanic.

The dead, to the Maori, used to be the main object of religious relationships. Even today, one cannot say that the dead are ever disposed of. Their presence is intensely felt during tangis, in cemeteries, in revelations, and in contact with the guardians. Their most continuous life is in the genealogies which, though not recited as frequently, or known in as much detail as before, are still present in the consciousness, as the basis of the deep sense of family.

To the Mormons, as to other Christians, the dead have no power to influence the living. Towards this essential tenet of religion, too, much Mormon preaching is directed. Nonetheless, the affective contact with the dead is central to Mormonism. Unlike other Christians, they do not treat the pagan dead as irrevocably damned. On the contrary they regard the Maori concern with their dead as meritorious, indeed as one of the tokens by which they can be recognized as descendants of Israel.

The Mormon relationship with the dead, discussed in more detail in another context, consists in the main of the performance of ordinances whereby the living help the dead in their spiritual progress. For the dead continue to progress, impeded by their lack of physical body in only certain particulars. Thus the dead can only enter the Mormon Church, and thus qualify for the highest degree of celestial glory, if they are baptised on earth by a proxy; similarly, an earthly proxy is necessary before they can be ordained to the priesthood. Thus, the living help the dead by performing the ordinances; the reward for this lies in a further temple ordinance whereby a man can be sealed, (mystically joined) to his dead ancestors, thus forming, with them, a numerous and powerful lineage which will be reunited in the hereafter. The greater the kinship group thus united in the Celestial Kingdom, the greater the degree of Godhood the family is deemed to have achieved.

Such communion with the ancestors is a highly satisfying notion to Maori church members. The idea that a dead person is reunited with his ancestors is present in traditional Polynesian eschatology, though not with the same tidiness and precise codification. For the rules governing sealing are very intricate. The essential difference between Mormon and Polynesian lies in the power assigned to the dead. To the Mormons they are not objects of worship, but rather an integral part of the community of worshippers. Mormon teaching goes to much trouble to teach the Maori this concept of the dead not as

powers but as fellow-worshippers, a conception of the dead which van der Leeuw: 213 shows to be widely prevalent. This teaching is most fully understood by those Maori who visit the temple.

Mormons, from the age of four onwards, are constantly taught about the nature of God. O'Dea: 123, explains: 'Mormon religious writers often speak of God in the same terms as those used in older, more traditional theologies, referring to omniscience, omnipotence, creation, etc. Yet obviously the meaning of these terms is to be understood in the context of Mormon developments. The creative function of God is conceived differently from that in orthodox Christian belief. For Mormonism, God's relation to the universe is not unlike that of man; God, like man, is subject to the law of progression.' O'Dea then quotes a Mormon theologian, Widtsoe 1915, who explains that God achieved his conquest over the universe only gradually through self-effort, and though to our understanding it seems complete, it is in fact a developing process.

To the people of Whangaruru, God is presented above all as a Father figure, a Person in human shape, who loves them, and whom they love and to whom they owe obedience. If they pollute themselves by transgression, they will not be able to bear His presence, but feel ashamed. He is not depicted as capricious or inscrutable, for He has, fully revealed His commandments, as at present known, to the Mormon Church.

Not much teaching was heard, at Whangaruru, about the 'development' of God, but a great deal about His - to human

eyes - infinite power and His human shape. The latter doctrine was for some time a source of conflict, being indignantly rejected by some non-Mormons attending church services, as well as by some converts. Today, the anthropomorphic conception of God is firmly accepted; God is 'the fellow up there'; His nature is learnt from the standard Church lessons, and constantly reiterated, as a core tenet of doctrine.

III

Life Cycle

Newly born children are not baptised but blessed, an ordinance performed in chapel on the first Sunday of the month. At the age of four, the children's formal religious education begins: they enter the organization called 'Primary' which gives one lesson a week; the Sunday School gives another. In the youngest group (4-6) the children learn about God 'and what kind of person He is and His attributes'. At the ages of 7-8 they are taught the meaning of baptism, for this ordinance is performed at the age of eight, when the child is presumed to be accountable to God and capable of repentance. The teacher works through carefully planned and graded textbooks which do not only prescribe what is to be taught at each lesson period, but also what teaching methods and aids should be used, what questions asked, almost from minute to minute.

At eight years children are baptised and confirmed a

member of the church. The second rite de passage for Mormon children is 'graduation' at the age of twelve. While preparing for graduation, children - still at the Primary - 'mostly learn the Articles of Faith, the Word of Wisdom and the organization of the Church. When they graduate they are interviewed first by the Primary President of the local branch and of the Northland district, then by the Priesthood adviser and by the Branch President. These officers assure themselves that the children know what they have been taught. It is a very special occasion when any girl or boy is graduating.' Like all other important branch events, graduation takes place in chapel on the first Sunday of the month. Once graduated, children leave the Primary and enter the Mutual Improvement Association. (M.I.A.)

The Church's interest in children's education is not restricted to religious doctrine. It operates its own sumptuously appointed boarding school at Hamilton, where fees are very moderate and where church members are encouraged to send their children. Nor is the work of the State schools ignored as being beyond the sphere of religious concern. At a leadership meeting at Kaikohe, it was stressed that it was a duty of church members to create a home atmosphere favourable to regular school-going, and that children should be encouraged to do well at high school and if possible attend a university. Thus the Church encouraged its member to take serious note of the government's publicity on Maori education, which followed the same lines.

In addition, Mormonism, through relief society teaching, sought to improve the standard of care for children's health; through the M.I.A. it introduced to Maori communities more varied and active forms of recreation.

To adolescents, Mormonism offers a great deal of activity and responsibility; for the boys, there are several more rites de passage, as they progress through the steps of the lesser or Aaronic priesthood.

Much of the activity is centered in the M.I.A. According to the Church plan, this organization should consist of a separate section for men and for women but at Whangaruru, because the smallness of numbers, the groups met together, even though after the amalgamation, the lessons for boys and girls were kept separate. There is also a division between the junior members, up to 21 years, and the adults. A number of these were always present, but the atmosphere of M.I.A. is a youthful one: the junior members tend to hold the centre of the stage.

Half the weekly period of M.I.A. is taken up by a devotional lesson, the other half with recreational activities. Of these, the M.I.A. handbook provides a remarkable variety: music, drama, oratory, dance, folkdance, parlour games. Ideally, a branch has a director of drama, music, dance and speech but this could not be managed at Whangaruru. Even so, many things were tried: a pageant, singing lessons, and oratory, for example. In 1960, there was a religious pageant, a new experiment. In 1961, when amalgamation had greatly added

to the number attending, parlour games were introduced, simple standard European ones, long played by much younger European children, but causing much amusement when they lightened a Church meeting. Scouting was also supposed to be introduced in the M.I.A., but never got beyond the formalities of badges.

The M.I.A. holds a large number of rallies, some quarterly, some annually. These are again partly devotional, partly recreational. Swimming, a dance and a concert are usually organised. At the concert, one can see items from all the branches in the district. Maori action songs and hakas are performed by many; in addition there are Samoan dances, tap dances, choral and solo singing, often very jazzy, dramatic sketches called skits, as well as religious pageants. Practising for the rallies was done in a frantic rush of one or two weeks before each performance.

At the same time, boys as well as girls are given many Church responsibilities: as proxies for posthumous baptisms in the Temple, as officers - especially secretaries - in various of the branch organizations, as teachers in the Primary and Sunday School. For the boys there are, in addition, the duties of the priesthood, not heavy but portentous by their sacredness. As deacons, they serve the Sacrament bread and water to members on Sundays; as teachers, they accompany an older man on home visits when lessons are given to branch members; as priest, a young man may help to administer the Sacrament, standing on the platform before the congregation

and saying the standard prayer blessing the bread or water. There was only one priest in Whangaruru, as young men usually leave the community for employment before they turn 17 or 18 and can become priests. Mostly the blessing of the sacrament was done by elders; therefore, he and his family felt wonderfully pleased when he attained this office.

The full significance of these adolescent activities becomes clear if we see them in the context of the total environment. Whangaruru youth is in contact with the dominant white society mainly through the school. The attitude of the New Zealand school system generally is to treat adolescents wholly as children, closely supervised and supposedly irresponsible. Perhaps in the Maori schools this attitude is emphasised even more strongly. The Church, by treating them as young adults, therefore cast them in a role entirely unfamiliar to them from their school experience, even though the activities - for instance the giving of lessons - often lay within the same area.

On this the attitude of the Maori community traditionally coincided with that of the Church. In the traditional Maori life cycle status and responsibility sharply increase with age but there seems to have been no age barrier below which a child was not regarded as a responsible member of the community. Responsibility was given at an early age; autonomy and pride were fostered. (Firth 1959a:189) It is used to be the practice to speak to children 'as though they were grown up', with the same sort of respectful attitude. (Best

1924c:409f) Under the impact of white influences, this pattern has greatly changed, but the practice of assigning very responsible family roles to adolescents has continued. Most day-to-day tasks are delegated to them when this is convenient, and close supervision is definitely not thought appropriate. The Church role is therefore far closer to the home than the school role; but it differs from the home role in that it demands obedience to strict formal rules. One might call it a synthesis of school and home behaviour: it combines the formality of school with the responsible status of home.

According to the Mormon plan, the religious life of adulthood follows smoothly from these preparations: about 11 to 12 hours of church work a week, the Mission President said, are expected of a fully active Mormon. This involves the attending of the various auxiliaries, the assignments for home teaching and other regular activities. But we should add the service that is asked of the holders of the more strenuous positions in the branch, the district and mission rallies and conferences, the visits to the Temple and all the special preparation these activities involve. To be an active member of the Mormon church means to be almost constantly busy, in one's free time, on the work of the Church. In this programme there is little time for religious contemplation, little time to ponder basic problems in solitude or indeed do anything in solitude. One has to adjust to the rhythm of frequent practical tasks. But in Whangaruru, people still found time to talk

religion outside the Church functions, at informal talking sessions, or during fishing and other shared tasks. The preparation of lessons induced some to spend the solitary hours of the late evening in reading religious texts and to ponder, so that Whangaruru was probably more contemplative, less matter-of-fact than the average Mormon is expected to be. Many Whangaruru church members, not having regular jobs, devoted more time to the Church than to anything else.

The Mormon view of the role of male and female was at once similar to that of the Maori and very different. The similarity lay especially in the priestly function of the head of the household, a characteristic that was congenial to the Maori conception of the male as tapu and therefore the natural intermediary between the household and the spirit world.

Before the conversion of 1959, the position of the Whangaruru male was ambiguous - his role was ill-defined as Ritchie also points out when describing the male role in his village Rakau (1956:57-61). In the home, his superiority went unchallenged; outside it, he was the natural representative of his family. Yet, in day to day relationships, he played no leadership role. Many men worked away from the community and were at home only on weekends, but even if they were permanently at home, they preferred to leave responsibility to the women. The effect of Mormonism was that they began to see themselves as patriarchs, as hallowed authority figures, and began to take responsibility once again. It is possible that the lack of role definition was the direct result of the

collapse of belief in personal tapu and that Mormonism offered a new type of tapu which provided a suitable substitute.

When the men began to take their priesthood seriously, both they and their wives had to change domestic attitudes. The women spoke about it most: satisfaction that the men accepted more responsibility; testimonies in chapel and elsewhere that they had not 'respected their husbands enough', had quarreled with them too much, had not acknowledged their sacredness as patriarchs.

Though women cannot hold the priesthood, their status in Mormonism has always been high. Utah granted women's suffrage in 1879, was early in giving women educational and vocational opportunities equal to men's. This emphasis was somewhat strange to the Maori; for instance, when the leadership meetings at Whangarei started, the women spent most of their time in the kitchen preparing a huge lunch, according to Maori custom. The women were accustomed, at any gathering where the men talked, to listen if possible, but to give priority to their kitchen duties.

