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WAIKUA MAORI RUA MANO : MAORI SPIRITUALITY 2000

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Maori Spirituality as it was in its early form of primal religion and some aspects of what it is today in the new millennium. The paper argues that while Christianity has made a strong hold on Maori Spirituality, never the less, primal belief is very much alive in the midst of the ordinary life of the Maori, especially in the precinct of the Marae. The paper begins by looking at pre-European Maori beliefs and their genesis story which laid down the charter for the dynamic relationships between Maori and their environment as it unfolds in the dramatic myth stories, handed down orally from generation to generation. These stories guide the Maori to an understanding of where they come from, who they are and where they are going.

The impact of the arrival of another culture along with Christianity brought about dramatic changes for Maori in their relationship with their ecology, their gods and with one another. Conversion to Christianity was slow and ponderous. The Gospel, introduced by the missionaries, contributed to Maori becoming British subjects but the results were disastrous for Maori. The Treaty, in its Maori text, was signed by most chiefs ceding governance to the British Crown while guaranteeing the chiefs' supremacy over their land and property, their 'tino rangatiratanga'. It was the beginning of the end for Maori.

By the turn of twentieth century, colonisation, through greed and broken promises, had stripped Maori of their land and their 'tino rangatiratanga'. The Maori population was in a perilous situation and many predicted Maori would soon to be extinct. With the help of modern technology, a new dawn of consciousness became evident as contemporary arts of carving, tukutuku weaving, and painting took shape within the precincts of the Marae.

Performing arts also came into their own as formal speeches, waiata, poetry, action songs, poi, and haka served to inspire and encourage the younger generations within the bounds of the Marae, the last bastion of the Maori. The Marae became a pivotal point for Maori survival and spirituality.

For over a century the indigenous people of Aotearoa were subjugated and served as a second class citizen within their own country under the rule of the State and Church. However the Anglican Church in New Zealand, in 1990, changed its constitution of 1875 to embrace the Treaty of Waitangi. It meant, for its Maori members that through self-determination, self-propagation and self-supporting activities, their 'tino rangatiratanga', their 'wairua'(spirituality) had finally been achieved, but this is only one section of the community in Aotearoa. The challenge and the hope is that the wider community, especially the governing body, may yet accept 'tino rangatiratanga' for what it is, an expression of Wairua Maori, Maori Spirituality.

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‘E hara taku toa i te toa taki tahi engari he toa taki tini.’

‘My strength is not in my oneness but in my many supporters’.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1998, a song, sung by a young Maori group, spoke about their Tino Rangatiratanga and the difficulties they encountered as they strove to search for their mana, to give meaning to their lives. It voiced their sense of loss and despair as young Maori struggle to find employment. How can they stand tall without financial security and with the likelihood of loosing rooves over their heads as their parents prepare themselves for the inevitable eviction from their state home? When will they have their next full meal? How are they to keep warm with the power cut off? What can we do about our baby girl's asthma? God! If there is a God, why don't you answer? Where are you? Its so dark and cold! There is anger and frustration. There is no God. Let us go back to the Maori gods!

The problems confronted by beneficiaries and the unemployed, as well as Maori were also highlighted in the same year by the Anglican Church which organised 'The Hikoi of Hope'. They were joined by other churches and concerned groups and walked from all corners of New Zealand to Parliament to protest at the intolerable levels of poverty and social breakdown in the country. With high unemployment, (Maori 15.5%; NZ Official Yearbook 1997), poor health and about 18% of households in New Zealand living below poverty line. Maori are 2 ½ times more likely to be in poverty than Pakeha.

The young Maori singers make a whimsical suggestion that perhaps things would improve greatly if they were to return to their Maori gods. Behind this cynical remark, one cannot help but feel that these young singers are longing for a return to things Maori, where Maori could charter and be in control of their own destiny as it was before being swamped by Colonialism. To do things in a Maori way would feel good and

would be profitable for Maori, a right to self-determination, like a growing young nation during the period of the 1830s to the 1860s where Maori religion was still strong and alive.

The questions that immediately comes to mind are, is it possible to go back in time and revive the belief in Maori gods? Would going back to Maori gods bring about the change that these young people are looking for? What effects would this change bring about? After 150 years of Christianity, and influence by other World Religions, is there room for Maori gods? Can Maori reject the 'Pakeha' God so easily? Is it still possible to be both Maori and Christian? Would Maori gods be able to go surfing in this world of Internet and Virtual Reality? What relevance, if any, would Maori gods bring to modern society let alone to floundering young Maori people as we enter the 21st century? By going back to the Maori gods will this remove the yoke of Maori suffering and injustices of the present and the future? Will Maori be able to attain their 'tino rangatiratanga'?

This thesis contends that a position of compromise can be achieved between the new belief and the old belief for the young Maori of the new millennium, that there is room for Maori 'gods'. Or, to put it another way, that Maori spirituality has a more meaningful application for young Maori people in their modern world than perhaps any transplanted religion could do from another world viewpoint. With the strong resurgence of Maori renaissance come the inevitable tensions as feelings and emotions of fear and pride rise to the surface. By sharing and talking about these concerns, it is hoped that there will be a better understanding of the dilemma that confronts Maori. It is perceived, and commonly stated that Maori are a 'spiritual people'. When people try to spell out what this actually means they run into a number of difficulties. For some it means someone who is religious, like going to church, or people who are holy and thereby deny

themselves the joys and pleasures of this secular world, a carry-over of Westernised thinking of people who live cloistered lives as monks and nuns do. This thesis then, seeks to examine and explain the beliefs and practices of the Maori as they were held and practised in pre-European times. It will also examine the influence of the Christian religion on Maori culture and the changes that took place leading up to the present day in the context of a particular religious identity that has meaning and relevance for the present. To help reach a formative conclusion, this four-part thesis will look at various aspects of Maori religion throughout Aotearoa - New Zealand history and work through a possible scenario for the new millennium.

The four parts will consist of:

Part 1: Maori Genesis – Primal Religion – Maori Cosmology

This will mainly cover the area of Maori beliefs before the arrival of the Pakeha. It will define Maori spirituality and beliefs as set out in the Maori mythical stories, particularly as set out in Grey's book of "Nga Mahi a nga Tipuna".

Part 2: Close Encounter with Christianity.

The arrival of another culture from another world, with their superior technology which had some powerful consequences on the Maori, will be examined. This part will endeavour to give some insights on the impact of Christianity on the Maori and their world, the interaction of the gospel and the cultures which was "both complex and dynamic".¹

¹ Davidson, Allan. *Christianity in Aotearoa*, Wellington, 1991, p.7

Part 3: Changes in Maori Religion: Marae and Performing Arts.

The heart-beat of modern Maoridom can be felt, heard, seen and savoured on the marae. With the arrival of modern technology Maori traditions and culture changed and adapted. An aesthetic revolution took place borne out of the pain and suffering of the people. This part will examine some of these changes as art form became innovative, direct and powerfully expressive.

Part 4: Maori Spirituality in the New Millennium

Young Maori of today are faced with many challenges as their forebears were before them. Can they survive and still be 'Maori'? Will it be necessary to discard their 'Maori gods'? Will there be a need for a totally new being to be able to 'surf the inter-net' and enter into 'virtual reality' in the new millennium? Will they be able to maintain their Tino Rangatiratanga?

PART 1. MAORI GENESIS – PRIMAL RELIGION – MAORI COSMOLOGY

Undoubtedly, the first group of Maori, who arrived in Aotearoa between the years of 800 and 900 AD, came with their distinctive stories from their homelands in the Pacific. According to Maori oral tradition the early Maori settled Aotearoa, (Land of the Long White Cloud), a name given by the first discoverer Kupe. They brought with them their culture, their way of life, traditions and religious beliefs which were, and are still, shared with the other Polynesians from the Islands in the Pacific triangle. It was a new land with a temperate climate quite different from the tropical Islands they had left behind. They had to make adjustments to their clothing, their homes, their eating habits, but maintained their hunting, fishing and gathering skills to survive. As their style of living changed so did their stories to fit the new environment.

About the 12th Century, as the Moa became extinct, horticulture became more important as they mastered the art of preserving the kumara. By the 13th century another group of Maori began arriving and as the numbers grew so did the need for fortifications to defend their food supplies. Warfare became more prominent amongst the tribes. Inevitably as each tribe increased so did the necessity to claim and make counter claims as they created their own stories to suit their needs making them more meaningful for the growing generations as their society developed, adapted and increased. This has become known by historians as the 'classical' period. Despite the changes that took place, on the whole, the nucleus of stories remained static. What was important and natural for the Maori story-tellers was the way they added their own personal touch to the world around them. Not only in the telling of their history, myths and legends, but

also in the recital of their genealogical lineages, and the arranging of an ordered sequence of events surrounding the phenomena of nature, the same way as they do with their human descent. Evidence abounds that the Maori of old were well known for their story telling, and even in modern times they epitomise the continuance of this gift, which is ably demonstrated throughout the country on every Marae. The Marae remains for Maori, the guardian and fortified location of tribal heritage and polity, where cultural inheritance of spirituality, tikanga (customs), and mana (prestige and power) are practised and maintained. It is on the Marae that values and beliefs are expounded and discussed in oratory, song and dance. The Marae and all its connotations will be discussed later. What is important at this point is to know where to find the living resources as we attempt to unfold Maori spirituality of the past and explore its significance in the 21st century.

1. PRIMAL RELIGION – AND COSMOLOGY

The definition of religion has always been wide, diverse and dependent on the writer's perspective. Early writers on religion based their definition essentially on the idea of a belief in a Supreme personal Being, referred to as God. So when the early missionaries arrived in New Zealand they were quick to denounce Maori religion. William Colenso wrote, *"According to both the true and popular meaning of the word, they (the Maori) had nonethey had neither doctrine nor dogma, neither cultus nor system of worship. They knew not of any being who could properly be called God."*

The Reverend James Buller, a Methodist missionary, dismissed Maori religion in one

sentence. "*The Maoris were devil-worshippers*."² By their own statements, these two men signified they had neither any true understanding of either the language or culture of the Maori. Early missionaries came with their own point of view of their time and beliefs and made their assumptions through their own ignorance and the narrow-mindedness of another world and culture. Through their zealous attempts to share their message of the good news they looked on other societies from their perspective which, in this case, was from their European culture which believed in their own superiority and therefore led to a denial of religion among perceivably uncivilised and barbaric peoples.

This one-eyed definition is not very helpful to the study of religions in modern times despite the fact that it is the most common definition understood and held by most people. However not all religions are centred in the belief of a personal Divine Being. Buddhism is one such religion where it does not rely on a supernatural being, or a Saviour, to solve spiritual problems. Salvation, according to its founder Siddhartha, is to follow the Noble Eightfold Path, which will bring insight and knowledge, and leads to tranquillity, to enlightenment, which is nirvana, the state of perfect peace and bliss. Man must work out his own salvation by his own efforts. No man can do for him what he must do himself. This emphasis on self-effort, self-conquest, self- emancipation, is fundamental in the teaching of Buddha.³

Even a simple definition such as a system of 'faith and worship', advocated by Buck, while useful in defining Maori religion, does not seem to cover fully the phenomena of religion. According to Buck, Maori shared alongside other Polynesian kin-persons an inherited belief in the existence of spiritual beings, known as atua (gods), who, with their supernatural powers, were able to exert their influence, for good or bad, in the

² Davidson: 1991, p. 7

³ Brown David A, *A Guide to Religion*, 1994; p. 129

normal run of daily living. This belief constituted faith and through the institution of the tohunga (specialists) who conducted and organised the rituals of communion via chanted prayers and offerings with the Transcendent Other-worldly realm, constituted worship. For Buck, this description of faith and worship “*and a belief in the immortality of the soul, may lay just claims to the term religion.*”⁴

The study of religion to some extent has only been a latter-day academic discipline. While Christian theology and history has been studied for centuries, the inclusion of other main religions only commenced sometime in the nineteenth century. During this period tribal peoples, like the Maori, without written records and dependent on oral tradition were recorded by anthropologists like Elsdon Best. However, more recently, scholars of religion have developed and extended a much more acceptable definition of religion to include the world-views and beliefs of tribal peoples like that of the Maori, which was and still is to some, viewed as a mythology interspersed with magic and superstition. In Turner’s words,

*“Scholars of religion have opened up the complex religious systems of the world’s tribal peoples and revealed the complexities of ritual, the profundities of myth and world view, and the richness of symbol and the sheer spirituality of many of these long despised religions.”*⁵

In trying to define religion, Harold Turner proffers a terminology that seems best to cover the beliefs and historical background of tribal cultures of the world, and which are still practised today. The term he uses to describe this type of religion is ‘primal

⁴ Buck, *The Coming of The Maori*, 1949; p. 431

⁵ Pratt Douglas, *Religion – A First Encounter*, Longman Paul Ltd., Auckland, 1993, p. 19

religion', which he regards as '*humanity's common religious heritage*' to all peoples of this present age.⁶

Douglas Pratt regards the terminology of 'primal religion' as having an advantage in that it gives the idea that it is basic, original, and expresses first principles. This is preferable to the old misleading terms of, heathen, pagan, superstitious, and native which are misleading and not very helpful to any one. He calls Primal Religion a '*value-neutral term, simply signifying that which is both conceptually primary and chronologically prior.*'⁷

Harold Turner gives six main-parts to his layout of primal religion to identify specific regions, within the whole complex of a belief system in religion, and I am using Pratt's analysis of primal religion as a basis for this section with additional notes.

2. KINSHIP WITH NATURE – The ecological aspect.

Pratt describes 'Kinship with Nature' as, "*The earth is viewed as the source of sustenance, sometimes as 'Mother Earth', nature is nurture. In primal religion 'the environment is used realistically and unsentimentally but with profound respect and reverence'. There is usually a 'profoundly religious attitude,' or we might say an 'eco-conscious', or a natural creation-centred spirituality in regard to the world as the environment in which human existence is set*"⁸

⁶ Turner Harold, *The Roots of Science*, Printed by Colorcraft Ltd., Hong Kong, 1998, p. 18

⁷ Pratt, p. 20

⁸ *ibid* p. 21

It is a dynamic relationship between man and the environment as described in the mythical stories of the primal parents of the gods of nature. So it is to mythical stories that we turn to gain knowledge of their religious beliefs.

Ninian Smart in his book, 'The Religious Experience of Mankind,' says that originally myth means 'story' and in calling something a 'story', it is just reporting on what has been said, and believed to be true. As an example, the Hebrew story of Adam and Eve is regarded by many as a factual record the first two people on earth. Secondly, myth is the term used which includes not merely stories about God or gods, but also historical events of religious significance in a tradition, e.g. the Passover ritual in Judaism re-enacting their delivery from bondage in Egypt. The telling of myths is an attempt to explain how people understand themselves, their nature, environment, meaning of life, who they are where they come from and where they are going. It reflects an existence which expresses their understanding of themselves. Myths act as guide lines which people live by. They act out and establish patterns acceptable to their society as its ultimate authority. Myths also serve as guidelines for ethical and religious conduct. They express and collect together laws, rules, and procedures into a system of beliefs thus becoming a source of supernatural power. The activity of the supernatural power is said to be a release or activation of that power as recited in the ritual of karakia (prayers).

