



Trends in Religious History in New Zealand: From Institutional to Social History

Peter J. Lineham*

Massey University, Auckland, New Zealand

Abstract

This survey of recent writings on the religion of New Zealand shows how social and political themes have taken precedence over institutional history and suggests that religious history is one of the most vigorous aspects of historical work in the country. Yet it also notes that this category of history has only gradually been recognised as significant in general accounts of New Zealand. It suggests that as in other western countries, new writings on religion have shown that it raises profound contemporary historical issues, whether in relation to race relations, reformist movements, political culture or community structure.

New Zealand does not have a reputation as a particularly religious country. Founded after the days when religion was a necessity for state construction, it was constituted on a very different basis than earlier colonies as far as church–state relations were concerned. It was unlike Canada and South Africa because there were no other major sources of migration than the British Isles. While in this sense it resembled the Australian colonies, it was unlike them because Scots and English significantly outnumbered Irish people. Consequently, Anglicanism has remained the largest denomination until the 2013 census, some 27 years after it lost this position in Australia. As in the other British colonies where Anglican settlers came in large numbers, religious practices were on the face of it, a somewhat pale reproduction of the forms of religion on Great Britain and Catholicism was too small to prove the basis for sustained combat.

Until recently, the history of religion in New Zealand has lacked the vitality of the genre in older established colonies and in European states. There may have been other factors. The professional historical community was slow to emerge in New Zealand. There were very few academic historians until the 1960s. Few of those historians worked on New Zealand topics with the notable exception of Keith Sinclair, although some turned to New Zealand topics later in life. Another factor was the secular and left wing tradition of the historians which led them to view religion as irrelevant.¹ Moreover, a key body shaping the history of New Zealand was the War History Branch which became the History Division of the Department of Internal Affairs, now the Ministry of Culture and Heritage. This government department has commissioned and subsidised the publication of numerous historical works. Needless to say, its focus has been on the institutions of the state and broad historical themes. So this exacerbated the absence of religious themes from the dominant historical narrative.

Nevertheless, denominations and their related institutions commissioned a range of historical works, particularly as centenaries occurred. Inevitably, most of these were institutional histories, with little interest in broader trends. Some of them were written by able historians, but their internal focus made them of little interest to the wider profession. Unfortunately there is no single monograph which integrates the religious history of New Zealand into narrative form.² Yet there have been a significant number of doctoral students, monographs,

and a very active Religious History Association, and there is now a significant historiography, and it is arguably one of the liveliest aspects of current New Zealand historiography.³ This literature suggests ways in which the religious history of New Zealand is highly relevant to its general historiography.

It is instructive to evaluate New Zealand trends against the backdrop of the renewal of religious history in other parts of the western world. Theological education and the writing of religious history have moved increasingly from theological colleges to the universities. At the same time, the focus has shifted from accounts of institutional and theological development to the social history of religion and its links with political and intellectual developments. In the United States, the vigour of the religious world, especially the more chaotic world of evangelical and conservative Protestantism, has proved a challenge for historians. Martin Marty, George Marsden, Mark Noll have been exemplary writers, providing a model for historians in other countries without established churches. British and European religious history has very distinguished traditions of institutional and theological writing, but there has been a recent flourishing of works on the religious life and spirituality of society. This scholarship has explored the forms of religion which express popular non-institutional attitudes and which flourish in the context of rapid social change. This tradition has especial relevance in traditional societies, but it has had some influence in New Zealand.⁴

In the first age of European imperialism, the colonial authorities were expected to plant the established church, Catholic or Anglican, although this was a low priority for Protestant colonisers, unlike the Spanish and Portuguese in South America and Asia. Popular non-institutional Protestantism also emerged in the age of the evangelical awakening. Canadian and Australian historians have found that religious history has helped them to interpret the diverse textures of their society. In New Zealand, the complexity is less, given that New Zealand's modern history covers only the last two centuries, an era when voluntarism was assumed, apart from a few initial fumbling attempts by the state to assist. So religion depended essentially on the resources and energies of the churches and willing (or often unwilling) settlers.

