

**TE KOOTI'S
SLOW-COOKING EARTH
OVEN PROPHECY:
A Patuheuheu account
and a new transformative
leadership theory**



Byron Rangiwai PhD

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Dedication

This book is dedicated to my late maternal grandparents
Rēpora Marion Brown and Edward Tapuirikawa Brown

Arohanui tino nui

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Abbreviations

AJHR: Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives

MS: Manuscript

MSS: Manuscripts

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

<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 book, 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 can write only from my particular Patuheuheu perspective and positioning within this book. 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 the research for this book was 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 book, took place. I was raised by parents, *te reo Māori*⁵ - speaking grandparents and great-grandparents within the Murupara and Waiōhau

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).

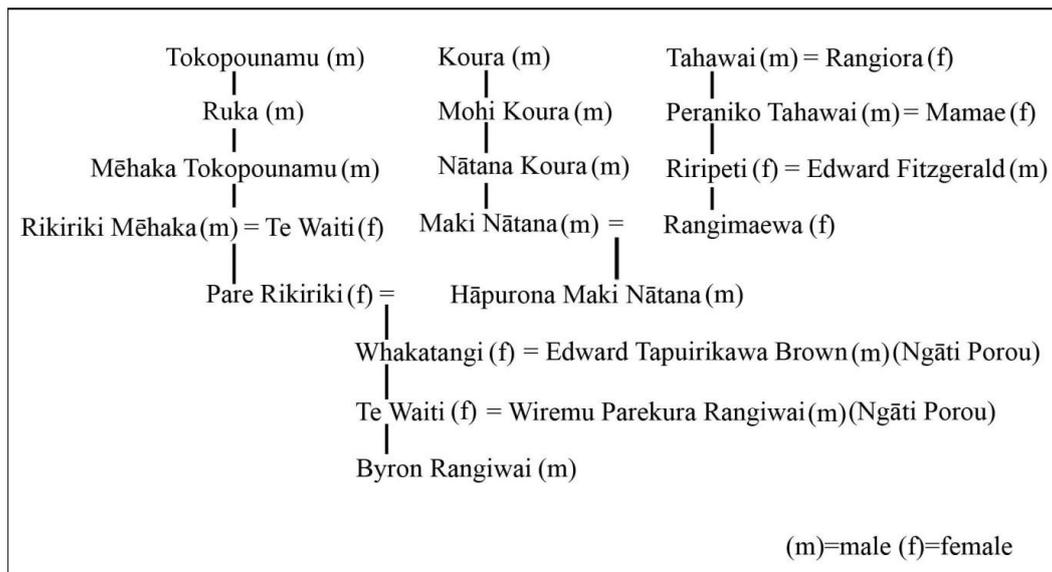
³ Extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people (Moorfield, 2011).

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

⁵ Māori language.

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.

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

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).

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 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 preserve 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*

⁹ Funeral rituals.

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

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).

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).

This agreement was of great significance because it brought 200 years of inter-tribal conflict to an end (Waitangi Tribunal, 2002). The bush symbolised that conflict at Ōhūi (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

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

²⁰ Mountain.

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

²² Reference to Mehaka 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

Ngāti Whare. In the mid-nineteenth century Mēhaka Tokopounamu and the old 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).

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

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

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).

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

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

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 is one part of it. However, the other part of it is that Mēhaka lived, for quite a period, with Tamarau Waiari; they shared much 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 an extended period. 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 Te Urewera Land Commission hearings (personal communication, 6 July, 2012).

**Inscription on memorial stone for Mēhaka Tokopounamu, Patuheuheu *marae*,
Waiōhau**



(B. Rangiwai, personal collection)

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).

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.

Memorial plaque for Hāpurona Maki-Nātana (reflecting Tama-ki-Hikurangi *wharenuī*²⁸), 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 Pākehā²⁹ 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

²⁸ Ancestral house (Moorfield, 2011).

²⁹ European or New Zealander of European descent (Moorfield, 2011).

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*.

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, and cluttered photographs on the walls. I also remember how she wore scarves over her

head, made jam tarts with wild pork fat and homemade jam, mixed Blackberry Nip with lemonade, and swept out the house with *mānuka*³⁰ branches.

My kinship ties combined with my life experiences significantly 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 the research for this book begun:

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 koroua³¹ 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 Rēpora Marion 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 significant 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 *wharenuī*, have been impressed on my thinking. Tama-ki-Hikurangi is “...a meeting-house built for Te Kooti at Te Houhi (near Galatea)³² 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)

³⁰ *Leptospermum scoparium* or tea tree (Moorfield, 2011).

³¹ Elderly man, grandfather, granduncle (Moorfield, 2011), or in this case great-grandfather.