The Church authorities reacted by cutting out the sumptuous lunches at the Whangarei chapel altogether: the women should stay at the meetings and participate fully like the men. The kitchen was less important. Thus, while the men became patriarchs, a new dimension was also added to the women's role. The Church had asserted, for the first time, that their spiritual progress was more important than their cooking.

The full religious life of a family does not begin until the husband was ordained an elder, which happens, according to the Mormon plan, from the age of 19, though most Whangaruru men - whose life was not at all religious in early adulthood - were not ordained until they returned to the Church in middle age or old age. Once a man becomes an elder he buys a bottle of the finest olive oil-it must be very high quality - and blesses the oil, holding it in readiness for healing of the sick. Also, if he and his wife qualify for a 'recommend', they can then take part in Temple ordinances. One such ordinance is a Temple wedding, which is encouraged in Mormon preaching, and for which both bride and bridegroom have to be sexually entirely pure. There have been no such weddings from Whangaruru.

All the other ordinances, too, are often concerned with family bonds, that are to endure beyond mortal life: the endowment whose purpose is to obtain 'knowledge of the truths of God', the sealing which join man and wife for eternity, and the sealing of the family group which enables the entire circle thus sealed together to remain joined in the Celestial Kingdom. These are the most vital ordinances in a person's life, but the Temple is usually visited several times a year; often the visitors act as proxies for a dead person who is to be baptised or ordained.

Temple work can never be complete, because the number of relations, living and dead, who can be sealed to the family group is infinite. The living, before they can be

sealed, often have to be converted, or persuaded to change their way of life. For the dead, accurate family records have to be gathered which is an arduous piecemeal process. It is quite an event to add even one person to the celestial family circle.

The Temple teaches, above all, a more complete version of Mormon esoteric doctrine than is discussed in the ordinary lessons. People come back with a far clearer image of the hereafter. Before going to the Temple, people usually know about the work of the Church on this earth, but are vague about its work in the hereafter. Temple visits gradually familiarize the people with a kind of mirror image of the terrestrial Church seen in the hereafter, where the same things happen, though spiritually heightened by the closer proximity of God.

Death, to the Temple people, becomes less tragic in as much as the hereafter holds fewer mysteries and is concretely seen as a meeting place for the whole family. The Mormons would like to see Maori funerals become decorous and subdued, a time of faith and quiet assurance, and thus the Mormon image of the life cycle comes into direct conflict with the spirit of the Maori tangi. For at the tangi the violent expression of grief, the struggle with the ghost, relationship with the dead as religious objects and immoderacy in food and other indulgences are institutionalised. While the religious life-cycle of the people of Whangaruru follows the Mormon pattern, in general, very closely, the Mormon death-customs were only

beginning to be established in 1960-61.

IV

Sacramental Acts

A crucial part of the cultural goods introduced by Mormonism are its sacramental acts and related phenomena; these must therefore be briefly summarised.

Baptism (tohi) by total immersion was an old Maori practice - though the immersion does not always appear to have been total - not only for the newly born, but at other crucial times, when ritual purification was needed. People used certain places in the sea and in the Punaruku river. After the Anglican interlude, the old ritual use of the home waters was restored under Mormonism, and this re-introduction above all is talked of by the Maori as proving the truth of their present faith.

The law of tithing, though introduced early, has only been pressed with arithmetical precision since 1959; it is 10% of income to which the Church had added certain special levies to pay for the Church College and the new Whangarei chapel. The Church never stresses that it needs this money to keep the church going; but rather that it is part of man's covenant with God and therefore essential for obtaining God's full blessing. As such, income from social security must also be tithed; one's good standing in the Church (and the issuing

of Temple recommends) is dependent on the paying of tithes.

Eating and drinking are sacramental acts in all cultures; for the Mormon, to whom the health of the body is crucial in the plan of salvation, the 'Word of Wisdom' (Doctrine and Covenants 89) regulating food habits is the most inflexible of sacred laws. The principal prohibitions are of alcoholic liquor, tobacco, tea and coffee: the observance of these prohibitions is the most frequently quoted as a basic criterion whether somebody is 'living the Gospel'. It is a clear expression of Church allegiance, a pre-condition for Temple recommends and advancement in the priesthood. The Word of Wisdom also discourages, but more flexibly, other stimulants and any form of immoderation. Overeating is bad for the body; rich and expensive foods are unjustifiable expense; ideally, the Mormon eats small sober meals planned not for pleasure but to poise the body for its spiritual battle. Obesity being one of the Maori main health problems, the Mormon teaching on food is pertinent enough. For many middle aged people in Whangaruru, it has been a valuable reinforcement of doctor's orders.

As a further gesture towards moderation, Mormonism has instituted a fast, on the first Sunday each month, when no food is eaten until evening. Fasts are recommended but not enjoined before blessings of the sick.

At Sunday services, the equivalent of the Christian 'communion' is called the sacrament. Wine has been replaced by 'pure water' by a revelation of Joseph Smith. Nobody kneels

except the two celebrants sanctifying the bread and water.

Prayers for the blessing of the sacrament and a few other sacramental acts follow a standard form; for the rest, they are spontaneous. People say 'what the heart prompts them', so that at the opening of every meeting something appropriate to the occasion is made up, sometimes at considerable length; it is normal for any Mormon to speak, publicly, to God. Yet forms are taught: a prayer must have appropriate structure, which is standardised - a fixed sequence of six standard themes - but within these, there is still much freedom. Talks were given from time to time on what constitutes correct prayer; it was intimated that many prayers in the Northland district were not yet 'correct'. On one occasion the Mission President himself gave a brief exposition on the correct usage of Thou, Thee, Thy and Thine. Some older people prayed in Maori.

Blessings are given by members of the Melchidezek Priesthood to people suffering from sickness or accidents and to mothers in labour. American missionaries make regular calls to hospitals for this purpose. First, an elder pours previously consecrated oil on the crown of the head of the sufferer and prays while anointing. Afterwards all elders present lay their hands on the sick person's head, one of them speaking a blessing. No fixed formula is used, the officiant speaking 'what the heart prompts', but necessary is the phrase 'in the name of Jesus Christ and by virtue of the Holy Priesthood.

Like other sacral acts, a blessing should not be given without authority from the Branch President, or in emergencies he must be informed afterwards. The Quorum President of the Priesthood keeps a record of all blessing given.

Mormon blessings are complementary to, not instead of, professional medical care. They arise from the belief that body and spirit are essentially the same substance.

Even though in the Mormon Church the Ministry is widely spread, and no priestly garb or other outward sign is used, active members do have certain common distinguishing symbols. One of these is the fine new leather satchel in which devotional books and papers are carried; this is a very common possession even though a man may not otherwise own any stylish objects. At most Mormon Maori gatherings, but not at Whangaruru, dress was not only neat and careful but slightly sharp, in what passes for the American way, though it reminded me sometimes rather of the way of American jazz. Bow-ties were common and sharply cut suits. The model here was not the Zion elder, but a more generalised image of Americanism. With these outward symbols went learned modes of speech and acting varying somewhat from one organization to another. For the M.I.A. it was somewhat reminiscent of the cheer-leader; for all the women officers, a sweetness and gentle pressure one associates with the ideal of American womanhood. They were the perceived attitudes of the American mission personnel, model of the sacramental role. At Whangaruru, their impact was minimal; elsewhere, mostly quite pronounced.

A special sacramental act, called the Patriarchal Blessing, is given to members of good standing as a guide in living. Such a blessing is given, once in a life-time, by an officer called Patriarch, or by the Temple President, who pronounces, by revelation, the lineage of the Church member, tracing him back to one of the patriarchs of the Old Testament, e.g. Enoch, Joseph, Ephraim, Manasseh, especially the two last-mentioned. The Maori people are often astounded by the Patriarch's knowledge of their past lives and their ability to foresee the future.

Other sacramental Mormon Church innovations are the periodic sacred events which enliven the yearly cycle. In branch services there is a monthly cycle, certain sacraments and meetings being apportioned to the first Sunday - or another specific Sunday - of the month. Each Church organization has, in addition, its own monthly, quarterly and annual cycle, e.g. the Relief Society's monthly bazaar, the M.I.A. quarterly district rally. The rhythm of so many regular activities at set dates presents a significant innovation to the modern Maori.

Finally, there are the Church buildings: the Temple at Hamilton, the Church College and the Church community facing the Temple, the many chapels right through the country. Here the architecture, the sumptuousness, the most insignificant fittings are American in style; to New Zealanders, they look ultra-modern, clean, spacious, sharp and simple in line, the gateway indeed to a potent and highly prestigious culture.

The Mormon life cycle, if regarded within the Judaeo-Christian tradition, represents the restoration of some supposedly very ancient sacramentals. Among the Maori it was similarly seen as an opposition to Anglicanism and a restoring, in quite different form, of Maori sacramentals. The rules of the 'Word of Wisdom' were accepted as a restoration of ancient sacredness in this double sense. The American elders remarked to me that it was peculiarly easy for the Maori to give up smoking and drinking; and so it was, there was very little 'recidivism' that I could observe. To the elders this signified no doubt a special faculty of the children of Israel for observing sacramental rules. And indeed, though the food taboos among the pre-contact Maori were mostly seasonal ones, they were strictly kept.

The Mormon blessing of the sick was adopted as a substitute for the activities of Maori faith-healers. The powers of second sight displayed (or supposedly displayed) in patriarchal blessing have their parallel in the faculty of 'matakite', a gift some Maori are said to have in a high degree; and these people were classified by Best as performing one, though not the highest, type of priestly function. Finally, the paying of tithes is seen by the Maori not as ecclesiastical exploitation (an insinuation white non-members like to make) but rather as a necessary reciprocity: God's demand in return for his blessing. Nothing is easier for the Maori to believe than that God operates according to the principles of gift exchange. On the other hand, they find it harder to accept

the idea of paying a priest for performing a sacrament. Maori Mormons often told me that the Church of Latter-day Saints did not make such charges nor handed round a collection box, and this was meant to prove that the other churches were in error. This argument, whatever its source, distinguishes between contractual payment for services (which is seen as non-sacred) and tithing which represents no payment for anything specific but rather a general maintaining of (sacred) reciprocity.

Whether we look at beliefs, the life cycle or sacramental acts, we note significant features common to Maori and Mormons, but not shared by the dominant white majority. Early Anglicanism set up a system in strong contradiction to the traditional Maori one. If the Maori hoped at one time that Anglicanism would provide a panacea, they lost this illusion as a result of the historical events of the nineteenth century and sought a restoration of Maori ritual and belief. This led to the emergence of the millennial nativistic churches and to the acceptance, in certain districts, of Mormonism. All these movements had strong Christian elements; and Mormonism, like the others, was seen as a synthesis resolving the Anglican-Maori opposition.

Yet this synthesis, described in this chapter in its cognitive and symbolic aspects, led to further contradiction when the now modified and modernised Maori system had to co-exist with the significantly different values of the Mormon system, which became increasingly explicit as to its demands

not only on religious but also on social and economic behaviour.

To these demands we shall now turn.

THE BIPOLAR VALUE SYSTEM

I

Beyond the explicit obligations and prohibitions I have described, Mormonism aims at fundamental changes in attitudes. Often, when I asked by informants: 'why do you think this is wrong - or bad -?', I was not quoted a commandment out of the sacred books, but I was told 'that it is not the Mormon way'. People evidently felt that, over and above the commandments they knew, there was an ideal mode of life Mormons should seek to follow, modelled perhaps on what they saw the American missionaries did who - as they told me - were sent to them as a model to follow. This Mormon way made heavy demands, yet these were lighter - as we shall see later - than what the white New Zealanders require of the Maori people.

I shall base my description of Mormon educational objectives on Clyde Kluckhohn's theory that there are, in every culture, basic value emphases, of which he identified thirteen.

If the Maori, Mormon and Dominant New Zealand White value systems are compared, the same relationship is observed as in the spheres of beliefs, life cycle and ritual. While a very great degree of opposition is found between the Maori and Dominant White systems, the Mormon system takes an intermediate position.

