

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.



Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

PREVIEW

NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available

UMI

PREVIEW

DANIEL'S BOOK UNSEALED

**PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES AND INDIGENOUS PROPHECIES
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEW ZEALAND AND SOUTH AFRICA**

by

Thor Andrew Wagstrom

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of

The Graduate College at the University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Major: History

Under the Supervision of Professor Dane Kennedy

Lincoln, Nebraska

August, 1999

UMI Number: 9942164

PREVIEW

UMI Microform 9942164
Copyright 1999, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

**This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

DISSERTATION TITLE

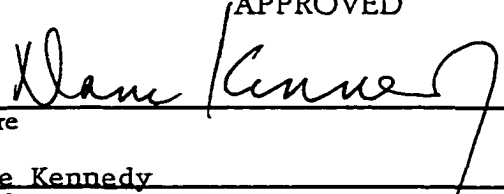
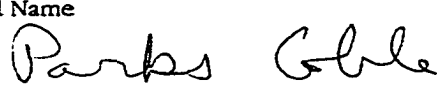


Daniel's Book Unsealed: Protestant Missionaries and Indigenous Prophecies

in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand and South Africa

BY

Thor Andrew Wagstrom

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE:

APPROVED		DATE
		
Signature		<u>Aug. 4, 1999</u>
<u>Dane Kennedy</u>		
Typed Name		
		
Signature		<u>Aug. 4, 1999</u>
<u>Parks Coble</u>		
Typed Name		
		
Signature		<u>4 Aug 99</u>
<u>David Cahan</u>		
Typed Name		
		
Signature		<u>Aug. 4, 1999</u>
<u>David Wishart</u>		
Typed Name		
Signature		
Typed Name		
Signature		
Typed Name		



GRADUATE COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

**DANIEL'S BOOK UNSEALED:
PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES AND INDIGENOUS PROPHECIES
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEW ZEALAND AND SOUTH AFRICA**

Thor Andrew Wagstrom, Ph.D.

University of Nebraska, 1999

Adviser: Dane Kennedy

When evangelical missionaries fanned around the globe during the nineteenth century, they brought with them messages of prophecy and of millenarian expectation. In their eagerness to evangelize the world, they spread these messages to indigenous societies but did not have the resources to control how these messages were interpreted or used by those to whom they preached. The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the influence that the messages brought by evangelical missionaries had on innovative religious movements particularly among the Xhosa on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony and among the Maori in New Zealand.

This thesis examines the sources of missionary messages, the transmission of those messages, and the effects that they had on indigenous people. It makes two main contributions to the study of innovative religions in the wake of European expansion. First, it looks closely at the process of communication of Christian beliefs by missionaries and at the breakdown in that process, which permitted independent interpretation. In this effort, the perspectives and

behaviors of both the missionaries and the indigenous people are considered. Second, it makes comparisons throughout between two contexts: the eastern Cape frontier and New Zealand. In showing the similarities between these two cases, the argument is made that missionary influence was one of the primary reasons that the religious aspects of indigenous resistance to European colonization took such similar forms in South Africa and New Zealand.

PREVIEW

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	vii
List of Abbreviations.....	ix
Map 1. The Eastern Cape Frontier, 1800–1850.....	x
Map 2. South Africa, 1652–1895	xi
Map 3. Xhosa Territorial Losses, 1779–1850.	xii
Map 4. Maori Tribal Locations, North Island.	xiii
Map 5. North Island, New Zealand, 1800–1870.....	xiv
INTRODUCTION &	1
OUTLINE.....	7
NEW ZEALAND AND SOUTH AFRICA AS CASES	11
SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND RELIGIOUS INNOVATION.....	18
THE ROLE OF THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN APOCALYPTIC TRADITION	23
CHAPTER 1 & ORIGINS OF THE MESSAGE	35
A BRIEF SURVEY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS	36
EVANGELICALISM, REVIVALISM, AND THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT	51
MISSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NEW ZEALAND	79
<i>South Africa.....</i>	<i>79</i>
<i>New Zealand.....</i>	<i>88</i>
CHAPTER 2 & DELIVERING THE MESSAGE	95
PERCEPTIONS	95
GOALS AND METHODS	111
MESSAGES	150

