

Ko au ko Te Umutaoroa, ko Te Umutaoroa ko au:
Toward a Patuheuheu *Hapū* Development Model

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my maternal great-grandparents
Koro Hāpurona Maki Nātana (1921-1994) and Nanny Pare Koekoeā Rikiriki (1918 -
1990).

Koro and Nan you will always be missed. I ask you to continue to watch over the
whānau and inspire us to maintain our *Patuheuheutanga*.

Arohanui, your *mokopuna tuarua*.

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Abbreviations

AJHR: Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
MS: Manuscript
MSS: Manuscripts

Attestation of authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ranginwa', is centered on the page. The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial 'R'.

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Ngā mihi tino nui kia koutou katoa. Mā te Atua koutou e manaaki.

Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to construct a *hapū* (sub-tribal) development model that is based on the critical analysis and interpretation of a prophecy articulated by Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki in 1886. This prophecy, known as Te Umutaoroa (the slow cooking earth oven), was a response to land loss at Te Houhi. This prophecy is significant to Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka (two sub-tribes of the Tūhoe tribe), Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare (two closely related tribes) as these groups lived together at Te Houhi. This research is intended to be a contribution to *hapū* development and possibly a template for other Māori and Indigenous groups who wish to use their own philosophies and prophecies to inform their development. This research is anchored within Patuheuheu identity, *whakapapa* (genealogy) and epistemology and is written exclusively from that perspective.

PREFACE

<i>Ko Hikurangi te maunga</i>	Hikurangi is the mountain
<i>Ko Rangitaiki te awa</i>	Rangitaiki is the river
<i>Ko Koura te tangata</i>	Koura is the ancestor
<i>Ko Te Patuheuheu te hapū</i>	Te Patuheuheu is the clan

Personal introduction

The French philosopher Michel Foucault stated: “I don't write a book so that it will be the final word; I write a book so that other books are possible, not necessarily written by me” (cited in O’Farrell, 2005, p. 9). In the same vein I offer this thesis, not as a final word, but as a stepping stone for others.

*He ihu hūpē ahau*¹ - I am inexperienced in the ways of this world and therefore I am able to write only from my particular Patuheuheu perspective and positioning within this research. This work is the culmination of my interest in the past, present and future of Patuheuheu. It is based on my interpretations, which are ultimately shaped by the *whakapapa*² and life experiences that form the cultural lenses and filters that determine the way in which this research is conducted.

In the Māori world it is customary to introduce oneself through *whakapapa*. Indeed, *whakapapa* is the genealogical matrix within which I am hereditarily entangled. I descend from the *iwi*³ of Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Manawa, Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Porou. Significantly, I have spent most of my life living in the area where the *iwi* and *hapū*⁴ history, that is central to this thesis, took place. I was raised by parents, *te reo Māori*⁵ - speaking grandparents and great-grandparents within the Murupara and Waiōhau communities. The following *whakapapa* table expresses my unavoidable congenital involvement in this research, which, like the lens of a camera, filters and frames this research in particular ways.

¹ Literally, this statement means “I am ‘snotty-nosed’” or inexperienced, much like the European notion that one might be “wet behind the ears”.

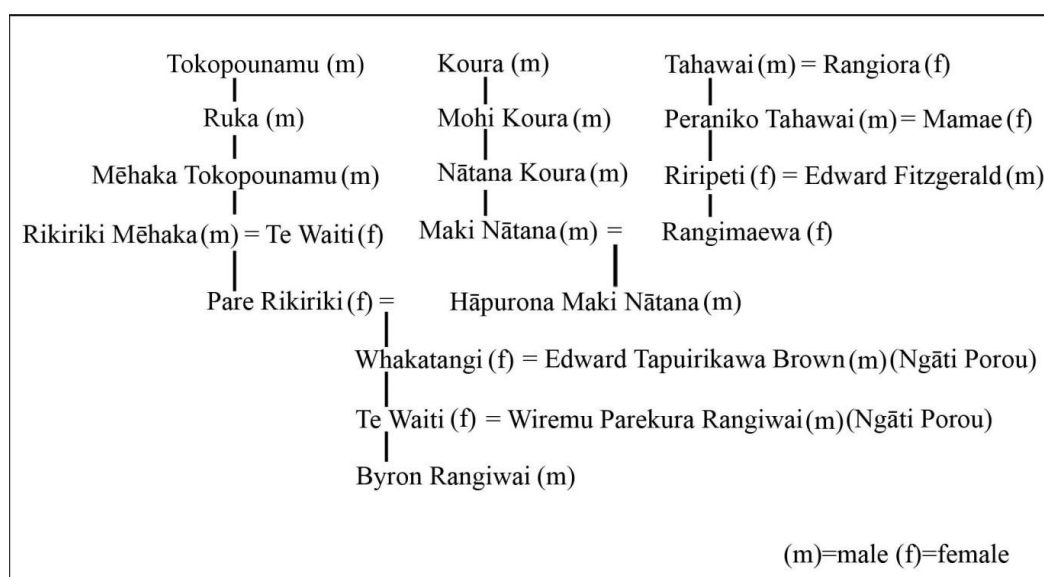
² Genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent (Moorfield, 2011).

³ Extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people (Moorfield, 2011).

⁴ Kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe, consisting of a number of *whānau* or family groupings (Moorfield, 2011).

⁵ Māori language.

Figure 1: Whakapapa



The table shows my descent from Peraniko Tahawai (?-1877), my fourth great-grandfather. Peraniko was the *ariki*⁶ of Ngāti Manawa from 1864 until his death in November 1877 (Binney, 2009a).⁷ He was known as “...the renowned leader of the Ngati-Manawa tribe which joined forces with the Royal troops under Captain Gilbert Mair against the Hau Hau uprising of the Te Kooti era” (“Haere ki o Koutou Tipuna”, 1961, p. 3). According to Crosby (2004), Peraniko had also been a soldier in Gilbert Mair’s⁸ pursuit of Te Kooti from 1869 to 1872. In Mair’s (1923) account, *Reminiscences and Maori Stories*, he speaks of his friendship with Peraniko. After Mair (1923) left the Bay of Plenty area, he received word of Peraniko’s death, but was unable to travel to Galatea for the *tangihanga*.⁹ Two years after Peraniko’s death Mair returned to Galatea and recorded the following account of his experience:

Lifting my eyes to the front of the carved house, imagine my feelings on being confronted with my deceased friend Peraniko, who had been exhumed from the grave wherein he had lain for two years.¹⁰ The body had been carefully washed; his jet-black hair, which had grown very long, was oiled

⁶ Paramount chief, high chief (Moorfield, 2011).

⁷ The previous *ariki* was Harehare Mokai who led from 1825-1864; Peraniko was succeeded by Harehare Atarea, grandson of Harehare Mokai, who led from 1877-1927 and was the last *ariki* of Ngāti Manawa (Ngāti Manawa and the Sovereign in right of New Zealand, deed of settlement of historical claims, n.d., pp. 3, 5).

⁸ Gilbert Mair is best known as a soldier, but he was also a land surveyor; land purchase agent; *te reo Māori* interpreter and *tikanga Māori* expert, unrivalled amongst Pākehā; and one of the very few Pākehā to lead a Māori fighting unit (Crosby, 2004).

⁹ Funeral rituals.

¹⁰ Both McBurney (2004) and Boast (2008) comment that some scepticism exists around the story of Peraniko’s exhumation.

and ornamented with rare plumes of the huia¹¹ and white crane. He was seated on a high structure plentifully adorned with choice mats, while his cold hand still grasped the family talisman, a greenstone¹² mere.¹³ Death had wrought no change, nor was there the slightest odour. He had always been remarkable during life for his high complexion, rivalling that of a half-caste, and it still appeared perfectly natural, except for slight dark rings under the eyes, which were closed as though asleep.¹⁴ At his feet were the faithful widow bowed in an agony of grief, and with her were the children.¹⁵

Hatless and with bowed head I stood for nearly three hours, deeply moved by the affecting strains of the tangi¹⁶ (pp. 65-66).¹⁷

The table also shows my relationship to my fifth great-grandfather, Koura, a Ngāti Rongo and Patuheuheu chief with a close connection to Ngāti Manawa, who lived at Horomanga in the 1830s (Mead & Phillis, 1982; Waitangi Tribunal, 2002). Local history maintains that it was Koura's responsibility to maintain the *mana*¹⁸ of Tūhoe in the Te Whaiti, Murupara, Horomanga, Te Houhi and Waiōhau areas. He was heavily involved in the political negotiations surrounding the *tatau pounamu*, or enduring peace agreement, between Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa which occurred somewhere between the early 1830s (Waitangi Tribunal, 2002) and 1835 (Binney, 2009a). Referring to the *tatau pounamu*, Mead and Phillis (1982) state: "Koura ...is remembered by Ngati Awa and Patuheuheu of Waiōhau and Ngati Manawa of Murupara as the principal man on the Tuhoe side" (p. 241). Te Kooti's famous *waiata tohutohu*,¹⁹ *Kāore te pō nei mōrikarika noa*, reminds Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa of that very agreement: "He rongo ka houhia ki a Ngāti Awa" ("A peace made with Ngāti Awa") (Binney, 2009a, p. 269).

¹¹ *Heteralocha acutirostris*. An extinct bird prized by Māori for the tail feathers, which were black with white tips (Moorfield, 2011).

¹² Prized nephrite, jade, known to Māori as *pounamu* (Moorfield, 2011).

¹³ A short, flat weapon of stone (Moorfield, 2011).

¹⁴ According to Wharehuia Milroy (Personal communication, 5 September, 2013) in some areas like Murupara where there is an abundance of pumice in the soil, bodies were sometimes stored and preserved in the ground where the pumice acted as a means of preservation; when a body needed to be resurrected for *tangihanga* proceedings – which could last for weeks, months or years, depending on the rank of the deceased person – the body was removed from the earth and placed again on the *marae*. Other methods of *tūpāpaku* (corpse) preservation included smoking after removing and burying the organs, and storing the body in certain types of tree hollows (W. Milroy, personal communication, 5 September, 2013).

¹⁵ The researcher descends from the union of Peraniko and Mamae, through their daughter Riripeti (see Figure 1). Mair (1923) stated that: "Two of their [Peraniko and Mamae] children had been baptized Te Mea and Riripeti (Elizabeth) after my parents" (p. 64). ('Te Mea' is probably a transliteration of 'Mair'.)

¹⁶ To cry, mourn, weep, to weep over (Moorfield, 2011).

¹⁷ Mair (1923) noted that after much *haka* (posture dance) and feasting, he had been asked to join a small group of elders who carried Peraniko away to a temporary burial place, until he was taken to his final resting place.

¹⁸ Authority (Moorfield, 2011).

¹⁹ Song of instruction (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010).

This agreement was of great significance because it brought 200 years of inter-tribal conflict to an end (Waitangi Tribunal, 2002). That conflict was symbolised by the bush at Ōhui (Mead & Phillis, 1982). According to Mead and Phillis (1982):

...the peace treaty is remembered by the people of the Mataatua region as being between Koura and Hatua (p. 243).

Lesser men could not have cemented the tatau pounamu. ... Koura and Hatua did not fail and as a result their names live on in the memories of the people...

Koura of Ngati Rongo and Patuheuheu representing the Tuhoe side of the bush at Ohui, and Hatua of Ngati Pahipoto representing the Ngati Awa side of the bush. One is symbolised forever by Tawhiuau which can be seen clearly at Galatea and Murupara and the other is symbolised by Putauaki which dominates the land around Kawerau, Te Teko and Whakatane (p. 245).

It was here, beneath the shadow of Tāwhiuau *maunga*²⁰, that Mead (cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2002) claims that Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka lived under Koura's leadership. Koura is viewed by my *whānau*²¹ (Maki-Nātana) as a powerful leader and so, when someone within the *whānau* is seen to be a strong person, they are said to have 'shoulders like Koura'.

The *whakapapa* table also shows that I am a third great-grandson of Mēhaka Tokopounamu (c.1835-1920) who was intimately linked to Patuheuheu and to the Tūhoe *hapū* of Ngāti Koura and Ngāti Tāwhaki (W. Milroy, 10 September, 2013, personal communication).²² Mēhaka was also closely connected to Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare. In the mid-nineteenth century Mēhaka Tokopounamu and the older chief, Wi Pātene Tarahanga, were the *rangatira*²³ of Te Houhi (Binney, 2009a). These men led their people in the struggle against colonial oppression and so "[t]heir example of leadership and their determination to right the wrong must not be allowed to rest" (Paul, 1995, p. ii).

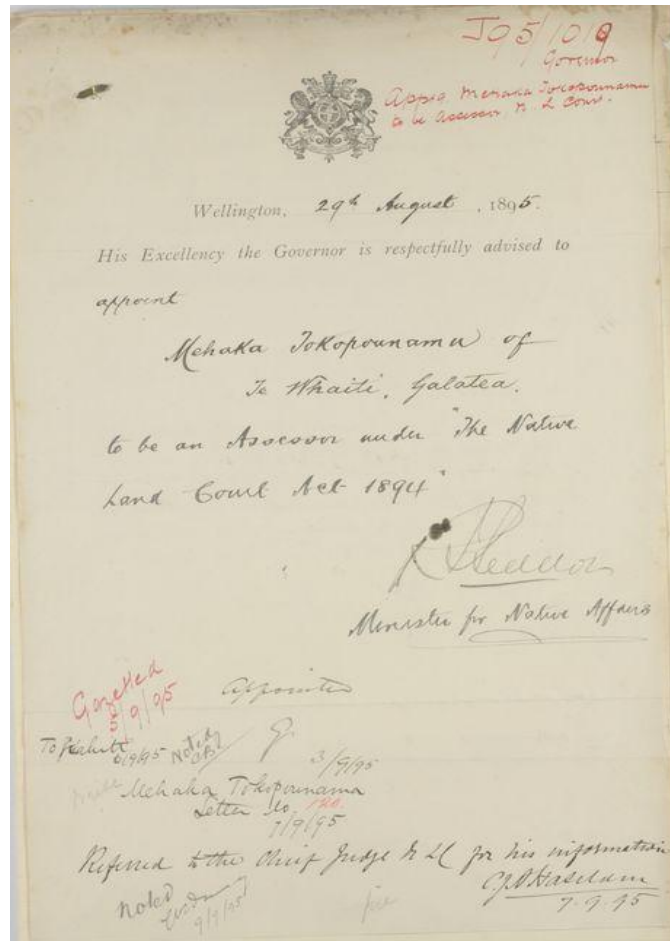
²⁰ Mountain.

²¹ Family. It also means to give birth (Moorfield, 2011).

²² Reference to Mēhaka Tokopounamu as a speaking representative for Ngāti Tāwhaki can be found in Waaka (2001, p. 9). Indeed, Waaka (2001) also states that Ngāti Whare had intermarried into neighbouring Ngāti Tāwhaki (a *hapū* of Tūhoe), which supports Best's (1902) claim that Ngāti Whare had intermarried into Tūhoe, thus protecting Ngāti Whare from Tūhoe attacks.

²³ Chief/leader (Moorfield, 2011).

Image 1: Recommendation certificate endorsing Mēhaka Tokopounamu



(Archives New Zealand, 2010a, p. 182)

This recommendation certificate recommends the appointment of Mēhaka Tokopounamu as an assessor: “His Excellency the Governor is respectfully advised to appoint Mehaka Tokopounamu of Te Whaiti, Galatea, to be an Assessor under the Native Land Court Act 1894” (Archives New Zealand, 2010a, p. 182). Te Whaiti is the home base of Ngāti Whare and Galatea (Te Houhi/Kuhawaea) was the home base of Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka and Ngāti Manawa.

Mēhaka’s name is very prominent in the historical archives (J. Binney, personal communication, 30 November, 2009) as he was heavily involved in the Te Urewera land issues of the 1890s (W. Milroy, personal communication, 6 July, 2012). In a speech to honour the 2009 Parliamentary launch of Binney’s book, *Encircled Lands: Te Urewera, 1820-1921*, Minister of Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations, Christopher Finlayson stated:

I te tau 1895 i heke mai ētahi rangatira o te Urewera ki te kawae i ngā take whenua ki te whare paremata. Nā Tā Timi Kara te mema paremata i

whakatakotonga ngā tono a ngā rangatira o te Urewera i mua i te aroaro o te whare. Ko ētahi o ngā rangatira i taua wa; ko Marunui, ko Harehare, ko Rewi, ko Tokopounamu, ko Mihaere, ko Te Korowhiti, ko Paraki, ko Wharepapa me ētahi atu (Finlayson, 2009, n.p.).

The Minister refers to an event in 1895 where chiefs from Te Urewera travelled to Wellington to take their land issues to Parliament where James Carroll (Timi Kara), member of the House of Representatives, presented the requests of the chiefs before the House. The Minister then names some of the chiefs who were involved and (Mēhaka) Tokopounamu, as a representative of Patuheuheu, is mentioned amongst them.²⁴

Image 2: Deputation of Urewera chiefs to Richard John Seddon, at the Ministerial Residence, Molesworth Street, Wellington



(Seddon family, Alexander Turnbull Library, n.d, 1/2-098554-F)

James Carroll (member of the House of Representatives) is on the left. Seddon, wearing a top hat, is fourth from the right. The chiefs in this photograph include: Te Wharekotua; Mēhaka Tokopounamu and Te Korowhiti, both representing Patuheuheu; Harehare Aterea (Atarea) and Te Marunui Rawiri representing Ngāti Manawa; Paraki Tiakiwhare of Ngāti Manunui is in the centre wearing the woven cloak; and Hurae Puketapu from Waikaremoana is at the far right. Mēhaka is yet unidentified in this photograph.

²⁴ According to Binney (2009a) Mēhaka Tokopounamu and Te Korowhiti both represented Patuheuheu.

Mēhaka was very much involved in the tribal politics and leadership of his time. According to Wharehuia Milroy.²⁵

Mēhaka Tokopounamu was associated very closely with my great-grandfather; they were extremely close. They lived together at Ōtenuku. The Rikiriki family, who are descended from Mēhaka Tokopounamu, used to make their appearances at Ōtenuku *marae*,²⁶ because Mēhaka shared his time with my great-grandfather Tamarau Waiari,²⁷ or Te Wharehuia as he was known, on a lot of different tribal issues, where they always supported each other. When I look at the *whakapapa*, yes I can understand why they did this, because of the proximity to each other in the *whakapapa* – that’s one part of it. But the other part of it is that Mēhaka lived, for quite a period of time, with Tamarau Waiari; they shared a lot of leadership. So Mēhaka was one of the main witnesses to a lot of those Te Urewera land issues of the 1890s and I’m not sure when he died, because my great-grandfather died in 1904, I think Mēhaka may have lasted longer than him. Mēhaka was a central figure in those debates over the land issues; not only that, but Mēhaka came over and lived at Ōtenuku for a long period of time. He was also involved in the Rūātoki meetings as one of the main witnesses for those Rūātoki lands which challenged the Ngāti Rongo claim that substantial areas belonged to the ancestor Rongokārae. Rongokārae was really from Ngāti Awa but he took to wife the daughters of Kuramihirangi and Tahatūki-te-ao, Tawhiwhi and Rangimāhanga. Their land interests were the subject of the debates that took place during the course of the Te Urewera Land Commission hearings (personal communication, 6 July, 2012).

²⁵ Dr Wharehuia Milroy CNZM, QSO, is a Tūhoe academic who descends from Tūhoe’s senior chiefly lines.

²⁶ The open area in front of the *wharenui* (ancestral house) where formal welcomes to visitors take place and where issues are debated by orators (Moorfield, 2011). This space is more formally known as the *marae ātea*. However, the buildings surrounding the *marae (ātea)* can also be referred to when talking about the *marae* (Moorfield, 2011).

²⁷ For more information on Tamarau Waiari see Milroy (1994) and Binney (2008, pp. 12-14).

Image 3: Inscription on memorial stone for Mēhaka Tokopounamu, Patuheuheu marae, Waiōhau



(B. Rangiwai, personal collection)

The inscription states: "Mehaka Tokopounamu died on 29 June 1920 at age 85"

My great-grandfather, Hāpurona Edward (Ted) Maki Nātana (1921-1994), was a staunch advocate for *Patuheuheutanga* - Patuheuheu culture, customs, values and beliefs. Hāpurona was Patuheuheu on his father's side (with connections to other Tūhoe *hapū*) and Ngāti Manawa and Irish on his mother's side.

Image 4: Memorial plaque for Hāpurona Maki-Nātana (reflecting Tama-ki-Hikurangi *wharenui*), Patuheuheu *marae*, Waiōhau



(B. Rangiwai, personal collection)

Hāpurona’s mother was Rangimaewa Fitzgerald, granddaughter of Peraniko Tahawai. Her father, Edward Fitzgerald, was amongst the first wave of Pākehā who moved to Murupara. According to Henry Tahawai Bird (1980), a *rangatira* of Ngāti Manawa and descendent of Peraniko: “Mr Fitzgerald married Riripeti, daughter of Peraniko and from this union they had two daughters, – the elder one Rangimaewa married Mr. Maki Natana of Waiohau and had many children, the eldest [Hāpurona] Ted Maki being their leader” (p. 26). Hāpurona and his cousin, Wiremu McCauley (1918-1995), both direct descendants of Koura, were the last of their generation who vigorously and unapologetically defended their *Patuheuheutanga*. Both men are remembered as *rangatira* within their respective *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

Image 5: Hāpurona Maki Nātana and Pare Koekoeā Rikiriki



(Rangiwai *whānau* private collection)

Hāpurona was married to Pare Koekoeā Rikiriki, granddaughter of Mēhaka Tokopounamu. I remember that my great-grandmother, Pare, spoke mostly in *te reo Māori* and was not overly fluent in English. She had a sitting room with photographs all over the walls. One photograph I recollect quite distinctly was of my great-grandmother's brother, Private Roihi Rikiriki of the 28th Māori Battalion, who died 18 February 1944 in Italy (Roll of Honour, Auckland Province, 1939-1945, Auckland Museum; Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force, Nominal Roll No. 5, 1942). Some of the other memories I have of my great-grandmother include drinking tea from tin mugs; eating off a newspaper-covered table; coloured feather dusters in vases; cluttered photographs on the walls; scarves worn over her head; jam tarts made with wild pork fat and homemade jam; blackberry nip mixed with lemonade; and seeing her sweep out the house with *mānuka*²⁸ branches.

My kinship ties combined with my life experiences greatly influence the way in which this research is carried out. So, it is with this in mind that I acknowledge my great-grandparents Hāpurona and Pare for their part in shaping my thinking around this research, even though they passed away many years before this research begun:

²⁸ *Leptospermum scoparium* or tea tree (Moorfield, 2011).

I acknowledge the complex matrix which is my whakapapa, all those who have gone before me, and all those yet to come. Special greetings go to my koroua²⁹ Hāpurona Maki Nātana whose legacy of leadership for our family has inspired me to engage in this work and to my kuia Pare Koekoeā Rikiriki, whose meek and humble nature is remembered by many (Rangiwai, 2010, p. ii).

My maternal grandmother, Whakatangi Rikiriki, also known as Marion Rēpora Brown (1940-), has had a tremendous influence on my identity and thinking and always encouraged me to seek out education. Indeed, being the eldest daughter of Hāpurona and Pare, my grandmother shared with me many of the stories from her life, as well as those passed down from her parents, which have played a major part in shaping and framing my Patuheuheu perspective.

In addition to the people who have influenced my Patuheuheu perspective, the activities, rituals and histories that surround Patuheuheu *marae*, Waiōhau, and more specifically Tama-ki-Hikurangi *wharenui*, have been impressed on my thinking. Tama-ki-Hikurangi is “...a meeting-house built for Te Kooti at Te Houhi (near Galatea)³⁰ by the Patuheuheu people, a hapu of Tuhoe” (Binney, 1995, caption, plate 2; Neich, 1993). It is a focal point of the community and a constant reminder to me of Patuheuheu history, land loss and survival. I have fond childhood memories of playing ‘tiggy’ (tag) on the grassed area or *marae ātea*³¹ in front of the *wharenui* and naughtily jumping on the mattresses inside.³²

²⁹ Elderly man, grandfather, granduncle (Moorfield, 2011), or in this case great-grandfather.

³⁰ There are other claims that suggest that the *wharenui* first stood at Te Kowhai in the Horomanga area before being moved to Te Houhi.

³¹ The open area in front of the *wharenui* where formal welcomes to visitors take place and where issues are debated by orators (Moorfield, 2011). Walker (2011) states that “[w]hen a *marae* was not in use for formal meetings, children used it as their playground” (p. 17). During formal welcomes however, it is forbidden to go near the *marae ātea*.

³² Mattresses are laid out in the *wharenui* for people/guests to sleep on during *marae* functions.

Image 6: Tama-ki-Hikurangi *wharenui*, 2010, Patuheuheu *marae*, Waiōhau



(Rangiwai, 2010, personal collection)

For me, the *wharenui* remains as an ever-intriguing source of information and history. In my master's thesis, I described Tama-ki-Hikurangi in the following way:

The carvings, with their 'grimacing' expressions – tongues extended and teeth showing – and deeply grooved body patterns; the painted poupou³³ in green, white, red and black; the brass crucifix³⁴ encased in a wood and glass display box, perched high on the back wall; the faded picture of Jesus Christ, praying for the sins of mankind. Then there are the curiously painted visual 'narratives' on some of the rafters: the ominous image of a white man with a facial tattoo; another hunting birds, probably Kereru,³⁵ in a tree;³⁶ a brown man with a white head piercing his human victim with a spear, lifting him high in the air;³⁷ a 'little man' cutting down what looks to be a ponga³⁸ tree; and yet other more 'Christian' images of baptisms and blessings. The red,

³³ Carved wall figures (Moorfield, 2011), or in this case painted wall figures, painted in the Te Kooti style (see Neich, 1993, particularly p. 261, fig. 137).

³⁴ I erroneously used the term 'crucifix' here. It is actually a brass cross that is contained within a wood and glass case, not a crucifix.

³⁵ *Hemiphaga novaeseelandiae* or New Zealand Pigeon (Moorfield, 2011). Binney (2009a) makes the claim that the birds in the hunting scene on the painted rafters were more than likely *kererū*.

³⁶ "[T]he sustenance of life for Tuhoe: snaring birds" (Binney, 1995, caption, plate 2).

³⁷ According to Binney (1995) this motif "...shows the act of bayoneting, following Psalm 63, and this painting is understood to refer to the killings at Mohaka in 1869" (caption, plate 2) during the fighting with Te Kooti "where people were caught sleeping and all were killed, even babies, who were thrown up in the air and bayoneted" (Neich, 1993, p. 261). Consistently, Brown (2009) states: "[a] bayoneting scene on one of the heke in Tama-ki-Hikurangi referred to Te Kooti's 1869 raid on Mohaka, where he took revenge on his Pākehā enemies" (p. 64).

³⁸ *Cyathea dealbata* or silver tree fern (Moorfield, 2011).

black and white kowhaiwhai³⁹ patterns hypnotically ‘snake’ their way across the wharenui’s ‘spine’, while the poutokomanawa,⁴⁰ Papanui, stands majestically as his chiefly gaze surveys all those who enter. There are photographs cluttered and clustered on the walls – the amount of photographs suggesting that this wharenui has a long history – watching over those who come to meet and rest. When I enter, my eyes are automatically drawn to the pictures I have been told stories about through the years. My grandmother told me: “this is a picture of my kuia Rangimaewa Fitzgerald when she was young; she was half Irish and a staunch Catholic; she used to fast a lot and ate fish on Fridays” and “this is my koroua Maki Nātana, he married Rangimaewa” (Rangiwai, 2010, p. 3-4).

Image 7: Bird snaring scene on one of the *heke*⁴¹ inside Tama-ki-Hikurangi wharenui, Patuheuheu marae, Waiōhau



(Rangiwai, 2013, personal collection)

Of the many *wharenui* to which I am connected by genealogy, Tama-ki-Hikurangi is the most familiar. This history of this *wharenui* is embedded in Patuheuheu hearts and minds. It is a history of loss and tragedy, but one where hope of restitution remains. The *wharenui* is the embodiment of that history and is an anchor point for this research. For

³⁹ Painted scroll ornamentations on *wharenui* rafters (Moorfield, 2011); more correctly, *kōwhaiwhai*.

⁴⁰ Centre ridge pole of a *wharenui* (Moorfield, 2011).

⁴¹ Rafter (Moorfield, 2011).

me, the *wharenui* continues to raise a number of questions around my Patuheuheu identity and the significance of this identity in carrying out this research.

In 1994, when I was a fourth-form high school student at Rangitahi College,⁴² Murupara, during ‘Māori Week’⁴³ I joined a group of students who elected to take a history tour with a local *kaumātua*.⁴⁴ This elderly man took the group out to Galatea and recalled the story of the ‘Waiōhau Fraud’. He informed us that Patuheuheu did not always live in Waiōhau, that they had once lived on the much more fertile lands of Te Houhi, located in present-day Galatea. The elder told us of a story where the land was taken away from its rightful owners, where the *wharenui* was kept and desecrated by the new Pākehā owner and where the remains of the dead had to be left behind. This was a story about a people who were evicted from their homes.

The *kaumātua* told us that the chiefs of the village, Wi Patene Tarahanga and Mēhaka Tokopounamu,⁴⁵ fought for the land but that the colonial system proved too difficult to overcome. We were told that Te Houhi was sold from under Patuheuheu *hapū* by a man called Harry Burt; this was a man who spoke *te reo Māori* and had been trusted by the people. The elder informed us that as a consequence of the loss of Te Houhi, Te Kooti gifted a prophecy that promised restoration. The *kaumātua* spoke of a prophecy called Te Umutaoroa – the slow cooking earth oven – which contained eight *umu*⁴⁶ stones, each with a *mauri*⁴⁷ and the power to positively transform the future for the descendants of those who were affected by Burt’s actions in the nineteenth century.

For Māori, losing land is a disastrous event that negatively affects identity. Cheater and Hopa (1997) and Durie (1998) note that *whenua*⁴⁸ is an imperative aspect of Māori identity. According to Durie (1998), Māori identities are based not only on positive connections to land, but also on collective experiences around land, such as *raupatu*⁴⁹

⁴² In New Zealand, “College” is a term that refers to high school.

⁴³ When I attended Rangitahi College in Murupara, during one week each year students, teachers and the community participated in Māori Week. During Māori Week there would be a focus on local history, *te reo Māori*, *waiata* (songs), *haka* (posture dance), *raranga* (weaving), and *mahi kai* (food gathering/hunting/fishing) underpinned by *Ngāti-Manawatanga* (Ngāti Manawa culture, customs, practices and beliefs).

⁴⁴ Elder, elderly man, elderly woman, old man - a person of status within the *whānau* (Moorfield, 2011).

⁴⁵ See Figure 1.

⁴⁶ Earth oven (Moorfield, 2011).

⁴⁷ Life principle (Moorfield, 2011).

⁴⁸ *Whenua* means both land and placenta (Moorfield, 2011).

⁴⁹ Traditional Māori practice and concept of conquest (Moorfield, 2011). This term also became associated with the land confiscation practices of the Crown.

and other forms of land loss. As a descendant of the victims of land loss, I am forever connected by genealogy to Te Houhi, despite the land now being owned by Pākehā farmers. It is here at the crossroads of *whakapapa*, *whenua* and history that I stand and carry out this research as my ‘lived experience’ and reality. According to Mkhize (2004) “‘lived experience’ refers to real life, as opposed to laboratory or hypothetical, experiences” (p. 28). These all-encompassing lived experiences and links to *whakapapa*, *whenua* and history, mean that I am not an impartial participant in this work.

Orthographic conventions

Māori words used within this work will use the modern orthographic conventions for *te reo Māori* and consequently macrons will be used throughout. Where the words of someone else have been directly quoted, their words will appear as they were found, which may include spelling that is not consistent with modern orthographic conventions. For example, Ngāti Manawa may also be spelt, Ngati Manawa or Ngaati Manawa. Some words may also appear in a slightly different form, for example, Patuheuheu may also be seen as Te Patuheuheu, Patu Heuheu or Patu-heuheu.

The intended meaning of Māori words will be explained in a footnote the first time they appear. However, if the same word is used again in a different context, the intended meaning of the word as used in that context will be explained in a further footnote.

Where a source has been quoted in *te reo Māori*, a translation will not be offered. However, an explanation of the quotation will follow, based primarily on the researcher’s understanding, which has been informed by native speakers of and experts in *te reo Māori*. Consistent with academic practice, any words either in *te reo Māori* or from any other non-English language that are not proper nouns will be displayed in italics.

Throughout the thesis, the word ‘Indigenous’ is written with a capital ‘I’, unless it is directly quoted otherwise, as it has a function similar to that of the word ‘Western’, with a capital ‘W’.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ The researcher follows writers such as Ife (2013) in capitalising the word ‘Indigenous’.

Transcripts of the oral information in the interviews for this research have been edited to provide a sense of flow and to exclude material that is extraneous or repetitive. The meaning and conceptual integrity of the information has not been changed in any way and the audio recordings of the interviews remain the primary source of oral information.

Patuheuheu *hapū* identity

My master's thesis (Rangiwai, 2010) contains a discussion of the origins of Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka. This conversation marks a point in time when I was coming to terms with the strains and tensions that occasionally surface between the two groups around *mana* and *mana whenua*. In the past I have attempted to see things and write from both Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka perspectives, believing that the interconnections between the two *hapū* made this acceptable. However, it has now become apparent to me that I can write from a Patuheuheu perspective only because I am not Ngāti Haka.

Local oral history recalls a time when the Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka identities were genealogically distinct. In contemporary times, through intermarriage and interdependence, the two *hapū* are often cited together as one identity and are thought to operate in many ways as one people. Indeed, some have even chosen to combine the *hapū* identities as one name, Ngāti Haka-Patuheuheu. However, supported by my *whānau* and *hapū* narratives and *whakapapa*, I believe that it would be incorrect for me to amalgamate Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka as a single identity. This thesis is written from a Patuheuheu perspective, which will be reflected by its focus on *Patuheuheutanga*.

The ethnographer Elsdon Best (1925) claims that Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka originated from the Ngāti Rākei *hapū*, which formerly lived at Ōhāua-te-rangi in the Ruatāhuna area, before relocating to Horomanga, Te Houhi, Waiōhau and other areas (Best, 1925). Best (1925) states:

...Patu-heuheu are to a large extent Ngati-Rongo. These people lived at O-haua-te-rangi as Ngati-Rakei of Nga Potiki, and were afterwards known as Ngati-Haka... By inter-marriage they became practically one people with Ngati-Rongo. About three generations ago some of these people were slain

by Ngāti-Awa at Wai-pokaia, in an *uru heuheu* or thicket, hence the clan name was changed to Patu-heuheu (thicket slaying) (p. 221).

In the above statement, Best makes the claim that Ngāti Haka became one people with Ngāti Rongo through intermarriage. Best claims that following an attack by Ngāti Awa on this amalgam of Ngāti Haka and Ngāti Rongo, the *hapū* name was changed to Patuheuheu, meaning ‘thicket slaying’. However, in his next statement, Ngāti Haka is omitted from the story:

[Ngāti Awa]... attacked some Ngāti-Rongo who were living on the Wai-pokaia stream... Ngāti-Rongo were surprised and attacked at a place covered with scrub or brushwood, hence, as we have seen, some of them assumed the clan name of Patu-heuheu” (Best, 1925, p. 362).

Best’s (1925) explanations of the origins of Patuheuheu are inconsistent. This incongruity is consistent with the view that some of Elsdon Best’s information was inaccurate. While Best’s work continues to shape views about traditional Māori society, the fact that he was an amateur ethnographer and understood and interpreted Māori information through his European gaze, needs to be recognised (Holman, 2010).

Best’s claims around the origins of Patuheuheu are not correct. Patuheuheu did not emerge out of Ngāti Haka but is in fact a branch of Ngāti Rongo. Patuheuheu emerged as a result of a battle between Ngāti Rongo and Ngāti Awa. In this battle, one of Koura’s (see table1) *mokopuna* was killed, and to memorialise this event a section of the Ngāti Rongo *hapū* renamed themselves Patuheuheu. My great-grandfather, Hāpurona Maki Nātana, instilled within my *whānau* the uncompromising view that we are authentically and exclusively Patuheuheu. Hāpurona would not hesitate to use *whakapapa* and *mana whenua*⁵¹ to support his obstinate argument for *Patuheuheutanga*. The following statement from the Patuheuheu leader, Wiremu McCauley, a cousin to Hāpurona, further crystalizes my Patuheuheu perspective, thus:

Sometimes we refer to ourselves as Ngāti Patuheuheu and sometimes as Tuhoe. The difference is we are Patuheuheu when our lands, river and mana

⁵¹ Territorial rights, power from the land, authority over land or territory, jurisdiction over land or territory; power associated with possession and occupation of tribal land (Moorfield, 2011).

is at stake. We are Tuhoe when the *kawa*⁵² and *tikanga*⁵³ and the larger identity of being one of the many *iwi* of Tuhoe, are at issue (cited in Rose, 2003, p. 12).

Because this thesis is centred around *Patuheuheutanga*, for all intents and purposes Ngāti Haka will be omitted from most of the discourse in this thesis. Thus, this work follows the trend of earlier writings and archival materials that talked exclusively about Patuheuheu. Indeed, the model that is developed in this thesis is a contribution toward a Patuheuheu *hapū* development model. It is also hoped that this research might be a platform that other *hapū*, *iwi* and Indigenous researchers can use to enhance their work in this field.

A note on Te Umutaoroa and the chapter titles

Te Umutaoroa is an important nineteenth century prophecy with particular significance for the Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare groups of the eastern Bay of Plenty. This prophecy is composed of eight *mauri*. These *mauri* will be featured throughout this thesis and are also used in the titles of the chapters. The eight *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa and their meanings are:

te mauri atua: the essence of spirituality; the belief in God
te mauri whenua: the life force of the land
te mauri tangata: the life force of the people
te mauri whakapono: the power of belief, or faith
te mauri whakaora i nga iwi: the power to heal the people
te mauri hohonu: the mauri [life force] of hidden wealth – minerals, gold, diamonds and oil (perhaps), which lie underground
te mauri arai atu i nga pakanga: the power to return war from this land to other countries
te mauri whakahoki i nga iwi: the power to return people to their land
(Binney, 2001b, p. 158).

Outline of the thesis

Preface A personal introduction with an emphasis on the researcher's *whakapapa* as a context to which this research is inextricably linked. The preface explains the writing conventions used in the thesis; contains some notes on Patuheuheu identity, the researcher's position

⁵² Protocol and customs of the *marae* and *wharenui*, especially those related to formal activities such as: *pōhiri* (welcome ceremony on a *marae*), *whaikōrero* (formal speech) and *mihimihi* (greet, pay tribute, thank) (Moorfield, 2011).

⁵³ Correct Māori procedures, practices and conventions (Moorfield, 2011) which vary from tribe to tribe.

as a Patuheuheu researcher and a note on the eight *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa and their use in the titles of the thesis's chapters. The preface also includes an outline of the thesis's content.

Chapter One *Te Mauri Tangata* - Introduction and Methodology

The introduction to the thesis includes a discussion of the Māori world view, Kaupapa Māori ideology and the Rangihau model. Chapter one also features the Te Umutaoroa research model, which is the Patuheuheu-specific methodological framework to which this work is anchored.

Chapter Two *Te Mauri Pakanga* - Prophets of the Revolution: Te Kooti, Freire and Fanon

This chapter defines critical theory from a Horkheimeran perspective and outlines some of the pertinent ideas of three critical theorists: Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki, Paulo Freire and Frantz Fanon. The ideas of Fanon and Freire are used here to support Te Kooti's critical theory. Te Kooti is the primary theorist and historical figure in this work and so this chapter includes a brief account of his life. This chapter also includes a discussion of the power and potential of prophecy.

Chapter Three *Te Mauri Whenua* - The Significance of Land and Land Loss

Chapter three illustrates the importance of *whenua* to Māori and how this connection was affected by colonisation and land loss. The chapter explores some examples of Tūhoe land loss and looks specifically at Patuheuheu's loss of Te Houhi. The chapter also examines some of the psychological impacts of land loss on Tūhoe and the prophetic response that followed.

Chapter Four *Te Mauri Atua me Te Mauri Whakapono* - Māori Prophetic Movements as Sites of Political Resistance

Chapter four explores the introduction of Christianity to Aotearoa New Zealand and discusses the advent of Māori prophetic

movements. The chapter reviews four Māori prophets and their movements: Te Atua Wera and the Nākahi movement; Te Ua Haumēne and the Pai Mārire or Hauhau movement; Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki and the Ringatū movement; and Rua Kēnana and the Iharaira movement. The chapter also critically analyses Māori prophetic movements as locations of political and religious resistance.

Chapter Five *Te Mauri Whakaora me Te Mauri Hōhonu* - Te Umutaoroa: Past, Present and Future

This chapter investigates the emergence of Te Kooti's Te Umutaoroa prophecy. The chapter expounds on the intergenerational transmission of the Te Umutaoroa prophecy and how it is used in a contemporary context. The chapter discusses a case study around how Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust uses Te Umutaoroa as a model for healing. This chapter also critically analyses the use of prophecy as a basis for *hapū* development and introduces a Patuheuheu-specific *hapū* development model based on Te Umutaoroa.

Chapter Six *Te Mauri Whakahoki* - Conclusion: Reflections on the Thesis

The final chapter draws conclusions and reflects upon the thesis. The chapter explains the significance of the research in terms of its contribution to new knowledge and closes with the expectation that more will be revealed about Te Umutaoroa in the future.

CHAPTER ONE

Te Mauri Tangata

Introduction and Methodology

Introduction

This chapter describes a Māori world view, and contrasts it with a Pākehā world view in order to demonstrate how cultural norms influence the way in which a person views the world. This chapter will then explain the notion of Kaupapa Māori ideology, which is supported by the Māori world view. The Rangihau model, which places the Māori world view at the centre and locates the Pākehā world view on the periphery, will be used here to illustrate Kaupapa Māori ideology. One of the features of the Rangihau model is the cultural notion of *whenua*, which is used as a portal through which to access a new research model. This model is used as the methodological basis for this research. The Te Umutaoroa research model is based on Te Kooti's prophecy and is culturally relevant and specific to the Patuheuheu *hapū* identity.⁵⁴

Māori world view

A world view is the lens through which one sees and interprets reality. World views are organised around notions of time, relationships between people and nature, human activity and relational orientation (Jensen, 1997; Lock, 1981; Mkhize, 2004; Sue & Sue, 1999). Mkhize (2004) defines world view as a "...set of basic assumptions that a group of people develops in order to explain reality and their place and purpose in the world. World views shape our attitudes, values and opinions, as well as the way we think and behave" (p. 25). World view is defined by Marsden and Henare (1992) as:

Cultures pattern perceptions of reality into conceptualisations of what they perceive reality to be; of what is to be regarded as actual, probable, possible or impossible. These conceptualisations form what is termed the '*world view*' of a culture. The world view is the central systemisation of conceptions of reality to which members of its culture assent and from which

⁵⁴ Te Umutaoroa is of course culturally relevant and specific to Ngāti Haka, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare identity as well.

stems their value system. The world view lies at the very heart of the culture, touching, interacting with and strongly influencing every aspect of the culture (p. 3).

The world view of a particular culture is the lens through which members of that culture view reality; meaning that members of different cultures see the world in very different ways. A powerful example of how a world view filters a cultural group's view of reality can be found in the differences between Pākehā and Māori views of the geography of Aotearoa New Zealand. Māori did not draw up or use maps in pre-colonial times, and so the purpose of using maps here is to illustrate the differing world views.

The following map shows the dominant Pākehā world view of the layout of New Zealand.

Image 8: Pākehā world view informed map



(Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010, p. 14)

In the next map the Māori world view of Aotearoa is revealed. The general Māori world view of Aotearoa New Zealand could not be more different from the Pākehā world view; in fact, it is the complete opposite. Highlighting the inherent nature of world view, regarding the map informed by the Māori world view, Ka'ai-Mahuta (2010) states:

According to a Māori world-view, the direction North is 'down' and South is 'up'. At first, the image of 'upside-down' Aotearoa/New Zealand can be quite confronting to people from outside of the Māori culture, as they are presented with something that goes against everything they have come to accept as the norm up until that point (p. 13).

Image 9: Māori world view informed map



(Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010, p. 14)

The differences between the Pākehā and Māori world views expressed in the above maps are an indication of the huge differences that exist between Māori and Pākehā culture.

Māori culture lies at the centre of the Māori world view. Jackson (1987) states that “[n]o members of a culture can be understood in isolation from the cultural forces which shape them, and no culture can be understood unless account is taken of the attitudes, expectations, beliefs and values on which it is based” (p. 25). Therefore, to understand the Māori culture, which is necessary to carry out Māori research, an understanding of the Māori world view is essential. The Māori world view draws on the concepts which make up the Māori world, such as *tapu*,⁵⁵ *noa*,⁵⁶ *mana*, *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, *whakapapa* and many others.

World views, however, are not static. The impacts of colonisation on Māori mean that a Māori world view that existed 150 years ago may not be the same as a Māori world view in 2015. While many important aspects of the Māori world have survived, there have, for all Māori, been changes to their world views. For example, *tikanga* at some *marae*, such as those practices seen on Tūhoe *marae*, include some nineteenth century additions that are still in use today and will probably remain in use for the foreseeable future. These include: the raising of flags (most often the New Zealand Red Ensign with an ancestral name stitched on to it); the ringing of bells to indicate the commencement of Ringatū (as well as other denominations’) church services; and the wearing of black, particularly by the women, during mourning and *pōhiri*⁵⁷ proceedings (see Tamehana, 2011, pp. 42-59). There are also many world views within the Māori world view that correspond with *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* perspectives. Equally, there are many theoretical perspectives within the Pākehā world view; the capitalist world view, for example, being the dominant ideology of the world’s economies.

⁵⁵ Sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under *atua* protection (Moorfield, 2011; Shirres, 1994, 1997). Marsden (in Royal, 2003) states that *tapu* has both legal and religious implications:

A person, place or thing is dedicated to a deity and by that act it is set aside or reserved for the sole use of the deity. The person or object is thus removed from the sphere of the profane and put into the sphere of the sacred. It is untouchable, no longer to be put to common use. It is this untouchable quality that is the main element in the concept of *tapu*. In other words, the object is sacred and any profane use is sacrilege, breaking the law of *tapu* (p. 5).

⁵⁶ Free from the extensions of *tapu*, ordinary, unrestricted (Moorfield, 2011).

⁵⁷ Welcoming ceremony (Moorfield, 2011) which includes ritual mourning for and acknowledgment and remembering of, those who have passed away recently and in the past.

Patuheuheu *hapū* world view

Within the Māori world exist *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* perspectives and world views. These perspectives and world views reflect the beliefs and practices of *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau* that stem from their unique histories and interactions with their environments. For example, the Patuheuheu *hapū* maintains a deep connection with the Horomanga, where they lived in the 1830s under the leadership of the researcher's ancestor, Koura (Mead & Phillis, 1982; Waitangi Tribunal, 2002), and with Te Houhi, the village where they built their homes and a *wharenuī* dedicated to Te Kooti (Binney, 1995, caption, plate 2; 2001b; Neich, 1993). The researcher's late great-grandfather, Hāpurona Maki Nātana, had an intimate knowledge of the Horomanga and would often talk about its history, some of which was considered *tapu*. Thus, Patuheuheu history and experience shapes and refines the cultural lens through which this research is viewed and understood.

Within the Patuheuheu *hapū* world view exist the unique perspectives of the *whānau* that make up the *hapū*. The researcher's views on *Patuheuheutanga* are informed by the *kōrero*⁵⁸ espoused by his great-grandfather, Hāpurona. A Maki Nātana perspective involves specific interactions with the environment that include particular relationships with the *ngahere*,⁵⁹ *awa*,⁶⁰ and the birds, fish – such as the *tuna*⁶¹ – and reptiles like the *mokomoko*,⁶² which reside therein. The Maki Nātana *whānau* have *kaitiaki*⁶³ who reside in the environment in which the *whānau* lives; these relationships are unique and shape the *whānau*'s perspectives and thinking around *whenua*, *mana whenua*, and geographic and cultural locatedness. The *whānau* perspective further shapes and refines the cultural lens through which this research is viewed and understood.

A researcher's perspective is saturated with preconceived ideas and biases that filter what the researcher sees and, in turn, carries out research. According to Popper (2002 [1963]):

⁵⁸ Narrative/discourse (Moorfield, 2011).

⁵⁹ Bush/forest (Moorfield, 2011).

⁶⁰ River, stream, creek, canal, gully, gorge, groove, furrow (Moorfield, 2011).

⁶¹ Eel. Long finned eel - *Anguilla dieffenbachii*; and the short finned eel - *Anguilla australis* (Moorfield, 2011).

⁶² Mokomoko is a general term for lizards such as geckos and skinks (Moorfield, 2011).

⁶³ Guardian/s (Moorfield, 2011).

Observation is always selective. It needs a chosen object, a definite task, an interest, a point of view, a problem. And its description presupposes a descriptive language, with property words; it presupposes interests, points of view, and problems (p. 61).

The researcher is influenced by the experiences of his upbringing as a *mokopuna*,⁶⁴ raised by great-grandparents, grandparents and parents in the Murupara and Waiōhau communities, located within and connected to an intricately woven Patuheuheu, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare cultural context. In terms of this research, this experience and these connections make the researcher an insider researcher. As Ka'ai-Mahuta (2010) asserts:

The world-view of the researcher is intrinsic, and therefore, it affects their research in every way. The challenge lies in the search for a model, or method, that accepts the filtering nature of a world-view and therefore, accommodates the world-view of the researcher in the research method (p. 16).

Kaupapa Māori ideology

This research is anchored within a Kaupapa Māori ideological construct. Kaupapa Māori is a Māori-centred theoretical system of epistemologies, ideologies, *tikanga* and knowledge, providing the tools for critically analysing the world from a Māori perspective (Ka'ai, 1995; Nepe, 1991; Smith, 1999). According to Ka'ai (1995), Kaupapa Māori is dedicated to emancipation, radical consciousness, and positive action for the benefit of Māori. As a framework deep-rooted in Aotearoa New Zealand, aware of Māori history and culture, and powered by *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, Kaupapa Māori is also a set of analytical tools derived from Māori concepts consistent with, but not dependent on, strategies derived from critical theory (Pihama, 2001).

The late Tūhoe *rangatira*, John Te Rangiāniwaniwa Rangihau (1919-1987), who was Patuheuheu, created a model that placed *Māoritanga*,⁶⁵ or the Māori world view, at the centre, with *Pākehātanga*,⁶⁶ or the Pākehā world view, located on the periphery.

⁶⁴ Grandchild.

⁶⁵ Māori culture, practices and beliefs (Moorfield, 2011).

⁶⁶ Pākehā culture, practices and beliefs. Adapted from Moorfield's (2011) definition of *Māoritanga*.

Image 10: John Rangihau

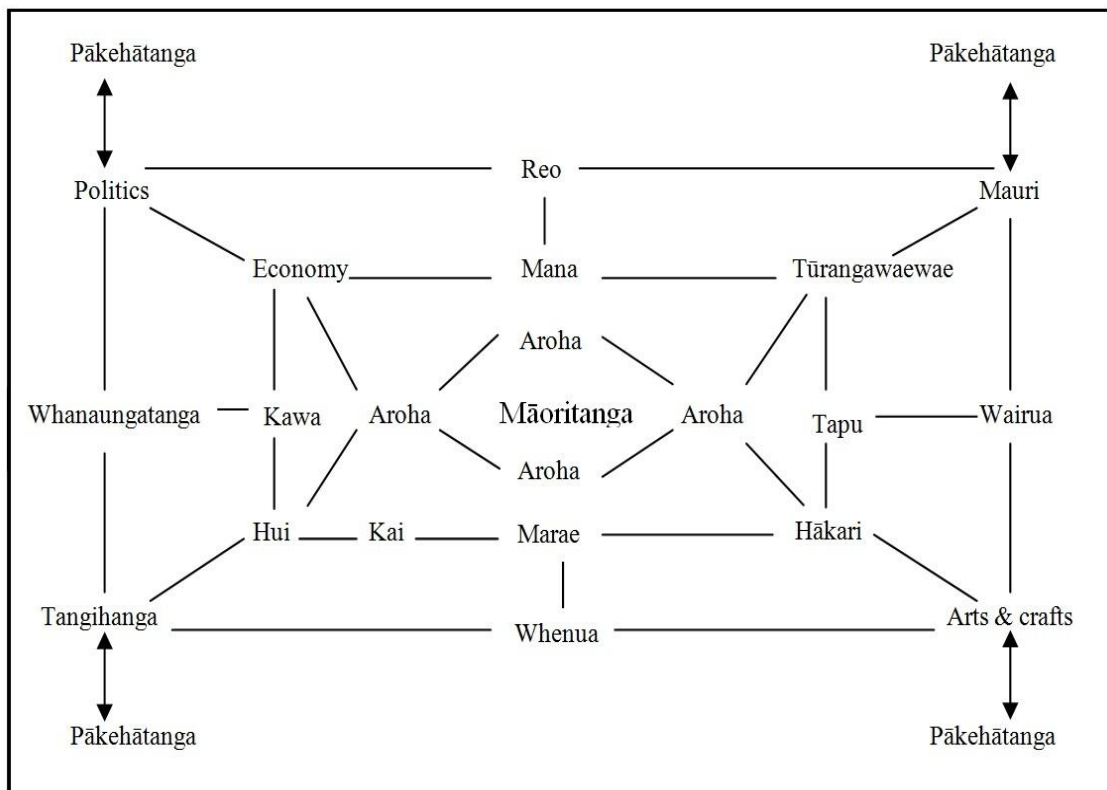


(Dominion Post, 1984, Alexander Turnbull Library, EP/1984/5164/21a-F)

In his model there is an avoidance of the use of specific unique tribal terms and metaphors, meaning that the model can be applied to all Māori (Ka'ai, 2004; Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004). Regarding Rangihau's model, Ka'ai and Higgins (2004) state:

It is a widely held view that Te Rangihau, in his powerful delivery of his conceptual model, was a catalyst for social change in New Zealand. Te Rangihau made the Pākehā aware of the Māori world-view and revolutionised the rights and status of the Indigenous people of New Zealand. Using the model he made Māori people aware of the value and status of *te reo Māori* and of Māori knowledge, customs and practices (p. 201).

Figure 2: Rangihau's *Māoritanga* model



(Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004, p. 16)

Rangihau's model clearly locates *Māoritanga* at the epistemic centre. This is significant for the design of this research because of the fundamental need for Māori to shift their epistemologies and theories to the centre of their research practice, rather than relying on Western ideas.

***Whenua* as a portal**

Whenua is a term that means both land and human placenta; the double meaning of this word points to the significance of Māori connections to land. *Whenua* is a part of the Rangihau model and it is also a portal through which the researcher has metaphorically passed in order to formulate a research model for this work. Located behind the cultural concept of *whenua*, like every other concept in the Māori universe, is a network of epistemologies that a Māori researcher can access (T. Ka'ai, personal communication, 20 September, 2013). The Te Umutaoroa prophecy speaks of an earth oven that contains eight *mauri*, which correspond to the needs of the people of Te Houhi – Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare. The narratives that surround

Te Umutaoroa and Te Houhi are about *whenua* and so it was only by passing through the *whenua* portal that the researcher discovered that he could use Te Umutaoroa as the model with which to carry out this research in line with both Kaupapa Māori ideology and *Patuheuheutanga*.

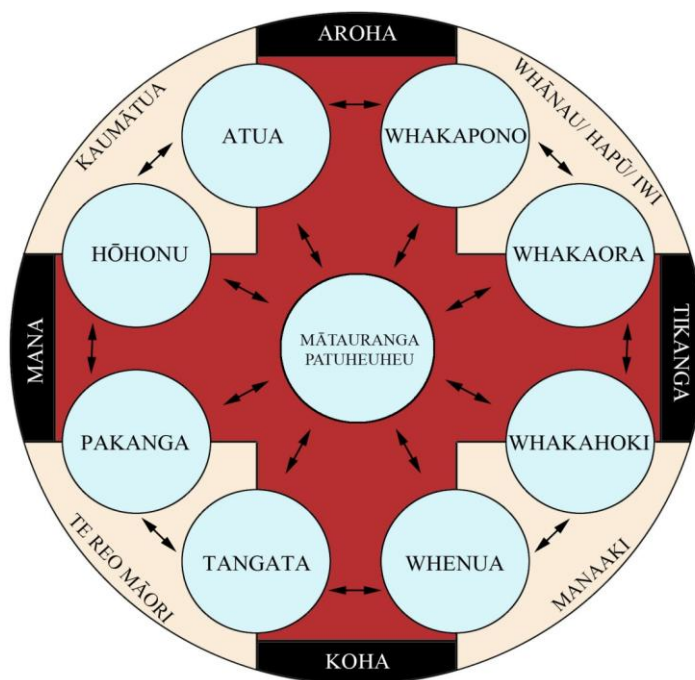
Te Umutaoroa research model

A Patuheuheu research model has been developed based on the Te Umutaoroa prophecy. Using the Rangihau model and specifically the cultural concept of *whenua* as a portal, Patuheuheu knowledge and philosophies have been harnessed to develop a research model called the Te Umutaoroa research model. This model draws on prophetic inspiration from Te Umutaoroa and discovers new meanings from *ngā rā o mua*.⁶⁷ Binney (2001a) opines:

The cycle of traditions about the people, land and events is dynamic, not static. For the Maori, the past is seen as that which lies before one, ‘nga ra o mua’, the days in front. It is the wisdom and experience of the ancestors which they are confronting and seeking to interpret (p. 4).

⁶⁷ The days in the past/the days in front.

Figure 3: Te Umutaoroa research model



The Te Umutaoroa research model provides the methodological framework for carrying out this research. *Mātauranga Patuheuheu* (Patuheuheu epistemology)⁶⁸ is located at the centre of the model, which mirrors the central positioning of *Māoritanga* in Rangihau’s ideological framework. The spheres that encircle *Mātauranga Patuheuheu* represent the eight *mauri* stones left by Te Kooti and have been interpreted and recast by the researcher as research principles as follows:

- **Atua:**⁶⁹ Researcher respects *wairuatanga* or the spiritual dimension;
- **Whakapono:**⁷⁰ Researcher acknowledges the power of belief, combined with action, as a critical part of *hapū* transformation and development;
- **Whakaora:**⁷¹ Research contributes in some way to a programme of social, cultural, spiritual and psychological healing for the *hapū* in relation to the various modes of oppression experienced and endured by Patuheuheu;

⁶⁸ *Mātauranga Patuheuheu* refers to the body of knowledge originating from Patuheuheu ancestors, including the Patuheuheu world view and perspectives, Patuheuheu creativity and cultural practices. Adapted from Moorfield’s (2011) definition of *Mātauranga Māori*.