³² There are other claims that suggest that the wharenuī first stood at Te Kowhai in the Horomanga area before being moved to Te Houhi.

on the grassed area or *marae ātea*³³ in front of the *wharenuī* and naughtily jumping on the mattresses inside.³⁴

Tama-ki-Hikurangi *wharenuī*, Patuheuheu *marae*, 2010, Waiōhau



(Rangiwai, 2010, personal collection)

For me, the *wharenuī* 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 poupou³⁵ in green, white, red and black; the brass crucifix³⁶ 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

³³ The open area in front of the *wharenuī* 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*.

³⁴ Mattresses are laid out in the *wharenuī* for people/guests to sleep on during *marae* functions.

³⁵ 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).

³⁶ 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.

facial tattoo; another hunting birds, probably Kererū,³⁷ in a tree;³⁸ a brown man with a white head piercing his human victim with a spear, lifting him high in the air;³⁹ a ‘little man’ cutting down what looks to be a ponga⁴⁰ tree; and yet other more ‘Christian’ images of baptisms and blessings. The red, black and white kowhaiwhai⁴¹ patterns hypnotically ‘snake’ their way across the wharenuī’s ‘spine’, while the poutokomanawa,⁴² 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 wharenuī 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).

³⁷ *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*.

³⁸ “[T]he sustenance of life for Tuhoe: snaring birds” (Binney, 1995, caption, plate 2).

³⁹ According to Binney (1995) this motif “...shows the act of bayoneting, following Pslam 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).

⁴⁰ *Cyathea dealbata* or silver tree fern (Moorfield, 2011).

⁴¹ Painted scroll ornamentations on *wharenuī* rafters (Moorfield, 2011); more correctly, *kōwhaiwhai*.

⁴² Centre ridge pole of a *wharenuī* (Moorfield, 2011).

Bird snaring scene on one of the *heke*⁴³ inside Tama-ki-Hikurangi *whareniui*, Patuheuheu *marae*, Waiōhau



(Rangiwai, 2013, personal collection)

Of the many *whareniui* to which I am connected by genealogy, Tama-ki-Hikurangi is the most familiar. This history of this *whareniui* is embedded in Patuheuheu hearts and minds. It is a history of loss and tragedy, but one where hope of restitution remains. The *whareniui* is the embodiment of that history and is an anchor point for this research. For me, the *whareniui* continues to raise some 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,⁴⁴ Murupara, during ‘Māori Week’⁴⁵ I joined a group of students who elected to take a history tour with a local *kaumātua*.⁴⁶ This elderly man took the group out to Galatea and

⁴³ Rafter (Moorfield, 2011).

⁴⁴ In New Zealand, “College” is a term that refers to high school.

⁴⁵ 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).

⁴⁶ Elder, elderly man, elderly woman, old man - a person of status within the *whānau* (Moorfield, 2011).

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 *wharenuī* 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,⁴⁷ 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 Pākehā 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*⁴⁸ stones, each with a *mauri*⁴⁹ 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*⁵⁰ is an important 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*⁵¹ 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.

⁴⁷ See Figure 1.

⁴⁸ Earth oven (Moorfield, 2011).

⁴⁹ Life principle (Moorfield, 2011).

⁵⁰ *Whenua* means both land and placenta (Moorfield, 2011).

⁵¹ Traditional Māori practice and concept of conquest (Moorfield, 2011). This term also became associated with the land confiscation practices of the Crown.

Orthographic conventions

Māori words used in 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 book, 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'.⁵²

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.

⁵² The researcher follows writers such as Ife (2013) in capitalising the word 'Indigenous'.

Patuheuheu *hapū* identity

My master's work (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*.⁵³ 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 book 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 Ngati-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 claims that Ngāti Haka became one people with Ngāti Rongo through intermarriage. Best claims that following an attack by Ngāti Awa on this

⁵³ 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).

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 Ngati-Rongo who were living on the Wai-pokaia stream... Ngati-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 about 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*⁵⁴ 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* to support his obstinate argument for *Patuheuheutanga*. The following statement from the Patuheuheu leader, Wiremu McCauley, a cousin to Hāpurona, further crystalises my Patuheuheu perspective, thus:

Sometimes we refer to ourselves as Ngati Patuheuheu and sometimes as Tuhoe. The difference is we are Patuheuheu when our lands, river and mana is at stake. We are Tuhoe when the *kawa*⁵⁵ and *tikanga*⁵⁶ and the larger identity of being one of the many *iwi* of Tuhoe, are at issue (cited in Rose, 2003, p. 12).

⁵⁴ Grandchild.

⁵⁵ Protocol and customs of the *marae* and *wharenuī*, especially those related to formal activities such as: *pōhiri* (welcome ceremony on a *marae*), *whaikōrero* (formal speech) and *mihimihī* (greet, pay tribute, thank) (Moorfield, 2011).