An analysis of the Dominant White system, in Kluckhohn's

terms, fell outside my research plan, nor do I know of any other studies from which a reliable profile can be constructed. However, Kluckhohn himself did analyse the value system of a white Protestant American group (the Homesteaders), and from my own observation of white New Zealanders I should imagine the value differences between Homesteaders and New Zealanders are not great enough to affect the list of emphases, though there would undoubtedly be differences if the weightings were more finely graded. Therefore, if we use Kluckhohn's results for Homesteaders as though they applied to the dominant white New Zealand culture, we probably do not do much violence to the facts. In any case, I do not attach much importance to the details of the comparison between Maori, Mormon and Dominant White and for the very general conclusions I wish to draw, the substitution seems to me legitimate.

The following table shows the profiles of the three 'cultures'. For the Mormons and Homesteaders (=Dominant White New Zealanders ?), I follow Kluckhohn; for the Maori system I follow Beaglehole, Ritchie, Metge, my own field material and miscellaneous other sources such as Grey 1855. Reasons for some of my weightings are given later in this chapter, but establishing them all by the marshalling of detailed evidence would make this work unwieldy.

PROFILES OF BASIC VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF THREE CULTURES

	<u>Mormon</u>	<u>Homesteader</u>	<u>Maori</u>
1.	determinate	indeterminate	determinate
2.	unitary	pluralistic	unitary
3.	good	evil	good
4.	group	individual	group
5.	other	self	other
6.	dependence	autonomy	autonomy
7.	active	active	acceptant
8.	discipline	fulfilment	fulfilment
9.	physical	physical	physical
10.	tense	relaxed	relaxed
11.	then	then	now
12.	quantity	quantity	quality
13.	general	general	unique

On orientations 8 and 10, Kluckhohn:126 states that the emphasis in Homesteader culture is somewhat dubious: 'There is a strong variant here: tense-disciplined.' I would say that with regard to white New Zealanders, all observers would agree that they are a great deal more tense and disciplined than the Maori. If they are less tense and disciplined than the Mormons, one may doubt whether the Maori would perceive the difference as significant.

Omitting these two doubtful categories, let us now consider the degree of coincidence between the Mormon, Homesteader (or White Dominant Culture) and Maori profiles:

the sign / has been used to denote opposition:

Mormon = Homesteader / Maori: 7, 11, 12, 13

Mormon = Maori / Homesteader: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

Mormon / Maori = Homesteader: 6

Mormon = Maori = Homesteader: 9

The value differences between the Maori and Homesteaders (and, I am suggesting, the white majority in New Zealand) are almost as great as they can be. Out of the eleven basic orientations for which clear data are obtainable, there is only one where Maori and white coincide, namely the orientation 'physical'. It is not surprising therefore that the warmest relations between Maori and white, indeed something close to complete integration, occurs in the world of sports, and in the army, where Maori and white take great pleasure in joining together. The easy fellowship that developed in this sphere serves to emphasise to what extent value differences help to maintain distance between the races.

Between Maori and Mormon there are a further five areas of coincidence. In the last chapter I have already alluded to the basic agreement between them that man is fundamentally good, not evil; and that the universe is unitary, not pluralistic. My field data confirm on many points that the Maori like the Mormon is a strong determinist, who observes the rules of the Church for the matter-of-fact motive that the promised reward is bound to follow. It is seen as a simple, logical, automatic consequence. In spite of much probing I could not find a trace of any idea that grace might be adventitious or misfortune other than explicable by the making of a 'mistake'. The Word 'mistake' (translated from *hara* in Maori) includes very much a moral 'mistake' or sin. Maori mythology also seems to me strongly determinist.

In the sphere of social organization, it creates a

strong bond between Maori and Mormon that both emphasise the wellbeing of the group as sacred community and the others as crucial objects of religious concern. For the Mormon, man's merit lies in his religious service, and this service consists precisely in seeking to strengthen the Church as organization and to bring about the salvation of the others. The Maori sees the merit of the individual almost entirely in terms of service to his community in general and members of his family in particular. It is probably a crucial concept of Protestantism that man's salvation results from the battles he fights against evil within his own soul. Work in the community and help given to others is probably seen mainly as a means to this end. But the Mormons, as we see, do not support this individualistic view of salvation; they think the collectivist Maori view is the right one. And this creates a strong bond between Maori and Mormon.

In only one respect, Mormon values are clearly less congenial to the Maori than the dominant New Zealand values, namely in the matter of autonomy. In spite of the welfare state, the white New Zealanders are less oriented towards dependence than the Mormons. Certainly, the degree of dependence the Mormons demand is a strain on Maori members; indeed it is one of the principal problems of Church life. But Dominant whites also desire the Maori to limit his autonomy and insist on conformity and obedience far more severe than existed in the traditional Maori system.

I shall now analyse the main oppositions between the

Mormon and Maori value systems which were also the main foci of Mormon teaching in Whangaruru.

II

Orientation to Activity

A culture may predominantly make either active or acceptant value choices. As an example of an acceptant value system Kluckhohn mentions the Epicureans. Indeed, the adherents to this philosophy believed that any desire for progress and advancement would only multiply one's misfortunes. (Lucretius V, 1105-1135) Buddhism on the other hand, which does believe in the immortality of the soul and transmigration to a higher order of being, he classes as 'active' for in that system man can achieve progress by his own efforts.

Mormonism falls into the active category. O'Dea:143 explains in the following way how Mormon doctrine implies and has engendered a strong activity orientation: 'Mormon effort and attention were directed toward the here-and-now by the doctrine of an uncreated dynamic universe in which intelligences are advancing in power and perfection..... The present life became a time of probation and advancement in which man, by his own effort and with God's help, would acquire experience in a new kind of material environment and thus hasten his development towards God-like status..... Mormonism transformed the earlier belief in the necessity of works for salvation into a doctrine of accomplishment. Active effort is a fundamental

characteristic of the Mormon attitude to the tasks of everyday living. Through action, men develop here below; through action, they will continue development beyond the grave. Mormonism represents a theological version of the American attitude to practical activism. It admonishes its adherents to be active and to be oriented towards accomplishment. This attitude is expressed today in a configuration of attitudes clustering around activity and development; the work, health, recreation and education complex.'

In their encounter with the Maori of Whangaruru, the Mormon missionaries found a people who - since 1880 at any rate differed from them in not being equally oriented towards activity and accomplishment.¹⁷

The events I observed at Whangaruru lead to the same conclusion. Wherever an obstacle presented itself, the tendency was to drop any action that was planned. The Katana's even had a transcendental explanation for this: one should never act against the warnings of one's dead parents. Their spirits would show them omens, one type being a succession of obstacles. If a proposed action meets with many obstacles, this means that the spirits are opposed to it. Such a view justifies and even enjoins caution, tentativeness and a willingness to drop projects rather than pushing them through against opposition.

¹⁷Psychological tests at Rakau have shown modern Maori culture to be acceptant (or 'passive') rather than active (Ritchie 1956:161-162)

Thus, the Ngaiotonga dining hall was left uncompleted after a trivial quarrel; the Ngati Wai trust board did not press for its rents; when the Ngaiotonga Maori land development scheme accumulated unjustifiably high debts, causing indefinite delay in the settling of unit farms, there were many angry speeches but no action was taken, even though the issues at stake were crucial to the community. When cars broke down, they were often unnecessarily left unrepaired. No measures were taken against a parasite spreading among the maize crops, even though the existence of remedies was known. The tendency was for any setback to be accepted as an unalterable act of fate.

In private economic matters people were equally passive. Certainly nobody was indifferent to money; they were always complaining about not having enough of it and making plans for getting more. They dreamed about exploiting crops, forests, holiday-makers and anything else exploitable in sight. But nothing happened; the difficulties seemed too great. Farmers did not often make an intense effort to raise dairy production for the same reason. I would always be told about the obstacles preventing them. Only one man built his own home without assistance from the Department of Maori Affairs. The others, if their housing was bad, accepted this as an act of fate. Some could only have overcome their difficulties by moving to town; there were several reasons why they did not do this more often or sooner, but one undoubtedly was the tendency to accept the circumstances in which they were placed, whatever these

might be.

Nonetheless, people felt embarrassed about their lack of progress, disappointed at being left behind, as they well knew, compared to Maori in other districts. By 1960, they often expressed, at least to me, their dissatisfaction with the consequences of their acceptant attitude.

The American missionaries, whose own values were in this respect so very different, were fully convinced that a more active attitude was necessary if the Whangaruru people were to advance as Mormons. In public addresses, from the Apostles downwards, they called for more farm work, housing improvement, better hygiene, more encouragement for education, more Church work from the less active members, more vigorous preaching and conversion effort from Church officers.

Sometimes they went beyond preaching and offered practical help which would have the effect of making members more 'oriented towards accomplishment'. The President of the Priesthood Quorum visited Whangaruru farmers to advise them in financial difficulties; his advice was liable to be that the farms were uneconomic and that families should go to town where regular jobs were available. Regular jobs were thought of as ways to advancement in the religious sense; the Church also operated a service helping Maori to get houses in town under mortgages obtained from the State. It even had a series of house plans for this purpose, in most ways similar to the usual New Zealand low-cost housing, but with attractive fittings, large windows and other minor modifications which gave them a

slightly unusual and luxurious look and a style reminiscent of America. This housing scheme certainly stimulated in the Whangaruru people a desire to be rehoused, but by 1961, when some Whangaruru members felt ready to make housing applications, the Department of Maori Affairs had speeded up its own services and provided the necessary help.

Nonetheless, the pressure towards this sort of advancement, both in economic and in Church matters, though gentle, was unrelenting. Speakers often tried to speed the pace; for instance Dr Paewai, first counsellor of the Mission Presidency, made a speech at a leadership meeting saying: 'Everything in the district is now beginning to move very fast and everyone who does not come into line will be left behind and it will be so much harder to catch up afterwards.'

These sentences were quoted by speakers at Whangaruru, especially by the small 'actively oriented' minority. This minority was keen to make the rest of the community more like themselves, more as the Church wanted them, but they would have been thought presumptuous if they had preached their own sermons. By merely reporting, supposedly verbatim, what had been said at leadership meetings, they could claim to act under instructions from a higher level and drive their message home without risking criticism.

III

Orientation to discipline

The second fundamental binary opposition we have to consider is between discipline and fulfilment. Here Kluckhohn had in mind roughly the traditional distinction between Appollonian and Dionysiac cultures, between safety and adventure, control and expansion, 'adjustment' and internal harmony.

Here Mormonism falls clearly in the Appollonian category. Admittedly, the religion strongly emphasises the freedom of the human intelligence and will. However, 'as progress in a lawful universe depends upon a proper knowledge of and use of laws, obedience to Mormon doctrine plays an important part in advancing man in his progress in this life.' (O'Dea p. 130) Such obedience involves a constant curbing of natural desires.

Whiting believes that the warmth of relationship characteristic of Mormon child-rearing (in America) conceals strong unconscious incestuous feelings and that these are coped with by a markedly strong control of - for instance - modesty, cross-sexual aggression and courtship. He believes that the strong taboos against drinking and smoking have the function of keeping sexual inhibitions under control.

This analysis explains the importance attached to the curbing of desires; the Mormon is expected to be in all circumstances - even death of kinsmen - restrained and moderate; keep a balance between his many activities, for 'balance is power'; mastery is possible only if man meets all the demands made upon him, and all in the proper measure. (for instance, it is wrong for a religious lesson to exceed, even by one

minute, the allotted time.)

Activities should always follow closely the plan authority has laid down; for all Church matters - every lesson that is given - there is a set plan, and it is harmful to venture outside it. Teachers are discouraged from pursuing their private inspiration in front of a class. (Woodruff 1959:12-13) Though the Church programme provides many opportunities for artistic expression, this too must be within the bounds of the strict Mormon discipline; it would be wrong to be carried away too far by artistic enthusiasms. Mormonism aims to satisfy every desire, but man must adjust this desire continually to what God permits.