⁶⁹ *Atua* is short for *te mauri atua* – the life force of spirituality.

⁷⁰ *Whakapono* is short for *te mauri whakapono* – the life force/power of belief and faith.

- **Whakahoki:**⁷² Research contributes in some way to a programme of restoration within the *hapū* in terms of reclaiming space, self-determination and positive transformation;
- **Whenua:**⁷³ Researcher respects the physical, cultural and spiritual significance of *whenua* as a critical part of Māori identity (Cheater & Hopa, 1997; Durie, 1998; Smith, 1999), acknowledging that this construct is at once the expression for land and placenta, denoting perpetual *whakapapa* links to Papa-tū-ā-nuku – Earth Mother;
- **Tangata:**⁷⁴ Researcher respects the *mana* or authority and prestige of the participants by demonstrating reciprocity, generosity and *matemate-ā-one* – a Tūhoe term signifying an intense connection of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to the *whenua* and to each other;⁷⁵
- **Pakanga:**⁷⁶ Research contributes to conscientisation, action and reflection and mirrors Freire’s (1972) statement that the oppressed must participate in the practice of freedom as agents of transformation within the *hapū* and indeed, the world;
- **Hōhonu:**⁷⁷ Researcher deeply, sincerely and critically reflects on the application and impacts of the research and considers how the research contributes to positive change within the *hapū*.

Located on the circumference of the model are research principles that have been adapted from an Indigenous research ethics framework developed by Ka’ai-Mahuta (2010, pp. 25-27). Her research principles both support and complement those derived from the Te Umutaoroa prophecy. The researcher has adapted and incorporated Ka’ai-Mahuta’s (2010) principles in the following way:

- **Kaumātua:**⁷⁸ Researcher consults with *hapū* elders and gains their approval;
- **Whānau/Hapū/Iwi:**⁷⁹ Research must benefit the *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi*;

⁷¹ *Whakaora* is short for *te mauri whakaora* – the life force of healing.

⁷² *Whakahoki* is short for *te mauri whakahoki* – the life force/power to return people to their land.

⁷³ *Whenua* is short for *te mauri whenua* – the life force of the land.

⁷⁴ *Tangata* is short for *te mauri tangata* – the life force of the people.

⁷⁵ This definition of *matemate-ā-one* was crystallised in a discussion with Wharehuia Milroy (personal communication, 6 July, 2012).

⁷⁶ *Pakanga* is short for *te mauri pakanga* - “...the power to return war from this land to other countries” (Binney, 2001b, p. 158).

⁷⁷ *Hōhonu* is short for *te mauri hōhonu* - “...the mauri [life force] of hidden wealth – minerals, gold, diamonds and oil (perhaps), which lie underground” (Binney, 2001b, p. 158).

⁷⁸ Elder, elderly man, elderly woman (Moorfield, 2011).

- **Aroha:**⁸⁰ Researcher acknowledges that the opportunity to do the research is a privilege, not a right, and therefore demonstrates respect and care for the participants;
- **Tikanga:**⁸¹ Researcher follows Māori protocols when carrying out research;
- **Te Reo Māori:** Research informants have the opportunity to speak in *te reo Māori* and/or English;
- **Manaaki:**⁸² Researcher provides a hospitable and flexible context for research participation, realising that other *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, or community events, may take precedence over research appointments;
- **Mana:**⁸³ In order to increase the validity and quality of the research, the researcher must acknowledge all sources of information in the text and in so doing, recognises the authority, influence and intellectual property of the research participants;
- **Koha:**⁸⁴ Researcher shows appreciation for the informants with *koha aroha*,⁸⁵ *kai*⁸⁶ or *taonga*,⁸⁷ as well as providing a copy of the research.

The red cross in the background of the model comes from an image of one of Te Kooti's flags. Te Kooti's flag features the waning crescent moon, which possibly represents the *tohu*⁸⁸ of a new world; the red cross represents the fighting cross of the Archangel Michael; and the 'WI' represents the Ringatū faith (Binney, 1995).

⁷⁹ *Whānau*: family group, extended family; *hapū*: kinship group, clan, subtribe; *iwi*: extended kinship group, tribe, nation (Moorfield, 2011).

⁸⁰ Love, charity, empathy (Moorfield, 2011).

⁸¹ Correct procedure, method, practice (Moorfield, 2011).

⁸² Support, take care of, give hospitality to, protect (Moorfield, 2011).

⁸³ Authority, influence (Moorfield, 2011).

⁸⁴ Gift, offering, donation (Moorfield).

⁸⁵ *Koha* is a gift, offering or donation (Moorfield, 2011), and with the addition of the word *aroa* – love - this term refers to a gift, offering or donation where there is no expectation of reciprocity.

⁸⁶ Food.

⁸⁷ A prized item (Moorfield, 2011).

⁸⁸ Sign, mark, symbol, emblem, token (Moorfield, 2011).

Image 11: Te Kooti's flag captured at Te Porere, October 1869



(Binney, 1995, p. 201)

The Te Umutaoroa research model acknowledges Te Kooti and his prophecy, not only as a legacy to the people of Te Houhi, who have been the guardians of this prophecy for over a century, but for its relevance in contemporary Māori society as a model for *hapū* development and transformation.

Summary

This chapter has contrasted the Māori and Pākehā world views to show that different cultures view the world in relation to their distinct cultural paradigms. By demonstrating this difference, this chapter established the authenticity of a Māori world view and how this connects with Kaupapa Māori ideology. The Rangihau model exemplified the Māori-centred thinking that is necessary for Kaupapa Māori research and it also provided the gateway through which the Te Umutaoroa research model was developed. This chapter explained the aspects of the Te Umutaoroa research model and how they relate to carrying out research from a distinctly Patuheuheu perspective within the Waiōhau community.

CHAPTER TWO

Te Mauri Pakanga

Prophets of the Revolution: Te Kooti, Freire and Fanon

Introduction

Inscribed in an autograph book in 1949, Sir Āpirana Ngata's⁸⁹ celebrated *ōhāki*⁹⁰ encourages Māori to understand introduced Pākehā knowledge and technologies, while maintaining the knowledge and traditions of their ancestors as a two-pronged approach for Māori progression. He states:

E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā tōu ao;
Ko tō ringa ki *ngā rākau a te Pākehā* hei ara mō te tinana;
Ko tō ngākau ki *ngā taonga a ō tīpuna Māori* hei tikitiki mō tō māhuna,
ā ko tō wairua ki tō Atua nāna nei ngā mea katoa (Panapa, n.d., p. 33,
emphasis added).

Anglican Bishop, W. N. Panapa, gave the following translation:

Grow up oh tender plant
To fulfil the needs of your generation;
Your hand clasping *the weapons of the pakeha*
As a means for your physical progress,
Your heart centred on *the treasures*
Of your Maori ancestors
As a plume upon your head,
Your soul given to God
The author of all things (Panapa, n.d., p. 33, emphasis added).

With these words, Ngata offers positive change for Māori going forward through the advantageous amalgamation of two different knowledge systems: *ngā rākau a te Pākehā* - Western knowledge; and *ngā taonga a ō tīpuna Māori* - Māori knowledge.

⁸⁹ Walker (2001) writes that Sir Āpirana Ngata was "...one of the most illustrious New Zealanders of the twentieth century" (p. 11). Ngata spent his life pursuing the emancipation of the Māori people as a politician and as a prominent leader in the Māori world. Walker (2001) argues that Ngata was "...a man of such extraordinary gifts of intelligence, energy and foresight that among his own Ngāti Porou people he was esteemed as a god among men" (p. 11).

⁹⁰ Dying speech, parting words (Moorfield, 2011).

Tipene Tihema-Biddle, a local healer from the Waiōhau community, states that there needs to be a balance between the *whare Māori* and the *whare Pākehā* – the Māori and Pākehā paradigms. He argues:

We talk about the *whare Pākehā* and the *whare Māori*, and the way we work through things is to come to the realisation that one *whare* should not impose its *tikanga* on the other. Yes, Pākehā have imposed their *tikanga* on Māori for so long and we know the outcomes of that.... It is our belief – and indeed it is the way that we operate in our healing practice – that the *whare Māori* and the *whare Pākehā* have their own *tikanga* working within them, but that both can be neighbours, rather than in constant opposition (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

The emphasis above relates to collaboration between the Māori and Pākehā ways of knowing and being. However, in order to achieve this, an acute awareness of how the two paradigms interact historically and politically in relation to colonisation and oppression is required. Thus, a considered and critical approach to Western knowledge is necessary. When used critically, Western knowledge is not only useful to colonised people but can be used to transform communities. Royal (1992) states:

We [Māori] are at a point in our history where a tremendous challenge has been laid before us: to seek all that is good in the past, in the world of our ancestors, and place it alongside all that is good from the Pākehā world, thereby creating a new and better world (p. 16).

In the lyrics of *Redemption Song*, Bob Marley (1980) emboldens the oppressed: “Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery, none but ourselves can free our minds” (n.p.). Marley’s music speaks of liberation from oppression (Worth, 1995) and therefore resonates with Māori and their political struggles (Karini, 2009). Like Marley, Freire (1970) states that only the oppressed are capable of freeing themselves. While it is certain that only Māori can emancipate themselves, Māori are free to use whatever methods they choose to achieve this. Ngata believed that using both Indigenous and Western approaches would be a beneficial process. This is also true of the psychiatrist Fanon, who used Western psychiatric and psychological theory as a means for decolonisation (Greedharry, 2008).

This chapter is about emancipation; it is about the critical use of Māori and Western theory together as a strategy for decolonisation and transformation. This chapter will

define critical theory from a Horkheimeran perspective. It will then outline the relevant ideas of three critical theorists: Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki, Paulo Freire and Frantz Fanon. Te Kooti is the principal theorist within this work. The ideas of Freire and Fanon, which both developed out of Marxist theory, are used here to buttress Te Kooti's activities and concepts. Fanon's ideas are more relevant to Te Kooti's early resistance, which included bloody violence; while Freire's thinking relates closely to what the researcher perceives as being Te Kooti's positive vision for Māori. Te Kooti's Te Umutaoroa prophecy is pivotal to this work and so it is necessary to give a biography of his life to attempt to understand the critical nature of his spiritual and political agenda. Indeed, part of the key to comprehending Te Umutaoroa is to try to understand the prophet and the social, historical, political and religious context from which his ministry emerged. This chapter will then provide critical analysis around how the ideas of Te Kooti, Freire and Fanon relate to one another.

Critical theory: A Horkheimeran definition

A Horkheimeran approach to critical theory will be used throughout this work. This means that the theories that are used here will be those that seek to emancipate human subjects from oppression. Critical theory can be described as a set of ideas from any philosophical tradition that focus on working towards freedom through the critique of ideology (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 2006). Critical theory works dialectically to expose inequality within society by attempting to understand both how society operates and how society can be transformed (Blackburn, 1996). Horkheimer (1982) argues that theory is critical when it seeks "...to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them" (p. 244). From a Horkheimeran perspective, a theory can only be critical if it is explanatory, practical and normative (Horkheimer, 1982, 1993). To be critical, theory must explain problems within society; identify agents who can change things; and deliver both transparent norms for analysis and feasible and practical goals for social transformation (Horkheimer, 1982, 1993). Thus, critical theory is about ensuring that human beings are self-determining "...producers of their own historical form of life" (Horkheimer 1993, p. 21).

Te Kooti: Prophet, revolutionary and critical theorist

Te Kooti was a prophet, revolutionary and critical thinker. According to Binney, Chaplin and Wallace (1979), Te Kooti's prophetism emerged as a response to the tensions which were experienced by Māori through colonisation, displacement and land loss, which Adas (1979) notes is a constant theme for oppressed Indigenous peoples all over the world. Te Kooti received visions and passed these messages on to his followers in charismatic ways. Some of these messages were passed down as riddles, prophecies or through *waiata*.⁹¹ Te Kooti's *waiata*, like his aphorisms, contain both spiritual and political aspects (Milroy, 2006, cited in Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010). In this way, Te Kooti's words inspire both spiritual and political reactions. The spiritual nature of his messages resound with Māori spirituality (Milroy, 2006, cited in Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010), while the deeply political quality of his expressions urge Māori to hold on to their land – the source of their identity – in order to resist colonisation and oppression.

The idea that Māori needed to resist British power and control, and hold on to the land, is central to Te Kooti's political agenda. But it is also part of a spiritual quest that has its roots in both the Māori world view and in Te Kooti's identification with the Old Testament. Land is critical to Māori identity because it represents an Indigenous, spiritual and genealogical connection to the Earth. For each particular *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, the land on which their ancestors have lived for generations provides another layer of identity, which is fused into the mountains, rivers and ancestral links that connect Māori tribal groups to their environments. In addition to these identities, Te Kooti conveyed the idea that Māori were akin to the ancient Israelites who were enslaved by the Egyptians. Te Kooti identified with Moses and, similarly to the latter's deliverance of the Israelites to the Promised Land, Te Kooti intended to deliver Māori back to the land.

In order to 'deliver' Māori to the Promised Land, Te Kooti required that Māori hold on to their land and resist Pākehā attempts to take it in the first place. Te Kooti's political resistance started early in his life when he resisted Pākehā settlement in his home area. However, Te Kooti was accused of conspiring with an Indigenous political and religious movement and as a result was incarcerated. It was during his imprisonment

⁹¹ Song, chant, psalm (Moorfield, 2011).

that he had visions and declared himself a prophet. Te Kooti and his supporters escaped captivity, exacted revenge and engaged in raids to rally support and gather supplies. Te Kooti and his adherents were hunted mercilessly by the Crown, but they fought back constantly.

Don Tamihere states that the followers of the Māori prophets were militant in their dedication to their leaders and the philosophies of the prophetic movements to which they belonged (Douglas, Hakaraia & Stephens, 2013). Tamihere maintains that the followers of the Māori prophets participated in political and religious resistance activities against the colonial authorities, and by doing so, they made “...the human and fallible choice to become a violent opposition...”, not only engaging in physical violence but also “...intellectual, verbal and spiritual violence” (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.). Te Kooti engaged in anti-colonial violence as a method of resisting Pākehā invasion. This links with Fanon’s (1963) theory that violence against the coloniser is a necessary means of political resistance and decolonisation. However, in later life, having developed the rituals and festivals of his Ringatū faith, Te Kooti focussed his energies on peaceful and religious pursuits. Te Kooti moved from overt political violence to religio-political and spiritual modes of delivering his message that Māori must hold on to their land. His ideas, methods and activities were critical because they sought liberation for Māori in the face of colonisation and oppression.

Te Kooti’s biography

In order to attempt to understand the Te Umutaoroa prophecy, it is essential to try to understand something of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki’s life and ministry, because this lays the foundation for the prophecies that he left behind for his followers, and sets the historical context for this research. Indeed, Te Kooti’s birth in 1832 was itself a visionary matter, because it had been foreseen in prophecy by the *matakite*⁹² Toiroa⁹³ (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Elsmore, 2000; Tarei, 2011).⁹⁴ Toiroa associated Arikirangi’s birth with darkness, which he expressed in the following *waiata*:

⁹² Prophet, seer, clairvoyant (Moorfield, 2011).

⁹³ According to Binney (1995), Te Kooti claimed that Toiroa was his ancestor.

⁹⁴ Elsmore (2000) claims that Te Kooti was born in 1830, while an account from Delamere found in Binney (1995, p. 16) asserts that Te Kooti was born in 1814, a date which coincides with the arrival of Christianity through the Anglicans. Tarei (2011) claims that there is dispute about the year of Te Kooti’s birth and states that he may have been born in 1812, 1814 or 1830.

Tiwha tiwha te pō.
Ko te Pakerewhā
Ko Arikirangi tenei ra te haere nei.
Dark, dark is the night.
There is the Pakerewhā
There is Arikirangi to come (Te Kooti, 1866-1890, n.p.).

Arikirangi's name was also connected to a prediction of the impending arrival of Pākehā, associated with evil, and the coming of a new God:

Te ingoa o to ratou Atua, ko Tama-i-rorokutia, he Atua pai, otira, ka ngaro
ano te tangata.

The name of their God will be Tama-i-rorokutia (Son-who-was-killed),⁹⁵ a good God, however the people will still be oppressed (Binney, 1995, p. 12).

In addition, Tarei (2011) maintains that Toiroa said to Turakau, the prophet's mother: "My child is within you; lightning in hell; lightning in heaven; the Lord of heaven in the man" (p. 140).

Arikirangi had a troublesome childhood, during which his father attempted to kill him many times (Binney, 1995). On one occasion, his father buried him alive in a kumara pit, but Arikirangi escaped, making the claim that a spirit appeared and saved his life (Mackay, 1949). Binney (1995) claims that Arikirangi's ability to escape death was to be one of his most enduring traits.

Consecrated to Tūmatauenga, the *atua*⁹⁶ of war, Arikirangi received the education of the *whare wānanga*;⁹⁷ he attained Christian learning through the Anglican Church,⁹⁸ into which he was baptised with the name Te Kooti;⁹⁹ he also obtained Pākehā education through the Anglican mission and gained an intimate knowledge of the Bible

⁹⁵ This probably refers to the crucifixion of Christ.

⁹⁶ Ancestor with continuing influence, god, supernatural being (Moorfield, 2011).

⁹⁷ Māori traditional place of higher learning, where *tohunga* (priestly expert/s) taught history, genealogy and religious practices to the sons of *rangatira* (chiefs) (Moorfield, 2011).

⁹⁸ By the early 1850s Te Kooti had been exposed to three major Christian churches: Anglican, Catholic and Wesleyan (Binney, 1995).

⁹⁹ A transliteration of the name 'Coates', after the lay secretary of the Church Mission Society, C. Dande(r)son Coates (Binney, 1995; Mackay, 1949), a name which Te Kooti had seen on official notices whilst on a trading trip to Auckland (Cowan, 1938). However, Williams (1999) states that Te Kooti told James Cowan that: "Te Kooti was the transliteration of 'By Order of the Court'. The irony of the appellation must have amused Te Kooti" (p. 76).

(Binney, 1995; Elsmore, 2000; Greenwood, 1942; Tarei, 2011).¹⁰⁰ According to Tarei (2011):

... some people have said this [the mission school] is where he got his knowledge of scripture. But I do not believe it. His breadth and depth of knowledge – his understanding of scripture – was far greater than any missionary could have given him. It was inspiration (p. 140).

Te Kooti had aspired to be an Anglican clergyman. However, by 1852 he had become infamous in the Tūranga tribal area for his participation in a group of young Māori who engaged in protesting over land rights, looting and charging pasturage and anchorage to settlers (Binney, 1995) whose goal it was to attain as much land as possible without concern for Māori interests (Grace, 1853). In 1853 the government requested that the Tūranga tribes work towards settling disputes with settlers, but the pillaging continued until Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki *iwi* launched an attack on Te Kooti's *pā*;¹⁰¹ those captured in the attack were handed over to Rongowhakaata *iwi*, but Te Kooti escaped and swam across the river (Binney, 1995).

Te Kooti's involvement in the land politics of the 1850s and early 1860s at Tūranga not only hindered the progress of the settlers, but also challenged the presiding chiefs of Rongowhakaata and Ngāti Maru (a *hapū* of Rongowhakaata); in return, these leaders would come to play a significant part in sending Te Kooti to prison on the Chatham Islands in 1866, which corresponded with the desires of both government officials and traders alike (Binney, 1995). From the time of Te Kooti's escape from Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki's attack, he seems to have disappeared. Binney (1995) notes that his name is absent from the records of the land disputes of this time up until 1865-66, when his name reappears. Te Kooti claims to have been visited by the Archangel Michael in the 1850s, who predicted the Poverty Bay civil war and gave him a white lunar rainbow as protection (Binney, 1995).

From 1860 the *iwi* of the Waikato and Taranaki areas were at war with the Crown. However, the Tūranga chiefs made it their policy to remain neutral in order to maintain

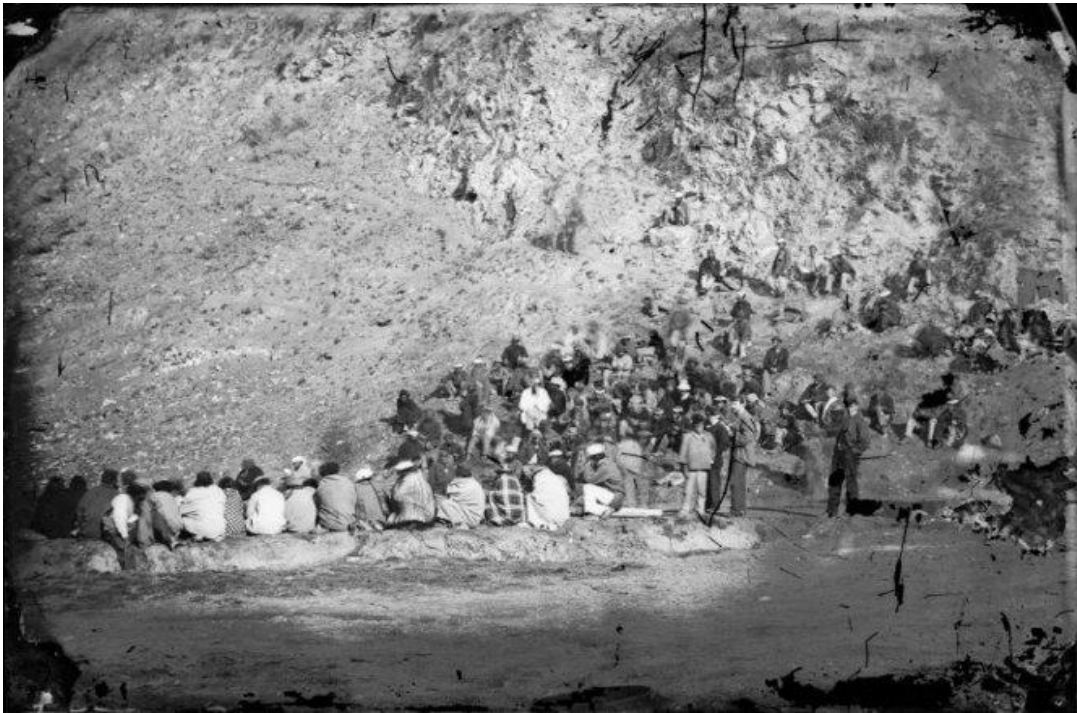
¹⁰⁰ According to Mackay (1949), Te Kooti was an established horseman and engaged in various occupations including farm and bush work, and work out at sea on a number of schooners. The skills Te Kooti gained through his work at sea would be beneficial in the future, when Te Kooti and many others escaped imprisonment on a remote outer island on a schooner (Binney, 1995).

¹⁰¹ Fortified village (Moorfield, 2011).

control over their lands and affairs (Binney, 1995). The determined independence displayed by the Tūranga chiefs ensured two things: that they would not join the Kīngitanga movement – a Māori political institution founded in 1858 which sought to unify Māori under one native sovereign – and that they would continue to regulate European settlement in the area (Binney, 1995).

In 1865, Te Ua Haumēne's Hauhau or Pai Mārire religious movement spread to Tūranga (Binney, 1995; Salmond, 1976). The Pai Mārire claimed to come in peace and it was their intention to unite Māori under one authority (Binney, 1995). The conversion rates of Māori to the Pai Mārire faith in Tūranga have been estimated at around one third of the native population (Gardiner & Marsh, 1865). But civil war erupted within Ngāti Porou between Pai Mārire converts and those who wanted staunch Ngāti Porou sovereignty and independence (Binney, 1995). In addition, the Crown provided arms to those Ngāti Porou who opposed the Hauhau; the war could not be contained and the Tūranga tribes became involved (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti claimed to have fought against the Pai Mārire and also to have fought alongside the government troops at Waerenga-a-Hika; but there are other accounts that accuse him of conspiring with the Hauhau and providing gunpowder to his brother Komene, who fought with the Pai Mārire (Elsmore, 2000; Binney, 1995; Shortland, 1889; Tarei, 2011). What seems likely though, is that Te Kooti acted out of concern for land at Tūranga (Binney, 1995).

Image 12: Māori Hauhau prisoners on Napier foreshore



(Coxhead, 1866, Alexander Turnbull Library, 1/2-118691-G)

Māori Hauhau prisoners wait on the Napier foreshore to board the ship St. Kilda for Wharekauri (Chatham Island). Te Kooti is believed to be amongst this group.

Accused of being a Hauhau, Te Kooti was arrested in 1866 (Binney, 1995; Davidson, 2004; Elsmore, 2000; Salmond, 1976; Tarei, 2011; Walker, 2004). Greenwood (1942) asserts that “Te Kooti protested that he was not a Hauhau” (p. 20). Te Kooti proclaimed, “I am not a Hauhau!” (Nihoniho, 1913, p. 35). However, Binney (1995) argues that the reason for his arrest remains uncertain and he was never brought to trial over any of the allegations levelled at him. Te Kooti was remitted on the *St Kilda* with a group of other prisoners and sent off, on 5 June 1866, to Wharekauri (Chatham Islands) (Binney, 1995; Davidson, 2004; Elsmore, 2000; Tarei, 2011; Walker, 2004).

When the prisoners – men, women and children – arrived at Wharekauri they were posted at Waitangi, where there was no housing; each party was responsible for building its own compound out of native materials (Binney, 1995; “Prisoners’ Work List 1”, March 1866-March 1867; Russell, 1866). The prisoners were considered to be political offenders or *whakarau* and were incarcerated without trial (Rolleston, 1868; Wellington Independent, 1869, October 2). They were drawn mainly from the East

Coast *iwi* of Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Hineuru and Ngāti Kahungunu; many of them had been supporters of and believers in Pai Mārire (Binney, 1995).

The conditions on the island were harsh and intolerably cold and the prisoners' workloads were heavy, all of which contributed significantly to the rates of illness and death amongst the captives (Binney, 1995). According to Belich, "Te Kooti and his fellow exiles found life on the Chathams hard and cold... but abuse and beatings were common, and the guards spent most of their time drunk" (McRae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.). In addition, Greenwood (1942) states:

...the prisoners were forced to under-go medical inspection of an obscene nature, and much cruelty and immorality was reported... ...the stories handed down of the behaviour of the guards are not flattering to the Pakeha, especially as the Maori was making some semblance of religious observance (p. 22).

The inmates grew much of their own food, supplemented with government rations; they were not sufficiently resourced however, and ploughs had to be pulled by prisoners, including women and children (Binney, 1995). Under these conditions, Te Kooti became unwell and was treated for chronic asthma and declared by a doctor to be unfit for work ("Medical report for the month ending 31 March 1867", 1867, March 31). Te Kooti was very familiar with the Bible (Davidson, 2004) and during his sickness he specifically studied the books of Joshua, Judges and the Psalms (Greenwood, 1942). From December 1866 to May 1867, Te Kooti suffered serious illness, probably tuberculosis; it was during this period that Te Kooti experienced prophetic visions and revelations that he recorded in his diary (Binney, 1995; Davidson, 2004; Elsmore, 2000; Tarei, 2011; Walker, 2004).

While ill, Te Kooti claims that the Spirit told him to "“Rise! Come forth! You are spared to be made well, to be the founder of a new church and religion, to be the salvation of the Maori people and to release them from bondage”" (Ross, 1966, p. 30). Like the Old Testament prophet Moses, who was also called to free his people, Te Kooti had been called to liberate his followers from oppression. These events were the beginnings of a new Māori faith (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Elsmore, 2000; Ross,

1966; Salmond, 1976; Walker, 2004). Belich claims that “[i]t was Te Kooti who restored their hope. While sick with tuberculosis he saw a vision of the archangel Michael, and experienced a religious awakening. He began preaching a new religion, called Ringatū – the upraised hand” (McCrae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.). According to Te Wharekaihua Coates from Ngāti Awa, a sacred angel gave Te Kooti the Ringatū faith, informing him that he would be the means through which an authentic Māori faith would be expressed:

I reira, ka puta mai tēnei whakapono. Nā te anahera tapu kē i hoatu ki ā ia.
Me kī, ko ia te huarahi mai ā ki te iwi Māori, ki tana iwi. I reira te pūtanga
mai o tēnei whakapono. E ki ā nei, engari me whakamāori a rātou,
whakamāoringia, ka noho tēnei whakapono, Māori tūturu (McCrae &
Stephens, 1998, n.p.).

Te Kooti claimed to have been influenced many times by the spirit of God at Wharekauri, where he conducted religious services and recorded his liturgy; word of his new faith had even reached the mainland (Binney, 1995). Despite being placed in solitary confinement, Te Kooti continued to preach and conduct religious services in secret (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti developed a commanding influence over most of the prisoners and was able to convince them that by following his faith they would be delivered out of captivity (Binney, 1995; Tarei, 2011). On 21 May 1867, Te Kooti told the people he had been set apart as a prophet of God (Binney, 1995). Belich opines that “Te Kooti assumed leadership of the Chatham Island exiles, [and] he made them one promise: escape!” (McCrae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.).

Within the framework of his new faith, Te Kooti instructed the people to discard their Pai Mārire beliefs and look directly to the scriptures for inspiration; they identified with the bondage suffered by the ancient Israelites under Egyptian rule (Binney, 1995; Greenwood, 1942) and embraced the history of the Book of Exodus, which categorically promised ‘the return’ (Walzer, 1985). According to Webster (1979):

Te Kooti had made a promise to his followers that he would deliver them out of captivity. It is well known that he likened them to the children of Israel in bondage and that he drew inspiration from the Old Testament (p. 107).

Belich contends that the “...prisoners had been told that their exile was temporary and were promised a fair trial. When nothing happened, they began to lose hope; they

feared they would never see their homes again” (McCrae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.). Subsequently, Te Kooti’s teachings were absorbed more readily by many of the prisoners when they realised that their imprisonment was not temporary and that their lands were under threat of government confiscation; it was this realisation which accelerated the growth of the Ringatū following (Binney, 1995).

Although the prisoners had come to accept their lot on Wharekauri, when Te Kooti’s ministry took hold in 1868, the people became increasingly dissatisfied with their predicament; consequently, they became fixated on leaving the island, drawing strength from Te Kooti’s predictions of escape (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti predicted the sign for escape would be two ships in the harbour; on 3 July, the schooner, *Rifleman*, and the small ketch, *Florence*, were both in the harbour, signalling the anticipated time of escape (Auckland Star, 1914, March 14; Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995).

Te Kooti’s flag was hoisted over the prisoner’s quarters, signalling the 163 men and 135 women and children to carry out Te Kooti’s plan of escape (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti and his followers had taken over the ship and the crew were told that their lives would be spared if they operated the ship and took the prisoners back to New Zealand; the crew agreed, were paid for their services, and received a letter of exoneration from Te Kooti (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995).

On 9 July 1868, *Rifleman* arrived south of Poverty Bay at Whareongaonga – a small settlement that was relatively empty at the time that the schooner made landfall; for Te Kooti and his followers, Jehovah had delivered them successfully to the mainland (Binney, 1995; Greenwood, 1942; Walker, 2004). Elsmore (2000) maintains:

Te Kooti’s escape with his band of followers from their place of exile, over the sea to their native land, was to their mind very much a latter-day flight out of Egypt, with the ship (the *Rifleman*) a veritable ark of deliverance. It is said that the prophet stated when he boarded the boat, ‘The day, the vessel, the salvation, are from God’ (p. 135).

Imagining what the experience of escape from the Chatham Islands and arrival at Whareongaonga must have been like for his ancestor, Peter Moeau, a descendant of Te Kooti asserts:

To my mind, Te Kooti would have seen landing here at Whareongaonga as the beginning of a new journey, [as an]... escape from Wharekauri, [an]...escape from the deprivation and the hardships there, and as an opportunity to start on a journey where he could reclaim that which had been taken from him (McCrae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.).

His followers were instructed to fast until the ship was unloaded and a pig and chicken were sacrificed as a burnt offering to the Lord, much like those offered to Jehovah in the Old Testament (Binney, 1995).¹⁰² During this sacrifice, Te Kooti's adherents were seen to be standing in prayer, rather than kneeling, with their right hands raised in praise to God – a physical gesture which would remain entrenched in Te Kooti's Ringatū faith (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti had instructed:

Na, kaati ra te koropiko, engari whakaaratia te ringa, me toro te ringa me whakanui ki to tatou Kaihanga.

Cease bowing down, but raise your hand, stretch it out and praise our Creator (Binney, 1995, p. 90).

On 12 July three emissaries, all Māori, sent by the Poverty Bay resident magistrate Major Reginald Biggs, arrived at Whareongaonga to instruct Te Kooti and his followers that they were to surrender their weapons and wait for a decision to come, as to their fate, from the government; Te Kooti responded by stating that he and his adherents desired to be left alone (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Walker, 2004). On 14 July, Te Kooti and his followers left Whareongaonga on a slow and arduous journey, heading for the King Country (Waikato), to bring about a new prophetic order (Binney, 1995). It was Te Kooti's intention to challenge the authority of King Tāwhiao – the political and spiritual leader of the Kīngitanga movement who also claimed to be a mouthpiece of God (Auckland Star, 1914, March 28). Te Kooti wanted to make his way to the Waikato in peace, stating that he would only fight if attacked (Kempthorne, 1868; Williams, 1868). Belich argues that:

Before leaving Whareongaonga, Te Kooti had tried to persuade the government to leave him alone, promising peace in return for freedom. But the government would have none of this and ordered colonial and *kūpapa*

¹⁰² Although Te Kooti had initially instructed his followers to bind their new born babies to the firewood in preparation for sacrifice, this was, like the story of Abraham's sacrifice, a test; so the chicken and pig were sacrificed instead (Binney, 1995).

troops to chase and capture the escaped prisoners (McRae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.).

Te Kooti's war started on 20 July 1868 when government troops and Māori were defeated at Pāparatū (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). Te Kooti possessed a number of advantages that added to his success. His efficacious escape from Wharekauri was proof to his followers – some of whom were consummate warriors – that he wielded authority and power from God (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti had an exhaustive knowledge of the local topography as well as the ability to deal effectively with Pākehā, which further contributed to his triumphs (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). Further successes were attained on 24 July at Te Kōneke, and 8 August at Ruakituri Gorge, when Te Kooti and his followers overpowered a cavalcade directed by the commandant of the Armed Constabulary, George Whitmore (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). Te Kooti did not come away from these battles unscathed; he was shot in the ankle and so retired to Puketapu, the Holy Mountain, near Lake Waikaremoana, joined by a few Tūhoe from Te Whāiti (Binney, 1995).

Having Tūhoe companions at Puketapu did not give Te Kooti automatic permission to enter Tūhoe lands; in fact, Te Kooti had written to both Tūhoe and King Tāwhiao requesting consent to enter their respective territories (Binney, 1995). King Tāwhiao rejected Te Kooti's request and insisted that if he attempted to enter the King Country he would be repelled (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti then decided to return home to Poverty Bay, to his lands at Matawhero; however, some of Te Kooti's lands were in the possession of Reginald Biggs, the magistrate who sent emissaries to instruct Te Kooti to surrender at Whareongaonga (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Walker, 2004).

Before midnight on 9 November 1868, Te Kooti and about 100 men attacked Matawhero and a neighbouring village, purposefully killing approximately 50-60 people, both Pākehā and Māori (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Walker, 2004). Te Kooti was exact in selecting those to be killed; Biggs and Captain James Wilson, for example, were described as being 'Pharaoh's overseers' (Binney, 1995). Biggs, his wife, child and nurse, were hauled out of their home, killed and bayoneted, and their house, along with Wilson's, were amongst the first to be burned; over the next two days and nights, most of the dwellings and sheds at Matawhero (and north Mākaraka)

were set alight (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti sought to destroy anyone who had wronged him. According to Binney (1995), all those who were killed, Pākehā and Māori, men, women and children, were either shot or bludgeoned and then impaled with a sword or bayonet; the use of the sword was intentional and referred to passages in the Book of Psalms, which Te Kooti had instructed his men to sing:

But those that seek my soul, to destroy it, shall go into the lower parts of the earth.

They shall fall by the sword: they shall be a portion for foxes.

But the king shall rejoice in God; every one that sweareth by him shall glory: but the mouth of them that speak lies shall be stopped (Psalms 63:9-11, King James Version).

The murderous events of 10-14 November 1868, believed by some to be part of the fulfilment of Toiroa's prophecy about the darkness associated with Arikirangi, had been planned by Te Kooti (Binney, 1995). The Pākehā men were killed because of their involvement in the militia, and because they were living on land that Te Kooti had legitimate claim to; the Māori were killed because of their disloyalty and their readiness to collaborate with the government's land schemes; while the Māori and Pākehā women and children were killed as a normal part of warfare (Binney, 1995).

Te Kooti's desire to seek *utu*¹⁰³ against those who had wronged him, both Māori and Pākehā, is reflected in the Old Testament and in particular, in the actions of King Saul (Winiata, 1967) who was fuelled by rage, jealousy and revenge in his pursuit of David (Comay, 2002; 1 Samuel 23). Te Kooti was very precise about who he attacked (Fowler Papers; Porter, 1870). The Māori concept of *utu* already provided the justification for taking the necessary action to restore balance; Old Testament law merely proposed another perspective, and further validation for reprisal, in the name of Jehovah (Elsmore, 2000). The Old Testament clearly demonstrates that revenge was justified: "...thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe" (Exodus 21:23-25).

¹⁰³ Translated sometimes very simply as revenge, *utu* is the process of restoring balance between groups where social relations have been disturbed (Moorfield, 2011).

Permanent occupation of Matawhero was not one of Te Kooti's intentions and so he and his followers moved through Poverty Bay, raiding and gathering supplies and around 300 Māori captives (Binney, 1995). A contingent made up of Ngāti Porou and government troops pushed Te Kooti up to Ngātapa *pā*; Te Kooti's entourage was made up of between 500 and 800 men, women and children, including a fighting force of about 200 (Binney, 1995).

The assault on Te Kooti and his followers at Ngātapa commenced on 5 December, with Rāpata Wahawaha and his men capturing Te Kooti's outer defences. Fighting continued through the night (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). With ammunition depleted and disappointed by a lack of support, Wahawaha returned to Waiapu to conscript a new Ngāti Porou force; while Whitmore and his men, a mixture of Te Arawa and Armed Constabulary, awaited Wahawaha's return (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). Attacks on Ngātapa resumed on New Year's Eve (Newland, 1868). With more than 600 Ngāti Porou, Te Arawa and Pākehā men now at his command, Whitmore's goal was to inhibit any chance of escape (Binney, 1995). On 4 January 1869, the outer defences were captured again, and this time it seemed that Te Kooti's defeat was certain (Binney, 1995). However, using vines, Te Kooti and his followers lowered themselves down the northern cliffs (see Kotuku, 1921). This was an escape route not thought to be feasible by Whitmore (Whitmore, 1868). Te Kooti escaped, but 270 of his group were captured, and approximately half were shot by Wahawaha and his contingent, authorised by Whitmore (Binney, 1995).

After the battle at Ngātapa, Te Kooti and his followers took refuge in the Te Urewera area (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Walker, 2004). Looking for supplies, ammunition and supporters, Te Kooti launched a raid on Rauporoa *pā* – a Ngāti Pūkeko stronghold on the west bank of the Whakatāne river – on 9 March 1869 (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). The researcher's ancestor, Mēhaka Tokopounamu, fighting for Te Kooti, played a part in this attack. As Cowan (1922) notes: "He [Tamihana Tahawera] was struggling with the foolish old man [Hori Tunui] when a young Urewera warrior named Mehaka Toko-pounamu fired at him at a range of a few paces" (p. 321).

At Tāwhana, in the Waimana Valley, Ngāi Tūhoe sealed a pact with Te Kooti on 20 March 1869,¹⁰⁴ which strengthened his resolve in his prophetic mission (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). According to Binney (1995) Tūhoe “...gave him their land and their loyalty” (p. 154). The land was probably offered symbolically, as a token of their link with him. In return, Te Kooti made a covenant with Tūhoe, similar to the promises made between Jehovah and Moses in the Old Testament:¹⁰⁵

Nau ahau i kukume mai i roto i te pouritanga. Kua tukua e koe te tangata i roto i te mura o te ahi, i roto i nga whakamatautauranga, mai ano o te ūnga mai e haere nei. Whakarongo, - *ko te kupu tenei* ‘Ka tango ahau i a koutou hei iwi mooku a, ko ahau hei Atua mo koutou, a ka mohio koutou ko Ihowa ahau.’
Ko koe hoki te iwi o te kawenata.

You drew me out of darkness. You have sent the people into the flames of the fire, into the tests, since the landing [this] has gone on. Listen, this is what *I have to say*, ‘I take you as my people, and I will be your God; you will know that I am Jehovah.’
You are the people of the covenant (Binney, 1995, p. 154).

On 10 April 1869, Te Kooti carried out attacks on Mōhaka, in the northern Hawke’s Bay area (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). Painted on a rafter inside Tama-ki-Hikurangi *wharenui* at Patuheuheu *marae* in Waiōhau, is a motif which “...shows the act of bayoneting, following Psalm 63, understood to refer to the killings at Mohaka in 1869” (Binney, 1995, caption, plate 2). During this attack by Te Kooti “... people were caught sleeping and all were killed, even babies, who were thrown up in the air and bayoneted” (Neich, 1993, p. 261). After each raid, Te Kooti and his warriors returned to Te Urewera (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995).

¹⁰⁴ Binney (1995) disputes this date. By her historical calculation, the date of this event is more likely to have been 2 March as Te Kooti was at Tāwhana at this time, but was elsewhere on 20 March.

¹⁰⁵ The biblical similarity Binney (1995) refers to is probably that found in the Book of Exodus: “And I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God: and ye shall know that I am the LORD your God, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians” (Exodus 6:7).

Image 13: Bayonet scene on *heke* inside Tama-ki-Hikurangi *wharenui*, Patuheuheu *marae*, Waiōhau



(Rangiwai, 2013, personal collection)

Bayonet scene from one of the heke inside of Tama-ki-Hikurangi wharenui, Patuheuheu marae, Waiōhau. Binney (1995) states that this scene refers to the killings which Te Kooti and his fighters carried out at Mōhaka in 1869.

Through covenant, Tūhoe were committed to defending their prophet. However, Whitmore initiated a scorched-earth policy with which to terminate Tūhoe's capacity to protect Te Kooti (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Walker, 2004; Whitmore, 1869). Rōpata Wahawaha's Ngāti Porou forces moved in as well, capturing refugees, razing Tūhoe villages, and destroying crops (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). As a result of the tragedies suffered by Tūhoe, Te Kooti was asked by them to leave their territory (Binney, 1995).

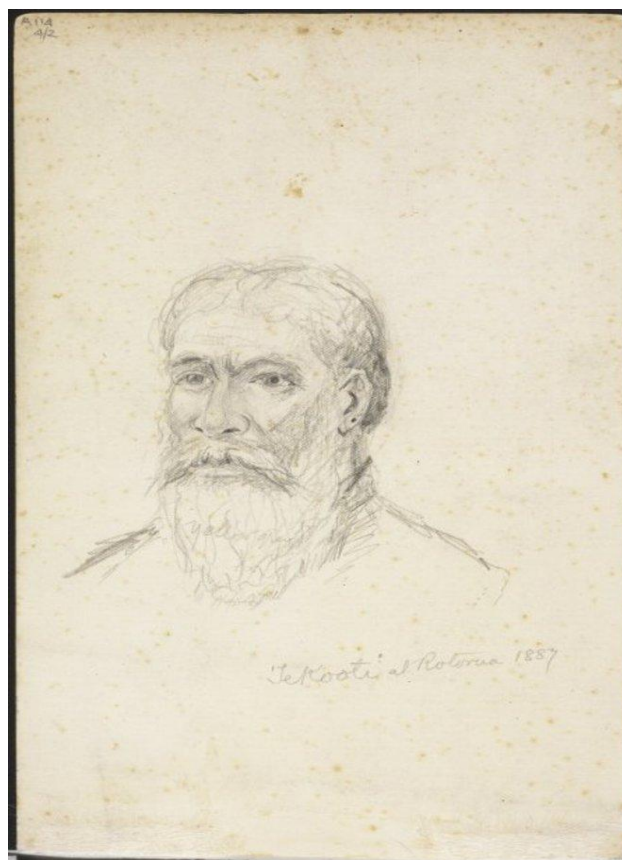
Leaving the Tūhoe territory in early June 1869, Te Kooti and some of his followers crossed the Kaingaroa plains to Taupō and then to Tokangamutu (Te Kuiti), the heart of the King Country, in search of support (Elsmore, 2000; Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). Te Kooti's feelings towards Tāwhiao were conciliatory, but the King, as a pacifist, withheld his support; however, Te Kooti did receive backing from Rewi Maniapoto (1807–1894, Ngāti Maniapoto chief) and Horonuku Te Heuheu Tukino IV (the high chief of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, who supported the Kīngitanga) (Binney, 1995). On 25 September 1869, Te Kooti was defeated at Te Ponanga, which ended his relationship with Rewi Maniapoto, jeopardising the potential for support from the Kīngitanga (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). Another defeat at Te Pōtere on 4 October, where he lost the two middle fingers on his left hand (Te Heuheu Tukino IV, 1870), ended Te Kooti's association with Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995).

From Te Pōtere, Te Kooti and 200 followers vacated into the King Country where he was invited to Tokangamutu by King Tāwhiao; Te Kooti was still in war mode and so declined the invitation and went instead to Te Tāpapa – the village of the Waitaha prophet, Hakaraia Māhika (Binney, 1995). From Te Tāpapa, Te Kooti proceeded into Te Arawa country where he attempted to negotiate with the chief Pētera Te Pukuatua for unhindered passage back to Te Urewera; however, Gilbert Mair and his Te Arawa affiliates attacked Te Kooti on 7 February 1870 as negotiations were taking place (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995).

Te Kooti managed to escape to Te Urewera, which ushered in another period of suffering for Tūhoe (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). The Tūhoe chiefs were compelled to surrender one by one between 1870 and 1871 when their homes and food supplies were plundered by Māori forces from Te Arawa, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou; these Māori were both fulfilling the requirements of *utu* for past grievances and serving the Crown's agenda (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). Earlier in his life, Te Kooti had predicted that Tūhoe would come to betray him; this is true in the sense that some Tūhoe leaders were forced to assist in pursuing him (Binney, 1995). However, Belich (1986) asserts that Tūhoe never betrayed Te Kooti. What is certain is that Te Kooti's insightful understanding of Pākehā psychology, coupled with staunch support from Tūhoe, helped him to escape (Alves, 1999; Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995).

Te Kooti continued to evade his pursuers and on 15 May 1872, he arrived in the King Country, beyond the reach of the Crown,¹⁰⁶ where he asked for refuge at Tokangamutu (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). Te Kooti's request was at first refused by King Tāwhiao; however, when Te Kooti accepted Tāwhiao's policy of peace (except if under attack), he was granted protection in September 1873 (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). At Tokangamutu, Te Kooti supervised the carving of a *wharenui* that was later moved and renamed Te Tokanga-nui-a-noho (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Mair, 1873).

Image 14: Te Kooti at Rotorua 1887



(Laishley, 1887, Alexander Turnbull Library, A-114-004-2)

Te Kooti lived in Te Kuiti from 1873 to 1883, where he developed the rituals, festivals, texts, prayers and *waiata* – which communicate the history of the people – of the Ringatū faith, including the dedication of 1 January and 1 July as holy days and the addition of planting and harvesting rites; in 1888 Te Kooti added the twelfth day of

¹⁰⁶ The King Country, ruled by the Kīngitanga or King movement, was off limits to the government and settlers at this time.

each month as sacred days and the Saturday of each week as the Sabbath (Binney, 1995).

Along with his teachings, news of Te Kooti's abilities as a healer and prophet spread from the late 1870s, with people from the Bay of Plenty and East Coast being some of the first to receive instruction and healing (Binney, 1995). From 1877, Te Kooti introduced a sequence of prophecies pertaining to his successor, who was to arrive within the area of the people of the Mātaatua¹⁰⁷ *waka*,¹⁰⁸ in the Bay of Plenty (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti's predictions produced a number of claimants, one of the most famous being the prophet Rua Kēnana, who claimed to be the brother of Christ and set up a New Jerusalem at the foot of Maungapōhatu in the early twentieth century (Binney, Chaplin & Wallace, 1979). Te Kooti's visions of a successor are generally interpreted by Ringatū as the return of Christ (Binney, 1995).

In 1883 Te Kooti was pardoned by the Crown, at the insistence of Rewi Maniapoto, but was never allowed to return to Poverty Bay; he lived in exile for the rest of his life (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Greenwood, 1942). Te Kooti founded a religious community; he attempted to make peace with his enemies; and towards the end of his life he instructed his followers to understand the law, claiming that only the law can be used against the law (Binney, 1995). By 1891, Te Kooti's associations with King Tāwhiao and Rewi Maniapoto had weakened so much that Te Kooti once again rejected the Kīngitanga (Binney, 1995).

Te Kooti negotiated with the Crown for land on which to establish a settlement for him and his followers; in 1891, he was given 600 acres at Wainui, on the Ōhiwa Harbour, for this purpose (Binney, 1995). In February 1893, Te Kooti travelled to his new settlement, but on the way had an accident which, as he prophesied, would be the cause of his death; on 28 February, the cart under which he rested fell on top of him (Binney, 1995; Tarei, 2011). Despite his injuries, Te Kooti continued to travel; he made it to Rūātoki on 29 March, where Tūhoe chiefs were attempting to block the surveying of their land (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti died on 17 April 1893, but the location of his burial

¹⁰⁷ The name of a migration canoe which landed at Whakatāne; Mātaatua also describes the people (*iwi*) descended from the crew of this migration canoe (Moorfield, 2011).

¹⁰⁸ Canoe.

is unknown because his body was hidden by his faithful followers (Binney, 1995; Greenwood, 1942; Williams, 1999). From a turbulent youth, through a political and blood-drenched war phase, Te Kooti spent the final two decades of his life devoted to peace, the law and the gospel (Binney, 1995).

Te Kooti's critical theory

Critical theory is defined in this work as any theory that is designed to bring liberation to oppressed people. Te Kooti seamlessly blended traditional Māori concepts with introduced biblical ones, creating a hybrid religio-political movement that inspired his Māori followers. Te Kooti had an understanding of the Pākehā psyche that he used to his advantage (Alves, 1999; Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). This knowledge allowed Te Kooti to critically reflect, analyse and theorise about the political implications of colonisation on Māori, with particular reference to land loss.

The central theme of Te Kooti's critical theory is the notion that Māori must hold on to their land. The enigmatic ideas left behind by Te Kooti as prophecy, as *waiata* and in other forms, can be interpreted in multiple ways. However, analysing his words through spiritual and political means is crucial in attempting to decode meaning from them. Indeed, the intrinsic character of his prophetic expressions lend themselves to being analysed in these ways and such analysis is supported by a statement from Wharehuia Milroy, referring to Te Kooti's *waiata* compositions:

Te Kooti's *waiata*... they are compositions which are both spiritual and political in their nature. Spiritual because he has a *karakia*¹⁰⁹ aspect to it and therefore it appeals to the spiritual side of Māori and to the spiritual side of the Ringatū followers (Milroy, 2006, personal communication, cited in Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010, p. 205).

One of the most significant of Te Kooti's *waiata* related to the topic of this thesis is *Kāore te pō nei mōrikarika noa*. According to McLean and Orbell (2004), Te Kooti visited Tūhoe and composed and performed this *waiata tohutohu*¹¹⁰ in 1883 in support of the *iwi*'s stand against aggressive land surveying by Pākehā. However, Binney

¹⁰⁹ Ritual chant (Moorfield, 2011).

¹¹⁰ Song of instruction (McLean & Orbell, 2004). In the case of this particular *waiata* (song), McLean and Orbell (2004), claim that it can also be described as a *waiata matakite* or prophetic song.

(2009a) argues that after 1872 Te Kooti did not revisit Te Urewera until 1884. She assigns the performance of his prophetic *waiata* to the opening of the Marakoko *wharenui* – built in Te Kooti's honour by Ngāti Whare and Tūhoe at Te Murumurunga near Te Whaiti – in January 1884. In his prophetic fashion though, Te Kooti changed the name of the *wharenui* to Eripitana¹¹¹ (Binney, 2009a).

Image 15: Eripitana *wharenui*, 1891



(Thomas, 1891, Alexander Turnbull Library, B-159-007)

As Te Kooti approached the *wharenui* his horse shied and he noticed the inverted carved figure¹¹² on the *pou mua*,¹¹³ “...its wide mouth turned upside-down, ready to devour everything around it” (Binney, 1995, p. 326). Te Kooti then uttered a prophecy of destruction:

¹¹¹ The name Eripitana was revealed in Te Kooti's secret glossolalic language (*te reo kē*). In one interpretation from 1883 this name meant: “The Prediction of One to Follow” (Binney, 1995, p. 612, n. 59). In a much earlier 1869 prophecy, the name referred to the promise of the salvation of the people (Binney, 1995).

¹¹² Salmond (1976) claims that the carver of Eripitana had “...accidentally inverted a carving motif” (p. 67). Salmond (1976) implies that it was due to the error of the inverted carving that Te Kooti expressed his prophetic words.

¹¹³ Front post of the *wharenui* (Moorfield, 2011).

Kainga katoatia a ko te paepae o te whare nei ki roto [ka] kati tonu hei huihuinga mo nga morehu.

It will be completely consumed, and only the threshold of this house inside will remain as the meeting place for the survivors (Binney, 1995, p. 326).

Binney (1995) claims that this prophecy soon became associated with land loss at Te Whaiti. The stories related to land loss at Te Whaiti are well known by the elders of Ngāti Whare, because of the way in which the history is embedded and immortalised within Te Kooti's prophecy. The late Robert Taylor, an esteemed elder of Ngāti Whare opines:

...it's well documented about the prophecy of Te Kooti on how he came up in here and when his horse shied at seeing this *tekoteko*¹¹⁴ here and then he came out with the prophecy about Ngāti Whare: "Your lands will be lost to foreigners" - which was the Crown (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

¹¹⁴ Carved figure on the gable of a meeting house (Moorfield, 2011).

Image 16: Inverted *pou mua* of Eripitana *wharenui*, 1970



(Mead, 1970, University of Auckland, PID374126)

According to Binney (1995), the *waiata* was probably composed as a response to Tūhoe's request for their lands to be under the protection of Te Kooti's spiritual authority. Te Kooti's *waiata tohutohu* begins:

Kāore te pō nei mōrikarika noa!¹¹⁵
Te ohonga ki te ao, rapu kau noa ahau.
Ko te mana tuatahi ko te Tiriti o Waitangi,
Ko te mana tuarua ko te Kooti¹¹⁶ Whenua,

¹¹⁵ Binney (2009a) takes this *waiata* from McLean and Orbell (1975) but makes some changes in line with her analysis of Tūhoe history.

¹¹⁶ *Kōti*, a transliteration for court (Moorfield, 2011), would be the more orthographically correct way of spelling this word. However, I have purposely left the spelling as *Kooti*, in the old-fashioned orthographic style, found in both Binney (2009a) and McLean and Orbell (2004), for two reasons. The first reason is because of the point made by McLean and Orbell (2004), supported by Binney (2009a), that the word *Kootitia* (passive verb referring to Tūhoe's lands being taken over by the Courts) which is featured further on in the *waiata*, could be a play on Te Kooti's name; for this reason the double-vowelled, unmacronised spelling is visually closer to the prophet's

Ko te mana tuatoru ko te Mana Motuhake,
Ka kīia¹¹⁷ i reira ko te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe,
He rongo ka houhia ki a Ngāti Awa.
He kino anō rā ka āta kitea iho
Ngā mana Māori ka mahue kei muri! (Binney, 2009a, p. 269)

Alas for this troubled night!
Waking to the world I search about in vain.
The first authority is the Treaty of Waitangi,
The second authority is the Land Court,
The third authority is the Separate Mana,
Hence the Rohe Pōtae (Encircling Borders) of Tūhoe.
A peace made with Ngāti Awa.
It would indeed be an evil thing
To abandon the mana of Māori! (Binney, 2009a, p. 269)

Te Kooti critically reflects on the three authorities which affected the Tūhoe people: the *mana* of the Treaty of Waitangi, which Tūhoe did not sign; the *mana* of the Land Court; and the ‘Separate *Mana*’ – Tūhoe’s *mana* over *te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe* – the encircling borders of Tūhoe (Binney, 1995, 2009a). Clearly, Te Kooti was aware of the political implications of these three authorities and the devastating effects they would have on Tūhoe. “The Treaty and the land court were ‘creations’ of the new world, shaping and influencing the people’s choices; the Rohe Pōtae of Tūhoe was their ‘separate mana’, standing apart” (Binney, 2009a, p. 270). In the lines, “He kino anō rā ka āta kitea iho/Ngā mana Māori ka mahue kei muri!” (Binney, 2009a, p. 269), Te Kooti warns that it would be a bad thing to forsake the *mana* of Māori; this is sometimes interpreted as a forewarning that Tūhoe authority over the *Rohe Pōtae* would come to be manipulated and redefined under Pākehā law.

In the line, “He rongo ka houhia ki a Ngāti Awa”, Te Kooti reminds Tūhoe of the 1830s *tatau pounamu*¹¹⁸ between Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa. This peace treaty was negotiated by the researcher’s ancestor, the Ngāti Rongo and Patuheuheu chief, Koura (see Figure 1), representing Tūhoe, and the Ngāti Pahipoto chief Hātua, representing Ngāti Awa (Mead & Phillis, 1982; Waitangi Tribunal, 2002). Te Kooti’s reminder to Tūhoe could be interpreted as a political strategy, suggesting that continued peace between the tribes

name. This point could be a likely one, as Binney (1995) claims that there had been requests for Te Kooti to protect Tūhoe lands under his spiritual authority. The second reason is because Te Kooti Whenua Māori (the Māori Land Court) continues to use the double-vowelled spelling of the older orthographic order. Te Kooti’s name, according to Cowan (1938), is a name which Te Kooti took on himself after a trip to Auckland where he read the name ‘Coates’ in its Māori form. This latter point is also noted by Binney (1995).

¹¹⁷ Changed from *kīa* to *kīia* as found in Ka‘ai-Mahuta (2010, p. 204) and also in Moorfield (2011).