There is an important exception to these generalisations for the period prior to the annexation of New Zealand by the British government in 1840. From 1814 to 1840 the Christian missionaries were among the key mediators between Maori and Europeans.⁵ The evangelical Anglican missionaries of the Church Missionary Society arrived in the Bay of Islands in 1814. Their goal was the evangelisation of Maori. Their early struggles have been extensively discussed by historians. Judith Binney challenged conventional narratives of success in her early writings.⁶ The missionary team gained new leadership in 1823, and the mission expanded in the 1830s to most of the coastal Maori settlements of the North Island. But the focus cannot simply be on the missionaries. All contemporary writers recognise that the history of missions must be told in relation to their potential and actual converts. Much current debate explores the ways in which tribes rejected, adopted or adapted Christianity.⁷ Meanwhile, the arrival of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society provided some alternative forms of Christianity while the French Marist Fathers of the Catholic Mission who arrived in 1838 greatly intensified competition for converts. The translation of the French missionaries' letters and published editions of other missionary journals has greatly expanded knowledge of their impact.⁸ New research is expanding our understanding of how Maori aspirations for peace, desire for access to Western technology and cultural and intellectual knowledge led to a rapid adoption of Christianity at least to a basic level.⁹ When the British government for its own reasons decided on the necessity of annexing New Zealand, the Protestant missionaries played a key role in this annexation, while the Catholic missionaries did not object. Within Maori communities, the extent of adoption of Christianity

varied, and research points to the critical role of tribal leadership in encouraging or undermining its expansion.¹⁰ As elsewhere in the Pacific, indigenous missionaries played a role which mission historians often overlooked.¹¹

The role of religious history in the later development of the Maori is less explored and yet much hangs on it. The impact of the missions declined with the introduction of British government in 1840. Thereafter, Maori leaders were quick to appraise the limited influence of the missionaries. When missionaries attempted to take on the role of protectors of the 'natives', Governor Sir George Grey criticised missionary landholdings. This rapidly reduced the respect for the missionaries. The Church Missionary Society eventually decided to hand the mission over to the local Anglican Church, as did other denominations, and this further reduced the scale of the mission. It is a pity that religious histories of the period after 1840 are so conventional.¹²

The wars of the 1860s played a critical role in shaping a crisis in the relationship between the missionary churches and Maori people. The King Movement was initially promoted by prominent figures in the Maori Christian world notably Wiremu Tamihana, because he felt that Maori needed an equivalent of the Israelite kingdom.¹³ It was stoutly opposed by most European church leaders. Missionaries to the Maori took a different stance, noting that settler greed for land lay behind their opposition to Maori interests, but even they were uncomfortable with assertions of Maori sovereignty. Missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, were forced to withdraw from the central North Island in the war period. In the vacuum, indigenous religious movements flourished, beginning with the Pai Marire movement of the 1860s.¹⁴ Later, Te Kooti and Te Whiti and Rua Kenana also adopted a position at once religious and political. There are challenges in interpreting these movements and Judith Binney's later work gives us a sense of how complex the answer is.¹⁵ Maori thereafter were never unanimously and unambiguously Christian in the western sense. Some tribal groups, for example, Ngati Porou remained fervently Anglican, but the Mormons made significant ground in the east and the north from the 1880s.¹⁶ In the 1920s, a new Maori religious movement emerged, led by T.W. Ratana, which united religion and political reformism for Maori. Its capture of the four Maori seats in Parliament by 1943 gave it a political status which it conveyed to the Labour Party.¹⁷ Meanwhile, its success forced other churches to rethink their response to the aspirations of their Maori members, leading to the appointment of an Anglican Bishop of Aotearoa, although the position was assigned no diocesan authority, and changes within other churches as well.¹⁸ These Maori Christian communities were significantly curtailed by the rapid urbanisation of Maori after World War Two. Most denominations have since the 1970s made very significant constitutional changes to give independence to their Maori members, most strikingly the Anglican Church, which has created separate 'tikanga' or parallel structures for Maori, Europeans and Pacific members. Nevertheless Pentecostal churches, notably the Apostolic Church and more recently Destiny Church, have proved most effective among Maori in recent times.¹⁹

At the outset of the crown colony in 1840, there was some uncertainty of the status of the Church of England. George Augustus Selwyn was appointed the Bishop of New Zealand by crown letters patent, and he received an annual allowance from the Colonial Office and sat in the Governor's Council. Yet that council was unwilling to favour Anglicans, offering instead subsidies to all the main denominations, and the Colonial Office refused to allow even this. The first settler parliament asserted the equality of all churches. Selwyn was innovative in response as recent historians have recognised and convened a synod to approve a church constitution independent of the state.²⁰ In this reformed Anglicanism, there was a much tighter episcopal control than in the English church; the Church Missionary Society lost its independence, and private patronage was disallowed.