⁵⁶ Correct Māori procedures, practices and conventions (Moorfield, 2011) which vary from tribe to tribe.

Because this book is centred on *Patuheuheutanga*, for all intents and purposes Ngāti Haka will be omitted from most of the discourse in this book. Thus, this work follows the trend of earlier writings and archival materials that talked exclusively about Patuheuheu.

CHAPTER TWO

Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki

Introduction

Originating in an autograph book from 1949, Sir Āpirana Ngata's⁵⁷ celebrated *ōhāki*⁵⁸ 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 advancement. 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.

⁵⁷ 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).

⁵⁸ Dying speech, parting words (Moorfield, 2011).

Tipene Tihema-Biddle, a 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:

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 chapter will define critical theory from a Horkheimeran perspective. It will then describe Te Kooti as a prophet, revolutionary, and critical theorist. Te Kooti’s Te Umutaoroa prophecy is central to this work, and so it is necessary to provide 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. Finally, this chapter will discuss some aspects of the Ringatū faith that Te Kooti developed.

Critical theory: A Horkheimeran definition

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, a revolutionary, and a 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*.⁵⁹ Te Kooti's *waiata*, like his aphorisms, contains both spiritual and political aspects (Milroy, 2006, cited in Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010). In this way, Te Kooti's words inspire both religious and political reactions. The spiritual nature of his messages resounds with Māori spirituality (Milroy, 2006, cited in Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010), while the

⁵⁹ Song, chant, psalm (Moorfield, 2011).

profoundly political quality of his expressions urge Māori to hold on to their land – the source of their identity – 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. However, it is also part of a spiritual quest that has its roots in both the Māori worldview and in Te Kooti's identification with the Old Testament. The 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.

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 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 are critical in that they sought liberation for Māori despite colonisation and oppression.

Te Kooti's biography

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 predictions 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*⁶⁰ Toiroa⁶¹ (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Elsmore, 2000; Tarei, 2011).⁶² Toiroa associated Arikirangi's birth with darkness, which he expressed in the following *waiata*:

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),⁶³ a good God, however, the people will still be oppressed (Binney, 1995, p. 12).

⁶⁰ Prophet, seer, clairvoyant (Moorfield, 2011).

⁶¹ According to Binney (1995), Te Kooti claimed that Toiroa was his ancestor.

⁶² 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.

⁶³ This probably refers to the crucifixion of Christ.

Also, 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, claiming that a spirit appeared and saved his life (Mackay, 1949). Binney (1995) argues that Arikirangi's ability to avoid death was to be one of his most enduring traits.

Consecrated to Tūmatauenga, the *atua*⁶⁴ of war, Arikirangi received the education of the *whare wānanga*;⁶⁵ he attained Christian learning through the Anglican Church,⁶⁶ into which he was baptised with the name Te Kooti;⁶⁷ he also obtained Pākehā education through the Anglican mission and gained an intimate knowledge of the Bible (Binney, 1995; Elsmore, 2000; Greenwood, 1942; Tarei, 2011).⁶⁸ 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

⁶⁴ Ancestor with continuing influence, god, supernatural being (Moorfield, 2011).

⁶⁵ Māori traditional place of higher learning, where *tohunga* (priestly expert/s) taught history, genealogy and religious practices to the sons of *rangatira* (chiefs).

⁶⁶ By the early 1850s Te Kooti had been exposed to three major Christian churches: Anglican, Catholic and Wesleyan (Binney, 1995).

⁶⁷ 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).

⁶⁸ 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).

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*,⁶⁹ those captured in the raid 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) (Binney, 1995). 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 to maintain 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 they intended 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). However, civil war erupted within Ngāti Porou between Pai Mārire converts and those who wanted staunch Ngāti

⁶⁹ Fortified village (Moorfield, 2011).

Porou sovereignty and independence (Binney, 1995). Also, 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).

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 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.). Also, 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 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 severe 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 of 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).⁷⁰ 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 (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). 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). Te Kooti intended 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*⁷¹ 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 some 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

⁷⁰ 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).

⁷¹ Collaborator, ally, fifth column - a term that came to be applied to Māori who sided with Pākehā opposition or the Government (Moorfield, 2011).

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 possession of Reginald Biggs, the magistrate who sent emissaries to instruct Te Kooti to surrender at Whareongaonga (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,
KJV).

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 a legitimate claim to (Binney, 1995). 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 regular part of warfare (Binney, 1995).

Te Kooti's desire to seek *utu*⁷² 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, KJV). Te Kooti was very precise about whom he attacked (Fowler Papers; Porter, 1870). The Māori concept of *utu* already justified 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 declares 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, KJV).

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).