Tony Alpers version of 'Maori Myths and Tribal Legends', is used here to substantiate that this Maori world-view was written in Maori by a Maori. The translation by Alpers captures the stories simply and with a stark vividness that sits well with Maori in general. His scholarly work, alongside Dr. Biggs' brief account of Grey's editing, is yet to be surpassed and it has been a treasure trove of discovery for many students studying

Maori. For general reading it is clear, concise and has become a text book for many educational centres. From Alpers' notes, the Maori writer was Te Rangi Kaheke of the Ngati Rangiwehewehi tribe in Rotorua. He worked as a clerk for Governor Grey who wished to have a better understanding of 'a numerous and turbulent people, whose language, manners, customs, religion, and modes of thought' he was not familiar with. He wanted to know what their complaints were, but because the chiefs continually referred to their proverbs and mythology in their speeches to him, as well as in their letters, he and his interpreters were unable to understand them. So in order for him to become a 'successful' governor he went about collecting these stories. Some were written for him in Maori like the Creation story, and the life cycle of Maui by Rangi Kaheke. Some were dictated. The result was the published book of 'Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna', published in 1854 and in the following year the English version was also published. As editor, Grey made numerous changes and deletions. To his credit, he kept the original manuscripts safe, rendering them still available at the University of Auckland. It was from these, as well as extracts from Taylor, Best, and Buck, that Alpers decided to undertake the task of presenting what he considers an 'authentic and correct' version of "Maori Myths and Tribal Legends." An example of Grey's editing his version begins;

"...that men had but one pair of primitive ancestors, who sprang from the Heaven and Earth; and that according to the Maori, Heaven and Earth were the source from which all things originated"

The original text by Te Rangi Kaheke, translated by Dr Biggs, reads;

"My friends, listen to me. The Maori people stem from only one source, namely the 'Great-Heaven -which-stands-above, and the Earth-which-lies-below. According to

Europeans God made heaven and earth and all things. According to the Maori, Heaven (Rangi) and Earth (Papa) are themselves the source.”⁹

From Alpers point of view, this was a deliberate act on Grey’s part to remove the interesting comparison with Genesis, in order to allow the European reader to feel that he was listening, as the preface says, ‘to a heathen and savage high-priest, explaining to him, in his own words and in his own energetic manner, the traditions in which he earnestly believes.’¹⁰

Te Rangi Kaheke continues;

“It is said in the karakia, at the beginning of time there stood Te Kore, the Nothingness. Then was Te Po, the Night, which was immensely long and immensely dark:

<i>Te Po nui,</i>	<i>The Great Night</i>
<i>Te Po roa</i>	<i>The Long Night</i>
<i>Te Po uriuri</i>	<i>The Dark Night</i>
<i>Te Po kerekere</i>	<i>The Intensely Dark Night</i>
<i>Te Po tiwha</i>	<i>The Gloom-laden Night</i>
<i>Te Po tangotango</i>	<i>The Night to be Felt</i>
<i>Te Po te kitea.....</i>	<i>The Night Unseen.</i>

The first light that existed was no more than the glowing of a worm, and when sun and moon were made there were no eyes, there was none to see them, not even gods.

The beginning was made from the nothing.

From the nothing the begetting

From the nothing the increase,

From the nothing the abundance,

The power of increasing, the living breath:

⁹ Alpers Antony, *Maori Myths and Tribal Legends*, Longman Paul Ltd., Auckland, 1964; p. 236

¹⁰ *ibid* p. 237

It dwelt with the empty space, it produced the sky which is above us. The sky that floats above the earth, great Ranginui, the spread-out space. Then Ranginui, the sky dwelt with Papatuanuku, the Earth, and was joined to her, and land was made."¹¹

At this stage one must realise that, just as there are many major Maori tribes in Aotearoa so too are there different versions of Rangi and Papa stories. Best noted that the origin of the primal parents Earth and Sky is often given in the form of a genealogical table of descent from original chaos, similar to Alper's version, which we have already noted. Among the Maatutua tribes in the Bay of Plenty, Best indicated that, '*their version of these cosmogonic recitals is based, or likened to the growth of a tree, an illustration ever before his eyes.*'

<i>Te Pu</i>	<i>(Signifies origin, source, root, base, foundation)</i>
<i>Te More</i>	<i>(Signifies tap-root)</i>
<i>Te Weu</i>	<i>(Signifies rootlet, fibres.)</i>
<i>Te Aka</i>	<i>(Signifies long, thin, roots, stem of climbing tree)</i>
<i>Te Rea</i>	<i>(Signifies growth.)</i>
<i>Te Wao-mui</i>	<i>(Signifies primeval forest.)</i>
<i>Te Kune</i>	<i>(Signifies pregnancy, conception, form acquired.)</i>
<i>Te Whe</i>	<i>(Signifies sound, as of creaking of tree branches.)</i>
<i>Te Kore</i>	<i>(Signifies non-existence.)</i>
<i>Te Po</i>	<i>(Signifies night; darkness of the unknown.)</i>
<i>Rangi = Papa</i>	<i>(Sky Father and Earth Mother)</i>
<i>Tane Tangotango Wainui</i>	¹²

¹¹ *ibid* p. 15

Best also wrote that, as the Maori method changes, and form takes shape, sound is introduced. Despite the fact that matter does not appear to have evolved until, from chaos and the unknown, sky and earth appear. The primal parents, from whom all things originated, are now in being. Rangi represents the male element, (te ira atua), life as known to supernatural beings, and Papa represents life as known to human beings (te ira tangata).¹³ This concept will be dealt with at the creation of woman by Tane.

Another interesting concept of evolution can be found in Taylor's *Te Ika a Maui* which shows Maori intuition in describing their world-view. *"From conception came fullness; from fullness came energy; from energy came thought; from thought came mentality; from the mind came desire. Inner knowledge bore fruit, and dwelt with twilight, and produces the Po...the enduring, intangible, unseen, unfelt Po."* Then it continues its genealogy to *Te Kore*, to space, and *Rangi* emerges hovering over earth and, in association with various forms of light, produced the sun which became permanent.¹⁴

This then is how pre-European Maori perceived the ultimate reality of their cosmology. The different stages of *Te Kore* and *Te Po* are described by a sequence of adjectives denoting long periods of time as each stage slowly evolved to form earth. These symbols were a deliberate creation of the Maori mind as a means by which there is an indirect reference to some other reality. The Maori observed the universe in its on going process as pure energy. Their hypothesis for the phenomena of their world comprised of a series of interconnected realms separated by aeons of time from which there eventually emerged the Natural World. They composed their sets of symbols to provide themselves

¹² Best, Elsdon, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, A.R. Shearer, Government Printing, Wellington, 1976; p. 62

¹³ *ibid* p. 61

¹⁴ *ibid* p.60

with models to portray each state in this evolutionary process. The images they used were those by which they could understand, interpret and reconcile the various worlds they were in to represent an ultimate reality for them. These symbols were enclosed and expressed in story, myth, legend, art, proverbs, ritual and liturgical action. The genealogy of the cosmos pictured as the tree developed, from seed to fruit, or as in the sexual act culminating in the birth of the child, out of the darkness of the womb and into the light of the natural world. Such symbols were used to depict the growth of the real and natural world of the Maori. The story by Rangikaheke continues.

*“Then Rangi mui, the sky, dwelt with Papatuanuku, the Earth, and was joined to her, and land was made. But the offspring of Rangi and Papa, who were very numerous, were not of the shape of men, and they lived in darkness, for their parents were not yet parted. The Sky still lay upon Earth, no light had come between them.”*¹⁵

Ranginui Walker sees this period signifying emptiness and darkness of the mind. *‘Because there was no light, there was no knowledge. The reason for this state of affairs was the self-generation, during Te Kore, of the primeval pair Ranginui and Papatuanuku. They were the first cause preventing light from entering the world because of their close marital embrace.’*¹⁶

The emptiness and darkness of mind does not in any sense mean that there is no movement or stirring. The process of two forces of energy, the natural and the supernatural, infused, formed the basis of the phenomena, personified in terms that can

¹⁵ Alpers, p.16

¹⁶ Walker Ranginui, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou – Struggle Without End*, Penguin Books (N.Z.) Ltd., Auckland, 1990. P. 12

be easily understood by the hearers of the story. The root foundation of all things were implanted and conceived in essentially natural terms by mating and procreation.

3. HUMAN LIMITATION – The human condition aspect.

Turner's second aspect of primal religion speaks of some sense of restriction on human beings in that the human predicament needed to be liberated or remodelled or both. So humans needed some thing or someone to intervene, some power from beyond. The myth stories of the Maori tell how all this dynamism and phenomenology established limits in human existence. This includes the binary code of two opposites, like good and evil, tapu and noa, birth and death, mana and whakama and mauri and mate. It is in a sense the re-establishment of that which is common on earth to humans which, according to Pratt, *"allows for rituals of purification that return a disorientated or transgressed state to its normal boundaries of order and propriety"*¹⁷

In time, with their procreative powers, numerous children were born of the primeval parents all male, living in dark imprisoned quarters. Best listed seventy names, but only six are prominent in the Te Rangikaheke version. (The birth of the seventy sons, depict a number that makes up a war party, which continued in the formation of the Maori Battalion of the World War 11, known as "Te Hoko Whitu a Tu" (The Seventy of Tu).) The six well known sons, whose names describe the major elements of the natural world, are as follows. Tanemahuta, represents the trees and plants and all living creatures of the forest, as one who fertilises; Tumatauenga, whose name is sometimes shortened to 'Tu', personifies the warring spirit of man; Tangaroa, whose portfolio covers the Fisheries department; Tawhirimatea, ancestor of all elements in the heavens

¹⁷ Pratt:1993, p. 28

affecting weather; Rongomatane, originator of the kumara, and therefore of all cultivated food, and finally, Haumiatiketike, whose authority covered the area of all uncultivated food, like pikopiko (young fern shoot), aruhe (edible fern root).

The sons, exasperated by their cramped quarters, held a war council and after long and lengthy discussions, dismissed the suggestion made by Tumatauenga to kill their parents but agreed to the wisdom of Tane who put forward the idea of separating their parents, to drive away darkness and ignorance. Only Tawhiri was the unhappy one but he kept his peace. Meanwhile, the others began their assault on their parents. One by one the sons attacked, trying to force their reluctant parents apart but to no avail. Even the mightiest among them, Tumatauenga, slashed away at the sinews joining them causing blood to flow, *'giving rise to ochre, or red clay, the sacred colour'*, failed. It was not until Tane lying on his back and using his feet, while the brothers chanted a ritual, entreating their parents to let them go, that he was able to push Rangi upwards. The sons finally succeeded in their quest for light and freedom. Thus it was, that Tane also became known as Tane-te-toko-o-te-rangi, (Tane the prop up of the heavens). This symbolism is portrayed in the forest of Tane as the massive totara and kauri trees soaring into the skies, seemingly acting as props. The coming of light announced the third state of existence for the Maori, the world of knowledge and growth, the world of human beings, Te Ao Marama (World of light).

The formation of nature had begun and the elements were personalised and given names. These were known by Maori as 'Nga Atua', translated as 'gods'. They are not to be likened to the Greek or Roman gods for they are more like abstract deities, gods out

there interacting only when required. Whereas, 'Nga Atua', are in fact nature itself 'involved in and part of the created order in a much more dynamic relationship'.¹⁸

This view by Maori is based on the concept that the environment and the world interact, and are not only inter-related but also interdependent on one another and are of the same lineage, that is, from the Rangi and Papa, Sky and Earth. James Irwin noted that Maori people do not accept the concept of a closed universe, that is, the natural universe contains the whole of reality and therefore nothing can intrude or impinge upon it, therefore there is no such thing as spirit. *"Instead Maori world view binds Maori society together as a functional whole and illustrates the complexity of humankind's relationship to the sacred and the secular worlds. Maori people do not see the sacred and secular as separated but as parts of the whole. Theirs is a holistic view of life. We Europeans may still tend to see human beings as made up of the body, mind and spirit as though these are separate entities which could be dealt with separately. It is better, however, to see these three related as are the sides of a triangle. The moment we take one away we cease to have a triangle, we loose the concept of the wholeness."*¹⁹

The sense of belonging as part of creation is a reaffirmation of the Maori identity. Whakapapa (genealogy) is therefore a crucial part of the Maori world. Everyone and everything is connected in some way, thus the personification of the elements around them and as noted above are referred to as 'atua' and have been translated as 'gods'. William's dictionary translates this word 'atua' as God, demon, supernatural being, ghost. All these words describe a particular aspect of a life force from the realm of the spiritual world. Michael Shirres rightly points out, "...but they are not gods. These 'atua'

¹⁸ Davidson : 1991, p. 3

¹⁹ Irwin James, *An Introduction to Maori Religion*, Australian Association for the Study of Religions at the South Australian College of Advanced Education – Stuart Campus, Bedford Park, South Australia, 1984, p. 5.

are created. They are the children of Rangi and Papa, who themselves are created out of the nothingness. It would be just as wrong to refer to them as gods as it would be to refer to the angels and saints of our European Christian tradition as gods. I speak of them, therefore, as created spiritual powers. In some ways they resemble the angels of the Jewish and Christian traditions."²⁰

In one sense, Maori do see 'atua' as spiritual powers but in another sense they are not so, as these 'atua' are looked on as kith and kin, descendants from the same source, from Rangi, the spiritual, tapu (sacred), and from Papa, the physical, noa (common) and human, denoting an intimate relationship. The personification, that is by giving the elements personal names, emphasises and strengthens this point, as Margaret Orbell notes that, *'humans and other life forms are bound by the indissoluble ties of kinship'*²¹

According to Te Rangi Kaheke, the separation was thought of as the first sin or 'crime' as translated by Alpers²². Rangi Walker sees the arrival of light bearing knowledge of good and evil. This can be seen as a parallel to the biblical tree of knowledge and its forbidden fruit. The binary code of two opposites like good and evil is one of the central themes underlying Maori mythology which the sons played out in the separation of their parents.²³ However, in Maori myths, there is no definite separation between what is good and, evil but both edicts are totally involved. At times Nga Atua behave in what may be considered as 'good' and exemplary ways, like Rangi and Papa wished nothing but warmth and careful nourishment of their sons, but they were totally oblivious to their

²⁰ Shirres Michael P., *Te Tangata – The Human Person*, Published by Accent Publications, Auckland, New Zealand, 1997; p. 20.

²¹ Orbell Margaret, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Maori Myth and Legend*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 1995; p. 11.

²² Alpers 1964: p. 18.

²³ Walker: 1990 p. 12.

sons' need for room and light to grow. Then there were deeds which were morally wrong or hurtful to others and produced positive results as well as misery and grief, as with the brutal severance of Rangi and Papa which produced light and knowledge necessary for the growth of their offspring to produce and bear fruit. The primal pair were quite happy with their lot but did not seem to care too much for their children's welfare in their cramped quarters. One could explain that their main concern was for their children's safety and well being, as all caring parents aspire to do. The children's needs and wants were not part of their equations. But then, the children took matters into their own hands and forced them apart, cutting the apron strings, so to speak, from their parents and thus providing them the freedom to choose their own pathway through life. However, Rangi and Papa, separated for all eternity, grieve for one another ceaselessly and their sorrow takes visible form in the rains that fall from the sky, while the mist that rises from the earth becomes a token of Papa's longing for her mate.