¹¹⁸ Enduring peace agreement (Moorfield, 2011).

should be maintained in order to channel collective strength against the forces of colonisation. Te Kooti's *waiata tohutohu* continues:

Ka uru nei au ki te ture Kaunihera,
E rua aku mahi e noho nei au:
Ko te hanga i ngā rori,¹¹⁹ ko te hanga i ngā tiriti!
Pūkohu tāiri ki Pōneke rā,
Ki te kāinga rā i noho ai te Minita (Binney, 2009a, p. 269).

When I submit to the law of the Council,
There are two things I would do:
Building roads, and building streets!
Yonder the fog hangs over Wellington,
The home of the Minister (Binney, 2009a, pp. 269-270).

Te Kooti admonishes Tūhoe that if they accept “te ture Kaunihera” (the law of the Council), they would be forced to build the very roads and streets that they opposed so vehemently (Binney, 1995), which would come to slice through and literally ‘open up’ the land to Pākehā invasion (Binney, 2009a). His *waiata* resumes:

Ki taku whakaaro ka tae mai te Poari
Hai noho i te whenua o Kootitia nei;
Pā rawa te mamae ki te tau o taku ate.
E te iwi nui, tū ake i runga rā,
Tirohia mai rā te hē o aku mahi! (Binney, 2009a, p. 269)

I fear that the [Land] Board will come
To occupy this land adjudicated by the Court,
And I am sick at heart.
Oh great people, stand forth
Examine whether my works are wrong! (Binney, 2009a, p. 270)

Here, Te Kooti warns Tūhoe about the government boards that sought power over Māori lands (Binney, 2009a). In the 1884 historical context, Binney (2009a) maintains that this is probably a reference to the waste land boards that were established in 1876, with the power to control Māori lands that were leased, purchased, or confiscated by the Crown. However, Binney (2009a) also contends that the meanings extrapolated from Te Kooti's *waiata* “...present to different times different premonitions” (p. 27). So when the reference to the boards is interpreted from a future perspective, it can be associated with the Māori land boards (Binney, 2009a). The Māori land boards were designed to oversee extensive land acquisition for the Crown and were established under the Maori

¹¹⁹ Changed from *rōri* to *rori* (road), without the macron as found in Moorfield (2011).

Land Settlement Act, passed in 1905, when it was realised that voluntary leasing of Māori land was not meeting Crown targets (Hill, 2004). According to Binney (2009a) these boards were “[p]owerful and bureaucratic” taking land away from Māori “through partition, vestments, and piecemeal purchase” (p. 270).

In a line to follow, “Nā taku ngākau i kimi ai ki te Ture”, Te Kooti claims to have examined the “Law”¹²⁰ with his *ngākau*¹²¹ or mind-heart¹²², finding that it was iniquitous for the land to be sold (Binney, 1995). Instead, in concluding his *waiata tohutohu*, he advises the people not to sell, but to remain on their lands:

Māku e kī atu, ‘Nōhia, nōhia!’
Nō mua iho anō, nō ngā kaumātua!
Nā taku ngākau i kimi ai ki te Ture,
Nā konei hoki au i kino ai ki te hoko!
Hii! Hai aha te hoko! (Binney, 2009a, p. 269)

I say to you, ‘Stay, Stay!’
It comes from former ages, from your ancestors!
Because my heart has searched out the Law,
For this reason I abhor selling!
Hii! Why sell! (Binney, 2009a, p. 270)

At the end of Te Kooti’s visit to Eripitana, he and some Te Urewera leaders travelled to Te Teko and Whakatāne; the leaders offered Te Kooti *mana* over the *Rohe Pōtae* lands (Binney 2009a). However, Te Kooti stated that he did not want their lands but he advised them constantly and consistently to remain on and take care of their lands (Binney, 2009a), emphasising the crucial importance of the critical and tactical thinking embedded within this *waiata*.

The preceding *waiata* is but one of many examples of Te Kooti’s critical theory. Another example relevant to this work is the emergence of the Te Kooti-style *wharenui* in the nineteenth century. The Te Kooti-style *wharenui* can be viewed as the physical expression of the merging of Māori knowledge and Pākehā knowledge. In the nineteenth century, Te Kooti amalgamated Māori and biblical knowledge to create the Ringatū faith, which combined politics and spirituality as a strategy for resisting

¹²⁰ McLean and Orbell (2004) claim that Te Kooti’s use of the word *ture*, or law, refers to his religious beliefs and teachings.

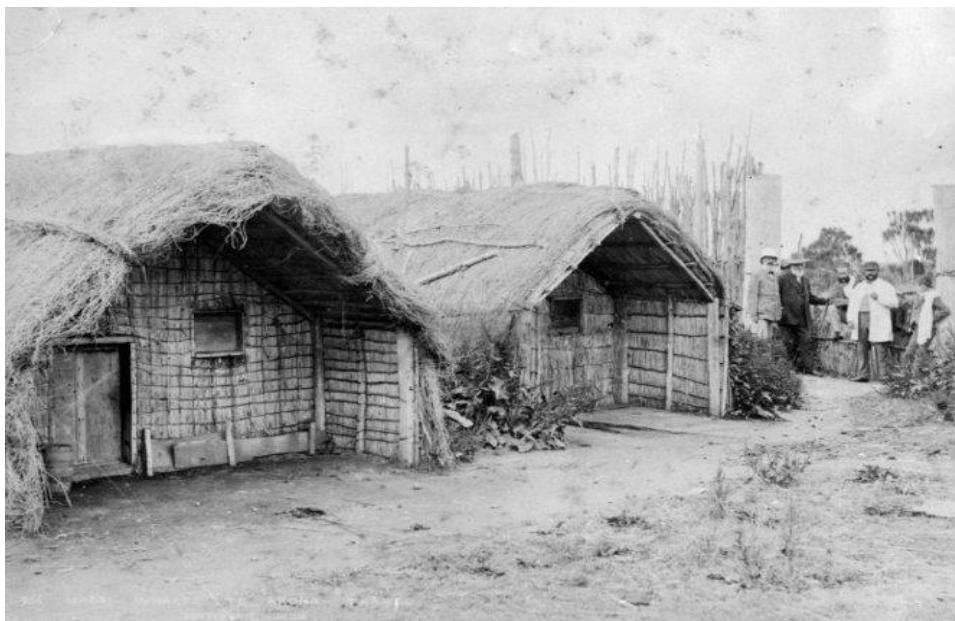
¹²¹ Seat of affections, heart, mind (Moorfield, 2011).

¹²² Salmond’s (1985) definition of *ngākau* as mind-heart or the entrails where thought and feeling are manifested is used here.

colonisation and oppression. Āpiriana Ngata also encouraged Māori to use Pākehā knowledge and technologies in ways that complemented Māori knowledge and advanced Māori society. The key to blending Māori and Pākehā knowledge is to remain critical about what knowledge is used and how it is used.

According to archaeological evidence, early Māori houses were similar to those found elsewhere in Polynesia (Brown, 2009; Paama-Pengelly, 2010). When groups of Māori arrived in waves from central Polynesia from around 1350, they adapted their building techniques to suit the cooler temperatures and new materials; Māori buildings were small, simple and semi-permanent (Brown, 2009; Paama-Pengelly, 2010). However, in the nineteenth century, this was to change.

Image 17: Two whare¹²³



(Two whare, 1910, Alexander Turnbull Library, 1/2-059677-F)

Two whare which demonstrate the structure of the earlier Māori whare. The proportion of the whare can be determined by comparing their size with the people in this photograph. A chief's house on the other hand, may have also featured stylised wooden carvings and would have been the central meeting place for welcoming visitors.

The New Zealand Wars of 1845-1872 was a time of great turmoil for many North Island Māori. For some Māori leaders, it was an opportune time, both during and after the fighting, to display the prestige, spirituality and authority of the people by erecting

¹²³ Whare means house.

radically different new buildings that incorporated European technologies, techniques and materials; these buildings became considerably larger than earlier Māori buildings (Brown, 2009). Some Māori discarded the teachings of the missions and developed their own faiths, which were reflected in the biblical ideas and colonial materials upon which these new *wharenui* were built (Brown, 2009). These buildings did not, however:

...represent the integration or assimilation of Māori into the larger Pākehā population, but were a reaction to the conflict, [land] confiscations and loss associated with the New Zealand Wars (Brown, 2009, p. 58).

The prophet Te Kooti guided the religio-political architectural development of the *wharenui* throughout and after the New Zealand Wars, as a method of supporting the fight for social justice and spiritual redemption (Brown, 2009). Indeed, Williams (1999) argues that Te Kooti “...was directly responsible for influencing the building of great meeting houses...” (p. 80). These *wharenui* are “...hybrid structures built during a period of rapid political change” (Sissons, 1998, p. 37). They are “...symbols of political unity in opposition” (Sissons, 1998, p. 38).

Within the Mataatua confederation of tribes – which includes Tūhoe – and under Te Kooti’s direction and inspiration, large *wharenui* were built; they were large enough to walk around inside, while some were as large as and had similar proportions to Christian churches (Brown, 2009; Paama-Pengelly, 2010). Davidson (2004) argues that Te Kooti and his followers’ decision to locate their worship within *wharenui*, rather than churches, was significant: “In so doing they made a considerable contribution to maintaining and adapting Maori traditions in a way that helped preserve the meeting house as a living focus of Maori identity, history and culture” (p. 47).

These *whare* featured polychromatic painted carvings and motifs – some of them in European artistic style – depicting historical events (Brown, 2009; Paama-Pengelly, 2010). Te Kooti’s *wharenui* express a formidable critical theory that represents the power of his leadership, his beliefs in social justice in the face of land loss and death, as well as spiritual salvation. Indeed, “[b]y combining the functions of religious worship and political debate, Te Kooti and his followers created an architecture that was in sympathy with the needs and outlook of its users” (Brown, 2009, p. 60). According to Sissons (1998):

The carved Maori meeting house is, then, a traditionalised object with a genealogy in both Foucauldian and Maori senses. Foucauldian, because its genealogy traces links between new forms of power/knowledge associated with cultural, commodification and colonial state-formation; Maori, because, in symbolising ancestral connections, it embodies a history of kin-based engagement with these new forms of power (Sissons, 1998, p. 44).

Image 18: Tama-ki-Hikurangi



(Mead, ca.1970-72, University of Auckland, PID530310)

Tama-ki-Hikurangi wharenui at Patuheuheu marae, demonstrating the polychromatic nature of the Te Kooti-style and the use of European paints. The increased size of the wharenui, compared to the whare in the previous image, can also be seen. This wharenui was probably built sometime between the 1870s and the 1880s at or near Te Houhi and was relocated to Waiōhau where it was reopened in 1909.

The prophet Te Kooti was able to take concepts and materials imported into Aotearoa New Zealand by Europeans and indigenise them into the local cultural, political, religious and social context of the nineteenth century. Mkhize (2004) argues that indigenisation is the “[a]ttempt to blend imported theoretical and methodological frameworks with the unique elements of the culture in question. Indigenisation aims to transform foreign models to make them suitable to local cultural contexts” (p. 29). Thus, the hybridisation of religious, cultural and political elements by Te Kooti and

other Māori prophets was not an indication of submissiveness, but was a form of political resistance. According to Higgins (2012):

The adoption of European culture resulted from the pressure that had been placed on Māori to sell their land and the subsequent land confiscations. This adaption by Māori culture did not mean that Māori lost sight of their ultimate aim of maintaining their rights to be self-determining and autonomous under the Treaty of Waitangi (p. 421).

Indeed, Te Kooti's critical blending of Pākehā elements with Māori ones functioned as a strategy for transformation, not as an endorsement of Pākehā culture. Te Kooti proclaimed:

Ko te waka hei hoehoenga mo koutou i muri i ahau ko te Ture, ma te Ture ano te Ture e aki.

The canoe for you to paddle after me is the Law, only the Law will correct the Law (Binney, 1995, p. 490).

Te Kooti's critical theory suggests that Māori must manipulate the law of the Pākehā as part of a process of decolonisation and restoration. Referring to Te Kooti's words, Higgins (2012) argues: "If Māori were going to become disempowered through these laws, then Te Kooti believed that the only way Māori would reclaim their autonomy would be to use European law against itself" (p. 421). Thus, the depth of Te Kooti's critical theory is seen in his *waiata*, prophecies and in the *wharenui* architecture that he influenced so heavily.

Image 19: Te Kooti



(Temanuuarehua, 2011, reproduced with permission from Turumakina Temanuuarehua)

Te Kooti's violence and Fanon's decolonisation theory

Physical violence was used by Māori during the colonial period of history as a means of defending *mana* and *whenua*. In the Tūhoe context, Webster (1979) notes that the discriminatory and harmful government policies of the nineteenth century damaged Tūhoe's collective psyche. He explains too, that Tūhoe, like other Māori and Polynesian cultures, quite naturally rose to defend their lands with physical violence, which had the effect of dissipating the anxiety caused by invasion and colonisation. However, at the

end of the nineteenth century, when physical defence of the land became ineffective, the cathartic psychological benefits of physical resistance were no longer experienced by Māori (Webster, 1979). Instead, Webster (1979) claims, the Tūhoe psyche suffered collective depression and neurosis as a result.

Te Kooti used physical violence against the coloniser and his enemies during the early part of his ministry, which connects with Fanon's (1963) call for the rearrangement of society through violence against the coloniser: "The colonized subject discovers reality and transforms it through his praxis, his deployment of violence and his agenda for liberation" (Fanon, 2004, p. 21).¹²⁴ The purpose of emitting violence against the coloniser is to release the oppressed from the coloniser's grip, and to ensure the humanisation of the colonised (Fanon, 1963). Fanon (1963) believed that emancipation could only be a reality if both praxis and the therapeutic qualities of violence were engaged in by the oppressed. He states:

This violent praxis is totalizing since each individual represents a violent link in the great chain, in the almighty body of violence rearing up in reaction to the primary violence of the colonizer.

At the individual level, violence is a cleansing force. It rids the colonized of their inferiority complex, of their passive and despairing attitude. It emboldens them, and restores their self-confidence (Fanon, 2004, pp. 50-51).

From a Fanonian perspective, violence is used as a means of turning society upside down in order to re-configure it; to bring disorder and confusion, thus re-arranging the world. According to Fanon (1963):

The violence which governed the ordering of the colonial world, which tirelessly punctuated the destruction of the indigenous social fabric, and demolished unchecked the systems of reference of the country's economy, lifestyles, and modes of dress, this same violence will be vindicated and

¹²⁴ Bulhan (1985) asserts that if one does not take Fanon's life and work into consideration, a distorted view of violence in the Fanonian sense will result. Fanon's work as a psychiatrist, his dedication to healing the tormented psyches of others, demonstrates that: "Fanon believed that everyone has a sacred right to life, freedom, and dignity and that none of us – least of all Fanon himself – should enjoy this right while somewhere others are persecuted, exploited, and dehumanized" (Bulhan, 1985, p. 146). In his early years of psychiatric practice, Fanon believed that reason could be employed to solve human problems; however, later in life he realised that those who perpetuated and profited from the violence of colonialism and oppression were unreceptive to any notions of reason that might challenge their positions of power (Bulhan, 1985). For Fanon, it became obvious that once all peaceful channels were exhausted, the only thing left was to fight (Bulhan, 1985). The heinously violent colonial context from which Fanon developed his ideas must also be taken into consideration when reading his work and using his ideas.

appropriated when, taking history into their own hands, the colonized swarm into the forbidden cities. To blow the colonial world to smithereens is henceforth a clear image within the grasp and imagination of every colonized subject. To dislocate the colonial world does not mean that once the borders have been eliminated there will be a right of way between the two sectors. To destroy the colonial world means nothing less than demolishing the colonist's sector, burying it deep within the earth or banishing it from the territory (Fanon, 2004, pp. 5-6).

Re-ordering society through the use of violence is a crucial step in Fanon's decolonisation process. Fanon (1963) describes decolonisation as a radical rearranging of the world that moves away from colonial invention of the colonised native subject:

Decolonization, which sets out to change the order of the world, is clearly an agenda for total disorder. But it cannot be accomplished by the wave of a magic wand, a natural cataclysm, or gentleman's agreement. Decolonization, we know, is an historical process: In other words, it can only be understood, it can only find its significance and become self coherent insofar as we can discern the history-making movement which gives it form and substance. Decolonization is the encounter between two congenitally antagonistic forces that in fact owe their singularity to the kind of reification secreted and nurtured by the colonial situation. Their first confrontation was colored by violence and their cohabitation – or rather the exploitation of the colonized by the colonizer – continued at the point of the bayonet and under canon fire. The colonist and the colonized are old acquaintances. And consequently, the colonist is right when he says he “knows” them. It is the colonist who *fabricated* and *continues to fabricate* the colonized subject. The colonist derives his validity, i.e., his wealth, from the colonial system (Fanon, 2004, p. 2).

Māori used violence against Pākehā in an attempt to re-arrange the power dynamics of colonial society, which threatened to erase their language, economic base, culture, social order and connections to the land. Consistent with Webster's (1979) sociological and psychological observations of Tūhoe, Māori eventually exhausted their ability to engage in physical violence as a method of resistance. Without the ability to contest colonialism through physical violence, Māori required strategies of non-physical violence that directly attacked oppressive ideologies and psychologies. As a response to colonisation, Māori prophets, like Te Kooti, surfaced and developed new ways for their devotees to see and be in the world. Māori prophets reacted to colonisation by inspiring their followers to engage in resistance through religio-political means. Te Kooti, like other Māori prophets, took on the mantle of Moses leading the Israelites out of bondage. He told his followers to hold on to their land at all costs and to build *wharenuī* wherein to worship God and engage in the syncretic practices of his Ringatū Church.

Te Kooti's vision for Patuheuheu and Freire's critical pedagogy

The Patuheuheu *hapū* lives within a historical context of oppression reaching back to the first effects of colonisation and land loss. When Patuheuheu lost legal possession of their lands at Te Houhi, Te Kooti left for them a visionary framework that looked to the future for solutions with which to heal the past. This is the essence of Te Kooti's prophetic vision of Te Umutaoroa – the slow cooking earth oven. Te Kooti's prophecy can be linked to the critical pedagogy espoused by Paulo Freire, who advocated for the poor and oppressed.

Freire's (1970) critical pedagogy is based on the concepts of conscientisation, resistance and action. Freire (1970) states that the oppressed must be active participants in their own freedom, through conscientisation (becoming conscious of oppression), resistance against oppression, and engaging in actions that work toward positive change. Smith (1976) explains that conscientisation moves through three stages where a person or a group names the problems of oppression; reflects on the reasons for these problems; and acts to bring about a resolution.

Conscientisation is the first of Freire's (1970) critical pedagogy concepts that can be linked to Te Kooti's uttering of the Te Umutaoroa prophecy. Te Umutaoroa provides a mnemonic metaphor through which the history of the land loss of Te Houhi and the aspirations of restoration and healing explicit in Te Kooti's prediction is embedded into the hearts and minds of Patuheuheu *hapū*. The prophecy is a vehicle for conscientisation because it highlights the historical injustice and oppression experienced by Patuheuheu *hapū*. The narrative describes the problem of oppression as the fraudulent acts which resulted in the *hapū*'s loss of Te Houhi; it reflects on the reasons for these problems – colonisation and the relentless land acquisition practices of Pākehā; and it offers an interpretive prophetic framework with which to bring about change in the future.

Resistance against oppression is another of Freire's (1970) critical pedagogy concepts. Freire (1970) argues that once an oppressive system is understood, it can be changed. Te Kooti was very aware of the need for Māori to understand the Pākehā law that oppressed them and to use the law against itself in order to advance Māori aspirations (Binney, 1995; Higgins, 2012). This is a powerful form of resistance that works from

the inside, out. Resistance against colonial oppression is a concept that has been inherited from Tūhoe and Patuheuheu ancestors who fought colonialism with physical violence. When this was no longer an option, they, like the researcher's ancestor, Mēhaka Tokopounamu, endeavoured – as will be shown in Chapter Three - to understand and work within the Pākehā system.

Another of Freire's (1970) critical pedagogy concepts is the idea that the oppressed need to take action against oppression and work toward positive change in their lives and in the world. Rita Tupe, a local Waiōhau healer, maintains that Te Umutaoroa is not about the *hapū* waiting for the prophecy to be fulfilled, but that it is about taking action and working to make Te Kooti's promises a reality for *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* (R. Tupe, personal communication, 7 October, 2012).

Freire's (1970) ideas about praxis and transformation are pivotal to this research. He defines praxis as "...reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (Freire, 1976, p. 36). Foster (2004) notes "...that both reflection (awareness, self-consciousness, consciousness-raising) and action (visible protests, marches, taking-up-arms) are required to effect social transformation" (p. 592). Through engagement in praxis, the oppressed gain a critical understanding of their situation and are then able to develop approaches to positively transform their situation from one of oppression to one of liberation. As Freire (1970) states "...men and women develop their power to perceive critically *the way they exist* in the world *with which* and *in which* they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in the process of transformation" (p. 71).

Transformation and praxis: Toward a prophetic vision for the future

Te Kooti, Freire and Fanon all proposed revolutionary ideas. Te Kooti blended Māori concepts with Judeo-Christian ideas and directed his Māori followers to resist Pākehā colonisation and remain on the land. However, much of Te Kooti's early ministry is soaked with blood. He practised the Māori concept of *utu* and resisted the Crown by evading its pursuit with devastating consequences for his followers and for Tūhoe especially. In the last two decades of his life he engaged in peaceful activities and grew the practices of his Ringatū faith.

Fanon advocated the use of violence as a method of decolonisation, believing that for the colonised, violence against the coloniser would have a cathartic effect that would destabilise colonial power and liberate the colonised. Using physical violence and resistance, Te Kooti attempted to reorder society in the nineteenth century. However, physical resistance was rendered impractical by the unrelenting power and effects of the colonial machine. Te Kooti had to employ other non-physically-violent ways of resisting colonisation; he achieved this through his prophecies, his *waiata* and the development of his church. Te Umutaoroa is one significant example of his prophetic legacy, as is his famous *waiata*, *Kaore te pō nei mōrikarika noa*, while Te Kooti's numerous *wharehau* remain firm on the land as physical and spiritual reminders of the politics of a not-so-distant past. Tama-ki-Hikurangi in particular, located at Patuheuheu *marae* in Waiōhau, reminds Patuheuheu of the history surrounding the loss of Te Houhi and Te Kooti's propagation of the Te Umutaoroa narrative.

For Māori, colonial history has produced undesirable outcomes such as land loss, language loss and diminished political power. Despite the negative outcomes of this history, Freire (2001) offers a view of history as possibility: "...recognizing that history is time filled with possibility and not inexorably determined" (p. 26). He also stated that: "...history is a time of possibilities, not predeterminations... History is a possibility that we create throughout time, in order to liberate and therefore save ourselves" (Freire, 1998, p. 38). Thus, history is created, going forward into the future; in an oxymoronic twist, we are constantly producing 'future history'. This means that although oppressive pasts cannot be altered, histories where liberation for the oppressed is manifested can be created going forward by acting upon the world to change reality. Indeed, Freire (1972) points out that it is only the oppressed that have the power to free both themselves and their oppressors, which positions Māori, as an oppressed group, in a powerful transformative space.

Changing reality for the better requires a dream – a vision for the future. Freire believed that it was necessary to move beyond seeing and speaking of the world 'as it is', toward developing a vision of the future which notes the mistakes of the past and present, while providing a forward facing course of action (Heertum, 2006). According to Freire (cited in Rosatto, 2008):

...the one thing I always talk about, and that I hope to see in others as well, is that I am perpetually driven by my own dream. I am convinced that any progressive educator, any humanist in the broader sense of the word, can never repress or file away his or her Utopian dreams; otherwise, he or she has lost the battle. I believe my strongest calling is exactly the calling to fulfil my dream, to never allow the dream to die, to always therefore maintain hope. It is to wake up on a Tuesday with greater hope than on Monday.

My dream is the dream of having a society that is less ugly and less unjust; a society in which it would be easier to love, and therefore easier to live, easier to dream; a decent society, permanently striving to overcome discrimination and the negation of others, for example; a society that struggles for equality (p. 156).

Heertum (2006) notes too that transformation requires a move away from reproving the present reality, to the provision of a utopian idea that captivates the hearts and minds of the people. Regarding utopian dreams, Heertum (2006) states: “[t]he dream should be founded in an affirmative ethic rather than one of absolute negativity, tied to hope that has always driven humanity forward against the riptide of inertia” (p. 50). Te Kooti articulated this type of utopian vision in Te Umutaoroa.

Freire (1970) states that the oppressed need to gain a critical awareness of their oppression and then engage in resistance and action to engender positive change and emancipation. According to Wallerstein and Bernstein (1988):

To Freire, the purpose of education should be human liberation so that learners can be subjects and actors in their own lives and in society. To promote this role, Freire proposes a dialogue approach in which everyone participates as equals and co-learners to create social knowledge. The goal of group dialogue is critical thinking by posing problems in such a way as to have participants uncover root causes of their place in society – the socioeconomic, political, cultural, and historical context of personal lives. But critical thinking continues beyond perception – toward the actions that people take to move beyond powerlessness and gain control over their lives (p. 382)

Duran and Duran (1995) argue that Wallerstein and Bernstein’s (1988) three-stage Freirean approach can be applied in the following way:

In step 1 all we have to do is listen to and understand the thematic content of the issues important to the community. Step 2 involves a participatory dialogue using a problem-posing method. Step 3 is praxis or the positive

changes that people have conceptualized in the dialogue (Duran & Duran, 1995, p. 199).

Te Kooti's Te Umutaoroa prophecy *is* the praxis or the conceptualisation of the positive changes needed for Patuheuheu. Acutely aware of the impacts of colonisation on Māori, Te Kooti offered aspirational and inspirational words of prophecy that consoled the people during nineteenth century colonisation and at the same time offered a set of eight unlimited potentials, which would be revealed in the future.

Anchored within the context of their world view and epistemology, prophets are those who think about the future and offer solutions (Freire, 2004). Prophetic thought is utopian and infers "...*denouncing* how we are living and *announcing* how we could live" (Freire, 2004, p. 105). In order to proclaim the potential of the future, Freire (2004) argues that the critical denouncing of past and present realities is necessary. He states:

In true prophecy, the future is not inexorable; it is problematic. There are different possibilities of the future. ...*announcing* is not possible without *denouncing*, and both of them are not possible without a certain attempt at taking a position before what human beings *are being* or *have been* (Freire, 2004, p. 105).

Te Kooti denounced colonising discourses and proposed new ways forward through prophecy. All human beings can participate in prophetic activities that provide suggestions for the future. According to Freire (2004):

...prophetic discourse insists on every human being's right to show up for history, not only as its object, but also as its subject. Human beings are by nature inclined toward intervention in the world, as a result of which they make history. Therefore, they must leave in history their mark as subjects, and not the tracks of mere objects (p. 106).

Referring to Māori prophecy, Len Te Kaawa of Tamakaimoana contends: "Ka tika hoki he poropiti anō kai roto i tēnā, i tēnā, i tēnā, kai roto tonu i te tangata. Tērā he taonga nui tonu e noho ana, he wā tōnā ka puta. Ka puta taua poropiti mai i roto i te tangata" (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.). Here, Te Kaawa expounds that prophetic potential exists within everyone and will be revealed at the appropriate time.

Summary

This chapter examined the critical use of Māori and Western theory together as a method for decolonisation and transformation. Sir Āpirana Ngata's counsel that Māori advantageously use Pākehā knowledge and technologies set the tone for this chapter; and Horkheimer's broad definition of critical theory as any theory which aims to liberate people from oppression contextualised Te Kooti's role as a critical theorist. Te Kooti's activities and concepts are linked to the ideas of Freire and Fanon. The ideas of these two theorists emerged out of a Marxist theoretical paradigm (Pākehā or Western knowledge), so connecting these with Te Kooti's critical theory satisfies Ngata's recommendation.

Te Kooti's blending of traditional Māori and Judeo-Christian ideas, evident throughout his life, functioned as a political strategy for transformation and liberation for his followers. Te Kooti's critical theory was discussed in terms of critical analyses of one of Te Kooti's *waiata* and his influence on the design of nineteenth century *wharenuī*. It was shown that Te Kooti was acutely aware of the political issues surrounding Māori, and particularly Tūhoe, land loss. It was also established that Te Kooti's influence on nineteenth century *wharenuī* architecture and the symbolism contained within Te Kooti-style motifs reveals a critical religio-political narrative that united his followers.

Fanon's ideas concerning violence and decolonisation were related to Te Kooti's early ministry; while, Freire's critical pedagogy was linked to Te Kooti's vision for Patuheuheu, which he communicated through the Te Umutaoroa prophecy. A discussion of the power and potential of prophecy as it relates to the future concluded the chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

Te Mauri Whenua

The Significance of Land and Land Loss

Introduction

This chapter describes the significance of, and connection to, *whenua* for Māori and examines how this relationship was attacked by colonisation and land loss. The Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 between Māori and the British Crown, was meant, according to the *te reo Māori* version, to protect Māori sovereignty. However, it failed to do so. Furthermore, those *iwi* and *hapū* that did not sign the Treaty of Waitangi were still subjected to the conditions of the agreement as interpreted by the colonial authorities, because Aotearoa New Zealand became a colony of the British Crown after the document was signed.

This chapter will look at Tūhoe land loss, and particularly, Patuheuheu's loss of Te Houhi at the hands of a Pākehā man, Harry Burt. Finally, in setting the context for chapter four - *Māori prophetic movements as sites of political resistance* - this chapter will preface the emergence of Māori prophetic movements as coping mechanisms for land loss by briefly outlining Webster's (1979) analysis of Tūhoe's land loss and the emergence of Rua Kēnana's millenarian movement.

Importance of *whenua* for Māori

Whenua is the Māori word for both land and afterbirth. For Māori *whenua* is more than 'land'; "...it is much more than a mere resource; it is a large part of Māori *mana* as well as being the primary ancestor; it embodies the past and, at the same time, is the foundation for future generations" (Williams, 2004, p. 50). Marsden avers:

Whenua was the term both for the natural earth and placenta. This is a constant reminder that we are of the earth and therefore earthly. We are born out of the placenta and therefore human. As a human mother nourished her

child in the womb and then upon her breast after the child's birth, so does Mother Earth [Papa-tū-ā-nuku] (Royal, 2003, p. 68).

In most *iwi* the *whenua*, or placenta in this context, is buried in a place of significance; and at death, the remains are interred in the *whenua* – the land. “This symbolises interconnectedness between people and the land...” (Williams, 2004, p. 50) through genealogy and the cycle of life and death. Māori ancestors are therefore spiritually and physically anchored to the land. Higgins (2012) states: “Land is one of the key elements to Māori identity. It embodies the histories, genealogies, and spiritual connections to the past, present, and future” (p. 412).

Whenua is a word that is intimately linked to Papa-tū-ā-nuku (Earth-mother), wife of Rangi-nui (Sky-father); these are the primordial ancestors of ongoing influence from which Māori and all living things descend (Marsden in Royal, 2003; Moorfield, 2011; Williams, 2004). Marsden states: “*Papatuanuku* – ‘Land from beyond the veil; or originating from the realm beyond the world of sense-perception’, was the personified form of *whenua* – the natural earth” (Royal, 2003, p. 44).

As posterity of Papa-tū-ā-nuku, Māori are connected to the *whenua* through *whakapapa*. *Whakapapa* connections to *whenua* are essential to Māori identity (Cheater & Hopa, 1997; Higgins, 2012; Walker, 1990; Williams, 2004). Marsden contends:

Papatuanuku is our mother and deserves our love and respect. She is a living organism with her own biological systems and functions creating and supplying a web of support systems for all her children whether man, animal, bird, tree, grass, microbes or insects (Royal, 2003, p. 45).

Stressing the importance of Māori identity with *whenua*, Williams (2004) argues: “Māori are not just joined to the land, they are an integral part of nature, with a relationship to every other living thing, defined by *whakapapa*” (p. 50). Mikaere (2011) maintains that from the perspective of a Māori world view, the entire universe is connected:

...the single most important message to emerge from our creation stories is that we are connected, by *whakapapa*, to one another and to all other parts of creation. Everything in the natural world, ourselves included, shares a common ancestry (p. 313).

Commenting on Māori as children of Papa-tū-ā-nuku and the connections of all living things, Marsden maintains:

Papatuanuku's children live and function in a symbiotic relationship. From unicellular through to more complex multicellular organisms each species depends upon other species as well as its own, to provide the basic biological needs for existence. The different species contribute to the welfare of other species and together they help to sustain the biological functions of their primeval mother, herself a living organism (Royal, 2003, p. 45).

The Crown disrupted and damaged these links through various methods, beginning with the assertion of a pre-emptive right to purportedly 'unused' lands, included within the Treaty of Waitangi (Cheater & Hopa, 1997; Orange, 2004; Walker, 1990). For those Māori who refused to sell their land, The Crown launched a barrage of attacks on those Māori who refused to sell their land, and by 1900 the State had procured over ninety per cent of the country (Cheater & Hopa, 1997; Walker, 1990). According to Ballara (1996):

[T]he Crown became a vigorous and monopolistic purchaser, buying land in ways that caused division in Maori society. At first open meetings had discussed land purchases, but from the late 1840s land was often bought secretly by government officials or without proper enquiry into its ownership, from Maori individuals or groups who did not represent all the owners. Before colonisation these sellers would not have had the right to gift land, let alone alienate it (p. 4).

The Native Land Court was established in order to acquire Māori land; it was a destructive vehicle that reconceptualised the notion of *whenua* by introducing the idea of individual ownership (Graham, 1990, 2003; Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010; Kawharu, 1977; Smith, 1999; Walker, 1990). Higgins (2012) avers: "Europeans believed that they had the ability to determine Māori cultural practices, especially in respect to land, ultimately breaking down the ideology of collective responsibility toward land" (p. 421). The concept of *whenua* was transformed and commodified as being equivalent to the Pākehā construction of land as capital. This occurred, partly, as a result of the hegemonic and colonising operations of the Native Land Court, as well as other colonising influences. Marsden explains the effects of practices, like those above, which harm Papa-tū-ā-nuku:

...Mother Earth is perceived as a commodity and her natural resources seen as disposable property to be exploited, then there is no avoiding the abuse

and misuse of the earth. Man becomes a pillager, despoiler and rapist of his own mother. Forests are denuded, the land, sea and air are polluted, her surface is scarred and the resources are depleted (Royal, 2003, p. 69).

Treaty of Waitangi

Signed in 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was an agreement between the British Crown and more than 500 Māori chiefs; following this signing, New Zealand was transformed into a colony of Britain, meaning that Māori were supposed to receive the same rights as British subjects (Hayward, 2004; Orange, 2004; Moon, 1993, 2002; Smith, 2012). Some chiefs did not sign the Treaty. Others, like Tūhoe, did not sign the Treaty because they were not given the opportunity to do so (and might still not have signed had they been). However, all Māori eventually became subject to the terms set out in the Treaty of Waitangi, initially on the basis of Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson's proclamations of British sovereignty over all New Zealand. The 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act confirmed that the Treaty applied to all Maori, regardless of whether their ancestors had signed the agreement.¹²⁵ Under British law therefore, New Zealand was officially a part of the colony of New South Wales. Additional constitutional modifications in late 1840 and early 1841 constructed New Zealand as a colony in its own right under the British Crown. Māori and Europeans had vastly different perceptions and expectations of the Treaty of Waitangi and what it would mean for the future of Aotearoa New Zealand.

The Treaty of Waitangi was written in English and then translated into *te reo Māori* by the missionary Henry Williams; English and Māori versions of the Treaty were presented to around 500 Māori at Waitangi on 5 February 1840, accompanied by much discussion (Hayward, 2004; Moon, 1993, 2002; Orange, 2004; Smith, 2012). The following day, more than 40 chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi; duplicates of the Treaty were taken around Aotearoa New Zealand, which saw many more chiefs sign, although most chiefs signed the *te reo Māori* translation, which is different in meaning from the English version (Hayward, 2004; Moon, 1993, 2002; Orange, 2004; Smith, 2012). However, some chiefs did not have the opportunity to sign as the Treaty was not taken to all regions (Orange, 2004).

¹²⁵ Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 states: "*Maori* means a person of the Maori race of New Zealand; and includes any descendant of such a person" (sec. 2). No distinction is made for descendants of signatories or non-signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi.

According to Orange (2004) and Hayward (2004), the chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi because they desired to have control over the sale of Māori land to Europeans in order to have some control over European settlers. Orange (2004) asserts too that the chiefs wanted to trade with Europeans and believed that beneficial relationships with Britain would bring an end to fighting between tribes.

The meaning of the English version was not exactly the same as the meaning of the Māori translation. Article One, in Māori, gave Queen Victoria governance over the land. However, in English, it gave the Queen sovereignty over the land, which is a stronger term and one which is unlikely to have been agreed to by the chiefs, who would not voluntarily sign away their sovereignty or *tinio rangatiratanga*. Article Two in the Māori version guaranteed chiefs their *tinio rangatiratanga* or sovereignty over their lands, villages and treasured things. This article also gave the Crown a right to deal with Māori to purchase land. Article Two was an extension of the earlier 1835 Declaration of Independence, which acknowledged Māori sovereignty and independence (Hayward, 2004). The English version gave chiefs exclusive and undisturbed possession of lands, forests, fisheries and other properties; the English version gave the Crown the exclusive right to deal with Māori to buy land (Orange, 2004). Article Two "...would have appealed to Māori as recognition of their resources, culture and authority within Māori society" (Hayward, 2004, p. 155). Article Three in both the Māori and English versions gave Māori the Queen's protection and the rights of British subjects (Orange, 2004).

Despite the fact that only some chiefs signed the Treaty, the British Government placed all Māori under British authority, which sparked off conflicts between Māori and European settlers, who wanted more land. adding fuel to the fire, The government ignored the protections that the Treaty was supposed to give Māori (Orange, 2004), which added fuel to the fire. Māori were losing their world. Smith (1999) argues:

After the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 and settlement by British settlers became more intensive, townships, streets and regions were renamed after other parts of the British Empire. ...Naming the world has been likened by Paulo Freire to claiming the world and claiming those ways of viewing the world that count as legitimate (p. 81).

In 1858 some Māori *iwi* elected the Waikato chief Te Wherowhero as the first Māori king, with the intention of protecting Māori land from European invasion (Orange, 2004). The government interpreted this as an act of defiance of British authority and invaded the Waikato in an act of war, which resulted in severe land loss for Māori; Māori land was confiscated from several other North Island *iwi* that also fought against the government (Orange, 2004). By the end of the nineteenth century Māori had lost most of their land and political power as Pākehā settlement expanded (Orange, 2004).

In the twentieth century Māori land continued to be sold and was also seized by the government, as it had been since the 1860s, for public works (Orange, 2004). Māori leaders such as Sir Āpirana Ngata introduced initiatives to develop Māori land, while the government started supporting Māori farming schemes (Chile, 2007c; Durie, 2003; Orange, 2004). In the 1920s, some Māori fishing rights were recognised (Orange, 2004).

In 1932 the Governor General, Lord Bledisloe, gifted to the nation the house and land at Waitangi where the Treaty of Waitangi had been signed (Orange, 2004). In 1940, Aotearoa New Zealand celebrated 100 years since the signing of the Treaty; this event was envisioned as confirmation of national pride and unity (Orange, 2004). However, for Māori, who were less enthusiastic, this occasion was a reminder that the Treaty had not been honoured (Orange, 2004).

In the 1970s and 1980s, protests about Māori Treaty rights became more common (Orange, 2004). In 1975, the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 established the Waitangi Tribunal to consider claims that the government had breached the Treaty, and to make recommendations to the government; from this point on, the principles of the Treaty were mentioned in other New Zealand laws, and information about the Treaty became more widespread (Byrnes, 2004, 2005; Orange, 2004). However, resolution of grievances under the Treaty of Waitangi remains an ongoing process.

Colonisation and Māori land loss

Indigenous people all over the world have been constructed and viewed as being inferior to the colonisers and immoral. Fanon (1963) argues:

...the settler paints the native as a sort of quintessence of evil... The native is declared insensible to ethics; he represents not only the absence of values, but also the negation of values... he is the enemy of values... in this sense he is the absolute evil... the corrosive element... the deforming element... the depository of maleficent powers... (p. 41)

When the British colonised Aotearoa New Zealand, they brought with them ideas of white superiority. Salmond (1985) argues that historical perceptions of Māori were influenced by evolutionist theories, as well as political and economic interests. She posits that from:

...the first meeting of Maoris and Europeans, Europeans took the virtue of the imperial enterprise for granted. Aotearoa was on the wild edges of the world, to be 'discovered', named, and tamed by scientific exploration, evangelism, and colonization from the imperial centre (Salmond, 1985, p. 255).

According to Salmond (1985), Māori were viewed by Pākehā as "...beasts to be tamed, exterminated, documented, or educated, according to the political philosophy of the writer. ...they were lesser beings, whose destiny could only be decided by 'civilised men'" (p. 256). The idea that Māori were inferior to Pākehā was a result of the discourse of white superiority which supported colonisation. Defined as inferior and savage, Māori were not regarded as fully human in the same way as Pākehā viewed themselves. According to Smith (1999):

The European powers had by the nineteenth century already established systems of rule and forms of social relations which governed interaction with the Indigenous peoples being colonized. These relations were gendered, hierarchical and supported by rules, some explicit and others masked or hidden. The principle of 'humanity' was one way in which the implicit or hidden rules could be shaped. To consider Indigenous peoples as not fully human, or not human at all, enabled distance to be maintained and justified various policies of either extermination or domestication (p. 26).

From a nineteenth century Christian perspective, Smith (1999) argues, Māori were understood to be 'fallen souls' in need of salvation. She states:

For the missionaries there was a huge and exciting minefield of lost and fallen souls who needed rescuing. The savagery, abhorrence and ‘despicability’ of the natives challenged their very vocabulary... The more horrendous and evil the people, the stronger the imperative was to carry out God’s work (Smith, 1999, p. 78-79).

It was believed by the colonists that Māori were inferior and lazy and did not deserve land. The Land Court system was designed and operated to facilitate Pākehā desires to take land away from Māori. A member of parliament commented in 1885:

I believe we could not find a more ingenious method of destroying the whole Maori race than by these Courts. The Natives come from the villages of the interior, and have to hang about for months in our centres of population ... They are brought into contact with the lowest classes of society, and are exposed to temptation and the result is a great number contract diseases and die.... Some little time ago I was taking a ride through the interior and I was perfectly astonished at hearing that a subject of conversation at each hapu I visited was the number of natives dying in consequence of attendance at the Native Land Court... (Waitangi Tribunal, 1993b, n.p.).

A comment given in parliament in 1870 by Henry Sewell reveals the sinister purpose behind the Native Lands Act 1865:

The object of the Native Lands Act was twofold: to bring the great bulk of the lands of the Northern Island which belonged to the natives ... within the reach of colonisation. The other great object was, the detribalisation of the natives – to destroy if it were possible, the principle of communism which ran through the whole of their institutions, upon which the social system was based, and which stood as a barrier in the way of all attempts to amalgamate the Native race into our own social and political system. It was hoped that by the individualisation of titles to land, giving them the same individual ownership which we ourselves possessed, their social status would become assimilated to our own (Waitangi Tribunal, 1993b, n.p.).

Raupatu is the traditional Māori practice and concept of conquest (Moorfield, 2011). However, it is a term that has become synonymous with references to Crown confiscations of Māori land for colonial settlement, as punishment, or any other reason validated by the colonial authorities (Boast & Hill, 2009; Gilling, 2009). The term “[r]aupatu evokes the various [legislative] Acts through which confiscation was brought about, along with armed invasion, killing and the general trampling on the psyche of the Maori victims” (Gilling, 2009, pp. 13-14). Confiscation of Māori land was based on inadequately developed legislation, and was enacted using methods that breached the Treaty of Waitangi (Durie, 2005a; Gilling, 2009). There were official and unofficial

reasons for land confiscation (Dalton, 1967; Gilling, 2009; Ward, 1995). Land was confiscated for military settlement and for the increasing flood of European settlers (Boast & Hill, 2009; Gilling, 2009). The official justifications for land confiscation were based on the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 (Boast & Hill, 2009; Gilling, 2009) which stated, in its preamble, three goals:

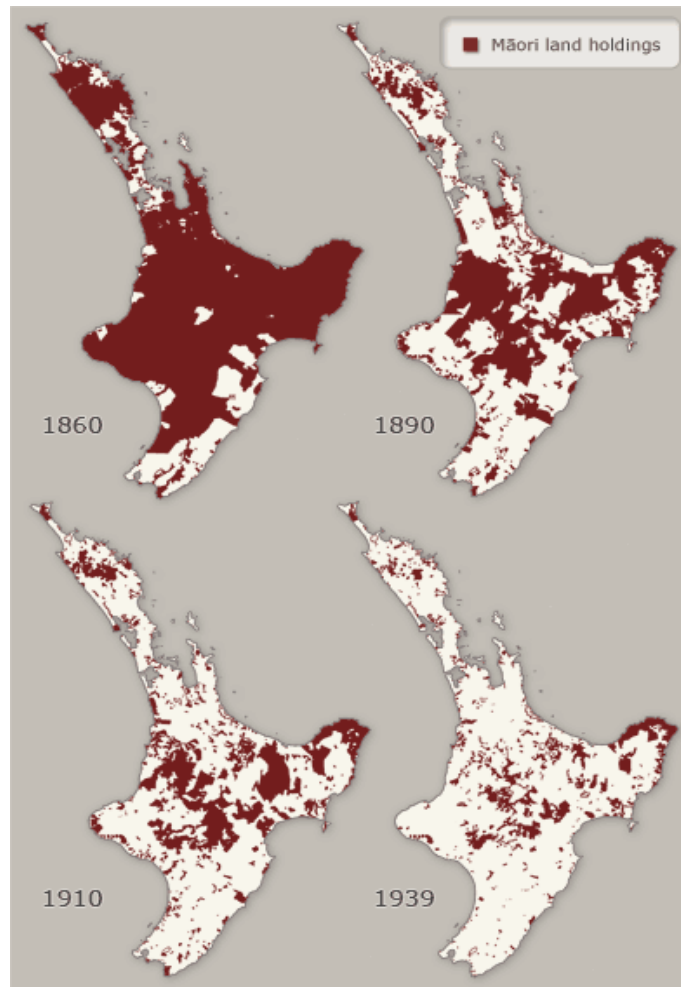
...to make 'adequate provision for the security of the well-disposed inhabitants of both races for the prevention of future insurrection or rebellion and for the establishment and maintenance of Her Majesty's authority and Law and Order throughout the Colony'. This would be achieved primarily through the settlement of 'a sufficient number of settlers able to protect themselves and to preserve the peace of the Colony' (Gilling, 2009, p. 16).

The New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 did not operate in isolation however; it was aided by the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863, which explicitly empowered the military to crush rebellion; and the New Zealand Loans Act 1863, which allowed for the grant of loans based on the projected profits of confiscated land sales (Gilling, 2009). One of the main justifications for land confiscation was punishment for rebellion; and this was thought to be the most effective form of punishment for Māori (Gilling, 2009).

Triggered by the erosion of Māori rights and the ensuing loss of lands and natural resources, armed combat involving the Crown and Māori occurred between 1845 and 1872 in what was to be termed the New Zealand Wars (Belich, 1988). In 1840, over 29 million hectares of land was in Māori hands; but by 1940 this was reduced to just over 1.8 million hectares (Durie, 2005a).¹²⁶

¹²⁶ By 2001 Māori land holdings fell to 1,515,071 hectares (Durie, 2005a).

Image 20: Gradual alienation of Māori land



(Orange, 2001, pp. 318–319)

Enormous quantities of land were lost to colonial confiscation in the Waikato area, initially 1.2 million acres (Gilling, 2009), with over 300,000 acres returned to *kūpapa*¹²⁷ and so called returned rebels (Mahuta, 1990). In July 1863 war broke out in the Waikato as the military moved in to attack Kīngitanga forces. The Kīngitanga movement was itself a manifestation of the growing desire of Māori autonomy, which authorities believed was opposed to the Crown (Gilling, 2009). Over the next nine months troops moved up the Waipā and Waikato rivers, invading the domain of King Tāwhiao by December (Gilling, 2009). The war in the Waikato came to a close with

¹²⁷ A term commonly used to describe Māori collaborators or allies who sided with Pākehā or the government (Moorfield, 2011).

victory for the military at the battle of Ōrākau in April 1864 (Binney, 2009a, 2009b; Gilling, 2009).

Tūhoe land loss

In 1862, two years before the military offensive at Ōrākau, Rewi Maniapoto visited Ruatāhuna and then Tauaroa *pā* in the Horomanga area (Te Rangikaheke, 1863). The latter was occupied by Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare (Crosby, 2004; Binney, 2009a, 2009b).¹²⁸ Rewi Maniapoto gained sympathy from the people of Ruatāhuna and according to Harehare Atarea,¹²⁹ ammunition from those at Tauaroa *pā*, as he attempted to rally support (Binney, 2009a, 2009b). Binney (2009b) claims that 50 Tūhoe men and women went to fight at Ōrākau. Cowan (1922) claims that 100 Tūhoe went to Ōrākau while McLintock (1966) states that at least 140 Tūhoe men and women¹³⁰ went. McGarvey (2009) adds that Tūhoe children also went to Ōrākau.

Tūhoe were led by Te Whenuanui and Piripi Te Heuheu (Binney, 2009b). Tūhoe were drawn there in part by obligation, because the Kāwhia Harbour area was the burial place of their revered eponymous ancestor, Tūhoe Pōtiki (Binney, 2009a, 2009b). The aftermath of Ōrākau saw a few Tūhoe survivors, who were greeted by anger and sorrow, return to their lands, (Binney, 2009a, 2009b; Miles, 1999). Rurehe (2011) states that upon the return of the survivors: “The widows of the slain warriors stood on the marae and faced the group wearing tattered garments as their way of showing their disgust at losing all those men...” (p. 39). From this point, Tūhoe were seen by many Pākehā as “...the most determined of Maori fighters” (Binney, 2009b, p. 225). Binney (2009a, 2009b) contends that much debate had taken place as to how to limit the cause and effects of war; there were also valid suspicions and fears that Tūhoe lands would be next in the government’s barrage of confiscatory military action.

¹²⁸ According to McGarvey (2009), Rewi Maniapoto may have visited in 1863 or early 1864.

¹²⁹ Binney (2009a, 2009b) uses the spelling ‘Atarea’. Harehare Atarea was 35 years old when he became the last *ariki* of Ngāti Manawa from 1877 - when the *ariki* Peraniko passed away (see figure 1, *whakapapa* table) - until his own death in 1927 (Ngāti Manawa and the Sovereign in right of New Zealand, deed of settlement of historical claims, n.d., pp. 3, 5). If Harehare was 35 years old in 1877 he must have been about 20 years old in 1862.

¹³⁰ Rurehe (2011) states: “Very few of the womenfolk survived the battle. Most of the women died at Orakau” (p. 38).

Land confiscations in the Bay of Plenty resulted from the murders of Reverend Carl Völkner in March 1865 at Ōpōtiki, and of the government official, James Te Maitaranui Fulloon, killed at Whakatāne in July 1865 (Binney, 2009a, 2009b; Gilling, 2009). On 2 September 1865, a military invasion was endorsed by a declaration that was intended to end the land confiscations and “...expressly stated that there would be no further land confiscations ‘on account of the present War’” (Binney, 2009b, p. 225). This declaration maintained that land was to be taken to maintain peace and to provide reparations for the relatives of the dead (New Zealand Gazette, 1865). A military invasion followed on 8 September, vindicated by the desire to bring the murderers to justice (Binney, 2009a, 2009b).

Tūhoe were not responsible for either of the murders. Fulloon himself was part Tūhoe and the grandson of early nineteenth century Tūhoe leader, Te Maitaranui (Binney, 2009a, 2009b). As Tūhoe were not actually implicated in the killings, they should have been entitled to compensation as relatives of the dead. However:

...they faced arbitrary confiscation of their northern lands and of their established pathways to the eastern Ohiwa harbour, the source of their kaimoana (seafood). The raupatu took Tūhoe’s northern lands – their only potential farming lands – by a straight line drawn across the map of the eastern Bay of Plenty. This was their first raupatu (Binney, 2009b, p. 226).

The widespread confiscation that occurred from January 1866 was intended to fund military expeditions in order to prevent further ‘rebellion’ (Stafford, 1865). Land between Te Waimana and the coast was confiscated under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 (Sissons, 1991), which included access to Ohiwa, Te Hurepo, Opouriao, Te Waimana, and great food gardens at Te Ngutu o Te Ihe, Te Pawa and Ngā Mahanga o Nore (Milroy & Melbourne, 1995, cited in Bright, 1997). According to Binney (2009a, 2009b), the confiscation sparked an insurgency amongst the people where there had been none before. Once it was realised that Rūātoki and Te Waimana were part of the confiscation, Tūhoe led military attacks inside the confiscated land belt in June 1867 (Binney, 2009a, 2009b).

A more menacing *raupatu* took place next. In search of men on the run from fighting in Poverty Bay caused by the government’s cordon of Waerenga-ā-Hika *pā* in November 1865 the military moved towards Waikaremoana in January 1866; from this time

through to May, a total of three military missions were launched in pursuit of the Poverty Bay escapees (Binney, 2009a, 2009b). With the pressure of the subsequent military presence, Tūhoe's defence of their Waikaremoana villages razed and scorched during previous military invasions would be used by the government to claim that Tūhoe were in rebellion (Binney, 2009b). Binney (2009b) argues that:

...it was, in fact, external events which had brought the fighting into this region. In order to consolidate its grasp on the East Coast, the Stafford government developed the policy of 'enforced' cessions. In April 1867, the coastal Ngāti Kahungunu chiefs at Te Hatepe pa in Wairoa, who had mostly fought for the government, were pressured into temporarily 'ceding' a vast area of the hinterland, reaching up to Waikaremoana (p. 228).

In 1869, Whitmore engaged in a series of expeditions into Te Urewera for the purposes of punishing Tūhoe for harbouring Te Kooti; Whitmore's troops destroyed Tūhoe crops and food supplies in an attempt to draw Te Kooti and his guerrilla forces out of the dense bush (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Webster, 1979). Webster (1979) states that:

...during the Urewera campaigns against Te Kooti the Tuhoe suffered severely as a tribe. The Tuhoe kainga¹³¹ were devastated, food supplies destroyed, potato crops uprooted, and the fences surrounding the fields knocked down so that wild pigs could complete the damage. ...cattle were shot for consumption by the troops, and when any of the Tuhoe attempted to interfere with the foraging parties, they too were killed.

Furthermore, those Tuhoe who were unfortunate enough to be surrounded and caught in their kainga by the colonial forces were sometimes massacred without even the opportunity for surrender (p. 118).

This was a devastating time for Tūhoe, marked by violence, starvation and murder. On the condition of the Tūhoe people during his raids, Whitmore (1902) commented:

So hopelessly had the native inhabitants lost confidence in themselves and their fastness that they did not attempt to molest the foragers or combine to avenge themselves on the invaders, but scattered in to small groups, occupied the hill tops, and made the mountains resound with their sorrowing tangis and lamentations (p. 116)

In December 1871, the government established peace with Tūhoe, and self-governance was apparently conveyed back to the Tūhoe chiefs by Major Ropata Wahawaha (Binney, 2009a, 2009b). This ostensible transference of power was part of an

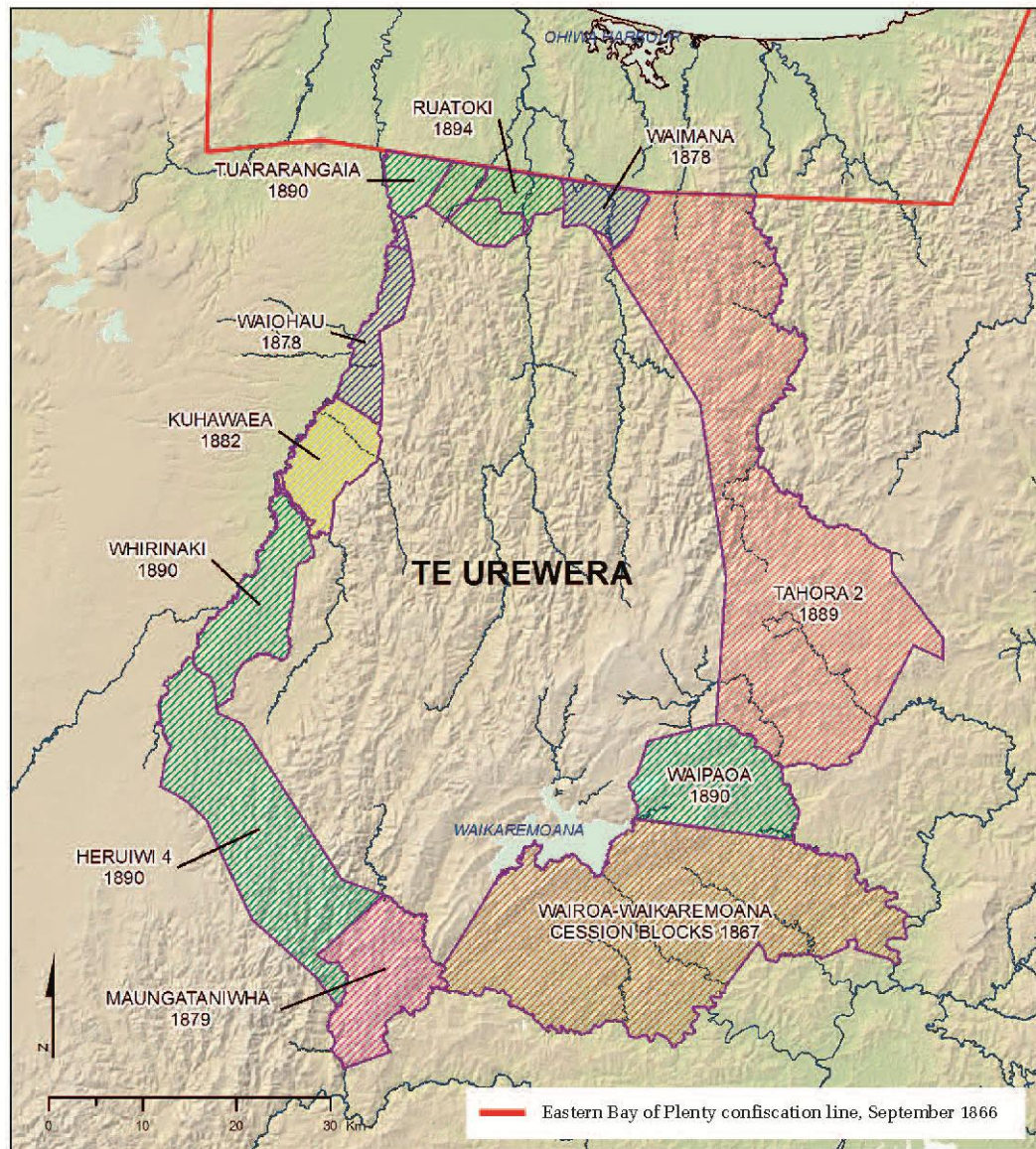
¹³¹ *Kainga* means home, village, habitation (Moorfield, 2011).

arrangement made in exchange for Tūhoe's aid in the pursuit of Te Kooti Arikirangi; but Te Kooti always managed to escape (Binney, 2009a, 2009b). When news was received by Tūhoe in May 1872 that Te Kooti had reached the safety of Ngāti Maniapoto, the Tūhoe chiefs gathered in June to amalgamate their collective authority as *Te Whitu Tekau* (The Seventy): the number of God's anointed leaders amongst the Israelites (Binney, 2009a, 2009b; see Exodus 24: 1, 9-10; Numbers 11:16-17, 24-25). In Tūhoe's case, seventy was not a literal number of the chiefs involved, who would have as their mission from 1872 the task of healing the land, including those lands subjected to *raupatu* (Binney, 2009a, 2009b).