⁷² Translated sometimes very simply as revenge, *utu* is the process of restoring balance between groups where social relations have been disturbed (Moorfield, 2011).

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 inevitable (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 1869,⁷³ 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

⁷³ 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.

with him. In return, Te Kooti made a covenant with Tūhoe, similar to the promises made between Jehovah and Moses in the Old Testament:⁷⁴

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 *wharenuī* 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).

⁷⁴ 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, KJV).

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 Potere 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 Potere, 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 Tapapa – the village of the Waitaha prophet, Hakaraia Mahika (Binney, 1995). From Te Tapapa, Te Kooti proceeded into Te Arawa country where he attempted to negotiate with the chief Petera 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 Māori forces, from Te Arawa, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou, plundered their homes and food supplies; 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,⁷⁵ where he asked for refuge at Tokangamutu (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). King Tāwhiao at first refused Te Kooti's request; 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 *whareniui* that was later moved and renamed Te Tokanga-nui-a-noho (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Mair, 1873).

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 (Binney, 1995). In 1888 Te Kooti added the twelfth day of 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 about his successor, who was to arrive within the area of the people of the Mātaatua⁷⁶ *waka*,⁷⁷ in the Bay of Plenty (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti's predictions produced some 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). Ringatū followers generally interpret Te Kooti's visions of a successor 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

⁷⁵ The King Country, ruled by the Kīngitanga or King movement, was off limits to the government and settlers at this time.

⁷⁶ 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).

⁷⁷ Canoe.

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 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 book 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*⁷⁸ 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 book is *Kāore te pō nei mōrikarika noa*. According to McLean and Orbell (2004), Te Kooti visited Tūhoe and composed and performed this *waiata tohutohu*⁷⁹ in 1883 in support of the *iwi*'s stand against aggressive land surveying by Pākehā. However, Binney (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 *wharenuī* – 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 *wharenuī* to Eripitana⁸⁰ (Binney, 2009a).

As Te Kooti approached the *wharenuī* his horse shied, and he noticed the inverted carved figure⁸¹ on the *pou mua*,⁸² "...its wide mouth turned upside-down, ready to devour everything around it" (Binney, 1995, p. 326). Te Kooti then uttered a prophecy of destruction:

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).

⁷⁸ Ritual chant (Moorfield, 2011).

⁷⁹ 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.

⁸⁰ The name Eripitana is known in Te Kooti's secret glossolalic language as *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).

⁸¹ 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.

⁸² Front post of the *wharenuī* (Moorfield, 2011).

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*⁸³ 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.).

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!⁸⁴
Te ohonga ki te ao, rapu kau noa ahau.
Ko te mana tuatahi ko te Tiriti o Waitangi,
Ko te mana tuarua ko te Kooti⁸⁵ Whenua,
Ko te mana tuatoru ko te Mana Motuhake,
Ka kīia⁸⁶ i reira ko te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe,
He rongō 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.

⁸³ Carved figure on the gable of a meeting house (Moorfield, 2011).

⁸⁴ Binney (2009a) takes this *waiata* from McLean and Orbell (1975) but makes some changes in line with her analysis of Tūhoe history.

⁸⁵ *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 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).

⁸⁶ Changed from *kīa* to *kīia* as found in Ka'ai-Mahuta (2010, p. 204) and also in Moorfield (2011).

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). 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 rongō ka houhia ki a Ngāti Awa”, Te Kooti reminds Tūhoe of the 1830s *tatau pounamu*⁸⁷ between Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa. This peace treaty was negotiated by the researcher’s ancestor, the Ngāti Rongō 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 should be maintained 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,⁸⁸ ko te hanga i ngā tiriti!
Pūkōhu 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).

⁸⁷ Enduring peace agreement (Moorfield, 2011).

⁸⁸ Changed from *rōri* to *rori* (road), without the macron as found in Moorfield (2011).

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 wasteland 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 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”⁸⁹ with his *ngākau*⁹⁰ or mind-heart⁹¹, finding that it was iniquitous

⁸⁹ McLean and Orbell (2004) claim that Te Kooti’s use of the word *ture*, or law, refers to his religious beliefs and teachings.

⁹⁰ Seat of affections, heart, mind (Moorfield, 2011).

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 regularly and consistently to remain on and take care of their lands (Binney, 2009a), emphasising the 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 *wharenuī* in the nineteenth century. The Te Kooti-style *wharenuī* 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 colonisation and oppression. Āpriana Ngata also encouraged Māori to use Pākehā knowledge and technologies to advance Māori society.

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

⁹¹ Salmond’s (1985) definition of *ngākau* as mind-heart or the entrails where thought and feeling are manifested is used here.

small, simple and semi-permanent (Brown, 2009; Paama-Pengelly, 2010). However, in the nineteenth century, this was to change.