For the Maori, this was a more natural and earthly beginning, which occurred by acts of procreation, were acceptable. For the Hebrews it was the power of the word, a conscious thought, "*Then God said, "Let there be light ... it was so. Let the waters under the sky be gathered together into one place and let the dry land appear ... it was so."*²⁴ For Maori the myth stories explain the opposition and struggle for existence in a hostile environment and the philosophy for the continuing conflict among human beings to this day.

²⁴ Metzger Bruce M, Murphy, Roland E. (ed). *New Revised Standard Version, The Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrapha*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1989; p. 2.

4. HUMANITY NOT ALONE – the aspect of the ‘Transcendent Other’

In this section Turner recognises the primal religious perspective of the other world full of powerful spiritual beings which are personalised and function in and on earth. Turner writes, *‘Primal peoples live in a personalised universe. One asks not what caused this or that, but who did it. Nevertheless, in essence, it is this realm whereby humans, religiously speaking, believe themselves to be not alone in the universe. Also, and perhaps more significantly, it is this realm that provides the meanings and models for human needs and activities through the paradigms and parables that are given in the stories and legends about the transcendent reality.’*²⁵

For Maori, according to Pratt, “ *the aspect of Transcendent Otherness experienced as a present reality, is found in the emergence of the gods which heralds classical Maori religion.....the realm of the Other is diverse and complex yet at the same time is an ordered whole: the pattern is not haphazard or chaotic.*”²⁶

Continuing with the Maori genesis story, we recall how Tawhiri, who kept his peace during the discussions regarding their parents, finally expressed his opposition. When Tane succeeded in separating their parents Tawhiri left earth in anger, as he was jealous of Tane’s achievement, and he decided to live with their father Rangi. Tawhiri who vowed to get even, thus introducing the theme of utu (revenge). Tawhiri, with his ravaging hurricanes, first decimated and flattened Tane. Then he chased Tangaroa across the oceans who had fathered Punga and Punga had begat Ika Tere, the father of fish, and Tu Te Wanawana, father of lizards and reptiles. A dispute arose between them as to the

²⁵ Pratt: 1993: p. 22

²⁶ ibid p. 28.

safest place to be. Some went on land and were helped by Tane, others sought safety in the sea. Buck surmised that this is how Maori described the evolutionary theory of how fish and reptiles came from a common ancestor, and how they were divided into their different worlds. In addition, Tangaroa was so incensed with those who defected inland to seek shelter that he continues battling with Tane by eating away the foreshore and headlands.

Tawhiri then turned on his most peaceful brothers, Haumia and Rongo, but his plans were thwarted by their mother Papa who hid them in her bosom. Tawhiri's last battle was with Tumatauenga, Minister of War, who withstood everything that Tawhiri threw at him. Tawhiri, with his strength sapped, returned home to Rangi to recuperate for another day. And so the battle between man and storms continues to this day. Neither of them willing to give up.

When Tawhiri left after the battle, Tumatauenga became angry with his brothers because they deserted him in his hour of need. So he in turn attacked them. He knew the offspring of Tane were numerous and multiplying at a rapid rate, and so he first made snares from Tane's trees and vines and caught the birds and animals, the children of Tane, and ate them. Next Tu made nets from Tane's flax and caught Tangaroa's offspring, the lizards and fish. Then he took the kumara and taro from Rongo, and pikopiko and fern root from Haumia. By cooking and eating the offspring of his brothers, Tumatauenga had lifted the tapu and had made them become common (desanctified). Thus, the ritual of not allowing common things to come in contact with any place or anything regarded as tapu (sacred), until a hakari (feast) has been held is still adhered to. This love feast, which is held after a 'takahi whare' (house blessing) or a

tangihanga (funeral) is the ritual which de-sanctifies the sacred moment and returns everything to normality. The act of Tumatauenga belittling his brothers' children projected the spirit of man to a position of a kaitiaki, a caretaker of the ecological world. But man is still to come because the female element has not yet been found. This was a task for Tane the creator.

In the war of the sons no one turns out unquestionably superior or indestructible. Three personalities are more prominent in the story than the others, Tane, Tawhiri and Tumatauenga. Each one displays their power and significance in some way, but each is unable to complete other assignments. Tane and Tu both triumphed where others came to grief. Tane in separating Rangi and Papa, Tu in defying Tawhiri, but Tane is devastated by both Tawhiri and Tu. Tu fails in his attempt to separate their parents and does not win over Tawhiri. Tawhiri pursues his brothers, Haumia and Rongo, but fails to prevent them separating Rangi and Papa, and he cannot overpower Tu. Such is the world of the Maori gods, nothing is ever perfect, forever impaired, as it is for humans.

The revenge of Tu on his brothers for not helping him in his battle against Tawhiri justifies man's superior position over nature. Tu degraded his brothers Tane and Tangaroa by turning them to food and common use. Rangi Walker argues that this action of Tu introduces a basic dichotomy of tapu and noa. Tapu stems from the gods. The act of Tu eating his brothers' offspring, and turning them into artefacts, he made them common, an act supporting the cultural significance of the ritual of cannibalism. It is the ultimate debasement of a defeated enemy.²⁷

²⁷ Walker: 1990; p. 13.

5. RELATIONS WITH TRANSCENDENT POWERS – The aspect of necessary interaction with the other that is yet present.

Turner calls this having the right relationship with the Transcendent Other, which is obtained through saying the right prayers, doing the right thing, or other appropriate practice, means that one can share the powers and protection of the transcendent realm.²⁸ For Maori there is no other way but to interact with the Transcendent Other in their many spiritual entities. Everything in nature has a 'mauri', a life principle, protecting vitality, like a variety of talisman extending to the highest heaven, through to the departmental gods and down to the local deities. The karakia, supplications, entreatments or the prayers are directed to the minister-in-charge of that particular portfolio in order to affirm that relationship and keep the life-line open.

With the physical world of the Maori diffused throughout with the spiritual, it is not so surprising that for Maori there are karakia and intercessions to the Transcendent Powers for every conceivable occasion and most essential in all aspects of life. Whether its for the planting or cutting down of trees, planting kumara (sweet potato), blessing of buildings, boats or groups of people or individuals, it covers all activities within the Maori society whether at play, work, meditation, war or death. There are prayers to the elements, the land, sea and sky as well as prayers for cursing and for counter cursing.

The first mention of karakia (intercessions) by Te Rangikaheke in the story of Rangi and Papa comes after Tumatauenga had de-sanctified his brothers' children. The karakia that Te Rangikaheke wrote was to pacify and ensure a bountiful harvest for the future. There

²⁸ Pratt, 1993: p.22

were also karakia directed at Tawhiri and Rangi in the hope of obtaining good weather for the production of all provisions. Finally, Tumatauenga had karakia for individual needs either in sickness or health, for baptism, for strength and victory in war and for all man's belongings.²⁹

Karakia, according to Buck, is a means of communicating orally (which is either said or intoned) mainly in a formula of words which have been described in English as, chants, spells, enchantments, witchery, magic, exorcism or incantation.³⁰ Which description is appropriate depends largely on the context in which the karakia is used. For instance, karakia is used to describe worship, Karakia Mo Te Ata (Morning Worship), which according to Williams Dictionary, refers to 'public Worship, is of course, modern.'

Further, James Irwin, pointed out that the *'Classical Maori religious structures kept the people in harmony with the universe as they apprehend it, gave them protection from supernatural dangers, gave means to circumvent disasters that are normally beyond the control of natural man, provided access to supernatural power, maintained access with the sacred and provided the means to deal with ritual pollution caused by breaching religious sanctions, whether deliberate or accidental.'*³¹

So it is one's behaviour and actions that transcends the spiritual understanding of their world. For example, the social recognition of Maui was completed by his father, Makeatutara, when he performed the tohi ritual (baptism). The act legitimated Maui and reconciled him to his father. The mistake in the ritual by Makeatutara is the Maori's rationale for the loss of immortality. Maui's father knew his son would die, but the

²⁹ Alpers, p. 24.

³⁰ Buck, p. 489

incident is more than this. It is a message emphasising the importance of reciting word perfect in karakia, whakapapa and waiata. The penalty for failure is misfortune and/or death. Karakia during the pre-European period, had to be word perfect, for it was believed that disaster would come upon the incantor who, unintentionally or not, made a mistake.

6. THE AFTER LIFE – The aspect of transcending finite limitations.

This feature of Turner's aspect in primal religion considers the relationship with the transcendent realm that goes beyond death and which is not seen as the end. In the context of primal societies there is a degree of high stress placed on ancestors as the 'living dead'. They remain united in affection and in mutual obligation with the 'living living.' The afterlife can be seen as a source of hope and life in the future where personal identity and corporate belonging are assured.³²

The world view of the classical Maori, in respect to the realm of the dead, is found in both the mythical story of Hinenuitepo (guardian of the underworld), the physical and in the realm of Rangi, the Spiritual, as when speakers on the Marae farewell the dead, 'kua wheturangihia'. The departed has become a new star in the heavens. In addition is the belief of the spirits making their way to the most northern tip of the Ika-a-Maui (North Island) and departing from there to the Maori mythical home of Hawaikinui (Great Hawaiki), Hawaikiroa (Long Hawaiki), Hawaiki pamamao (Far distant Hawaiki). In conjunction with this, is the belief of the spirit returning to Hinenuitepo, both of which refer to the spiritual realm. These doctrines are contained in the stories of Tane the

³¹ Irwin, p. 17

³² Pratt, p. 32

fertiliser. There are so many different narratives of Tane, depicted as the creator of trees, birds, insects, lizards, mountains and rocks that one can become quite lost in the labyrinth of information creating confusion and extolling contradictions. However, there is no doubt as to the creative powers of Tane. In his search for the female element by which to produce humankind he carried out some experiments with various objects which produced trees of the forest and, because of this, he was given the name Tane Mahuta or Tane te Waotu, (Tane of the standing forest).³³ There are also different versions as to how Tane came to produce the first woman. In the well known one (at least by this writer), frustrated with his experiments, he finally decided to seek advice from Rangi his father. Tane was told that the 'heavens' consist of the 'life principle of the spirit' (Te Ira Atua), while the 'life principles of mortals' (Te Ira Tangata), are contained below on earth, with Papatuanuku. Maori philosophy designates to earth those beings that are temporary and subject to death while the realm of above, is for those who are permanent, the immortal and spiritual. This view strengthens the notion that the male is more 'tapu' (sacred), and the female 'noa'-(common). Generally, all things pertaining to 'spiritual' are tapu while those pertaining to 'earth' are 'noa' – common. While this dualism pervades Maori world order, it is imperative that humans must be compounded of both elements to be whole. Tane, the immortal male, provides the spiritual substance of people, but it is incomplete without the earthly substance. Thus people, right from the beginning, contain the two opposite principles derived from sky and earth. The male and female elements are both necessary as complementary opposites. One cannot exist without the other.

³³ Buck, p. 450

With his new found knowledge, Tane created his mate, Hineahuone – Earth formed Maiden - from Papatuanuku red earth, ‘red with the blood of the sinews that once joined Rangi and Papa’³⁴ The first born was Hinetitama – the Dawn Maid by Tane’s incestuous act. Walker and Alpers suggest that this was inevitable in order for the species to be established. Tane recognised the folly of his action in taking his daughter to wife, as morally wrong. When he was confronted by Hinetitama he avoided answering the question of who her father was. Instead he replied, “*Ask the post of the house.*”. However, Hinetitama’s reaction to the act of incest was immediate and immense, as noted by Alpers, which led her to her act of atonement *which ‘was to last for all eternity and to benefit all mankind.’*³⁵ The story not only confirms the taboo of incest but also suggests that it was instinctive and built into human nature from the beginning. By renouncing her motherhood in this world, the atonement by Hinetitama is not seen as a penalty by the Maori. As Alpers points out, the Maori sees that just as death without birth would be disastrous for man, so also would birth be without death. So by changing her role to become Hinenuitepo- the Great mother-guardian of the world below, she becomes a benevolent and not a malevolent figure. Hers is the door through which all lives begin and hers is the realm for which they leave it.³⁶ However, in this realm of ‘Nga Atua’, death has not yet come. Not until the arrival of the demi god Maui who went out to try and obtain for man life immortal.

³⁴ Alpers, p. 23

³⁵ *ibid* p. 237

³⁶ *ibid* p. 238

7. THE PHYSICAL WORLD AS A SACRMENTAL VEHICLE OF THE SPIRITUAL WORLD. – The aspect of necessary interconnectedness of the seen and unseen realms.

This sixth feature of Turner's analysis refers to the primal perspective of a holistic outlook on life where there is no distinct division between the physical and the spiritual worlds. Each world accepts and shares the other. The visible mediate the presence of the invisible. There is no disconnection between the two worlds but rather the necessity for interconnectedness.

For the Maori the whole world order is seen as an interconnectedness in life by Genealogy, showing who they were, where they came from and where they are going. Pratt points out that *'there are two fundamental religious issues which are dealt with in a people's world-view: that of corporate and individual identity, and that of the right, or appropriate context for meaning in life.'* *The question of identity 'is determined by the way personal and societal actions and behaviours are related, in terms of the world view, to the universal order of things: the setting for relationships and responsibility.'*³⁷

These aspects are well illustrated in the adventures of Maui. Maui, the demigod, was a hero who attains greatness against all odds. His stories are shared throughout the whole of Polynesia and also the Islands of Micronesia. Maui is described by Joseph Cambell as *'roughly a counter part of Hercules in a sense...their Odysseus and in addition the Maori Prometheus, for controlling fire and founder of his peoples' art.'*³⁸

³⁷ Pratt, p. 28.

³⁸ Alpers 1964, p.24

By deceitful means and ignoring rules, by knowing the right people and having the right magic, Maui was able to evade certain disasters and become an archetype in Maori society, especially to the youngest siblings. Maui was the last born, a potiki, which holds a low status amongst the family. Further, he was an aborted foetus near the sea, which gave rise to Maori belief that anyone born near the sea indicated that his spirit would be impish and gremlin like, a mischievous troublemaker. Maui was raised by his forefather Tamanui-ki-te-rangi (Great man from the sky), who found him almost drowned, but by holding him over a smoky fire, revived him. This shows a customary way of restoring drowned people to life.

When Maui went back to his mother to live, she was not certain of his identity and it would have been a breach of etiquette to ask directly who he was. Instead she used the classic ploy of asking him the direction which he hailed from, whether from the North, South, East or West. Thus it is also socially acceptable to ask where one comes from, but never ask directly, "What is your name?" Once territorial and tribal origins are established it is relatively easy to identify the person. Once Maui was received into the family he became his mother's pet, creating jealousy amongst his brothers. In the nuclear family, there was not only affection and mutual help but also, right at the beginning of time, there was division and self-interest. Children opposed and fought each other, and their parents, and went their separate ways. The myth stories depicted ambivalent relationships, with jealousy lurking just below the surface of friendliness, frequently exploding in assault and treachery as in the case between the sons of Rangi and Papa and Maui and his brothers. Maui's search for his father is a common theme in Maori myth and tradition. Rangiteaorere of Te Arawa / Tuhoe descent, and Tamainupo of Waikato are two examples of famous fighting chiefs in traditional times who were

reunited with their fathers after they had reached manhood. In each case, like Maui, the fathers performed the 'tohi' (Baptismal) ritual, a public performance signifying their recognition and acceptance of their sons. Thus the identity and the setting of relationship and responsibility is established in a way that is personal and with a social action as was set out in the context for meaning in life. Unfortunately for mankind, Makeatutara, Maui's father, made a mistake, omitting a portion of the prayer as he performed the ritual. The outcome of this was that his son Maui would die in his attempt to overcome Hinenuitepo and conquer death. Henceforth all of mankind would have to follow suit.