Consequently, the Anglican tradition in New Zealand has been more monochrome than in many other countries, although the recent 'tikanga' structure reflects an innovative solution to the current situation. An account of another key Anglican bishop has demonstrated how the church gradually found its feet as a voluntary institution.²¹ Recent histories of Anglican dioceses are models of social as well as institutional history, far less reverent of 'pioneers' and far more interested in the cultural and social history of religion.²² More remains to be done in exploring the ways in which Anglicanism was expressed in this new social context, for it did still retain an orientation towards religious leadership of the state, and remains consciously the leading church.²³

Presbyterians took umbrage from the beginning at the superior role assumed by Anglicans. There was a very strong Scottish presence in the south of the country, which was settled by Scottish Free Church migrants. From the first, Presbyterians have written confidently about their history, and besides a fine modern history of the church, there are numerous works which establish the close links between Presbyterians and the state, as well as with education.²⁴ The Methodist Church has a predominantly Wesleyan background, and followers of other forms of Methodism combined in the one church when it separated from the Australian church in 1913.²⁵ Methodism was highly successful in the 19th century colony, and it has long had many able in-house historians who have a lively historical journal.²⁶ Congregationalists and Baptists proved to be much weaker than their English equivalents. Baptists succeeded only when they were reshaped by the revivalist tradition through men like Thomas Spurgeon and Joseph Kemp. Historians are at last putting flesh on this analysis.²⁷

The smaller religious groups had a surprising influence on the settler population because of the weakness of the transplanted denominations. Recent research has begun to recognise the force of revivalism in the 19th century. There were occasions when revivalist movements swept across the community and a simple Protestantism became a pervasive culture in the late nineteenth century. The new sects of the 19th century – the Plymouth Brethren, the Salvation Army, the Disciples of Christ and the Seventh-day Adventists – were significantly more successful in New Zealand than in Britain. These churches were very explicitly Biblicist and conversionist and this type of religion became very familiar to settlers.²⁸

There is much in the recent literature which suggests how profoundly religion contributed to the building of the new colonial society. Above all, it created community in the colonial world, for churches were separate and yet cooperative. The history of childhood and youth was significantly influenced by religion.²⁹ The churches helped to shape cultural patterns and some superbly suggestive work has begun to emerge along these lines.³⁰ The churches were probably the most viable local institutions in the 19th century, and the values and ideas reinforced the familist culture necessary to make the settler society work. There were few experiments towards a distinctive New Zealand piety. Religious leaders were often recruited from Britain, and settlers saw the church as maintaining the traditions of 'home'. So the forms of Christianity were mostly conventional. Ali Clarke has identified the continuation of distinctive Presbyterian customs in the predominantly Scottish part of southern New Zealand.³¹

The liberal tradition which was so evident in the Nonconformist conscience and Broad Anglicanism in 1th century Britain was scaled back by the small educated middle class of colonial society. Nevertheless, colonial experimentation extended to the religious world. New Zealanders engaged to an unusual degree in the missionary movement.³² There were some bold advocates of Christian socialism and feminism during the Liberal era, and some theological challenges to traditional dogmas, while the irreligion had vocal advocates. Geoff Troughton has showed how the images of Jesus in early 20th century society were reinterpreted by reforming groups.³³ After 1910 experimentation largely ceased. James Belich's idea of 'the great tightening' makes some sense of this long period of discomfort with

outside forces.³⁴ Yet in the 1930s, the depression provoked the Bible classes and Student Christian Movement to identify with a more radical view of social justice and world peace, and the Methodist Church led in advocating reform. A powerful vision emerged of a reunified church which could have a stronger impact on society. Supporters of the ecumenical movement believed that Protestantism needed to promote a transformative programme for society.³⁵ By the 1960s, they were supporting a liberalisation of church doctrinal and ethical standards. Meanwhile, the evangelical group regrouped into a powerful force to defend traditions with new methods.³⁶ Slowly, two styles of Protestant Christianity emerged, each influenced by broader international trends. The churches were caught up in the intensity of this debate between liberal and evangelical, and the liberal Protestants and their churches slowly lost ground to the evangelicals.