<i>Preaching and Teaching</i>	151
<i>Translations</i>	154
<i>The Big Message: Sin and Redemption</i>	156
<i>Repentance and Forgiveness</i>	159
<i>Divine Protection, Satanic Influence, and the Gift of the Holy Spirit</i>	161
<i>Rewards and Punishments</i>	171
<i>Resurrection and Other Miracles</i>	176
<i>"The Last Days"</i>	180
<i>Other Messages</i>	183
CHAPTER 3 & MAKING SENSE OF MISSIONARIES	188
CHIEFS AND MISSIONARIES	188
TOBACCO, TUMORS, SCHOOLS, AND BIBLES	210
EARLY RELIGIOUS RESPONSES TO MISSIONARIES	220
CHAPTER 4 & LOSING CONTROL OF THE MESSAGE	253
PROBLEMS WITH ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES	253
LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION	263
ECCLESIASTICAL RIVALRY	269
INCREASED EUROPEAN PRESENCE	282
INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE	293
CHAPTER 5 & THE PROPHETIC TRADITION IN SOUTH AFRICA	301
NXELE	302
NTSIKANA	309
MLANJENI	324
THE CATTLE-KILLING MOVEMENT OF 1856-57	330
CHAPTER 6 & THE PROPHETIC TRADITION IN NEW ZEALAND	358

PAPAHURIHIA AND ABRAHAM: TWO EARLY PROPHETS	359
MAORI RELIGION AND POLITICS IN THE 1850S	364
ORIGINS AND BELIEFS OF PAI MARIRE.....	374
WAR AND THE DOCTRINE OF "GOODNESS AND PEACE" (PART 1)	391
THE MISSION TO THE EAST	399
<i>Te Tiu Tamihana and Hori Tupaea</i>	399
<i>Patara and Kereopa</i>	406
WAR AND THE DOCTRINE OF "GOODNESS AND PEACE" (PART 2)	419
PAI MARIRE: LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND THE ROLE OF VIOLENCE	431
CHAPTER 7 & CONCLUSIONS.....	442
APPENDIX 1 & NTSIKANA'S "GREAT HYMN".....	456
APPENDIX 2 & "LAMENT FOR KING TAWHIAO"	458
APPENDIX 3 & THE TENETS OF PAI MARIRE.....	461
Glossary.....	462
Maori terms.....	462
Xhosa terms.....	463
Bibliography	465
<i>Unpublished Sources:</i>	465
<i>Published Sources:</i>	465

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the assistance I have received from numerous sources in the course of completing this project. The University of Nebraska–Lincoln’s Love Library has been an invaluable resource, both for its own collections and for its interlibrary loan service. The only other major institution used for this research was the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. To the library there and especially to Rosemary Seton, head archivist, and the staff of the Special Collections Room, I owe a great deal of gratitude. I also am grateful to the Council for World Mission Archives and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Archives for permission to use their materials. Thanks to Oak Hill College, which proved to be a very comfortable place to stay while I was in London, insulating me just enough from the hustle and bustle of that metropolis to allow me to stay focused.

My research trip to London was made possible through the financial support of a Landis Fellowship from the University of Nebraska–Lincoln’s Department of History, and a Warren F. and Edith R. Day Award from the Graduate College. I am also grateful for the McPhee Fellowship and Dov Ospovat awards from the Department of History, and for the Maude Hammond Fling Fellowship and Presidential Fellowship from the Graduate College, all of which supported me for a period of two years while I was working on this thesis.

To all who served at one time or another on my supervisory committee—Dane Kennedy, Parks Coble, David Wishart, David Cahan, Sam