The story of Maui wrestling knowledge from his ancestress Mahuika and Mururangawhenua explains why he had to use all his cunning and deceit to outwit them and receive their gifts of fire and the sacred jawbone giving him power to perform great deeds to help mankind. The premise behind these stories is that knowledge and intelligence cannot be gained by simple and straight forward means, but by daring and self-confidence on the one hand and cleverness and trickery on the other. Maui used his grandmother's jawbone to beat the sun into submission thus giving mankind a full day for work and the night for entertainment. He shaped a hook to fish up the North Island of Aotearoa, shaped like a stingray, which became known as Te Ika-a-Maui (The Fish of Maui). Foremost in Maori tradition is the ritual of karakia, the offering of thanks and a portion of the catch to the gods, before partaking of food. The brothers' act of sacrilege explained the reason why Aotearoa is so rough and mountainous.

There are other stories of Maui each with an explanation of how things are in this world and so we come to his final adventure as he encountered Hinenuitepo, The Great Maiden of the Night. He had hoped to reverse the process of birth by entering Hinenuitepo via

her womb and emerge through her mouth. Regrettably, Maui's comical antics were too much for his friend the fantail who just could not refrain from laughing, twittering and frolicking about, waking Hinenuitepo in the process, who instinctively brought her legs together and Maui, only halfway through, was crushed dead. Through his death Maui opened the gateway for all mankind to follow. It was from Mother Earth that the first woman was formed by Rangi. She was named Hineahuone, Sand-form Maiden. Through this marriage spiritual and matter combined producing mankind in the form of Hinetitama the Dawn Maiden. Abused by Tane and again by Maui, man's pathway to immortality was destined to end. For Maori, death cannot be avoided but the idea of returning to Mother Earth, 'he puehu ki te puehu' dust to dust, and the spiritual returning to the heavens to become a star and live forever with Rangi, the cycle of the spirit and matter is completed.

In summary, Maori myths are dramatic stories orally passed down from generation to generation and taken as if true. Although recognisably stories, they provide Maori with information about their world, their genesis, guiding them to their understanding of where they come from, who they are and where they are going. The dynamism of the relationship between Maori and the environment using the father and mother imagery for creation and personalising their world to interact and interrelate and their interdependence on one another as emerging from the one source, was crucial to the understanding of their world. This sense of belonging reaffirms for Maori their holistic outlook to life, that the spirit and matter are one and the same substance originates from the one source. Despite this they were realist in the sense that they realised the restrictions on human beings and that there is a constant struggle against hostile forces, against the physical environment and against one another. To succeed in this struggle

some sort of special power is needed. This power (mana) is essentially spiritual power, obtained from the spiritual world. This mana is inherited from the gods, thus the importance placed on genealogy. On the other hand it has to be won and maintained by daring and propitiation and is never permanent. Mana has to be continually displayed and developed and it cannot be allowed to weaken. Mana is affiliated with the quest of utu (revenge) To put aside abuse or affront without revenge, lessens one's power. Tumatuaenga displayed his superiority over his brothers by cooking and eating the offspring of his brothers.

The powerful spiritual beings of the other world were personalised and they provided the rules and regulations for Maori society as portrayed in their stories. The myths also helped to explain the reasons of the natural phenomena in this world. The reasons for the disputes between the sons, and the end results, explain why the fish and reptiles went their different ways, and why the seas of Tangaroa continue to encroach the land of Tane on the beaches and headlands, and how Tumatauenga becomes the caretaker of the environment.

Turner's fourth aspect of maintaining the right relationship and power is dependent on keeping the right connections and having the correct formula of words in a karakia. For Maori society, its dependency on oral tradition is vital and of such great importance for its survival, that a mistake in the recital of a karakia spells disaster. Life after death is not seen by Maori as being divided into heaven and hell, but is as a continuous process of meeting up with those who have gone before, where individuality and communal living are finally established, albeit in a spiritual realm. It is also seen as a returning of mankind to its origin, where it all began. The two parts of man return to the natural

elements. Te Ira Atua (Life principles of the spirit), return to Rangi (Sky Father), depicted in a new born star; and Te Ira Tangata (Life principle of mortals) return to Mother Earth, where Hinenuitepo (Sentinel of the night) await the return of her children.

The whole of life for the Maori was permeated by a spiritual presence to the extent that a tohunga (specialist) for karakia (prayers) was appointed for every conceivable aspect of life to ensure that a direct line of communication is always open to the correct channels. As Peter Buck states, *'Religion was so interwoven with social and material matters that the priests were absolutely necessary to the proper functioning of Maori society.'*³⁹

Finally, as Pratt correctly points out, before the arrival of the European, Maori had *'no national religion as such and there was no universal system of worship. Except for 'tuahu' - simple shrines located in secluded spots - there was marked absence of shrines and temples that would readily identify religious activity. Rather, as the Marae..... was the centre of Maori life there was no need to separate out a sacred space or building to attend to that part of life.'*⁴⁰ The Marae was and still is the turangawaewae (a place of standing) of the tribe, the sacred ground of each hapu (clan), where formal sacramental acts continue to be maintained and performed. This is dealt with in part three.

³⁹ Buck, p. 467

⁴⁰ Pratt, p. 29

PART 2 CLOSE ENCOUNTER WITH CHRISTIANITY

1. EARLY PAKEHA ENCOUNTER

This section is an endeavour to give some insights on the impact of Christianity on the Maori and their world, the interaction of the gospel and cultures which Alan Davidson described as, 'both complex and dynamic.' The arrival of another culture with its superior technology had some powerful effects and consequences which brought about dramatic changes for the Maori. The question of when Aotearoa was inhabited by the Maori has been in dispute for quite some time and probably will continue for some time to come, that is until some more substantial archaeological evidence can be uncovered. What has been generally accepted is that Maori settled Aotearoa somewhere between 500 and 1100 C.E. giving a middle date of about 850 C.E.. The discovery of Aotearoa by the first Pakeha was some 800 years later in 1642 by a Dutchman, Abel Tasman. This first encounter with Maori was disastrous. Blowing on a horn to announce their arrival, four of the crew were killed as they attempted to land on shore in a small boat. Tasman fired his guns upon the aggressors who got away and, weighing anchor, he left the area without provisions, naming the area Murderous Bay.

Further up north on the West Coast of the North Island he made another attempt to land for provisions but was again put to flight by the indigenous people. His report of his short visit and his partial map of Novo Zeelandia (New Zealand),⁴¹ became common knowledge to European explorers and may have discouraged further visits, for the next visit by a Pakeha did not take place until 127 years later. This was

⁴¹ Bassett et al ; *The Story of New Zealand*, (1985, p 19)

James Cook, an Englishman who arrived in 1769 and landed at what is now known as Gisborne. Like that of his predecessor Cook's landing was marked by violent encounter which resulted in six Maori been killed.⁴² Without acquiring provisions for his ship, Cook left and named it Poverty Bay. Sailing further south Cook tried to barter for food with some natives in their canoes. But was again foiled when a young Tahitian lad, who was on board the ship, was snatched by some Maori in a canoe whereupon Cook retaliated by shooting at the would be kidnappers killing several in the process. In the commotion the young lad managed to escape and was plucked out of the sea by the crew. Cook named the area Kidnappers Bay.

There were other close violent clashes between Maori and Pakeha. In 1769 with the Frenchman Jean F.M. de Surville; with Marc Joseph Marion du Fresne in 1772; and the killing of the crew of the Boyd and its burning in 1809. While these confrontation were few and far between, never-the-less, such encounters created fear and misunderstanding between the two peoples. Both sides had tradition and protocol to follow, the blowing of the horn to announce arrival, salute by gunfire of the Pakeha and on the other, the portrayal of the fierce haka and pukana and the gesturing of the hand held 'mere' (club) and taiaha (hand staff), intended to warn off would be attackers, rather than a preparation for a frontal attack by Maori. Both sides came from a different world view, and with different language and culture, who was to know what was taking place? With no knowledge of the language and lack of cultural sensitivity on both sides a first encounter was set for a violent clash.

⁴² Davidson (1991, p 5)

After Cook reported his first visit other explorers from France, America, Norway, and Spain became more frequent especially the sealers, whalers and trades-people in flax and timber. Maori tribes on coastal shores with favourable ports and areas suitable for ships became suppliers of food, flax, timber and women in exchange for muskets, blankets, rum and other goods. Based on this mutual interdependence, cultural exchange began based on basic needs. The interchanges were not always successful as misunderstanding and ignorance continued, but contact with different cultures and with new technology opened up new horizons for the Maori. These strange visitors brought unusual animals, peculiar food as noted by Te Horeta Taniwha, who wrote many years later recalling his experiences as a child. *“Some of this food was very hard, but it was sweet. Some of our old people said it was pungapunga (pumice stone- in fact it was ship’s biscuit)) from the land from which these goblins came. They gave us some fat food (dried beef), which the old people of our tribe said was the flesh of whales; but the saltiness of this food nipped out throats, and we did not care for such food.”*

Then there were their, *“magic walking sticks...when pointed at the birds, and in a short time thunder was heard to crash and a flash of lightening was seen, and a shag fell from the trees; and we children were terrified, and fled, and rushed into the forest, and left the goblins all alone.”*⁴³

As they became more accustomed to one another they were able to amuse one another with their ignorance as Te Horeta recollected, *“as we could not understand them we laughed, and they laughed also.....we gave our mats for their mats, to which some of our warriors said ‘ka pai’ (good), which words were repeated by the goblins, at which we laughed, and were joined in the laugh by the goblins.”*⁴⁴

⁴³ Basset et al, (1985, p.22)

⁴⁴ Belich, *Making Peoples* (1996, p 123)

Cook himself gave a nail to Te Horeta. He treasured this nail finding it of great use as a point for his spear, making holes in wood. Unfortunately his canoe capsized at sea and “*..my god was lost to me.*”⁴⁵

Not all gifts introduced by the ‘goblins’ were good and godlike but more akin to the devil, alcohol brought its own difficulties raising new social problems. The introduction of contagious diseases took its toll as Maori were not immune to them. This unseen killer came about, according to Maori, because some tapu (sacred ritual) was breached. For Maori, death was caused by the withdrawal of protection by spiritual beings for their transgressions.

Warfare amongst Maori was a form of social control which was constantly activated by chiefs trying to maintain and protect their mana over their clan, land and provisions. Lost mana had to be restored to the clan by utu (retribution) of some kind which normally meant a battle with the offenders. The arrival of the musket brought great changes in the outcome as larger number of people were exterminated, more slaves to be had and some tribes even became displaced.

The early encounters were sometimes violent but as time progressed each culture began to use one another in exchange for what was required in their societies to control and remedy their basic needs for survival. Conflict was unavoidable as they unintentionally broke each other’s protocol and law. The lively intercourse between the two races brought about a new generation of lighter complexioned Maori who showed their adaptability to the pressures of the new world as they interacted with the new comers.

⁴⁵ Bassett et al, (1985, p.23)

2. THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY – TE HAHI MIHINARE

This was then the scene when the next lot of newcomers, the Missionaries, arrived who were to have a '*greater and more lasting impact*.'⁴⁶

It is generally accepted that the watershed for the history of gospel and culture to hit the shores of Aotearoa New Zealand began on Christmas Day in 1814 when Samuel Marsden, Anglican chaplain to The New South Wales colony in Australia, preached at Oihi Bay in the Bay of Islands. Marsden wrote:

*"On Sunday morning, when I was upon deck, I saw the English flag flying, which was a pleasing sight in New Zealand. I considered it as the signal and the dawn of civilization, liberty, and religion, in that dark and benighted land. I never viewed the British Colours with more gratification; and flattered myself they would never be removed, till the Natives of that island enjoyed all the happiness of British Subjects. ".....It being Christmas Day, I preached from the Second Chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, and tenth verse – 'Behold! I bring you glad tidings of great joy, &c.' The Natives told Duaterra (Tuatara) that they could not understand what I meant. He replied, that they were not to mind that now, for they would understand by and bye; and that he would explain my meaning as far as he could."*⁴⁷

Clearly this extract reflects Marsden's close association between his Christian commitment and his own English identity. From the beginning of Christian involvement in Aotearoa New Zealand, gospel and culture were totally intertwined. One only has to note the pleasure with which Marsden viewed the British Colours flying in New Zealand as marking the '*dawn of civilization, liberty and religion*', and how much he looked forward to the Natives becoming '*British Subjects*' to illustrate the point.

⁴⁶ Salmond Anne, *Hui – A Study of Maori Ceremonial Gatherings*, 1975, p. 19.

⁴⁷ Davidson & Lincham, *Transplanted Christianity*, 1989, p28

Marsden has been described as the 'apostle to New Zealand',⁴⁸ He was to some historians an ambiguous figure with a reputation for being a harsh, unforgiving magistrate in Australia, where he was also a successful entrepreneur and farmer, but he was also committed to the spread of Christianity, supporting the pioneering work of the London Missionary Society in the Pacific and making attempts, all be it unsuccessful, to evangelise Aborigines in Australia. He was a product of the eighteenth century Evangelical Revivals, and belonged to the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.). His uncritical identification of Christianity with British civilisation and national identity reflected the then Evangelical world-view. The C.M.S. emerged out of evangelical Protestant Anglicanism following the Methodist split from the Anglicans in 1795. The evangelical branch of the church is generally known as the 'Low Church', to differentiate it from the 'High Church'. The High Church follows practices more akin to the Catholic tradition of rituals, bells, incense, crosses, candles and the wearing of richly embroidered apparel. The 'Low Church' stressed the simplicity of worship with no crucifixes, candles or surplices. It emphasised the personal relationship with Jesus and evangelicals were always conscious of the devil close by leading them into sin. The evangelicals were closely interwoven with the humanitarian movement which preached against the 'white man's burden', the practice of slavery, which was eventually abolished.

There was also the view of patronising other societies, of attacking their religious worldview to replace it with their own. The discovery of the Pacific, with its many populated Islands of 'heathens,' gave an opportunity to carry out their mission of

⁴⁸ Booth (ed) *For All The Saints*, 1996; p.157

civilising and conversion. The C.M.S. (Anglicans) and the W.M.S. (Wesley Missionary Society, Methodists) began operations in the Pacific in 1795.

One of the founders of the C.M.S. was Henry Venn. His enlightened philosophy of missionary activity contained principles which have become known as the Three-Self Movement, and have great significance in the origins of the Maori Church. These are, Self Determination, spelling out the autonomy of the church in its new environment; Self-Propagation, giving priority to self-development, indigenous ministry and indigenous evangelism, and Self-Supporting.⁴⁹ We will see why these noble principles of Venn was not followed through in the fourth part of this paper.