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 radically different new buildings that incorporated European technologies, techniques and materials; these buildings became considerably more significant 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 *whareniui* 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 *whareniui* 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 *whareniui* 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 *whareniui* 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 *whareniui*, 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).

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 adaptation 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 *wharehenui* architecture that he influenced so profoundly.

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). To provide this religio-political framework, Te Kooti incorporated elements of the introduced faith

with Indigenous Māori spirituality 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 the 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? Koira 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 hōmaiha 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.⁹² 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 liberation 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

⁹² Māori culture, Māori practices and beliefs, Māoriness, Māori way of life.

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" (Williams, 1999, p. 80).

The liturgy of the Ringatū Church is made up of passages from the Māori Bible. 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 that 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 (Barker, 1970; Greenwood, 1942). 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*,⁹³ 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).⁹⁴

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*⁹⁵ to ensure plentiful crops, and is held around 1 November (Moorfield, 2011).⁹⁶ 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,

⁹³ *Colocasia esculenta* (Moorfield, 2011).

⁹⁴ Greenwood (1942) and Barker (1970) maintain that the word *taro* referred instead to breadfruit.

⁹⁵ Sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under *atua* protection (Moorfield, 2011).

⁹⁶ 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.

came to symbolise the resurrection of Christ, as the modern Ringatu prayer-book clearly states” (p. 422). One Ringatū *tohunga*⁹⁷ 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).

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).

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):

⁹⁷ Priestly expert (Moorfield, 2011). In the Ringatū context the term *tohunga* may also refer to ministers of the Ringatū Church.

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 a 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:

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 (Misur, 2003, p. 97).

Summary

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 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 regarding a critical analysis of one of Te Kooti's *waiata* and his influence on the design of nineteenth-century *wharenui*. 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 *wharenui* architecture and the symbolism contained within Te Kooti-style motifs reveals a critical religio-political narrative that united his followers. Furthermore, the Ringatū faith that Te Kooti developed provided a vehicle of religiosity for his people, inspiring hope, devotion, and a fervent belief in deliverance from captivity.

CHAPTER THREE

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 discusses Tūhoe land loss, and notably, Patuheuheu's loss of Te Houhi at the hands of a Pākehā, Harry Burt. This story of land loss sets the scene for a discussion around the emergence of Te Kooti's Te Umutaoroa prophecy in the chapter to follow.

Importance of *whenua* for Māori

Whenua is the Māori word for both land and placenta. 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 Papatūānuku (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 Papatūānuku, 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 worldview, 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 Papatūānuku 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, 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 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 Papatūānuku:

...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 received 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 Māori, regardless of whether their ancestors had signed the agreement.⁹⁸ 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).

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 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 the same as the meaning of the Māori translation. Article One, in Māori, gave Queen Victoria governance over the land;

⁹⁸ 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.

however, in English, it gave the Queen sovereignty over the land, which is a stronger term (Orange, 2004) and one which is unlikely to have been agreed to by the chiefs, who would not voluntarily sign away their sovereignty or *tino rangatiratanga*. Article Two in the Māori version guaranteed chiefs their *tino 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 (Orange, 2004). 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).

Even though 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. 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 argues 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).

Salmond (1985) contends that Māori were seen 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 notion of white superiority and 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).

The colonists believed 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 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).⁹⁹

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* 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 for 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 a 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).¹⁰⁰ Rewi Maniapoto gained sympathy from the

⁹⁹ By 2001 Māori land holdings fell to 1,515,071 hectares (Durie, 2005a).

¹⁰⁰ According to McGarvey (2009), Rewi Maniapoto may have visited in 1863 or early 1864.

people of Ruatāhuna and according to Harehare Atarea,¹⁰¹ 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 women¹⁰² 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.

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 keep peace and to provide reparations for the relatives of the dead (New Zealand Gazette, 1865). A military

¹⁰¹ Binney (2009a, 2009b) uses the spelling ‘Aterea’. 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.

¹⁰² Rurehe (2011) states: “Very few of the womenfolk survived the battle. Most of the women died at Orakau” (p. 38).

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 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 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 as a means 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 kainga¹⁰³ 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 conveyed back to the Tūhoe chiefs by Major Ropata Wahawaha (Binney, 2009a, 2009b). This ostensible transference of power was part of an 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 Tūhoe received news 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, KJV; Numbers 11:16-17, 24-25, KJV). In Tūhoe's case, seventy

¹⁰³ *Kainga* means home, village, habitation (Moorfield, 2011).

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).

Binney (2009a, 2009b) notes that 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. 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 landowners, 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 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).

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).¹⁰⁴ 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*¹⁰⁵ (Arapere, 2002; Binney, 2001b, 2003, 2009a, 2010; Paul, 1995).