The modern Maori plays, of course, many roles where safety, control and adjustment are highly valued and preferred to adventure, expansion and internal harmony. Without such values, no society could endure; in no culture has Dionysos been the only god; rather he provided occasional release, in a simple peasant society, for forces normally pent up by prudence and social custom.

The modern Maori values the full expression of feelings, even negative ones; the Ratana's believe, for instance, that the suppression of feelings of anger is positively dangerous, and will result in the devil taking possession of a person; the right thing to do is to express the anger and have it finished with. At the tangi, violent expression of grief is institutionalised; the attitude to money and food is to consume it at once to fulfil immediate desire; people will do lip-service to the virtue of self-control, but they will have little respect

for a kinsman who practises it. In courtship and marriage, the pattern is similar. Maori dancing, above all, in its ferocity, its reckless expression of feeling, belongs to the world of Dionysus.¹⁸

Probably it is above all the Maori emphasis on fulfilment which is penalised heavily by white New Zealanders. A person prone to drunkenness, quarrels and sexual offences is considered peculiarly dangerous in New Zealand, because the whole of national life is based on the severe repression of such impulses. But to the Maori of Whangaruru the Dionysiac element was very costly, quite apart from the effect it had on European opinion. Many who gave up drinking under Mormon influence, were at that time threatened by heart disease and broken homes; immoderate spending habits made the family food supply insecure. Whangaruru did not become fully subject to a money economy until the 1930's; people often complained how much more careful they had to be, now that nothing could be had without money. In 1960, fulfilment orientation still remained, but people had become deeply conscious of the insecurity it brought.

Mormon teaching seeks to make the Maori more moderate in their enjoyments. In its simplest form, this call for moderation concerns the Word of Wisdom (Doctrine and Covenants 89) - the prohibition of alcohol, tobacco, tea, coffee. But other stimulating foods were added, such as rotten corn (because it was fermented) and anything eaten in excess. Very frequent

¹⁸See also Ritchie 1963:144-146

too, is the Mormon call for household budgeting, the moderation of expenditure, the avoiding of debt.

The missionaries also attempted to change the Maori attitude to sex to a more disciplined one, particularly among the young and unmarried. This teaching was relatively less intensive than that regarding the work of wisdom and budgeting because only very few mediators participated in it. I heard only very few addresses on sex, always from Americans and never more than one speech on any one occasion, though the district meetings usually had at least eight or ten addresses. Nonetheless, the missionaries, especially the young ones, felt very strongly on this point. But under the Mormon system, a doctrine can only be effectively inculcated if large numbers of mediators (in this case, Maori mediators) actively participate.

With more success, moderation was taught in the conducting of tangi's excessive wailing was not 'the Mormon way'. And in general terms, people would be told: 'Man's desires are intemperate. He must obey God and learn not to satisfy desires for things God does not wish man to have. Man must train himself to enjoy those things which God has intended for him.' Nor was this a purely negative injunction. Every part of life becomes a task. All tasks should be attended to. Therefore not only material possessions, but also time should be budgeted. There is a multiplicity of responsibilities. 'You can be damned for neglecting just one of them', said the Temple President.

A whole afternoon of the Priesthood meeting of the 1960 'hui tau' was devoted to the theme 'Balance is Power'. On the platform a bridge was placed, one bridgehead symbolising spiritual, the other physical service. Each type of service had several constituent parts, the blocks making up the bridgehead: reading of sacred books, celestial marriage, community service (including service to non-church organizations), good housing, budgeting. A brief talk was given, each time by a different speaker, on each theme, leading to the conclusion that each service was a source of power. In conclusion, the Mission President himself spoke, saying that fullness of power depends on achieving a balance in the obeying of all divine commands. Here then is a systematic teaching of the Apollinian value emphasis.

IV

Autonomy and Dependence

When accepting any of the changes I have already discussed, the people of Whangaruru always gave me the same basic reason: 'the Church tells us' and 'the Church is the only organization on earth which has authority'. This concept of authority was, in itself, already an innovation. There is nothing unusual in the modern Maori being subject to a great variety of superior authorities, but the claims of none of these authorities are as absolute as those of Mormonism and -

in spite of the doctrine of 'free agency' - none leaves as little effective autonomy to the individual.

As a principle of cohesion in Mormon group life, the greatest possible stress is laid on the obedience due to Church authority. This concept was not present at the genesis of Mormonism, which stressed the autonomy of individuals receiving divine revelation; O'Dea:156 shows that the pattern of dependence is a historical development: 'There were two possible paths of development open for the Church. It could permit unrestrained prophesy and thereby splinter into smaller and smaller groups, finally breaking up into a Babel of private revelation. On the other hand, it could restrain prophetic gifts, restricting revelation and prophesy to one man and develop a centrally directed organization about that one leader'. Mormonism followed this second path, vesting in the President of the Church the title of 'prophet, seer and revelator'. Only after fierce initial struggles did the membership accept the principle that no revelation received by anyone else could govern the Church.

Today, though rival revelations must have become a more remote possibility in the Church, we still find, in the preaching, the strong stress on the need for obedience. There are many lessons on the meaning of authority and obedience. In a branch lesson on humility (following a standard pattern) the crucial test of humility presented to us was in obeying the instructions of the Branch President. You can be poor but not humble, the Branch Teacher said, giving an example

where pride resulted in disobedience towards Church authorities. This is, indeed, the worst of sins, for it is equated with the denial of the Holy Ghost, the one transgression God does not forgive. In order to demonstrate this idea, the lesson quoted the case of the apostle Marsh, an early apostate, who came to a terrible end and was clearly never forgiven by God, even though he later repented of his disobedience and re-entered the Church.

In ordinary Church procedure, it is desirable, wherever possible, to act according to a definite instruction from a superior. Less value is placed, generally speaking, on individual religious acts than on punctilious and enthusiastic performance of an 'assignment'. Dependence is expressed, too, by the ceremony of 'sustaining'. This ceremony often follows a discussion during which members have been allowed to express their views freely. Yet, however trivial the issue, it is not permitted at the end of such a Church discussion to have an ordinary vote. The responsible officer, who has been 'set apart' to run the particular organization, must decide solely, for in him is vested the divine authority. He must announce his decision (which very often follows the 'sense of the meeting'); after which those sustaining the decision are asked to raise their right hand; next, those not sustaining the decision are asked to do the same. It is most unusual not to sustain a decision; the function of the 'vote' is rather to bind the membership by a pledge of obedience.

The true meaning of the ritual of 'sustaining' is most

obvious in the periodic vote of members to 'sustain' the General Authorities. This is done at least once a year, and also by members privately in interviews before entering the Temple. Refusing to 'sustain' the General Authorities would amount to apostasy. Another recurring formal declaration of loyalty is to say, during testimonies: 'I believe (or better still, I know) that this gospel is true.'

Such dependence on authority goes beyond what was expected traditionally of the Maori. Best 1924b:90 describes public meetings at which a chief would make a proposal. 'Some might approve it and follow him, while others might refuse to do so, in which case he had no power to coerce them.' Even in war, families could stand out. Lack of respect for chiefs caused 'innumerable quarrels and much fighting'. (Best 1924c: 389)

Ritchie also stresses the autonomy of the modern Maori. At Rakau, a man preferred to work as an independent contractor, even at lower income, than to be under a boss. The self-employed group has the highest prestige. Children learn early 'that others are not interested in their grievances or problems.' They have to depend on themselves. If a marriage is unhappy, it is broken easily. People tend to express unconcern (even though hollowly, Dr Ritchie thinks) 'about Pakeha opinion and deny that they are susceptible to the sanctions of local gossip.' One of his informants said, describing her efforts at leadership: 'You can't tell these people what to do. It's like bread - you got to wait till they make themselves

ready'. (Ritchie 1963: 70, 75, 136, 156, 152, 161.)

At Whangaruru, people rarely made vigorous efforts to stop others from what they wanted to do, even from anti-social acts such as stealing, adultery or the malicious reporting of minor quarrels to the police. They accepted that some men had troublesome tendencies in their nature; one could reduce their opportunities, but not infringe their right to be as they were. They would be treated as kinsmen and never ostracised. The same was true for deviant opinions, even under Mormonism. The one man who guarded his tapu by refusing to put his hat on the table was not decried as superstitious; people disagreed with his ideas, but did not question his right to hold them. If a person's standards with regard to work, housing, family care or financial providence was higher or lower than the norm, there might be gossip, but they were clearly seen as purely individual concerns. I did not notice any effective pressure towards 'conformity' in this sphere. Probably, if a Maori were to subordinate loyalty to his people to an attempt to identify with the 'pakeha' or betrayed the community to outsiders in some other way, the community would take countermeasures. With all its internal flexibility, it was very sensitive to external threat.

In the traditional system, the emphasis on autonomy led to intolerance towards anyone who placed himself in a superordinate position. As soon as a man had some positions of authority and therefore had to take decisions affecting everyone, people tended to 'get sick' of him.

Perhaps this struggle to maintain autonomy was fiercer than the competition for status. It may be that the man in charge of the kitchen at tangis would like to have been in charge of the whole tangi; but he showed no signs of this. On the other hand, if anyone had interfered in the slightest with his running of the kitchen, there would certainly have been a quarrel.

At all ages, the younger people liked not to 'hear' what the older people said. There was rarely open resistance, which would be dangerous, but rather a strong determination to go one's own way while paying the authority figure demonstrative homage and affectionate allegiance. The elders were obeyed only where it was inevitable.

The same ambivalent behaviour occurred when the authority was European. It effectively kept at arm's length the school teacher, the field supervisor and even, for many years, the Church. All these outside institutions demanded of the Maori an attitude of dependence; what they were given was a pseudo-dependence, extremely well acted, but concealing a determination to avoid fundamental changes.

White New Zealanders have often wrongly imagined the Maori to be easy-going and compliant. The Mormon missionaries never made this mistake. They were aided in their insight by the picture of the Lamanites presented in the Book of Mormon where they are a proud and stiff-necked people whose prime fault is disobedience. In parts of the narrative, the Lamanites are not lacking in religious ardour and many other

good qualities but they never fully repent. Transferring this image on the Maori, they saw how much easier the Maori found it to be passionately devoted to the Church than to recognise its authority. Especially the higher chiefs, still feeling their mana, found it insufferable that the Church should question their private lives. To accept instructions from an official like a Branch President is only gradually becoming easier.

The Temple President, during a leadership meeting, spoke of the 'incomplete conversion of the Maori'. 'Many old beliefs and attitudes still live,' he said. I thought for a moment he was referring to superstitions, but he proceeded to quote an instance where a member was rude to his Branch President. He was in fact teaching acceptance of the hierarchical principle.

Branch Presidents, especially if of chiefly rank, found their hierarchical role equally hard to accept. They preferred to call the membership together and take decisions in the manner of a popular assembly. Then their personal responsibility would be less; they would have explicit support. But the more modern type of leadership, often of lower tribal rank, knew this was not 'the Mormon way'. A Church officer's role was a lonely one; his responsibility was unshared, for he was God's representative on earth, taking account perhaps of others' opinions, but handing out a decision unpolluted by human fallibility. Thus the Maori was taught dependence.

Values and Modernisation

Our analysis so far has shown that Mormon teaching sought to change three fundamental value emphases found in the Maori culture, namely, the acceptant, fulfilment and autonomy orientations. We shall now consider, though far more briefly, the other four orientations where Mormons and Maori had a different emphasis. They are, according to our previous table:

	<u>Mormon</u>	<u>Maori</u>
10.	tense	relaxed
11.	then	now
12.	quantity	quality
13.	general	unique

On the first of these we need only say that the Mormons did not make any discernible attempt, conscious or unconscious, to make the Maori less relaxed and more tense than they were; nor did I see any increase in tension, at least in Whangaruru, though possibly urban Mormons combining a heavy load of church work with a regular job might feel more tense than before.