It was to Parramatta that some visiting Maori from New Zealand ventured soon after Marsden's arrival. He made them welcome and provided them with accommodation, and they visited him in his new Church of St John at Parramatta. These visitors impressed him and he determined to find some means of benefiting them with the arts of civilisation and the good news of the gospel. In 1807 Marsden went back to England to persuade the Church Missionary Society (CMS), to look to New Zealand as one of its early areas for missionary endeavour. "*Nothing, in my opinion*", he argued, "*can pave the way for the introduction of the gospel, but civilization.*"⁵⁰ He obtained their permission and returned to Australia in 1809 with William Hall and John King and their families on the ship "Ann".

⁴⁹ Bicultural Commission, 1984, p.3

⁵⁰ Davidson & Lineham, 1989, p.26

3. RUATARA – “The Pathway for the Gospel”

The arrival of Christianity was not a one-sided Pakeha affair. Marsden mentions Ruatara explaining to Maori that they would eventually know what Marsden was talking about. Recently, in 1990, during the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the arrival of the Gospel in Aotearoa, The Reverend R.E. Marsden, a descendant of Samuel Marsden, said of Ruatara, *“If there hadn’t been a Ruatara, there wouldn’t have been a Marsden.”*⁵¹ Ruatara was a Ngapuhi Chief of Ngati Rahiri and Ngati Tautahi hapu on his father’s side Te Aweawe, and on his mother’s side, Tauramoko, was of Ngati Rahiri and Ngati Hineira. Like many young Maori men at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Ruatara spent many years working on whaling ships in the South Pacific. Sometimes they were treated fairly by the captains of the ships and at times they were abused.

Marsden first met Ruatara in Australia at his home in 1805 and now in 1809, with his small envoy of missionaries returning from England on board the “Ann”, he finds Ruatara in a pitiful state. Ruatara had made a journey to England in the hope of seeing King George the Third. He was badly treated and was vomiting blood from the beatings he had received while being deported back to Australia. Marsden befriended him and during the voyage began to learn Maori. At Parramatta Marsden looked after Ruatara and helped him gain knowledge of agriculture. Marsden noted:

‘During the time he remained with me he laboured early and late to obtain knowledge and, particularly, to make him acquainted with practical agriculture.... He was anxious

⁵¹ Patterson John (ed) *For All the Saints*, 1980, p.140

*that his country should reap the advantage of which he knew it was capable, by the cultivation of the soil on waste lands, and was full convinced that the wealth and happiness of a country depended greatly on the produce of its soil.'*⁵²

In 1810, Marsden made arrangements for Ruatara and other young Maori men for a return passage home on the "Frederick" but the captain who left them stranded instead on Norfolk Island deceived them. Eventually, they found their way home, via Port Jackson on the "Ann" in 1812. On arrival, Ruatara, in his mid-twenties, discovered that the Ngapuhi chief Te Paahi had died. Ruatara was now the new chief. He found it difficult to persuade others of the advantages of agriculture so he went back to Marsden to learn more about the technological skills. When the "Active" sailed to New Zealand in late 1814, Ruatara led a party of ten Maori aboard, along with the missionary party led by Samuel Marsden, and all the necessary equipment, stock, and plants for the growing and milling of crops. Ruatara planned to protect "his" Pakeha group despite his misgivings about the wisdom of bringing them to Aotearoa. He expressed his anxieties when he heard rumours at Port Jackson that the missionaries would only be the beginning of the many Europeans who would eventually reduce the Maori to the same wretched state as the Australian Aborigines. Marsden was able to placate Ruatara by offering to turn back. In March 1815, Marsden returned to Port Jackson secure in the knowledge that the mission was in good hands.

Ruatara had shared his vision for the development of large cultivated areas, a town following a European pattern with streets and provision for a Church. Unfortunately, Ruatara's plans were thwarted as he was already seriously ill when Marsden left and

⁵² Booth, 1996; p.153

Ruatara died four days later. Ruatara's wife Rahu, took her own life in grief at her husband's death and both were buried at Motutara. Maori power now shifted to another young Maori, Hongi Hika in the Kerikeri area, who continued to protect the missionaries but kept them relatively restricted.

Ruatara had hoped that the mission would bring technological and other resources to assist his people and develop a modern community based on what he had seen and experienced. Marsden had hoped that Ruatara's hospitality and protection would pave the way for the seeding of the Gospel. Ruatara is described as, "Te Ara mo te Rongopai" (The Pathway for the Gospel.) by the Anglican Church, in Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Polynesia. The Church remembers Ruatara on the 11th of May.

4. THE FIRST GROUP OF MISSIONARIES

If one was to judge the success of the early Christian Missionaries in Aotearoa in terms of conversion from 1814 to 1830, the conclusion would be one of dismal failure. William Williams had this to say about the improvements in 1830.

*"We read of the course pursued by Augustine, the first Archbishop of Canterbury, that 10,000 of the men of Kent were baptised under his direction before he had lived twelve months in his new diocese. But in New Zealand, after nearly twenty years of labour, the native Christians did not exceed fifty."*⁵³

The first group of missionaries, Thomas Kendall, William Hall, John King were skilful tradesmen but were not well prepared for the task of conversion as they had no

⁵³ Williams, W. *Christianity among the New Zealanders*, 1867, p.149

immediate tradition nor proper training to call upon to help with missionary methodology. They had no understanding of the language, nor any idea of the holistic view of Maori life intertwined with the sacred. Added to this were the physical difficulties of their families living alongside warfaring and cannibalistic tribes bent on the edict of 'utu' (revenge). Further, lack of financial and moral support from the Mother Country, which usually took more than a year to complete communications, did not help in the evangelism of a culture which was totally alien to them. The mission of evangelism amongst the Maori was not helped by personality conflicts and the lack of understanding of how closely their own Christianity was embroiled with their own culture. Marsden's description of Aotearoa as a 'dark and benighted land' reflected the Evangelical dismissal of indigenous cultures as inherently unredeemable without the importation of Christianity in its English cultural form.

Initial attempts at formal schooling for Maori were unproductive. The sitting around form of education when there were no obvious benefits to be gained made little sense to them. The differences between the two cultures were quite significant. Nevertheless, important beginnings were made as Kendall began to master the Maori language. Together with Hongi and another chief, Waikato, he went to England in 1820 where Professor Samuel Lee at Cambridge University helped to construct the first Maori grammar. This was printed in the same year. Kendall also began to make significant attempts to understand Maori cosmology and religious beliefs. These were, however, distorted by his view that Maori originated in Egypt. Religious studies, linguistics and cross-cultural ethnography, to which missionaries made important contributions in the nineteenth century, were still being forced into interpretative frameworks which reflected the European, Biblical and Greco-Roman world-views. Sadly Kendall's

pioneering work was terminated following his dismissal from the mission in 1823 and his departure from New Zealand in 1825.

Despite this not all efforts were in vain, for Samuel Marsden was able to write, in January 1829, a more optimistic outlook.

*"The Natives are now at peace with one another. The chiefs at Thames and those at the Bay of Islands are now united and those further to the South. The Gospel begins to influence some of them, and they improve much in civilisation.....New Zealand is now open. in every part for the introduction of the Gospel and the Arts of Civilisation."*⁵⁴

5. THE SECOND GROUP OF MISSIONARIES

The arrival of the second group from the Church Missionary Society began with Henry Williams in 1823 who led the work. A former naval officer, he brought discipline to the mission and directed its energies away from Marsden's emphasis on civilising to evangelising. Williams acquired considerable status for his work as a forceful peacemaker among conflicting Maori groups. Together with his colleagues he broke the missionaries' dependence on Maori for food and transport by developing a farm station and building a sailing ship. He was helped by other long-serving missionaries their wives and families. They became an integral part of the Maori communities where they lived. Henry's brother, William, a graduate from Oxford, arrived in 1826. Robert Maunsell another linguist, William Colenso a printer and Maori Scholar, all were better equipped and by 1927 portions of the Bible, Prayer Book and Hymns were printed.

⁵⁴ Davidson Allan, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, 1991, p.1

The gospel brought by the CMS and the Wesleyan Methodists, who commenced work in New Zealand in 1822, initially in close co-operation with the CMS, reflected the Evangelical experience which had shaped their missionary vocation. Individual conversion following the conviction of sin was a critical stage in the spiritual development of an Evangelical. They looked to reproduce in Maori what had been an experiential turning point in their own lives.

6. MAORI RESPONSE

For Maori in New Zealand, identity played a vital role in the community which was involved all members of the family, whanau (clan) and tribal groups. The idea of an individual making a decision which would lead to a separation from the others was alien. The missionary view of salvation had little to offer to Maori. According to August Earle, a visitor to New Zealand in 1827-28, missionary teaching about eternal punishment and the torment of hell, led Maori to respond that, they were quite sure such a place could only be made for white people, for they had no men half wicked enough in New Zealand to be sent there. When they were told that all men would be condemned, they burst out laughing, declaring that *"they would have nothing to do with a God who delighted in such cruelties; and then (as matter of right) hope the missionaries would give them each a blanket for having taken the trouble of listening to him so patiently."*⁵⁵

Missionary attitudes towards Sunday Worship and 'The Sabbath' as a day of rest, free from all commerce and work, were also the cause of astonishment among the Maori. They appreciated the nature of Tapu, prohibitions of activity and the sense of the holy or

⁵⁵ Davidson & Lineham, 1989, p.37

awesome in worship; but religious observances for Maori were related to specific activities, such as preparation for battle, cutting down a tree, or marking the death of someone, rather than a specially designated day. Maori drawing on their understanding of their own meeting places as tapu or holy, had great respect for church buildings. Earle noted that when they gathered together with the missionaries for public worship, "*they always behaved with the utmost decorum when admitted into the house where the ceremony takes place.*"⁵⁶

In order to convert Maori, Evangelical missionaries introduced their own theological framework and patterns of worship into the Maori world in ways that Maori could respond to and accept. The dynamics associated with Maori acceptance of Christianity, however, were much more complex than a simple Maori assent to the missionaries' message. The gospel brought by the missionaries was clothed with evangelical assumptions and English cultural prejudices. Within the missionaries' message however, were gospel teachings such as love of enemies which came as a challenge to traditional warrior values.

Maori were responding to the missionaries out of their own world-view and way of life. Throughout the second half of the 1820s changes were observed taking place within Maori society originating from Maori themselves although often in response to missionary teaching. George Clarke, a CMS missionary, reported in January 1826 that "*The native taboos (tapu) begin to be broken, and the rising generation no longer feel themselves bound to wear the shackles of their fathers.*" He noted examples such as the planting of sweet-potatoes without prayers and how Maori were '*gaining a knowledge of*

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

the theory of religion" and making inquires "*to know who that Great Saviour is that we so much talk to them about*"⁵⁷

Many reasons has been brought forward by various historians as to why Maori in the 1830s and 1840s accepted Christianity after initially rejecting it. One historian has pointed to the impact of war-weariness, depopulation caused by disease, fighting, and new ways of living, combining with cultural confusion as the old patterns of belief were challenged, and an inability to respond to new European challenges. In this context the missionary message offered a new world-view and understanding of salvation.

Other historians have argued that trade and European goods led Maori to associate with missionaries. Maori were very entrepreneurial, growing potatoes, wheat and raising pigs to trade with Europeans. In the 1840s and 1850s they built their own flour-mills and sailing vessels to engage in trade as far away as Australia. Within their own culture prosperity was undergirded by religious rituals and so the acceptance of Christianity represented a logical development as Maori became more closely involved in the European world. But these factors were by no means universal throughout the country and by themselves do not adequately explain the reasons for Maori becoming Christians so quickly and in such large numbers.

However, there are two factors which clearly contributed to the spread of Christianity: the impact of literacy and the activities of indigenous evangelists. William Yate noted in his book published in 1835, "*the thirst for knowledge, which has been exciting among the New Zealanders*", and that "*Everyone now wishes to learn to read and write.*"⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *ibid*, p.43

⁵⁸ *ibid*, p.44

The translation of parts of the New Testament and the distribution of the first printed copies resulted in a response which surprised the missionaries. The impact of literacy among a non-literate people can be compared to the introduction of the computer into contemporary society. It became the tool to give access to new knowledge and for the Maori this new knowledge available in their own language was exclusively religious. The printed text itself was seen as tapu or holy. The medium became part of the message, as Maori played a significant role in the spread of Christianity. Spontaneously, Maori who had learnt something of the missionaries' message and had some acquaintance with reading and writing, shared this with others. Among them were some who had been captured in battle and taken to the north where they had encountered the missionaries' teaching and had come to admire the gospel of peace and reconciliation which they shared. Going to villages for the first time missionaries often found that their message had gone ahead of them.

In 1837, a Ngapuhi chief, returning from a visit in the East Coast, asked William Williams why there was no one caring for a worshipping congregation he had come across in Ngati Porou territory, and who even kept the Sabbath day holy by not working. Further inquiries revealed that it was the work of a former captive, Piripi Taumata-a-kura was responsible for the growth of this worshipping congregation. Piripi of Ngati Porou, when the Ngapuhi tribe raided the area in 1823, was taken captive to the Bay of Islands where he learned to read and write. By 1833 William Williams organised his freedom and returned him home to Whakawhitira, near the Waiapu river. Piripi began teaching his people all he knew about the new religion which included prayers, hymns, and scriptural readings written on scraps of paper. He normally began his sessions by announcing, *"I have come from Kerikeri and from Paihia and I have seen Williams of*

the four eyes" (Referring to Henry Williams wearing spectacles).⁵⁹ His people were so impressed with his work that they built a large gathering place to hold their meetings and greatly influenced them not to work over weekends. In 1836 during a tribal feud with Whanau-a-Apanui he led the attack with a 'musket in one hand and a New Testament in the other', but only after he had persuaded his people that there was to be no cannibalism or any needless wreckage of property. His mana and legend grew when he came through the battle unscathed. It was during this period that he was baptised Piripi (Phillip).

In 1838, William Williams and others paid a visit to Paihia with nine more candidates for training to continue Piripi's mission. Raniera Kawhia was a student of Piripi who was duly ordained by Bishop Williams in 1860. In the Diocese of Waipapa up to the period of the 1950's nine of the fifteen Maori priests were all descendants of Piripi Taumata-a-Kura, the first missionary, who was not even baptised until he had proven himself. Piripi opened the way for the Pakeha missionaries. His work is remembered by a tablet at St Mary's Church, Tikitiki and by a memorial bell at Rangitukia.

One of the most outstanding and memorable stories regarding the growth of Christianity amongst the Maori by Maori is that of Tarore of Waharoa in the Waikato area. Her father Ngakuku was a chief of the Ngati Haua tribe. Tarore attended the mission school opened in Matamata by A.N.Brown and his wife Charlotte in 1835 where she received a prize for excellent work which was a copy of St. Luke's Gospel published in 1836. For a young girl this was indeed a precious gift. Later, in October of that same year, because of tribal forays with Te Arawa of Rotorua, Brown decided to close the school and relocate in Tauranga. Ngakuku and a CMS member, Mr John Flatt, led the group of

⁵⁹ Booth (ed), 1996, p.168

children and several other Maori. As nightfall approached they camped at the foot of the Kaimai Range at Wairere. After prayers Tarore went to bed and slept with her precious gift, using it as a pillow. That night their fire-lit camp drew the attention of a raiding party from Rotorua who immediately set upon it. They were repulsed, but in the confusion Tarore was abandoned and when Ngakuku came back to her tent he found his child dead and her treasured gift missing. Utu (vengeance) was in the hearts of Tarore's people but Ngakuku passionately preached on God's justice and peace at her burial.