By most accounts, the *wharenuī* 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 *wharenuī* 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 *wharenuī* was built in 1904. Cresswell (1977) and Binney (2001b, 2010) maintain that Tama-ki-Hikurangi was built

¹⁰⁴ This section, like this entire book, will only focus on Patuheuheu.

¹⁰⁵ Home.

under the guidance of Tūhoe carver, Te Wharekotua, “...to memorialise their history and their identity linked to Te Kooti” (Binney, 2001b, p. 152).¹⁰⁶

On 28 November 1893, Te Houhi School was opened (Stokes, Milroy & Melbourne, 1986) with Mēhaka Tokopounamu¹⁰⁷ 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). Also, 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 pernicious 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 acquire the land from beneath the *hapū*

¹⁰⁶ However, Neich (1993) acknowledges that Te Iho Tangohau was the main carver at the time and suggests that he may have carved the *wharenuī*.

¹⁰⁷ 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).

underhandedly (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 a provocative picture of how 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) argues that some Pākehā "...penetrated Maori communities, adapted to tribal life and influenced their hosts" (p. 9).¹⁰⁸ 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

¹⁰⁸ 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.

negotiate; they asked Burt to accept 1,000 acres of land to satisfy his land needs (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"¹⁰⁹ (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. Whakaponu 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 rongu 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 whānako 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.).

¹⁰⁹ *Aroha* means affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love, empathy (Moorfield, 2011).

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 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, two chiefs 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, despite the protest of the elders. Te Teira claims that imprisonment at Te Pūtere followed, where Patuheuheu were taken to die. This claim does not precisely 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 academically. Te Teira states that Patuheuheu returned to their remaining lands at Waiōhau after surviving incarceration at Te Pūtere.

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).¹¹⁰ 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). However, this particular prediction was not to come true. Burt's actions included using

¹¹⁰ According to Mēhaka Tokopounamu's petition, Burt purchased the shares of at least 40 people (cited in Paul, 1995).

the signatures of minors, acquiring shares from those who did not own them, purchasing without witnesses, purchasing the shares of deceased persons, getting people drunk and then getting them to sign over their shares, and finally by giving guns and gunpowder (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,¹¹¹ 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).

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).¹¹²

The land on which Te Houhi was located eventually came to be owned by James Grant, in part because of his 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

¹¹¹ 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.

¹¹² 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).

1907 (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2007c, 2010; Boast, 2002; Wylie, 1908, cited in Wouden, 1980). Indeed, some local narratives maintain that Patuheuheu were evicted at gunpoint. 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 wharenuī from the land (p. 156).

As well as the schoolhouse and *wharenuī*, Patuheuheu had to leave behind their church and the sacred bones¹¹³ of their dead (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010). According to Te Teira Cameron:

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 *wharenuī* back, but they were refused. According to Te Teira, it was Mēhaka Tokopounamu who decided to raise money to purchase the ancestral house from the Pākehā, and that this is how the *hapū* elders regained possession of the *wharenuī*. Te Teira states that the *tohunga* Te Wero and others, including Mēhaka Tokopounamu, transported the *wharenuī* from Te Houhi to Waiōhau; and he also maintains that Hieke

¹¹³ 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 Little (1973) the bones were re-buried at Waiōhau on 10 March 1919 in a concrete mausoleum at the *urupā* (burial ground).

Tupe recalled that it was the *karakia* of the *tohunga* that allowed the *wharenuī* to be moved to Waiōhau.

Some accounts claim that the government purchased the *wharenuī* 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 *wharenuī* 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 *wharenuī* would have been moved by wagon; local oral accounts, however, claim that the *wharenuī* was transported, perhaps in parts, via the Rangitaiki River. The *wharenuī* was re-opened at Waiōhau on 28 July 1909 (Binney, 2001b, 2009a, 2010; Paul, 1995).

Summary

This chapter discussed the critical 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 Papatūānuku 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, who 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 the Crown constructed Tūhoe as rebels so that anti-rebellion legislation could be used to attack and kill Tūhoe and take their land away justifiably. 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. As a result of this land loss, Te Kooti articulated a prophecy of hope known as Te Umutaoroa.

CHAPTER FOUR

The emergence of Te Umutaoroa – the slow-cooking earth oven, and a new transformative leadership theory

Introduction

This chapter explores the emergence of Te Kooti's Te Umutaoroa prophecy. Significantly, this chapter will also present a new transformative leadership theory based on Te Kooti's prophecy. It is hoped that this novel transformative leadership theory might be used as a template for transformative Indigenous leadership in a range of contexts.

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 hangī - 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*¹¹⁴ 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 *hapū*-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 some 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 metaphorically and, as the name suggests, this particular *umu* requires a long cooking

¹¹⁴ Child (Moorfield, 2011). However, in this context it may be understood a successor.