The other three orientations are closely linked. (Kluckhohn:124, 127-8, 131) In number 11, the main accent is upon the here-and-now as opposed to either past or future. In number 12, the contrast will reflect the degree of measurement or other standardization other than purely qualitative. In number 13, discreteness and particularity are contrasted with abstraction and universalism.

Mormon teaching strongly emphasised that all action

should be aimed at man's situation in the hereafter. This applied not only to the promotion of the well-being of the soul, but also of the body, for there is no essential distinction between the two. Thus, the accent lies at all times on preparation.

A Whangaruru woman told me: 'Before the Mormons came, the people lived only for today and tomorrow.... The Mormons have taught the people to be concerned with the life beyond.'

One of the least provident members of the community liked to preach about the need for forethought and preparation, a theme some other preachers preferred to overlook, lest they be accused of self-praise. This man once likened the Temple to a lay-by plan where you go to buy a nice frock or radio and pay a deposit. The Temple visit is the deposit and your instalments to heaven are visits to Church, doing as the Church instructs, learning lessons, etc. On another occasion he told a parable about three vats of cream. Into each of them, a frog had fallen by accident. One frog did nothing about his predicament and was drowned. The second beat around until the cream became butter; then he jumped out. He was eaten by a dog sitting in front of the cans. The third also churned the cream, but when he had reached the rim of the vat, he looked carefully about him. Thus, he saw the dog in time and ran to safety. The moral: blind faith is not enough, but forethought and planning are also needed.

Quantity orientation is taught by the Church most conspicuously in its budgeting scheme. People were encouraged

to make out household budgets. This campaign was supported by a practical teaching aid: cyclostyled budgeting sheets in folders, sold for a nominal price. The sheets provide for entries of all day-by-day expenditure, with a master sheet showing expenditure over a pay period providing for a breakdown under categories of expenditure. Though nobody in Whangaruru used the sheets, some families did use envelopes for each category of expenditure, which served the same purpose.

Quantity was constantly stressed in Church work: people were evaluated, at least in theory, by the number of attendances, the number of assignments completed; monthly reports stated these figures and analysed them into percentages. Such practices, though not in themselves significant, became so because Whangaruru had never previously analysed any significant phenomena in terms of quantity.

With regard to universalism (orientation no. 13), I have already shown that Mormonism was very influential in teaching the Maori the concept of universalistic roles which are an essential part of Church life. They also enter other spheres, where organizational problems can be solved by adopting a church role. This device tended to make Whangaruru culture oriented increasingly towards generality rather than uniqueness.

If we consider orientations 11 - 13 together, it is clear that they are all aspects of modernisation. By teaching these orientations in Whangaruru, Mormonism was creating some

minimum conditions for adjustment in the overall society in New Zealand, where universalism as well as future and quantity orientation are prerequisites for all responsible social and economic roles. To these essential prerequisites of modernisation, one may probably add the activity and discipline orientations, for these are essential to the entrepreneur who is universally the pivot of modernisation. We may conclude that, in its teaching of values, the Mormon Church went very little beyond the essential requirements of successful social development. Unless at least these five value emphases are taught, social development cannot be expected to happen.

The autonomy/dependence opposition is peculiarly difficult. Kluckhohn's discussion makes it plain that modern societies may be of either type. He classes 'dominant' Americans as 'rarely autonomous' but the Soviet elite as 'insisting sharply on the autonomous responsibility of the individual'. He points out, however, that dependence is an essential prerequisite of the socialisation process; we have all experienced dependence as infants and children. It is therefore not impossible that dependence is one of the essential prerequisites of situations where rapid and radical social development is intended to happen. The question is of considerable importance for planners of social development programmes, but I cannot attempt to solve it here.

If we decide to class dependence as an essential prerequisite of modernisation (at least during one crucial stage), then Mormonism would present the model of a modernisation programme

which contains all the essential prerequisites, and not a single unnecessary one, at least on the level of basic orientations. On the other hand, the concept of Maori-white 'integration', which is widely advocated, implies that five orientations should be taught which are not essential to social development. This is another problem I have to leave aside.

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

I

The present chapter is perhaps no more than an appendix of what has already been said. Up to now I have, at various times, introduced fragments of historical process, but I have only done this as a convenient way of establishing the structure of Whangaruru culture. This structural analysis is now completed, although with omission of many very interesting details to which I could only do justice in a much longer work. But nothing systematic has yet been said about the process of change. We have seen how Mormonism established itself because of the synthesis it offered to the dialectic between the Maori and the Anglican systems of thought. We have also seen that this synthesis was not a final one. The remaining contradictions were not made obvious in the early stages of Maori-Mormon contact, because of the Mormon policy of gradualism, but especially over the last few years, it became known that Church authorities desired Whangaruru to adopt an active, disciplined, dependent, universalistic, future and quantity oriented world view.

The change certainly came as a shock to Whangaruru. It all seemed to come suddenly, about the time of the completion of the Temple. Where previously there was tolerance, now contradiction took its place. Perhaps the mood is shown most clearly by a passage from field notes. As so often, the discussion started from a passage in the Bible, St Paul, Heb. 5:12-14: 'Strong meat

belongeth to them that are of full age.'

"M. said he often heard this quotation to describe the change in Church teaching. It used to be 'milk' - only the easy things were taught - but now also the hard things. 'It is horsemeat, with the saddle too'. F. (a woman) agreed: it used to be easy in C's time, but when Y. took over as Mission President, the pressure began. C. did not really know how to handle the Maori. But (under Y. they began) checking whether people really did what was commanded. Previously they said 'do your best'. Now they came back to see - you had to do it. Also, they checked whether the form of worship was fully correct. Previously not."

Now we may well ask: why was this sudden pressure accepted in Whangaruru? Clearly there had been a progressive development towards Mormonism, though perhaps a fitful and uneven one, which made it possible to 'reveal' the contradiction to the community, to face them with the implications of Mormon identity in terms of practical action. But how did this development proceed?

To some extent generalities about cultural change may help to answer this question. Naturally we have to take into account the influence of the general environment, general social and educational progress, a phenomenon that is analysed in all the histories of the modern Maori. (Firth 1959a, Metge 1964). But none of this tells us why Whangaruru in 1960 made a Mormon choice and not some other choice consistent with the general conditions. In order to approach this question,

we shall analyse in a summary manner two extremely small-scale situations where conflict or contradiction between the two systems occurred and show why a Mormon choice was made, using as explanatory principles those proposed by Raymond Firth and discussed in the introduction. While structural study reveals the abstract potentialities of Mormonism, dynamic study reveals what forces existed in the Church to enable it to prevail over obstacles in Whangaruru over a period of time.

II

Genealogical structure

In classical Maori culture, as I have pointed out, genealogy was the core of the social structure. It formed the framework of the history of the tribe passed on through the generations, it provided the form for all philosophic and scientific statements, it was the basis for settling legal disputes, social stratification was almost entirely determined by it. In most communities today, genealogies are still highly valued as Metge (52-4) also acknowledges. The fact that the old are more concerned with them than the young does not necessarily mean that the interest in them is dying; but rather, perhaps, that the study of genealogy is part of the role of an elder and less befitting the young.

At no time was Whangaruru indifferent to its genealogies, but for a number of years they felt embarrassed about them, sometimes ashamed of them, and as a result, in an unobtrusive

but profound way, ashamed of themselves. For this there were three specific reasons.

First, when ownership of the local land was determined by the Maori Land Court around 1907, the community depended on two educated members to represent their interests before the Judge. The most crucial evidence they had to present to the Court were the local genealogies, for it was from them that individual interests in Maori blocks are determined. The Court presumes that if a wrong genealogy is given, the injured beneficiaries will protest but this does not always happen. In this case, the two representatives introduced falsifications in the genealogies, to their own benefit and to the detriment of some other hapu closely affiliated with Whangaruru. The deprived parties lacked evidence to have the judgment amended.

It is therefore no wonder that the hapu to which too much land was allotted treated its genealogies with the utmost secrecy. I must have been almost the only person ever to see them, At tangis and other tribal gatherings where genealogies are usually recited, or in the Church which records genealogies as part of its temple ordinances, it would have been fruitless to offer the falsified version and highly dangerous (for legal reasons) to offer the correct one. Thus was pride in the tribal history lost.

The second source of embarrassment was the frequency, over a number of years, of illegitimate births. Towards these a double standard prevailed: in the traditional ethos, a definite stigma attached to the illegitimate lowering their

social status (Biggs: 21, 46) After much pre-marital sexual freedom, pregnancy was usually followed by marriage. Modern conditions did little to reduce pre-marital sexual freedom but partners for sex were now not always available or acceptable for marriage.

The result was greater tolerance towards illegitimacy; when the woman married, the earlier children were treated as though they belonged to the husband. But in the sphere of genealogy this was unacceptable: here, the real father had to be cited and the stigma remained. This led to a loss of interest in genealogy among many people.

Finally, genealogies recall the history of a hapu, and therefore necessarily the wars and dissensions with other hapu. It so happened that in Whangaruru the two main political groups had lived anything but peacefully together. Nonetheless, most members of the community today can trace their descent to both the main hapu through marriage alliances. Therefore, the history of dissension had become embarrassing; the time had come to forget the past and promote a fusion between the two hapu. There were important political considerations inhibiting a proud recital of the ancestors by whom the ancestors of one's wife's family had been eaten.

In spite of all this embarrassment, genealogies could not be simply rejected as they defined the community's and each person's identity and no other available definition offered the same psychological support. Diffusion of identity was a serious threat.

From the beginning common interest in genealogy created a bond between Maori and Mormons. It suggested to the Maori were quite unlike other whites, but more like themselves. It suggested to the Mormons that the Maori had retained customs revealed in Ancient Israel.

Mormon belief on this subject is based on the last two verses of the Old Testament, prophesying that Elijah will return shortly before Judgment Day 'and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse'. Joseph Smith believes Elijah left to him 'the keys of this dispensation', which consisted of 'vicarious ordinances, including baptism for the dead who have passed from earth without a knowledge of the Gospel or opportunity of complying with its laws and ordinances'. (Talmage, p. 18)

The Maori were seen very interested in presenting their genealogies to the Temple so that their ancestors could join them in the hereafter. They were told that unless they included both marriage partners in their genealogical tables, their forebears would lose the exaltation of eternal marriage. And this resulted in the first, in itself not very important, reformulation of Maori history under Mormon influence.

Mormon genealogies (unlike those of the Ancient Hebrews) are ego-oriented and wholly bilineal. Records show in an expanding circle two parents, four grandparents, and so forth, complete with dates and places of birth, marriage and death. Maori genealogies are, in general, ambilineal, quoting one

name (male or female) in each generation. Only in special circumstances are both spouses remembered, for instance where the marriage joined two important lineages. The effect of Mormon teaching was that people began to show, in their family books, both spouses for every generation.

I was told that the construction of such conjugal genealogies was very hard: only one or two people in Whangaruru could do it.

It was necessary to study a great many lines to discover who the spouses had been but even so, I understand, some of the names are either a product of pure imagination or, more confusing still, the added spouses really belong to other ancestors. Some the ancient ladies of Whangaruru are shown as married to two husbands between whom there is a distance of eight generations.¹⁹

It is only after the opening of the temple that Whangaruru discovered there are essential differences between Mormon and Maori genealogies. For then they were encouraged to fill in the ego-oriented bilineal record sheets which bore no resemblance to genealogies as they understood them. They had to give details of time and place of birth, marriage and death, data which were traditionally considered insignificant.

The Whangaruru reaction to the new system was ambiguous. Everybody attended genealogy classes at leadership meetings in preference to the alternative classes that were being offered

¹⁹The Whangaruru Maori believed that unless both spouses were shown, an ancestor would not be acceptable in Temple ordinances, but this is not actually true. (Genealogy Handbook: Polynesia: 21)

on the same hour. Temple visits were extremely popular. But people were hesitant in making out the sheets for their own ancestors. Some otherwise very active Church members told me that it was Maori genealogies they were interested in and not Mormon ones. Yet others filled in the new sheets and began to search for the official records of grandparents or great-grandparents. A number of families were deterred from this work because of illegitimacy, for it was no pleasant prospect to be sealed for eternity to a progenitor who had played no role in one's childhood. For a woman who had children by more than one man, the problem was even more difficult.