*"There lies my child, she has been murdered as a payment for your bad conduct, but do not you rise up to obtain satisfaction for her. God will do that. Let this be the conclusion of the war with Rotorua. Let peace be now made. My heart is not sad for Tarore, but for you. You wished teachers to come to you: They came, but now you are driving them away. God will obtain satisfaction"*⁶⁰

Ngakuku was baptised in 1839 as William Marsh. Marsh was the only son of A. N. Brown. Ngakuku assisted with the founding of the Opotiki mission station and was a teacher before A. J. Wilson took up residence. He went with Archdeacon Brown on his journeys including work in Tuhoe country at Te Whaiti as well as teaching in Tolaga Bay. Thus Ngakuku, through the death of his daughter Tarore, helped to spread the Gospel of peace and reconciliation.

Meanwhile, Uita, the person who was responsible for Tarore's death, and who had taken the copy of St Luke's Gospel was not able to appreciate his booty as he could not read or write. However, later, Ripihau, who was once a slave up north and was on his way home to Otaki, called in at Rotorua to visit his relations, and read the story to Uita. Uita was so moved by the story that he was converted to Christianity and some times later, requested

⁶⁰ Williams W.G. (ed) *The Child Grew*, 1949, p. 34

an audience with Ngakuku and his people to worship alongside of them. With reservations they eventually agreed and when Uita appeared before them, with great humility he asked to be forgiven. "*It is said that they both knelt in the little chapel and prayed together.*"⁶¹ The power of the word turned cannibals to repent and forgive, and to encourage others to do the same.

In the meantime, Ripihau the slave continued with his journey to his homeland in Otaki with remnants of St Luke's Gospel which belonged to Tarore. When he arrived he was pressed upon to read to Katu, son of Te Rauparaha, and his cousin Matene te Whiwhi. Ripihau at first refused saying '*it was a bad book, teaching men not to fight or drink rum or have two wives.*'⁶² However, Ripihau relented and Katu and Matene not only learned to read and write but, disenchanted by warfare, they were motivated to seek more of the Good News and set sail for the Bay of Islands to plead to 'Williams of the four eyes' for a missionary and a teacher. Octavius Hadfield, believing that he did not have long to live, volunteered. Hadfield baptised Katu as Tamihana (Thompson) in 1841 and he and Matene became teachers of the new religion. In 1842, Hadfield had intended to travel to the South Island but instead sent Tamihana and Matene who became missionaries to the Kai Tahu people, former enemies of his father, Te Rauparaha. Their journey took them as far as Ruapeka and Wharekauri (Stewart Island). Foremost in the Kai Tahu people's minds was the question whether Te Rauparaha would set upon them again. Tamihana replied, "*He indeed will not come, for I have come indeed hither to you to bring an end to warfare, and to bind firmly peace by virtue of the words of the Gospel of the Lord*"⁶³

⁶¹ Booth, 1996 p.166

⁶² Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand*, 1935, p. 23

⁶³ Booth, 1996, p. 179

Te Rauparaha had other pressing concerns on his mind when, in June 1843, the Wairau encounter took place. Tamihana on receiving the news ended his mission and returned home. The next year he accompanied Bishop Selwyn, taking him to places he had already visited. Thus was Tamihana Te Rauparaha influenced by a little girl's precious gift, the Gospel of St Luke. He courageously faced the people, who were savaged previously by his father, preaching peace and reconciliation. In 1846, Te Rauparaha was put under house arrest for sedition and sent to Auckland by Governor Grey. Ngati Raukawa with Rangihaeata were planning to attack Wellington. Tamihana and Matene were students at St John's College, Meadowbank, and Te Rauparaha sent them back to Otaki with the message to Ngati Raukawa, "*Repay only with goodness on my account. Do not incur ill will with the Europeans on my account for only by good will is the salvation of Man, Women, and Child.*"⁶⁴ The attack was called off.

There are many other examples of where Maori Christianity took the initiative and were inspired to spread the Gospel amongst their own people and even to their enemies at the risk of their own lives. Remembering that utu and cannibalism were still rife. One such example was Nopera Pana-Kareao of Kaitaia, a Te Rarawa leader attributed to have converted northern groups.⁶⁵

Another was Wiremu Nera Ngatai, 1837-1860, Ngati Ruanui missionary and mediator in South Taranaki. "*According to the Reverend John Skenington, through Nera's teaching, 'nearly all the tribes' along the South Taranaki coast adopted Christian forms of behaviour, 'before a single English Missionary had been near them.'*"⁶⁶

⁶⁴ *ibid*

⁶⁵ *The People of Many Peaks, The Maori Biographies from The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Volume 1, 1991, p.85.

⁶⁶ *ibid* p. 66

There was also Minarapa Rangihatuake (1839 – 1893), a Ngati Mahanga missionary, whom John H. Roberts believe that, *“Credit for establishing the Wesleyan church in Wellington, usually given to Bumby and Hobbs, should go to Minarapa who laid the foundation.”*⁶⁷

Te Manihera Poutama, died 1847, Ngati Ruanui mission teacher, and together with his colleague Kereopa, who together, after teaching their own people of South Taranaki, volunteered to venture into enemy territory, Ngati Tuwharetoa, at Taupo. Te Huiatahi, an aged chief, ambushed and killed the pair in reprisal for previous killings by Ngati Ruanui. Ngati Ruanui choose not to retaliate. In time the way opened for the church to build and carry out the work begun by Te Manihera and Kereopa.

Throughout the 1830s and the 1840s both the CMS and Wesleyan Methodists expanded from their bases in the north and tried to incorporate Maori Christians under the umbrella of their missions, catechising and baptising Maori and training teachers and catechists. The impact of the gospel on Maori and their culture worked at different levels. Maori with their great ability at memorisation, learnt off-by-heart large parts of the liturgy and, as it became available in translation, parts of the Bible. Formal rhetorical speeches were significant in Maori culture and these increasingly were infused with Bible allusions, sometimes in ways which perplexed the missionaries. Great interest was shown, for example, in Biblical genealogy which was not surprising given the importance of lineage or whakapapa in establishing Maori identity. At Baptism many Maori adopted biblical names in Maori forms. The advent of literacy resulted in Maori becoming active correspondents.

⁶⁷ *ibid*, p.115

Changes also took place in Maori society. The missionaries condemned concubinage and required monogamy of those who were baptised. Some leading chiefs chose to retain one wife and were married according to Christian rites. The emphasis on peacemaking and reconciliation between conflicting tribes and the ending of the cycle of *utu* or payback was encouraged. In some cases old scores were still settled by warfare but practices such as the use of prisoners as slaves were ended.

The Maori response to the gospel was complex and varied. George Clarke estimated in 1845 that out of the total Maori population of 110,000 some 64,000 were regularly attending mission services.⁶⁸ How many of these Maori Christians met the missionaries' expectations, is difficult to estimate. Some individuals clearly impressed the missionaries by their theological knowledge and spiritual example. Other examples, such as Papahurihia in the early 1830s, indicate that Maori were assimilating the missionaries' message and European influences within their own culture, giving rise to new religious movements which were syncretistic and also early instances of an indigenous theological response to Christianity.

With the arrival of the French Roman Catholic missionaries from the society of Mary, the Marists, under the leadership of Bishop Pompalier, an element of rivalry was introduced. The Protestant Catholic antagonisms of the northern hemisphere, along with nationalistic rivalries between French and British, were introduced into Aotearoa New Zealand. The gospel brought by the Marists reflected a French Catholic culture. The harassment of Catholics by the Protestant missionaries led to the visit of a French naval vessel to the Bay of Islands, *La Heroine*, and a show of force which elsewhere in the

⁶⁸ Davidson, 1991, p.14

Pacific at this time had checked Protestant attacks on Catholics. The Sunday after the ship's arrival, "*mass was celebrated on the deck of the vessel amidst all the pomp and splendour at the ship's command*", with flags flying and the gunners going through their exercises at the elevation of the host.⁶⁹ For Maori, the varieties of Christianity they were now presented with resulted in some confusion and their division into denominations often along tribal lines.

The missionaries and their supporters in England were concerned with more than the salvation of souls. The Evangelical movement was closely aligned with humanitarian concerns such as the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. There was a growing concern about the rights of indigenous peoples. Contrasting pictures were drawn between the European settlement in the Bay of Islands at Kororareka, which was referred to by Marsden during his last visit in 1837 as the place where "*Satan maintains his dominion without molestation*,"⁷⁰ and the mission headquarters at Paihia. Missionaries complained about the way in which European immorality undermined their teaching and they began to campaign for legal constraints to check the worst excesses of Pakeha behaviour.

7. THE TREATY

Missionaries played a crucial role in Maori becoming British subjects in 1840. Protestant missionaries initially opposed colonisation, two of them, Henry Williams and George Clarke, witnessing a Maori declaration of independence in 1835.⁷¹ The missionaries were persuaded by a variety of factors, including the beginning of large

⁶⁹ Wilson, *The Church in New Zealand*, 1910, p. 523

⁷⁰ Elder, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden 1765 – 1838*, 1932, p.12

scale European migration to New Zealand and the fear of French annexation to support actions to bring New Zealand under British sovereignty. Henry Williams, along with his son Edward, helped to translate the Treaty of Waitangi and the proceedings at Waitangi in February 1840 when it was introduced to Maori. Along with other missionaries secured Maori signatures to the document throughout the country.

The Treaty was drawn by Captain Hobson who became the first Governor. It recognised the 1835 Declaration but there was confusion between the Maori and English texts of the Treaty. The Maori text, which most chiefs signed, ceded the government of the land to the British Crown while guaranteeing the chief's supremacy over their land and property. In the English text sovereignty was ceded to the Crown and Maori guaranteed possession of their lands.

A spirited debate took place at Waitangi before the Treaty was signed. Hone Heke, a leading chief, saw the Treaty as "*a good thing. It is even as the word of God*",⁷² and encouraged other Maori to follow the advice of the missionaries. It was seen by some chiefs, '*as a special kind of covenant with the Queen, a bond with all the spiritual connotations of the biblical covenants; there would be many tribes, including the British, but all would be equal under God.*'⁷³ However, William Colenso, a CMS missionary, warned that Maori did not fully understand the Treaty and could later blame missionaries for not fully informing them. Bishop Pompallier stood somewhat aloof from these British proceedings, although at his insistence guarantees of religious freedom were given to Protestant, Catholic and Maori faiths and customs. This became known as the fourth article.

⁷¹ Davidson, 1991, p.21

⁷² Colenso, *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*, 1890, p.26

In traditional Maori culture, law and religion were part of the whole framework of society. Maori could easily understand the involvement of missionaries in religious and moral teaching, agricultural development, and political issues in traditional terms. But the relationship between the missionaries and the government authorities both before and after the Treaty were ambiguous. The influence which missionaries had before 1840 came from their involvement in Maori society and the European political vacuum in New Zealand. After 1840 their authority was quickly undermined and marginalised by the growth of the colonial government and the influence of the increasing settler population with its own concerns. The settler pressure for more and more land conflicted with the missionaries' attempts to safeguard their own interests and to protect Maori.

Following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Maori were faced with challenges to their sovereignty. Confrontation over land at Wairau in the north-east of the South Island in 1843 resulted in the death of twenty-four settlers and four Maori. In 1844-45 the Northern War in the Bay of Islands areas, resulted in a series of inconclusive battles. Hone Heke, attacking a symbol of British sovereignty, cut down the flag-pole at Kororareka four times. The missionaries successfully protested against the British Colonial Secretary's attempt in 1846 to declare all unoccupied Maori land as 'waste land'. But the status of some of the missionaries, including Henry Williams, was undermined by the Governor's attack on their own personal land holdings.

⁷³ Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, 1987, p.57

8. THE SETTLERS CHURCH

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s missionaries noted that many Maori were not as enthusiastic about the Church as they would have wished, and that a great deal of energy was going into commercial enterprises. Missionaries had mixed success in developing educational programmes which encouraged Maori development and leadership. Bishop Selwyn, who arrived in New Zealand in 1842 to head the Anglican Church, attempted to develop a broad based educational institution, but by 1853 it had collapsed. His failure to ordain Maori to the priesthood delayed the development of indigenous leadership.

Maori developed their own political structures, notably through the King movement in the central North Island, as they attempted to withstand Pakeha pressure on their land. The outbreak of war in Taranaki in 1860 following an illegal land purchase by the Crown, prompted a vigorous defence of Maori rights by leading Anglicans. The Waikato war which began in 1863, however, resulted in little support for Maori. Maori assertion of sovereignty and the defence of their land was seen as conflicting with the authority of the government. Bishop Selwyn and some missionaries acted as chaplains to the British forces, thereby losing credibility in the eyes of Maori and they were hence unable to act as mediators or peacemakers.

The emergence of vigorous Maori religious movements at this time represented a rejection of the missionary Churches rather than of Christianity itself. This was seen in the execution of C.S. Volkner, a CMS missionary, by Maori in 1865, because of his supposed association with some of the atrocities Maori had suffered and his actions as a government informant or spy. The interweaving of Biblical, particularly First Testament themes, within the movements led by Te Ua Haumene, Te Kooti Rikirangi and Te Whiti

o Rongomai, looked to the deliverance of their people from what were seen as oppressive forces. Te Ua's movement began with peaceful intentions but was caught up in the violence of the wars, Volkner's death, and the destruction of the mission station at Waerengahika, Turanganui. Te Kooti, imprisoned on false charges, escaped from Chatham Islands and all he wanted was to be left alone. He was denied this and instead was forced to use guerrilla tactics to escape capture and in the process transformed his group into the Ringatu Church with its use of the Psalms, monthly worship and reinforcement of Maori values of whanau, and indigenous culture. Te Whiti, together with Tohu, in face of land confiscation's in the 1870s and 80s used strategies of civil disobedience and pacifism.

These brief descriptions can only be suggestive of the way in which some Maori responded to the pressures which they faced. The repeated accusation brought against the missionaries was *"that we came to this country and taught them (the Maori) to lift up their eyes to heaven while we ourselves kept our own turned to the land."*⁷⁴

The gospel which Marsden helped to introduce contributed to Maori becoming British subjects but the results of this were often disastrous for Maori. Colenso in 1868 reflecting on the serious depopulation among Maori concluded that, *"apart from any spiritual benefit...it would have been far better for the New Zealanders as a people if they had never seen an European."*⁷⁵ The role of missionaries in any society is mixed and open to a variety of interpretations. In the New Zealand context they were one influence among many, albeit a major one in the early years. The gospel they brought reflected the worlds from which they came. What they were not prepared for was the

⁷⁴ Davidson & Lineham, p. 57

way in which the gospel was taken by Maori into their own culture on Maori terms. While Maori had become British subjects they retained their strong sense of identity as Maori. The gospel which they acquired reinforced this through the variety of forms of Maori Christianity which they adopted. Some of these were aligned with the missionary Churches while others were, in missionary terms, heterodox. Maori in some notable instances creatively adapted their carving, art and architecture, their speeches and songs to express the impact of Christianity within their culture. The relation between gospel and culture for Maori in the nineteenth century was dynamic and complex.