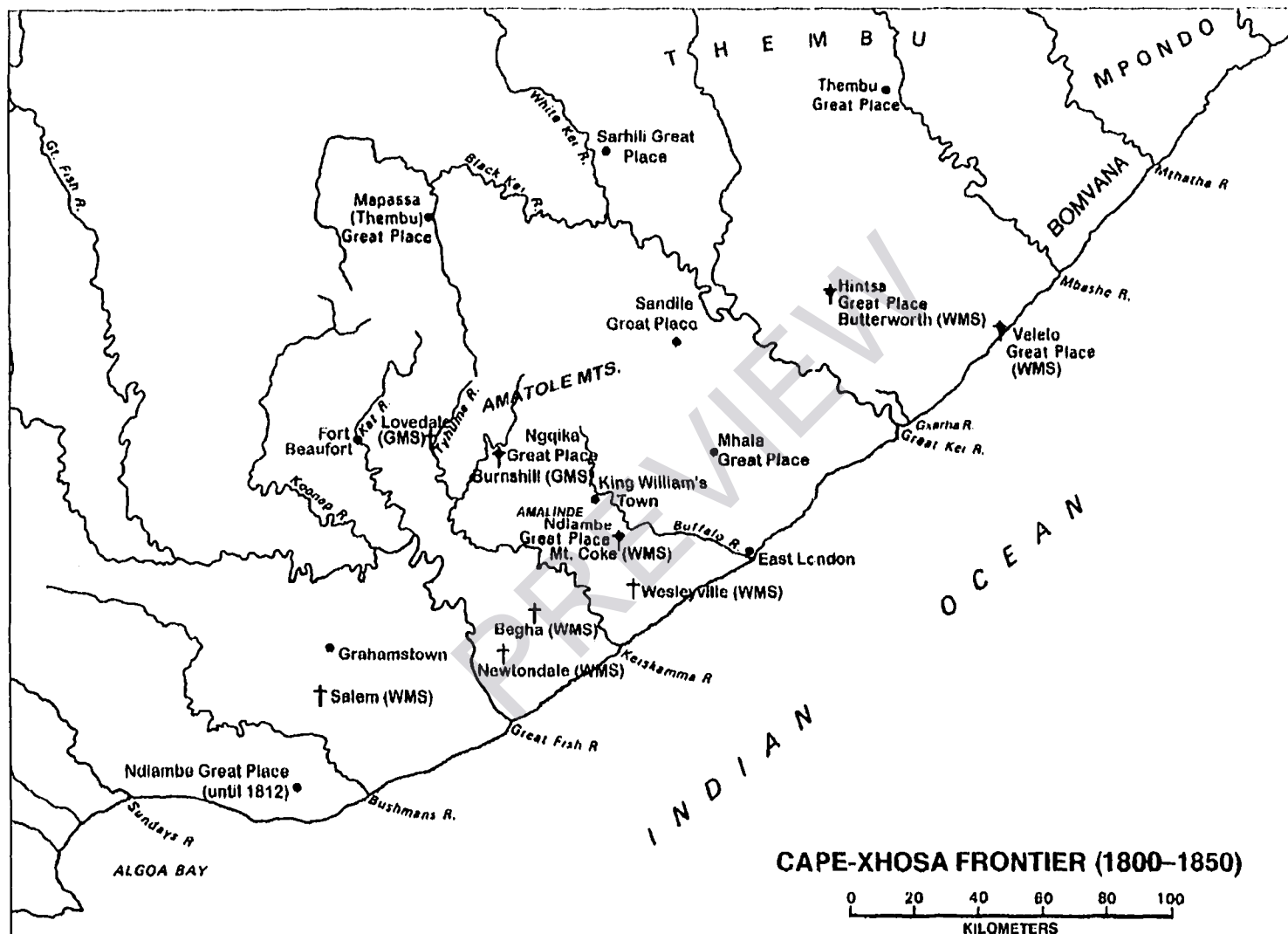
Brunk, and John Turner—I offer heartfelt thanks for your suggestions, criticisms, and support. If I had taken better advantage of your combined wealth of knowledge and wisdom, this project could certainly have been much improved. Of course, I owe extra gratitude to my adviser, Dane Kennedy, who has been enthusiastic about this project from the beginning and has never ceased to be encouraging.

Finally, I wish to thank my parents, Wayne and Loanna, for giving me every opportunity to learn and grow; my wife, Rikki, for experiencing and sharing the life of a graduate student with me; and my daughter, Solvi, for giving me something to do during my post-doctoral career.