In order to coordinate work on the records, 'family organizations' are set up. Family records are compiled by one member of the family, designated 'family representative', who forwards them to the Temple authorities for scrutiny. In the United States it is not uncommon for 'family organizations' to have hundreds, or even thousands of members deriving from a common ancestor of five or more generations ago.

The Maori Mission wisely decided, when introducing this system in Whangaruru, to counteract hapu divisions by making the whole district into one 'family'. A Church member of reasonably senior genealogical status in Whangaruru, but residing 35 miles away in Whangarei, was asked to act as 'family representative' and as common ancestor was chosen the famous chief Te Kauwhata.

These arrangements were far from ideal. The chief of Ngati Tautahi, the most senior descendant of Te Kauwhata and

living in Whangaruru, had the knowledge and authority to act as family representative and found it pointless and cumbersome to work through a junior representative in Whangarei. The chief of Uri-o-Hikihiki, who was not a descendant of Te Kauwhata at all, did not wish his hapu to enter the organization through the side-door of inter-hapu marriage alliances. The representative himself, living away from the district and without access to the family books, could achieve nothing.

The situation I have sketched is full of contradictions. Nonetheless, genealogy work proceeded, absorbed the thoughts of many families and achieved its basic objective, in the following way: Though many were reluctant to draw up their genealogy sheets, they still went to the Temple. Every few months a bus was hired for the 600 mile trip and nearly everyone qualified by Church status joined in the trip. Here, few attractions were offered apart from the day-long ceremony in the Temple. This was indeed the most intense religious experience, and the closest to a mystical vision of eternity, that Mormonism offered. Those who had done no genealogy work on their own account, or had been unable to complete any records (and they were the vast majority) acted as proxies for unknown dead persons whose records had been submitted for posthumous ordinances. Such submissions were made by members unable to attend at the Temple; the Maori, who had no 'work' of their own, performed the ceremonies in their stead.

Each time the bus returned from the Temple, people felt they had learnt more about the Church and about the nature

of eternity. This gain in knowledge was the reward of the trip. The task of baptising their own ancestors had been postponed.

While the Maori were apparently evading the task they had set themselves, they were actually achieving it very efficiently. For the baptising of the ancestors was a ritual with one concrete social objective, namely the recovery of a sense of identity. This was the symbolic meaning of the ancestors. For the achievement of this objective it made very little difference whose ancestors they baptised, for the experience confirmed them, in any case, in their identity as Church members.

It was for the same reason that the two chiefs, frustrated by the arrangements with the family representative, showed so very little annoyance. The preparation of the genealogical records could wait. Contact with the Temple was what mattered.

The real linkage was now no longer between Whangaruru and its hapu ancestors. It had become, in a much less specific sense, linkage with the Mormon dead, whether from Whangaruru or elsewhere, whether Maori or white. The hapu ancestors were now seen as links in a chain that did not lead to Rangī and Papa, but to Laman, forebear of all Lamanites, and through him, to Adam. This was the concept of identity offered by the Temple and it was enough.

It disposed of all the previous embarrassments and all the shame of the past - the inter-hapu battles, the land

frauds, the illegitimate births; yet it did not do so by denying the past, by placing the Maori ancestors outside the Moral community, as nineteenth century Anglicanism had done. The baptising and sealing of the ancestors remains as a possibility; it is even encouraged as a virtuous act; the link has never been severed. The past has become incorporated in a larger more dynamic organism within which its mystical power has been restored.

III

Social Control

How did this new self-image face up to the challenges of everyday life? One or two of the older men distrusted it; they thought it was a phoney image, with which people played on Sundays but that below the surface they had not changed. In this there was some truth in that the new self-image had not been fully internalised but was, in a fairly self-conscious way, being 'identified' with. Yet this made it none the less valuable, none the less worth defending. The case I shall describe now is an instance of such self-defence.

It would take too long to describe fully the course of the quarrel between P. and W., two neighbours one of whom was (P.) a son of one of the hapu chiefs while the other (W., an immigrant) had married a daughter of the other hapu chief. P. was superintendent of the Sunday School, W. was a non-member, whose wife

remained very active in the Mormon Church. His brother-in-law was Branch President. He earned more money than P. and lived in a better house.

During the quarrel, P. had beaten W. in the tender for a lease from the Ngati Wai Trust Board, but had then refused to sign the lease. He had, however, occupied the land and destroyed W's vegetable garden which was on the land. He had stopped W's son from picking apples on adjoining land belonging to neither P. nor W., on which P. grazed his cattle and from which W.'s affines had a customary right to collect apples. W. had complained to the police claiming that P. had assaulted his son, but the Magistrate, when hearing the complaint, had thrown it out as trivial, P. had then retaliated by reporting first to the school committee, later to the police, that W.'s son had carnally known and made fruitful a girl of the village. The police had disregarded the information as the girl was nineteen years of age.

The community had watched this quarrel anxiously for some months. At school, it had caused fights between the W. and P. children. In the Church, it had led to the resignation of Mrs. W. from the Sunday School teaching staff, as she would not work for the Superintendent. P. had been annoyed that her brother, the Branch President, had accepted the resignation, interpreting this as a hostile act by the rival hapu. He had decided to remind the Branch President that he could not run the Branch without the help of the P. family. He therefore made his daughter, 14 years old, resign from the

secretaryship of his own Sunday School. Fortunately the resignations stopped there.

From the viewpoint of the community, the quarrel was upsetting personal relations in many places; worst of all, there had been two cases before the police: the community was being brought into disrepute. If it had not been for the Church, an open fight would have broken out long before this point between the two feuding families. But to the Branch President's large family the most vital interest was to hold together the Mormon Branch, in which they had most of the leading positions. If they retaliated seriously against P., he and a good number of his hapu would lose interest in the Church and wreck the Branch. Therefore a superficial amiability continued to reign at the many Church functions during this period.

Community gossip - and not only among W.'s affines - was very sympathetic to the W. family. P.'s action was considered thoroughly wrong, even though people only understood too well the old-Maori motive behind it. (This was concerned with the history of the land under dispute; I shall not complicate matters further by giving this history.) The thing was too old-Maori for their present tastes.

Their main criticism of P. came to this: he had not acted in the manner of an elder of the Church, though as a Superintendent of the Sunday School he should have set an example. He had not shown love to his fellow-man. Why could he not have allowed W. to keep his vegetable garden, seeing he

did not need it himself? Such were the arguments that were ruminated in the Whangaruru gossip machine. The main issue, therefore, became the sincerity of their faith. Certainly W., as non-member could laugh at their religion, if this was how they put it into practice. And his wife and children were so very anxious to have him converted to Mormonism: how could they every hope to succeed like this? She had said in Church: my main task is to convert my husband.

Finally the gossip hardened to the view that P. should be dealt with according to the roles of the Church. These rules were unequivocal: if a man has wronged his brother, there must be a confession to the Branch President with one witness present, followed by an apology to the wronged person and a reconciliation; there has to be an action showing the sincerity of the repentance.

The Branch President applied to the district authorities for direction. He did this, to quote a phrase he once used, as the representative of God in Whangaruru; it was a sacred act falling within the duties of his office. Everybody in the community regarded it as such; nobody accused him of simply fighting his sister's battle. What he did was, in any case, supported by public opinion and he had always kept aloof from the quarrel.

One Sunday, the Chapel was visited by the President of the Priesthood Quorum, a European farmer who had travelled some fifty miles to act as witness in the case. During the Priesthood meeting, the arraigned Sunday School Superintendent,

the Branch President and he withdrew from the curtained platform where the rest of the Priesthood had their lesson, to a small unlit, windowless alcove where the Church supplies were kept. Normally, it contained teaching aids, sacrament cups, hymn books, but it was the only part of the hall where one could get any privacy. There the Sunday School Superintendent admitted his fault and offered, as proof of his sincerity, to return the vegetable garden to W. After the service, he went to W. to apologise, make his offer and shake hands, according to Mormon custom.

But W., when he heard what had happened, was not interested. 'I would not dirty my hand', he said. And there the matter stayed. Shortly afterwards Mrs W. took a job in Whangarei and the two were rarely seen thereafter. People were now sympathetic to P. 'It was very hard for him to humble himself.', they said; and the second humiliation, on the same day, seemed to them quite unjustified. W. should have accepted his garden patch.

Though the reconciliation had failed, the incident had yet been in many ways valuable. P. had been a community disturbance with whom no secular institution had been able to deal; neither the Courts, nor the Ngati Wai Trust Board, nor the almost defunct tribal committee; but it had been proved that the Church had the authority to control him. It was the people's first experience of a firm, universally respected authority, identified with the community's own objectives, that Whangaruru had known since the collapse of the chieftain-

ship as an executive force.

Shortly after, I asked twelve informants the question: 'Should the Mormon Church take over the settling of community troubles?'. Ten favoured Church control but three added the spontaneous qualification: 'only among Church members'. If W. had been a member, he would have agreed to shake hands.

This quarrel has the special interest that it has all the qualities of traditional inter-family and inter-hapu disputes. The cause was land. The victim had entered the community through marriage. His house and garden had caused envy.

At no time did the Whangaruru community cease to see the conflict, at least partially, in traditional Maori terms. In these terms, P. was a troublesome fellow, but the son of the chief and understandably upset by W.'s occupancy of this land. It was certainly to be hoped that the argument would be peacefully settled; and P. was making a mistake, but if a fight did develop, P.'s closer relations would not be able to oppose him openly. Seeing that two hapu were involved, and members of the most prominent families, settlement in the traditional Maori way would always have been difficult, but nowadays, with the mana of the elders so much diminished, there was little that could be done.

But it happened that the community had a second conceptual model at its disposal, namely the Mormon one. This conceptual model should not be confused with the Dominant White model; and in my brief summary of the Whangaruru gossip one

does not find any of the arguments that would at once have occurred to a Dominant White. (Contractually P. had no right to the garden, he trespassed, he destroyed the other man's property, he wrongfully interfered with his neighbour's son.) None of these things were ever said. Instead we find arguments that are other - or group - oriented, in other words, lie within the general pattern of the Maori ethos. Only in one sense did the gossip differ fundamentally from this ethos, namely in suspending hapu loyalty. In addition to saying: 'P. is troublesome, P. is a hard case, P. is making a mistake', people said: 'P. lacks charity, P. does not behave as a Sunday School Superintendent should.' In other words, they recognized a much larger collectivity than the family or hapu, namely the Church, according to whose laws P. had undoubtedly offended. If such an offense were condoned, the Church would no longer have control over people's actions, so that P.'s action was actually seriously undermining the efficacy of the Church. Thus it became a necessary duty of the Church community (quite irrespective of the hapu to which members happened to belong) to avert the danger.

One may well ask, at this point, why people preferred to maintain the efficacy of the Church rather than that of the hapu, whose solidarity was undoubtedly being undermined by the universalistic principles of the Church. Both are mystical bonds; how can one choose between them? I think the question can be answered with reference to some apposite words of Raymond Firth who argues "that their mysticism in this respect

does not fly in the face of common sense. From an organizational point of view the symbolic quality in their belief expresses and leads them to adopt good rational administrative practice." (1964:79-80) Whangaruru knew that the hapu organizations, in as far as they existed at all, could not resolve their dispute, while the Church could and did resolve it.

The effect was a weakening of hapu loyalty, and a strengthening of Church loyalty, the operation of Mormon values over a larger area of social life and the institutionalisation of a new weapon against factionalism.

IV

The Racial Problem

A great many similar contradictions and conflicts might be described, but they were all resolved in the same way, namely as a test of faith. As a first step, Mormonism taught people to perceive a troublesome problem in a new way: genealogies as separate from the hapu, factions as conflicting with Church roles. Next, a solution was provided consistent with this new perception.