⁷⁵ Colenso, *On the Maori Races of New Zealand*, 1868, p.75

PART 3. THE MARAE

The heart-beat and soul of modern Maoridom can be seen, heard, felt and savoured on the marae. This section will briefly discuss the changes in Wairua Maori (Maori Spirituality), that took place after the signing of the Treaty at Waitangi. As Maori became embroiled in the reality of colonial politics, and felt the power of the pen, making them landless and powerless against the might and hordes of the British Empire, change and adaptation seemed inevitable. With the introduction of modern technology and different values and another world-view, did Maori traditions, values and culture change as well? Outwardly, aesthetic evolution took place slowly: art form became innovative, direct and powerfully expressive, born out of the pain and suffering of the people. Seemingly the last bastion of Maori tradition was, the Marae.

1. THE MARAE 20TH CENTURY

At the beginning of the 20th century life for Maori communities was mainly located in the rural areas, and centred round small pockets of settlements. Within these communities, centrally situated, was the gathering place for the hapu (clan) or iwi (tribe). These were then known as marae and consisted of a Wharenui (big house), for meetings, sleeping and in some cases for eating together, built out of raupo (reeds) or pit-sawn timber. There were also one or two other smaller houses known as kauta, for cooking food and generally built out of roofing iron. (Some of these buildings lasted well into the 1950s in Ruatoki and one still exists in Maungapohatu.) During this early period life was hard. The standard of living was barely adequate to support life. Half of the children born, died through sickness and epidemics due to little or no health

programmes. Many traditional beliefs were still adhered to. 'Tohungaism' still existed. This was noted by Taylor, "*Sickness, tohunga revealed was the terminal gnawing of lizards at the entrails of a dying race.*"⁷⁶

The impact of the Pakeha had taken its toll through greed and broken promises. After the Land Wars and the confiscation of land, policies of alienating further lands soon had Maori stripped of their mana, livelihood and control of their own destiny.

*"Missionaries had reported that some Maori died without apparent physical cause. The death rate in south Taranaki was so alarming that tribal elders threw onto the bonfire all they could find of their old culture; carvings, ornaments and figures of ancient gods, in the hope that this might lessen the calamity that had come upon them. The fire burnt for three days, but to no purpose: the death toll continued to rise."*⁷⁷

At the signing of the Treaty in 1840 the Maori population, was somewhere between 90,000 and 200,000 and there were about 2,000 Pakeha. By 1858, the Pakeha population increased to 51% of the total population and by 1896 this number went to 94% while Maori was figured at 6%.⁷⁸ By 1900 the Maori population stood at 40,000.⁷⁹

It was predicted that the Maori race would soon be extinct and indeed, a memorial for a dying race was erected on One Tree Hill in Auckland. At various stages leaders have risen to guide their people to meet the new challenges that have confronted them. They re-kindled their Wairua Maori, their Maori culture that brought about the renaissance in the late 1970's to the year 2000. While community leaders are important, what bonds the

⁷⁶ Taylor, Alan, *Maori Folk Art*, Century Hutchinson, 1988. P.48.

⁷⁷ Taylor 1988, p.48

⁷⁸ Green Paul f. ed. *Studies in New Zealand Social Problems*. 2nd Ed; The Dunmore Press, 1994, p. 42

⁷⁹ Orange, Claudia, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Briget Williams Books Limited, Wellington, 1987. P.7.

community together and gives them pride and hope, is the institution of the Marae. Sir Apirana Ngata was very much aware of this as indicated by his speech at Raukawa Marae in Otaki shortly before his death in 1950.

*"The Marae buildings, such as meeting houses and halls with appurtenant amenities, have always been the chief occupation of a Maori community. Until these are provided the community will not seriously take other problems and will not freely contribute to funds for these other affairs."*⁸⁰

2. THE MEETING HOUSE – Te Whare Tupuna

Why is a Marae so important to Maori communities? The Marae is an establishment seen throughout the whole of Polynesia with varying degrees of differences of style and use, but never-the-less, recognisable as the centre of the community. These Villages (Marae) were in existence before the arrival of the Pakeha, and on their arrival in Aotearoa they noted that most of the Maori communities they came across lived in fortified villages with stockades. These locations were called a 'Pa'. In some instances clusters of small houses without fortifications were seen, and these were known as 'kainga' and, when danger threatened, the safety of the Pa was not very far. Contained within the Pa would be a large number of small rectangular hut-like edifices, large enough for individual families, lined with raupo reeds or fern stems tied together, and the floor of earth dug out and the soil placed on the sides. Food-stores, known as 'pataka' were erected either on one or four poles, to keep food safe from rats. In the centre of the Pa is the large meeting house and an open space of ground in front which is called the 'Marae atea'. This area is the focal point of the community, the village square

⁸⁰ Taylor, E.Mervyn, *The Story of the Modern Marae*, Te Aohou No.1, Department of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 1952, p. 23.)

where all the activities of the people take place. People gather there for every important occasion. It is a meeting point for hunters, gatherers of food, fishermen, and for those going into battle,⁸¹ a place to discuss political or social matters or to learn and impart knowledge. It is a place to prepare young people as they enter into adulthood; a children's playground; a sports-field. It is a place to welcome and entertain important visitors. It is a place to weep for their dead and to celebrate happy occasions, a place for old people to reminisce and tell stories, to establish beliefs, values, follow traditions and connect with the Transcendent powers. The Marae is itself the physical world which acts as the Sacramental vehicle of the Spiritual World, of mauri (Life Force), mana (Power), wehi (Awesome), ihi (Psychic force) and tapu (Sacredness)

The marae-atea proper, that is the open ground that lies before the Meeting House, plays a very important role in the proceedings of the community as mentioned above, just as important is the Meeting House itself, Te Whare Tupuna (The Ancestral House). These houses were very much what we see in modern times in form and use, except for size and the type of material used, the adjunct amenities and the highly decorative art-work. These houses were the residence of the Rangatira (chiefs) of the tribe and their families. Not only were they bigger than other houses but also more elaborately decorative in the carvings and art-work. The Whare Tupuna was not only for the chief and his family but it was used to accommodate visitors. While the display of classical oratory, stories and genealogy commands respect and awe on the Marae atea during speech making, it is the Whare Tupuna that displays to its visitors the ihi (vital force), wehi (awesome), mauri (Life force), mana (power), and tapu (Sacred) of the tribe.

⁸¹ King, Michael, (ed), *Te Ao Hurihuri, The World Moves On*, Hicks Smith & Sons Ltd, 1975. P.21.

The Whare Tupuna, represents an important ancestor of the tribe. The tekoteko (carved figure), at the apex of the front part of the building represents the head of the ancestor. The maihihi, the barge-boards sloping down from the apex to the upright supporters, are the arms, and running past the amo (upright support) are the raparapa, depicting the ancestors fingers. As you enter through the doorway of the Meeting House, above the door is the pare (door lintels) with carved figures representing human and spiritual figures. Inside is the Tahuhu (ridge pole) running the length of the building. This is said to represent the ancestors backbone, and the Heke (rafters), coming down on either side are the ribs. The carved or painted Poupou (slabs) at the end of each of these rafters represents ancestors from the hosts and other tribes showing their connections to them. The Poutokomanawa (centre poles) supporting the Tahuhu represents the link between Ranginui, (Sky Father) and Papatuanuku (Mother Earth). Te Whare Turuwhenua informed an unknown scribe with the following information.

*"The front post represents Tane the father of the people, and the life-giving element. The back post represents Hine-nui-te-Po, Tane's daughter and wife. Hine-nui-te-Po represents death and the ridge-pole between her and Tane represents the journey through life."*⁸²

Some houses will have patterned Tukutuku (lattice work), between the slabs depicting the heavens, animals, plant life and human figures. The Kowhaiwhai (spiral and decorative designs) patterns that runs through the whole building represents the flowing of the blood-line that connects everything to the main ancestor. The Whare Tupuna then holds the stories and picturesque lore of the tribe.

It is, in a sense, the museum of the tribe and hapu where the treasures and artefacts of the past are kept and safeguarded. It is the Cathedral of the tribe depicting the Maori

⁸² Simmons, D.R., *The Significance of Decorations in a Maori Meeting House*, Records of the Auckland Institute and Museum, 1984. P.61

Cosmology and its Spiritual values and the way they are connected together. It is the tribal School of Learning, the University, where its history, genealogy, and connections between the physical and spiritual world are forever retained, explained, and passed on to the present and the generations to come. It is the Parliamentary House of the Tribe where important political, social, and economic matters are discussed and decided on. The Meeting House art work, is vividly and eloquently described by Taylor as,

*“A well-defined ideological model of a tribe’s view of the world and of its place in that world. Its folk art and narrative history create a deeply experienced awareness of the timeless, ever-present spiritual cosmos of ancestors. The tribal folk history of a meeting house, is creatively woven into the fabric of established objective history; its impulse also having the furtherance of tribal mana as its source. In narrative folk history there is continuing creation of recent tribal events, and a singular interconnected systems of beliefs revolving round the reality of dreams and spiritual revelations associated with ancestors in folk art and made manifest within the greater cosmological symbolism of the meeting house itself. All members of the tribe are authors of its folk history and its flexibility of version and interpretation. Equally, all are its keepers, in varying degree, through the generations.”*⁸³

The marae plays a vital role in expressing the culture and spirituality of the Maori. What changes then took place on the marae when the new technology and new ideas were introduced into the Maori community? What effect did it have on their beliefs?

⁸³ Taylor 1988, p.49.

3. THE STATIC ARTS – The Changes

One can deduce from the above description of the meeting house that there is more to it than meets the eye, particularly in the art work of carving, the rafter patterns, decorative wall panelling even to the shape of the building itself. The art work expresses the personal authority, influences, and prestige (mana) not only of the chief but also of the tribe.

The traditional arts before the Pakeha arrived were devoted to the business of expressing and enhancing mana, mauri and tapu. Art depicted and embellished the beliefs of the Maori community and because of the powerful spiritual and psychic area in which they operate, and the need to reconcile with the gods, from whose domain came the materials used, every art activity was subject to the stringent laws of tapu. Therefore, nothing was done for trivial reasons. Everything had meaning and was of great significance. A natural progression of this is that the building itself becomes the material symbol of the mauri (Life force), the living essence, the principle of vitality and fruitfulness of not only the living beings, but also inanimate things such as lands, rivers, buildings and artefacts. Thus the tribal meeting house becomes a symbol of the mauri of the tribe. It is important to realize that mana, while hereditary can be increased or decreased depending largely on spiritual forces or peoples' actions or lack of it. Mana of the tribe has to be maintained and protected and where possible increased by spiritual and physical actions such as artistic creations.⁸⁴

When one speaks of tapu, it is normally defined as a sacred state or condition that is under spiritual restriction. As Maori Marsden puts it, "*A person, place or object is set*

⁸⁴ Davis, Frank, *Art in Pre-pakeha Times*, Education, School Publications, Wellington, 1976, p.24

aside by dedication to the gods and thereby removed from profane use. This tapu is secured by the sanctions of the gods and reinforced by endowment with mana."⁸⁵

Due to the arrival of the Pakeha with steel tools and the Missionaries with their new God, meant that Maori beliefs of Mauri, Mana and Tapu came under threat of disappearing all together. The new tools greatly assisted in the construction of improved buildings using Pakeha technology, and this in itself brought great changes to Maori life and art, particularly with the introduction of the musket. Acquiring guns became vital for the survival of the tribe, consequently greater concentration was given to producing and collecting of food and goods in exchange for the weapons. The shift in force meant the old beliefs were put aside, as were the arts. Angas a travelling artist in 1847, observed, that *"the natives have now ceased to construct works of so much labour and ingenuity, and content themselves with building a raupo hut to dwell in. The consequence is that in a few years not a single aboriginal edifice displaying that skill in carving and ornament for which the New Zealanders have been so pre-eminently distinguished among savage nations, will exist throughout the whole country: even at the present hour, they are rarely to be met with.... I have found houses splendidly carved, in ruins, amidst the decay and overgrown vegetation of their long-since departed pahs."*⁸⁶

During the peace between the era of intertribal Maori War and the Land Wars, Maori communities began building not only meeting houses, but churches, mills, schools, trading vessels and canoes. Many were now becoming educated under the Pakeha system. Because of the steel tools, greater emphases were put into carving elaborate surface decorative designs. New subject matters were introduced like mermaids, plant

⁸⁵ King, Michael, *Te Ao Hurihuri, The World Moves On*, Hick Smith & Sons Ltd., 1975, p. 197

⁸⁶ Salmund, 1987: p.80

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⁸⁵ King, Michael, *Te Ao Hurihuri, The World Moves On*, Hick Smith & Sons Ltd., 1975, p. 197

⁸⁶ Salmund, 1987: p.80

forms and biblical themes. One of the most discernible changes came through in the different attitudes towards the appearance and function of the human body. Pakeha reacted negatively to the explicit portrayal of the penis and vagina on carved figures. The Maori spiritual significance of sexual organs are explained by Frank Davis. “*Maori people’s attitude to the appearance and function of their bodies had been open and unashamed. Even more, they saw the connection between the mauri of a person and the sexual organs whereby the life force was transmitted to the next generation*”.⁸⁷

About this time many Maori became disillusioned and rejected the Pakeha churches and for some, ‘*Christ was seen as an atua or god of the European.*’⁸⁸

By the late 1860s it was apparent to Maori that tribal lands were fast disappearing and, with no great military leaders available, Maori turned instead to those who were offering spiritual means for their survival. Thus, the King movement, and the prophets Te Ua Haumene, Te Whiti, and Te Kooti were all offering some form of resistance to the on-coming avalanche of settlers. Each movement differed slightly, but all were offering, a form of spiritual guidance and a pattern of life and political organisation that made some attempt to meet the needs of the two worlds, but with Maori influence and identity. These movements were all deeply influenced by their knowledge of the Old Testament and all have successfully made some major contributions to the continuance of Maori attitudes and values.

⁸⁷ Davis, 1976: p. 28.

⁸⁸ Maclean, Christopher (1979). *Te Kooti Houses, Historic Buildings of New Zealand North Island*, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington. P.168.

4. TE KOOTI-MEETING-HOUSES

Te Kooti, in founding the Ringatu faith, probably achieved more than any other single person by interweaving the Christian faith and the old beliefs together, complementing one another to the satisfaction of its adherents.

In the established Ringatu faith, he upheld and encouraged the arts of poetry, song and oratory. He revitalised the communities that he visited. He was also responsible for the building of several meeting-houses and he developed and advanced the continuation of carving, tukutuku and kowhaiwhai, throughout the Bay of Plenty, Urewera and East Coast areas. Maori art work was modernised with polychrome painted carvings and imaginative paintings known as 'Folk Art'. Under his tutelage, art became innovative, direct and powerfully expressive. Tukutuku explored non-traditional styles and patterns. It was in a sense an aesthetic revolution borne out of the pain and suffering of the people.