PREVIEW

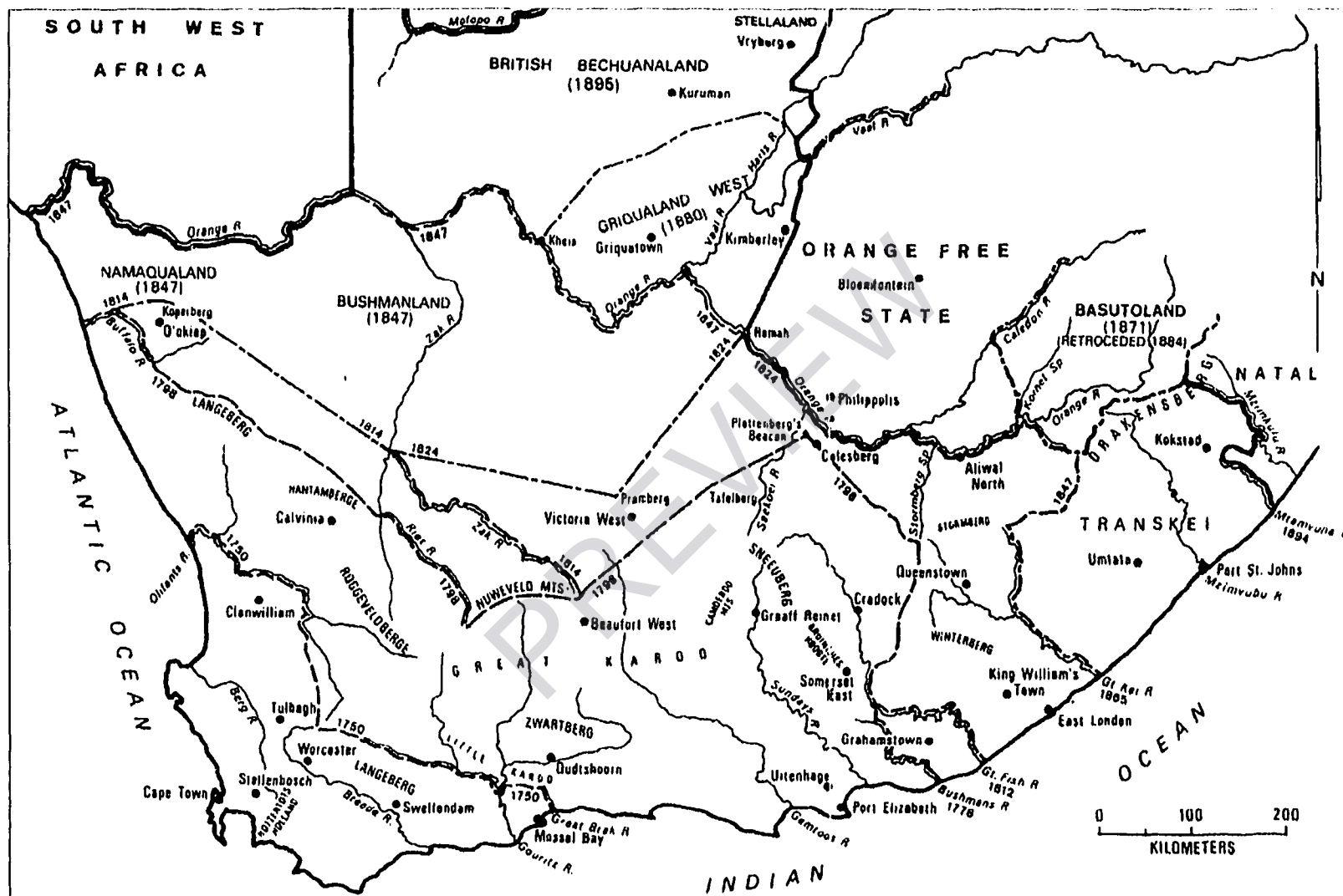
List of Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
BFBS	British Foreign Bible Society
BPP	British Parliamentary Papers
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CWM	Council for World Mission
FBN	Fiche Box Number
GMS	Glasgow Missionary Society (incorporated into the United Free Church of Scotland in 1845)
LMS	London Missionary Society
SAMS	South African Missionary Society
WMMS or WMS	Wesleyan (Methodist) Missionary Society