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 *hāngī*.¹¹⁵ It is made up like a *hāngī*; you dig a hole and you burn a fire and heat up stones. '*Tao roa*' means 'long cooking.' The *hāngī* is still cooking; it's an *umu* that still hasn't completely cooked yet (R. Tupe, personal communication, 20 October, 2011).

Within this *hāngī* pit, it is said that Te Kooti placed eight¹¹⁶ *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).

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:

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.

¹¹⁵ Earth oven - earth oven to cook food with steam and heat from heated stones (Moorfield, 2011).

¹¹⁶ 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*).

The food inside this hāngi 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 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 writer'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 first 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 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*,¹¹⁷ their connection through *whakapapa* means that one day they will be led or driven to partake in spiritually feasting upon its many *taonga*.¹¹⁸

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*¹¹⁹ 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:

Koro¹²⁰ [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*¹²¹ of Te Umutaoroa.

¹¹⁷ Offspring, descendant, relative, kin, progeny, blood connection (Moorfield, 2011).

¹¹⁸ Treasure, anything prized - applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas and techniques (Moorfield, 2011).

¹¹⁹ Relationship, kinship, sense of family connection – a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging (Moorfield, 2011).

¹²⁰ 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.

¹²¹ Discourse (Moorfield, 2011).

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*¹²² 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*¹²³ 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).

A new transformative leadership theory

Te Kooti's legacy of prophetic leadership emerged as a response to colonisation and displacement. Like the prophets of the Old Testament, Te Kooti was called by God to save a dispossessed people (Binney, 1997; Elsmore, 1999; Sinclair, 2002). Stone and Patterson (2005) argue that Egyptian rulers, Greek heroes and ancient biblical prophets all had one attribute in common: that of leadership. A prophet is generally thought of as a messenger of God, or of the gods and or ancestors (Adrahtas, 2007; Kaplan, 1908; Sheppard & Herbrechtsmeier, 2005). As well as messengers, prophets are revolutionary leaders who make great changes; they are described as being predictors, preachers, teachers, political leaders, healers, miracle workers, and poets (Kaplan, 1908). Prophets give words of inspiration and prediction which become hierophanies, where the sacred is manifested in the world as 'modes of praxis', signifying the unity of 'identity and transformation' (Adrahtas, 2007). As such, prophets can be described as 'transformative leaders' who can motivate their followers to engage in making the 'dream come true'.

Burns (1978) maintains that transformative leaders ask followers to rise above their own interests for the sake of collective ones, and to focus on the development and implementation of long-term 'future' goals and ambitions, to work towards transformation (Gardner & Avolio, 1998, cited in Punj & Krishnan, 2006; Punj & Krishnan, 2006; Shamir, House & Arthur, 1993). Transformative leaders construct the vision, while empowering their followers to hold fast to a 'body of ideals' (Bass, 1981, cited in Grint, 1995; Burns, 1978; Grint, 1995). Links can be drawn between charismatic transformative leaders and their followers' levels of self-efficacy (House & Shamir, 1993; Shamir, House & Arthur, 1993), or in other words, the followers' beliefs

¹²² Activity or work (Moorfield, 2011) of the Pākehā which refers to the building of the Aniwhenua hydro-electric dam.

¹²³ River.

in their collective abilities to enact the leaders 'vision' (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Jung & Sosik, 2002; Podsakoff, McKenzie, Moorman & Fetter, 1990). A powerful example of Te Kooti's charisma as a transformative leader is given by the historian James Belich (1986):

Te Kooti was not a chief, he had no tribal basis of support, and his mana did not depend on military success. Yet his authority over his followers was very great - indeed it was more absolute than that of any Maori leader before or after him. The loyalty of his followers was virtually immutable, he was able to gain fresh adherents readily, and his resistance acquired an enormous resilience - again and again, Te Kooti rose phoenix-like from the ashes... [he] was able to control a group of powerful and independent-minded lieutenants, some of whom had far greater hereditary mana than their leader [,]... through what is sometimes called 'charisma' (p. 218-19).

The followers' self-efficacy informs their thinking, feelings and behaviours (Bandura, 1997), so if they are inspired by their leader and have an adamant belief in the vision, transformation can be the result (Bottum & Lenz, 1998; Clawson, 1999; Field & Van Seters, 1988), and in Te Kooti's case, the fact that some of his followers 'outranked' him genealogically, did not inhibit his ability to inspire them to follow him (Belich, 1986).