One of the first tasks for Tūhoe at this time was to establish themselves as some of the original owners of the southern lands at Waikaremoana so that they would be included in the discussions concerning their return (Binney, 2009a, 2009b). A deed of agreement was arranged between the government and the interest groups, signed by one representative from Tūhoe, among eighteen other signatories, which guaranteed that those lands ceded 'under duress' by Ngāti Kahungunu in 1867, would be restored to 'loyal Māori' (Binney, 2009a, 2009b). However, further pressure would be put on Tūhoe in ways that would continue to threaten their lands and ways of life. On 5 November 1875, the Solicitor-General informed Tūhoe, and other affected land owners, that the 1868 East Coast Act, which allowed the government to lawfully confiscate the lands of those deemed to be rebels, would be used (Binney, 2009a, 2009b). In 1875, the government purchased this land by threatening Tūhoe, and other interest groups, with confiscation, using Tūhoe's earlier defence of their lake settlements in January 1866 as a reason to define them as 'rebels' (Binney, 2009a, 2009b).

The government's negotiator, Samuel Locke, told Tūhoe and Ngāti Kahungunu that their lands would be confiscated because they were perceived to be rebels (Binney, 2009b). As a result, Ngāti Kahungunu and Tūhoe took their claims to the Māori Land Court in order to receive an award of title; but Locke pushed for the ruling of the Solicitor-General, which caused the judge to suspend Tūhoe and Ngāti Kahungunu's hearing on 6 November 1875 (Binney, 2009b). Locke then submitted the ruling of the Solicitor-General into the court records, which coincided with the passing of the 1871 Immigration and Public Works Amendment Act, which allowed the land to be taken with or without payment (Binney, 2009a, 2009b).

Map 1: The land blocks encircling Te Urewera before the passage of the 1896 Urewera Act: ‘the ring of fire’



MAP 16 The land blocks encircling Te Urewera before the passage of the 1896 Urewera Act: ‘the ring of fire’. These blocks had been taken before the Native Land Court, and partitioned. The dates indicate the first court hearing of the blocks; the Wairoa-Waikaremoana cession is dated from the hui at Te Hatepe. Moira Jackson

(Binney, 2009a, p. 272, reproduced with permission from Bridget Williams Books and Sebastian Black)

Patuheuheu land loss

In the nineteenth century Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare occupied the Te Houhi, Waiōhau and Horomanga areas (Binney, 2009a).¹³² Patuheuheu were followers of Te Kooti, whom the Crown considered to be a rebel. As a result of this association the *hapū* was forced by the government to leave its home in the Rangitaiki Valley and its members were imprisoned at Te Pūtere, near Matatā in the eastern Bay of Plenty (Binney, 2001b, 2003, 2009a, 2010; Paul, 1995). According to Smith (1999) “...[s]ome Indigenous peoples (‘not human’), were hunted and killed like vermin, others (‘partially human’), were rounded up and put in reserves like creatures to be broken in, branded and put to work” (p. 26). Binney (2003) describes Te Pūtere as being similar to a concentration camp:

I used the term ‘concentration’ camp because people were ‘concentrated’ there. ...George Preece... stated [in September 1870]...that, ‘The prisoners now at Te Putere are badly off for food.’ In 1872, he noted that their crops had failed every year since 1870. He also stated that the land was...very poor....

Everyone agreed it was bad land, situated amongst sand dunes, and unsuitable for cultivation. It was a ‘concentration camp’ for people who were forced to live largely on government handouts of potatoes until they went home in 1872–73 (pp. 2-3).

In 1872, the Patuheuheu *hapū* was released and returned to their lands at Te Houhi, which became their main *kāinga*¹³³ (Arapere, 2002; Binney, 2001b, 2003, 2009a, 2010; Paul, 1995).

By most accounts, the *wharenui* Tama-ki-Hikurangi, “...a meeting-house built for Te Kooti at Te Houhi (near Galatea) by the Patuheuheu people, a hapu of Tuhoe” (Binney, 1995, caption, plate 2; see also Neich, 1993), was commissioned there. Arapere (2002) claims that the *wharenui* was erected in the late 1870s, before being transported to Te Houhi. Binney (1995, 2001b, 2010) and Neich (1993), on the other hand, abandon the notion of a pre-1900s construction, and assert that the *wharenui* was built in 1904. Cresswell (1977) and Binney (2001b, 2010) maintain that Tama-ki-Hikurangi was built

¹³² This section, like this entire thesis, will only focus on Patuheuheu.

¹³³ Home.

under the guidance of Tūhoe carver, Te Wharekotua, “...to memorialise their history and their identity linked to Te Kooti” (Binney, 2001b, p. 152).¹³⁴

On 28 November 1893, Te Houhi School was opened (Stokes, Milroy & Melbourne, 1986) with Mēhaka Tokopounamu¹³⁵ as the first school chairman (Binney, 2009a). Mēhaka fought to get government assistance to improve the appalling conditions of the school, which had no iron roof, flooring or lining on the walls (Binney, 2009a). At first Mēhaka was refused help for the school because the Education Department did not own the land on which the school was located (Binney, 2009a). Nevertheless, after much pleading, a stove was provided in July 1896 (Binney, 2009a). In addition, the Department also gave £25 for an iron roof and a floor, and an additional £32 to line the building and purchase a school bell (Binney, 2009a).

With their homes, a *wharenuī*, and a school in place, the community of Te Houhi would have seemed stable and secure, especially in contrast to the dreadful conditions endured at Te Putere. However, the 1880s, 1890s and early twentieth century was another time of absolute uncertainty for Patuheuheu. During this time colonial maps demarcating the land were redrawn yet again. A ruinous act of deceit was on the horizon and Patuheuheu’s home and way of life was again at risk. Harry Burt, a licensed Native Land Court interpreter and supposed friend of the prophet Te Kooti, coordinated duplicitous land transactions in the mid-1880s that ultimately led to the displacement of Patuheuheu from their land at Te Houhi in 1907 (Binney, 1997, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Boast, 2008).

Harry Burt, or Hare Paati as he was known to the *hapū*, was not Māori (Auckland Star, 1905 June 8, p. 5), but was a speaker of *te reo Māori* and worked as an interpreter for the Native Land Court (Binney, 1997, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Boast, 2008). The Native Land Court system – an effective instrument for alienating Māori from their land (Ka‘ai-Mahuta, 2010) – was used by Burt to underhandedly acquire the land from

¹³⁴ However, Neich (1993) acknowledges that Te Iho Tangohau was the main carver at the time and suggests that he may have carved the *wharenuī*.

¹³⁵ After Patuheuheu’s exodus from Te Houhi in 1907, yet to be explained in this section, a school was opened in their new settlement at Waiōhau on 6 May 1918 (Binney, 2009b). Mēhaka Tokopounamu’s son, Rikiriki Mēhaka was the chairman of the school committee (see Simon & Smith, 2001).

beneath the *hapū* (Binney, 1997, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Boast, 2008). This event is known as the Waiōhau Fraud (Boast, 2002). Wharehuia Milroy contends:

Harry Burt was a Pākehā who got involved in some fraudulent dealings with land in and around Te Houhi. He sold the land interests of the Waiōhau Māori for his own gain through fraudulent dealings, where he acquired land interests from people who did not have the authority to sell the land. I don't think those people would have really realised the gravity and danger of engaging with Harry Burt. He stole the land, that's about the best way to describe it; he stole the land from the people at Te Houhi.

...and one of the persons who was particularly affected by the Waiōhau situation was John Rangihau, because his father Karu Rangihau was taken to prison for blocking the surveyors at Te Houhi. When the surveyors commenced surveying, some Te Houhi people resisted and as a result the military moved in and imprisoned them. So it is a germane issue for the people there, and it is something that will continue to smoulder. Harry Burt was the man who did the thieving (personal communication, 6 July, 2012).

Binney (2001b) contends that Burt belonged to a "...‘sub-culture’: a visible group of early settled Pakeha men who lived with Maori women" (p. 162) and spoke the native language. Harry Burt was a trickster who hid behind a cloak of colonial hybridity (Binney, 1997, 2001b, 2010). Burt "claimed friendship and more – kinship – with Maori... He was a manipulator, who created a mood and experience of confidence and trust. He was a swindler who outmanoeuvred a prophet" (Binney, 2001b, p. 148).

Binney's (2001b, 2010) idea of colonial hybridity presents an interesting picture of the ways in which some Pākehā positioned themselves within Māori society. However, in Harry Burt's case, this hybridity extended not only to living within the Te Houhi community, but also to deceptively claiming *whakapapa* and *whenua*. Bentley (1999) claims that some Pākehā "...penetrated Maori communities, adapted to tribal life and influenced their hosts" (p. 9).¹³⁶ Harry Burt did all of these things to the utter detriment of the people of Te Houhi.

The block of land on which Te Houhi was located was known in the Native Land Court in 1878 as Waiohau 1 (Arapere, 2002; Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Paul, 1995). In January 1886, a committee of twelve Tūhoe men, joined by Te Kooti, met with Burt to negotiate; they asked Burt to accept 1,000 acres of land to satisfy his land needs

¹³⁶ Here, Bentley (1999) is referring to the ways in which some Pākehā immersed themselves into the Māori culture and became a part of their host communities; sometimes they even achieved places of rank within the host tribe.

(Binney, 2001b, 2007c, 2009a, 2010). However, Waiohau 1 was illegally brought before the Court for partition by Hare Rauparaha, one of Burt's pseudonyms (Waiariki Māori Land Court, 1886, February 16). By using the name Hare Rauparaha, Burt exploited his position as an interpreter in the Native Land Court and fabricated a new identity by embezzling *whakapapa* and *mana* from the name of the famous Ngāti Toa chief, Te Rauparaha (Binney, 2001b, 2007c, 2009a, 2010; "Waiohau 1B inquiry", 1889, October 31). Burt's partition was to establish half of the block, 7,000 acres, as Waiohau 1B in the name of two Ngāti Manawa owners, Pani Te Hura - also known as Peraniko Ahuriri - and Hira Te Mumuhu (Binney 2001b, 2007c, 2009a, 2010; Stokes et al., 1986). Hieke Tupe claims that these Ngāti Manawa owners had been included in the 1878 title of Waiohau 1 "...through aroha"¹³⁷ (Binney, 2001b, p. 158, 2009a, 2010; Paul, 1995). These men, manipulated by Burt, immediately sold the newly established Waiohau 1B in the Court foyer, witnessed by Judge H. T. Clarke and Harry Burt (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010).

According to Te Teira Cameron:

I tae mai ai tētahi Pākehā ki roto i a mātou i konei engari i whakahuatanga ingoa ko Hare Te Rauparaha. Whakapono ana wā mātou he uri nō Te Rauparaha. Ā, ka whakanoho ia e tā mātou rangatira a Papanui, te tangata nei te taha o tana tamāhine. Engari, he kura huna tā te tangata nei. Kia āhua roa ake, ā, ka pā te raru ki a mātou, ā, kua mōhio kē mātou ko tana ingoa ake ā ko Hare Paati, ā, he Pākehā. Ko taua kura huna rā e hiahia nōna ki ngā whenua. I haere kē ia ki ētahi o ngā rangatira, kāore ko ngā rangatira katoa. E rua noa o ngā rangatira i whakaae, ā, kia mea te whenua nei, kia riro te whenua i raro i te mana o te Pākehā. Ā, ka rongo a Mēhaka Tokopounamu mā, ā, a Papanui, Te Pā, kei te pērāhia te whenua, engari, he āhua kerēwa ki te Pākehā rā, ā, i runga i ngā ture i tērā wā, ki te whānakhia koe te whenua, ka hoatu au ki tētahi atu, kāore e taea e rātou te tangohia te whenua mai i a ia because kāore ia i whānako, so koira i riro ai te kāinga nei, ahakoa te whawhai a ngā koroua, i riro pokonoa te kāinga nei, anā, i kaha ki mua te iwi nei, ā, i Te Pūtere. Ā, e ai ki ngā kōrero, he rite tēnā kāinga ki te concentration camp, i haria mātou ki reira kia mate ai.

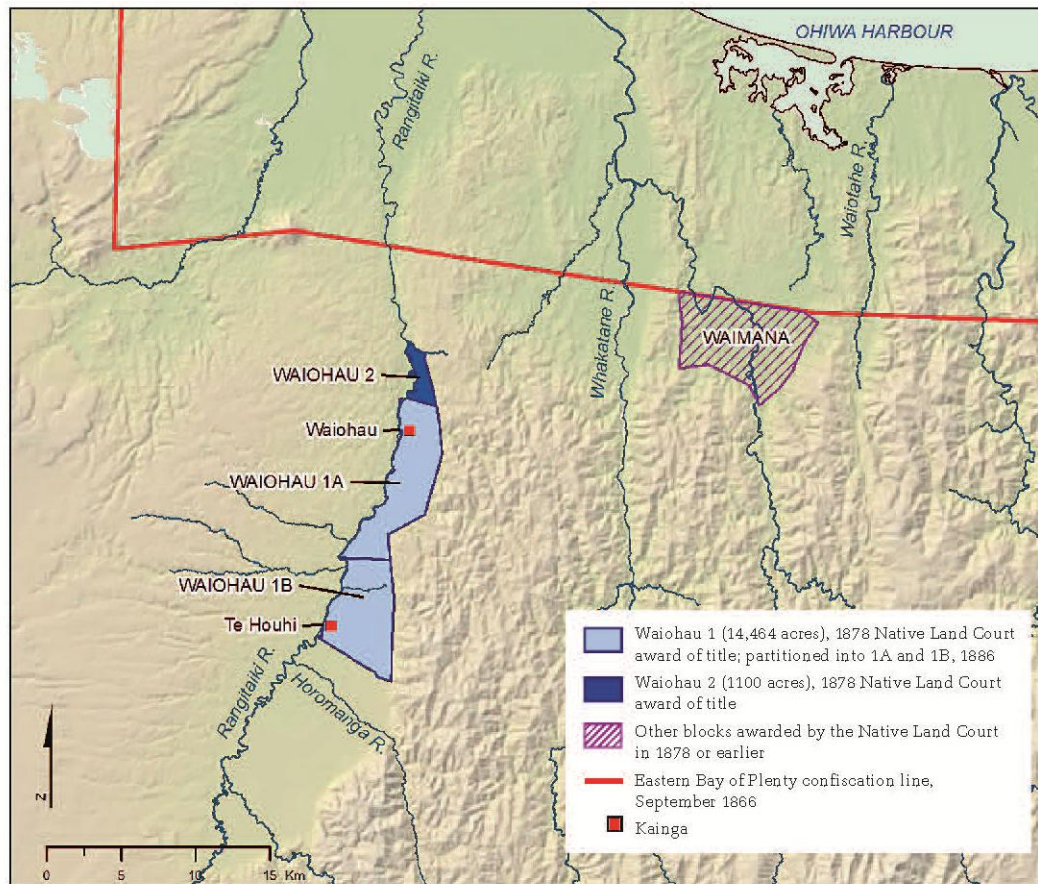
I whakaaro ai ngā rangatira i tērā wā, nō te mea, he toenga whenua tonu tā mātou i Waiōhau. Whakaaro ai ngā rangatira, ā, me hoki rā tātou ki tā tātou whenua, wā tātou whenua i Waiōhau (Higgins & Black, 2014, n.p.).

Te Teira recalls the history of Harry Burt, who was known to the people of Te Houhi as Hare Te Rauparaha; the elders at Te Houhi believed that he was a descendant of Te Rauparaha and he lived in an indigenous marriage-type arrangement with a daughter of

¹³⁷ *Aroha* means affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love, empathy (Moorfield, 2011).

Papanui, the chief. Te Teira recounts that in time the people found out that Hare Te Rauparaha was not in fact a descendant of Te Rauparaha and was not Māori at all; they discovered too, that Harry Burt's secret desire was to take the land. Te Teira maintains that Burt visited some of the chiefs at Te Houhi; but he did not visit all of them. According to Te Teira, there were two chiefs who agreed to the land being used, and for it to be managed by the Pākehā. He further explains that Mēhaka Tokopounamu, Papanui, Teepa and others, found out about this arrangement. Te Teira states that under the law if one stole land and gave it to someone else, the land would be lost because the person who came to own the land was not the same as the person who stole it; this he claims, is how Patuheuheu came to lose Te Houhi, in spite of the protest of the elders. Te Teira claims that imprisonment at Te Pūtere followed, where Patuheuheu were taken to die. This claim does not exactly correspond with the historical timeframes given by Binney (2003, 2009a), but it does not need to, because it is a local re-telling by a person who lives the historical past in the present, rather than from someone who has researched it in an academic way. Te Teira states that Patuheuheu returned to their remaining lands at Waiōhau after surviving incarceration at Te Pūtere.

Map 2: The Waiohau blocks, showing the first Native Land Court award titles in 1878, and subsequent partitioning in 1886



MAP 17 The Waiohau blocks, showing the first Native Land Court award of titles in 1878, and subsequent partitioning in 1886. Source: ML 4206, LINZ; Moira Jackson

(Binney, 2009a, p. 280, reproduced with permission from Bridget Williams Books and Sebastian Black)

Burt's deceitful acts were examined by a judicial inquiry in 1889, established through a Parliamentary recommendation in response to a petition from Mēhaka Tokopounamu and 86 others (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; "Native Affairs Committee response to the petition of Mehaka Tokopounamu and 86 others (Petition 257)", 1889, August 21; Paul, 1995). The petition claimed that Harry Burt had dishonestly obtained ownership of Waiohau 1B by coercing people to sell their shares to him (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Paul, 1995).¹³⁸ Te Kooti renamed Te Houhi, Te Umutaoroa, and told Mēhaka and the other petitioners that Burt's money would be like a pit of rotting potatoes and that he would never gain possession of the land ("Burt, signed statement", 1887, December 10; Burt, 1889; "Statement made by Burt on 29 October 1889", 1889, October 29).

¹³⁸ According to Mēhaka Tokopounamu's petition, Burt purchased the shares of at least 40 people (cited in Paul, 1995).

However, this particular prediction was not to come true. Burt's actions included: using the signatures of minors; acquiring shares from those who did not own them; purchasing without witnesses; purchasing the shares of deceased persons; intoxicating people and coercing them to sign over shares; and by giving guns and gun powder in exchange for shares (Paul, 1995).

The judicial inquiry found that the Native Land Court's partition order was based on proof given by Māori who were manipulated by Burt (Binney, 2001b, 2010; "Petition of Mehaka Tokopounamu and 86 others (No. 257)", 1889; Paul, 1995). The inquiry was then referred to Judge Wilson, who in 1889, after a lengthy investigation,¹³⁹ found that "Burt behaved fairly toward the natives in the matter of this purchase until they turned against him and placed themselves under the guidance of Te Kooti" (Paul, 1995, p. 29).

Image 21: Native land dispute at Galatea (Auckland Weekly News, 15 February 1906)



(Auckland Weekly News, 1906, Sir George Grey Special Collections, 7-A14283)

"John A. Beale (solicitor for Margaret Beale), the sheriff, R. G. Thomas, and bailiffs serving evictions notices at Te Houhi, December 1905. The local constable Andy Grant is fourth from left, at the rear, with a pipe in his

¹³⁹ This investigation included claims and counter-claims between Patuheuheu and their leaders Wi Patene and Mēhaka Tokopounamu, and Ngāti Manawa's leaders, and Harry Burt.

mouth. Beale, wearing a cap, is in the centre. Sergeant William Phair is in front of Grant” (Binney, 2010, p. 208).

Eviction from Te Houhi

Patuheuheu were unequivocally disadvantaged and impoverished by the court disputes surrounding Te Houhi. The courts recognised however, that the people of Te Houhi had been severely wronged, but were unwilling to help (Binney, 2001b). The judge stated:

I regret the hardship to the defendants. That they have suffered a grievous wrong is, in my opinion, plain. It is doubly hard that this wrong should have resulted from a miscarriage, which certainly ought to have been avoided, in the very Court which was specially charged with the duty of protecting them in such matters. The plaintiff is, of course, blameless in the matter (cited in Binney, 2001b, p. 151).¹⁴⁰

The land on which Te Houhi was located eventually came to be owned by James Grant, in part because of his own manipulations (Binney, 2001b, 2010). The people had been advised in 1890 by their lawyer, Howorth, that maintaining peaceful and continued occupation of their land would be enough to ensure ownership; the people would only leave if forced (Binney, 2002, 2009a). However, when Grant took official ownership of the land in February 1907, he made it difficult for the people to stay by destroying their cultivations; he eventually evicted the people, assisted by the police, in the winter of 1907 (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2007c, 2010; Boast, 2002; Wylie, 1908, cited in Wouden, 1980). Indeed, some local narratives maintain that Patuheuheu were evicted at gun point. Boast (2002) states:

The mean-spirited and vindictive James Grant, a local landholder who was apparently driving the entire process, ensured that the eviction process was as complete and demeaning as possible, even preventing them from taking their school house and wharehenui from the land (p. 156).

As well as the school house and *wharehenui*, Patuheuheu had to leave behind their church and the sacred bones¹⁴¹ of their dead (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010). According to Te Teira Cameron:

¹⁴⁰ The plaintiff was Margaret Beale, who had acquired title from Margaret Burt, wife of Harry Burt, knowing full well about the fraudulent nature of the original purchase. For more information on this see Binney (2001b, 2009a, 2010).

¹⁴¹ Paul (1995) claims that the ancestral remains were uplifted and relocated around the time of Patuheuheu's eviction, while Binney (2001b, 2009a, 2010) maintains that it was actually in 1924 that Patuheuheu returned to Te Houhi to collect their ancestral bones. Another account claims that this happened in 1919. According to Elsie

Te Pākehā, nānā i riro mai, i riro atu te whenua ki a ia, i huri tā tātou whare tīpuna hei hay barn, ngā kai a ngā kau. I whakaaro ai ngā rangatira i tērā wā me pēhea ai tātou i whakahoki ai tā tātou whare ki a tātou. I haere kē mai rātou ki te pātai ki te Pākehā, ā, kāore i whakaae kia whakahokia mai. I whakaarohia a Mēhaka Tokopounamu, me mahi mōna, koira i riro ai tā mātou whare, nā mātou i hoko, nā ngā koroua o tēnei hapū i hoko. Mai i reira i riro i a mātou te whare, nā, ka piki mai ngā tohunga a Te Wero mā, i reira tonu a Mēhaka ki te hiki te whare ka haria atu ki Waiōhau. Engari, ki te titiro tātou ki ngā hiwi i a mātou i haere pēnei mai ai ka whakaaro koe i roto i a koe anō i pēhea ai i tae ai rātou ki te hari tērā whare mai i konei ki Waiōhau. Anā ngā kōrero a tā mātou koroua a Hieke e whakaponono ana rātou nā ngā karakia o aua tohunga rā i tae ai e rātou te hari te whare mai i konei ki reira (Higgins & Black, 2014, n.p.).

Te Teira states that the land was lost to the Pākehā and the ancestral house was used as a hay barn for cow's feed. He claims that the elders of that time considered ways to re-acquire the ancestral house; the elders asked the Pākehā if they could have their *wharenui* back, but they were refused. According to Te Teira, it was Mēhaka Tokopounamu who made the decision to raise money to purchase the ancestral house from the Pākehā, and that this is how the *hapū* elders regained possession of the *wharenui*. Te Teira states that the *tohunga*¹⁴² Te Wero and others, including Mēhaka Tokopounamu, transported the *wharenui* from Te Houhi to Waiōhau; and he also maintains that Hieke Tupe recalled that it was the *karakia* of the *tohunga* that allowed the *wharenui* to be moved to Waiōhau.

Some accounts claim that the government purchased the *wharenui* from Grant for £140 in 1908 (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Boast, 2002; Paul, 1995). Despite the different stories, it is clear that the people removed and relocated the *wharenui* piece by piece, refusing all assistance, except for a £40 grant from the government to purchase food for those without (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010). According to Binney (2001b, 2009a, 2010), the *wharenui* would have been moved by wagon. Local oral accounts, however,

Little (1973) the bones were re-buried at Waiōhau on 10 March 1919 in a concrete mausoleum at the *urupā* (burial ground).

¹⁴² Priestly expert. The word *tohunga* refers to a skilled person, chosen expert, priest – a person chosen by the representative of an *atua* (deity) and the tribe as a leader in a specific field because of signs denoting talent for a certain profession (Moorfield, 2011). Those *tohunga* who functioned as priests were known as *tohunga ahurewa* (Moorfield, 2011). *Tohunga ahurewa* interceded between the *atua* and the tribe, provided guidance around economic pursuits, were experts in conciliating the various *atua* (deities) with *karakia* (incantations) and were experts in the sacred lore, spiritual beliefs, traditions and genealogies of the tribe (Moorfield, 2011). *Tohunga mākutū*, or *tohunga whaiwhaiā*, were dedicated to the occult and the discharging of malevolent spells (Moorfield, 2011). Other examples of *tohunga* include the *tohunga whakairo* who specialised in carving, and the *tohunga tā moko* who were experts in the art of tattooing (Moorfield, 2011). *Tohunga* were initiated into and trained in a traditional *whare wānanga* (place of higher learning) or by other *tohunga* (Moorfield, 2011).

claim that the *wharenui* was transported, in parts, via the Rangitaiki river. The *wharenui* was re-opened at Waiōhau on 28 July 1909 (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Paul, 1995).

Land loss and millennialism: Webster's analysis of the effects of Tūhoe land loss and the prophet Rua Kēnana

According to Webster (1979) there is a direct correlation between relative deprivation and alienation, and the millennial dream. He describes this correlation as a key concept in his work, *Rua and the Maori Millennium*. Webster (1979), who advocates the collaboration of sociology and psychology, states that deprivation and alienation are connected to the psychological states of frustration, anxiety and depression. He affirms that:

[a]n individual or a group can thus be usefully described as alienated from something, such as the rest of society, for economic, political or cultural reasons. However, the individual or collective emotional state to which alienation refers should be related finally to the great body of theoretical, clinical and experimental work of psychology (Webster, 1979, p. 55).

For Webster (1979), the psychological state of 'frustration' can signify an obstruction that impedes the development of a group: the term "...denotes a sense of blockage from a desired goal" (p. 57). In his analysis, Tūhoe features as a group of people who experienced frustration because of the oppression they experienced at the hands of Pākehā. Webster (1979) claims that the psychological states of frustration and anxiety are interconnected, and that frustration may lead to anxiety. He states that:

...anxiety is used to describe the state of mind induced by a threat of some kind to what a person values. These values include any particular aspect of a person's existence which is considered essential or vital. For example, the threat could be to a person's life, his integrity, identity, or to the organisation of the society in which he lives. This threat will almost invariably result in either the desire to take positive action against it or to avoid it by retreat or withdrawal, or by some overt method. If the action which is believed to solve the problem is blocked, and the threat continues, then the anxiety may well be heightened.

...if a group like the Maori has always used physical resistance to prevent the invasion of its land, and then this form of action is no longer feasible because of defeat and occupation by the aggressors, there may be undischarged drive tensions towards physical resistance which lead, in turn, to frustration. This drive may remain undischarged because it is realised that any further

physical resistance will almost certainly lead to retaliation and perhaps even annihilation (Webster, 1979, p. 57).

Webster (1979) asserts that in interviewing Tūhoe participants who had experienced millenarianism as a response to colonisation, such as in the case of Rua Kēnana and his Iharaira movement, he discovered that they had been offered hope and salvation during a period during which there had been nothing positive to look forward to. He notes that although the interviewees never used the psychological term ‘anxiety’, they did express a sense of worry about their health and wellbeing, loss of land, and the unstoppable intrusion of Pākehā into Tūhoe territory (Webster, 1979). Webster’s (1979) participants commented too about their loss of identity as Tūhoe, as they had previously known themselves to be; they made comments like: “We were like children (still are) in comparison with Pakeha” (p. 58), and “...in those days, we were treated more as children than as men” (p. 60).

For Webster (1979), this evidence is consistent with the sociological concept of ‘relative deprivation’ and the closely associated psychological notions of anxiety and frustration. Within this psycho-political context where colonisation – as a political phenomenon – clearly impacts the psychological wellbeing of Tūhoe, Webster (1979) avers that there exists a collective Tūhoe depression. He states:

...by depression I mean the condition familiar to most of us at some time or another related to an aspect of the environment.... That is to say, in psychological terms, a *reactive* depression. This condition can best be thought of as one in which attitudes tend to be essentially negative and passive; there is a feeling of powerlessness, inadequacy, and hopelessness (Webster, 1979, p. 59).

In Webster’s (1979) analysis, the anxiety-provoking threat to Tūhoe was the invasion of Pākehā, which brought with it diseases, scorched earth policies, land loss, political, cultural and social oppression, and death. Quite naturally, these threats to the Tūhoe way of life traumatised the collective Tūhoe psyche. Webster (1979) states that in the face of a major threat, the anxiety experienced by a given social group sets off an adaptive, biological warning system which prepares the group to engage in action against the threat; for example, physical defence of the land. If however, physical action, like protecting the land, cannot be carried out, as was the case for Tūhoe by the end of the nineteenth century, when physical resistance became impossible, the anxiety

experienced by the people can, according to Webster (1979), become neurotic "...in the sense that it becomes cumulatively crippling" (p. 58). Webster (1979) asserts that:

....at certain periods of colonial expansion in New Zealand last century, encroachment by the Pakeha upon Tuhoe land in the Ureweras would have been a situation of stress resulting in anxiety or fear. The response would probably have been anxiety in the form of a state of apprehension mobilising the psychological and physical energies of the Tuhoe for resistance in the form of warfare. [However a]ctive defiance was no longer possible in the old sense, that is to say, within the Tuhoe or Polynesian warriors' cultural tradition of physical resistance. ... There was no alternative channel for Tuhoe anxiety to be subsumed in action, and the anxiety remained undissipated (pp. 58-59).

Since the anxiety experienced by Tūhoe remained undispersed because of the impossibility of successful physical resistance against Pākehā forces, Webster (1979) claims that Tūhoe's anxiety became maladaptive and neurotic. He contends:

During the latter period of Pakeha expansion and struggle for dominance, when Tuhoe had come off second best in every contact with Europeans, this worsening situation began to be reflected in a hostile sullenness. The Tuhoe, a minority group, had been powerless to prevent survey of their land in the Urewera, and as they became aware that their autonomy was being steadily diminished, they became suspicious of all Pakeha (Webster, 1979, p. 59).

As a consequence of Tūhoe's dehumanisation by Pākehā, a deep-seated inferiority complex developed. This was fortified by the constant treatment of Tūhoe by Pākehā as inferior (Webster, 1979). Webster (1979) talks about two coping strategies used by Tūhoe: avoidance and reassertion. On the one hand:

...avoidance of relations with Pakeha, wherever feasible, was the wish of many Tuhoe, but in practice this policy could not be pursued without economic hardship. Many Tuhoe needed to sell their labour to Pakeha if they were to rise above subsistence level. In addition, many settlers depended heavily upon comparatively cheap and readily obtainable Maori labour for the development of their farms. Despite this economic interaction, race relations were such that there was little social contact largely because Maori were regarded as inferiors. Moreover, because Tuhoe were in the subservient position of labour under the direction of Pakeha management, this reinforced their feelings of inferiority. ... As it became apparent that avoidance of the Pakeha was impossible, the problem of contact became a source of stress. Inferiority had become part of the Tuhoe's response to dealing with Pakeha (Webster, 1979, pp. 59-60).

Webster (1979) argues that Tūhoe's desire to be considered equal to Pākehā leads to the second of the two strategies he writes about: reassertion. In his view:

...confidence can be deliberately and patiently restored by repeated acts of reassertion, which may continue to be punished by the majority. One of the ways the minority group can increase its confidence is by supporting a deep-seated belief that, despite its present humiliation and suffering, it will be in a position to reassert itself by turning the tables on its oppressors (Webster, 1979, p. 60).

The purpose of the millennial dream as a utopian ideal to move towards, is to instil a sense of hope for a time of peace and harmony into the minds and hearts of the oppressed, where the psychological effects of anxiety and frustration, produced through the experiences of colonisation and land loss, are nullified (Webster, 1979). Webster (1979) states that anxiety and frustration "...often provides the momentum for human effort..." (p. 72) and so are not necessarily negative psychological phenomena. Thus, the millennial dream requires faith in the unseen, for "...faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" (Hebrews 11:1). While human effort and action is a necessary part of positive change: "Even so faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone" (James 2:17).

Summary

This chapter discussed the important relationship that Māori have with the *whenua*. *Whenua* has been described as a cultural concept and cultural reality that names both land and afterbirth, and stimulates the links between Papa-tū-ā-nuku and Māori. This connection was, however, severely damaged by the effects of colonisation and land loss. The protections promised to Maori in the Treaty of Waitangi were not honoured by the colonisers, who alienated Maori from their land and took control of the country. Even those *iwi*, like Tūhoe, that did not sign the Treaty of Waitangi, were still, like all Māori, subjected to the coercive power of the British Crown.

Tūhoe's experience of land loss at the hands of the Crown has been briefly outlined. That experience shows Tūhoe were constructed by the Crown as being rebels, so that anti-rebellion legislation could be used to justifiably attack and kill Tūhoe and take their land away. This chapter also presented an account of Patuheuheu's loss of, and eviction from, Te Houhi at the hands of Pākehā. Harry Burt, supposedly a 'friend' of Te Kooti,

has been shown to be the person who fraudulently purchased Te Houhi from two Ngāti Manawa owners who did not have the right to sell. It was shown too that James Grant, who came to own the land at Te Houhi, evicted the *hapū* with the help of the police. From Te Houhi, Patuheuheu moved to Waiōhau.

The chapter also discussed Webster's (1979) analysis of the psychological effects of colonisation, racism and land loss on Tūhoe. It was shown that the collective psyche of Tūhoe suffered the effects of psycho-historical trauma and that members of the *iwi* developed an inferiority complex. As a result, some Tūhoe turned to the prophetic leader Rua Kēnana – as an ostensible successor to Te Kooti – and his millennial dream to give them hope for the future. Māori prophetic responses will be addressed in more detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

Te Mauri Atua me Te Mauri Whakapono

Māori Prophetic Movements as Sites of Political Resistance

Introduction

The purpose of this research is to build a Patuheuheu *hapū* development model that is based on Te Kooti's Te Umutaoroa prophecy. In order to achieve this, an understanding of the political and historical context that informed the emergence and development of Māori prophetic movements is necessary. Te Kooti was an integral part of this history. He, like the other Māori prophets, resisted colonisation and developed a syncretic theology that gave his followers hope within a tumultuous colonial environment.

This chapter will discuss the introduction of Christianity to Aotearoa New Zealand to set the context for a conversation concerning the genesis of Māori prophetic movements. Missionaries came to Aotearoa New Zealand to civilise and Christianise the 'heathens' and turn them away from their 'pagan gods'. On the one hand, Māori would come to replace many of their old beliefs with the introduced ideas of the Christians; and on the other hand, Māori prophets would rise up and syncretically mix traditional Māori beliefs with Judeo-Christianity, thus creating a whole new theology. Within this religious context, some Māori relied upon prophets to lead them through the darkness of colonisation.

The movements of four Māori prophets will be reviewed in chronological order: Te Atua Wera and the Nākahi movement; Te Ua Haumēne and the Pai Mārire or Hauhau movement; Te Kooti's Ringatū movement; and Rua Kēnana and the Iharaira movement. Rua's millenarian movement, based at Tūhoe's sacred *maunga*, Maungapōhatu, is significant here, because he claimed to be Te Kooti's successor – some believed he would fulfil the prophecy of Te Umutaoroa. This chapter will critically analyse these Māori prophetic movements as sites of religious and political resistance to show how Māori prophets challenged colonisation and land loss.

Christianity in Aotearoa New Zealand and the rise of Māori Prophets

Before their conversion to Christianity, Māori had their own Indigenous spirituality that reflected their cultural and spiritual relationships with the environment. Pākehā contact impacted on Māori irreversibly. According to Len Te Kaawa of Tamakaimoana:

Te ao o ngā mātua, o ngā tīpuna, he whakapono tō rātou, he whakapono iho nei i mua i te taehanga mai o tauīwi. He whakapono ki ngā atua Māori, ki te pūtaiao, ki te ao e noho ana rātou i roto. Engari, ka tae mai a tauīwi me āna tikanga, ka whakahurihia, ka pēhia, ka whakamoehia ētahi o aua āhuatanga kia noho tā rātou ki runga ā, i ā tāua ki te ao Māori, kia noho koirā hai whakapono mō tātou. Engari, i te wā i o tātou tīpuna he whakapono rātou, he whakapono tonu rātou ki ngā tohu o te rangi, ki ngā tohu o te whenua, ki ngā tohu o te pūtaiao, ngā tohu o ngā wai, o ngā awa, o ngā aha ake, nā te mea he hononga-ā-wairua tō rātou ki te whenua, puta mai ai rātou i roto. He hōhonu tō rātou whakapono ki ēra mea (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

Te Kaawa makes it clear that in pre-colonial times Māori had their own unique belief system based on Māori *atua*, the environment, and the world around them. He explains that when Pākehā (*tauīwi*¹⁴³) arrived and imported their own world view and cultural conventions, traditional Māori beliefs were altered, subjugated and disregarded, and Pākehā beliefs gained a foothold, hastening the replacement of the traditional Māori belief system. Te Kaawa explains that the ancestors were people of faith who interpreted the signs of the sky, of the land, of the environment, of the waters and of the rivers; they were connected spiritually to the land and had a deep and profound belief in the networks of spiritual power.

On Christmas Day 1814, the Anglican cleric Samuel Marsden delivered the first Christian sermon in Aotearoa New Zealand (Davidson, 2004; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). This event marked the arrival of the gospel in Aotearoa New Zealand. Christianity would bring irrevocable changes to Māori society. In the 1820s (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004) and 1830s (Davidson, 2004) the rate of conversion to Christianity among Māori increased considerably. The translation of the New Testament into *te reo Māori*, Māori desire for literacy, improved missionary performance and the involvement of unofficial Māori missionaries, led to further accelerated levels of

¹⁴³ Foreigner, European, non-Māori (Moorfield, 2011).

conversion throughout the 1830s and 1840s (Elsmore, 2000; Davidson, 2004; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004).¹⁴⁴ Stenhouse and Paterson (2004) state that:

Missionary doctrine appealed to many Māori because, like pre-contact religion, it laid out precise guidelines to follow in order to achieve wellbeing. The missionaries could seldom control the new varieties of Māori Christianity that emerged. Many Māori, for example, seeing the Sabbath as an essential Christian tikanga, observed it more strictly than some Pākehā (p. 172).

Once converted to Christianity, “...Māori saw it as being an essential element in a package of new *tikanga* by which they could advance into modernity” (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004, p. 172). However, as Barker (1970) points out, Māori observed that Pākehā had multiple interpretations of the Bible, which opened the way for Māori to extract and expound Indigenous understandings of the scriptures. He argues:

The multiplicity of Christian missions in New Zealand is an important factor in sanctioning diversity, for the obvious fact that the Pakeha could draw more than one inspiration from the Bible led to the inevitable conclusion that the Maori could also find his inspiration there (Barker, 1970, p. 46).

Vilaça and Wright (2009) assert that Christianity has always been shaped and re-characterised by the cultures of the nations or ethnic groups in which it has been cultivated. They state: “...given its missionary and inclusive nature, Christianity has always been redefined by the social groups in contact with it” (p. 3). This is certainly true for Māori. Hirini Kaa affirms that Māori interpreted the Bible in their own unique way:

Although the Bible had been brought to this land by Europeans and was tied to Empire, it was no imperial document. Instead our *tīpuna* saw it through their own cultural eyes as a living embodiment of the divine, which [when] tied to our own ancient knowledge, would provide a source of liberation from and resistance to all that would oppress us (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

Prior to the New Zealand wars (1845-1872), Māori political leadership was based on inherited chieftainship. The struggle against Pākehā intrusion and the severe loss of

¹⁴⁴ Literacy was instrumental in dispersing Christianity; Māori not only gained literacy at an astounding rate, but they taught literacy amongst their people, further accelerating literacy rates amongst Māori (Elsmore, 2000). Missionaries travelling to areas where they had assumed the people to be illiterate were amazed when they learned that Māori had been teaching each other how to read and write in *te reo Māori* (Elsmore, 2000).

land resulted in a change in leadership style and function, which included the emergence of religio-political leaders in the form of prophets (Winiata, 1967) in addition to, or in some cases instead of, the traditional leaders. Sinclair (2002) contends:

Māori prophets were a logical response to an increasingly irrational situation. For the future, this meant that the prophets were able to confer a degree of stability and continuity on circumstances that threatened to be neither stable nor continuous. For Māori, prophetic voices articulated both problems and solutions (p. 21).

The Māori prophets ascended from the margins of mainstream Christianity at an intersection where “...religion, culture and politics interpenetrated and interacted, sometimes explosively” (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004, p. 171). Boast (2013) points out that:

Māori remained as Christians, but experimented with new forms of religious authentication of their own devising. Thus, as has happened in so many times and places, engagement with Christianity and the Bible set in train transformations which no one could predict or control (p. 81).

Extending to followers a sense of hope, identity and community, Māori prophetic movements represented a powerful religio-political response to colonialism and devastating land loss (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). According to Sinclair (2002):

Land and increasing Pākehā control of it have always been an important concern for Māori religious movements. For Māori, the prophets and their teachings represented continuity with their past and insulation from the intrusion of the interlopers. The emerging New Zealand state, however, had every incentive to deny the power and coherence of a religious message with intense political overtones, for the tradition of prophecy expressed an unwelcome challenge to its claim to legitimacy and authority (pp. 1-2).

The loss of land and the efflorescence of Christianity among both Pākehā and Māori forced Māori to confront Pākehā power. The dispossession and despair of the nineteenth century found expression in religious movements, which manipulated the introduced symbols of Christianity both to explain Māori desolation and to offer hope for redemption. It is clear that Māori transformed a means of submission into a weapon of resistance (p. 21).

These prophetic movements initially centred on the New Testament, transitioning toward an emphasis on the Old Testament and identification with the Hūrai, or Jews (Binney, 2012). Although Māori had associated themselves with the plight of the

Israelites, the concept of Hebraic descent had been, Elsmore (2000) argues, introduced directly and indirectly to Māori. Samuel Marsden, for example, had theorised that Māori were descendants of the House of Israel, because of perceived cultural and religious similarities. By the twentieth century, millennialism had also become part of the Māori prophetic movement mix (Binney, 2012).

The English word ‘prophet’ comes from the Greek word *prophetes*, which refers to one who speaks out or makes proclamations (Tishken, 2007). Prophets are those who deal personally with supernatural forces (Tishken, 2007) and promote great change within communities. From their individual perspectives and frequently from the perspectives of their communities, prophets are women and men who receive revelation from one or multiple divinities and intelligibly impart these messages to their followers (Humm, 2009). From a biblical perspective, Don Tamihere states:

The Bible doesn’t shy away from the supernatural or the divine elements of the prophetic call. If anything, the great quality of the Bible is that it seeks to represent the divine and the human condition.... ..the Bible often quite simply and casually mentions the supernatural aspect of prophecy as if it is something that we should all just accept as a reality. And so that supernatural connection, that divine element, is a very strong part of prophecy; prophecy can’t exist without it.the majority of prophecy and prophetic utterance has to do with simply stating the truth (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

Before they take up their divinatory role, Webster (1979) opines, prophets are known to experience immense psychological tension manifested as intense dreams, visions, incessant voices, and important communications; this phase is often accompanied by a period of illness. This was certainly true of the Māori prophet Te Kooti, who was afflicted with tuberculosis when he received his divine call (Binney, 1995; Ross, 1966; Webster, 1979).

Although the English terms ‘prophet’ and ‘prophecy’ are loaded with Western and Judeo-Christian meaning, conceptually, prophets and prophecy have always been part of Indigenous cultures. Comparing Māori and Xhosa prophetic movements, Wagstrom (2005) states:

Christianity brought by missionaries had a tradition of prophecy to which it often referred, but it was generally associated with voices from the distant

past speaking of things in the perhaps distant future, whereas Maori and Xhosa prophecy (i.e., divination and visions) was a continuing experience that dealt with immediate concerns (p. 53).

Thus, Indigenous prophets existed in different forms and with different capacities within their respective Indigenous communities as prophetic guides, seers and spiritual mediators, who foresaw the events that would impact on their people. Relating Māori prophets to their Hebrew counterparts, Elsmore (2000) maintains:

As the Hebrews had their prophet-leaders who were intermediaries between Yahweh and the people, and who were also their political leaders, so a parallel can be found within the Maori culture. Prophecy was an accepted part of Maori life, being practiced by *tohunga* and indeed by anyone who might possess the power of foresight. *Tohunga* acted as intermediaries between *atua* and people in their reading of the divine will. The more political function of the leader was performed by the *rangatira* or *ariki* but very often these figures combined the roles of priest and political leader. Therefore the roles of the Hebraic prophet-figure had their counterpart in the functionaries of Maori society. When religious movements arose in response to the need of the people, the charismatic figures and prophets who arose to lead them had their models in both systems – being relatable to the former *tohunga* and also to the Judaic prophets (pp. 88-89).

The impact and influence of both colonisation and introduced religions on Indigenous people reshaped the function of Indigenous prophets. In the Māori context, for instance, “[t]he oral histories of tribes describe seers and those spiritually gifted, but the prophets who emerged in the wake of conversion, loss of land, and warfare merged Christianity with their own beliefs” (Sinclair, 2002, p. 22) making the post-contact prophets distinct from the traditional *matakite* and *tohunga* of the pre-Christian Māori world. Referring to the links between Māori and Xhosa prophetic movements, Wagstrom (2005) argues: “While these movements were often forms of resistance against the presence and influence of missionaries and of Europeans more generally, it is possible to detect the imprint of Christian teaching on them, mixed with indigenous beliefs and leadership” (p. 66).

These new types of prophets innovatively merged new with old as a means of religio-political resistance against colonisation. The prophets created movements based on their political and spiritual visions and encouraged their followers to maintain a sense of hope in the face of adversity. Webster (1979) states:

Associated with these movements is invariably a prophet or messiah who emerges with a message, or call to action, relevant to the particular situation out of which the movement has arisen in the first place. This message proposes a supernatural solution to the problems confronting the followers, although very often quite practical means are also employed. It is the prophet or the messiah who states the form, time and place of the millennium (p. 49).

There were peaceful Māori movements and there were also those, like the Pai Mārire, which violently resisted colonisation. Prophets like Te Kooti, Tāwhiao,¹⁴⁵ Tohu and Te Whiti,¹⁴⁶ amongst others, aside from giving their people hope in the face of colonial injury, were some of the greatest change agents in the history of Aotearoa New Zealand. According to Baker (1970):

The sayings of the prophets Te Kooti and Tawhiao and Te Whiti had helped in some measure to keep their hopes alive, just as the prophets of the Hebrews had often inspired these people to wait for the Day of the Lord when God Himself would restore them (p. 8).

These prophets were religious leaders, political strategists and experts in warfare. Māori prophets syncretically and selectively mixed their old religion and culture with aspects of the invader's religion and culture, thus creating a hybridisation of very different religious and cultural beliefs. Linking traditional knowledge with introduced knowledge served to promote Māori cultural validity at a time when the colonisers sought to erase everything. According to Ranginui Walker:

What the prophets were trying to do in that time was to create a new synthesis using this new religion: a mixture of Christian beliefs and Māori traditional customs. The idea was to use this new religion to unify the

¹⁴⁵ The second Māori king, Matutaera, had converted to Pai Mārire and was baptised with the name of Tāwhiao by the first Māori prophet, Te Ua Haumēne, in August 1864; following Te Ua's death, Pai Mārire remained the religion of the Kīngitanga (Binney, 2013a; Elsmore, 1998, 2000). Tāwhiao took the Pai Mārire faith back to the King Country and in 1875 renamed it Tāriao, and from March 1885 Tāwhiao introduced the *poukai* (Binney, 2013a; Elsmore, 1998, 2000) (*Poukai* is a King Movement *hui* held on *marae* where people who support the Kīngitanga demonstrate their loyalty, contribute to funds and discuss movement affairs (Moorfield, 2011)). A blend of Christian and Pai Mārire beliefs, Tāriao also included Māori *atua* and star constellations as part of the worship services; the Tāriao believed that a new Christ, in millennial fashion, would come and bring in a new age (Elsmore, 1998, 2000).

¹⁴⁶ Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi founded a pacifist community in the Taranaki area which they named Parihaka (Binney, 2013b; Elsmore, 1998, 2000). In response to government surveying of Taranaki lands for Pākehā settlement in 1878, Tohu instructed his followers, who hailed from Pātea, Whanganui and Waikato, to occupy and plough the land (Binney, 2013b; Elsmore, 1998, 2000). However, on 5 November 1881, the government sent troops to fragment the community by destroying their homes and evicting the 1,600 or so supporters from outside the area; Te Whiti and Tohu were incarcerated for six months awaiting trial while the government immediately passed legislation permitting their indeterminate imprisonment in the South Island (Binney, 2013b; Elsmore, 1998, 2000). Te Whiti and Tohu were released after 24 months and returned to Parihaka to rebuild the community; Te Whiti was arrested again in 1886 but was released 1887 (Binney, 2013b; Elsmore, 1998, 2000).

people: *ki te whakakotahi te iwi*. And then when they'd succeeded in unification, then they would be able to challenge the power of the state (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

Some Māori prophets set up separate communities where they promoted hope and redemption, which Webster (1979) argues, are fundamental concepts of prophetic millennial movements. Prophetic millenarian movements are those that seek salvation in the face of unfavourable conditions, from which the followers and their leaders wish to escape (Webster, 1979). Millennialism is the belief in a supernatural peace on earth where believers organise themselves in such a way as to bring about a new spiritual age (Doniger, 1999; Landes, 2004). Doniger (1999) states that Indigenous millennial movements were often anti-colonial in nature. According to Hirini Kaa: "In this context of the people facing the encroaching loss of their lands and the likelihood of imminent conflict, the prophet evoked a message of peace and goodness, of Book of Revelation inspired redemption and of a better future" (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

Rosenfeld (1995, 1996, 1999, 2011) argues that Indigenous millennial movements emerged within a particular kind of setting, where there is a disconnection from tradition, caused by a more powerful culture. Hence, "...the end of the world happens to colonized peoples; it is not imagined" (Rosenfeld, 2011, p. 93). Led by prophets, new religious movements emerged where followers invested in the hopes, dreams and visions of their leader. These hopes and dreams were millennial in that they looked to the future, where more positive outcomes were envisioned, beyond the spectrum of colonisation and oppression.

According to Webster (1979), during his Second Coming, Christ is meant to establish a kingdom of saints on Earth: the New Jerusalem.¹⁴⁷ This notion, coupled with the Old Testament idea of the Promised Land,¹⁴⁸ laid the foundation for those prophets who wished to separate themselves and their followers from society and live according to their own dictates. Webster (1979) argues that the followers of prophetic movements almost always come into conflict with wider society or with the government as they

¹⁴⁷ The notion of the New Jerusalem or Zion actually predates Christianity and was established through the prophetic words of Ezekiel in the Old Testament.

¹⁴⁸ God's promise to the Israelites that there was a Promised Land set aside for them was first given to Abraham in Genesis 15:18-21 and then to his son Isaac and his descendants in Genesis 28:13. This promise was further renewed after Moses led his people out of Egypt: "Behold, I have set the land before you: go in and possess the land which the LORD swore [*sic*] unto your fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to give unto them and to their seed after them" (Deuteronomy 1:8).

strive to achieve autonomy. The opposition and conflict between a prophetic movement and the rest of society is frequently expressed in some form of physical confrontation (Elsmore, 2000; Roxburgh, 1985; Webster, 1979). This conflict results in a greater isolation of the movement from the surrounding society than existed before the physical confrontation occurred (Webster, 1979). The numbers of people involved in such groups might decrease; or on the other hand, the prophetic movement might become accepted by mainstream society, as was the Ringatū movement (Misur, 2003; Roxburgh, 1985; Webster, 1979).

The first Māori prophet: Papahurihia (Te Atua Wera) and the Nākahi movement

In the Bay of Islands in the 1830s, Pākehā diseases took a significant toll on Māori, who had no immunity to these introduced illnesses (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). Papahurihia, also known as Te Atua Wera, was a healer and *matakite*, and the son of a prominent female *tohunga* (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). Hirini Kaa states:

He was a renowned Ngā Puhi *tohunga* descended from a tradition of healers and possessed visionary powers. Papahurihia was literate and became well-versed in the scriptures. Papahurihia was the product of a society where the merging of Māori thought and biblical insight created politics of uncertainty. Leadership was called for; a vision was needed (Douglas, et al., 2013, n.p.).

Papahurihia attracted many devotees and called them Hūrai or Jews (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). Regarded as the first prophet of the post-contact period, Papahurihia established his movement around 1833, during a period when Christianity was being accepted readily by Māori (Elsmore, 2000; Moon, 2011; Walker, 2004). Papahurihia came from a heavily missionised area and he drew on his understandings of the Old Testament, such as the notion of dispossession from the homeland, as inspiration for his movement (Sinclair, 2002). However, he was highly critical of the missionaries, referring to them as *kaikōhuru*¹⁴⁹ who used *mākutu*,¹⁵⁰ or supernatural means, to kill Māori (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). According to Elsmore (2000):

The Papahurihia persuasion was one of many adjustment movements of the early contact period, by which Maori attempted to relate the new teachings to traditional beliefs. It is, therefore, a synthesis of old and new, and includes

¹⁴⁹ Murderer, assassin (Moorfield, 2011).

¹⁵⁰ Inflicting physical and psychological harm through spiritual means (Moorfield, 2011).

elements of resentment of the alien culture, seen in its ejection of the missionaries (p. 111).

Papahurihia refined his new faith, which was based on fragments of an older Ngā Puhi-based religious philosophy, of which he became the principal proponent (Moon, 2011). He was inspired by Te Nākahi,¹⁵¹ a spirit that represented the serpent from the biblical Garden of Eden story (Elsmore, 2000; Moon, 2011).¹⁵² Te Nākahi was not perceived in the same way as the Judeo-Christian God, but was viewed in a similar way to a traditional Māori *atua* (Elsmore, 2000). The serpent is usually thought of as being a snake, but in a Māori context, where there are no snakes, the nearest animal to a serpent was the *ngarara*¹⁵³ or lizard (Elsmore, 2000).

The significance of the serpent and its link to salvation is noted in the New Testament: “And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man¹⁵⁴ be lifted up: That whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life” (John 3:14-15).¹⁵⁵ Relating the imagery and meaning of the serpent from the Bible to Māori, Hirini Kaa argues:

The snake is a biblical symbol of challenge which Moses used to confront the power of Pharaoh in Egypt. And Moses used the snake as a symbol of hope, saving the people as long as they kept faith. To a people [Māori] who had never seen a snake, this was an abstract image that Papahurihia brought to life through the strength of his words. He used the image of the snake as a new and powerful message to his followers, that the new forces facing the people could be overcome (Douglas, et al., 2013, n.p.).

During the period between the 1830s and 1860s no significant or enduring religious movements emerged other than Te Nākahi (Elsmore, 2000). This period was punctuated, however, by a series of minor, confined responses, which had in common

¹⁵¹ Te Nakahi was apparently translated from the Hebrew word, *Nahash* (Elsmore, 2000).

¹⁵² However, the serpent in the Garden of Eden story represented Lucifer and thus differs quite significantly from the representation of the serpent in other parts of the Bible. For example, in John 3:14-15 and Numbers 21:8-9, the serpent represents the ‘Son of man’, which for some Christians represents the Christ.

¹⁵³ Creepy-crawly, insect, reptile (Moorfield, 2011).

¹⁵⁴ The son of man is also known as the son of Adam (Bromiley, 1995). For some Christians, the Son of Man can represent Jesus Christ (Kim, 1983).

¹⁵⁵ This passage refers to the experience of the Hebrew prophet Moses as recorded in the Old Testament:

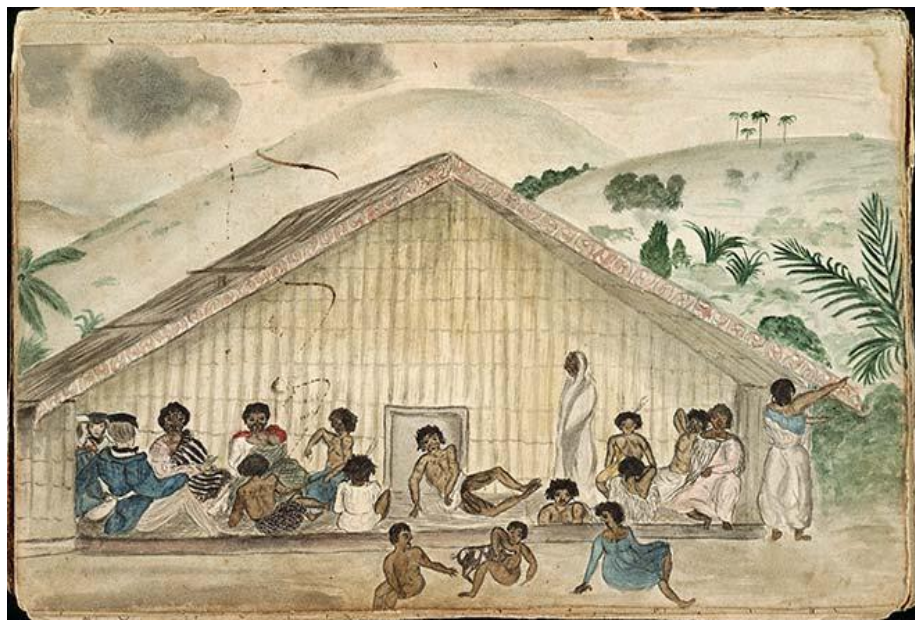
And the LORD said unto Moses, make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live.