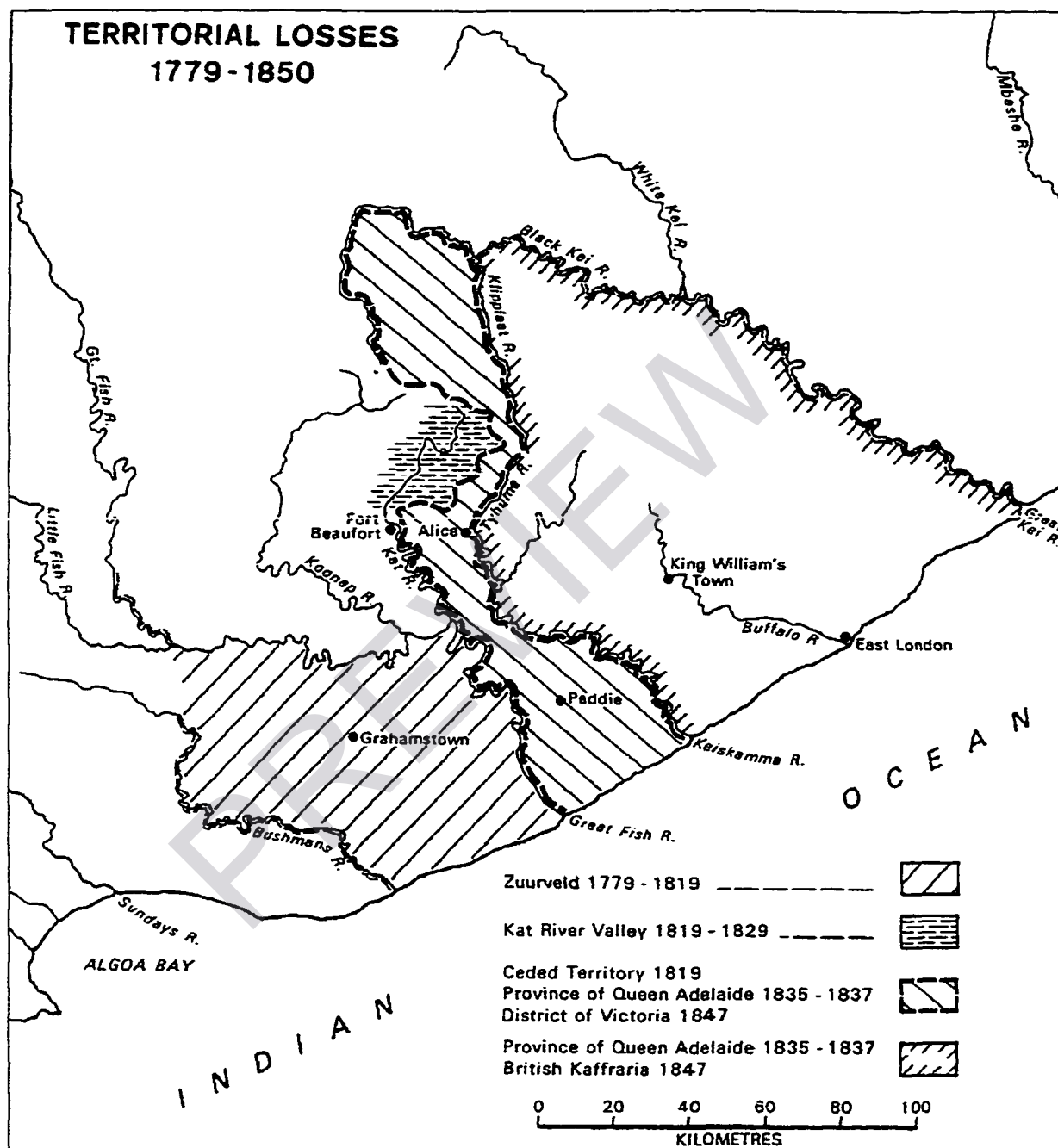
Map 1. The Eastern Cape Frontier, 1800-1850.

Adapted from J. B. Peires, *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of Their Independence*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 85.