Transformative leaders need to be 'forward-facing' and committed to 'renewal' (Bhindi & Duignan, 1996, cited in Preece, 2003), but they must also 'look back' to engage with the narratives and histories which tie a community together, and through this activity, create new stories and interpretations (Karpiak, 2000; Preece, 2003). To do this they must know the social, political, spiritual, and geographical landscapes of the people (Karpiak, 2000; Preece, 2003), and "[b]y using the strategies of visioning... transformative leaders... motivat[e] group members to remain attracted to the group, make personal sacrifices and work towards a common goal" (Pillai & Williams, 2003, p. 147). Hence, if the followers internalise the leader's vision, they become dedicated to the collective interests of the group and to achieving the objectives set by the leader (Ackoff, 1999; Avolio, Waldman & Einstein, 1988; Bass, 1990; Bennis, 1989; Hunt, 1991; Keely, 1995; Keller, 1995; Miles, 1997; Morris & Staggenborg, 2004; Pillai & Williams, 2003; Sosik, 1997; Yukl, 1998).

The following model reinterprets Te Kooti's prophecy into essential aspects of transformative leadership in a Māori or Indigenous context.

Transformative Leadership Model



Atua: Spirit

A transformative leader must acknowledge and negotiate the spiritual dimension through karakia (prayer) and other appropriate spiritual and cultural customs and protocols.

Tangata: People

A transformative leader must acknowledge and honour whakapapa (genealogical connections) regarding people in Aotearoa New Zealand and across the world. A transformative leader must practice manaakitanga (kindness, hospitality and generosity) to people.

Whenua: Land

A transformative leader must acknowledge the absolute centrality of land and belonging. Whenua is both a word for land and also for placenta and therefore refers to our connections to and emergence from Papatūānuku - Earth Mother.

Whakapono: Faith

Pono is a word that refers to honesty, integrity and faith. Transformative leaders must be trusted. The people must be able to believe in their leader and have faith in their leadership and direction.

Whakaora: Healing

Whakaora is a word that refers to healing, salvation, and restoration. A transformative leader must be able to bring life, vitality and healing to the people

Hōhonu: Deep reflection

A transformative leader must be able to reflect deeply, critically and esoterically to find solutions and inspire positive transformation.

Pakanga: Struggle

Pakanga is a word that refers to battle or war. A transformative leader is courageous and does not hesitate to struggle along with the people with regard to organisational challenges that threaten to hinder progress.

Whakahoki: Restoration

Whakahoki is a word that refers to returning. In the context of transformative leadership, this is about restoring our people to their rightful places as Indigenous leaders by empowering them to access the knowledge, skills and qualifications to make positive and lasting transformational change.

Conclusion

This chapter explained the emergence of Te Kooti's Te Umutaoroa prophecy. A new theory of transformative leadership based on Te Kooti's prophecy was presented. This model may be used in a range of transformative Indigenous contexts and may be adapted to suit the needs of those who wish to use the model in various fields of practice.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion: Reflections on the Book

At the beginning of this book, 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, and at the centre of the research process. Undeniably one's worldview is the lens through which reality is viewed and interpreted. *Whakapapa* gives the researcher a specific perspective, a particular worldview, which makes this research unique. Just as worldviews are unique to individuals, individual perspectives are informed by broader cultural worldviews. For Māori, these worldviews encompass *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* perspectives.

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*,¹²⁴ *waiata*, and in the *wharenuī* architecture that he designed and influenced in the nineteenth century. These texts reveal important and critical religio-political narratives that united his followers and continue, to this day, to intrigue Ringatū adherents and researchers alike.

The Te Umutaoroa narrative emanates from the displacement of Patuheuheu from their *whenua* at Te Houhi. Unquestionably, Māori have a vital, Indigenous connection with

¹²⁴ Prophetic sayings of charismatic leaders (Moorfield, 2011).

whenua. *Whenua* is a cultural concept and cultural reality that concomitantly names land and placenta, and addresses the links between Papatūānuku and Māori. Māori relationships 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, spiritually, 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 *wharenuī* 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.

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.

The research contained in this book contributes to new knowledge and is significant for a number of reasons. Following Ngata's counsel to use Western knowledge to advance Māori objectives, this research applied Western critical theory, in a trans-cultural way, to Te Kooti's role as a prophet and to his Te Umutaoroa prophecy in a new way. 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. 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. Significantly, this book presented a new theory of transformative leadership based on Te Kooti's prophecy. Although the eight principles featured in the model emerged from a particular historical context, they have broad applications with regard to Māori and Indigenous leadership.

The late Professor Dame Judith Binney was previously the only person to have written about Te Umutaoroa substantially. 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 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, the author's doctoral thesis, entitled *Ko au ko Te Umutaoroa, ko Te Umutaoroa ko au: Toward a Patuheuheu hapū development model* (Rangiwai, 2015), and now this book, are the most substantial texts in existence about Te Umutaoroa.

This research is by no means exhaustive. 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. Like a photograph, this book 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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