The Catholic Church had a complex beginning, shaped by French Marist missionaries and Irish migrants. They were not a comfortable combination, and Catholicism was subsequently pressured by secular Irish nationalism and by religious orders reluctant to accept direction from diocesan bishops. Some fine new histories of Catholic dioceses and bishops have given better understanding of the challenges of planting a church in a Protestant society.³⁷ The Catholic Church remained a separate world, nurtured by its separate schooling system and associated sporting bodies. Religious orders nurtured these structures, as a series of fine new histories have indicated.³⁸ The life of Mother Mary Joseph Aubert, who founded her own order, is an indication of the significance of these ministries.³⁹ The divide from Protestantism was very significant in the New Zealand landscape until the 1940s. There were bitter debates over education when compulsory schooling was introduced. During World War One, this divide became acutely sectarian, stimulated by the Protestant Political Association. The trial for sedition of the assistant Catholic Bishop of Auckland, James Liston, was the culmination of this rift.⁴⁰ Yet the relatively low proportion of Catholics in the community meant that intermarriage across faith lines and integration into political parties was inevitable.⁴¹ In the years after 1960, faced with a massive decline in the religious orders, the Church was unable to maintain its traditional schooling structure, and the government was obliged to 'integrate' it into the state system of education by 1975.⁴² This has changed the operation and focus of parishes, dioceses and religious orders.

Inevitably, then, religion had implications for politics. In the 19th century, it is significant that an early Premier, Frederick Weld, was a Catholic. While Anglicanism and its concept of national responsibility played a key role in the political sphere, New Zealand was more open than Britain, and Freethinkers as well as Catholics were able to attain high office.⁴³ The temperance movement was the point of departure for most of the social reform movements, and this temperance movement was, as in other countries, an amalgam of reformist religious leaders, labour leaders and those who stood for a more democratic style of politics.⁴⁴ The Women's Christian Temperance Union was profoundly significant in the movement for the women's franchise, and women's organisations in church and society played a significant role in welfare.⁴⁵

There were also religious elements within the Labour Movement. Nolan has shown that it is wrong to imagine profound divides between those who formed the leaders of Labour and other parts of the society.⁴⁶ There certainly were militant anti-church elements within Labour, but there was also a Christian socialist element within it.⁴⁷ Moreover the Catholic Church reconciled itself to Labour after the First World War and had a significant influence within trades unions.

In the 20th century liberal political ideas were very closely connected with the ecumenical Protestant movement. While they did not gain the support of all the lay people in their churches, they were so keen to support internationalism and social reform that they were

willing to work with secular reformers to fulfil their visions, as Laurie Guy has described.⁴⁸ As late as the 1980s, this group played a significant role in the debate over the Treaty of Waitangi, opposition to warfare and nuclear arms, and the redistribution of economic resources. Historians of New Zealand's significant welfare state have noted the ways in which churches participated in and supplemented the state through city missions and deaconesses.⁴⁹ Chaplaincies in the army and in prisons and hospitals represented a collaboration of church and state, and from the 1940s, the churches increasingly coordinated their initiatives on public issues.⁵⁰

This liberal religious tradition gradually declined after the 1960s. A large proportion of the post-war generation opted out of the churches in this period, and the churches lost their position as moral leaders of the community. The Labour Party focused on women's rights in the abortion debate, leaving traditional Catholics marginalised.⁵¹ The Charismatic Movement emerged as a more popular form of faith for some, but it did not make up for the loss of allegiance of the majority. The membership of the former 'mainstream' Protestant churches aged and their right to speak to governments on behalf of a 'moral majority' further slipped. Religious adherence statistics from western nations since 1960 suggest that New Zealand has experienced a very rapid decline in the traditional forms of religion. While this has been interpreted using the theory of secularisation, historians have yet to analyse this in detail, and equally to analyse how the long tradition of limited links with religion turned into disconnection. In Belich's terminology, it may reflect the 'loosening' of the tight society.⁵² Certainly, the forms of religion have changed at the same time. A widespread secular outlook and traditions of sectarian atheism are significant aspects of the New Zealand religious story from the 19th century and especially from the 1980s.⁵³ Following international trends, Pentecostal megachurches have also become features of the urban world.⁵⁴ New Zealand churches have in recent years been early adopters of change in new liturgies, theologies, and in attitudes to changing social values on such matters as the role of women, gay people and indigenous people, but there have also been sharp debates on these issues.⁵⁵