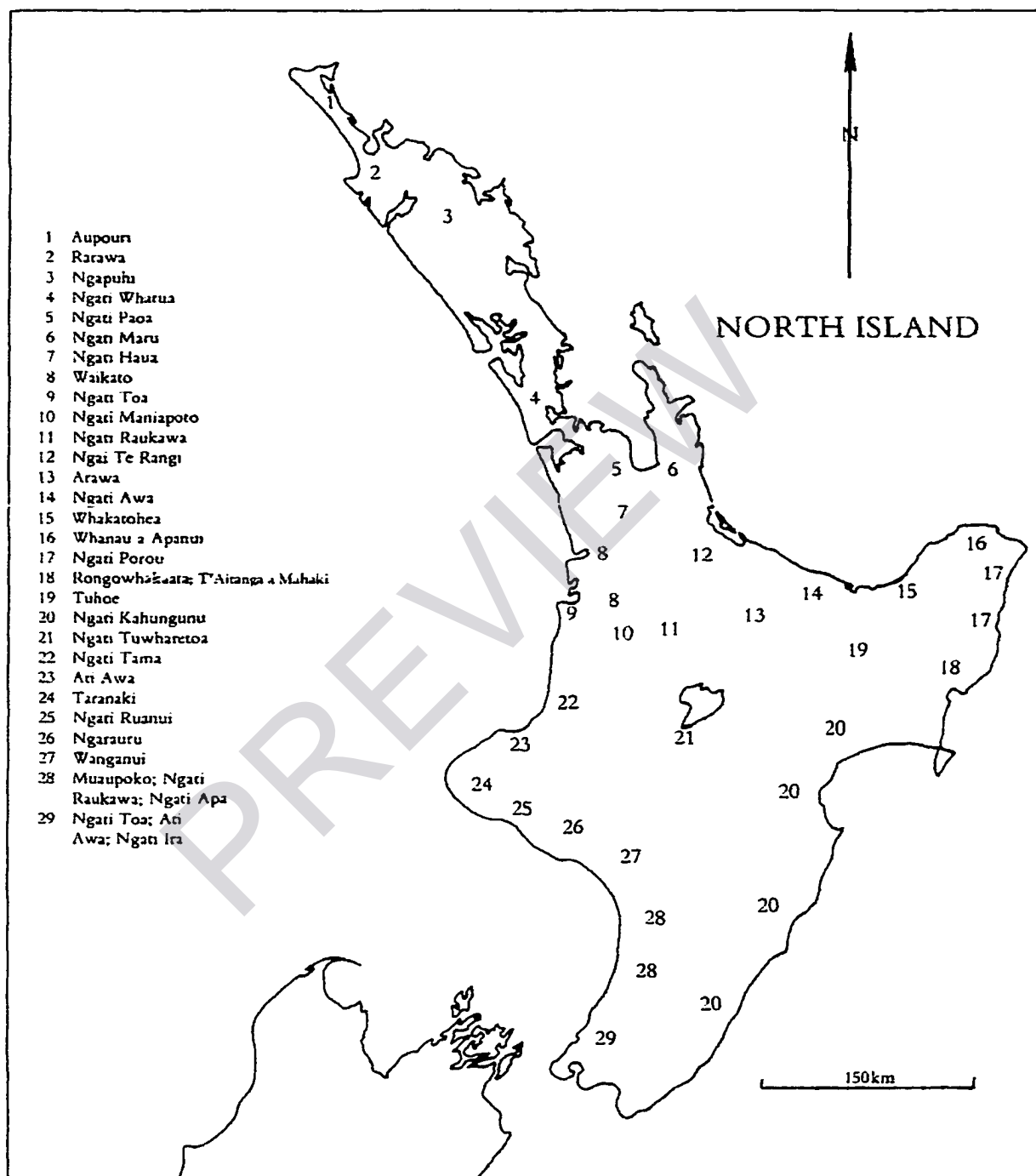
Map 2. South Africa, 1652-1895

From T. R. H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History*, Fourth edition, (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 89.