And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole, and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived (Numbers 21:8-9).

with the Papahurihia movement the rejection of the religion of the missionaries in varying degrees of intensity (Elsmore, 2000).

The God of the Old Testament issued many laws for the Hebrews, articulated through the words and writings of the prophets. The Old Testament presented an image of a powerful and protective God who demanded that his people follow his commandments to the letter. Drawing upon this sense of power and protection, Papahurihia guaranteed that his people would be immune from bullets during battle, while the bullets of his followers were assured unfailing accuracy (Elsmore, 2000). Te Atua Wera also claimed to be able to raise the dead (Elsmore, 2000).

Image 22: Te Atua Wera



(Te Atua Wera, 1847, Auckland City Libraries, NZ MSS 116, p. 97)

Te Atua Wera, with full facial moko, positioned to the left.

Te Ua Haumēne and the Pai Mārire movement

The Pai Mārire or Hauhau sect was one of the most prevalent Māori religious movements of the nineteenth century (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). ‘Pai Mārire’, which means ‘goodness and peace’, was an expression that described the nature of God, and was frequently repeated by Te Ua’s followers; while ‘Hauhau’ refers to both the winds and the breath of life (Elsmore, 2000; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). According to Hirini Kaa:

Pai Mārire was the first Māori religion based on the Bible to have a nationwide impact. It was an attempt to distinguish Māori Christianity from the dogma of missionaries. This religion with its principles of goodness and peace was a sanctuary for a Māori people who were finding out that war with Pākehā did not bring victory. An enduring symbol to this faith was the flagpole; a link between earth and the new God in heaven. This Māori religion was created by a prophet known as ‘the wind man’” (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

Born of Taranaki *iwi* descent in the early 1820s, Te Ua Haumēne was the prophet and founder of the Pai Mārire faith, which was the first organised manifestation of a self-determining Māori Christianity (Davidson, 2004; Head, 1984, 1992; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). Te Ua’s father had died shortly after his birth and in 1826, Te Ua and his mother were captured in a Waikato raid and were taken as slaves to Kāwhia; Te Ua’s abductors taught him how to read and write in *te reo Māori* and he became well acquainted with the New Testament, particularly the Book of Revelation (Head, 1984, 1992). Te Ua was baptized with the name Horopāpera (Zerubbabel) by John Whiteley, who had organised the Wesleyan mission at Kāwhia in 1834 (Head, 1984, 1992). Te Ua assisted in the Waimate mission station under the Wesleyans, John Skevington and Charles Creed, and occasionally led church service as a Wesleyan monitor (Davidson, 2004), while maintaining his Bible studies (Head, 1984, 1992).

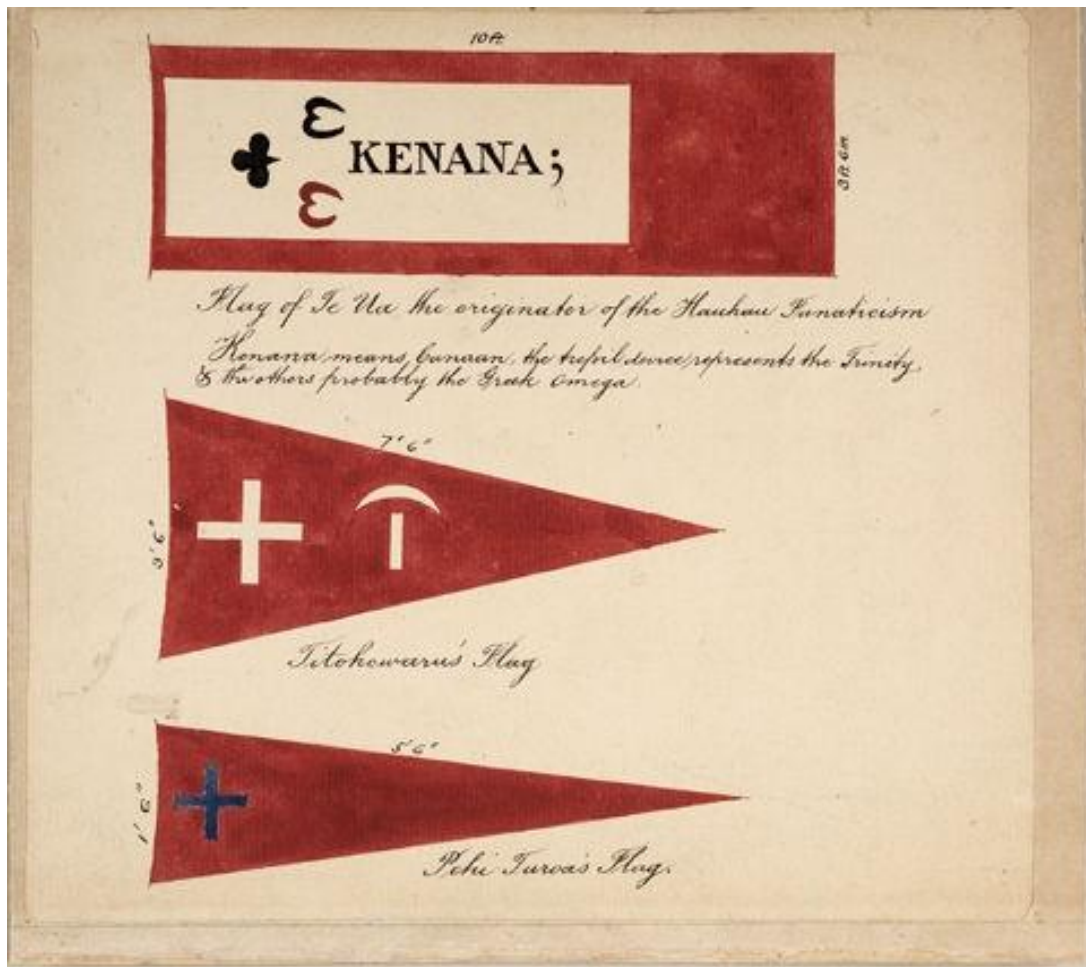
It is surmised that Te Ua supported the Kaingarara movement in the 1850s, which lifted the *tapu* associated with traditional Māori spiritual power (Head, 1984, 1992). Te Ua was connected to the anti-land-selling movement in Taranaki and was a supporter of the King movement; additionally, Te Ua fought against the Crown in 1860 and served as a religious minister to the Māori troops (Head, 1984, 1992). Directing local government and upholding the boundaries of the lands that were subject to the authority of the Māori King, Te Ua functioned as a leader of a *rūnanga*¹⁵⁶ at Matakaha (Head, 1984, 1992). A belief in the notion of liberation for Māori, coupled with hostile feelings toward the missionaries were emerging themes in Taranaki during this time; these ideas became the fundamental basis for Te Ua’s spiritual teaching, while the idea that Māori had the right to protect and preserve their connections with their territories was the keystone to his politics (Head, 1984, 1992). Rejecting his baptismal name, Horopāpera, he took the spiritual name Haumēne in 1864 (Head, 1984, 1992).

¹⁵⁶ Tribal council (Moorfield, 2011).

On 5 September 1862, the archangel Gabriel visited Te Ua and confirmed his prophetic call, ushering in the last days, spoken of in the Book of Revelation. Te Ua was commanded to break the bonds of Pākehā oppression and he was promised that Māori, as part of the House of Israel, would have their birthright reinstated in the land of Canaan (Aotearoa New Zealand) (Davidson, 2004; Elsmore, 2000; Head, 1984, 1992; Salmond, 1976; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004; Walker, 2004). Te Ua proclaimed that God's special relationship with the Māori people meant that "*Atua Mārire* (God of Peace) promised to restore his 'forgetful, naked-standing people in the half-standing land'" (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004, p. 174). Te Ua was thought by some to be mad, although in his view, the disbelief which followed his vision was a test of faith that further authenticated his prophetship (Head, 1984, 1992). He performed biblical-type phenomena which stirred up a following and allowed him to establish his church in three months; he recorded his teachings and the organisation of the church in his gospel, *Ua Rongo Pai* (Head, 1984, 1992). By December, a flagpole or *niu* (which is said to represent the crucifixion of Māori by Pākehā) hung with Hauhau flags, became the centre of his rituals (Davidson, 2004; Elsmore, 2000; Head, 1984, 1992; Walker, 2004). Hirini Kaa states:

Many considered Te Ua mad. But within three months he had completed the organisation of a distinctive new church. Te Ua wrote his own take on the gospel, *Ua Rongopai* – the gospel according to Ua. Te Ua named his church 'Hauhau'. Prophecies would be conveyed to the faithful by the spirit of God in the wind. Te Ua Haumēne's own spiritual name, 'Wind Man', emphasised the powerful imagery of wind. Te Ua developed a symbolism centred on *niu*, or tall masts hung with flags. ... His other symbol was the upraised hand. Te Ua told his believers they only had to follow his instructions and they would be bullet proof. They had to say the right prayers and raise their right hand[s] (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

Image 23: Pai Mārire flags



(Gordon, n.d., Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongarewa, F.7056/41)

The personal flag of Te Ua Haumēne, founder of the Pai Mārire faith. The word 'Kenana' (Canaan) indicates Te Ua's identification with the Jews. The flags below are those of Tītōkōwaru and Peehi Tūroa who were two apostles of the faith.

Te Ua considered his theology to be Christian, without the contamination of missionary error; his conceptualisation of God and the divine was wrapped up in the notion of *pai mārire* or goodness and peace (Head, 1984, 1992). Hirini Kaa asserts:

Te Ua Haumēne's religion would be declared illegal by the settler state; its adherents hunted down and banished. Te Ua himself would be captured, arrested and imprisoned, dying of tuberculosis soon after his release. Te Ua's calling as a prophet was only during his final four years. The story of his early life and times had prepared him for that role (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

According to Te Ua, Te Hau, the spirit of God represented in the wind, transmitted the *niu* (news) or prophecies to the followers; and his adopted name, Haumēne, associated him with the wind (Head, 1984, 1992). The Hauhau worshipped the Holy Trinity, although Christ was not worshipped separately (Head, 1984, 1992). Consistent with the functions of Christ and the archangel Gabriel, described in apocalyptic texts, the figure of Jesus was combined with the archangel who was addressed as Rura (Ruler) or Tama-Rura (Ruler-Son); the archangel Michael, on the other hand, ruled the hosts of heaven and was known to the Hauhau as Riki (Lord) or Te Ariki Mikaera (Lord Michael) (Head, 1984, 1992).

During Hauhau services, the participants, filled with the Holy Spirit, spoke in tongues and articulated prophecies as they encircled the *niu* flagpole; the ceremonies comprised teachings that Te Ua developed from English words and phrases written in Māori form and divided into verses (Head, 1984, 1992). According to Hirini Kaa: “Hauhau ceremonies would have been remarkable events. The faithful spoke in tongues while they circled the *niu*, uttering prophecies. While the angels of the wind swirled about on ropes hanging from the mast’s yardarm; frenzy would ensue” (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

The Hauhau were governed by a hierarchy of prophetic leaders, from local priests to the Tuku Pai (Duke of Peace) and Tuku Akihana (Duke of Action), whose responsibility it was to encourage peace and react to Pākehā belligerence (Head, 1984, 1992). The Tuku had the task of discerning the authenticity of prophecy, but they ultimately acted under the authority of the Pou (Pillar), at the national level, while Te Ua remained the first prophet (Head, 1984, 1992).

Te Ua’s idea was to produce a society of righteousness and peace; his gospel was based on Christ’s parables (Head, 1984, 1992). Te Ua created laws that reflected some of those found in the Bible; he nurtured a discourse of admiration for women by adapting the notion of queenship (Head, 1984, 1992). Te Ua fortified Māori cultural arts, but forbade any traditional practices which were detrimental to the peace and harmony of the community (Head, 1984, 1992). On 6 April 1864, Te Ua’s church drew official attention to itself when a government unit, led by Captain Thomas Lloyd, was ambushed and decapitated, their heads preserved and used religiously by Te Ua as reminders of the

power of righteousness over evil (Elsmore, 2000; Head, 1984; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). According to Salmond (1976): “They believed that once the head had been carried throughout the North Island, legions of angels would exterminate the *Pākehā*, and the gifts of tongues and all knowledge would descend upon the faithful” (p. 25). Hirini Kaa states:

The Hauhau warriors took the decapitated heads of their victims around the countryside to show the power of this new religion. This recruitment drive worked. The number of adherents across the North Island rapidly swelled; by the end of 1865 a *niu* stood in almost every large village from Taranaki to the Bay of Plenty and from the north of the Wellington district to the Waikato frontier” (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

Te Ua’s gospel was accepted by Matutaera, the second Māori king, who visited Te Ua in 1864; on 29 August, the king was baptised by Te Ua and given the name Tāwhiao (Head, 1984, 1992; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). A communiqué was sent out to the King’s people to cease all warring and ready themselves for millennial deliverance (Head, 1984, 1992).

In December 1864, Te Ua sent two emissaries, Pātara Raukatauri and Kereopa Te Rau, to travel peacefully to Tūranga (Gisborne) to visit Hirini Te Kani of Ngāti Porou; however, the messengers journeyed through the central North Island, provoking armed conflict, mainly toward missionaries (Head, 1984, 1992; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). Whilst in Ōpōtiki, the domain of Te Whakatōhea *iwi*, the Anglican missionary, Carl Völkner, had sided explicitly with the government during the war; he returned from Auckland to Ōpōtiki despite advice to the contrary and was ritualistically slain at a Hauhau initiation on 2 March 1865 (Head, 1984, 1992; Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004). Hirini Kaa contends:

“Governor George Grey, fresh from his invasion of the Waikato, issued a proclamation that condemned the Pai Mārire for revolting acts repugnant to all humanity. Across the Island and especially in the East Coast, government forces embarked on a mission to crush the religion. Hundreds of followers were arrested; many taken to exile on the Chatham Islands. To the Pākehā mind and authorities, ‘Hauhau’ became a popular catch cry for all things ‘evil’ (Douglas et al., 2013, n. p.).

From this point, Pākehā used the term ‘Hauhau’ to refer to any Māori who was believed to be in rebellion against the government; Völkner’s death was believed by the pro-

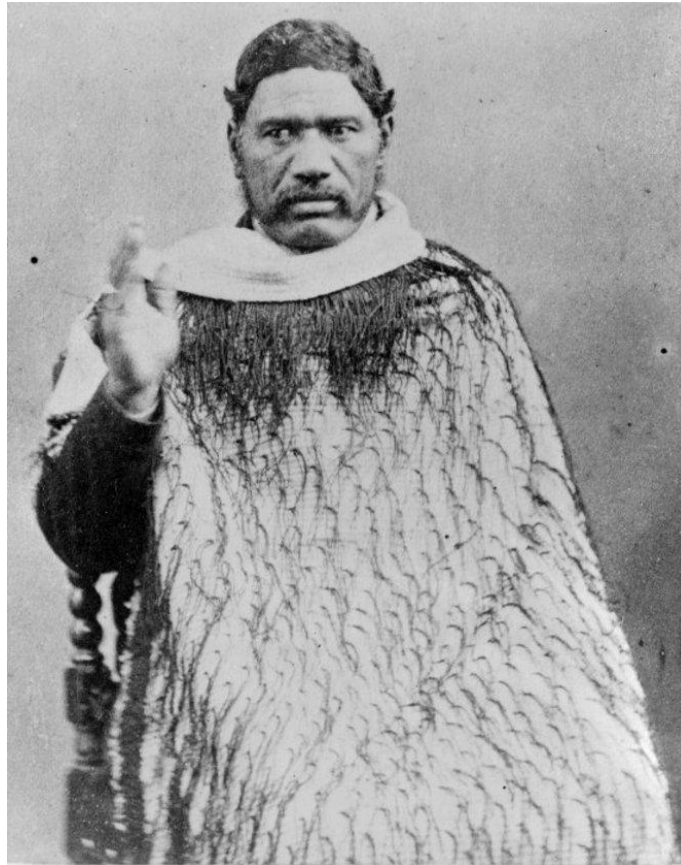
government Ngāti Porou to be the vehicle which brought war to the East Coast, which persisted intermittently until 1872 (Head, 1984, 1992). By 1865 around one fifth of the Māori population was associated with Pai Mārire (Stenhouse & Paterson, 2004).

Te Ua believed that it was pointless to engage in further military resistance and so entered into negotiations with Robert Parris, a government official. The discussions failed and Te Ua and his followers became anxious about invasions by government militia. The threat of land confiscation galvanised the resolution of Māori to resist, thus motivating Te Ua to continue to assert Māori sovereignty over the land (Head, 1984, 1992). While the millenarian component of the Hauhau faith eventually vanished, the introduction of holy days commemorating Te Ua's vision, and the investiture of the first Māori King, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, are evidence of a shift toward developing the faith for the future (Head, 1984, 1992). As a consequence, twelve new workers and three new prophets, Te Whiti-o-Rongomai, Tohu Kakahi and Taikomako – all of whom became religious leaders – were sanctified at a meeting that took place on 24-25 December 1865 (Head, 1984, 1992).

At the end of 1865, Te Ua Haumēne lived at a village near Ōpunake, which was a government stronghold; in 1866, the government launched a military attack on the Taranaki resistance (Head, 1984, 1992). Te Ua signed a declaration of allegiance on 2 January; he surrendered to Major General Trevor Chute and was imprisoned (Head, 1984, 1992). In order to humiliate Te Ua and show the people the futility of Hauhauism, Governor George Grey took Te Ua as his prisoner and held him under house arrest at his Kāwau Island home (Head, 1984, 1992). In June, Te Ua was permitted to return to Taranaki where he encouraged peace (Head, 1984, 1992). Hirini Kaa affirms:

Suffering the effects of tuberculosis, his health rapidly declined, and in October 1866 he died.... Governor Grey had done his best to crush the Pai Mārire religion; it looked as if prophetic resistance to colonisation was dead. However, after Te Ua's death, King Tāwhiao brought the religion to his people (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

Image 24: Te Ua Haumene



(James Cowan Collection, ca.1860, Alexander Turnbull Library, 1/2-005495-F)

The Hauhau are described by Akenson (2005) as the “...raw ancestor of several Maori indigenous Judaisms and Christianities” (p. 218). Adas (1979) states that the remnants of the Pai Mārire movement can be seen within the subsequent Māori religio-political factions that thrived towards the end of the nineteenth century. One of these is Te Kooti’s Ringatū faith. The Pai Mārire holding up their right hands was reminiscent of Moses raising his hand in the battle against the Amalekites (see Exodus 17:11); the Pai Mārire forces believed this action protected them from bullets (de Bres, 1980; Wilson, 1973; Winiata, 1967). For the Ringatū, however, it was a sign of paying homage to God (Binney, 1995; de Bres, 1980; Wilson, 1973; Winiata, 1967).

Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki and the Ringatū faith

For his followers, “Te Kooti was accepted as the Maori messiah, no doubt because of his success in the escape from the Chathams, his powers of faith-healing, and his gift of prophecy” (Barker, 1970, p. 17). The Ringatū faith owes its beginnings to the visions that the prophet Te Kooti had while imprisoned with hundreds of other Māori political prisoners, on the Chatham Islands in the mid-1860s. God spoke to Te Kooti and commanded him to teach the people. Inspired by those revelations, Te Kooti promised his adherents their freedom. Te Kooti and his faithful escaped the Chatham Islands on the ship *Rifleman*. When they landed at Whareongaonga, they raised their right hands in praise and thanks to God for their deliverance; this was the gesture from which the faith received its name, Ringatū – the upraised hand. Following their escape, Te Kooti and his followers were relentlessly pursued by the military. Despite the loss of many lives, that pursuit served only to crystallise and strengthen their convictions. The Ringatū faith was initially a religion of resistance and survival, but later became a religion of peace, fashioned by a history of colonisation and land loss and maintaining an enduring belief in God. As Walker (2004) states: “Te Kooti’s success emboldened him to announce his prophetic mission of struggle against Pakeha domination” (p. 133).

The Ringatū faith was concerned with the issues of the colonised; for its adherents, it not only provided hope, but offered a scaffold for analysing the Māori position within the colonial spectrum, while at the same time it extended to the people a distinctly Indigenous relationship with God (Binney, 1995; Binney & Chaplin, 1996). In order to provide this religio-political framework, Te Kooti incorporated elements of the introduced faith with Indigenous Māori spirituality in order to produce a prophetic movement that the people could use to make sense of their situation and to reclaim autonomy over their lives. Callaghan (2014) contends:

...we can see that the merging of traditional beliefs and introduced missionary beliefs... was a major form of resistance to being taken over, and an active strategy to assert autonomy. Syncretism was one way the people could overtly express their own sense of agency (p. 181).

The syncretic blending of the missionary church with Māori spirituality was a way of resisting the colonial advances of Pākehā. Te Kooti foresaw the devastating effects colonisation would have on Māori. He violated Pākehā theology by mixing it with

Māori spirituality, thus challenging colonisation. It was a case of accepting Judeo-Christianity, but on Te Kooti's terms, and with his followers' spiritual welfare in mind. The amalgamation of missionary faith with Māori beliefs was a hindrance to the Christian missionaries (Callaghan, 2014). They lost converts to religious movements such as Pai Mārire and Ringatū because it was believed that "...these [movements] addressed more directly and without compromise the aspirations of Māori people and their desire to safeguard ancestral lands" (Sundt, 2010, pp. 133-134).

The Ringatū faith also protected Te Kooti's followers, giving them hope, healing and relief from the scourge of colonialism. According to Te Kahautu Maxwell:

E ahau e piri nei ki te Ringatū? Koirā te waka whakaora i ōku tīpuna o rātou wairua, o rātou hinengaro. E hōmai ai he tūmanakotanga mō rātou, he āwhero mō rātou, i te mea kua murua te whenua, kua manakore. He kīngi o ōku tīpuna, he kuini o ōku tīpuna i o rātou whenua, ao ina kē ko taurekareka rātou. Nō reira, koinei te waka i hōmaiā ai e te Atua kia Arikirangi Te Turuki hai hoehoenga mōna, hai hoehoenga mō ōku tīpuna hai whakaora i o mātou wairua, o mātou mana (Melbourne & Epiha, 2014, n.p.)

Maxwell argues that the Ringatū faith provided a vehicle of hope and a purpose for his ancestors as they faced devastating, *mana*-diminishing, land loss. He claims that his ancestors were Kings and Queens of their land, but without land and with their *mana* reduced his people became enslaved. Thus, Maxwell contends, God gave the Ringatū faith to Te Kooti and to his ancestors, as a way of bringing peace and healing to the people.

Ringatū is a faith based on the Bible and the covenants contained therein. Williams (1999) testifies that Te Kooti, formerly an Anglican, had initially embraced Christianity:

Te Kooti welcomed Christianity because he saw a close relationship between it and Maoritanga. But, it wasn't to last long. He soon became openly antagonistic towards Europeans in general when he saw the loss of land, language, the arts and, his worst fear, the loss of the *mana* of rangatiratanga – the *mana* of the chiefs (pp. 76-77).

In spite of the Christian message, Te Kooti turned to the liberation theology of the Old Testament, which had more relevance for Māori within the colonial context (Elsmore, 2000). Binney (1995) avers:

Te Kooti took the people back directly to the scriptures, which seemed to offer them the assurance that their escape from Pharaoh's soldiers was inevitable. They adopted the history of Exodus as their own, and the strength of Exodus history lies in its end: its unconditional promise of the return (p. 70).

Te Kooti and his followers had a deep faith in the literal truth of the Old Testament and they embraced this ancient history as proof that God saves the faithful. Indeed, followers of Ringatū believed Māori were a people in bondage just like the Hebrews of the Old Testament (Barker, 1970; Binney, 1995; Binney & Chaplin, 1996; Elsmore, 1999, 2000; Esler, 1994; Greenwood, 1942; Laughton, 1960; Ross, 1966; Walker, 2004; Webster, 1979; Wilson, 1973). According to Laughton (1960):

...the Old Testament echoed the sentiments of these people under the circumstances in which they found themselves situated, and how they came to identify themselves in thought with Israel of old in her struggles, and to put their faith in Jehovah to do for them as He had done for Israel (pp. 1-2).

The Ringatū saw reflections of themselves and their situation within Old Testament emancipation theology. Like the Israelites, they too looked to Īhowa or Jehovah for their comfort and salvation during harrowing oppression. As Barker (1970) contends:

...the Ringatu saw themselves so clearly as the People of God waiting in the wilderness, it is no wonder that they studied the Old Testament at the expense of the New Testament. This is shown in the liturgy of the church. Many of the Psalms echoed exactly the sentiments of the Maori, and such portions of the Scriptures were included in the liturgy as exact quotations. By these means they expressed their faith in Jehovah, and their hope that He would do for them as He had done for His People, the Hebrews (p. 16).

Although the Ringatū faith initially focussed on the deliverance theology of the Old Testament, over time it moved towards using the New Testament (Elsmore, 2000; Binney, 1995; Binney & Chaplin, 1996; Laughton, 1960). Laughton (1960) claims:

We are told that at the outset nothing from the New Testament was used. That was the Christian part of the Bible, and Te Kooti said he had suffered too much at the hands of the Christians to include anything Christian in his

liturgy. Howsoever that may be, quite considerable portions of the New Testament are now in the ritual... (p. 2).

Thus, the message of Christ and the New Testament became a part of the Ringatū faith. Tarei (2011) considers that Te Kooti "...acquired more for the Maori spiritually and taught the Maori more about the word of God and Christianity, than all the other churches had managed to do in twice as many years" (p. 143). Correspondingly, Williams (1999) declares that "...Te Kooti achieved more than any other individual to bring together Christianity and Maoritanga in a complementary relationship" (p. 80).

The liturgy of the Ringatū Church is made up of passages from the Māori Bible. Greenwood (1942) makes this clear when he states: "There is no other Christian organization which uses the Bible so fully as this church. ...all waiatas, panuis, inois, and himines constituting a service are gleaned direct from the Scriptures" (p. 55). More impressive still, is the fact that the liturgy is committed completely to memory (although, in contemporary times, books are sometimes used to assist those learning the liturgy). Garrett (1992) argues: "Te Kooti provided his followers with forms of worship embodying earlier pre-literate spontaneity – and relying substantially on memorization, as in ancient tradition. The Ringatu rituals, festivals and recited *karakia* (prayers) made many Maori feel at home in Te Kooti's church" (p. 126). Ringatū services are also conducted entirely in *te reo Māori*. Tarei (2011) maintains:

The language used by the Ringatu Church, sung and spoken in its services, is classic[al] Maori. This too is an example of the wisdom and foresight of Te Kooti. In the days of our ancestors we learnt our culture from special whare wananga, houses of learning. Today these have been replaced by universities and it's a great loss for the Maori people; the Maori language spoken today is weakened and corrupted. Te Kooti foresaw that this would happen. Although he was hunted and persecuted, he realised there would be a need to protect and perpetuate the most precious part of the culture of the Maori, his language. And so he devised the practices of his church accordingly (p. 142).

Connections to land are crucial to the Ringatū belief system. Binney (1995) asserts that the original hymn of the faith was the Lamentation of Jeremiah from the Old Testament which recalls in its final lines: "'Our own lands have been taken by strangers, but you will always be my Father, for ever' ('Kua riro matou wahi tipu i nga tangata ke, ko koe tonu ia hei Matua tipu moku, ake ake')" (p. 66; see Lamentations 5:2). With reference to the *ringa tū* – the raising of the hands – the hymn continues:

“‘But let my heart and my hands be raised up in the search for my God’ (‘Aue kia ara atu toku ngakau me oku ringaringa, ki te whai i toku Atua’)” (Binney, 1995, p. 66; see Lamentations 3:41). Indeed, Binney (1995) claims that the Ringatū practice of raising the right hand at the conclusion of prayers comes from this hymn.

Referring to the Ringatū practice of raising the hand, Barker (1970) argues that this custom bore no resemblance to more orthodox Christian prayer practices. He avers:

In opening and closing prayers, the sign of the upraised hand, from which the movement derived its name, has replaced the sign of the cross which one would have expected Te Kooti to have learnt during his time at the mission station (Barker, 1970, p. 23)

Barker (1970) also states that in the Ringatū liturgy, the expression: “‘Glory be to thy Holy Name’ [korōria ki tou ingoa tapu] replaces the Christian... ‘Through Jesus Christ our Lord’”. This is to be understood as a direct reference to Jehovah which omits and ignores the mediating word of Jesus” (p. 20). The act of raising the hands in praise to Jehovah – the Hebrew God of the Old Testament – is a way of resisting and rejecting more orthodox Christian practices and makes Ringatū all the more distinct. Furthermore, Barker (1970) asserts that the Ringatū Jehovah is the result of an Indigenous theology that is unique to Te Kooti’s church:

The Ringatu Jehovah is very similar in many respects to the God of the Hebrews, but he is also clearly the end-product of Maori thought. He falls somewhere between the traditional Maori pantheon incorporated into one being, and the Jehovah of the Old Testament (pp. 26-27).

The Ringatū Sabbath is observed on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, rather than Sunday, which suggests that the Ringatū identified more with Old Testament theology and rejected the Sunday Sabbath of Christianity. Another way in which the Ringatū Church rejects Christian orthodoxy is by not including the elements of bread and wine in their Sabbath day services; this exclusion was based on a fear that Te Kooti’s followers would believe that the bread and wine were the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and that through partaking in these emblems, they were engaging in cannibalism (Barker, 1970; Greenwood, 1942). The Lord’s Prayer is always included in Ringatū services but with some modification. de Bres (1980) argues that the Ringatū Church omits from the Lord’s Prayer, the line:

“Give us this day our daily bread”, because in the Māori bible, bread was translated as *taro*,¹⁵⁷ and for Te Kooti, *taro* was a rare and high prized food source; and so it was thought that there was no point in praying daily for *taro* “...when you would be lucky to get it once a year” (p. 42).¹⁵⁸

In the 1870s Te Kooti developed and instigated the four pillars of the Ringatū faith. The earliest event on the Ringatū calendar was the First of January which was first celebrated on 1 January 1875 and was derived from Exodus 40:2: “On the first day of the first month shalt thou set up the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation”; this festival would be the first of the four pillars of the Ringatū religious calendar (Binney, 1995; Binney & Chaplin, 1996). The second pillar, the First of July, was first held in 1876 and solemnised the seventh month as found in Leviticus 23:24: “Speak unto the children of Israel, saying, in the seventh month, in the first *day* of the month, shall ye have a Sabbath, a memorial of blowing of trumpets, an holy convocation.” This day commemorates spring, the renewal of life, and the rededication of the land to God (Binney, 1995; Binney & Chaplin, 1996).

In 1879, Te Kooti introduced the last two pillars of the Ringatū religious calendar. These are generally known as the *huamata* and the *pure* (Binney, 1995; Binney & Chaplin, 1996). *Huamata* is the Ringatū rite of planting and is held around 1 June; and the *pure* is the Ringatū ritual of removing the *tapu* to ensure plentiful crops, and is held around 1 November (Moorfield, 2011).¹⁵⁹ According to Binney (1995), the seed had, for Ringatū, become an emblem of Christ and the resurrection: “Thus the lifting of the *tapu* on the sacred garden at the time of the first fruits, or the ripening of the year, came to symbolise the resurrection of Christ, as the modern Ringatu prayer-book clearly states” (p. 422). One Ringatū *tohunga*¹⁶⁰ states:

They had to keep last year’s seed in with the new seed... That’s God’s, to reach all parts of the world. In that garden they had to make certain that there were old seeds *and* the new seeds, and the intermingling of that growth. It is symbolic of society’s growth, as well as the growth of a people, and the type of Christ – that new crop. He lived again after the Crucifixion... (Binney, 1995, p. 422).

¹⁵⁷ *Colocasia esculenta* (Moorfield, 2011).

¹⁵⁸ Greenwood (1942) and Barker (1970) maintain that the word *taro* referred instead to breadfruit.

¹⁵⁹ Binney (1995) notes that the dates 1 June and 1 November for the *huamata* and *pure* rites are subject to the seasons and local customs.

¹⁶⁰ In the Ringatū context the term *tohunga* refers to ministers of the Ringatū Church.

In 1880, Te Kooti inaugurated the first of the month as a day of prayer and feasting, and from December 1885, the first and the twelfth of the month were celebrated; but from 1888, observance of the first of the month was abandoned, and only the twelfth of the month, known as the Twelfth or Tekau-mā-rua, was honoured (Binney, 1995; Binney & Chaplin, 1996). The twelfth day of the month is significant for Ringatū as a holy day, because it is believed that the Spirit of God delivered the covenants of faith to Te Kooti on 12 May 1868 (Binney, 1995; Binney & Chaplin, 1996). According to the written account of Paora Delamere:

Ko nga tau, me te homaitanga ki a Te Kooti te Kawenata Ringatu e te Wairua o te Atua.

1. 1868. Mei 12 te homaitanga a te Wairua i te w[h]akapono Ringatu
The years, and the delivering to Te Kooti [of] the Ringatu Covenant by the Spirit of God.

1. 1868. May 12 the Spirit delivers the Ringatu faith (Binney, 1995, p. 73).

There are other significant reasons why the Twelfth is commemorated, including the celebration of Te Kooti's pardon on 12 February 1883; the remembrance of the Ringatū Passover – the safe landing of Te Kooti and his followers at Whareongaonga; as well as the significance of the number 12 found in the Scriptures (Binney, 1995; Elsmore, 2005; Greenwood, 1942).

Image 25: The seal of the Ringatū Church



(Binney, 1995, p. 421).

The seal of the Ringatū Church was created by the secretary, Robert Biddle, in 1926. The Old and New Testaments of the Bible are featured in the centre; surrounding the Bible are words that can be translated to mean, “The law of God and the faith/truth of Jesus”. On the left is reference to the beginning of the faith at Wharekauri (Chatham Islands) 1867, and on the right, a reference to Te Wainui – the lands that were given by the government to the trustees of the church. While the eagle at the top of the seal represents God, who looks after His children and is referred to in Deuteronomy 32:11-12: “As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings: So the LORD alone did lead him, and there was no strange god with him”.

In 2013, 13,272 people in Aotearoa New Zealand identified as Ringatū (Statistics New Zealand, 2014) and so despite a history of colonisation and land loss, Te Kooti’s Ringatū faith continues to maintain a following. According to Misur (2003):

Of all the Maori prophet movements of nineteenth century origin, it [Ringatū] has been by far the most conspicuously successful in retaining its following, and its members most resolute in proclaiming the lasting relevance of their faith within a changing social environment (p. 97).

The Ringatū Church continues to venerate the prophet Te Kooti, upholding his teachings and performing his liturgy. The survival of the Ringatū faith is testament to

the tenacity of Te Kooti and those who followed him. Te Kooti led his people through the darkness of colonisation and instilled in his followers a deep faith in God and hope for the future. Far from being seen as heretical, as in the past, the Ringatū Church is very much an accepted religion. Misur (2003) argues:

A little over a century ago, the followers of Te Kooti Rikirangi, the founder of the Ringatu Church, were feared and abhorred by administration and settlers as a threat to life and to the sanctity of the Christian religion. Today, the Church operates as an incorporated society under New Zealand law, and its *tohunga*, or clergy, are entered on the government register of persons authorised to solemnise marriages under the Marriage Act (p. 97).

On New Year's Day 2014, the Ringatū Church anointed Wirangi Pera as the new Pou Tikanga¹⁶¹ to lead the faithful; the church had not had a leader for over 30 years and so this may signal a revitalisation of the Ringatū Church. It would seem that some sort of Ringatū renaissance might be necessary because in 2006 a greater number of people, 16,419, identified as Ringatū than did so in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Commenting in 1999 on the future of the Ringatū Church, Pou Tikanga Wirangi Pera asserts:

1. The *haahi*¹⁶² must hold fast to the traditions and teachings that were left to us by our *tipuna*.
2. The *haahi* must maintain our language, our *waiata*, our unique ways of doing things, and must take a more pro-active stance in the promotion of these attributes.
3. The *haahi* must take an active interest in the promotion of *rongoa maori*.¹⁶³
4. There is a need to provide spiritual support to a wide range of people and over a wide range of ages (Pera, 1999, p. 17).

Rua Kēnana and the Iharaira movement

Born in 1869, Rua Kēnana believed that he was destined to take on the prophetic mantle left behind by Te Kooti (Binney, Chaplin & Wallace, 1979; Binney & Chaplin, 1996;

¹⁶¹ According to Te Kāhautu Maxwell, the *Pou Tikanga* is head of the Ringatū Church with status and responsibility similar to that of a Bishop (Taumata, 2014).

¹⁶² The more modern, orthographically correct way of spelling this word is *hāhi*, which means church, religion, or sect (Moorfield, 2011).

¹⁶³ *Rongoā* is the Māori word for traditional medicine (Moorfield, 2011). The addition of the word *māori* – which means normal, usual, natural, common (Moorfield, 2011), emphasises the position of *rongoā* within the Māori world as normal and natural.

Davidson, 2004; Elsmore, 2000).¹⁶⁴ According to Dan Hiramana-Rua: “Simply he said to his people: “I am the chosen one; I have been prophesised by the Almighty”” (Slater, Stephens & Ward, 2008, n.p.). Regarding Te Kooti’s Te Umutaoroa prophecy, Kirituia Tumarae of Tamakaimoana states: “The saying was that one day *ma te tamaiti tika hai huke Te Umutaoroa*” [a child will come and unearth Te Umutaoroa] (Douglas, Mackenzie, Bennet & MacKenzie, 2011, n.p.). Thus, it was believed by some that Rua fulfilled Te Kooti’s predictions about a successor. Rua made his claim as Te Kooti’s successor around two years after Te Kooti’s death; this assertion conclusively split the Ringatū faith (Binney et al., 1979).

Image 26: Rua Kenana



(McDonald, 1908, Alexander Turnbull Library, 1/2-019618-F)

According to Tamiana Thrupp of Ngāi Tūhoe, Rua Kēnana said:

Ka whakaponu mai nā koutou ki a au, māku koutou hai ārahi atu ki te kainga
kua whakaritea mai mō tātou katoa. Hai wehe i ā tātou mai i roto i te ao o te
Pākehā, kua whakauru ake ki roto i a tātou kia kore ai e pā ngā mahi

¹⁶⁴ Raised amongst both Tūhoe and Ngāti Kahungunu, Rua was taught the history concerning Te Kooti and the prophecies regarding the emergence of Te Kooti’s successor (Binney et al., 1979; Elsmore, 2000).

weriweri, ngā mahi kino a te Pākehā ki runga i a tātou. Ā nā, tērā me hoki katoa tātou ki uta, ki te take o te maunga.

Ko tērā āhua o Te Rua, i whakaarohia ai e ia, kāre e haramai ā-tangata, ā-kikokiko, i heke ā-wairua mai tērā. Ka whakatōhia ake ki roto i tōna whatumanawa, ahakoa anō tana akohia i roto i ngā karaipiture (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

Thrupp states that Rua had told his followers that if they had faith in him, he would lead them in establishing a new and inspired home, away from the horrific and evil invading Pākehā civilisation. Thrupp explains that from Rua's perspective, his character derived not from a human or physical genesis but from a spiritual one. Indeed, Thrupp concludes, Rua's prophetic character was deeply and spiritually rooted within his being and did not come from the learning he gained from the scriptures.

From 1904 Rua started having visions (Binney et al., 1979; Elsmore, 2000). Tūhoe *tohunga*,¹⁶⁵ Hōhepa Kereopa claims:

He was visited by the Angel Mikare [Michael]. Well, he was frying bread and then he heard the voice and the voice said: "I want you to come with me. Your job is to heal people". And Rua says: "I want to heal the land. If you heal the land, people will heal automatically". From after that visit, him and his wife Pinepine, packed up in the middle of winter and went up top to Maungapōhatu (Slater et al., 2008, n.p.).

Rua's claim to prophethood came after an experience he had on Maungapōhatu, Tūhoe's revered mountain (Binney et al., 1979), which for Rua came to represent the Promised Land (Elsmore, 2000). Rua and his first wife, Pinepine Te Rika, were instructed by the archangel Gabriel to climb the Maungapōhatu; other accounts of Rua's experience state that he encountered Christ and Whaitiri – a deified Tūhoe female ancestor (Binney et al., 1979; Elsmore, 2000). Upon Maungapōhatu, a hidden diamond – veiled by Te Kooti's garment – was revealed to Rua (Binney et al., 1979).

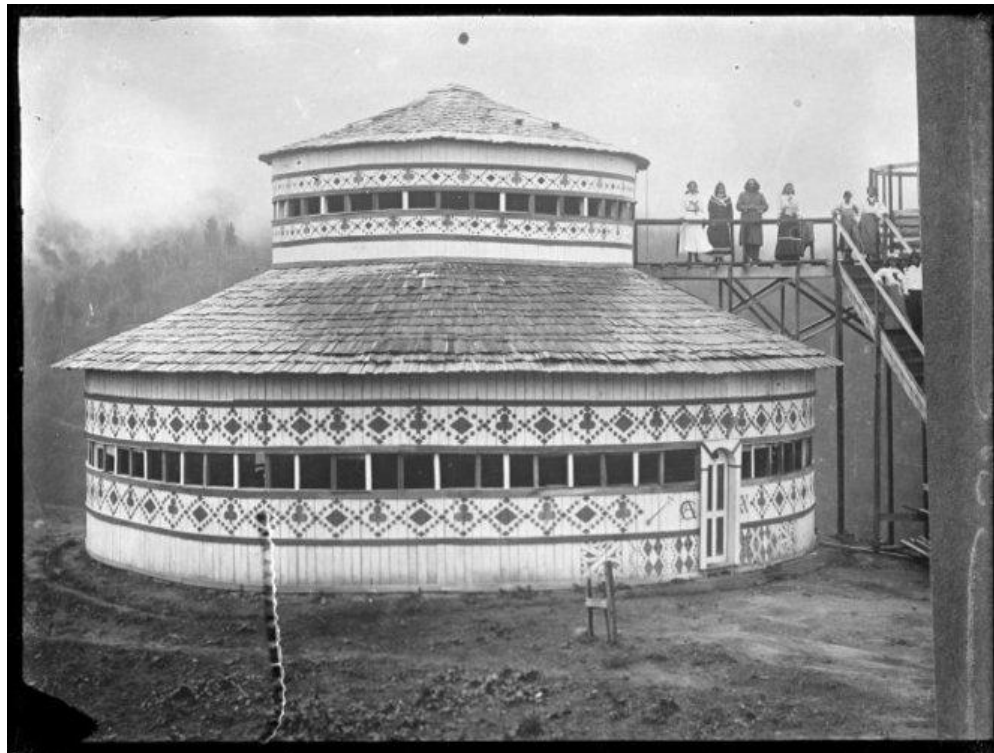
In 1907, Rua and his followers,¹⁶⁶ the Ihairaira (Israelites), established of the City of God at Maungapōhatu, because it was believed that building Zion on the mountain would stop the Crown from taking land in the Urewera for mining or Pākehā settlement

¹⁶⁵ In this context, the word *tohunga* refers to Hōhepa Kereopa's role as a healer.

¹⁶⁶ Te Whakatōhea and Tūhoe devoted themselves to Rua during 1906-08, and expected to return to their confiscated lands in the eastern Bay of Plenty; these were deemed to be the promised lands which formed part of a covenant with God (Binney et al., 1979; Elsmore, 2000).

(Binney et al., 1979; Elsmore, 2000).¹⁶⁷ They built a circular meeting house called Hiona (Zion), embellished with yellow diamonds and blue clubs; this was Rua's parliament and council chamber (Binney et al., 1979; Elsmore, 2000). The gateway to the settlement¹⁶⁸ displayed the word, Mihaia,¹⁶⁹ which is how Rua was identified (Binney et al., 1979).

Image 27: Hiona



(Bourne, ca. 1908, Alexander Turnbull Library, APG-1679-1/2-G)

Rua was perceived to have a disturbing influence because he declared himself a spiritual healer and prophet; from May 1906, the police were ordered to keep an eye on Rua as he was believed to be a *tohunga*; in 1907, the Tohunga Suppression Act, which targeted Rua, was passed (Binney et al., 1979; Davidson, 2004; Durie, 1994; Lange,

¹⁶⁷ The Crown was making Tūhoe lands available for prospecting without consent or consultation, regardless of legislation, passed in 1896, to prevent such activity (Binney et al., 1979).

¹⁶⁸ Under Rua's direction, a second building of the community at Maungapōhatu began in 1914 through a ritualistic succession of demolition and reconstruction; the inner sanctum, including the circular meeting house, Hiona, was demolished, and an orthodox *wharenuī* named Tane-nui-a-rangi was built as a replacement; within this *whare* food could be consumed, which made it different from many other Māori meeting houses (Binney et al., 1979). The rebuilding of the Maungapōhatu community was the beginning of a sequence of *tapu*-absolving rites that opened the era of the New Covenant – a time of *noa* or freedom from the restrictions of the past (Binney et al., 1979).

¹⁶⁹ Messiah - saviour, liberator, anointed one, Christ, person imbued with power from God (Livingstone, 2013). Mīhaia, with the macron, is the modern orthographic form (Moorfield, 2011).

1999; Webster, 1979). Attempts were made to prosecute Rua under the Tohunga Suppression Act, but these failed due to a meeting between Rua and Prime Minister Sir Joseph Ward in March 1908; this meeting became known amongst the Iharaia as the ‘Ceremony of Union’, because Rua agreed with Ward’s contention that there could not be a separate Māori government and that both Māori and Pākehā existed beneath a single sun (Binney et al., 1979). Rua took this to mean that there would be one law for both Māori and Pākehā, and so he created a flag made up of the Union Jack with the following words stitched into it: “Kotahi te ture mo nga iwi e rua Maungapohatu” (“One law for both peoples Maungapohatu”); this flag would later be described by Pākehā as seditious (Binney et al., 1979, p. 99). Rua based his leadership style on the notion of one law for Māori and Pākehā, and pacifism; however, Rua’s position came to be viewed as rebellious during the First World War (Binney et al., 1979). In Grace’s (1994) popular reggae song *Rua Kenana*, he expresses:

Rua left his mark on this world....

Rua Kēnana,
Tūhoe prophet from the Urewera,
Oh Rua, Rua Kēnana.

He told his people not to go to war:
Let the white man fight,
the white man’s war,
Oh Rua, Rua Kēnana.

They lived under Maungapōhatu,
“Children of the Mist”
is what they called you,
Oh Tūhoe, Tūhoe nui tonu.¹⁷⁰

Rua advised his people not to volunteer for the war, and so the government used legislation that prohibited Māori from using alcohol to arrest Rua on charges of illicitly selling alcohol (Binney et al., 1979; Elsmore, 1998, 2000). According to Hōhepa Kereopa: “The real reason was to crack his methods of amalgamating people, because the charge was sly-grogging” (Slater et al., 2008, n.p.). In 1915, Rua was sentenced to three months’ incarceration; however, this sentence was actually for a suspended charge for a comparable offence from 1911 (Binney et al., 1979).¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ The researcher listened to this track via a compact disc recording and subsequently transcribed these lyrics.

¹⁷¹ This was the maximum penalty permissible for Rua’s crime which was given by the local magistrate, Robert Dyer (Binney et al., 1979).

Following a disputatious meeting around the opening up of Tūhoe land, Rua was summonsed to appear in court on the 1915 charges on 19 January 1916, but refused to go (Binney, et al., 1979).¹⁷² A new arrest warrant was issued and two policemen delivered it to Rua on 12 February, but again, he did not appear in court; thus, on 9 March, arrangements were made by John Cullen, Commissioner of Police, for an armed police expedition to arrest Rua by force (Binney et al., 1979).

The conflict that followed on 2 April 1916 is described as the worst conflict between police and a Māori community in the twentieth century; unarmed and accompanied by his sons Whatu and Toko, Rua was arrested at Maungapōhatu, apprehended on the *marae* by an armed force of 57 constables from Auckland and two lesser groups from Gisborne and Whakatāne (Binney, et al., 1979). Rua, Toko and Whatu stood on the *marae* to greet the police, but a shot was fired; while the police claim the shot came from Māori, the evidence supports the Māori claim that it came from the police, and consequently, two Māori were killed, one of whom was Toko (Binney et al., 1979).¹⁷³ The prophet Rua Kēnana was arrested and was sentenced to serve one year's hard labour and 18 months imprisonment.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Rua stated that he could not appear in court because he needed to harvest his cocksfoot grass, but that he would be able to attend court the following month; Dyer deemed this response to be in contempt and issued a new arrest warrant (Binney, et al., 1979).

¹⁷³ However, Toko was not killed outright; he was injured, but when he fired back, he was probably instantaneously executed (Binney et al., 1979).

¹⁷⁴ Rua's arrest was not legal because it had taken place on Sunday and was for a minor offence. Cullen used excessive force and probably should have been charged with murder, manslaughter and common assault (Binney et al., 1979). Rua's Supreme Court trial was one of the longest in New Zealand legal history; the judge, F. R. Chapman, dismissed the charges of resisting arrest at Maungapōhatu but tried Rua for using seditious language, directing others to murder or incapacitate the police, and resisting arrest on a previous occasion (Binney et al., 1979). The jury eliminated the charge of sedition and was incapable of ruling on the charge of encouraging harm to the police; however, Rua was found guilty of resisting arrest on the first occasion (Binney et al., 1979). Thus, Chapman delivered a sentence of one year's hard labour and 18 months imprisonment. Despite public protest and a petition to the government from eight jury members, Chapman's ruling went ahead, as the judge believed that Rua had an extensive history of rebellion, and was part of a racial group which needed to be reminded who wielded power in New Zealand (Binney et al., 1979).

Image 28: Rua Kenana and his son Whatu handcuffed



(Breckon, 1916, Alexander Turnbull Library, 1/2-028072-F)

In April 1918, Rua was discharged from prison and returned to his community, which was crippled by legal debts and the costs of the police expedition. Rua commenced the rebuilding of his community, complete with a new *wharenui* built with the timber from Hiona, a short distance from the site of the old community (Binney et al., 1979). Rua's community, however, failed economically, and by the 1930s his followers were compelled to leave Maungapōhatu in search of food and employment (Binney et al., 1979). Rua left Maungapōhatu and went to the community he had established at Matahi in 1910, where he died on 20 February 1937, leaving behind five wives, one former wife, and 22 children (Binney et al., 1979). Rua prophesied that he would be resurrected on the third day after his death, but when he did not rise, he was entombed in a concrete crypt next to his house at Matahi (Binney et al., 1979; Binney & Chaplin, 1996).

Identifying himself as the Māori Messiah, Rua's mission was centred on assembling his people and endeavouring to carve out a sustainable economic future for them in the shadow of their sacred mountain; Rua provided vision for his people during times of devastation (Binney et al., 1979). According to Hirini Kaa:

In Rua Kēnana, Aotearoa had a prophet who straddled two eras: the nineteenth century, in which religion was the dominant social force which

influenced every aspect of daily life; and the twentieth century, the age of modernity, where religion would be fighting to share the stage with other social forces. Rua was an inspirational spiritual leader for a dispossessed people who needed a vision. Rua's story has echoed down across the decades as a vibrant symbol that keeps alive the issues Rua fought for: justice and Māori autonomy within a faith framework. (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

Rua's teachings and influence continue to be passed down to the next generation. Referring to the regard that the people of Matahi have for Rua today, Wayne Te Kaawa asserts:

I was at Matahi at a *hui*¹⁷⁵ with the people down there, *ka pātai au kia rātou* [I asked them]: *Ko wai a Te Rua mō koutou?* [Who was Rua to you?] *He poropiti?* [A prophet?] *Ka puta te kōrero: Kao, he atua.* [They said: No, Rua was a supernatural being] And I thought, *he atua? Ae!* [Yes!] They looked at Rua as being *he atua*. Now, *engari ka whakaaro Pākehā koe, ka raruraru koe, nē rā* [interpreting this concept with Pākehā thinking is problematic]. *Me whakaaro Māori koe* [Thus, you require Māori thinking]. *Ko tō rātou kōrero ki ahau* [They said to me]: If you look at Maungapōhatu at the time of Rua, he moved whole communities of people from Waimana, from Matahi, from Rūātoki, from Ōpōtiki and he moved them up here in the middle of winter. And he built a community of 1,500 people and he re-built that community. And they said to me: That was 100 years ago, who can do that today? And they said: Only an *atua* could have done that. And I thought: *ae, ka pai tō koutou whakaaro* [yes, you're thoughts are good] (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

Critical analysis of Māori prophetic movements as sites of political resistance

In a situation similar to that of many Indigenous people, Māori prophets combined the introduced religious ideas of the missionaries with their Indigenous beliefs as a means of not only preserving important aspects of their own culture, but also of resisting the advances of colonisation. Rosenfeld (2011) argues: "When indigenous people encounter invaders, a forceful process of acculturation disrupts the traditional world order, causing a profound disorientation, discontinuity, and a sense of loss" (p. 105). However, Higgins (2012) maintains that "[w]hile European culture was instrumental in the disempowerment of tribes, some Māori used the new culture as a mechanism to overcome and reclaim their power and authority" (p. 419). Indeed, Indigenous prophets in Aotearoa New Zealand, and all over the world, rose up against colonialism by creating new syncretic spiritualities as a means of resistance. Davidson (2004) states:

¹⁷⁵ Meeting, gathering.

New religious movements are not peculiar to the Maori but have resulted from the interaction of missionary Christianity and indigenous peoples around the world. They have been variously seen as adjustment, millennial, revitalization, prophetic and liberation movements or in some cases cargo cults¹⁷⁶ (p. 45).

In general, the movements that Indigenous people created can be described as revitalisation movements. Revitalisation movements link the past and present and project visions for the future. Wallace (1956) argues that revitalisation movements arise when people are subjected to psychosocial conflicts caused when a group is forced to adapt to another culture. Haviland, Prins, Walrath and McBride (2005) define revitalisation movements as: “Movements for radical cultural reform in response to widespread social disruption and collective feelings of anxiety and despair” (p. 361). Commenting on the rise of revitalisation movements, Eller (2007) states that “...social conditions change first, and religious conceptions and practices adjust to try to establish some new consonance” (p. 173). Colonisation is a process whereby the world view of one group comes under attack by another group; the colonising group assumes political and economic power and forces the other group to assimilate. In order for the colonised group to cope with this invasion, coping mechanisms must be employed.

Wallace (1956) maintains that as people adjust to a new social order, such as colonisation, they may go through what he calls a ‘period of revitalisation’, which has several stages:

Cultural/psychological reformulation:¹⁷⁷ An innovative leader, a prophet, claiming to be inspired by dreams and visions, rises up with ideas about how to face the future, and is often someone who has experienced serious, possibly even life-threatening, illness.

Communication: The prophet communicates his or her visions and attracts followers, convincing them that things will be better in the future, that they might thrive again and gain control over their lives.

¹⁷⁶ Haviland, Prins, Walrath and McBride (2005) define cargo cults as: “Spiritual movements in Melanesia in reaction to disruptive contact with Western capitalism, promising resurrection of deceased relatives, destruction or enslavement of white foreigners, and the magical arrival of utopian riches” (p. 361).

¹⁷⁷ Wallace (1956) uses the term ‘mazeway reformulation’, but the researcher decided to use Eller’s (2007) term, ‘cultural/psychological reformulation’ here instead.

Organisation: As an effective leader, the prophet organises the followers, beginning with an inner circle of disciples or apostles.

Adaption: The prophetic movement changes over time to suit the social context and beliefs of the followers.

Cultural transformation: If the movement grows large enough, a new culture emerges which engenders a sense of triumph over evil.

Routinisation: If the movement survives, it will ultimately settle into a routine where the organisational structure is established, doctrines are instituted, and lines of succession are determined. As Eller (2007) maintains: “What was once innovative and radical becomes familiar and mainstream” (p. 175).

Anthropologists have identified a number of different types of revitalisation movements. There are five types of revitalisation movements that apply to this research (some revitalisation movements may be a blend of the following types) as defined by Eller (2007):

Syncretism: The amalgamation of two or more cultures or belief systems to create a third.

Millenarianism: The notion that the world – of evil and darkness – will come to an end and usher in a new age.

Messianism: The belief in an ‘anointed one’ who will come and lead the people to salvation.

Irredentism: A belief in the occupation or reclaiming of a homeland.

Nativism:¹⁷⁸ This type of movement emphasises a return to the Indigenous culture, and resistance to the introduced culture. However, movements may intentionally select certain aspects of the introduced culture as they see fit.

Oakes (1997) states that “...opposition to convention and their ability to inspire others with their visions” (p. 2), is something that all prophets have in common. Prophetic movements gave voice to the anxieties and tensions of Māori and other Indigenous peoples, as they endeavoured to find remedies to their suffering at the hands of the coloniser. Moura-Koçoğlu (2011) affirms:

...the emergence of religious movements reflected indigenous people’s dissatisfaction with the state of Māori affairs. The thorough political and economic marginalization from mainstream Pākehā society exacerbated a widespread sense of personal and spiritual insecurity. The incessant loss of ancestral land as well as the disruption of the traditional life-style contributed to deepening disillusionment and demoralization, resulting in a profound loss of identity frames of reference. The rise of diverse prophetic movements can be regarded as a direct response to these circumstances (p. 29).

As responses to the tensions and effects of colonisation and land loss, Māori prophets united their followers and gave them a sense of security in a very uncertain colonial context. Walker (2004) argues:

Loss of mana, military invasion, and loss of land by creeping confiscation were the most obvious effects of colonisation. In order to counter the inroads that the Pakeha had made by surveying the land and inserting military there, prophets arose as new leaders to unify the tribes against their common oppressor. Unity across tribal divisions was to be achieved through the mystical power of religion (pp. 129-130).