A change in migration policy significantly altered the religious landscape of New Zealand from the 1960s. This operated in quite a contrary direction from the secularising themes in the values of European New Zealanders. In the first stage, peoples of the Pacific came primarily to provide a larger manual labour force. They brought with them the missionary styles of Christianity, and the churches – especially Catholic, London Missionary Society (Congregationalist) and Methodist – helped sustain the migrants as the migrants helped to sustain ailing denominations. The LMS element was absorbed into a wing of the Presbyterian Church, but there were schisms, as the Pasifika elements mingled uncomfortably with relatively liberal denominations. In the last 40 years, Pasifika peoples have in effect begun to take over some of the traditional Methodist, Presbyterian and Catholic churches.⁵⁶

In the second phase from the late 1980s, South and East Asians came in significant numbers, especially to the largest city of Auckland. In some cases, Christian churches were brought with them (especially for the Koreans) while in other cases, temples and mosques became important community facilities. Many mainland Chinese had a high level of religious ignorance bred of 60 years of communist antipathy to religion, but this did not prevent attraction into religious groups in the adopted country. The rapid impact of these factors is most evident in the landscape of New Zealand's largest city of Auckland. There is work to do to understand this new phase of migrant religion.

New Zealand's religious history thus has a great deal to contribute to the understanding of New Zealand as a whole. It is an interesting variant of trends in other British-originated societies. So far, these dimensions of New Zealand history have hardly shown in the general histories of the country. But as the single narrative of New Zealand history is slowly dislodged, it is bound to happen.⁵⁷

Short Biographies

Peter Lineham is a professor of History at Massey University's Auckland campus and the author of *There we found Brethren* (1977), *No Ordinary Union* (1980), *Bible and Society* (1996), *Destiny* (2013) and a range of articles and chapters, and the editor or co-editor of several works, including *Transplanted Christianity*, with A. K. Davidson.

Notes

* Correspondence: Massey University, Auckland, New Zealand. Email: p.lineham@massey.ac.nz.

¹ This has been alleged by a number of writers notably Stenhouse, 'God's Own Silence'. The claim is reviewed in Lineham, 'The Controversy'. The volume *The Spirit of the Past* reproduces key papers of the Religious History Association of Aotearoa New Zealand.

² I. Breward has produced an integrated narrative of Australian and New Zealand religion in the Oxford Church history series, *A History of the Churches in Australasia*. There is a brief narrative in the documentary text Davidson and Lineham, *Transplanted Christianity*. Davidson also produced a textbook for ministry students, *Christianity in Aotearoa*.

³ For a full bibliography (including doctoral theses, which have been excluded from this survey), see www.massey.ac.nz/~plineham and the updates published annually in the Religious History Association newsletter, found at <https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/1961>

⁴ See Lineham, 'How Institutionalised Was Protestant Piety'; Clarke, 'Days of Heaven on Earth' and Clarke, 'A Godly Rhythm'; Bergin and Smith *Land and Place*.

⁵ This theme is given attention in O'Malley, *The Meeting Place*.

⁶ Notably in Binney, *The Legacy of Guilt*. There was a significant debate at that time between Owens, 'Christianity and the Maoris to 1840' and Binney, 'Christianity and the Maoris to 1840: A Comment'.

⁷ One debated Maori response is Jenkins and Jones, *Words between Us*. A significant anthropological exploration is Middleton, *Te Puna*.

⁸ Martin and Mercer, *The French Place in the Bay of Islands*; Greiler, *Catholic Beginnings in Oceania*. See also Pilditch, *Reverend John Morgan* and Fitzgerald, *Te Wiremu* among new editions of missionary journals.

⁹ The literature is extensive, and a new collection of papers edited by Davidson is due in 2014 on the 200th anniversary of the mission. Meanwhile, the literature notably includes Glen, *Mission and Moko*. Among new work is Ballantyne, 'Christianity, Colonialism and Cross-Cultural Communication'.

¹⁰ Two recent conventional surveys are Newman, *Bible & Treaty* and Yates, *The Conversion of the Maori*. A more stimulating approach is Paterson, 'Maori Conversion'.

¹¹ See Lange, 'Indigenous Agents of Religious Change'.

¹² Newman, *Beyond Betrayal* is little more than a survey.

¹³ See Stokes, *Wiremu Tamihana*.

¹⁴ See Head, 'The Gospel of Te Ua'.