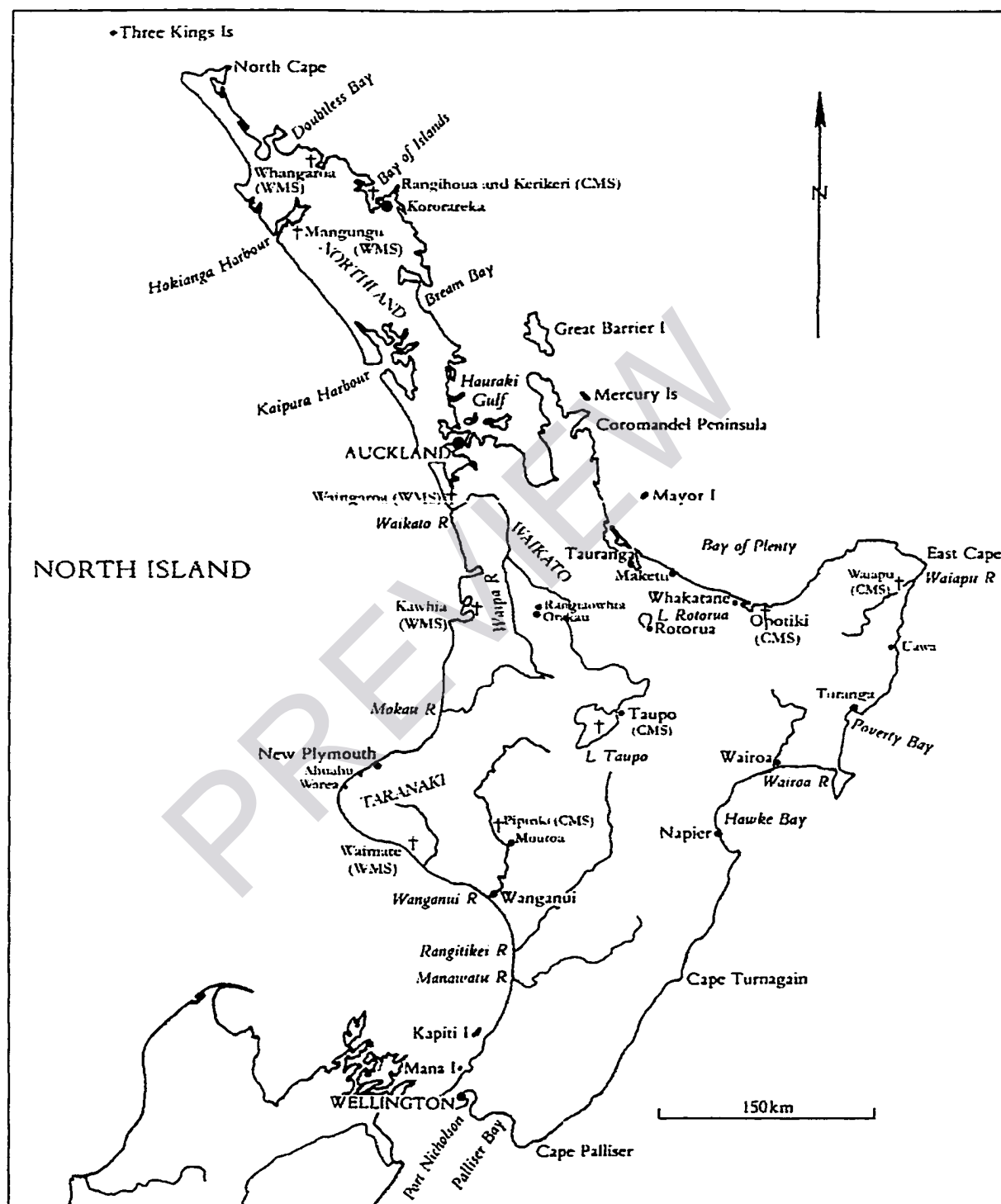
Map 3. Xhosa Territorial Losses, 1779-1850.

From J. B. Peires, *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of Their Independence*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 162.



Map 4. Maori Tribal Locations, North Island.

Adapted from W. H. Oliver and B. R. Williams, eds., *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, (Oxford and Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981), 465.



Map 5. North Island, New Zealand, 1800–1870.

Adapted from W. H. Oliver and B. R. Williams, eds., *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, (Oxford and Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981), 467, 469.

Introduction

According to the Old Testament book named for him, the prophet Daniel received a vision of a time of unparalleled upheaval. He was reassured, however, that his people—“everyone who is found written in the book”—would be saved, the dead would be resurrected and judged, and the righteous would be granted “everlasting life.” But Daniel was advised to “keep the words secret and the book sealed until the time of the end.” In the late eighteenth century, an unprecedented “shaking of the nations” in Europe encouraged some evangelical Protestants to believe that the time spoken of by the ancient prophet was at hand. Missionary societies were formed to spread the gospel of Christianity throughout the world, perhaps driven by the promise in Daniel’s vision that “those who lead many to righteousness” would shine “like the stars forever and ever.”¹

As the earliest of these idealistic evangelicals fanned out over the globe, they felt compelled to share with the world the personal liberation that the promise of salvation had led them to experience. Many of them, if not most, had undergone conversions, which are by definition profoundly emotional and spiritual experiences. They did not feel constrained, as did Daniel, to keep their revelations secret. This evangelical fervor cooled as the nineteenth century wore on, but not before leaving its impression on the non-European world. This thesis examines the important relationship between Protestant missionaries and

¹ Daniel 12:1–4, (NRSV). In order to match the translation used by the missionaries of the earth nineteenth century, the Authorized (King James) Version is generally used throughout this thesis for quotations from the Bible. When a different translation is more appropriate, the name of the translation will be indicated.

indigenous people in the South Africa and New Zealand, primarily during the first half of the nineteenth century. The intention is to determine as clearly as possible the nature of the influence that missionary teachings had on the innovative religious movements which developed among the indigenous people of these two colonies.