Māori, like other Indigenous people, used Christianity as an instrument of political resistance against the coloniser. Moon (1993) maintains: “Christianity provided the framework that individuals were able to build upon, fusing traditional Maori religious and spiritual elements with those of the Old and New Testaments to meet the circumstances and expectations of the time” (p. 83). Referring to Māori prophetic movements, Moura-Koçoğlu (2011) asserts that the “...religious cults of the late-nineteenth century had a fundamental bearing on cultural constructions of indigeneity by generating novel, transcultural forms of spirituality, symbolism, and syncretic

¹⁷⁸ Eller (2007) uses ‘nativism/fundamentalism’.

rituals” (p. 32). Māori politically resisted colonisation using elements of Christianity in order to enhance their identity as Māori. Furthermore, Moura-Koçoğlu (2011) avers:

The striking success of these religious movements in rapidly gaining followers is explicable within the context of the hostile environment for Māori, reinforced by colonial structures of discrimination and oppression. Aside from economic dissatisfaction and political disillusionment among the largely rural Māori population, the psychological situation was a determining factor in fomenting the crisis of identity: Socio-economic discontent and cultural alienation left the original inhabitants of Aotearoa New Zealand in pursuit of leadership and spiritual orientation. The newly arising cults served to strengthen Māori identification... (p. 31).

As well as boosting Māori identity, prophetic movements provided Māori with a means of coping with the psychological, physical, spiritual and cultural trauma that occurred as part of the colonisation process. Douglas and Boxill (2012) opine:

The new economic order and technological transformation wrought by colonization were accompanied by political subjugation to a settler society that denigrated Maori beliefs as both heathen and fanciful myth. Maori responded defiantly with guerrilla warfare and various forms of more passive resistance, including withdrawal. Syncretic messianic movements became very popular; they appeared to be the only hope of redemption for their followers. These religions drew partly on the authenticity of Maori tradition and partly on the Old Testament. Maori leadership has always had a strong element of prophecy... (p. 38).

Referring to the spread of Christianity to Indigenous people, Kaplan (1995) affirms that “...elements of Old Testament and New Testament narrative have been incorporated into the local mythology not as precursors to the acceptance of Christianity, but as new adhesions to traditional belief systems” (p. 2). Furthermore, Kaplan (1995) claims that once the Bible was translated into local Indigenous languages, Native people were able to interpret the meaning of the text for themselves without any regard for imported orthodoxies. Because of this, Indigenous people were able to locate themselves within the scriptures and identify with the ancient Hebrews. Commenting on the use of the Bible in the Māori context, Moon (1993) contends:

The lasting irony of the missionary presence in New Zealand in the nineteenth century is that without the introduction of the Bible, many of the Maori religious sects, which competed with the missionaries for followers, would not have been possible (p. 83).

The Bible provided a new narrative that Māori prophets used as a platform from which to launch their own visions and interpretations of salvation, in opposition to those of the missionaries. Thus, Māori prophets re-shaped the Judeo-Christian mould to suit their own needs and world views. As Moon (1993) maintains:

This need for the Maori input in and shaping of Christianity, as opposed to simple reverting to traditional Maori religion, shows a sharp awareness by the nineteenth century Maori religious leaders of the strength of organised religion, and of the parallels of Biblical events to the Maori struggle (p. 81).

In relation to how Māori adjusted to Christianity, Grau (2011) asserts: “Maori adopted some of it, adapted other things, and mixed and blended in elements of their own culture, using forms of logic that aimed to make sense of the changes occurring in place and time” (p. 209). While tainting missionary-based Christianity with Māori ideas and beliefs was a coping mechanism for Māori, far from helping the missionaries, religious syncretism was a stumbling block to them. Callaghan (2014) argues:

Syncretism was a practice considered by transplanter of the gospel to be one of the greatest barriers to the authority of colonial Christianity. The mingling of traditions illustrates creative development of indigenous theologies taking place in their midst. In Aotearoa, Christian beliefs were being integrated into cultural traditions by local *tohunga* and their followers, and by main religious leaders of the nineteenth century, such as Papahurihia, Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki and Te Ua Haumēne (p. 183).

It can be argued that the introduction of Christianity as part of the colonial tool kit, was very much a political act. In opposition to this, Māori prophets emerged to unite groups of Māori within religio-politically orientated movements that appealed to a people whose land and way of life was being destroyed. The Māori prophetic movements were in essence political movements that united and mobilised followers to resist Pākehā invasion. Moon (1993) insists:

The Maori sects went beyond simply addressing past injustices or grievances, they provided a focal point for the organisation of resistance – in several forms – and because such groups were doctrine-based as opposed to tribal-based, their appeal transcended traditional tribal boundaries and barriers (p. 80).

Māori prophetic leaders such as Papahurihia, Te Ua, Te Kooti and Rua, and many others, were considered by their followers to be messiahs¹⁷⁹ for their people. As leaders of messianic movements, these prophets were highly political in their resistance to colonial advances. Indeed, Fuchs (1965) claims: “Messianic movements, being in their very essence revolutionary, become provocative and dangerous to the established government if the leaders are strong and militant. The established government often reacts violently to such provocation and suppresses the movement with great severity” (p. 10). This was particularly true for those Māori prophetic movements that received attention from the colonial government.

Summary

This chapter has examined the effects of the introduction of Christianity to Aotearoa New Zealand and the emergence of Māori prophets. It was shown here that Te Atua Wera, Te Kooti, Te Ua Haumēne and Rua Kēnana, and their respective movements, were sites of political and religious resistance for Māori. This chapter also argued that Māori prophetic movements gave their followers a real sense of hope and positivity during the tumult of colonisation and Christianisation.

¹⁷⁹ This word can mean saviour or liberator. The Greek word for Messiah is the word from which the term/title, ‘Christ’ comes (Livingstone, 2013). Messiah can also be defined as: “A person invested by God with special powers and functions” (Livingstone, 2013, p. 368).

CHAPTER FIVE

Te Mauri Whakaora me Te Mauri Hōhonu

Te Umutaoroa – The Slow-Cooking Earth Oven: Past, Present and Future

Introduction

This chapter explores the emergence of Te Kooti's Te Umutaoroa prophecy. The chapter will explain the intergenerational transfer of the Te Umutaoroa discourse and how it has been used in contemporary times. This chapter will present a case study of how Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust – a Waiōhau-based health and wellbeing clinic – uses Te Umutaoroa as a model for its healing practice. This is followed by a critical analysis of the use of prophecy as a basis for *hapū* development. In Chapter One, the cultural concept of *whenua*, as featured in the Rangihau model, was used as a portal through which to arrive at the Te Umutaoroa research model. At the centre of the Te Umutaoroa research model was the cultural concept of *mātauranga Patuheuheu* or Patuheuheu epistemology. *Mātauranga Patuheuheu* will be used as a portal through which the researcher will pass to access a *hapū* development model based on Te Umutaoroa. The development of this model is the purpose of this thesis.

The emergence of Te Umutaoroa – the slow cooking earth oven

Te Umutaoroa is a prophetic, utopian discourse which promised Patuheuheu the return of their lost lands and resources and, according to some narratives, the discovery or generation of other resources like diamonds, gold, oil and minerals (Binney, 2001b). Healer Rita Tupe recalls some of the things her father, Hieke Tupe (considered to be an expert on Te Umutaoroa), said about Te Umutaoroa:

Our father Hieke talked about how Te Kooti was travelling around different parts of Aotearoa, and he came to this area [Te Houhi], but he stopped at Te Arawa first. There he warned the Te Arawa people and told them to move to higher ground because the eruption of Tarawera was going to happen. But I

suppose because they didn't believe in a prophet, or a *matakite*, they ignored his vision. Te Kooti left Te Arawa and carried on this way over to Te Houhi.

When Te Kooti arrived at Te Houhi he also asked our people to move to higher ground for protection; and so they did move to higher ground. At that time it was Ngāti Haka, Patuheuheu, Ngāti Whare and Ngāti Manawa — those were the four *hapū* which stayed there together.

Te Kooti rested by his horse and cart at Te Houhi. While Te Kooti rested, he had a dream about this *umu* which we now know to be Te Umutaoroa; and he talked about these *mauri* that were left there. He said “*Tao ake nei, tao ake nei, ka haramai taku whanaunga ki te hiki ki Te Umutaoroa*” [that his relative will come to uplift the slow-cooking earth oven] (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

According to both Hieke Tupe (Binney, 2001b, 2007c, 2009a, 2010; Doherty, 1995) and Robert (Boy) Biddle (Binney, 2001b, 2007c, 2009a, 2010) Te Kooti had his vision in 1886 and named the land on which this event took place, Te Umutaoroa. Robert Biddle states:

Up where the Aniwhenua dam is, now, it used to be dry land before... Te Kooti was there, he slept at this particular pā [Te Houhi], and where he did sleep, he said to them in the morning, ‘I had a dream last night: the valley of the Rangitaiki here was just dense fog...’. He said, ‘I couldn’t see through this fog, so the place where I slept, it will be known as Te Umutaoroa’. That’s a hangi - it would be perpetually in that form until this person came and uncovered it (Binney, 2009a, p. 494).

Tūhoe scholar, Wharehuia Milroy corroborates the existence of Te Umutaoroa in the following way:

Te Umutaoroa was at Te Houhi; it was a place where Te Kooti visited and while he was at this place there was a lot of fog covering the area at that time. There, at that place, Te Kooti placed eight *mauri*: *mauri atua*, *mauri whenua*, *mauri tangata*, *mauri whakaponu*, *mauri whakaora i ngā iwi*, *mauri hōhonu*, *mauri arai atu i ngā pakanga*, *mauri whakahoki i ngā iwi*. One of the statements that Te Kooti made was about Harry Burt finding only “rotting potatoes” at Te Umutaoroa; that the money he received in exchange for on-selling Te Houhi would be like “a pit of rotting potatoes”. There was another prediction: “*tao noa, tao noa, tērā ka tae mai te tamaiti māna e huki*”. This means that there is this *umu* still “operating” in its cooking state. Now whoever the *tamaiti* is, I don’t know, but that person must appear to make Te Kooti’s prediction come true; someone has to come out at some time or other, to prove Te Kooti’s prediction right (W. Milroy, personal communication, 6 July, 2012).

In this way, Te Umutaoroa is both a commentary on the reality of land loss at Te Houhi, and a *hapu*-based prophecy that embodied Patuheuheu's hope for things to come.

As in other parts of the Pacific, Māori in Aotearoa traditionally cooked food using an *umu*, or earth oven. A pit is dug in the earth, in which a fire is burned for a number of hours to heat stones. Once these stones are hot, food in woven baskets is placed on top, covered in leaves and then soil. After the required cooking time, the soil and leaves are removed and the food is ready to be served. Te Umutaoroa refers to this process of cooking in a metaphorical way and, as the name suggests, this particular *umu* requires a long cooking time. Te Umutaoroa is something that is going to take a long time to unravel (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011). According to Rita Tupe:

Te Umutaoroa is an *umu*, and as we know, an *umu* is a cooking pit, where food is cooked underground; it is a *hāngi*. It is made up like a *hāngi*; you dig a hole and you burn a fire and heat up stones. '*Tao roa*' means 'long cooking.' The *hāngi* is still cooking; it's an *umu* that still hasn't completely cooked yet (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Within this *hāngi* pit it is said that Te Kooti placed eight¹⁸⁰ *mauri* stones to be uncovered by a future leader, his child or son, to restore all that the people of Te Houhi had lost (Binney, 2001b, 2007c, 2009a, 2010; Doherty, 1995). Hieke Tupe gave the following meanings of the *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa:

te mauri atua: the essence of spirituality; the belief in God
te mauri whenua: the life force of the land
te mauri tangata: the life force of the people
te mauri whakapono: the power of belief, or faith
te mauri whakaora i nga iwi: the power to heal the people
te mauri hohonu: the mauri [life force] of hidden wealth – minerals, gold, diamonds and oil (perhaps), which lie underground
te mauri arai atu i nga pakanga: the power to return war from this land to other countries
te mauri whakahoki i nga iwi: the power to return people to their land
(Binney, 2001b, p. 158).

¹⁸⁰ According to Rita Tupe, there is significance in the number eight. Similarly to Te Umutaoroa, Rose Pere's (1991) *Te Wheke* model has a focus on eight *mauri*, but the concepts have different purposes and meanings (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011). Pere's (1991) *Te Wheke* model is based on the eight arms of the octopus (*wheke*).

In 1998, Hohepa Tamehana (2013), Tūhoe composer and academic, interviewed Hieke Tupe as part of his research toward a *waiata-ā-ringa*¹⁸¹ he wrote about Te Umutaoroa. According to Tamehana (2013), Hieke believed that Te Kooti not only visited Te Houhi in 1886 – the time of Tarawera eruption – but he also offered Te Umutaoroa as a means of protection for the people of Te Houhi. As part of this prophetic promise, Hieke claims that Te Kooti requested that eight objects be presented to him, into which he invested eight *mauri* (Tamehana, 2013). Tamehana (2013) maintains that in his interview with Hieke, the eight *mauri* were explained thusly:

1. Mauri Atua – The life principle acquired from the gods;
 2. Mauri Whenua – The life principle acquired from the land;
 3. Mauri Tangata – The life principle acquired from humankind;
 4. Mauri Whakaponu – The life principle acquired from faith;
 5. He Mauri o te hōhonu – The life principle acquired from the unknown;
 6. Mauri Whakaora i ngā iwi – The life principle that will heal the people;
 7. Mauri arai atu i ngā pakanga – The life principle that protects against battle;
 8. Mauri whakahoki i ngā iwi kē – The life principle that guides the people home.
- (p. 87).

Tamehana (2013) adapted Hieke's version of the Te Umutaoroa narrative into *waiata* in the following way:

Ki Rangitaiki, te awa tapu, tāpaetia ai
Kei reira tonu he pukepuke
Te wāhi i tanutia ai
I kōrerotia ai “tao ake nei, kei te haere mai
I muri i a au he tangata māna hei huke”.

At Rangitaiki, the sacred river, is where it is placed
 There is a mound there
 That is the place it was buried
 It was then said “remain here buried, for there comes
 behind me, a person who will unearth you” (p. 86).

The uncovering of these eight stones guarantees the people of Te Houhi spiritual and physical renewal, regeneration, reuniting of people and land, and economic security (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010). Te Kooti’s prophecy promises Patuheuheu the ‘cooked sustenance’ of life and salvation (Binney, 2001b, 2007c, 2009a, 2010). In 1892 Te Kooti clarified his vision further:

¹⁸¹ Action song (Moorfield, 2011).

Te kupu ki te Umutaoroa – Te Houhi
Ka taona e ahau tenei hangī ma taku tamaiti e hura
Tenei mea te hangī, ko nga kai o roto hei ora mo te tangata

The word concerning Te Umutaoroa – Te Houhi
I am preparing this hāngī (earth oven) for my child to unearth.
The food inside this hāngī will be for the salvation of the people (Binney, 2009a, p. 494).

Te Umutaoroa speaks of someone who will come and bring salvation to the people. The coming of Te Kooti's son can be likened to the coming of Christ in his time (B. F. Maki, personal communication, 18 October, 2011; R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011). Bruce Fitzgerald Maki, a local *kaumātua* living in Murupara and the last surviving son of Hāpurona Maki Nātana (the researcher's great-grandfather, see figure 1), states that Te Kooti's announcement of a successor can be traced to the Bible. He contends:

People think that Te Umutaoroa will be revealed by a physical person, *tana tamaiti* [his son]. Te Kooti said: "*Kei muri taku tamaiti e haramai ana*" [in the future my son will come]. If we go to the Bible, it says this too. So Te Kooti's idea came from the Bible in my opinion. John the Baptist spoke of a Messiah to come; he was talking about Christ. That's where that concept came from in my view. When Christ was on this earth he spoke in parables. Te Kooti spoke in parables too, but a lot of people don't understand that. Te Kooti is talking about a spiritual child, although he is not a child anymore - it is Christ himself. It has to be. (B. F. Maki, personal communication, 18 October, 2011).

Offering an alternative to the view that Te Kooti was speaking of a successor to come in the future, Rita, a cousin to Bruce, states:

I don't believe that Te Umutaoroa is about waiting for the emergence of Te Kooti's successor. I think it's about us getting our act together and getting Te Umutaoroa out there, and giving it life. We cannot wait for it to come to us; we have to make it happen. It's like when people say that they are waiting for Jesus to come back. No! We don't wait for Jesus, we have to get out there and do the work; and we have to do this work to benefit our *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* (R. Tupe, personal communication, 7 October, 2012).

To this day Te Umutaoroa remains unfulfilled. It is however a discourse which is in a constant state of flux, shifting from the past to the present, subjected to discursive modification, shaping the prophecy for the particular contexts in which it is used to inspire and give hope. According to Binney (2007c):

Te Umutaoroa has become an unfulfilled quest-narrative. It is unfulfilled because the land is lost; indeed, it is now drowned beneath the waters of a hydro-electric dam, built in 1980. Little islands dot the lake where Te Umutaoroa once was. Once again new meanings are being wrought from this changed landscape (p. 154).

The aspirations of Patuheuheu *hapū* are tied to the promises of Te Umutaoroa and so it is believed that all those who *whakapapa* to the land at Te Houhi will, in the future, have the enigmatic contents of the *umu* revealed to them. According to local healer, Tipene Tihema-Biddle:

As descendants of Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka, the prophecy of Te Umutaoroa offers us divine purpose in everything we do. Although the prophecy and its detail may be unknown to many of our *uri*,¹⁸² their connection through *whakapapa* means that one day they will be led or driven to partake in spiritually feasting upon its many *taonga*.

Te Umutaoroa represents for us unseen or unrealised potential. It is guarded and protected until such time when the mysteries of its contents will be unravelled for the multitudes to experience. The prophecy speaks of someone who will one day reveal the treasures within; therefore bringing peace to the whole world. This is our steadfast belief.

Te Umutaoroa allows us to realise our own self-power and potential; to determine our own pathways forward in a way that honours each other as *whānau* and those who have gone before us. We can achieve this through *karakia*, *waiata*, *whanaungatanga*¹⁸³ and in many other positive ways (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 7 October, 2012).

Te Kooti's prophecies were given in riddles to be solved. Ever since the prophecy emerged, people have desired to find the location of Te Umutaoroa and extract meaning from the source. Rita states:

Koro¹⁸⁴ [Hieke] talked about the fact that so many people have gone there, so many *matakite* have gone there, people that are searching for it. He talked about a Fijian *matakite* who went there, and she said "I'll find it", and when she got out there, she couldn't find it. It will never show itself because the right person hasn't come yet. That's what I know about the *kōrero* of Te Umutaoroa.

¹⁸² Offspring, descendant, relative, kin, progeny, blood connection (Moorfield, 2011).

¹⁸³ Relationship, kinship, sense of family connection – a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging (Moorfield, 2011).

¹⁸⁴ Hieke Tupe's children who were interviewed refer to their father as 'Koro', which is a term of address for an elderly man. They use this term because the researcher is in the *mokopuna tuarua* (great-grandchild) generation of the *whakapapa*; the researcher is the great-grandson of Hāpurona Maki Nātana who was the elder brother of Hieke Tupe's wife, Te Ārai Elizabeth Nātana.

I remember Koro talking about it; he said that they saw Te Umutaoroa, only because the river's course had been changed because of the *mahi*¹⁸⁵ of the Pākehā. It looked like an island. He said that no matter what it would never disappear; it was always showing. The little *maunga* would stay out and the water would just go around it. But through the change of the *awa* and through what man has done we don't know where it is now. I actually took one of Te Kooti's descendants there to the area where Te Umutaoroa is; she felt very privileged to be there. She said "I'm not the one, I wish I was, but I'm not the one" (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Intergenerational transfer of Te Umutaoroa

Te Umutaoroa has been passed down through the generations via *wānanga*, *whaikōrero* and *hapū* history, and is interpreted for the needs of the community in a contemporary context. For example, Te Umutaoroa is used to inform the pedagogy of Te Kura Māori-ā-rohe o Waiōhau¹⁸⁶, and also the philosophy and practices of Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi¹⁸⁷ Charitable Trust. In addition, Te Umutaoroa became both the name and underpinning philosophy of a political movement that surfaced in October 2008, and included Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka, *hapū* groups from Maungapōhatu, Te Whaiti, Te Waimana and other areas located in the Bay of Plenty.

In September 2011, Auckland-based Atamira Dance Company, led by Maaka Pepene of Patuheuheu, performed an interpretive contemporary dance piece entitled *Te Houhi: the people and the land are one*, which told the story of the Waiōhau Fraud, whilst exploring the potential of Te Kooti's promise for the future. The Te Houhi dance work moved, according to Whyte (2011), through three stages:

Te Ao o Neheraa (the ancient world) establishes a relatively untroubled past, the Ngāti Haka Patuheuheu people living in harmony and respect for the land and one another.

Te Ao Hurihuri (the world turns upside down) shows the impact of Pakeha colonisation, the rise of Te Kooti, military reactions to passive resistance, the demoralisation of the people through many years of court battles over the fraudulent sale of their land at Te Houhi, and finally the eviction of the people from their land, leaving behind their treasured wharenui which was inlaid with early Maori figurative art, and central to their Ringatu religion.

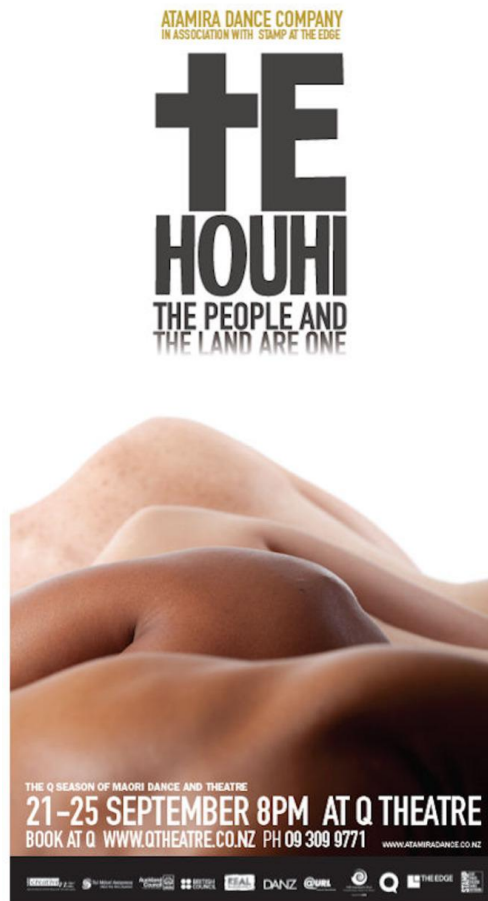
¹⁸⁵ Activity or work (Moorfield, 2011) of the Pākehā which refers to the building of the Aniwhenua hydro-electric dam.

¹⁸⁶ The local school at Waiōhau where the curriculum is taught in the Tūhoe dialect of the Māori language.

¹⁸⁷ The tabernacle for the tribe/people.

Te Ao Marama (the world of light) shows the eventual re-uniting of the people with their meeting house, which they dismantled and carried by hand to its new home at Waiohou [sic], along with ancestral remains and other artefacts necessary to the development of a new harmony of the people with the land – though even today we hear on the News of ongoing tension between the Crown and Ngai Tuhoe (paras. 5-7).

Image 29: Atamira Dance Company presents Te Houhi



(CreativeNZ, 2011)

Te Umutaoroa is a living discourse that is used by Patuheuheu in many ways. Commenting on the ways in which the history and narratives surrounding Te Houhi and Te Umutaoroa is used within the *hapū* to name children, Rita Tupe states:

Te Umutaoroa is being used in the community. I see it being used in the community by our generation, through the names that we are giving to the children. Names like Te Houhi and Te Umutaoroa; our children are being named after these places and events. These names are significant to us

because of the *whakapapa kōrero*¹⁸⁸ (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Te Umutaoroa is both a historical and spiritual narrative, and as such has been used in *karakia*. In Tamehana's (2011) master's thesis, *Determining and defining tikanga in contemporary times*, he begins with a *karakia* which evokes the hidden potential of Te Umutaoroa in the following way:

Roki ai nga hau riri
Roki ai nga hau niwha
Ma taku reo koe hei tohu
Hukea Te Umutaoroa
Kohia nga mauri o roto
Tenei ra te kahau ake nei
Ko... Ko... kokoia
E ara e

Make calm the angry winds
Make calm the fierce winds
Let my voice guide you
Expose Te Umutaoroa
Gather the life-forces contained within
For this is the charm to locate mauri
Let it be so
Let it be arisen (p. vii).

Despite the use of Te Umutaoroa to inform contemporary contexts, some people believe that Te Umutaoroa is too *tapu* to write or talk about. These people believe that Te Umutaoroa should remain forever obscured, until Te Kooti's successor comes. Contrary to this restrictive view, local Waiōhau healer Maudy Tupe argues:

Where a lot of people said: "Leave it there - leave it there to be hidden, that's why it has been covered, to remain hidden", Koro Hieke didn't believe that Te Umutaoroa should be covered and hidden. He believed that it was something for his *hapū* and that they needed to figure out what the purpose of it was. What can it be used for? What can it give us in the future? (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Hieke shared his knowledge about Te Umutaoroa with all who would listen. This knowledge was imparted through *wānanga* and deep spiritual reflection (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011; R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011). Maudy asserts:

¹⁸⁸ Genealogical discourse.

About 15 years ago, Aunty Naana, Koro Hieke, and I went for a *hīkoi*.¹⁸⁹ At that time there were some discussions about the location of Te Umutaoroa. Koro said it was on a certain side of the river, and aunty Naana said that it was in a different location. But what was awesome about that was that they were collating their *kōrero* and trying to determine the location of Te Umutaoroa. Because in the old days the river didn't run the way that it runs now. So it wasn't a conflict between Koro and Aunty Naana – they weren't disagreeing; they were actually having a *wānanga*¹⁹⁰ together about the location of Te Umutaoroa.

They both had the same *kōrero* about what Te Umutaoroa looked like; it was a little *puke*, or a hill, that could never be covered up by the river, or by any flood. Floods would come but it was still sticking up and could be seen. Both Koro and Aunty Naana said that it looked just like the shape of a *hāngi*, like when you cook a *hāngi*.

They sat on the side of the bridge and had a *wānanga* about Te Umutaoroa and the eight *mauri* contained within the *umu*. They tried to relate it back to Christianity and the Ringatu, because it was Te Kooti who prophesied that. So they tried to connect *te mauri atua* with the Christian God and the Bible, but they both concluded that the *mauri* was actually much deeper than they were capable of reaching (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

One of the many people to receive teaching about Te Umutaoroa from Hieke was Tipene Tihema-Biddle. Tipene recounts his introduction to Te Umutaoroa in this way:

The first introduction I had to the *mauri* was through Koro Hieke who talked about how we are caretakers of Te Umutaoroa, as opposed to it being something separate from us, or that it is too *tapu* to talk about. Because we have *whakapapa* to that place and those events, we have a responsibility to be *kaitiaki* of Te Umutaoroa. For some reason it had to be looked after, and at that time I wasn't sure why that was. There were questions around why it had to be looked after, what its functions were. You have to understand something before you can determine how to look after something (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

For Tipene, Te Umutaoroa is more than a historical narrative, because it acts as a set of guidelines for living a good life. He opines:

The name, Te Umutaoroa, is a description of where the power sits, which is within the eight *mauri*. Within the eight *mauri* is contained the essence of Te Kooti's philosophy.

¹⁸⁹ Walk.

¹⁹⁰ Discussion (Moorfield, 2011).

Te Umutaoroa is a way of life. It can be a vehicle through which we express ourselves as physical and spiritual beings, as descendants of the Creator. I believe that the essence of Te Kooti's prophecy was to impart guiding philosophies which can show us how to live our lives, providing an ideal to live up to, derived from *te ao Māori*¹⁹¹ and Christian perspectives.

Within Te Umutaoroa, Te Kooti had foreseen the ideal lifestyle and the ideal outcome. It wasn't about a certain someone finding a certain something. It was about how we apply the principles of Te Umutaoroa to our own lives; it was about how to live an ideal life, in harmony, as one people with our *whakapono*.¹⁹² It's about achieving the ideal lifestyle in harmony with people, the environment and all other aspects of being human (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Tipene's claim that Te Umutaoroa provides a template for living a good and decent life provides further clarification around how the prophecy is perceived and used by the *hapū*. Congruent with Tipene's beliefs about Te Umutaoroa, Sylvia Tapuke, a great-niece of Hieke, affirms:

Te Umutaoroa provides a structure for how you live your daily life. On a personal level, we are all dreaming and breathing the energy, the life, the spirit of Te Umutaoroa, so much so that you get the sense that there will be scriptures coming out about Te Umutaoroa.

It's right there for us, everything's there. I watch the children running around and I think to myself: "How would you go about teaching the *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa to them?" But whenever *tamariki*¹⁹³ of Ngāti Haka Patuheuheu are born into this world, there is this doctrine, this framework, which we call Te Umutaoroa, into which these children are born, which will guide them in this life (S. Tapuke, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

It is well known that Te Kooti mixed Māori beliefs and Christianity. Critically reflecting on Te Kooti's teachings, Tipene Tihema-Biddle explains how Christianity and *te ao Māori* converge within Te Umutaoroa in the following way:

One thing that is very interesting to me about Te Kooti's teachings is that although they come to us in Christian packaging, the philosophies and theories all derive from *te ao Māori*. Te Kooti weaved Christianity and *te ao Māori* together. So his ability to relate to his people at that time was about giving them their own standing at the crossroads where *te ao Māori* and Christianity meet, even though Christianity has played its part in destroying some of our ways of being Māori. Te Kooti knew that the Christian elements would survive, so he attached aspects of *te ao Māori* to aspects of Christianity, ensuring the survival of important elements of the Māori world.

¹⁹¹ The Māori world.

¹⁹² Faith, belief (Moorfield, 2011).

¹⁹³ Children.

Although Te Umutaoroa is in a Christian format, it derives from *te ao Māori*. Te Kooti was very aware about how to entice his followers and so he took a very different spin on the missionary approach. He was able to convince his followers to listen to the word of God through him (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Supporting Tipene's position on the teachings of Te Kooti, Maudy states that "Te Kooti wanted to share *ngā kupu whakaari*¹⁹⁴ with the people. It wasn't all about Christianity, because located within his *kupu whakaari* was *te ao tawhito*.¹⁹⁵ Christianity was the medium through which he passed on knowledge from the old Māori world" (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

In addition to the ways in which Te Umutaoroa is linked to Christianity through Te Kooti, some believe that Te Umutaoroa contains universal values and principles that exist in many other cultures. In Tipene's words:

Principles like those contained within Te Umutaoroa can be seen throughout the world in different forms, in different cultures, where different peoples hold on to their own prophecies and their own histories, similar to the way in which we hold on to ours here. The words of Te Kooti, given to us in the form of Te Umutaoroa, like those prophecies given by other prophets in other times and in other places, are remembered and maintained by believers. For us, Te Umutaoroa is promoted as a way of life; it is normalised into our daily existence. Te Umutaoroa is a framework through which we acknowledge *atua*, each other, and *whenua*, and that we live for those things; we live for our *atua*, for each other and for the *whenua* (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Sylvia also asserts that the principles of Te Umutaoroa can be found in other cultures:

Te Umutaoroa contains the essentials for living an ideal life, which can be found throughout the world's cultures in different forms. Te Umutaoroa is about unity, about oneness (S. Tapuke, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Te Umutaoroa is kept alive by the *hapū*. It is anchored in the past and is tied to the history surrounding Te Houhi. But at the same time, it is future-orientated and has much to offer. Tipene avers:

¹⁹⁴ Prophetic sayings of charismatic leaders (Moorfield, 2011).

¹⁹⁵ The ancient world.

In order for us to understand Te Umutaoroa we keep it alive through various mediums like art and *waiata*, which contribute to retaining the knowledge to share the true story with our *uri*. We need to listen to what Te Umutaoroa is telling us; we need to listen more deeply within ourselves, using our ‘inner ears’ (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Te Umutaoroa is also transferred through the various ways in which it is interpreted. This entire thesis is an example of how Te Umutaoroa is being transferred from one generation to the next; from the generations preceding the researcher, through to the researcher, and on to other researchers. Indeed, this thesis is a contribution to a developing archive of information surrounding Te Umutaoroa. As part of his contribution to research related to Te Umutaoroa, Tamehana (2013) interpreted the principles of the prophecy to create a framework for addressing the issue of poverty in the following table.

Figure 4: Revisiting and revising Te Umutaoroa

Mauri atua	The life principle acquired from the gods	<u>Authority</u> Just as <i>te pō</i> (the darkness) engulfed the children of Sky Father and Earth Mother, poverty created by a neo-liberal government has engulfed our people. And just as the gods exerted their <i>mana</i> to break free, so must we.
Mauri whenua	The life principle acquired from the land	<u>Sustenance</u> We are surrounded by the means to provide organic food for our people and yet a lot of our people are starving. We have become accustomed to the fast food that is cheap and readily available.
Mauri tangata	The life principle acquired from humankind	<u>Social interaction</u> We need to engage with each other effectively and efficiently, as <i>hapū</i> members, <i>iwi</i> members, and even as members of New Zealand society. We need each other if we are to survive neo-liberalism.
Mauri whakaponu	The life principle acquired from faith	<u>Assurance</u> If we are expected to believe in our leadership then we need guarantees that our people will receive the benefits and assistance they need to not only survive, but also thrive.
He Mauri o te hōhonu	The life principle acquired from the unknown	<u>Aspiration</u> Many of our people are so pre-occupied with surviving financially that there is no room to dream, to aspire, to have a vision. We are barely surviving and we are certainly not thriving.
Mauri whakaora i ngā iwi	The life principle that will heal the people	<u>Healing</u> Our people are dying of illnesses that were once only found in the elderly. These include diabetes, heart disease, and cancer.
Mauri ārai atu i ngā pakanga	The life principle that protects against battle	<u>Security</u> Poverty is on the rise and this has led to a rise

		in crime. We are living in a society that is constantly “on edge” when their children are out in public, or when our elderly are home alone.
Mauri whakahoki i ngā iwi kē	The life principle that guides the people home	<u>Stability</u> With a lack of jobs, minimal wages, and high living costs, many of our people are relocating to Australia. The creation of jobs may encourage people to return home.

(Tamehana, 2013, pp. 209-210)

Te Umutaoroa as contemporary political resistance

In October 2008 the prophecy of Te Umutaoroa was the inspiration and name of a political movement that became a platform for resistance and protest. According to Binney (2009a), Te Umutaoroa promises “...justice through the spiritual dimension, after failure of the human” (p. 494). Thus, it became the motivation for a faction including Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka, and other disaffected Tūhoe *hapū*, dissatisfied with the activities of the successive *iwi* organisations set up to manage the Treaty Settlement processes for Tūhoe, namely, Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe and the Tūhoe Establishment Trust.

Binney (2009a) states that Te Umutaoroa challenged the mandate of Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe and the Tūhoe Establishment Trust to represent their unique historical claims, such as the Waiōhau Fraud and Kāingaroa, in the Treaty settlement process (Binney, 2009a). Wharehuia Milroy questions the logic behind Tūhoe’s interests in Kaingaroa and claims that there are other groups whose interests in that area are well known. He argues:

One of the things that I don’t understand is how Tūhoe, the wider Tūhoe group, came to have an interest in the Central North Island [Kaingaroa] forests. Now, in my mind, the *iwi* that would have interests there, or the *hapū* are Ngāti Tahu, which has a Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa connection; also Ngāti Manawa, Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka, being some of the main groupings. But in my mind, I couldn’t see how the wider Tūhoe group came to have an interest, and I am quite uncomfortable about that. I think that those who are the legitimate claimants are the Waiōhau people by occupation and residence, and partly the Ngāti Manawa people because of rights to the lands on which the Kaingaroa forests were planted. These settlements may actually be as a consequence of political expediency to allow a quicker or earlier claim resolution. (W. Milroy, personal communication, 6 July, 2012).

The Te Umutaoroa political movement detached itself from Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe/Tūhoe Establishment Trust and attempted, unsuccessfully, to negotiate their own claims with

the government as “[t]hey feel that their interests are in danger of being subsumed by others’ goals, and by the unrepresentative structure of Te Kotahi ā Tūhoe [and the Tūhoe Establishment Trust]” (Binney, 2009a, p. 15). Binney (2009a) states:

The narratives that sprang from the land fraud of Te Houhi [which] have kept alive a local historical consciousness... [as] ...“hidden transcripts”...[and] stories of explanation whose accounts of history – and of the future – subvert the control of those who dominate.... [While] [t]he oral narratives have ensured that the history of the Waiōhau fraud will not be forgotten until an acceptable and just resolution is found (Binney, 2009a, p. 495).

Some people regard this political situation as a continuation of the loss of Te Houhi. According to Wharehuia Milroy:

The Waiōhau community is one of those communities that may not receive an equitable share of settlement if it isn’t able to express its Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka views in dealing with financial and other assets that are going to come out of the Central North Island forests or the main Tūhoe settlement package. You could say it is a modern twist to the Te Houhi story, where autonomy has been taken away from Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka and replaced by a body or bodies to manage their settlement interests (W. Milroy, personal communication, 6 July, 2012).

Case study: Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust

Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust was established in Waiōhau in 1990 to support *whānau* who needed the following services: *Taha wairua*;¹⁹⁶ *mirimiri*;¹⁹⁷ *lomilomi*;¹⁹⁸ *rongoā*;¹⁹⁹ *whakawātea*;²⁰⁰ *kōrero*;²⁰¹ and health and wellbeing training (Tupe, 2012). Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust is a community-based *whare oranga* or healing clinic located in Waiōhau, in the eastern Bay of Plenty (Tupe, 2012). Te Tāpenakara provides traditional Māori healing services to people who live within the area, from Tauranga to Cape Runaway, but welcomes people from all walks of life and from all over the world (Tupe, 2012). Te Tāpenakara operates from 9am to 5pm Monday to Thursday, but also provides a 24 hour, seven days a week service for those

¹⁹⁶ Addressing issues pertaining to the spiritual aspect of a person.

¹⁹⁷ Massage (Moorfield, 2011).

¹⁹⁸ *Lomilomi* is a Hawaiian word which means to squeeze or knead and in this context refers to massage (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). The Māori equivalent, *romiromi* means to squeeze, rub gently or massage (Moorfield, 2011).

¹⁹⁹ Māori medicines (Moorfield, 2011).

²⁰⁰ Purging and cleansing (Moorfield, 2011).

²⁰¹ Discussion (Moorfield, 2011) and counselling in this context.

who need it; the trust operates under a *koha* system where patients give what they can in money, food, *taonga*, or other resources (Tupe, 2012).

Te Tāpenakara's vision is to work towards "[a] people filled with strength, vitality and happiness, enjoying a green landscape abundant with the gifts of healing"; and their mission is to "...provide healing to all people" (Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi, 2011, p. 5). The values of the organisation are the *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa, which have been defined by Te Tāpenakara as follows:

Mauri atua: Remaining focused on the highest intention of all our work as laid down by our tipuna

Mauri whenua: The foundation upon which all can stand resolute

Mauri tangata: The individual demonstrates the eight cultural imperatives of tapu, tikanga, mana, Mauri, whakapapa, wairua,²⁰² te reo, and whenua

Mauri whakapono: Unshakeable belief in the ability of the whānau to achieve well-being

Mauri whakaora: Healing all people is held paramount

Mauri whakahoki i ngā iwi kē: Returning people to their beginnings

Mauri hōhonu: To understand the sacredness of the tangata, and that we tread softly upon sacred ground

Mauri pakanga: Awareness that conflict is an opportunity for change, learning and new pathways (Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi, 2011, p. 6).²⁰³

The principles of Te Umutaoroa have been shaped to best suit the purpose and goals of the organisation in terms of providing a health and wellbeing service. Te Tāpenakara service delivery is based on the Kawakawa model, which is built around the *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa. Tipene explains:

Te Kooti spoke about *mauri atua*, *mauri tangata*, *mauri whenua*, *mauri whakapono*, *mauri whakahoki*, *mauri hōhonu*, and *mauri pakanga*. Within

²⁰² Spirit, soul – spirit of a person, which exists beyond death (Moorfield, 2011).

²⁰³ The word *pakanga* refers to war and conflict (Moorfield, 2011). In spite of the nineteenth century context of colonisation, war and land loss out of which *te mauri pakanga* emerged, it is not about war in contemporary times. Maudy Tupe emphasises the significance of *te mauri pakanga* in the following way:

Te mauri pakanga is not about violence or war in the sense that we might assume, given the war and land loss that happened to our people in the colonial past. Today, it is actually about conflict resolution, about resetting the balance when someone has trampled on one's *mana* and *mauri* (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

those eight dimensions of Te Umutaoroa, through the combination of the powers of those eight *mauri*, when all of those forces align and reach a certain balance, then it will be time for the land, for the world to regenerate in a different and new manner. The mysteries of the eight *mauri* will be unravelled and given to the world, to establish peace on earth. This was an important prophecy for the people of Te Houhi *i tērā wā* [during that time] and it is still important for us today. Throughout the generations we have interpreted the prophecy and adapted it and used it in ways that makes sense to us in this generation, reflecting always on the teachings of our ancestors (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 7 October, 2012).

Giving her explanation of the Kawakawa model, Rita states:

We have designed a model for assessing our *tūoro*²⁰⁴ which contains the eight *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa. Te Umutaoroa is used as the basis for our assessment model and it is also embedded in our strategic plan. This came about because we wanted to be able to use our very own model in our practice. Although there are models out there that are useful, such as Mason Durie’s *whare tapawhā*²⁰⁵ model, we wanted to ensure that our model was relevant to us here. We thought, “Why should we go outside of this community to look for models when we have our own *kōrero* here?” So we all sat here and thought about putting together a model; we thought about the use of the Kawakawa leaf and the *umu*. With the Kawakawa there is a healing part and there is a part which draws out the *mate*²⁰⁶ – to allow the healing part of the Kawakawa leaf to do its work. So when we work on a person’s *tinana*²⁰⁷ we use the four sides of the leaf; and different colours come up.

There is a spiritual part and a physical part to the Kawakawa leaf, which relates to the *tinana* and the *wairua*. If you look at the Kawakawa leaf there are eight parts to it, which can correspond with the eight *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa. We visualised the relationships between the eight *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa, the eight parts of the Kawakawa leaf and how these correspond with the eight *chakras*²⁰⁸ of the *tinana*; even some of our *atua Māori* correspond with the functions of the eight *mauri*. Aligning these relationships and connections will advance the healing process; so if all of our eight *chakras* are clear and aligned, then the *tinana* is good. These are the origins of the model and strategic plan based on Te Umutaoroa (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

²⁰⁴ Patient/s

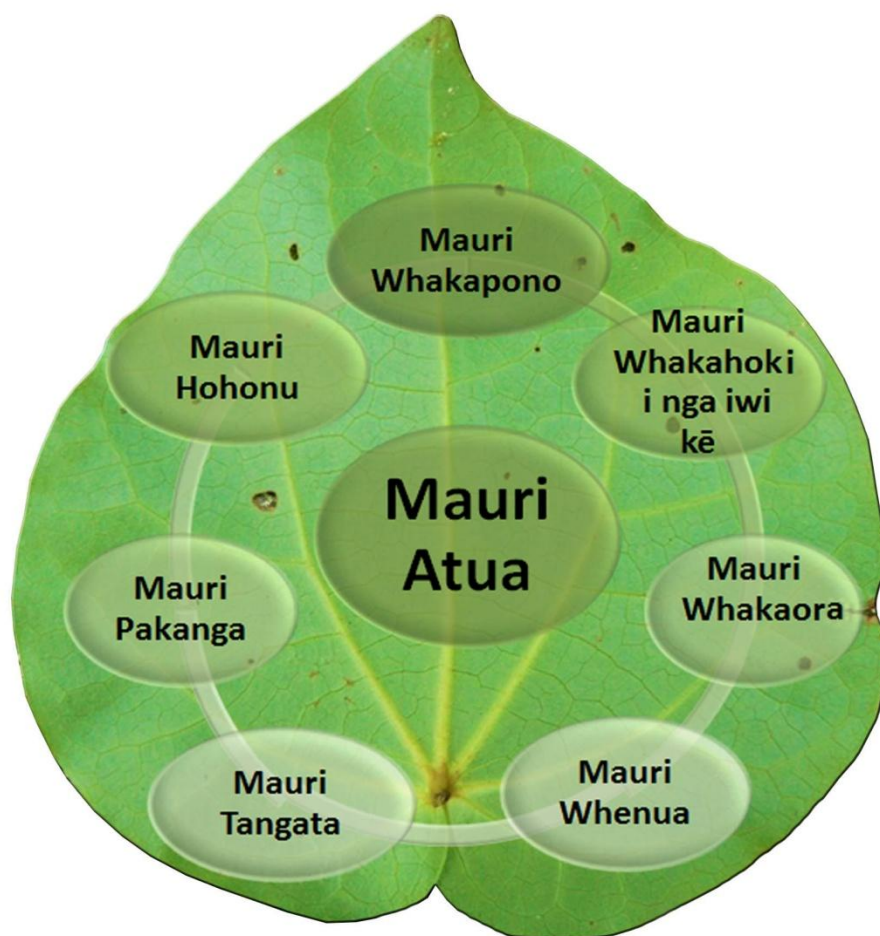
²⁰⁵ Four sided house.

²⁰⁶ Illness.

²⁰⁷ Body.

²⁰⁸ *Chakras* is Sanskrit for ‘turning wheels’, which in Buddhist and Hindu traditions indicate focal points on the etheric body where energy is derived (Friedman, Krippner, Riebel & Johnson, 2012). The most common number of *chakras* spoken of is seven, but there are also traditions which speak of five, six, eight and twelve *chakras* (Friedman et al., 2012).

Figure 5: Kawakawa service delivery model



(Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi, 2011, p. 7)

The values of Te Umutaoroa within the Kawakawa Model are explained further by Tipene:

Within Te Tāpenakara, we have to ensure that our *mahi* is *tika*²⁰⁹ and *pono*.²¹⁰ *Te mauri atua* is focussed on the highest intention of all our work because it is handed down from our ancestors. As part of our practice, *te mauri atua* ensures that the *mahi* that *te Atua* puts on us is carried out within the bonds of *tika*, *pono* and *aroha*, constantly acknowledging a greater source. *Ko te mauri atua tērā* [that is *te mauri atua*].

Te mauri whakapono, is the unshakeable belief in the ability of *whānau* to achieve wellbeing. So those who we come in contact with, those who come for *rongoā*, those who come for a *mamae*²¹¹ shoulder. The fact is that clients

²⁰⁹ Correct, true, just (Moorfield, 2011).

²¹⁰ True, valid, honest (Moorfield, 2011).

²¹¹ Sore, painful, injured (Moorfield, 2011).

don't come to us to be healed – it's a misconception that one goes to a healer to be healed. In fact, it is healers who teach people the necessary tools to heal themselves, to be the healers of their own bodies. We as healers, therefore, believe in you and your ability to heal your own body; your own wellbeing is completely about you and we are only there to help you to gain the tools and knowledge necessary to heal yourself.

Te mauri tangata is about the individual demonstrating the eight cultural imperatives inherent within the *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa. These may include such things as: *tikanga*, *mana*, *mauri*, *whakapapa*, *whenua*, *te reo Māori*, *wairua*. There are many different interpretations that link up to the eight *mauri*. For us *mauri ora*²¹² is found when one looks within oneself and becomes the ultimate healer of one's own body.

Te mauri pakanga is about the realisation that conflict is an opportunity for change; it is about conflict resolution, and is quite different from the meaning of *pakanga*, especially in the nineteenth century context. So for us, conflict is always an opportunity for us to grow and learn.

Te mauri whakaora is about realising that the healing of all living things is paramount - the intent of what we do as healers is bound up in *tika*, *pono* and *aroha*.

Te mauri whenua is the foundation upon which we all stand resolute. The concept of *wānanga* is relevant here too because of the *whakaaro* around how I come, and you come, and we all have something to share, together, as one, learning together in the process. We come together to *wānanga* on neutral ground, here, all on the same level; and we all have knowledge to share with one another. So *mauri whenua* is about that foundation – a place to stand.

Te mauri whakahoki is about returning people to their beginnings. For many of the clients we have worked with, particularly from urban settings, returning them to their beginnings may not always seem to be an ideal place to return – especially if trauma has been involved. And so working through the process of returning someone to their beginnings is a something which must be treated with respect and kindness.

Te mauri hōhonu is about understanding the sacredness of people and acknowledging that we must tread cautiously on whatever ground we find ourselves upon in whatever context we are engaged in; be it in a *wānanga* setting; or in a one on one situation with a client; or in someone's personal environment. It's about treating people with respect (T. Tihema-Biddle, personal communication, 7 October, 2012).

The *kaimahi*²¹³ at Te Tāpenekara perceive their work as healers and helpers as an honour. Mate Tihema sees her opportunity to use Te Umutaoroa as part of the practice at Te Tāpenakara as a privilege:

²¹² Wellness.

²¹³ Worker, employee, staff member (Moorfield, 2011).

Te Umutaoroa is used in the assessment model as a way to assess *mate* [unwellness]. It is how we assess a person's wellbeing and it is how we come to a diagnosis around what is troubling that person and how it can be remedied. I think that as *kaimahi* of Te Tāpenakara, we are very fortunate to be able to maintain the use of the eight *mauri* in our practice, as part of our assessment tool (M. Tihema, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Operating within a framework informed by Te Umutaoroa is viewed by *kaimahi* as being essential to their work. The Kawakawa Model ensures that Te Tāpenakara maintains cultural laws and customs in line with Te Umutaoroa. According to Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi (2011):

Te Tapenakara Mo Te Iwi services are guided by laws that were set by the tipuna ensuring the preservation, protection and promotion of wellbeing amongst the people and are delivered with the utmost regard and respect as follows:

- Sentinels of the Rongoa
- Guardians of the Mauri
- Carriers of the Wairua
- Heartbeat of the Whakaora (p. 7).

Embedded within the service delivery model is the desire that those who receive services from Te Tāpenakara will achieve certain outcomes. Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi (2011) states:

Our moemoea is to have whānau who are thriving in strength, prosperity, happiness and wellbeing through the following roles:

- As exemplars of mauriora
- As keepers of the culture
- As tenders of the homefires
- As leaders of the future
- As custodians of taonga tukuiho (p. 7).

Te Tāpenakara has a focus on positive, culturally appropriate outcomes that promote wellbeing within the *whānau*. In order to achieve these outcomes, Te Tāpenakara delivers services to *whānau* in ten key areas:

- Rongoa services
- Mirimiri services
- Alternative healing modalities
- Kaiwhakaruruhau counselling

- Mental Health services
- Respite and palliative care
- Training and education
- Referrals to specialists
- Advocacy services
- 24 Hour standby (Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi, 2011, p. 7)

When individuals and *whānau* approach or are referred to Te Tāpenakara, they need to be assessed in terms of their specific needs. Maudy Tupe explains how the *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa are used to assess a client coming into Te Tāpenakara's services in the following way:

When a client is looking to come into our service, we use a checklist. The checklist incorporates *mauri atua*, *mauri whenua* and *mauri tangata*, and it is through these *mauri* that a person comes into our service. Having this sort of assessment allows us to both keep a paper trail for the Pākehā, so that we can maintain our funding, but also to uphold our own cultural values and beliefs in the delivery of our service. In the assessment of our clients, we ask for some personal details and for this we use *mauri whenua* to make *whakapapa* links to one's *whenua*. *Mauri tangata* relates to the respect we must show to people, so if we can't help a particular person with their *mate*, we refer them on. For example, we don't specialise in mental health, so we would refer clients to another *rōpū*²¹⁴ for help in that area. However, we do specialise in *te taha wairua*, that's what we do, we take care of the spiritual side.

Within our assessment tool we use the other *mauri* too. *Mauri hōhonu* is used to assess the issues as one has to know what's going on deep inside before they can start the healing process. *Mauri atua* covers all the *wairua* processes that are going to be used in the healing of that person and may include: *karakia*, *whakawātea*, healing, *mirimiri*, and other processes. It's about pulling things back into themselves, to give them ownership over their own healing and wellbeing, now and in the future. *Te mauri whenua* is used as the basis for a plan of care while a client is in our service. We create, with the client, a plan for their treatment. We might say: "You're going to stay on the bed for a few days until we say come off", or, "You're going to rest and do some 'self-healing', because you're the healer of your *tinana*". And so those are the kinds of things we go over with the client; and we go deeper and deeper as we sit together and work through the issues (M. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust developed its framework for service delivery and healing by adapting the prophetic principles of Te Umutaoroa to suit the needs of *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi* and community. Te Tāpenakara's experience with Te Umutaoroa is an exceptional example of how prophecy can be the basis for development at the *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi* and community levels.

²¹⁴ Group, party of people, entourage (Moorfield, 2011).

Māori development 1900-2025

This section on Māori development 1900-2025 and the following two sections on community development theory and the relationship between prophecy and *hapū* development, provide the wider historical and theoretical context for the Patuheuheu *hapū* development model that follows.

According to Durie (2003), there have been four phases of Māori development since 1900 through to 2000, with a fifth stage from 2000 projecting out to 2025. Each Māori development stage emerged as a response to certain tensions and opportunities and builds on the advancement of the previous period (Durie, 2003).

The nineteenth century saw a massive drop in the Māori population, which paralleled the loss of Māori land; Māori owned 27 million hectares but by 1900 this fell to around 4.5 million hectares (Ahuriri-Driscoll et al., 2008; Durie, 2003). The first phase of Māori development occurred from the turn of the century to 1925 (Durie, 2003). During this period the Māori population had diminished to around 43,000; life expectancy for Māori was around 30 years, and mortality rates of Māori children were extremely high (Chile, 2007c; Durie, 2003). Chile (2007c) argues:

Maori were exploited both by colonial government and settlers economically, culturally and politically through a system of policies that both discriminated against them and exploited and disenfranchised them. They were forcibly deprived of their land, resources and power base (p. 49).

Durie (2003) states that during this period the developmental goal fell somewhere between survival and recovery, while Chile (2007c) asserts that “...racial attitudes against Maori persisted, dominated by narrow-minded intolerant attitudes...” (p. 50). But even in the face of inexorable oppression, two strategies for Māori development emerged (Durie, 2003). One method was to adapt to Western cultural norms and the law, while at the same time retaining Māori language, culture and identity; the other approach also advocated adaption to a Western way of life, but with much more importance placed on Māori sovereignty, and less reliance on the government (Durie, 2003).

Distinguished Māori leaders such as Āpirana Ngata, Maui Pomare and Te Rangi Hīroa Peter Buck, who rose to prominence before 1925 and were key figures in the establishment of the Young Māori Party, believed that the solution to the issues facing Māori society was to develop a familiarity with Western culture and to work within the parameters of the Pākehā law; there was also unequivocal support for Māori language and culture (Durie, 2003). Even with a focus on Western democracy, education, modern health practices, and justice, these leaders believed that Māori identity, language, culture and values could work in harmony with Pākehā culture, language and values (Durie, 2003).

Conversely, there were other Māori leaders who did not believe in tandem Māori and Pākehā identities, but instead stressed the need for Māori sovereignty; these leaders alleged that attempting to amalgamate the cultures was a contributing factor to the extraordinary population decline of Māori in the nineteenth century (Durie, 2003; Walker, 1982). Those leaders who believed in Māori sovereignty also believed in adapting to Western culture, but emphasised the centrality of Māori language and culture coupled with Māori autonomy and authority, even if it meant conflicts with the law (Durie, 2003). In fact, some Māori leaders, like the prophet Rua Kēnana supported the idea that Pākehā should be ousted from Aotearoa New Zealand (Durie, 2003; Webster, 1979). The government of the day supported the desires of the Young Māori Party and passed legislation that aligned Māori with mainstream New Zealand (Chile, 2007c; Durie, 2003). Māori worked within the frameworks the government put in place, thus achieving the dual aims of survival and recovery, but the cost of this development was an obligatory, paternalistic relationship with the government (Durie, 2003).

According to Durie (2003), the second phase of Māori development occurred between 1925 and 1950. In the mid-1920s it was believed that the improvement of Māori society should be based on land development (Durie, 2003). Āpirana Ngata played a pivotal role in developing and executing consolidation schemes to ensure that Māori made more economically viable use of their remaining lands (Chile, 2007c; Durie, 2003; Walker, 1982). The consolidation schemes allowed Māori farmers to compete with their Pākehā counterparts (Durie, 2003). However, Chile (2007c) states:

Even the land development schemes were only partially successful because the much reduced Maori land ownership left most of Maori land marginal for farming, while the individualisation of land titles created small, scattered uneconomic blocks that even the consolidation attempts could not resolve (p. 50).

Additionally, the great depression and World War Two would further impede Māori development efforts (Durie, 2003; Eketone, 2013).

The great depression of the 1930s was particularly damaging for Māori, who already subsisted in poverty; as overseas markets crumbled, the Māori economy was unable to provide for the now increasing Māori population (Durie, 2003). Within a context of deprivation and displacement, a Māori prophet by the name of Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana emerged with ideas of a fair society that corresponded with Prime Minister Michael Savage's notion of a welfare state; thus, an agreement was forged between Tahupōtiki's Rātana Church and the Labour Party (Chile, 2007c; Durie, 2003; Walker, 1982). Through the Rātana-Labour alliance, Savage ensured that Māori would receive a level of welfare that would guarantee that at least basic needs were met; and in return, Rātana promised to fill the four Māori seats with candidates from the Rātana Church (which was achieved in 1943, three years after Savage's death) (Durie, 2003). Chile (2007c) affirms:

A series of policy shifts and interventions under the Labour Government 1935-1949 enhanced Maori communities' social and economic development and moved towards including Maori into state welfare such as equal unemployment benefits, opportunities for housing finance, and investment in Maori health and education... (p. 50).

The Second World War was the second event that affected Māori development during this period. Ngata maintained that Māori would benefit from enlisting to serve King and country as it was believed that Māori would curry favour with the government and earn their citizenship (Durie, 2003). In return for this service, the government established a new Department of Māori Affairs and employed Māori managers, some of whom had served as officers in the Māori Battalion; the department took over administration of Māori lands, job training, welfare, housing, *marae*, the Māori Land Court, and Māori committees, which resulted in more Māori dependence on the department and the government (Durie, 2003). Durie (2003) states:

In return for loyalty, and political assistance, Māori could count on the generosity of the State. It was a deal that softened the harshness of poverty but brought with it an unshakeable image of Māori as dependent – hewers of wood and tillers of soil – all too ready to taste the fruits of state benevolence (p. 90).