This solution, framed in religious terms, would often have social, political or economic repercussions. It is not surprising therefore that, if we take the broadest view of Mormon preaching and action, it also offers a solution to the problematic relationship between Maori and white.

There are 110 whites at Whangaruru who can be occupationally classed as farmers, teachers, shopkeepers and pensioners. The Maori, irrespective of age, tribal status or even wealth, form the lowest caste. Relationships between the two races are limited to instrumental roles, as well as occasional gossip and apparently easy-going conversation. The two races stereotype each other and keep aloof (except, in a minor way, in Ngaiotonga) from each other's corporate activities. But beyond the problem of stereotyping, there is the fact that the Maori are economically very much in an inferior position. From every point of view, Dominant White Society marks them as inferior.

In the Mormon view, this situation is not only explained but validated by the mythological statement of the position of the Lamanites from whom the Maori were descended. The sons of Laman, when still living in Israel, were disobedient to God who punished them by giving them a dark skin. Afterwards the brown sons of Laman and the white sons of Nephi settled in America, and although we are told in many places in the Book of Mormon of the virtues and the nobility of the Lamanites, they never humbled themselves enough for God to restore their white skin. But if they humble themselves now, they will still turn white in the millennium.

At first sight this does not seem a doctrine that would greatly appeal to the Maori and in Whangaruru it was not freely discussed, though it was well-known. The myth was accepted as fact and it made sense, for it explained why the Maori were

poorer and less powerful than the whites in New Zealand. Not only did it explain, but it offered a solution: obedience to the Church. On the socio-economic plane, there was no doubt in the minds of Maori Mormons, that the promise of the myth was coming true. In Hawkes Bay, many Maori Mormons had lived the gospel for forty years and more: they had become wealthy and the equals of the Europeans.

For the missionaries from Salt Lake City the problem was essentially the same as for the Maori. In Mormon belief the millennium will not begin until the Lamanites are converted and condoned by God. (Doctrine and Covenants: 49,24; 28,8; 54,8) Hence the whites depend utterly on what the Lamanites decide to do.

The Lamanites are fragments of the Chosen People to be liberated from a sin of their past. Theologically, they are not strictly equals; rather the Mormons see the Lamanites as both inferior and superior, inferior, because punished and superior, because part of the Chosen People.

Though only 32% of the New Zealand membership of the Church is white, this white minority still prevents the Church from having a Maori identity. For the people of Whangaruru, these white Church members are often the only whites with whom they feel comfortable. In practice, the theological formula amounts to social equality and intermarriage seems to be frequent, nor does the Maori marriage partner feel as awkward with the in-laws as is customary in mixed marriages.

Thus, paradoxically, the myth of descent from Laman

strengthens rather than weakens the Maori self-image. Being a member of the Church brings a new efficacy, a sense of progress, a confidence that inequality (which is a social fact) is after all unreal because it is temporary. Slowly the Church role is becoming a Church identity and as this new identity is emerging, it is tested against the hitherto baffling dilemmas of the environment: factionalism, debt, supernatural fears and racial prejudice. When the new identity proves potent against all these, when it seems safe, it is adopted.

CONCLUSION

Mormonism among the New Zealand Maori bears many obvious resemblances to other millennial movements in which the Maori are involved, but also significant differences. Ringatu and Ratana accept themselves essentially as they are; they regard the Maori as being the whole of the chosen people so that the possession of a brown skin is an essential qualification for belonging to the elect. The Mormons take the opposite view: a brown skin is the sign of past transgression and the position in which the Maori now are is not an acceptable one. A fundamental change is necessary.

Bastide has pointed out that all millennialism is a mixture of traditional and Western mentality. It can be an apprenticeship for new ways of thought and action, but it can also lead to abandonment of effort for the sake of dream. Millennialism as a religious phenomenon hesitates between the two tendencies.

It would seem that Ratanaism and Ringatuism are charters for a continuation of the dream, whereas Mormonism is definitely on the side of reconstruction. Certainly it gives its members the confidence to modernise their lives. One woman told me that the Maori had put their first foot on the ladder, but they did not dare to put their second foot on the second rung. This describes very precisely the sort of terror involved in social change; yet this is the sort of change that was actually

occurring. The filling in of Mormon genealogy sheets, the transcending of hapu loyalties - these are all examples of putting the second foot on the second rung of the ladder.

The modernisation proposed by Mormonism leads to great losses in the original cultural heritage. This is not because the Mormons are opposed to the traditional Maori arts and crafts, for indeed they support them, but because their doctrines are used - as we have seen - to attack institutions like the hapu head-on. They see religion as a total phenomenon: not only is the authority of God diametrically opposed to the authority of mana, but the organization of God, the Church, must have preeminence over the hapu as the organization of mana.

Yet, the Maori of Whangaruru are conscious of no cultural loss; they feel that the hapu has not been abandoned but rather incorporated in a larger unit of even greater sacredness. As Maori genealogies become part of a universal genealogy, so Maori culture becomes part of a universal culture.

Mormonism does not imply integration with the dominant white group in New Zealand, for it stands apart, both socially and with respect to some significant value orientations. Though the Mormon community especially in the cities does contain a number of Europeans, yet the Maori member remains 'sealed off' from the chance of humiliation and rebuff in the wider white world. This situation, coupled with a high economic level, represents an ideal the Maori, also outside the Mormon Church, have long pursued. Some people have thought that this tendency of the Maori to seal himself off from the

wider world is a threat to race relations; Mol, in a brilliant recent article, has shown that the opposite is true. It is by sealing himself off that the Maori keeps race relations as good as they are.

I have tried to answer the question why Mormonism was successful in Whangaruru. I have shown that the answers are many and complex; they lie in all the spheres of religious concern: belief, ritual and organization. Mormon ritual reaffirmed the contents of the pre-existing Maori myth-dream, created out of the early conflicts of culture contact. Mormon belief and values, while differing crucially from traditional Maori ones, are yet far closer to them than those of the dominant white society. Finally, Mormon organization and the Church communication system played a crucial role not only because of its efficiency, but also because it became itself highly charged with millennial significance. Above all, its concern was not fragmentary, as is usual for European organizations, but total, thus offering solutions to community problems as a crucial part of its institutional concern.

Mormonism will always be the religion of a minority. The rest of the Maori people are also in a process of rapid change and development. The Mormon mode of development is highly efficient in comparison with other modes but sooner or later it will meet in New Zealand the same difficulties O'Dea has described for the United States. While Mormonism is anchored in charisma, the modern world, in many of its greatest achievements, is anchored in rationality and here the educated

Mormon meets a contradiction. Similarly there is the contradiction between Mormon authority and obedience versus western democracy and individualism; and the political conflict between Mormon conservatism and New Zealand's widespread social idealism. These are problems the people of Whangaruru will have to meet sometime in the future; for the present, they are not yet relevant.

From this study emerge two interwoven questions on which research seems urgently needed: why does religion play such a dominant role in the development of coloured minorities in modern western societies; and how does skin colour enter as a crucial symbol in their religious universe? These questions cannot be answered from New Zealand Mormon materials alone, though I hope the present essay will have provided a basis.

LIST OF BOOKS QUOTED

- Baker, Charles: The Journal of Charles Baker, September 6, 1840 - July 30, 1844, Manuscript, Turnbull Library, Wellington
- Bastide, Roger, 1961: 'Messianisme et developpement economique et social', in: Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, XXXI:3-14
- Beaglehole, Ernest & Pearl, 1946: Some Modern Maoris, Wellington, New Zealand Council for Education Research
- Belshaw, C. S., 1950: 'The Significance of Modern Cults in Melanesian Development', in: Australian Outlook, 4:116-25
- , 1954: Changing Melanesia, Melbourne
- Bennett, Archibald F., 1957: Family Exaltation, Salt Lake City, Deseret Sunday School Union Board
- Best, Elsdon, 1924a: Maori Religion and Mythology, Wellington, Government Printer, Dominion Museum Bulletin no. 10.
- , 1924b: The Maori as he was, Wellington, Dominion Museum
- , 1924c: The Maori, 2 volumes, Wellington, Memoirs of the Polynesian Society 5
- Biggs, Bruce 1960: Maori Marriage, Wellington, Polynesian Society
- Buck, Sir Peter, 1950: The Coming of the Maori, Wellington, Maori Purposes Fund Board and Whitcombe and Tombs
- Burridge, K. O. L., 1960: Mambu, A Melanesian Millennium, London, Methuen
- Carleton, Hugh, 1874: Life of Henry Williams, 2 volumes, Auckland
- Church of Latter day Saints: Book of Mormon
- : Doctrine and Covenants
- : Genealogical Handbook: Polynesia

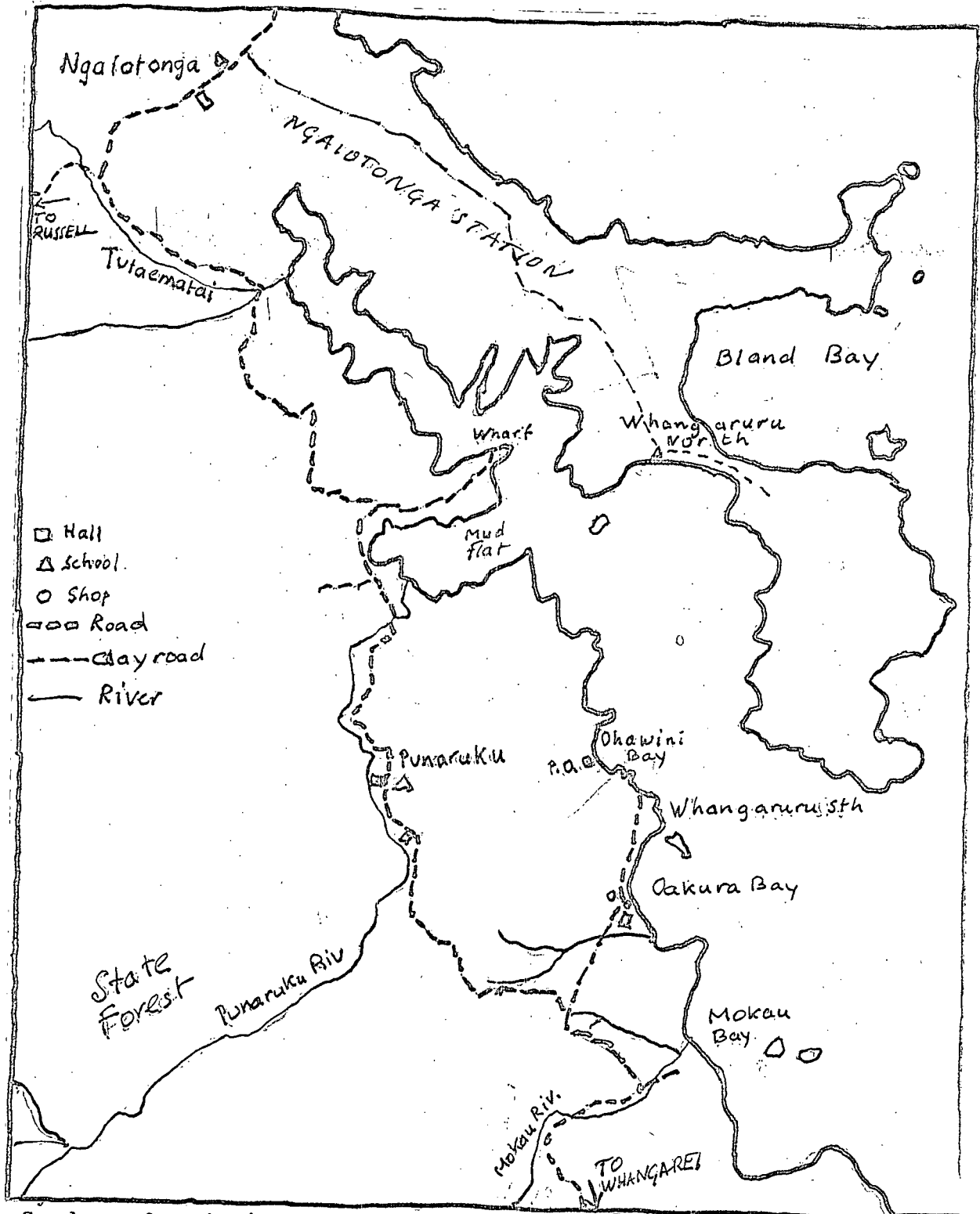
- Cohn, Norman, 1962: 'Medieval millennialism': its bearing on the comparative study of millenarian movements', in: Sylvia L. Thrupp (ed.), Millennial Dreams in Action, The Hague, Mouton, pp 31-43
- Department of Statistics: Population Census, 1936, 1945, 1951, 1956 and 1961, Wellington, Government Printer
- : 1961 Population Census, Religious Professions, Wellington, Government Printer
- Du Bois, Cora 1962: 'The Public Health Worker as an Agent of Sociocultural Change', in: Warren G. Bennis, Kenneth B. Benne, Robert Chin (eds.) The Planning of Social Change, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp 528ff
- Durkheim, Emile 1961: The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, Translated from the French by Joseph Ward Swain, New York, Collier Books (First French edition in 1912)
- Firth, Raymond 1941: 'The Analysis of Mana' in: Polynesian Anthropological Studies, New Plymouth, Thomas Avery & Sons
- 1951: Elements of Social Organization, London, Watts
- 1959a: Economics of the New Zealand Maori, Wellington, Government Printer
- 1959b: Social Change in Tikopia, London, Allen & Unwin
- 1964: Essays on Social Organization and Values, University of London, Athlone Press
- Fortes, M. 1959: 'Descent, Filiation and Affinity: A Rejoinder to Dr. Leach' in Man, 59: 193-196, 206-212
- Goffman, Erving 1961: Encounters, two studies in the Sociology of Interaction, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill
- Grey, Sir George, 1855: Polynesian Mythology, London
- Henderson, J. McLeod, 1963: Ratana, the origins and the story of the movement, Wellington, Polynesian Society Memoir vol 36
- Holmes, Catherine O., 1921: History of Whangarei from the Earliest Times up to 1876, University of New Zealand Thesis, Turnbull Library, Wellington
- Jarvie, I.C. 1964: The Revolution in Anthropology, Routledge and Kegan Paul