This study is particularly interested in religious innovation of the form that has been described as "millenarian" or "millennial," sometimes referred to as "chiliastic." Sometimes these movements are included under more inclusive heads like "revitalization movements," "acculturation movements," "revolutionist responses," "crisis cults," and so forth. While there has been a great deal of literature published on the subject in recent decades and a fair amount of consensus in the analysis of and regarding the general comparability of such movements, a number of approaches have been taken with some significant disputes over such matters as the importance of the class status of the clientele and the importance of leadership to the viability of such movements. One area of relatively little consistency is terminology. Without delving into the great variety of terms and typologies that have been favored by one anthropologist or another sociologist, it is important to understand the term "millenarian" as it is used in this study. Norman Cohn has offered the following agreeable definition:

...any religious movement inspired by the phantasy of a salvation which is to be

(a) collective, in the sense that it is to be enjoyed by the faithful as a group;

(b) terrestrial, in the sense that it is to be realised on this earth and not in some otherworldly heaven;

(c) imminent, in the sense that it is to come both soon and suddenly;

(d) total, in the sense that it is utterly to transform life on earth, so that the new dispensation will be no mere improvement on the present but perfection itself.

(e) accomplished by agencies which are consciously regarded as supernatural.²

There are additional features which, though they are not defining, are prevalent in millenarianism in general and in the cases examined here. One of these is the prophet, who claims divine inspiration and who delivers the particulars of the message of salvation to those "who have ears to hear." The degree to which the prophet effectively leads the movement varies, but the role is very important in that it brings the attention of a society to a particular prophecy amidst what may be a multitude of competing messages—religious and secular—about courses of action and expectations. To borrow from Anthony Wallace, among others, the prophet is often a catalyst, converting the potentiality of a movement into reality.³

The religious movements considered here have one more feature in common. They demonstrate a degree of syncretism between Christian and

² Norman Cohn, "Medieval Millenarism: Its Bearing on the Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements," in *Millennial Dreams in Action: Studies in Revolutionary Religious Movements*, ed., Sylvia L. Thrupp, (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), 31. According to a nineteenth-century writer, the designation "millenarians" referred specifically to people who anticipated Christ's bodily presence during the Millennium. This usage would be appropriate for some but not all of the movements dealt with herein, but this distinction will be ignored because it is not pertinent to the present discussion. Seth Williston, *Millennial Discourses: or a Series of Sermons Designed to Prove That There Will Be a Millennium of Peace and Holiness; Also to Suggest Means for Hastening Its Introduction*, (Utica: Roberts & Sherman, 1849), 67.

³ Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Religion: An Anthropological View* (New York: Random House, 1966), 210-211. Cf. Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia*, 2d ed. (New York: Schocken, 1968), xviii; Bryan R. Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological Study of Religious Movements of Protest Among Tribal and Third-World Peoples* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 223; and Cohn, "Medieval Millenarism," 38, 42. The importance of a prophet or leader is not agreed upon by all; see, for example, Wilson, *ibid.*, 151; Kenelm Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 11, 14; Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival & Cult Formation*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 183; and George Shepperson, "The Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements," in *Millennial Dreams in Action*, 47.

indigenous religious beliefs. In some cases, the Christian elements are in the background, while in other cases they are at the fore. Most of these movements have been chosen, however, because they have been fundamentally influenced by the prophetic and millenarian elements of Judeo-Christian tradition. Helmer Ringgren has argued that for an introduced idea to become truly integrated into an existing religious system points of contact must exist and there must be a need or "burning issue" which cannot be answered by the pre-syncretic tradition, but which is resolved in some way by the idea introduced. In the cases examined here, the points of contact were largely between indigenous societies and the Hebraic traditions of the Old Testament. The experiences of Maoris and Xhosas in the nineteenth century determined that the "burning issue" was how to regain confidence as a society in the face of a very uncertain future. The solution was prophetism with a particularly Judeo-Christian apocalyptic orientation. Ringgren describes three general circumstances in which religious transmission occurs, including simple coexistence, military conquest and occupation, and religious mission. For the Maori and Xhosa people all of these were relevant, but the primary attention here is on transmission by missionaries. A final point, again borrowed from Ringgren, is that in spite of what may be an obvious juxtaposition of exotic and endemic ideas to an outside observer, a new syncretized faith is typically experienced from within *not* as a construction of unrelated religious scraps but rather as a revelation of a unified and consistent system of truths.⁴

⁴ Helmer Ringgren, "The Problems of Syncretism," in *Syncretism*, ed. Sven S. Hartman, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1969), 9-14.