Durie (2003) contends that the third phase of Māori development occurred between 1950 and 1975. After World War Two it became apparent that Māori could no longer sustain themselves economically in rural areas; thousands of Māori left behind their tribal areas, language and culture, and moved into urban areas in search of work, vocational training, supported housing, and increased social mobility (Durie, 2003). Māori and Pākehā lived together in close proximity, which generated some tensions; at the same time however, new industries required low paid, unskilled workers, and Māori keenly filled those positions in their droves (Durie, 2003). A new urban class emerged who were Māori, impoverished, lived in sub-standard housing, were less likely to succeed in education, and more likely to be involved in crime. Durie (2003) points out that:

...urbanisation also meant diminished access to those institutions and skills which nurtured a positive identity so that being Māori was measured more by deficits in comparison to the Pākehā middle class than by any notion of a secure Māori identity (p. 91).

Durie (2003) maintains that the fourth phase of Māori development emerged between 1975 and 2000. During this period, Durie (2003) argues that “[u]rbanisation had not erased the memories of lands at home: if anything the longing became stronger and the recognition of alienation was clearer” (p. 91). Whina Cooper’s 1975 land march opened up a 25-year period of Māori development that centred on the Treaty of Waitangi (Durie, 2003). The Treaty became the subject of official legislation in the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975; under the act, the Waitangi Tribunal was established to deal with Māori claims surrounding the Crown’s breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi from 1840 onward (Durie, 2003).

In the 1970s and 1980s, increasing concerns arose around the socio-economic gaps between Māori and Pākehā; thus, a conference, called Hui Taumata, was convened in October 1984 by the Minister of Māori Affairs in an attempt to address these issues

(Waitangi Tribunal, 1993a). The aims of the Hui Taumata, which were underpinned by the Treaty of Waitangi, included social equity, cultural affirmation, and economic self-sufficiency (Durie, 2003). Essentially, government departments were required to report on how their work contributed to the closing of the socio-economic gap between Māori and Pākehā.

Durie (2003) argues that during this phase of Māori development, land and fisheries assets became central to contestations between Māori and the government; arguments also arose between *iwi*, *hapū* and urban Māori groups. As a result of being forced by the Waitangi Tribunal and the courts to accept the legitimacy of the Treaty of Waitangi, Durie (2003) insists that the government instituted unyielding control over the process of settling claims through direct negotiation; this was a process that demanded evidence of mandate, which generated additional rivalry between *iwi*, *hapū* and other Māori groups.

Free-market economic policies influenced the Māori economy and produced conflicting outcomes (Durie, 2003). On the one hand, Durie (2003) asserts that Māori unemployment rates indicated that they were shouldering the impacts of economic restructuring; simultaneously, Māori corporates and *iwi* organisations surfaced as key actors within the national commercial landscape. Durie (2003) argues:

The dual effects of free-market policies – the creation of hardship for many and wealth for a few – created unease within Māori communities and, as the disparities between rich and poor, educated and uneducated, and employed and unemployed grew, tension and fragmentation were evident within Māori society and within local Māori communities (p. 92).

Community development theory

Community can be described as a group of people who are linked by genealogy, physical location, shared experience, visions, values, hopes and dreams, and most importantly, a collective consciousness (Chile, 2007b). Collective consciousness is critical because:

At the political level, community becomes the locale for conscientisation and action, understanding power, power relations and the patterns of distribution

of power, and how these may be used to attain the goals of well-being for the individual and the community (Chile, 2007b, pp. 22-23).

Marxism and socialism have informed community development theory: “Marxism and socialism situate community development practice within an historical understanding of power and political struggles which are based on an analysis of class” (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2000, p. 19). Critical theory, which analyses the tensions between the powerful and powerless, was developed out of Marxist theory and is part of an essential tool kit for community development practice; indeed, the conflicts between those with power and those without, must be understood in order to bring about change (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2000). Describing critical theory, Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) argue that “...the challenging and questioning of power, makes critical theory an attractive theory for those who feel powerless in society” (pp. 21-22) because “[t]he goal of critical theory is to bring about transformative change” (p. 22). This explanation of critical theory is in line with Horkheimer’s (1982) definition that critical theory is theory that works toward freedom for the oppressed.

Chile (2007a) argues that it is difficult to define community development because it is moulded for the needs of specific communities. However, in the interests of providing a definition that relates to community development as both an academic discipline and professional practice, Chile, Munford and Shannon (2006) describe community development thusly:

Community development as an academic discipline is concerned with the critical examination of how the forces of structural change, economic integration, institutional development and renewal impact on the capacity of individuals, groups and communities for self-determination. As an area of professional practice community development intervenes through distributive strategies to enhance social justice and economic equity between groups and communities locally, nationally and internationally. These are achieved through capacity development strategies which seek to increase the skills and capabilities of people to act on their own behalf to transform their communities through participation in economic, socio-political and institutional developments (p. 400).

In order to bring about transformation through community development, the community must think differently and envision a positive future. Describing community development as an alternative visualisation of reality, Ife (1995) contends:

Community development represents a vision of how things might be organised differently so that genuine ecological sustainability and social justice, which seem unachievable at global or national levels, can be realised in the experience of human community (p. xi).

Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) support the view that community development requires a positive vision of the future, in which social justice and equality are possible. Indeed, they state that community development is a way of conceptualising the world:

We view community development not just as an activity but also as a process and a way of perceiving the world. What this means is that community development is not just a 'job' or a 'profession' but rather a 'mindset' that characterises a particular perspective on the world (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2000, p. 6).

Reflecting upon community development in Aotearoa New Zealand, Himiona states that "[i]t is a kaupapa or philosophy that puts communities first, and that fosters the individual within his or her community. It is a kaupapa that says that communities are best placed to identify their own opportunities" (cited in Aimers & Walker, 2013, p. 14).

Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) maintain that a crucial part of community development is to reject the notion of top down approaches, to work beside communities to identify relationships of power, and to determine why a community may be experiencing certain issues, such as marginalisation as a result of decision-making processes. This makes community development an explicitly political affair:

The political dimension emphasises that community development cannot be understood simply in the context of individual pathology, but in a holistic approach that seeks to address structural inequality, enhance the capacity of individuals, groups and communities to operate in the political arena through conscientisation, organising, and social and political actions (Chile, 2007c, pp. 66-67).

Exposing and understanding power relationships through consciousness-raising activities is, according to Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000), critical to community development: "A key element of understanding the nature of power relations is exploring who benefits from the existence of these, who is disadvantaged by these, how they are maintained and how they can be transformed" (p. 7). When communities

become conscious and critically aware of their oppression, they can then design strategies to engage in activities that generate positive transformation. Regarding transformation, Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) argue:

Transformative action and change occurs in a conflict or crisis situation where deep suffering has been experienced by its members. As people become aware of their situation and realise that it could be different they are likely to want to change it. Change comes about by individuals organising themselves into groups and working collectively to bring about change. Transformation can only occur if oppression is perceived as such by those who are in oppressive situations (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, p. 22).

The principal purpose of community development is “...the enhancement of individual and community well-being” (Chile, 2007b, p. 21). Wellbeing is defined by Chambers (1997) as the experience of a reasonable quality of life and includes, Chile (2007b) avows, basic human needs such as shelter, food, clothing and an income. Furthermore, Chile (2007b) stresses that holistic wellbeing also includes “...security and freedom from fear, the experience of fun, love, good relations with other people, and a network of friendships” as well as “...having peace of mind, adequate information and resources to make informed choices, and to be an active and effective member of one’s community” (p. 21). Chile (2007b) claims that “...good community development practice focuses on values and principles for the empowerment of individuals and communities to work towards attaining what they consider to be their well-being” (p. 23).

Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) identify eight key principles of community development, which are relevant to this research:

Treaty of Waitangi: An understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi highlights the structural inequalities present in Aotearoa New Zealand which oppress many Māori groups; embedded within the Treaty of Waitangi, however, is the potential for improved and more equal relationships between Māori and Pākehā, which can be achieved through honouring the treaty.

Locating ourselves: This is about contextualising one's position (such as socio-economic, cultural, and educational) in relation to structural and systemic factors and how this relates to the Treaty partnership between Māori and Pākehā.

Power: The notion of power is a key community development principle, because it is through understanding power relations that those who are marginalised and powerless can empower themselves to challenge and positively change those relationships in order to redistribute power within the community.

Social change: According to Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000): "Community development is about understanding how oppressive structures can be challenged and transformed" (p. 14). Once positive change has been achieved within a community, it is critical to not only maintain the change within the community, but to extend that change to other groups and communities, thereby creating wider social change.

Vision: It is imperative to develop a guiding vision around what a more just society might look like in the future. Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) state: "Building a vision is closely related to bringing about social change in that vision guides the [community] worker in determining what constitutes positive change for communities" (p. 14).

Working collectively: "Working collectively forms the essence of community development practice" (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2000, p. 15). This principle is centred on bringing about positive change for entire communities and society, not just for the privileged few. This can be accomplished through reflective collaboration between individuals, groups and communities.

Self-determination: "Self-determination involves walking alongside individuals in order to understand their world and to also understand why they cannot be self-determining, why their dignity and diversity is minimised and why they do not have real choices in their lives" (Munford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2000, p. 15). The term *tinorangatiranga* describes self-determination for Māori. In further describing *tinorangatiranga*, Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (2000) cite Durie's (1995) three principles: *Ngā matatini Māori* – acknowledges that Māori are located within many

diverse realities; *Whakakotahi* – the principle of Māori unity; and *mana motuhake* - the principle of control and autonomy which signifies that Māori will not allow others to make decisions for them.

Action-reflection: A key part of community development is reflection on action to determine what has worked and what has not worked in order to develop improved strategies for change.

For Patuheuheu, community development is about improving the socio-economic conditions of members of the Patuheuheu *hapū*, particularly those located within the community of Waiōhau. Therefore, community development within the Patuheuheu context is about the advancement of the *whānau* and community located at Waiōhau. By adapting community development strategies to suit Patuheuheu, it could be argued that *hapū* development, therefore, is about working toward advancing Patuheuheu by improving the socio-economic conditions of the *hapū*. Te Umutaoroa is a central discourse for Patuheuheu and so links together prophecy and *hapū* development.

Prophecy and *hapū* development

Prophecy is about enunciating the potential located in the future; it is about naming, claiming and expanding imminent possibilities. Māori prophecy is a legitimate template for Māori development because both prophecy and development are future orientated. As a basis for *hapū* development, Te Kooti's religio-political Te Umutaoroa prophecy provides a platform for development that has its roots in the colonial tensions of the nineteenth century, and in spite of past oppression, promises the revelation of hidden powers with which to exponentially improve both present and future socio-economic outcomes for Patuheuheu.

Mahuika (2010) argues that the concept of walking backwards into the future is a common one for Māori and other Polynesian peoples. According to Roberts (2005): "It is often said that Māori are a people who "walk backwards into the future," an aphorism which highlights the importance of seeking to understand the present and make informed decisions about the future through reference to the past" (p. 8). Additionally, Jacobs and Falconer (2004) maintain:

‘Ka mua; ka muri’ is a whakataukī, a saying, with many variations and interpretations but the meaning used here is ‘walking backwards into the future’. The future lies behind us because it is unknown and unseeable. It is the past that is visible; it lies in front of us and informs the path we take (p. 1).

From the perspective of a Māori world view, time is cyclical and therefore non-linear.

According to Ka‘ai and Higgins (2004):

Māori have a particular concept of time that differs from that of Pākehā. Māori describe the past as *ngā rā o mua*, meaning ‘the days before’. By contrast, the future is described as *ngā rā kei muri*, meaning ‘the days after’. This reflects a world-view where Māori ‘move into the future with their eyes on the past’. This attitude looks to the past as a guide for the present and future (p. 21).

This statement is further refined by Ka‘ai-Mahuta (2010) who states:

The Māori word for the ‘past’ or ‘before’ is *mua*, but it is also the word for ‘front’. The Māori word for ‘future’ or ‘time to come’ is *muri*, which is also the word for ‘behind’. Therefore, time ‘past’ is the time that came ‘before’, and ‘future’ time is the time that came ‘after’. According to a Māori world-view, the past lies before us (p. 52).

Binney (2001a) argues that for Māori the past is viewed as being ‘in front’, and that Māori traditions and narratives, rather than being stagnant, are active and cyclical, with the potential to be interpreted for contemporary contexts. In addition, Freire (2001) claims that history is something that is created as human beings act upon the world to change reality. Therefore, it is imperative that members of the Patuheuheu *hapū*, in spite of a history of colonisation and land loss, acknowledge their history and act upon the world to change present reality and create a positively transformed future. Development is about moving toward advancement, improvement and transformation.

Māori prophecies such as those espoused by Te Kooti were often hope-inducing premonitions about improved conditions for his followers in the future. Located within Te Umutaoroa are Te Kooti’s projections for Patuheuheu’s future, which have been interpreted in various ways, at different times, by different people. From the way that Te Umutaoroa has been interpreted and used it is clear that the prophecy continues to be re-interpreted for the needs of the people. The prophecy has, according to Binney (2007c):

...acquired an autonomous life. It is no longer tied [exclusively] to its origins, a land fraud carried out by a trickster who had once been Te Kooti's friend. It has been transformed to possess vastly extended meanings... (p. 154).

Thus, as a *hapū*-based oral narrative, Te Umutaoroa continues to evoke multiple and interpretive meanings for Patuheuheu which inform the future. Binney (2001b) states poignantly that:

Oral narratives keep alive historical consciousness. People who have been marginalised will often retain a strong sense of history, for they have lived 'at the edges' of the dominant culture, and they have been dispossessed by it. Their historical consciousness, therefore, narrates the past to inform the present and also to alter the future. This sense of history becomes, as James C. Scott has persuasively argued, a hidden 'transcript', which subverts the control and explanations of history offered by those who have dominated. The means of resolution then chosen by successive generations, who learn the history, may occur within, or outside, current laws. They may take the form of ritualised pilgrimages or peaceful land reoccupations; but they may take quite other forms of active protest. That is the decision that each generation of the marginalised faces, until the issue of their domination is confronted – and resolved with justice – in the society in which they live (p. 164).

The Patuheuheu *hapū* development model

Te Umutaoroa can be viewed as a prophetic strategy that Patuheuheu uses to neutralise some of the psycho-historical trauma of the past and to inform the future. Regarding the use of Te Umutaoroa in *hapū* development, Bruce F. Maki contends:

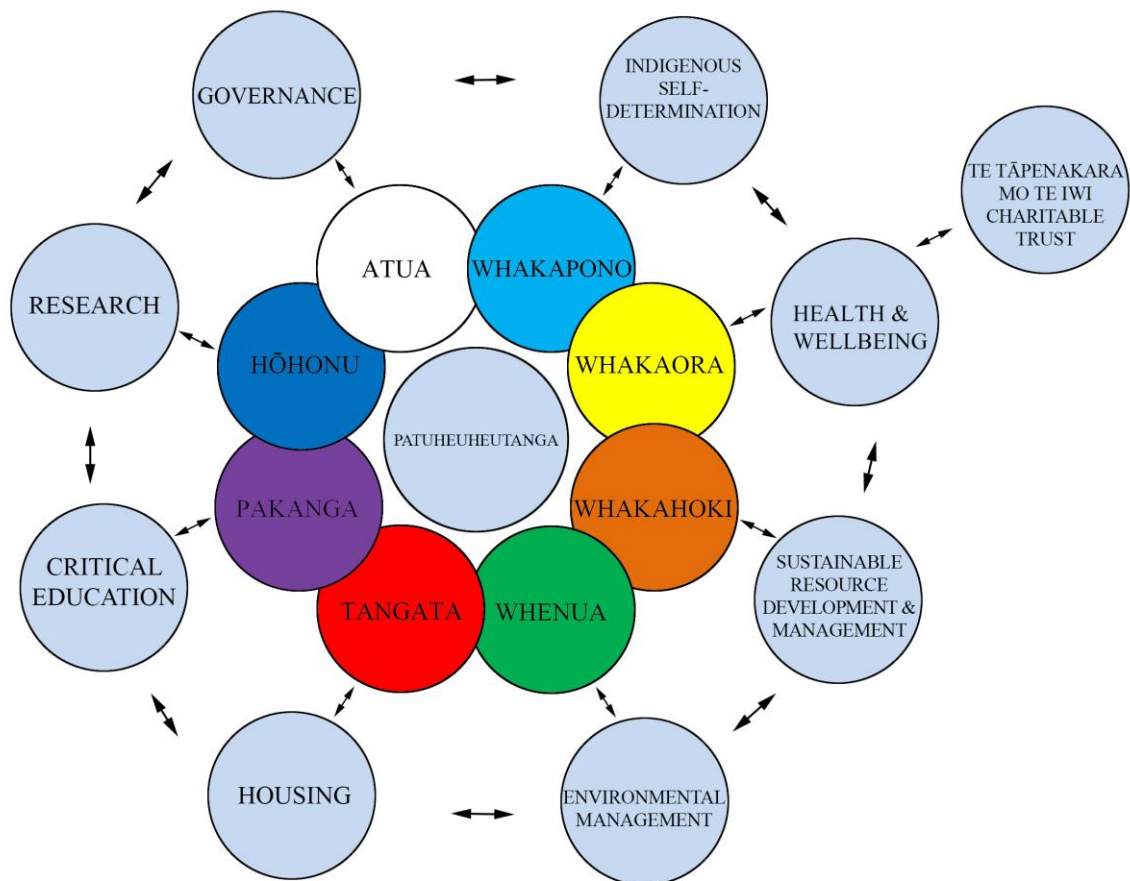
Yes Te Umutaoroa will play a role in *hapū* development at Waiōhau. Well the time is coming, because Te Kooti said in prophecy that these things, "*ngā rawa*"²¹⁵ *katoa o te whenua* [the resources of the land]" will be coming to us. Te Kooti talked about *ngā rawa*... It's contained within *ngā mauri e waru* [the eight life potentials] (B. F. Maki, personal communication, 18 October, 2011).

Te Umutaoroa is a narrative that can be used in multiple contexts. This research proposes that Te Umutaoroa can be used as the basis for a *hapū* development model that includes, but is not limited to, governance; Indigenous self-determination; health and wellbeing; sustainable resource development and management; environmental management; housing; critical education; and research. These aspects of Te Umutaoroa,

²¹⁵ Goods, property, wealth, chattels, resource (Moorfield, 2011).

which have been extrapolated and interpreted from *ngā mauri e waru*, are but a meagre portion of the treasure contained within Te Kooti's *umu*.

Figure 6: Patuheuheu *hapū* development model



Explanation of the Patuheuheu *hapū* development model

The prophecy of Te Umutaoroa was given to the people who lived at Te Houhi – Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare – when the land was lost as a result of Harry Burt's fraudulent acts in the native land court. *Patuheuheutanga* is central to this model because the researcher is of Patuheuheu descent and has developed this model for the benefit of Patuheuheu *hapū*, with the view that it might be used as a template for other groups. Although the researcher is also of Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare lineage, this research concentrates on the advancement of a model for

Patuheuheu *hapū* development; but it is hoped that other researchers will develop other models based on Te Umutaoroa or other local prophecies, histories and narratives.

Within the model, the *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa overlap one another; this is a visual effect that demonstrates the way in which the *mauri* dimensions intersect, interact and inform one another. The eight *mauri* are presented in the seven colours of the rainbow (and white to make an eighth). The rainbow was a significant symbol for Te Kooti and the Ringatū (Binney & Chaplin, 1996). Similarly, the *hapū* development aspects of the model materialise out of the *mauri* and interact with one another. Patuheuheutanga – Patuheuheu culture, customs, values and beliefs – is featured at the centre of the model and is the anchor point of Patuheuheu *hapū* development.

When thinking about Patuheuheu *hapū* development, it is important to understand *mauri*. *Mauri* is an important concept that Te Kooti used to describe the hidden potential located within the eight stones he saw in his vision of Te Umutaoroa. Marsden (in Royal, 2003) describes *mauri* as:

...the life-force which generates, regenerates and upholds creation. It is the bonding element that knits all the diverse elements within the Universal 'Procession' giving creation its unity in diversity. It is the bonding element that holds the fabric of the universe together (p. 44).

Pere (1991) defines *mauri* as life principle, thymos or psyche and asserts:

It is a very important concept and affects our everyday lives, and living. Each individual has a *mauri* that remains throughout his or her existence. All living things, lakes, rivers, the sea, the bush and buildings have a *mauri* that should be appreciated and respected. It helps one to relate and care for everyone and everything across the universe (p. 12)

Therefore, taking care of *mauri*, in terms of caring for and relating to everything and everyone, is an essential part of Patuheuheu *hapū* development, because in caring for and respecting the *mauri* of other people, animals, plants, waterways, places and objects, the *mauri* of Patuheuheu *hapū* maintains balance and wellness. Pere (1991) opines:

Mauri is an in depth term and is one that can pertain to an individual's psyche alongside other people, or it can also pertain to a talisman, the physical symbol of the hidden principle that protects vitality... (p. 12).

The *mauri* stones of Te Umutaoroa are talismans of protection that conceal and safeguard the hidden potential yet to be revealed in the future. Durie (2001) asserts: "The mauri, the life force, spirals outwards seeking to establish communication with higher levels of organisation..." (p.88). Likewise, the *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa spiral outwards, influencing Patuheuheu *hapū* in various ways, including the outcomes of this research. The uncovering of these eight stones guarantees for the people of Te Houhi spiritual and physical renewal; regeneration; reuniting of people and land; and economic security (Binney, 2001b). Thus, these stones are critical to *hapū* development generally, and to Patuheuheu wellbeing specifically. Te Kooti was able to convert the tragic story of Te Houhi's land loss into a quest for a new future to be uncovered by revealing the *mauri* contained within the symbolic and mystical cooking pit of Te Umutaoroa.

Patuheuheutanga

Patuheuheutanga is the epistemological centre from which all other aspects of the model arise. *Patuheuheutanga* embodies the culture, customs and beliefs of Patuheuheu, and is crucial to the development of the *hapū*. The centrality of *Patuheuheutanga* within this model reflects the fact that the researcher's Patuheuheu perspective is fundamental to this particular interpretation of Te Kooti's prophecy. Te Kooti's gifting of Te Umutaoroa provides a framework on which to hang Patuheuheu's developmental aspirations, hopes, dreams and visions for the future. This framework offers new understandings of Te Kooti's eight *mauri*. In broadening the meanings of these *mauri* and relating them to other systems of knowledge, this framework brings Te Kooti's prophecy into the context of the twenty-first century.

Mauri atua – governance

Mana is derived from *atua*. Māori trace their *whakapapa* to *atua*, who are regarded as ancestors with ongoing influence (Moorfield, 2011). Lewis, Willing and Mullan (1995) describe the term *atua* (literally *a tua*²¹⁶) as meaning "...that which is beyond, strange, out of the world" (p. 21). Some of these *atua*, such as Tangaroa, *atua* of the sea, or

²¹⁶ In reference to a location *tua* means further side (of a solid body), beyond, other side (Moorfield, 2011).

Tāne-mahuta, *atua* of the forest, have dominion over certain parts of the environment. Belief in *atua* allows Māori to explain and perceive the world around them (Moorfield, 2011) and their place within it. In a post-Christian context, the word *atua* or rather *Atua*, also refers to the Christian God or in the Ringatū case, Īhowa, the Māori version of Jehovah – the Latinised Hebrew name for God. Williams (2004) states: “Atua is often translated as ‘gods’ but it is rather more helpful to remember that present generations are linked to them by whakapapa and therefore to think of them as ‘ancestors of ongoing influence’”(p. 50). Furthermore, Moorfield (2011) asserts that the Christian use of the word *atua* is a misconception of the original meaning of the term. However, this usage is now common in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Te Kooti, like all of the Māori prophets, re-articulated, re-orientated and intermingled Judeo-Christian beliefs with Māori tradition, creating a uniquely Indigenous, syncretic theology. The blended theologies of the Māori prophets did not negate either belief system, but allowed both to exist, albeit in a new form. The researcher grew up within a context where Ringatū, Catholic, Presbyterian, Anglican, and traditional Māori concepts were mixed together. The researcher heard stories about how *kaumātua* would *karakia* to the Judeo-Christian God, and then, if that did not bear fruit, would turn their attention to the Māori *atua*, or vice versa; both belief systems were used without any conflicts, which is a typical feature of syncretic theologies. When this research states that Māori inherit *mana* from *atua*, it is generally referring to the definition of *atua* as ancestors of continuing influence from which Māori descend through *whakapapa*.

A brief discussion of Māori creation theory is required in order to preface a conversation regarding the principle of *mauri atua* as a platform for governance. Although the many and varied Māori creation narratives are unique to their respective *iwi* and *hapū*, there are some common threads that will be canvassed here to show the links between the creation of the universe and the *mana* derived from *atua*. The Māori creation story begins with Te Kore. However, in some traditions the creation process, which ultimately starts with Te Kore, is initiated by Io, the Supreme Creator who has many names.²¹⁷ The term Te Kore is often compared with the biblical notion of the

²¹⁷ Io refers to a supreme being. The concept of a single celestial parent is contested by Mikaere (2011) who argues that the notion of Io is a post-Christian development (see Mikaere, 2011, pp. 233-237, 241-246, 249; see also Cox, 2014 and his chapter entitled: *The debate over Io as the pre-Christian Māori Supreme Being*). However, Marsden (in Royal, 2003), Shirres (1997), and Schrempf (1992) maintain that Io was an *atua* for some *hapū* and

void, the nothingness. However, Mikaere (2011) argues that far from being empty, Te Kore is actually a state of endless potential. According to Marsden:

Te Korekore is the realm between non-being and being: that is, the realm of potential being. This is the realm of primal, elemental energy or latent being. It is here that the seed-stuff of the universe and all created things gestate. It is the womb from which all things proceed. Thus the Māori is thinking of continuous creation employed in two allegorical figures: that of plant growth and that of gestation in the womb (Royal, 2003, p.20).

Emanating from the cosmic incubator of Te Kore emerged Te Pō; and out of the numerous developmental stages of Te Pō came the primordial parents, Papa-tū-ā-nuku and Rangi-nui who, while incessantly clasped to one another, produced a number of progeny (Marsden in Royal, 2003; Mikaere, 2011; Reilly, 2004). The offspring of these ancient parents grew dissatisfied with the darkness that resulted from their parent's unending embrace, and so one of the children, Tāne-nui-a-Rangi, pushed Rangi and Papa-tū-ā-nuku apart, which moved the universe into a new stage, Te Ao Mārama²¹⁸ (Mikaere, 2011; Reilly, 2004). Within Te Ao Mārama, human life was created through the materialisation of human form, and through sexual intercourse. Tāne-nui-a-Rangi formed the first woman, Hine-ahu-one, and procreated with her. Thus, human life is imbued with *mana* from the *atua* realm, not only because the first woman was created by Tāne-nui-a-rangi, but because he reproduced with her; and so there are two levels of creativity present in the narrative. Through *whakapapa*, Patuheuheu, like all Māori, descend from ancestors, who descend from *atua*, where *mana* is derived.

The notion that Māori inherit *mana* from *atua*, giving them the right to govern themselves, is important here because it negates the legitimacy of Pākehā superiority in terms of governance. Frechette (1999) states that "[g]overnance is the process through which... institutions, businesses and citizens' groups articulate their interest, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate their differences" (p. 25). For Penehira, Cram and Pipi (2003), governance is essentially about "...influence, decision-making and accountability" (p. 8). Far from being a purely modern concept, Fodder, Davis-Ngatai

iwi, before Pākehā contact. Furthermore, Moorfield (2011) insists that some *hapū* and *iwi* have an Io tradition that may be a response to Christianity. However, Moorfield (2011) also argues that references to an Io belief occurs in a number of traditions from the Polynesian islands, including Hawai'i, the Society Islands and the Cook Islands, suggesting a more ancient tradition. Binney (1995) contends that Io may have travelled with Māori from the wider Pacific.

²¹⁸ The world of life and light (Moorfield, 2011).

and Joseph (2014) argue that “[g]overnance... is as old as humanity and is reflective of multiple societies and cultures across the world” (p. 5). For Māori in particular:

...governance began even before the first waka arrived in Aotearoa in the 1300s. While time and technologies have changed, traditional Māori governance based on tikanga and mātauranga Māori²¹⁹ still provide the framework of a Māori worldview that establishes the values for Māori interactions with Māori, all New Zealanders and even globally (Foddler et al., 2014, p. 179).

For governance to be effective, it must be culturally appropriate (Cornell & Kalt, 1998), and grounded in the epistemology of the tribe, *iwi*, clan, *hapū* or community. For Patuheuheu, *hapū*-derived, *hapū*-centric governance is essential not only to self-determining *hapū* development, but also to healing the wounds of colonisation. Penehira et al. (2003) assert: "Self-governance is also a tool of healing for indigenous peoples; in other words, self-governance is an important step for many in being able to move forward from the position of being 'colonized'" (p. 12).

Penehira et al. (2003) opine that through consultation with Indigenous knowledge systems "...governance models can be established to take people into the future, to help heal the past, and to reconnect governing processes with indigenous values, beliefs and aspirations". Indeed, as Cornell and Kalt (1998) note, referring to the findings of the Harvard project on American Indian economic development:

At the tribal level, the lesson is that those tribes that build governing institutions capable of the effective exercise of sovereignty are the ones that are most likely to achieve long-term, self-determined economic prosperity. They are the ones who will most effectively shape their own futures, instead of having those futures shaped by others. For tribes, nation-building is the only game in town (p. 33).

The idea that successful governance models for Indigenous people are located within Indigenous knowledge systems is important for Indigenous development. Te Umutaoroa emerged out of Patuheuheu history through the medium of prophetic utterance, which makes Te Kooti's insight critical for Patuheuheu governance and development. While it can be argued that an interpretation of Te Kooti's prophecy has the potential to inform a new Patuheuheu governance model, the very notion of

²¹⁹ *Mātauranga Māori* means Māori knowledge - the body of knowledge originating from Māori ancestors, including the Māori world view and perspectives, Māori creativity and cultural practices (Moorfield, 2011).

Indigenous governance in a post/neo-colonial context, can itself be considered the fulfilment of prophecy. Speaking about Aboriginal governance in relation to the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, Bradley Young (cited in Penehira et al., 2003) states:

Aboriginal governance is the fulfilment of many prophecies which many elders from many different nations share. ...Aboriginal People, will increasingly vacate the old dysfunctional colonial institutions in sway now, replacing them with renewed indigenous governance systems which will revolutionize and save the tired, increasingly ignored, and decaying 'modern' western democratic models of government... (p. 9).

The following statement from Durie (2011) sums up the governance aspirations of Māori: "...Māori have the knowledge, skills and foresight to create a future where younger generations, and generations yet to come can prosper in the world, and at the same time live as Māori" (p. 8). Adapting Durie's words one could assert: Patuheuheu have the knowledge, skills and foresight to create a future where younger generations, and generations yet to come can prosper in the world, and at the same time live as Patuheuheu.

Current governance situation in Waiōhau

Within the Waiōhau community there are presently three *hapū* governance organisations: Waiohau C4 Papakainga No 1 Patuheuheu Marae Trust; the Waiohau Lands Trust; and the Waiohau Marae Committee.

The Waiohau C4 Papakainga No 1 Patuheuheu Marae Trust is the overarching entity in Waiōhau and governs the *papa kāinga*²²⁰ land. The purpose of the trust is to administer the land contained within the *marae* reservation, which includes the *marae* complex, the land on which the Waiohau Rugby Club stands and the *urupā*. The trust is responsible to the beneficiaries. The Waiohau Lands Trust is an *Ahu whenua*²²¹ trust that was set up to look after the *papa kāinga* land and the farm lease land between Waiōhau Rugby Club and the *urupā*. The Waiohau Marae Committee is responsible for the day-to-day operations of the *marae*, which includes *marae* policies concerning issues such as

²²⁰ Original home, home base, village (Moorfield, 2011).

²²¹ Te Kooti Whenua Māori – Māori Land Court (n.d.) define an *Ahu whenua* trust thusly: "This is the most common Māori land trust. The purpose of an *Ahu whenua* trust is to promote the use and administration of the land in the interest of the landowners. These trusts are often used for commercial purposes. This is a land management trust and involves whole blocks of land" (n.p).

hireage and bookings; and managing events such as *tangihanga*, weddings, birthdays, *wānanga*, *hui*, and other social and cultural events. The Waiohau Marae Committee is also the Civil Defence contact for the Whakatāne District Council.

Potential development

While designing a new governance structure is beyond the scope of this research, the following are governance principles based on the eight *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa, which might be beneficial for those who transform things in the future.

Mauri atua: Maintain *wairuatanga* or the spiritual dimension by acknowledging through *karakia* and conduct that the *mana* to govern comes from *atua*.

Mauri whakapono: Invest in non-deficit and self-determining belief in the potential of Patuheuheu *hapū* development and transformation for the benefit of future generations.

Mauri whakaora: Contribute to social, cultural, spiritual and psychological healing for Patuheuheu *hapū* as a means of recovery from psycho-historical trauma.

Mauri whakahoki: Contributes to a programme of restoration for Patuheuheu *hapū* in terms of the *whenua* and resources that were taken away in the nineteenth century, and seeks to sustainably develop and manage the remaining resources (and resources yet to be acquired) for the benefit of Patuheuheu *hapū*.

Mauri whenua: Nurtures the *whakapapa* connection to Papa-tū-ā-nuku by ensuring that all practices, policies and governance processes have a focus on not only protecting the *whenua* but enhancing and nourishing the *whenua* to encourage Tāne-nui-a-Rangi's (*atua* of the forest) children to thrive and to bring prosperity back to the land.

Mauri tangata: Acknowledge and enhance the *whakapapa* connections to one another and to the wider *iwi* context by demonstrating reciprocity, generosity and *matemate-ā-one* – a term signifying an intense connection of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to the *whenua* and to each other.

Mauri pakanga: Engages in conscientisation, critical reflection and critical education to ensure that colonial power structures and oppression are not reproduced within Patuheuheu *hapū*.

Mauri hōhonu: Engages in critical research and development in order to ensure that Patuheuheu *hapū* are informed and 'up with the play' regarding the latest research and development trends.

***Mauri whakapono* – self-determination**

Whakapono is a word that means to have faith or believe in something (Moorfield, 2011). Belief informs actions and actions create transformation, and so *whakapono* is an essential part of *hapū* transformation; it is the access-point of change. Therefore, the people's belief in their ability to be self-determining and to determine their own future is critical to *hapū* development. Durie (1998) states: "Māori self-determination is about the advancement of Māori people, as Māori, and the protection of the environment for future generations" (p. 4). Within the context of self-determination, Durie (1998) argues that Māori advancement incorporates three essential components:

First, it signifies a commitment to strengthening economic standing, social well-being, and cultural identity, both individually and collectively. Second, it touches on the dimension of power and control...at individual and group levels. Māori advancement is about the better self-management of natural resources, greater productivity of Māori land, the active promotion by Māori of good health, a sound education, enhanced usage of Māori language, and decision-making that reflects Māori realities and aspirations. Third, advancement is also about change. Cultural fossilisation is not consistent with the spirit of development; and even though traditional values and knowledge have important lessons for today and offer some clues for the future, Māori self-determination is not about living in the past (p. 4).

Mana from *atua* gives Patuheuheu the undoubted right to self-determination. This right is supported by article three of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2008), which states: "Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (p. 4). Therefore, the belief that a *hapū* has the power to be self-determining and self-governing is a key factor in *hapū* development, as a form of Indigenous development, which is supported by the United Nations.

Current self-determination situation in Waiōhau

The Te Umutaoroa political movement that emerged in 2008 was a result of the dissatisfaction experienced by Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka and other Tūhoe *hapū* in relation to the Tūhoe settlement process. The Te Umutaoroa political movement demanded that *hapū* have their own autonomy in determining the conditions of Treaty of Waitangi settlements, rather than having a large *iwi* organisation take away that

autonomy. Indeed, this movement was supported by the notion that, historically, *hapū* always had autonomy over their own affairs. However, Higgins (n.d.) argues that "...the systems created around settlement often oppose traditional *hapū* and *iwi* governing structures" (n.p.). She also claims that the Crown creates processes that repeatedly destabilise *iwi* and *hapū* relationships: "These legal structures divide *iwi* rather than bring them together. They have created a combat between economic and cultural capital" (Higgins, n.d., n.p.). From the perspective of Te Umutaoroa, there has been a complete disregard for the traditional autonomy of *hapū* over their affairs and that this is a continuing source of conflict and hurt. Te Umutaoroa has continued to fight for the rights of associated *hapū* through protest and court proceedings, but a solution to these issues is yet to be found.

Potential development

Mana can be defined as authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma (Moorfield, 2011). *Mana* is also understood to be a supernatural force within a person or people that is imparted, through descent, from *atua* (Moorfield, 2011). The word *motuhake* means to be separate, special, distinct (Moorfield, 2011). Therefore *mana motuhake* can be explained as autonomy or *mana* through self-determination and control over one's own destiny (Moorfield, 2011). Consistent with these definitions of *mana motuhake*, Patrick McGarvey opines:

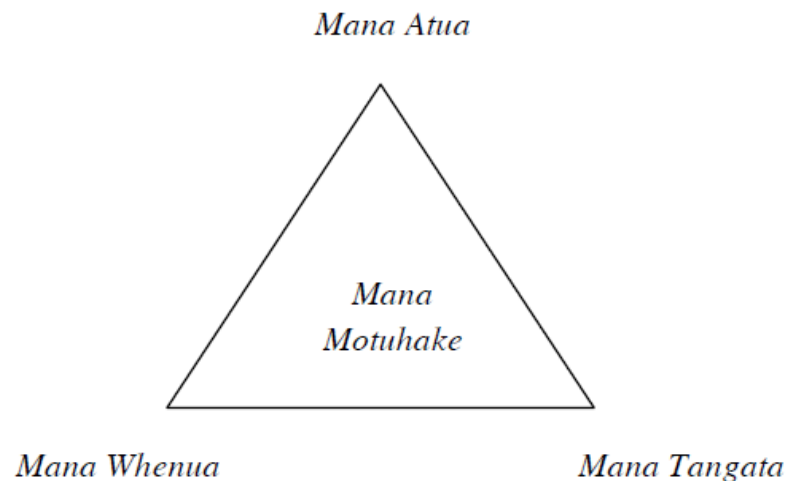
To me *mana motuhake* is being in control of your own destiny, being in control of your own circumstances, being in control of your ability to live your life. *Mana motuhake* is maintaining ... your identity, your customs, your *tikanga*, your language, survival... of all those ideals (cited in Williams, 2010, p. 18).

Durie (1998) maintains that *mana motuhake* "...embodies a link with customary Māori systems of authority, especially in the face of colonising forces" (p. 220). Speaking about the Tūhoe understanding of *mana motuhake*, Higgins (n.d.) argues that "Mana Motuhake is an ideology deeply ingrained into our identity and our lives" (n.p.).

Mana is inextricably connected to *tapu* (Higgins, 2004; Moorfield, 2011; Shirres, 1997). Shirres (1997) explains that *tapu* is "...the potentiality for power..." while *mana* is "...the actual power, the power itself" (p. 53). Both *mana* and *tapu* are linked to the

atua, the land and to people. Higgins (2004) describes four types of *mana*: *mana atua* – the power of *atua*; *mana whenua* – power of the land; *mana tangata* – power of the people; and *mana motuhake* – the separate or distinct *mana*. The ways in which these four types of *mana* interact can be understood in Higgin's *Ngā mana Māori* diagram.

Figure 7: Ngā mana Māori



(Higgins, 2004, p. 48).

Higgins (2004) explains the four types of *mana* and how they interact in the following way:

Mana Atua relates to the source of all *mana* from the gods through the ancestors to the present generations. This type of *mana* provides the basis of all *whakapapa*, which is an important aspect of the Māori worldview. *Mana Whenua* provides people with a land base to exercise their *mana* over. The *whenua* is an important element of the Māori psyche in terms of their identity, their *mana motuhake*.... *Mana Tangata* is the social interactions of the people with others. This is displayed in numerous customary concepts such as *manaaki*,²²² *whanaungatanga*, and *aroha*. These three types of *mana* connect to allow a collective group such as *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to maintain their *mana motuhake* from other such collectives (p. 49).

Higgins (2004) argues that the triangulation of *mana atua*, *mana whenua* and *mana tangata* provides a space where *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* are able to practise and maintain their *mana motuhake*. All three forms of *mana* are required to operationalise *mana motuhake*. For example, in relation to Patuheuheu's lost lands at Te Houhi, Patuheuheu

²²² To support, take care of, give hospitality to, protect, look out for - show respect, generosity and care for others (Moorfield, 2011).

have *mana atua* and *mana tangata* but they do not, according to Higgins' (2004) definition, have *mana whenua* at Te Houhi because they no longer live on the *whenua*. Without *mana whenua* at Te Houhi, it is impossible for Patuheuheu to practice *mana motuhake* at that particular site because it is privately owned by farmers.

Wharehuia Milroy defines *mana motuhake* as Tūhoe's right to "...set up processes, [and] structures which will provide benefit [to the people] ... [and] [t]o establish ways and means in which our people can work for the benefit of Tūhoe rather than for the benefit of others (cited in Williams, 2010, p. 30). Expanding upon Milroy's argument for Tūhoe's *mana motuhake*, it can be argued that Patuheuheu, as a *hapū* of Tūhoe, has the right to set up processes and structures in order to provide and establish ways and means to work for the benefit of Patuheuheu.

Te Umutaoroa is a prophecy about restoration and reconnection that "...continues to operate as a framework in the search for justice" (Binney, 2010, p. 365). Te Umutaoroa "...is a quest set by Te Kooti over a hundred years ago: to open the hāngi in a future time and under a new spiritual leadership" (Binney, 2010, p. 365). As part of its promises, Te Umutaoroa's objective is "...to restore the people's land, together with their autonomy" (Binney, 2010, p. 365). Therefore, with Te Umutaoroa as a framework for Patuheuheu *hapū* development, the potential is that one day Patuheuheu will have *mana motuhake* over its own affairs as a *hapū* within the Tūhoe confederation and that all *hapū* within Tūhoe will have their own *mana motuhake* as they had in traditional times.

***Mauri whakaora* – health and wellbeing**

The word *whakaora* refers to healing and the restoration of health (Moorfield, 2011). The model shows the Te Tāpenakara case study emerging out of *mauri whakaora*. The healers who work at and manage Te Tāpenakara operate from a holistic world view that is based on the principles of Te Umutaoroa; at the same time, their three-pronged model of *aroha*, *tika* and *pono* is used as a tool to measure the extent of the healer's integrity and intentions in their healing practice. The purpose of Te Tāpenakara is to promote the health and wellbeing of all people through various healing techniques and methods. While Te Umutaoroa forms the foundation of their healing practice, they also draw on or use other models and frameworks if they are beneficial to their work. Likewise,

within the Te Umutaoroa model presented here, the researcher draws upon other models and frameworks with which to conceptualise the potential of the Te Umutaoroa model; the limits of which are endless.

Durie (1994) developed a model that is relevant to the *mauri whakaora* dimension, called *whare tapa whā* or four-sided house. This model, being a *whare* with four sides, is simple to conceptualise and refers to the four interacting aspects of a Māori person, which are essential to health and wellbeing. These are *taha wairua* – the spiritual; *taha hinengaro* – the mental; *taha tinana* – the physical; and *taha whānau* – the extended family (Durie, 1994).

The *wairua* can be described as ‘spirit’, while the word *wairua* itself means ‘two waters’ (Pere, 1991). Pere (1991) explains that *wairua* possess both positive and negative elements, affirming, as an example, that water can both provide and enhance life or take it away; here, balance is key. According to Durie (1994), *taha wairua* is about faith in and communion with unseen and unspoken energies. This correlates with Pere’s (1991) argument that “[t]he physical realm is immersed and integrated with the spiritual realm. A powerful belief in spirituality governs and influences the way one interacts with other people, and relates to her or his environment” (p. 16). *Taha wairua* is commonly thought to be the most important aspect of Māori health because, if the *wairua* is not taken care of, a person is disposed to illness and misfortune (Durie, 1994). Durie (1994) maintains:

A spiritual dimension encompasses religious beliefs and practices but is not synonymous with regular churchgoing or strong adherence to a particular denomination. Belief in God is one reflection of *wairua*, but it is also evident in relationships with the environment (p. 70).

Regarding the maintenance of spirituality, Pere (1991) states: “The natural place of worship/communion with Io Matua is Papatuanuku – Mother Earth [,] where one can relate to the hills, spaces of water, the heavens, everything that is part of us” (p. 16).

Taha hinengaro is about mental function, cognition, the mind, the “...expression of thoughts and feelings”, recognising that the body and mind are indivisible (Durie, 1994,

p. 70). Hinengaro is described by Pere (1991) as “...female who is both known and hidden – the mind” (p. 32). According to Pere (1991):

Hine (female) is the conscious part of the mind and ngaro (hidden) is the subconscious. Hinengaro refers to the mental, intuitive and ‘feeling’, seat of the emotions. Thinking, knowing, perceiving, remembering, recognising, feeling, abstracting, generalising, sensing, responding and reacting are all processes of the Hinengaro – the mind (Pere, 1991, p. 32)

Like all things in the Māori universe, Māori thinking is couched within an all-encompassing framework that integrates the physical, mental and spiritual. Durie (1994) affirms:

Māori thinking can be described as holistic. Understanding occurs less by division into smaller and smaller parts, the analytical approach, than by synthesis into wider contextual systems so that any recognition of similarities is based on comparisons at a higher level of organization (p. 70).

In the same way Māori health and wellbeing is dependent on the achievement of harmony with the outward environment (Durie, 1994). In fact, Durie (1994) describes the links a Māori person has with the environment using specific Māori words in the following way:

There are several words and expressions which bind the individual to the outside world. Whenua, for example, can mean both placenta and the land, rae is either the forehead or a land promontory, iwi refers equally to a bone (kō iwi) or to a nation of people, while hapū can denote pregnancy and a section of a larger tribe. The word for birth is whānau, the same term used to describe a family, and wairua, spirituality, can also be used to refer to an insect, just as kāpō can mean blind or a species of eel. Whakapo is to darken (as in approaching night) and, as well, to grieve, waimate is a hereditary disease but also polluted water, kauae can be the jawbone or a major supporting beam in a building, and tāhuhu refers both to the vertebral column and the ridge pole of a meeting-house (p. 71).

Taha tinana or physical health is about physical growth and development and acknowledges that good health is essential for optimum development (Durie, 1994). Referring to physical development from conception through to birth, Pere (1991) maintains:

A mother nurtures, cherishes and blesses her child through the sacred waters of her womb. Approximately nine months after the sacred seed from the

male partner unites with the sacred river of life from the female parent a child is born of water. Every person is sacred and requires a set of disciplines to ensure that the sacred nurturing continues (p. 24).

Regarding the nurturing that comes from diet and the elements of the natural world, Pere (1991) states that there has been a renaissance of traditional Māori foods and medicines that has been well received by health-conscious communities. Through the use of *kai* and *rongoā*, the aim of each Māori person is to “...find an appropriate health package that can cater for his or her individual needs. Each person is a universe and needs to have dominion over herself or himself” (Pere, 1991, p. 24). The nurturing and development of the *tinana* is crucial to the protection of the spiritual essence that is inseparable from *hinengaro*, *wairua* and *whānau* (Durie, 1994).

The fourth and final part of Durie’s (1994) *whare tapa whā* model is *taha whānau*, which is about recognising the significance of the extended family to health and wellbeing. The *whānau* is the primary support structure within Māori society and provides *whānau* members with the necessities of life, physically, emotionally, culturally (Durie, 1994) and spiritually. Describing *whanaungatanga* (*whānau* relationships) as “Kinship ties – Extended family across the universe”, Pere (1991) states: “Whanaungatanga is based on ancestral, historical, traditional and spiritual ties. It forms that strong bond that influences the way one lives and reacts to his/her kinship groups, people generally, the world, the universe” (p. 26).

Māori receive their identity from the *whānau* context, which outweighs personal qualifications or achievements; as *whānau* members, there are obligations to the *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* that must be considered (Durie, 1994). Referring to the extended *whānau* in terms of the wider *hapū* and *iwi* contexts, Pere (1991) asserts:

The kinship network as far the extended family (tribal group in this context) is concerned, is one that gives a feeling of belonging, value and security. Knowing ones genealogical ties is important to the Maori who identifies with his/her own heritage (p. 26).

Current Māori health situation

Before contact with Pākehā, Māori were a muscular, tall, healthy and robust people whose life expectancy rates rivalled those of Europeans in Spain and France (Lange,

1999) and exceeded those of the British (Pool, 1991). Initially Māori had no immunity against European diseases, which significantly impacted on mortality rates. In 1769 the Māori population was around 100,000, but decreased by between 10% to 30% by 1840, mostly due to Pākehā diseases (Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991). Māori suffered further negative effects between 1840 and 1901 because of intensified exposure to European diseases, which had the dual effect of increasing death rates and decreasing birth rates (Dow, 1999; Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991). A large number of Māori children during this period died in their first year of life from diseases such as pneumonia and other respiratory health issues; while older children and adults suffered with typhoid fever, tuberculosis, viral diseases and other chronic illnesses (Dow, 1999; Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991). Socio-economic changes resulting from land wars, extensive land confiscations, and land loss through the machinations of the Native Land Court also contributed greatly to poor health outcomes for Māori (Dow, 1999; Durie, 1994; Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991). Lange (1999) asserts that during this period Māori made changes to their housing, sanitation, water supply and diet that also had some negative effects on Māori health. From 1840 to 1891 the Māori population declined by around half and continued to decrease (Lange, 1999).

Traditional Māori *rongoā* and healing practices continued to be used and were often blended by Māori with Western treatments (Dow, 1999; Durie, 1994; Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991). However, some Māori avoided Pākehā doctors and hospitals altogether (Dow, 1999; Durie, 1994; Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991).²²³

Māori activists who had been educated at Te Aute College in Hawke's Bay advocated for improved health outcomes for Māori; these activists operated through the Te Aute College Students Association (later known as the Young Māori Party), which was directed by Āpirana Ngata and others, and supported by prominent leaders and chiefs (Lange, 1999). In 1900, the Public Health Department, with a Māori component, was established; Dr Māui Pōmare inspected Māori communities, offering advice to leadership as to how to improve conditions; and for some of the time he had the assistance of Dr Te Rangi Hīroa (Peter Buck) (Dow, 1999; Durie, 1994; Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991). The twentieth century saw the Māori population increase significantly,

²²³ Hospitals had initially been set up by missionaries to treat Māori, but became dominated by Pākehā (Dow, 1999; Durie, 1994; Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991).

which was aided by a heightened resistance to diseases and by a dynamic health campaign organised by Māori and the government; but despite improved resistance to infections and a decreased death rate, poverty continued to affect Māori health (Dow, 1999; Durie, 1994; Lange, 1999; Pool, 1991).

Traditional Māori health and healing practices remained common in Māori settlements. In some areas Māori did not trust Pākehā intentions or practices. That was particularly true of *iwi* located in Te Urewera, Taranaki and Waikato, who had suffered extensively at the hands of the government in the nineteenth century (Lange, 1999). Rua Kēnana, prophet, *tohunga* and founder of the Ihairaira movement, had devised his own methods for improving health, separately from government driven schemes. In 1906 the police were instructed to watch Rua's activities; in 1907, the Tohunga Suppression Act, which was directed at Rua, was passed, supported by a number of Māori politicians and leaders (Binney et al., 1979; Davidson, 2004; Dow, 1999; Durie, 1994; Lange, 1999; Webster, 1979).

Although the Māori population increased substantially from the 1920s to the 1940s, Māori health remained well behind that of Pākehā, with Māori experiencing diseases such as typhoid fever a rate of 40 times the Pākehā rate; while Māori mortality rates were four times that of Pākehā (Lange, 1999). In 1939, hospital treatment was made free, which meant that more Māori could access hospital services when needed (Lange, 1999). In the 1950s Māori deaths from diseases such as typhoid fever and tuberculosis started to decline (Lange, 1999). However, Māori experienced higher rates of diabetes, heart disease, stroke and cancer, and by 1960 the Māori death rate was twice that of Pākehā (Lange, 1999). The 1980s saw Māori initiate their own health programmes, which in some cases involved traditional *rongoā* (Lange, 1999). By 2001, Māori life expectancy was eight years less than Pākehā, and Māori also lagged behind significantly with regard to employment, education, income, housing and in all factors contributing to health and wellbeing (Lange, 1999).

Māori continue to face challenges to their health and wellbeing. One in five Māori children and two in five Māori are obese, which is well above the national average; and two in five Māori adults smoke (Ministry of Health, 2013). Health conditions such as diabetes, stroke, heart disease, high blood pressure, arthritis and chronic pain are

experienced at higher rates by Māori than by Pākehā; and one in five Māori adults and children suffer from asthma (Ministry of Health, 2013). Māori health needs are often not met: in 2013 it was reported that 23% of Māori adults and 8% of Māori children could not afford to see a doctor in the last 12 months; while 18% of Māori adults, and 12% of Māori children could not afford to pay for an item of prescribed medicine in the past 12 months (Ministry of Health, 2013). Māori are more likely than others to have had a tooth extracted in the last 12 months because of poor oral health, and 73% of Māori adults visit a dental health care worker only in the presence of oral health problems, not for routine check-ups (Ministry of Health, 2013).

General Māori health statistics are an indication of what is probably happening at the Tūhoe *iwi* and Patuheuheu *hapū* levels. For the Patuheuheu case in particular, the work of the Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust is contributing towards improving health outcomes for Patuheuheu and other *hapū*, *iwi* and individuals who come into their service. However, it is evident that more needs to be done in this area, which requires more services and increased funding.

Potential development

The Te Tāpenakara case study is featured in the model as emerging out of *mauri whakaora*. Te Tāpenakara uses all eight *mauri* in its healing practices, which are unique and fulfil the three principles of traditional healing alluded to by Durie (2001): cultural integrity; medical pluralism; and self-determination. It could be argued that the Te Tāpenakara model requires further research, development and funding in order for it to reach its full potential, which could be further realised if Patuheuheu *hapū* had *mana motuhake* over their affairs and Treaty settlement. However, because this is not the case (at the moment), Patuheuheu will need to find other avenues and funding streams in order to fund further research and development in health and wellbeing for Patuheuheu and with regard to other social issues such as housing, employment, youth services, *kaumātua* services and other community- and *hapū*-based services.

***Mauri whakahoki* – sustainable resource development and management**

Resources derived from the environment are essential to life, but more importantly, sustainable development of these resources is critical to the lives of Patuheuheu *hapū* because sustainable development ensures that these resources will continue to give life

to future generations. Elliot (2006) claims that “...sustainable development refers to maintaining development over time” (p. 9). Thus, sustainable development is about managing environmental resources in ways that guarantee that the resource will essentially be available forever. Rogers, Jalal and Boyd (2008) state that “[s]ustainability is the term chosen to bridge the gulf between development and environment” (p. 22). The World Commission on Environment and Development (1986) defines sustainable development as that which “...meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (n.p.).

Marsden and Henare (1992) argue that sustainable management and development of environmental resources “...includes the protection of the community’s enjoyment of... natural and physical resources” (p. 1). Sustainable management and development of natural resources is inescapably linked to the concept of *kaitiakitanga*²²⁴, which is about “...traditional Maori ‘*guardianship*’ over such resources as native forests and kaimoana” (Marsden & Henare, 1992, p. 1). According to Whangapirata, Awatere and Nikora (2003):

The natural environment is an important component of Maori society. Maori maintain a continuing relationship with the land, environment, people and with related spiritual and cosmological entities. Land, mountains, valleys, rocks, water and sea ways are viewed as not only resources, but more importantly, as the primary sources of collective identity (p.1).

When Māori think about the environment, the *mauri* inherent in all things animate and inanimate is considered in addition to *whakapapa* connections. It is about the realisation that everything within the Māori universe is connected. As Mikaere (2011) argues:

With this knowledge of interconnection comes an acute awareness of interdependence, and of the fact that what affects one will ultimately affect all. This in turn impresses upon humans the need to fulfil our role on the planet in a responsible and thoughtful manner. The wider implications of every decision should be explored. The long-term effects of our actions must be considered. A lack of vigilance in this regard could have dire consequences for our non-human relations, for ourselves and for the generations to come (p. 331).

²²⁴ Guardianship, stewardship (Moorfield, 2011).

For Tūhoe, the environment is part of a genealogical matrix within which Tūhoe are located. Mataamua and Temara (2010) contend that “...Tūhoe trace their origins to the ancient union between Te Maunga (the mountain) and Hinepūkohurangi (the mist maiden)” (p. 97). Indeed, “...Tūhoe believe they are the direct descendants of their environment. The mountains and rivers are their ancestors and the forest inhabitants their kin” (Mataamua & Temara, 2010, p. 97). Within this matrix “...all manners of tree, plant, rock, fish, eel stream, pool, lake, bird, rodent, insect and environmental force, have a genealogy and are related either directly or indirectly to the people” (Mataamua & Temara 2010, p. 98).

Mataamua and Temara (2010) opine that “[f]or centuries Tūhoe have maintained a constant relationship with their environment, a bond that connects people to the hills, the rivers, the trees and to all that surrounds them” (Mataamua & Temara, 2010, p. 99). Likewise, as a *hapū* of Tūhoe, Patuheuheu considers its *whakapapa* connections to the environment. A very relevant example of this is the way that *rongoā* is collected. In order to maintain the balance of the *mauri* between the people who enter the *ngahere*²²⁵ to gather *rongoā* and the *ngahere* itself along with all of the entities that dwell therein, ritual incantations and acknowledgement must always be performed. As Mataamua and Temara (2010) state: “No physical task was undertaken without consulting the appropriate deity and reaffirming the relationship with the environment” (p. 99). Sharing her experience of going into the *ngahere* to collect *rongoā*, local healer, Rita Tupe insists:

When I go to the *ngahere*, what am I supposed to do first? Should I go into the *ngahere* and rape and desecrate the treasures therein? To maintain the balance of things, *ka timata wā tātou mahi i roto i ngā karakia* [we begin our *rongoā*-gathering within a context of thanksgiving] (R. Tupe, personal communication, 7 October, 2012).

Because the *mauri* of individuals and the *mauri* of all animate and inanimate objects moves outwards to connect with higher levels of organisation (Durie, 2001), in addition to offering invocations of thanksgiving to the spiritual guardians of the forest, Rita points out that one’s intentions are also important when gathering *rongoā*:

²²⁵ Forest (Moorfield, 2011).