- Johansen, J. Prytz 1954: The Maori and His Religion in its non-ritualistic aspects, Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard
- 1958: Studies in Maori Rites and Myths, Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard
- Kelman, Herbert C. 1962: 'Processes of Opinion Change', in: Warren G Bennis, Kenneth B. Benne, Robert Chin (eds.), The Planning of Social Change, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp 509-527
- Kluckhohn, Clyde K. M. 1956: 'Toward a Comparison of Value-Emphases in Different Cultures', in: Leonard D. White, The State of the Social Sciences, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp 116-132
- Lanternari, Vittorio 1960: Movimenti religiosi di libert  e di salvezza dei popoli oppressi, Milano, Feltrinelli
- 1963: The Religions of the Oppressed, New York, Knopf
- Laughton, J. G. 1954: 'Maoritanga', in Te Ao Hou, vol 2,4: 10-12; vol 3, 1:17-18
- Leach, E. R. 1964: Political Systems of Highland Burma. Reprinted with a new introductory not by the author, London, Bell
- Leeuw, G. van der, 1938: Religion in Essence and Manifestation, London, Allen & Unwin
- Lehmann, F. R., 1922: Mana, Leipzig, Otto Spamer
- Levi-Strauss, Claude 1958: Anthropologie Structurale, Paris, Plon
- 1962: La pensee sauvage, Paris, Plon
- 1964: Le cru et le cuit, Paris, Plon
- Lucretius Carus, T. 1959: De Rerum Natura (ed. Joseph Martin), Leipzig, Teubner
- Maning, F. E. 1868: Report, in Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, A4, no 2
- Metge, Joan 1964: A New Maori Migration, Rural and Urban Relations in Northern New Zealand, University of London, Athlone Press
- Mol, J. J. 1964: 'Race Relations, with Special Reference to New Zealand: A Theoretical Discussion' in: Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol 73:375-381

- Nadel, S. F., 1957: The Theory of Social Structure, London, Cohen & West
- O'Dea, Thomas F., 1957: The Mormons, Chicago, University of Chicago Press
- Parsons, Talcott and Edward A. Shils (eds.) 1951: Toward a General Theory of Action, Cambridge, Harvard University Press
- Piripi, Morore, 1961 and 1962: 'Ko te timatanga mai o Ngatiwai-History of Ngatiwai', in Te Ao Hou 37:18-21; 38:43-46,60; 30:46-49
- Prior, Ian 1962: 'A Health Survey in a Rural Maori Community, with Particular Emphasis on the Cardiovascular, Nutritional and Metabolic Findings' in New Zealand Medical Journal, vol. 61, no. 359; 333-348
- Radcliffe Brown, A. R., 1952: 'The Comparative Method in Social Anthropology', in: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society, vol. 81, parts I and II:15-22
- Redfield, R., 1950: A Village that Chose Progress, Chicago, University of Chicago Press
- Reed, A. H. 1953: The Story of the Kauri, Wellington, A.H. & A.W. Reed
- 1956: The Story of Northland, Wellington, A.H. & A.W. Reed
- Ritchie, James E. 1956: Basic Personality in Rakau, Wellington Victoria University College Publications in Psychology no.8
- 1963: The Making of a Maori, A Case Study of a Changing Community, Wellington, A.H. & A.W. Reed
- Scheffler, H.W. 1964: 'Descent Concepts and Descent Groups: The Maori Case', in: Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 73:126-133
- Schwimmer, Erik 1963: 'Guardian Animals of the Maori', in: Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 72:397-410
- Siegel, B.J. and A.R. Beals 1960: 'Conflict and Factionalist Dispute', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society, vol. 90:107-117
- Smith, S. Percy, 1913: The Lore of the Whare Wananga, Part 1, New Plymouth, Memoirs of the Polynesian Society 3

- Steiner, Franz 1956: Taboo, London, Cohen and West
- Sutherland, I.L.G. (ed.), 1940: The Maori People Today,
Wellington, New Zealand Institute of International Affairs
& New Zealand Council for Educational Research
- Talmage, James E., 1924: A Study of the Articles of Faith,
Salt Lake City. (Twelfth Edition)
- Tatana, Wiremu, n.d.: He Whakahoki Patai, Auckland, Hemi
Nitama Ramapata, Te Kai Panui
- Taylor, R. 1855: Te Ika a Maui, London
- Turner, V.W., 1957: Schism and Continuity in an African Society,
Manchester University Press
- Wach, Joachim 1944: Sociology of Religion, Chicago, University
of Chicago Press
- Whiting J.W.M., Eleanor Hollenberg Chasdi, Helen Faigin
Antonowski, Barbara Chartier Ayres, n.d.: The Learning
of Values, Harvard University, multilith
- Widtsoe, John A, 1915: A Rational Theology, Salt Lake City
- 1939: Priesthood and Church Government, Salt Lake City
- Williams, Edward M., 1872: A Report, Appendices to the Journals
of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, F3
- Williams, Henry: Journals, 2 volumes, Manuscript, Turnbull
Library, Wellington
- Williams, Herbert W., 1937: 'The Maruiwi', in: Journal of the
Polynesian Society, vol 46:105-122
- Winiata, Maharaia, 1956: 'Leadership in Pre-European Maori
Society' in: Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. 65:
212-231
- Woodruff, Asahel D., 1959: Teaching the Gospel, Salt Lake City,
Deseret Sunday School Union Board
- Zobell, Albert L., 1954: 'New Zealand's One Hundred Years',
in The Improvement Era, vol. 57, no. 10:710-712, 730-734

Appendix I - MAP OF WHANGARURU



Appendis II: MAORI POPULATION OF WHANGARURU BY LOCALITIES:

CENSUS DATA 1936 - 61

<u>Localities</u> 1)	1936	1945	1951	1956	1961
Mokau	64	56	37	38	29
Oakura 2)	42	-	38	1	34
Punaru k uku	72	145	130	102	100
Whangaruru North	-	-	44	39	31
Whangaruru South	105	87	37	85	38
Whangaruru Beach	-	-	-	0	5
Tutaematai 3)	33	23	10	11	-
Ngaiotonga 4)	N/A	56	94	95	73
Total 5)	316	367	390	371	310

Notes

1) The Whangaruru district as defined in this study comprises eight localities listed in the New Zealand Population Census for the years 1936-61 under the names shown in this table. Unfortunately, not all locality names occur in every census report. Where a locality is omitted, its population is included in one or more neighbouring localities.

2) Oakura is not shown as a locality in 1945; its population being then included with neighbouring Punaruku. In 1956, most of Oakura's Maori population was counted with Whangaruru South.

3) In 1961, this small locality was amalgamated with Ngaiotonga.

4) In 1936, Ngaiotonga's population was counted mostly with localities outside the scope of this study.

5) To this total add an unknown number from Ngaiotonga.

Source: Department of Statistics, Population Census.

Appendix III - UTILISATION OF MAORI LAND IN WHANGARURU DISTRICT:

ACRES

Localities	Farmed under Maori Land Development	Farmed by independ- ent settlers	Land devel- since 1930, now idle	Undevel- oped land	Total
Mokau	--	303	381	4,111	4,795
Oakura	82	77	166	144	469
Punaruku	302	271	185	2,299	3,057
Ngaiotonga	3,043+)	--	575	2,576	6,194
Whangaruru North	329	111	187	725	1,352
Whangaruru South	--	--	--	151	151
Total	3,756+)	762	1,494	10,006	16,018

+) The category 'Farmed under Maori land development' may be further subdivided into:

Ngaiotonga Maori Land Development Station	2,712
Settlers under Maori Land Development	1,044
Total	3,756

Source: Compiled from the records of the Department of Maori Affairs, Whangarei District Office

Appendix IV: AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION: MAORI OF WHANGARURU

<u>Age Groups</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
0 - 15 years	117	108	225
16- 50 years	39	46	85
51 years and over	29	46	52
Total	185	177	362

Note: These figures were collected in 1960. They included some people who migrated before the census of 1961 as taken; and some people who were only in the district at weekends or occasionally. Hence the table does not tally with Appendix II

Source: Answers to questionnaire administered to an adult in each household in Whangaruru.

Appendix V: MAORI RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS, 1961

	National Total	Maori	% increase in Maori membership 1956-1961
1. Traditional Mission Churches		96,362	20.7
Church of England	835,434	51,148	15.6
Roman Catholic Church	363,964	28,656	30.0
Methodist Church	174,026	12,611	20.3
Presbyterian Church	539,223	3,947	28.8
2. Maori Messianic Churches		27,583	12.9
Ratana			
Ringatu	23,126	21,954	16.9
Others (Hauhau, Absolute Maori Established Church, Te Maramatanga, Te Whiti, and 'Maori Church')	5,377	5,275 354	5.3 -34.8
3. Millenarian Churches of Non-Maori Origin		16,324	33.2
Latter day Saints	17,978	12,179	23.8
Brethren	25,810	1,567	97.2
Jehovah's Witness	5,944	934	96.4
Seventh Day Adventist	8,220	622	34.6
Others (Commonwealth Covenant, Salvation Army, Apostolic Church, Church of Christ, Church of Jesus Christ)		1,024	49.3
4. Object to State	203,747	21,814	28.0
5. No Religion	17,486	891	36.2
6. Total	2,414,984	167,086	21.8

Note: Figures in this table have been extracted from New Zealand Census data for the purpose of showing Maori adherence to millennial and other churches. National totals are shown where possible. Source: Department of Statistics.

Appendix VI: CHART OF MORMON CHURCH ORGANIZATION IN THE NORTHLAND

MISSION DISTRICT