¹⁵ Binney, *Redemption Songs*; Binney and Chaplin, *Nga Morehu*.

¹⁶ See Lineham, 'Mormon Message'.

¹⁷ See Newman, *Ratana Revisited*.

¹⁸ See Lange, 'Ordained Ministry in Maori Christianity'.

¹⁹ The essays in Morrison et al., *Mana Maori and Christianity* are very useful but do not explore Anglican patterns.

²⁰ See Davidson, *A Controversial Churchman*.

²¹ Brown et al., *Shaping a Colonial Church*.

²² Bester, *Harvest of Grace*; Bluck, *The Gift Endures*; Davidson, *Living Legacy*.

²³ One useful account is Haworth, *Marching as to War*.

²⁴ McDowd, *Presbyterians in Aotearoa*; McKean, *The Church in a Special Colony*.

²⁵ Clover, *The Road to Methodist Union*.

²⁶ Wesley Historical Society, which produces an annual *Journal*. Among its notable recent works are Thompson, *Knowledge & Vital Piety*.

²⁷ Sutherland, *Conflict & Connection*.

²⁸ See for example Hill, *Te Ope Whakaora*; Lineham, 'Brethren Revivalism'; Pratt, *Rescue the Perishing*.

²⁹ Troughton, 'Religion, Churches and Childhood'.

³⁰ Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire*.

³¹ Clarke, 'Days of Heaven on Earth'; Clarke, *Holiday Seasons*.

- ³² Morrison, 'New Zealand Protestant Missionary Movement'.
- ³³ Troughton, *New Zealand Jesus*.
- ³⁴ Belich, *Making Peoples*; Belich, *Paradise Reforged*.
- ³⁵ Davidson, 'New Zealand Ecumenical Journey'.
- ³⁶ Lange, *Rising Tide*.
- ³⁷ Reid, James Michael Liston; Reid, *Cardinal*; O'Meeghan, *Held Firm by Faith*; O'Meeghan, *Steadfast in Hope*; O'Sullivan & Piper, *Turanga Ngatahi*.
- ³⁸ Kirk, *Remembering Your Mercy*; Strevens, *In Step with Time*; Kovesi, *Pitch Your Tents*; Christieson, *In a Hidden Manner*; Trotter, *Mary Potter's Little Company of Mary*; Strevens, *Mackillop Women*.
- ³⁹ Munro, *Story of Suzanne Aubert*; Munro, *Letters on the Go*.
- ⁴⁰ Sweetman, *Bishop in the Doc*.
- ⁴¹ Van der Krogt, 'Evils of Mixed Marriages'; van der Krogt, 'A Catholic-Labour Alliance'.
- ⁴² Sweetman, *Fair and Just Solution*.
- ⁴³ Lineham, 'Christian Reaction to Freethought'.
- ⁴⁴ For recent works on temperance see Ryan, 'Undertaking'; Troughton, 'Richard Booth'.
- ⁴⁵ From a very large literature see Bennett, 'Sisters in the Faith' and the brief essays in the same volume.
- ⁴⁶ Nolan, *Kin*.
- ⁴⁷ Stenhouse, 'God, the Devil and Gender'.
- ⁴⁸ Guy, *Shaping Godzone*.
- ⁴⁹ See the essays in Dalley & Tennant, *Past Judgement*; Tennant, 'Pakeha Deaconesses' and the New Zealand Methodist Mission to Maori, 1893-1940', *Journal of Religious History* 23/3 (1999): 309-326.
- ⁵⁰ Lineham, 'Government Support and Lineham, 'Inter-Church Council'.
- ⁵¹ See Moynihan, *Stand for Decency*.
- ⁵² Very helpful sociological analyses of these trends are found in Ward, *Church in Post-Sixties New Zealand* and Ward, *Losing Our Religion?*
- ⁵³ See Cooke, *Heathens in Godzone*.
- ⁵⁴ See Lineham, *Destiny*. We await a general work on the Charismatic Movement, but see Knowles, *History of Pentecostal Movement*.
- ⁵⁵ See Guy, *Worlds in Collision*.
- ⁵⁶ F. Taule'ale'ausumai, 'New Religions'; Macpherson, 'Evangelical Religion'; Tiatia, *Caught between Cultures*.
- ⁵⁷ The very popular general history by King, *Penguin History* scarcely refers to religion but see Stenhouse, 'Religion and Society'.

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