When collecting *rongoā* in the *ngahere*, our father Hieke taught us to make sure we are prepared spiritually and emotionally. We must ask ourselves: what are our intentions? Is my intention to go to the *ngahere*, collect the *rongoā*, bring it home to cook and prepare, and then sell it? Or, is my intention to help someone else who is sick and needs the *rongoā*? We must go to the *ngahere* with the proper *whakaaro* – *whakaaro pai ki ngā tāngata katoa* [good intentions toward all people] (R. Tupe, personal communication, 7 October, 2012).

Sustainable resource development for Patuheuheu requires the asking of the kinds of questions posed by Rita, acknowledging the impacts of individuals and groups on the environment in both seen and unseen ways. Crengle (1993), James (1993) and Tomas (1994) contend that *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* members are *kaitiaki* of their environment for present and future generations. Therefore, Patuheuheu, as Indigenous people, are the keepers of their environment and as such should not only be consulted about changes but should be in charge of them. According to Bruyere:

Indigenous peoples are the base of what I guess could be called the environmental security system. We are the gate-keepers of success or failure to husband our resources. For many of us, however, the last few centuries have meant a major loss of control over our lands and waters. We are still the first to know about changes in the environment, but we are now the last to be asked or consulted (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1986, n.p.).

Current sustainable resource development and management situation in Waiōhau

Most land in Waiōhau is currently leased to, mostly Pākehā, dairy farmers who live outside Waiōhau. Previously these had been long-term leases. More recently however, land owners and land trusts have developed strategies that will encourage self-development and self-management of their lands. An example of this is that some of the lands are leased out on a yearly basis, as opposed to leases of 15 to 25 years. Landowners and trusts are taking more responsibility with regard to the environmental effects that dairying has on land and waterways.

The harvesting of forests within the *rohe*²²⁶ has been completed by contractors within the last two years in some areas and is ongoing in others. After growing for 35 years, trees were felled and transported to the port of Tauranga, in the Western Bay of Plenty,

²²⁶ District, region, territory, area, border (Moorfield, 2011).

for export. Approximately 12 Waiōhau locals were employed by contractors. These lands have now been replanted and will be harvested in 35 years time. Land use in Waiōhau includes sheep farming, beef farming, beekeeping, maize cropping and other plant cropping.

The concept of a super farm (dairying) in Waiōhau is being researched by the Ministry of Primary Industries, landowners, and land trusts in Waiōhau. A feasibility study has been completed. Much planning and resources have been invested in this initiative. However, further research and development will be required to enable landowners and land trusts to make informed decisions that will benefit the stakeholders.

Potential development

Sustainable resource development is about creating opportunities to harness and grow natural resources in ways that are aligned with Patuheuheu values, and which contribute to the asset base and income level of Patuheuheu *hapū*. Potential ventures which may contribute to Patuheuheu aspirations include the development of *rongoā* products for distribution; planting, harvesting and processing lavender and ginseng; beekeeping and honey production; bottling of spring water; superfarm potential; geothermal potential; forestry potential on *whānau* lands as well as other plant crops (this may include the revitalisation of vintage fruit tree varieties for example); organic/free-range farming; watercress farming; *koura*,²²⁷ *tuna*²²⁸ and trout farming, processing and distribution; and large-scale solar and wind energy harvesting.

***Mauri whenua* – environmental management**

Over a millennium in Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori developed their own resource management system based on *whakapapa* relationships to the environment (Manatu Maori, 1991). This means that Māori address the concept of environmental sustainability through their experience of these relationships (de Freitas & Perry, 2012). The objective of the Māori resource management system is to ensure that there is a balance of the *mauri* of all living things in relation to the resources (Bay of Plenty Regional Council, 1993) because, “[i]n the traditional Maori view, everything in the natural world possesses mauri (the physical life force) which is protected by kaitiaki

²²⁷ Freshwater crayfish.

²²⁸ Eels.

(spiritual guardian) or atua (deity)” (Manatu Maori, 1991, p. 2). Forming part of this management system are practices connected to cultural concepts such as “...tapu, rahui, whakanoa and a whole range of *tikanga* specific to particular resources such as harakeke (flax), tuna (eels), ika (fish), waimaori (water) and whenua (land)” (Bay of Plenty Regional Council, 1993, p. 6).

Whenua means placenta, land, ground, country, and is central to Māori identity and wellbeing (Pere, 1991). *Whenua* is essentially about life. According to Pere (1991): “The placenta embracing and cherishing the child in the womb, is also called whenua. The land which is also called whenua offers one the same feeling of the warmth, security, nourishment and sustenance, a feeling of belonging” (p. 22). For Māori, the concept of *whenua* as land and the concept of *whenua* as placenta are inseparable and indubitably convey the fundamental connections of Māori to the environment. The Māori world view reflects the *whakapapa* relationships of humans and all living things to the primordial parents, Papa-tū-ā-nuku and Rangi-nui, and to each other; everything is connected. Indeed “... the sense of interrelatedness between people and nature creates a sense of belonging to nature, rather than being ascendant to it, as humans are born from “mother earth” and return to her on their death” (Manatu Maori, 1991, p. 2). Therefore “[r]espect for and appreciation of the natural environment should be encouraged and fostered...[because] Maori tradition emphasises the need to live as closely as possible with nature, to learn about it, to understand it” (Pere, 1991, p. 22).

Māori are organised into three levels – *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* – which hold *mana whenua*²²⁹ over land which they have continuously occupied; those who maintain *mana whenua* over a particular place are known as *tangata whenua*²³⁰ (Manatu Maori, 1991). The relationships of *tangata whenua* to the *whenua* “...extend to the past of their ancestors, and to the future. It is from these links that rights over the land are derived” (Manatu Maori, 1991, p. 3). The concept and principle of *kaitiakitanga* is critical to the relationship that *tangata whenua* have with *whenua*. *Kaitiakitanga* can be described as a “...Māori environmental management system developed to protect the mauri (life principle) of taonga (valued resources) for sustainable use and management of natural

²²⁹ Territorial rights, power from the land, authority over land or territory, jurisdiction over land or territory – power associated with possession and occupation of tribal land (Moorfield, 2011).

²³⁰ Local people, hosts, Indigenous people of the land - people born of the whenua (Moorfield, 2011).

resources” (de Freitas & Perry, 2012, p. 20). The root word of *kaitiakitanga* is *tiaki*²³¹ and in the context of environmental resource development includes guardianship; wise management; and resource indicators – these are when the resources themselves, for example the fish in the river, signify the condition of their own *mauri* (Bay of Plenty Regional Council, 1993, p. 6). Embedded within the notion of *kaitiakitanga*:

...is the understanding that members of the present generation have a responsibility, passed to them by preceding generations, to care for their natural environment. *Kaitiakitanga* carries with it an obligation not only to care for the natural world, but also for each generation, by ensuring that a viable livelihood is passed on (Manatu Maori, 1991, pp. 3-4).

The Māori system of managing natural resources “...recognises the need to balance human need with the survival of a species or resource (the protection of its *mauri*)” (Manatu Maori, 1991, p. 3). Within the Māori world, natural resources are managed using cultural concepts such as *tapu*²³² and *rāhui*²³³ (Manatu Maori, 1991). The concept of *tapu* “...implies a prohibition which, if violated would have calamitous consequences... (Manatu Maori, 1991, p. 3). *Tapu* may be placed over a particular site in order to restrict access to that place and prevent people from gathering food there or disturbing that location in any way; this could, for example, be a burial site, or a place where an ancient battle occurred (Moorfield, 2011). The concept of *rāhui* “...is a temporary form of prohibition used to preserve birds, fish, or any natural product” (Manatu Maori, 1991, p. 3). The *mana* to exercise *tapu* and *mana* is assigned to Māori by *atua*, through *whakapapa*; and the act of exercising *mana* is known as *rangatiratanga* (Manatu Maori, 1991).

The Resource Management Act 1991 provides statutory recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi in relation to environmental management, and incorporates the Māori system of resource management through acknowledgment of the imperative Māori cultural concepts of *kaitiakitanga* and *tino rangatiratanga* (Bay of Plenty Regional Council, 1993). “The goal of environmental management is the maintenance of *mauri* through the exercise of *kaitiakitanga*” (Bay of Plenty Regional Council, 1993, p. 6). The intention of the Act is to recognise and protect ancestral lands, waters, historical sites,

²³¹ To guard, keep, protect, conserve (Moorfield, 2011).

²³² Restriction or prohibition (Moorfield, 2011).

²³³ Reserved, restricted access, restricted (Moorfield, 2011).

*wāhi tapu*²³⁴ and other *taonga* while accepting *iwi*- and *hapū*-derived resource management plans – a policy document articulating the significant issues for *iwi* and *hapū* in relation to the management of natural and physical resources (Bay of Plenty Regional Council, 1993). Thus, the Act insists that “...all resource managers and developers consult Maori people and take into account Maori spiritual and cultural values, including the principle of *kaitiakitanga* – an ethic of stewardship” (Horsley, 1995, p. 360).

Current environmental management situation in Waiōhau

Landowners and land trusts have identified the need to not only consider environmental concerns but also to embrace a holistic approach to land management more closely aligned with traditional Māori values and *whakapapa* connections to Papa-tū-ā-nuku. An example of this is where landowners and land trusts ensure that the leasee, most often a Pākehā dairy farmer, complies with lease conditions based on environmental enhancement. Some of these conditions may include riparian planting to prevent erosion and to encourage aquatic life; improved fencing to prevent stock-generated contamination to the waterways; weed control; and appropriate stock-to-land ratios.

Research and development is ongoing around the future revitalisation, reinstatement and protection of the *tuna* (long-finned²³⁵ and short-finned²³⁶) which have been adversely affected by hydro-electric dams. The Rangitaiki River, which flows through Waiōhau, is the ‘life-blood’ of Patuheuheu. Three dams have been built on the Rangitaiki River: Wheao; Aniwhenua (Aniwaniwa); and Matahina (Waiōhau is located between the Aniwhenua and Matahina dams). A process of ‘trap and transfer’ is in place in order to assist the life-cycle of *tuna*, with a particular focus on helping the endangered long-finned *tuna*. The ‘trap and transfer’ process involves trapping adult *tuna* and transporting them beyond the dams so that they can access the sea and travel to their breeding grounds. This process also involves trapping elvers at the bottom of all three dams and transferring them into waterways above the dam. This process is essential because the long-finned *tuna* breeds only once in its lifetime. Long-finned *tuna* swim thousands of kilometres to warmer Pacific waters where they spawn and die.

²³⁴ Sacred place - a place subject to long-term ritual restrictions on access or use such as a burial ground, a battle site or a place where *tapu* objects were placed (Moorfield, 2011).

²³⁵ *Anguilla dieffenbachii*.

²³⁶ *Anguilla australis*.

The eggs return to Aotearoa New Zealand on the currents of the Pacific Ocean, where they hatch and the elvers make their way upstream.

Potential development

Everything within the Māori universe is interconnected. Therefore human actions have both positive and negative impacts on the environment. Māori are descended from the primordial parents, Papa-tū-ā-nuku and Rangi-nui, and so have a duty to be *kaitiaki* of, and live in harmony with, the environment. As *kaitiaki* of their environment, Patuheuheu have a responsibility to ensure that all aspects of the *whenua*, *awa*, and *ngahere* are maintained and developed in ways that enhance the relationship of Patuheuheu to Papa-tū-ā-nuku. This responsibility includes protecting *wāhi tapu*; protecting and revitalising native plant and animal species in the *ngahere* and *awa*; working to improve the water quality of the *awa*, so that aquatic life can thrive in balance; and pest control and elimination.

Mauri tangata – housing

Housing is an essential part of *hapū* development because it is about ensuring that the basic human need of shelter is provided for. In traditional times Māori lived in familial groupings within *kāinga* or *pā* that included rectangular *wharepuni*,²³⁷ constructed of timber and organic materials, and other buildings such as *wharenui*, *kāuta*²³⁸ and *pātaka*²³⁹ (Schrader, 2005). According to Pere (1991):

The traditional Maori Kainga can relate to an unfortified residence consisting of one or more homes that were seen to have open fires for cooking and warmth. It was the family place where each person learnt an important part of their scope of work. Children had to learn about some of the restrictions and boundaries that existed for them. Much of their learning took place through involvement and participation either at work or sitting around the fire (Pere, 1991, p. 18)

After contact with Pākehā, some Māori started to build European-style houses. However, most Māori continued to reside in their traditional dwellings, sometimes blending in aspects of Pākehā building style, such as higher roofs or glass windows (Schrader, 2005). From the late 1800s there were concerns about the spread of Pākehā

²³⁷ Sleeping house (Moorfield, 2011).

²³⁸ Cooking house (Moorfield, 2011).

²³⁹ Storehouse raised up on posts (Moorfield, 2011).

diseases through overcrowding, contaminated water, poor sanitation and ineffectual housing, and so inspectors were assigned; houses were demolished and replaced with European-style houses – some of these houses were built through government housing schemes (Schrader, 2005).

Following the First World War, Māori started to move from their rural homes into the cities; and after the Second World War, even more Māori, particularly young Māori, migrated into the cities (Schrader, 2005). However, Māori experienced issues in terms of their ability to rent good housing, because Pākehā landlords generally did not want Māori as tenants; to solve this issue, hostels and boarding houses were set up for young Māori (Schrader, 2005). From 1944, state houses specifically for Māori were set up; these homes were not intended to suit a Māori lifestyle because they could not accommodate extended family (Schrader, 2005). Furthermore, home ownership for Māori was less likely due to higher unemployment rates, larger families and lower incomes (Schrader, 2005; Waldegrave, King, Walker and Fitzgerald, 2006). According to Waldegrave et al. (2006):

Barriers to achieving home ownership for Māori include: high and rising housing costs and the difficulty of obtaining finance; lack of knowledge about homeownership; difficulty of accessing services and information; low motivation; discrimination; high bureaucratic costs in both urban and rural environments; and high development costs especially in rural areas (p. 11).

In the late twentieth century new housing schemes emerged that aimed to increase the rates of Māori home ownership. Māori were more involved in these schemes and had a greater capacity to try to solve housing issues for themselves (Schrader, 2005, 2013). Some schemes allowed Māori to take out low-interest loans to build homes on multiple-title Māori land; other schemes included partnerships between Māori trusts and the state (Schrader, 2005, 2013). Schrader (2013) points out a number of more recent housing schemes targeted at Māori:

The Rural Housing Programme began in 2001 to renovate and replace housing. Between 2001/02 and 2010/11 nearly \$140 million was spent on the scheme and 2,900 houses repaired.

Community Owned Rural Rental Housing Loans ran between 2002 and 2008 and provided \$6.6 million in low-interest loans to Māori trusts to build rental housing. Units were then leased back to Housing New Zealand for 10 years.

Special Housing Action Zones began in 2000 and continued in 2013. It partnered government housing agencies and charitable trusts with Māori communities to build new housing and has been among the most successful Māori housing interventions.

Some urban Māori received housing support from Māori urban authorities and trusts. However, most remained reliant on social housing providers such as Housing New Zealand (in 2006, 12% of the Māori population lived in Housing New Zealand housing) or the market to meet their accommodation needs (n.p.).

However, many of the problems surrounding Māori housing, such as sub-standard, overcrowded, cold and damp homes, continued into the twenty-first century (Schrader, 2013; Waldegrave et al, 2006). Schrader (2013) contends that in 2006, 23% of Māori lived in overcrowded homes, which is almost six times the rate for Pākehā; just like the generations before, these types of conditions encouraged poor health among Māori (Schrader, 2013). Schrader (2013) asserts that in 2009 Māori children aged 5-14 experienced acute rheumatic fever at a rate ten times that of Pākehā, due in part to household overcrowding; while low incomes and rising house prices continued to hinder Māori home ownership, which remain well below Pākehā rates.

From 2010, the Whānau Ora scheme – a government initiative designed to improve socio-economic outcomes for Māori – was introduced. The aim of Whānau Ora, Schrader (2013) argues “...was to reduce welfare dependency among Māori by making them financially independent and healthy members of society” (n.p.). In terms of Māori housing, Schrader (2013) maintains:

The policy acknowledged that housing was only one element to Māori wellbeing: health, education and legal issues were important too. The vision was for government housing agencies to work with Māori trusts to build housing for Māori who were prepared to be part of Whānau Ora – this might include agreeing to things such as not smoking and not drinking excessively. The scheme, initiated by the Māori Party, highlighted how Māori solutions to housing problems had now become part of mainstream thinking (n.p.).

Current housing situation in Waiōhau

There are four Housing New Zealand rental homes located in Waiōhau; under the current government there are home ownership options for these rental homes. There are 50 or so homes in Waiōhau that are owned by *whānau* or individuals. These homes are in reasonable condition. Around ten of these homes were constructed between 1940 and 1950; these were the old Māori Affairs houses. A further ten or so homes in Waiōhau

were built between the 1960s and mid 1970s; these homes were purchased through the Housing Corporation scheme. Other homes in Waiōhau consist of a school house built in 1923 (Little, 1973, p.31), a number of farm houses, and other homes built after the mid 1970s.

Potential development

Waldegrave et al. (2006) claim that the most effective housing models for Māori are those that take into consideration social, spiritual, economic, cultural and historical factors. Hosking, Te Nana, Rhodes, Guy and Sage (2002) argue that “[n]ew housing solutions tailored to the specific needs of Māori communities are fundamental to Māori social, cultural and economic aspirations of the 21st century” (p. 4). Communal living was a normal part of Māori society in traditional times. Thus, there is a trend within Māori housing networks towards designing and building housing that is conducive to Māori communal living practices, such as those suited to *papa kāinga* developments (Hoskings et al., 2002). Modern communal living practices on *papa kāinga* developments may include shared water supply (rainwater tanks/bore supply) and operation (water distribution); shared solar and wind energy; shared access to external power supply (in times where solar and wind generation is less than optimal); shared infrastructure in relation to roading, footpaths, driveways; communal gardens and orchards; and communal living spaces (Hoskings et al., 2002). According to Waldegrave et al. (2006) housing design for Māori must be able to accommodate extended whānau:

...communal spaces should be open to enabling transitions between living and cooking areas and also enabling the living areas to be converted into sleeping quarters. The other important aspect is the need for a clear separation between living areas and the bathrooms, toilets and laundry (pp. 11-12).

Modern housing trends take into consideration the impacts on the environment of materials, energy use, water usage and waste management. According to Hoskings et al. (2002), energy efficient designs are required, including: greater thermal mass in building, with up to 200mm floor slab thickness, and floor slab insulation of 40mm polystyrene; super insulation, that is, building insulation that is above code requirements; a northern orientation, maximising windows facing the north and

minimising those to the south; double-glazed windows; and solar water heating. Another significant design feature relates to the use of flooring material such as insulated pumice aggregate concrete, which absorbs heat from the sun during the day and releases this energy at night (Hosking, 2013). There has also been a trend toward the idea of ‘zero energy’ housing – housing that draws on renewable energy sources, such as solar and wind – in order to limit impacts on the environment. Other trends include using materials such as recycled wood, mud and straw bricks, paint, varnishes and stains derived from natural sources, and other environmentally sustainable materials. In terms of energy use, housing exists where solar and wind generation provides for most of the energy needs of the home. Excess energy produced can be sold to an electricity provider. Some homes even have the ability to store surplus energy for future use. The orientation of ‘zero energy’ houses in relation to the sun is important in order to maximise the sun’s energy for both solar energy harvesting and to keep the home warm during the cooler months. Large double- or even triple-glazed windows capture and trap the sun’s heat in the cooler months, while shades are used to keep the home cool in warmer months.

Rainwater can be collected and filtered for drinking and ‘grey’ water can be collected from baths, showers and basins and re-used in the garden, or treated and recycled for use in the toilet. However, the use of a composting toilet would remove the need to use water in the toilet at all. The very notion of polluting water with human waste is not truly congruent with a Māori world view. For Māori, fresh water is of physical and spiritual importance. As a giver and sustainer of life, fresh water provides for the physical needs of Māori; and it is also a potent spiritual cleansing agent. Composting toilets do not use water, but instead use aerobic bacteria to transform excreta into compost.

***Mauri pakanga* – critical education and praxis**

Education is the most important aspect of *hapū* development because knowledge is power. Patuheuheu, like all Māori, have been oppressed through mission and state education policies and practices in the past. Simon (1990) and Johnston (1998) argue that state education policies and practices sought to purposefully discriminate against Māori and limit Māori access to knowledge and, therefore, to power. These oppressive policies and practices have had terrible consequences for Māori. Simon (1990) states

that “...the cumulative effects – both psychological and economic – of past policies and practices which have, over generations eroded the initial enthusiasm and aptitude of Maori for school learning and replaced them with resentment, mistrust, anxiety or apathy” (Simon, 1990, p. 148). In Freirean theory, it is essential that the oppressed gain a critical understanding of their oppression and make positive changes in their lives in order to bring about transformation of their reality. Critical education and praxis, therefore, is fundamental to *hapū* development in a contemporary context.

For Māori in traditional times, the educational process began in the womb with words of instruction and encouragement chanted to the unborn child; shortly following birth, *tohunga* prepared the child for his or her future role through *karakia* (Hemara, 2000). Children were trained in their roles and status, and learned the necessary skills in order to benefit their *whānau* and *hapū*; as children grew, further “...skills were built upon so that they could sustain spiritual, intellectual and physical wellbeing” (Hemara, 2000, p. 11). Games were used as a means of crystallising the pedagogy (Hemara, 2000). From around age 12, some children were selected, because of their particular *whakapapa* and abilities, to enter into the *whare wānanga* – a special school of esoteric instruction similar to a medieval monastery or university (Hemara, 2000). According to Hemara (2000), since arriving in Aotearoa, Māori practised a variety of pedagogy and curricula including:

- students and teachers were at the centre of the educative process
- life-long intergenerational learning was normal
- students undertook gradual learning from a familiar starting point
- curricula were mixed and complementary
- giftedness was recognised and encouraged
- learning and teaching were conducted out of students’ strengths
- small student numbers were normal
- one-on-one interaction was important (p. 5).

Indigenous Māori pedagogy and curricula was severely impacted upon by colonisation. Simon (1990) argues that Pākehā domination over Māori was achieved in the first 50 years of colonisation using “...a combination of processes rationalized through ideologies of ‘race’, including the large-scale alienation of Maori land and the establishing of the capitalist mode of production” (p. 66).

The missionaries were the first to educate Māori using European pedagogies. Like the settlers, missionaries viewed Māori as heathens who needed to be civilised and Christianised. The first mission school was established in 1816 at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands by Thomas Kendall of the Church Missionary Society (Anglican) (Calman, 2012a; Simon, 1990; Simon, et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). Māori came to believe that Pākehā education and skills such as literacy would help them to deal with the settlers; however, there were limits to how helpful Pākehā education would be to Māori at this stage (Calman, 2012a; Simon, 1990; Simon et al., 1998). Simon (1990) states that while “...Maori sought schooling as a means to greater control over their lives, the missionaries and government, in providing such schooling, were concerned to gain control over the Maori” (p. 67).

Māori were quick to attain literacy; those who had been mission educated taught this knowledge to other Māori, and by the early 1840s half of the adult Māori population was literate to some extent (Calman, 2012a; Simon, 1990; Simon et al., 1998). When the missionary and chief protector of aborigines, George Clarke, travelled through Hauraki and Waikato in late 1840 he discovered that Māori were running their own village schools; but because the only reading material was the scriptures, interest in school declined (Calman, 2012a; Simon, 1990; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

George Grey, Governor of New Zealand from 1845-1853 and 1860-1868, developed the state's racial assimilation policies, which were based on the perceived racial superiority of British civilisation and which remained central to Māori education policies until the 1930s (Calman, 2012a; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). Following open warfare with Māori in the mid-1840s, Pākehā viewed education as a way of placating Māori; it was believed too that Māori were destined to be a labouring class for Pākehā settlers (Calman, 2012a; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

Through his Education Ordinance 1847, Grey provided some support for the mission schools based on religious instruction; industrial training; instruction in the English language (although many mission schools taught in *te reo Māori*); and government inspection (Calman, 2012 a; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). Building upon this system, the Native Schools Act 1858 provided funding for the schools; however,

the majority of the mission schools were closed by the New Zealand wars of the 1860s (Calman, 2012a; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

After the New Zealand wars, the Native Schools Act 1867 created a national system of village primary schools controlled by the Native Department; Māori had to provide the land for schools and initially had to contribute to the teacher costs (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). In 1879, the native schools that had been established were transferred to the Department of Education (established two years earlier); in 1880, the Native School Code regulated the conditions for establishing schools, hours of operation, governance and curriculum; and in 1894, school became mandatory for Māori (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

The main purpose of these schools was to teach the English language (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). *Te reo Māori* was initially used as the means of teaching, but over time *te reo Māori* was heavily discouraged; in later years, Māori children were punished harshly for speaking *te reo Māori* at school (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). Māori at this time were generally very secure in their Māori language and identity, and many encouraged the learning of Pākehā language and skills in order to be successful in an increasingly Pākehā world. The curriculum included basic reading, writing and arithmetic, but was more focussed on manual instruction and personal hygiene (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

Sir Āpirana Ngata instigated a Māori cultural renaissance in the 1920s and introduced Māori arts and crafts in the 1930s; this was an indication of the end of previously hard-nosed assimilation policy (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). Secondary schooling was made free in the 1930s, but Māori had very limited access to this level of education because secondary schools were located in urban centres, and Māori generally lived in rural areas; less than 1,000 Māori children went to secondary school in the late 1930s (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). Until the 1940s, church-run boarding schools provided most post-primary education for Māori (Calman, 2012c).²⁴⁰ From 1941, native district high schools were established by

²⁴⁰ The following church-run schools provided secondary level education to Māori: St Stephen's School, Auckland (Anglican, 1844); Wesley College, Auckland (Methodist, 1844); Te Aute College, Hawke's Bay (Anglican,

attaching secondary departments to existing native schools; initially these native secondary units were geared toward manual instruction, until the introduction of a national examination, School Certificate, in 1945 (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

The Māori population experienced rapid growth and Māori became more and more urban; as a result of this, the number of Māori in mainstream schools surpassed the number of Māori in the native schools, which became known as ‘Māori schools’ after 1947 (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). From the mid-1950s, the Department of Education made plans to transfer the Māori schools to regional education boards; however, supporters of the Māori schools argued that Māori schools accommodated Māori learning needs more effectively than did mainstream schools (Calman, 2012b; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001). The 1960 Hunn Report argued that Māori were disadvantaged in terms of education, health, employment and housing, and so recommended integration, rather than assimilation, meaning that Pākehā and Māori were to attend the same schools; in 1969, the remainder of the Māori schools were transferred to regional education boards (Calman, 2012b; Simon, 1990; Simon & Smith, 2001). While the recommendations of the Hunn Report seemed to be about combining “...the Maori and pakeha elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct” (Hunn, 1961, p. 15), the lack of equity between Pākehā and Māori only served to support the dominance of Pākehā (Simon, 1990).

The Hunn Report highlighted the wide educational disparities between Māori and Pākehā and led to a large amount of research which theorised about Māori deficits (Simon, 1990). The research supported the dominant view that Pākehā were superior to Māori by arguing that Māori were culturally deficient, and were therefore much less successful in education (Simon, 1990). However, this view was challenged in 1967 by the New Zealand Educational Institute’s report, which argued that Māori culture was

1854); Waerenga-a-Hika College, Poverty Bay (Anglican, 1856); St Joseph’s Maori Girls’ School, Napier (Catholic, 1867); Hukarere Maori Girls’ School, Napier (Anglican, 1875); Queen Victoria School, Auckland (Anglican, 1901); Hikurangi College, Clarendon, Wairarapa (Anglican, 1903); Turakina Maori Girls’ College, Marton (Presbyterian, 1905); Otaki Maori College (Anglican, 1908); Te Waipounamu Maori Girls’ College, Christchurch (Anglican, 1909); Maori Agricultural College (Mormon, 1912); Hato Petera College, Auckland (Catholic, 1928); Hato Paora College, Feilding (Catholic, 1948); The Church College of New Zealand (Mormon, 1958).

not deficient or inferior to Pākehā culture, but was simply different (Johnston, 1998; Simon, 1990). In the 1960s, Māori voices of protest emerged to confront the racism of state policies and practices; but the Department of Education was purposely selective about how it approached Māori issues, for example, consistently disregarding calls for bilingual education (Simon, 1990).

In the 1970s to the mid-1980s state policies and practices were affected by Māori resistance and protest (Simon, 1990). One example is how, in 1976, the Tūhoe community of Rūātoki insisted that the Minister of Education allow for the establishment of a bilingual school where the primary language of instruction was *te reo Māori*; the school was set up the next year, which inspired some other communities to follow this example (Simon, 1990). Regarding the movement toward bilingual schools, Simon (1990) states: “...at the behest of Maori, the Department was now applying resources to ‘undo’ the effects of its earlier policies” (p. 143).

An eruption of Māori-driven initiatives in the 1980s paved the way for increased levels Māori educational success (Calman, 2012d; Simon, 1990). In 1913 over 90% of Māori children could speak *te reo Māori*, but by 1975 only 5% of Māori children could speak their own language; the *kōhanga reo* movement, based on total Māori language immersion, was established in 1982 and was a direct response to the parlous state of *te reo Māori* (Calman, 2012d). The *kōhanga reo* movement was initiated by the desire of Māori to save their language. Since its establishment more than 60,000 children have been educated in *kōhanga reo* and the movement endures as a critical platform for *te reo Māori* revitalisation (Calman, 2012d).

Kura kaupapa Māori are state schools that are located philosophically within a Māori world view and deliver the curriculum in *te reo Māori* (Calman, 2012d). The first *kura kaupapa Māori* was established in 1985 (Calman, 2012d). *Kura kaupapa Māori*, like *kōhanga reo*, are critical to the continued revitalisation and retention of *te reo Māori*.

Wānanga are Māori tertiary institutions that were established by Māori to revitalise *te reo Māori* and *mātauranga Māori* in order to support Māori advancement in higher education; *wānanga* give ‘second chance’ learners, in particular, an opportunity to succeed in education where they may not have otherwise succeeded (Calman, 2012d).

Te Wānanga o Raukawa based in Ōtaki, established in 1981, was the first *wānanga* (Calman, 2012d). Te Wānanga o Aotearoa followed in 1984, and in 2009 had 21,000 full-time students, which positioned the institution as the second largest tertiary institution in Aotearoa New Zealand (Calman, 2012d). Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, based in Whakatāne, opened its doors in 1992; in 2004, it was accredited to teach programmes to the doctoral level, which is a world first for an Indigenous tertiary education provider (Calman, 2012d).

Current education situation in Waiōhau

Te Kōhanga Reo o Tama ki Hikurangi is located on Patuheuheu *marae*, Waiōhau. The *kōhanga* is licensed for 25 *tamariki*, including five under two years of age; in 2012 there were ten *tamariki* - five girls and five boys (Education Review Office, 2012a). The *kōhanga* locates its pedagogy within a *hapū* epistemological context (Education Review Office, 2012a). *Kaiako*²⁴¹ share their knowledge of Tūhoe *reo* and *tikanga* with the belief and hope that the *tamariki* will become the *hapū* knowledge keepers of the future (Education Review Office, 2012a). The *tamariki* and *kaimahi* co-construct the learning, which is informed by the cultural context and local environment:

Children learn about their cultural context and their responsibilities as tangata whenua. They engage comfortably in welcoming visitors to their kōhanga reo. Children are familiar with kawa and tikanga. They are active participants, observers and supporters of various hui at their marae. Children are familiar with waiata tawhito, whaikorero and karakia. The urupa, the ngahere, maara kai,²⁴² wai and the whenua are used to emphasise the importance of sustaining and maintaining their culture (Education Review Office, 2012a, p. 19).

The community engages with and supports the *kōhanga reo*. Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust *kaimahi* visit regularly with the *tamariki* and *kaimahi* of Te Kōhanga Reo o Tama ki Hikurangi:

Health clinic personnel [*kaimahi* from Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust] work closely with the kōhanga reo. Children attend the health clinic weekly and receive massages, intended to enhance their physical and spiritual wellbeing. Children learn about healthy eating, good hygienic practices and eco-studies about their land and water as part of the health programme. Whanaungatanga ties are extended when local kōhanga reo

²⁴¹ Teacher/s.

²⁴² The more orthographically correct spelling of this term is *māra kai*, which means food garden (Moorfield, 2011).

come together. Children enjoy the many advantages of belonging to their hapū (Education Review Office, 2012a, p. 19).

The *tamariki* and *kaimahi* of Te Kōhanga Reo o Tama ki Hikurangi are intimately connected to the *hapū* and the Waiōhau community; this includes a close relationship with the local school, Te Kura Māori-ā-rohe o Waiōhau (Education Review Office, 2012a). According to the Education Review Office (2012a): “Whanaungatanga in this small, rural, community is very important to them. The kura²⁴³ [Te Kura Māori-ā-rohe o Waiōhau] whānau has established links with the kōhanga reo and a transition to school programme is in place” (p. 19). Te Kura Māori-ā-rohe o Waiōhau is a state school that emerged out of the *Kura Kaupapa Māori* movement.

Te Kura Māori-ā-rohe o Waiōhau is a decile 1 school located in Waiōhau. In 2012 there were 19 girls and 13 boys. Students from Whakatāne, Murupara, Kawerau, Te Teko and Galatea attend the school. The goal of the *kura* is to ensure that *te reo Māori* and the *tikanga* of Ngāi Tūhoe is a fundamental part of the teaching and learning (Education Review Office, 2012b). To achieve this “Kaumātua input is integral to the learning programme. They willingly share their knowledge and expertise of ngā kōrero tuku iho, whakairo and rāranga” (Education Review Office, 2012b, p. 12). Furthermore, “[s]tudents hear excellent models of te reo Māori o Ngāi Tūhoe. Tikanga and kawa are modelled in authentic settings. Students effectively carry out the different leadership roles and responsibilities on their marae” (Education Review Office, 2012b, p. 12).

Te Ōati o te Kura, a framework based on Te Umutaoroa, is the philosophical base of the school. Located within the paradigm of *te mana motuhake o Tūhoe*,²⁴⁴ the curriculum is based on the eight principles of Te Umutaoroa. The Education Review Office (2012b) states: “The[se] principles influence the kura structure, organisation and practice and relationships. They also incorporate student and whānau aspirations” (p. 13). Furthermore, Te Kooti’s Ringatū faith informs the pedagogy while “[k]arakia sets the tone for the day’s activities, and helps to settle and focus students on the tasks ahead” (Education Review Office, 2012b, p. 12).

²⁴³ School.

²⁴⁴ *Mana motuhake* refers to autonomy - *mana* through self-determination and control over one's own destiny (Moorfield, 2011). Hence, *te mana motuhake o Tūhoe* refers to Tūhoe's aspirations for complete autonomy over their own affairs and destiny.

Commenting on the overall culture of the school, the Education Review Office (2012b) maintains:

Students demonstrate a strong sense of belonging and wellbeing in this environment. They are secure in their cultural identity, cultural heritage, and whakapapa, and they embrace the legacies of their tīpuna. The expectation is that all students will learn and achieve to their fullest potential as descendants of Ngāti Haka [and] Patuheuheu. Student learning is steeped in the knowledge of knowing who they are and where they belong (Education Review Office, 2012b, p. 11).

Potential development

Critical pedagogy, or critical education, is about conscientisation or the development of critical consciousness (Burbules & Berk, 1999). According to the Freire Institute (2014b), conscientisation is “[t]he process of developing a critical awareness of one’s social reality through reflection and action. Action is fundamental because it is the process of changing the reality” (n.p.). Part of developing a critical consciousness is being critical of power relationships and social institutions and traditions that maintain oppression (Freire, 1970, 1972). Critical pedagogy involves Freire’s idea of reading the word and reading the world, which describes a process of reading the word and the world in order to decode power relationships and social dynamics and forces, to reveal the way the world is, and to generate solutions and potential around how the world might be (Freire & Macedo, 1987). The purpose of critical pedagogy, therefore, is to facilitate, for an oppressed group, a critical awareness of their oppression as a starting point for praxis, which Freire (1970, 1972) describes as action and reflection. Commenting on Freire’s notion of praxis as action and reflection, the Freire Institute (2014b) argues:

It is not enough for people to come together in dialogue in order to gain knowledge of their social reality. They must act together upon their environment in order to critically reflect upon their reality and so transform it through further action and critical reflection (n.p.).

The researcher has developed an education model based on the eight *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa.

Figure 8: *Mauri pakanga* critical education and praxis framework



Explanation of the *mauri pakanga* critical education and praxis framework

***Mauri atua*:** Teacher respects *wairuatanga* or the spiritual dimension of the student.

***Mauri whenua*:** Teacher respects the physical, cultural and spiritual significance of *whenua* as a critical part of Patuheuheu identity.

***Mauri tangata*:** Teacher respects the *mana* or authority and prestige of the students by demonstrating reciprocity, generosity and *matemate-ā-one*.

***Mauri whakapono*:** Teacher acknowledges the power of self-belief, combined with action, as a critical part of educational transformation and development.

***Mauri whakaora*:** Teaching practice contributes to a programme of social, cultural, spiritual and psychological wellbeing for students.

***Mauri hōhonu*:** Teacher deeply, sincerely and critically reflects on the application and impacts of their teaching practice and considers how this practice contributes to positive change within the educational context and the wider community.

***Mauri pakanga*:** In the nineteenth century context of Te Kooti's prophecy, *pakanga* refers to war in terms of physical resistance to colonisation. However, in today's

context, this resistance is no longer physical, but political. Since education is itself a political process, it is essential, within the context of this educational framework, that one's teaching practice contribute to conscientisation, action and reflection, and should mirror Freire's (1972) idea that the oppressed must participate in the practice of freedom as agents of transformation within the educational context, the community, and indeed, the world.

Mauri whakahoki: Teaching practice contributes to a programme of restoration for students in terms of reclaiming space, self-determination and positive transformation.

Mauri hōhonu – research

Research on Māori goes back to the time of contact with Pākehā (Teariki & Spoonley, 1992; Smith, 1999; Stokes, 1985). Smith (1999) comments that ...“‘research’, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary” (p. 1). Research is connected to imperialism, colonialism and power; European explorers travelled to other lands and researched the Indigenous ‘other’ through their colonial gaze (Smith, 1999). Smith (1999) contends that ‘othering’ research by Europeans about Indigenous people framed the discourse surrounding the perception and treatment of Indigenous people. These imperial accounts became universal ‘truths’ or rather misrepresentations about Indigenous people. The West has always seen itself as the ethnocentric core of authentic knowledge, and all other forms of knowledge have been constructed as ‘other’ and thus inferior to Western knowledge (Smith, 1999).

For Indigenous communities to benefit, research must be carried out by Indigenous researchers or by researchers who work alongside Indigenous communities (Smith, 1999). Smith (1999) advocates a process of decolonisation through Indigenous-driven research agendas which seek to reclaim space for Indigenous peoples, and challenge Western knowledge and perceptions about Indigenous communities. There has been a history of Māori being used as subjects for academic research in ways that did not value the Māori world view. Research that respects and values the Māori world view is known as Kaupapa Māori research. The research methodology for this work is based on Kaupapa Māori ideology, as demonstrated by the Rangihau model (see figure 2). Rangihau's model locates *Māoritanga* at the centre and *Pākehātanga* on the periphery. The very act of pushing *Pākehātanga* to the margin is an act of resistance that promotes Māori ways of seeing and being in the world.

John Rangihau was from the Tūhoe *iwi*, and was intimately linked to Patuheuheu amongst other Tūhoe *hapū*. He was closely related to the researcher's great-grandmother, Pare Koekoeā Rikiriki (see figure 1). Therefore, his Indigenous model is significant for Patuheuheu *hapū* in terms of research, which is why it was used in this thesis. *Whenua* is one of the aspects of Rangihau's model that was used a portal through which to develop the Te Umutaoroa research model (see figure 3).

Research is imperative to Patuheuheu development because it allows Patuheuheu to enter into a process of decolonisation by engaging in research and reclaiming knowledge and space. According to Te Awekotuku (1991):

Research is the gathering of knowledge – more usually, not for its own sake, but for its use within a variety of applications. It is about control, resource allocation, information and equity. It is all about power (Te Awekotuku, 1991, p. 13).

Modifying Te Awekotuku's words: research is the gathering of Patuheuheu knowledge that is linked to control, resource allocation and management, information, equity and power.

Current research situation in Waiōhau

Members of Patuheuheu *hapū* have engaged in a number of research projects. Most of these occur through *wānanga* held on the *marae* about *tikanga*, *waiata*, *mōteatea*,²⁴⁵ *haka*,²⁴⁶ *hapū* history, family reunions and for other reasons. Research fulfilling university and *wānanga* (Indigenous/Māori university) requirements has also occurred. Most recently, research from Patuheuheu and Ngāti Haka scholars, Tina Fraser and Hohepa Tamehana, has contributed to an archive of written research and knowledge for their people.

Fraser's (2009) doctoral research was completed at the University of British Columbia and is entitled *Māori-Tūhoe epistemology: Stages of sustaining tribal identity through Tūhoe performing arts*. Her abstract states:

²⁴⁵ Lament, traditional chant (Moorfield, 2011).

²⁴⁶ Posture dance (Moorfield, 2011).

Many Indigenous peoples cite the processes of colonization as the single greatest contributor to the loss of language, culture, land, and tribal practices. In 1971, the Tūhoe tribe of the Eastern Bay of Plenty in New Zealand established Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe (The Unique Gathering of Tūhoe) to retain their culture and language. This bi-yearly, performative arts gathering affords those tribal members living outside of the region the opportunity to return to their tribal lands to rekindle kinship ties and tribal practices. This dissertation focuses on the experience of being Tūhoe, as described by a single participating haka (song and dance) group (Ngāti Haka-Patuheuheu). It identifies how people develop and sustain their individual and collective tribal identity through Māori performing arts and how Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe contributes to the continued transformation of Tūhoe self-determination.

In order to focus on the experience of Tūhoe identity, this dissertation poses two major research questions: (1) How is Tūhoe epistemology transmitted/transformed through traditional performing arts? And (2) How does Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe sustain tribal identity?

Māori-Tūhoe identity is centred on their language and culture; therefore, this research was conducted in a culturally sensitive and community-centred manner. A Kaupapa Māori Research Approach and a Māori Centred research approach enabled the Māori-Tūhoe participants to share their knowledge(s), epistemology, ontology and pedagogy for developing their identity. I examined emerging trends in the development of Tūhoe identity through interviews, focus groups, observations, scholarly literature, and personal experiences. In order to ensure the development and sustainability of Tūhoe identity, it is essential for Tūhoe to develop both an individual and collective identity, which will challenge them to develop their knowledge and understanding of how and what Tūhoe identity is.

Performing Arts, for Maori-Tūhoe, are an integral component of developing who the Tūhoe are: they enable the transmission / transformation of knowledge(s), create a place to encourage tribal identity, and act as a site of resistance to new forms of colonization (Fraser, 2009, pp. ii-iii).

Tamehana's (2013) doctoral research was completed at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi and is entitled: *Exploring historical and contemporary contexts and practices of 'Mana Motuhake' as a foundation for Tuhoe self-government/governance*. His abstract states:

This research seeks to understand the potential of Mana Motuhake by examining historical and contemporary models of Mana Motuhake, in particular the impact of Mana Motuhake on a tribal group within Aotearoa/New Zealand: Tūhoe. Canadian First Nations and Inuit experiences in tribal self-government/governance will further inform this study. This research supports the rights of these communities to map out their own journey in relation to how they see their community sovereignty rights.

In this thesis Mana Motuhake is explored in five stages: (1) historical contexts of Mana Motuhake; (2) the impact of colonisation on Mana

Motuhake; (3) the current struggle for Mana Motuhake; (4) tribal self-government/governance experiences in Canada; and (5) potential ways of viewing and practising Mana Motuhake today.

Māori/Tūhoe narratives and oral traditions are the background used to construct an understanding of Mana Motuhake historically and past legislations are investigated to explore how colonisation has impacted on Mana Motuhake. Recent experiences between Tūhoe and the New Zealand government highlight the current struggle for Mana Motuhake and a comprehensive review of three experiences of tribal self-government/governance in Canada are examined for content relevant to contemporary self-government/governance today.

It is expected that the research will contribute to the discussion for Tūhoe with regard to the concept of Mana Motuhake as identified in its present form and into the future, self-government being the ultimate goal for the tribe and how that may be modelled from such experiences.

The implications of this research could also benefit other Māori or Indigenous communities who wish to establish self-government/governance (Tamehana, 2013, p. ii).

Research by the late Judith Binney has also made a significant contribution to Patuheuheu historical knowledge from a Pākehā perspective. Her book, *Encircled lands: Te Urewera, 1820-1921*, presents a significant Tūhoe history, which features Patuheuheu amongst the many other *hapū* of Tūhoe. While her book chapter, *Te Umutaoroa: The earth oven of long cooking*, provides a specific history of the land loss of Te Houhi and the advent of the Te Umutaoroa prophecy.

Other research has been carried out in Waiōhau, including an oral history programme where researchers sought to record and transcribe interviews from knowledge keepers as a means of preserving *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* information. Te Tāpenakara also carries out its own research into *rongoā*, health and wellbeing practices and healing through *wānanga*, and attending and hosting international healing conventions. This doctoral thesis is also another contribution to a growing body of research for the *hapū*.

Potential development

Research on Māori has historically been problematic because the research did not benefit Māori (Smith, 1999). Māori are now in a place where research for Māori, by Māori is an integral part of Māori development. Horkheimer's (1982) definition of critical theory as that which seeks to emancipate people from oppression, demonstrates that critical theory does not have to be limited to the academy. Under Horkheimer's

broad definition, Te Kooti can be viewed as a critical theorist, because his theories and prophecies were designed to liberate his followers from oppression. Undeniably, his ideas live on through prophecies like Te Umutaoroa. Critical thinking, critical theorising and research are important for Patuheuheu, like all Indigenous people who have been colonised, because understanding how oppression works and developing strategies to engage in actions to positively transform Indigenous realities is a central part of the decolonising process.

There is much potential for research within the *hapū* and community. Decolonisation research and *wānanga* could be beneficial to the *hapū*, as well as *wānanga* around *tikanga* and *whakapapa*. Patuheuheu *hapū* also has the potential to research the retention, revitalisation and development of *te reo Māori*. Another research avenue might be to teach research to children and young people at the *kura* and also to other interested members of the community; in this way the *hapū* could learn about research and enhance potential research skills and form a network of community/*hapū* researchers. The potential for research by Patuheuheu *hapū* is as limitless as the prophecy of Te Umutaoroa.

Summary

This chapter explained the emergence of Te Kooti's Te Umutaoroa prophecy. The chapter explored the intergenerational transfer of the Te Umutaoroa prophecy and how it has been used as the basis for a contemporary political movement. The chapter presented a case study of how Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust use Te Umutaoroa as a basis for their healing practice. The chapter has also offered a critical analysis of the use of prophecy as a foundation for *hapū* development and has developed and explained the Patuheuheu *hapū* development model.

CHAPTER SIX

Te Mauri Whakahoki

Conclusion: Reflections on the Thesis

At the beginning of this thesis the researcher introduced himself by using *whakapapa*. There, *whakapapa* was described as being like the lens of a camera in that it filters and frames the research in certain ways. Many lenses have been used throughout this work as a means of focusing the researcher's gaze in particular ways.

Whakapapa links everything in the Māori universe together. *Whakapapa* is the genealogical network in which the researcher is unequivocally rooted. In this way, *whakapapa* locates the researcher within the work, at the centre of the research process, and shapes the thesis accordingly. Undeniably one's world view is the lens through which reality is viewed and interpreted. *Whakapapa* gives the researcher a specific perspective, a particular world view, which makes this research unique. Just as world views are unique to individuals, individual perspectives are informed by broader cultural world views. For Māori, these world views encompass *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* perspectives.

One's culture lies at the heart of one's world view. Māori and Pākehā cultures, which are extremely different, lie at the centre of their respective world views and perspectives. The vast differences between Māori and Pākehā world views can be seen when comparing maps of Aotearoa New Zealand informed by Māori and Pākehā world views (see images 8 & 9). On the one hand, the dominant Pākehā view of New Zealand is 'right side up', and includes mostly English place names and shortened Māori place names. While the Māori view is 'upside down' and includes exclusively Māori place names. These opposing views could not be more different.

Located within the Māori culture and world view is Kaupapa Māori ideology – a Māori-centred theoretical system of epistemologies, ideologies, *tikanga* and knowledge that provides the tools for critically analysing the world from a Māori perspective. Within this work, Kaupapa Māori ideology is represented by John Rangihau’s *Māoritanga* model, which emphasises Māori-centred thinking and is essential for Kaupapa Māori research. *Whenua* is a critical feature of the Māori world view. *Whenua* is also a fundamental part of Rangihau’s model, and is the portal through which the researcher theoretically journeyed in order to develop the Te Umutaoroa research model – a Patuheuheu-centric research methodology.

The Te Umutaoroa research model provides a methodological scaffold from which to conduct research from a Patuheuheu perspective. From this position, this research argues that Māori and Western theories can be used critically together as a method for decolonisation and transformation. Sir Āpirana Ngata’s direction that Māori strategically use Pākehā knowledge and technologies for their benefit is important within this work, while Horkheimer’s broad explanation of critical theory as any theory which aspires to emancipate people from oppression, contextualises Te Kooti’s function, within this thesis, as a critical theorist. Te Kooti’s endeavours and ideas relate to the critical theories of both Freire and Fanon, whose philosophies developed out of Marxism.

The prophet Te Kooti amalgamated traditional Māori and Judeo-Christian philosophies as a radical strategy for transformation and liberation for his followers, who suffered the effects of colonisation, oppression and land loss. Te Kooti was profoundly aware of the political issues surrounding Māori and Tūhoe land loss, and he developed critical theories to address these. Te Kooti’s critical theory is evident in his *kupu whakaari*, *waiata*, and in the *wharenui* architecture that he designed and influenced in the nineteenth century. These texts reveal significant and critical religio-political narratives that united his followers and continue, to this day, to intrigue Ringatū adherents and researchers alike.

Except for the last two decades of his life, Te Kooti’s existence was punctuated with bloodshed and war. Fanon’s ideas concerning the use of violence as a means of resistance and decolonisation describe the violence of Te Kooti’s early ministry, while

Freire's critical pedagogy relates to Te Kooti's future vision for Patuheuheu, conveyed through the Te Umutaoroa prophecy. This was a powerful, transformative vision that Te Kooti delivered against a background of colonial oppression and land loss, and which promised the restoration of everything that was lost, and more through the revelation of the eight *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa.

The Te Umutaoroa narrative emanates from the displacement of Patuheuheu from their *whenua* at Te Houhi. Unquestionably, Māori have a vital, Indigenous connection with *whenua*. *Whenua* is a cultural concept and cultural reality that concomitantly names land and placenta, and addresses the links between Papa-tū-ā-nuku and Māori. Māori connections to *whenua* were affected brutally by the effects of colonisation and land loss, while the protections promised to Māori by the Treaty of Waitangi were not respected. Thus, Pākehā blatantly isolated Māori from their land and appropriated power over the country. This had devastating consequences for Māori culturally, socially, economically, politically and psychologically.

Tūhoe experienced the loss of an immense amount of land. Tūhoe were construed as rebels by the Crown so that anti-rebellion legislation could be used to murder Tūhoe under cover of the law and take their land. Like other *hapū* in the Tūhoe confederation, Patuheuheu were construed as rebels (for being followers of Te Kooti) by the Crown. Patuheuheu were imprisoned for two to three years in what has been described as a concentration camp. Harry Burt was responsible for the initial loss of land at Te Houhi, because he deceitfully acquired the title to the land in 1886 from two members of Ngāti Manawa who had no right to sell. When James Grant eventually came to own the land at Te Houhi, he cruelly destroyed food crops, expelled the *hapū* with the aid of the police in the middle of winter, and kept their sacred *wharenui* and used it as a hay barn. Following these events, Waiōhau became Patuheuheu's permanent home. However, the gaping wounds of this tragedy remain unhealed.

Peter Webster's sociological and psychological analysis argues that the effects on Tūhoe of colonisation, racism and land loss were devastating. Tūhoe's collective psyche experienced the consequences of psycho-historical trauma and developed an inferiority complex. As a result of this distress, some Tūhoe followed the prophet Rua Kēnana, perceived by some, including himself, to be Te Kooti's successor. Rua, like all

Māori prophets, offered a utopian, millennial vision to his followers and a sense of hope and positivity for the future – something that Māori desperately needed.

Following the introduction of Christianity and colonialism to Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori prophets rose up to lead their people through the darkness of colonisation and land loss. Prophets such as Te Atua Wera, Te Kooti, Te Ua Haumēne and Rua Kēnana created prophetic movements that were sites of political and religious resistance. These movements were built on syncretic theologies that combined Māori traditions with Judeo-Christian beliefs. Māori prophetic movements provided their followers with structure, purpose, meaning and most importantly, hope for an improved future during the turmoil of colonisation and land alienation.

The emergence of Te Kooti's Te Umutaoroa prophecy is linked to the history of Patuheuheu's loss of Te Houhi. Te Kooti promised that all that was taken away through the fraudulent dealings of Harry Burt would be remedied and restored in the future, when Te Umutaoroa is opened up, and its contents revealed. This discourse has been transferred from generation to generation within Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka, Ngāti Manawa, and Ngāti Whare, and it is a quite well known narrative amongst the Ringatū of the Mātaatua region. Te Umutaoroa is so influential today that it is used as the pedagogical base for the local school in Waiōhau. Te Umutaoroa is also the philosophical foundation, and name, for a modern political resistance movement that includes some members of Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka, and other dissatisfied Tūhoe *hapū*. In addition, Te Tāpenakara mo te Iwi Charitable Trust, a healing clinic at Waiōhau, utilises Te Umutaoroa as the basis for its health, wellbeing and healing practice. These examples provide some insight into the potential the prophecy has in terms of *hapū* development for the future.

To discover the potential for *hapū* development within the Te Umutaoroa prophecy, the researcher used *mātauranga Patuheuheu*, located at the epistemic centre of the Te Umutaoroa research model, as a portal through which to explore, interpret and develop the Patuheuheu *hapū* development model. This thesis argues that prophecy and development are compatible because they are both future orientated. Therefore, this work asserts that the Te Umutaoroa prophecy can be used as the foundation for the development of a Patuheuheu *hapū* development model. In order to explore how

prophecy can be utilised as a basis for *hapū* development, it is necessary to have a general understanding of Māori development and community development theory. These fields show us both what has happened historically and the potential of what may happen in the future. Te Umutaoroa is important here because of the potential of the *mauri* that it contains. On the one hand Te Umutaoroa is a discourse located within a particular local history, within a context of colonisation and land loss; but on the other hand, Te Umutaoroa is a prophecy that is firmly focussed on the unlimited potential of the future. Located at this meeting point between the past and future lies Te Umutaoroa's power to bridge the divide between a history of colonial oppression and land loss, and a future of social justice, restoration, and positive transformation.

This research contributes to new knowledge and is significant for a number of reasons. The research created a new research model by interpreting Te Kooti's prophecy and constructing the Te Umutaoroa research model – the methodological model for this research. That model incorporated research-specific interpretations of the eight *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa and combined these with Ka'ai-Mahuta's eight Indigenous research principles. In this way, the model is an innovative conceptual framework for the analysis of Indigenous knowledge from a particular Patuheuheu perspective.

Following Ngata's counsel to use Western knowledge to advance Māori objectives, this research applied Western critical theory, trans-culturally, to Te Kooti's role as a prophet and to his Te Umutaoroa prophecy in new ways. Horkheimer's description of critical theory, for example, allowed the researcher to argue that Te Kooti was a critical theorist because the discourses he generated were geared towards freedom for Māori. Furthermore, Te Kooti's violent past was viewed through the lens of Fanonian decolonisation theory. While Freire's critical pedagogy proved useful in terms of analysing Te Kooti's vision for liberation for his followers. Freire's critical pedagogy was also integral in shaping both the Te Umutaoroa research model and the Patuheuheu *hapū* development model. This research wove together history, theology and philosophy in new and inventive ways, which is unprecedented on this particular topic. Theologically and discursively, the research adds to the interpretation of Te Kooti's philosophies and doctrines and reveals the extent of the political and social implications that surround his prophecies in a contemporary context. As a result of these novel

applications, the parameters of these critical theories and disciplines have been stretched, and new dimensions have been both created and discovered.

In developing the Patuheuheu *hapū* development model, this research explores the potential for *hapū* development through the interpretation of the eight *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa and makes links to aspects of areas in need of development at the *hapū*/community level. This has never been done to this extent before. Furthermore, within the Patuheuheu *hapū* development model itself this research also developed governance principles, and a critical education model, based on interpretations of the *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa. Te Umutaoroa has never been interpreted in this particular way or to this extent before.

Judith Binney was previously the only person to have written about Te Umutaoroa in a substantial way. In her chapter, *Te Umutaoroa: The earth oven of long cooking*, Binney explains the history behind the emergence of Te Umutaoroa, as a ‘quest narrative’ set by Te Kooti in order to ease the pain of land loss, and to give the *hapū* a vision of a more positive future. Binney’s 2001 book chapter was the most significant piece of writing on Te Umutaoroa. However, this thesis is now the most substantial text in existence about Te Umutaoroa, which makes it a unique and significant piece of research for Patuheuheu *hapū*, and for other *hapū*, *iwi*, and Indigenous peoples, who may wish to use parts of this research as a model for their own work and developments, using their own local prophecies and narratives.

This research is by no means exhaustive; it is merely the start of a conversation about Patuheuheu *hapū* development. Te Kooti predicted that the potential of the eight *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa would be revealed in the future. Therefore, this research represents a small part of the prophecy being revealed through the medium of academic research. It is hoped that Patuheuheu will see this research as a contribution to an archive of *hapū* research that they can build upon and develop for the future. This research is a small paving stone in the pathway for Patuheuheu *hapū* development. Much more research and development is needed in terms of all aspects of the eight *mauri* of Te Umutaoroa to ensure that Patuheuheu can experience the future visualised by the prophet Te Kooti. Of course, this prophecy belongs to all those who lived at Te Houhi when Te Kooti gave this prophecy – Patuheuheu, Ngāti Haka, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Whare – and

so it is hoped that this thesis may be a template for these groups to develop their own methodologies and development models for the future.

Like a photograph, this research is but a snapshot in time that explores some of the potential located within Te Kooti's mysterious Te Umutaoroa prophecy. It is expected that more about the prophecy will be revealed in due course, just as Te Kooti promised.

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