Te Kooti's faith began at his home in Turanga. He was educated at Whakato school of the CMS and his interest in becoming a Lay-preacher within the church was opposed by William Williams, probably because of his turbulent youth activities. These were sufficient for a neighbouring chief to act upon. He raided Te Kooti's pa because he had become a terror to the district.⁸⁹ In 1865, after the Hauhau and their supporters attacked Waerenga-a-hika CMS Station, Te Kooti, who was actually fighting against them, was accused of supplying the Hauhau with ammunition. He was arrested and deported to the Chatham Islands without trial while proclaiming his innocence. It was on the Chatham Islands that Te Kooti received his divine revelations. His faith was rooted in the Old Testament and he likened himself to Moses with the task of leading his people and

⁸⁹ *The People of Many Peaks: The Maori Biographies from The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Vol. 1.* Bridget Williams Books & Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1991, p.195.

setting them free from bondage. As Moses led his people out of Egypt to the promised land, so Te Kooti will deliver his people from Wharekauri to their homeland in Gisborne. He achieved this and with his followers he ventured to take them inland requesting to be left alone. Unfortunately, the wheel of Pakeha Justice was already in motion and he and his followers were hunted and harassed. He replied under the old law of utu, found also in the Old Testament edict of 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth', and meted out his form of justice on those he believed had wronged him. For four years he avoided capture and his mana increased especially amongst the Tuhoe of the Urewera.

When Te Kooti was formally pardoned in 1883, he was a guest of King Tawhiao and living in Te Kuiti. In recognition of his host's kindness, Te Kooti built a meeting house, Tokanganui-a-noho (A large basket of stay at home; which comes from a local proverb alluding to his long sojourn in Maniapoto territory).

The carving of this house was in the style of the Mataatua canoe region executed by men from Ngati Awa, Whanau-a-apanui and Tuhoe with scenes which included Maori mythology and the Tukutuku moved into the field of representation of ancestors and radical innovations in figurative paintings. On the back part of the walls of the porch were painted naturalistic flowers and plants, small active figures playing cricket and football, marakihau (mermaid like creatures) and unusual manaia (Figures representing the spiritual realm) figures. Included also are abstract religious symbols of stars and circles. Roger Neich regards these figurative paintings as,

"The art of the millennial movement since Te Kooti was perhaps the first of the Maori prophets to realise that the cyclical reproduction of events in the traditional Maori view of history had finally ceased for ever. Te Kooti's new project of historical interpretation

was stimulated by Maori knowledge of the Biblical search for a meaning to history, changing history with a religious significance.....from this perspective figurative painting emerges as a hermeneutic response of each group seeking to interpret its own special historical experience."⁹⁰

The art work clearly acts as a historical picture to capture the moment and the changes of the time. Each tribe selecting what was important to them at the time to reinforce the people's sense of identity. Te Kooti re-introduced the institution of tapu ensuring that the sacred and profane were seen as separate entity an act seen as going against values and beliefs brought in by the Pakeha.

From Binney's point of view, *"painting was developed because, unlike tattooing or carving it was not bound by strict rules of tapu nor did it require a lengthy period of training."* She also pointed out that painting itself did not begin with Te Kooti but was already had been used by Rukupo, who was one of his trusted advisers. However, Te Kooti took up painting as part of his medium to depict the fast transition of Maori social and political order. The scenes and representations were changing from the old to the new order but still recording the history of the people involved in the conflict. Where before, the meeting-houses preserved the histories of the forebears and the icons from the myth stories, now it included paintings exhibiting the new world with its latest edition of colourful pictures of domestic scenes. As Binney indicates,

"As the meeting-house is a place of encounter, where guests meet hosts, so too the histories confronted each other in the painted houses of Te Kooti. Two cultural spaces were depicted in the houses, the new jostling the old. Tokangamui-a-noho encompassed visually the ancient and the modern histories of all the tribes sheltering with the Rohe

⁹⁰ Neich, Roger, *Painted Histories; Early Maori Figurative Painting*, Auckland University Press, 1993. p.72.

*Potae. It was indeed the 'Great Basket' of taonga (treasures) for all people it protected, as the transfer of this name to the house was intended to convey."*⁹¹

Above all, Te Kooti was concerned about justice when he told his people that in future reparation for any wrong doing would be through the law and not through strong arm tactics. *"The canoe for you to paddle after my departure is the law. Only the law can be pitied against the law."*⁹²

The Ringatu Church, basing its teachings from the Old Testament was regarded initially as rejecting Christianity, in that God was seen as the God of the Hebrews and not Father of Jesus Christ. As reported by a clergyman that they had now, *'given up the way of the Son and.....adopted instead the way of the Father'*. The Rev. J.Laughton, who spent most of his ministry amongst the Tuhoe people, came to the conclusion that the Ringatu hypothesis of God was not the same as that of the missionaries, and that, *"the place that he (God) has filled in their life system has been precisely a place filled by the gods of their fathers, whose empty shrines had not yet been removed from their psychology when Ringatuism was established."*⁹³

However, as time marched on, and because of their affiliation with other Maori Christian Churches, a shift would naturally occur. David Allan points out, *"No religion remain static. As contexts change so do people's understanding of themselves their world and the way they express their religious values."*⁹⁴

In January 1963, my mother and I attended a Ringatu Te Kau-ma-rua (The Twelfth),

⁹¹ Binney, *Judith, Redemption Song*, 1997. P. 280

⁹² Elsmore 1989, p. 236

⁹³ Elsmore, 1987: p.144

⁹⁴ Davidson, 1991: p. 47

celebrations at Ohotu, Ruatoki, with two other Lay-readers within the Anglican Church, Mr Pirau Ruru and Mr Kahu Tihi, who were both Elders of the Valley. For the Ringatu Church in Ruatoki, it was, so I was later informed, a historic occasion when a reading was taken from the Gospel of St Luke. A matter that was discussed during the week-end session was that of blessing of water during a baptism at a river. The difficulty with this was observed that, by the time the recipient was ready for the sprinkling or immersion, the tapu area would have flown well down the river. One detect from these discussions that there has always been an active theological interaction by Maori and that changes are bound to take place. As Bronwyn Elsmore points out, *"It should be noted that the Christian aspects of Ringatu have been emphasized more and more since the early years of the religion so that the present form of the faith of Te Kooti is a Maori Christian Church."*⁹⁵

It was in the building of Te Tokanganui-a-noho in Te Kuiti that Te Kooti installed the Ringatu worship within the sanctity of the carved meeting house. It became their centre for worship instead of using church buildings. As the Ringatu church itself flourished so too did the building of new meeting houses to worship in.

In Ruatahuna, in the middle of the Urewera territory of the Tuhoe tribe, the meeting house Te Whai o te Motu (The flight across the Island), was built. It was begun in 1870 and completed in 1888, in memory of Te Kooti elusive tactics with the government forces.

In 1882, Ruataupare was built which stands on Kohinga Marae in Te Teko, to express Te Kooti's gratitude to Ngati Awa who supported him during the conflict. It was fully

⁹⁵ Elsmore, 1987: p. 145

carved with painted kowhaiwhai and painted tukutuku patterns, with the same polychrome paint on the carvings of the porch. It remains today a stronghold of the Ringatu faith.

In the East Coast, after arranging with Te Kooti in 1886 for a return visit to his place of birth in Manutuke for the year 1888, the people of Turanganui (Gisborne), planned the event with enthusiasm and began by building four meeting houses. The first was at Rangatira and named Te Whakahau (To start something up), the second was Te Rongopai (The Gospel) at Waituhi, the third was at Mangatu, named Te Ngawari (Charity) and the fourth was built at Tapuihikitia which was called Te Aroha (Love).

This was a huge undertaking, as one can well imagine, as hundreds of people came together to complete the project to honour the Prophet Te Kooti. Out of the four houses Te Rongopai is an important example of Maori art in transition. A large meeting house, 85ft x 35, it was completed in three months. It was painted and not carved. The style of decorations, displayed some kowhaiwhai designs in black, red and white. Much of the house painting digressed from tradition, with a variety of colours.

There were many scenes depicting the stories of their times, the modern times; Elaborate trees and vines with stylised leaves and birds flying; brightly coloured flowers in vases; a boxing match in progress, horse racing, and hunting were depicted. Local dignitaries were portrayed with very European features. Kahungunu, founder of the Kahungunu tribe, and his daughter Tauhei were also painted. Most of the work was done by the young men of the Whanau-a-Kai and the elders were more upset by the modern portrayal of their sacred ancestors.

It was prophesied that Te Kooti would never set foot inside.⁹⁶ Te Kooti was stopped by the militia and the police from visiting Gisborne and he never set foot in any of the four

⁹⁶ New Zealand Historic Places Trust, *Historic Buildings of New Zealand*, Cassell New Zealand, 1979. P.171.

meeting houses built in his honour. It has been said that the prophet made a passing remark about the painting of the boxing match as not being suitable for such a cathedral:

*"The shedding of blood is already over, and now is the time for peace."*⁹⁷

To Te Kooti, it was vital for the survival of Maori that their culture become an intrinsic dogma of salvation. Well armed with knowledge of the First Testament from the education he received from the Waerenga Hika Mission School, like Moses, he set about to lead his people to the promised land, which so many Maori had already lost through confiscation and dubious transactions by the government. He fused together the Christian faith with Maoritanga in the setting of the marae with great success, resulting in the continuation of the strong presence of the Ringatu Church in Aotearoa.

4. APIRANA NGATA – Modern Meeting-houses.

Another wave of meeting houses materialised between 1890 and 1900 where minor houses were built in different parts of the country but did not rival Te Kooti's period. It was not until the 1920's, when the school of carvers at Rotorua, which was kept alive by the tourist trade and the boon in buildings in the Bay of Plenty, revived the practise of building carved meeting houses. Modern European methods were now applied to all community buildings. Steel and concrete were used for the structures and they became permanent instead of temporary measures.

Dining halls, water supply, power and sanitary conveniences were all becoming part of the Marae. It also needed to be well planned out with lawns and gardens and sports ground for the young people were also a must to be included. The dining hall became

⁹⁷ Ihimaere 1988: p. 188)

the central focus for the community for social and informal gatherings. The meeting house became the focal point for ceremonial occasions as well as a sleeping place.

These ideas of course are modern, proving that Maori are adaptable and will rise to meet the challenge of the new while maintaining some continuation with the old world. These were big projects. And one of the first to be set up was Te Poho-o-Rawiri in Gisborne and followed later by the Waitangi House, Apanui at Te Kaha, Te Hono ki Rarotonga at Tokomaru Bay, Raukawa in Otaki, with many others spread all over the country. The most renowned of all them would be the buildings in Turangawaewae in Ngaruawahia, aptly termed the Fortress of Maori Culture.

Behind this revival was the driving force of Apirana Ngata, former states-man and churchman of the Anglican faith, along with his colleagues, Carrol, Buck, Pomare, and well known Master Carvers, John and Pine Taepa and many others.

5. THE KING MOVEMENT – Ngaruawahia

In the absence of a written history, it was set down in the form of pictures in wood, each picture depicting the lives and stories of the past. This is very much the same as other artists throughout the world reproduce in their sacred buildings. Artists the world over convey in their own way and style striking images of what they consider to be important to the community, either in wood, stone, metal or glass. These images relive the old stories of the past making them come alive again for those of the present generation. They stand in memorial to the legacy of the ancestors and so it is only right that honour and respect is given to the meeting-house.

To illustrate the above, let us take the Marae of Turangawaewae in Ngaruawahia as a classical example of deeply spiritual significance, not only to the Tainui people, but to the Maori as a whole. This, of course, can only be a very brief discussion.

The Kingite movement began when Wiremu Tamihana in 1855 sought parliament's permission for the establishment of a Runanga, a parallel system with parliament, to deal specifically with Maori problems. He was slighted and ignored at the Native Office, and in his account to a missionary, *'settlers were promptly attended to' ... "I said to myself, we are treated as dogs....I will not go again."*⁹⁸

The catch cry was and still is, 'we are one nation'. In trying to explain the King Movement at the time a chief likened it to a house. *"New Zealand is the house; the Europeans are the rafters on one side, the Maori are the rafters on the other side. God is the ridge-pole against which all lean, and the house is one."*

Yet another chief, in trying to make it clearer said, *"The Maori King and the British Queen with love, aroha, binding them together, and with God over them both."*⁹⁹

The misunderstanding proved to be a calamity for the Maori, which they never anticipated in their innocence of such a request. All they were seeking was that a paramount chief as head of the Runanga (Representatives of all tribes) might successfully return law and order to their society and stop the decline of their mana by stopping the sale of land. Governor Grey did not see it that way at all. Under the pretence of an impending insurgence, General Cameron and his troops invaded Waikato. The rest of the story is history. Waikato land was confiscated.

The resurrection of Turangawaewae began in 1921. The land had to be brought back by the people. Led by Te Puea, the purchase price was earned by collecting flax in the

⁹⁸ Ward, Alan, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'amalgamation' in nineteenth century New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, 1995 Ed : p. 98.

swamps. When that was paid, the vendor raised the price, and it was once more back to the swamps. In addition there was blackberry to clear, and a whole hill had to be shifted; not by heavy machines, but like Chinese coolies, with their little baskets, the earth had to be shifted.

Mahinarangi meeting house was completed in 1929 and Turongo was added on and finished in 1958. The love story of Mahinarangi, a princess from Ngati Kahungunu of the Takitimu canoe, and Turongo of Tainui, remains one of the classical stories in Maoridom. In one great effort after another the halls and other meeting houses were built, and rebuilt over the years. In the year of 1999, the renewal of the two meeting-houses were completed, to cater for the demand and growth of the new generation of the Maori people and the Kingitanga.

This is but a mere glance at the rich and painful history of the people of Waikato. The recent settlement of the Waikato claims against the confiscation of their land has resulted in co-operation by the Waikato with the Government and there is an obvious change in attitude for the betterment of New Zealand and the Maori people. There is still some way to go before the visions of real partnership can be formed, which was dreamed of by our Maori ancestors.

This dream is depicted in the flag of the Kingitanga known as Te Paki o Matariki. It is the heraldic of Kingi Tawhiao and his successors, designed in 1870. It has a double spiral representing human development in the physical and spiritual worlds. On either side of the spiral are two figures representing the physical and the spiritual, each with one hand holding the spiral, signifying their influence on human activities of the world and the environment, depicting that constant battle between good and evil. Sitting above

⁹⁹ Turongo House, *Koroki, My King*, Rice Printers, 1999. P.10

the spiral and centre of the two figures is the shape of the heart, the spiritual essence of a person, and surmounting that is the cross of Christ. Over all this is Uenuku, the rainbow, covenant of God. The same rainbow that God used as a sign and a promise to Noah, grandson of Methuselah, (Matutaera, Tawhiao second name).

The name "Te Paki o Matariki" refers to a Maori expression when fine weather is forecasted. The idea here is that Tawhiao had hoped to see peace and calm over Aotearoa, New Zealand and that the Maori King and the British Queen should be as one. This did not happen in his time. Not until 1953, when Queen Victoria's Great, great granddaughter, Queen Elizabeth II and His Royal Highness Prince Phillip walked onto Turangawaewae sacred courtyard to pay their respects to Queen Atairangi Kaahu, great, great granddaughter of Kingi Tawhiao.

Te Atairangi Kaahu, at her address to the Wellington Prayer Breakfast, held at Michael Fowler Centre on 15th August 1990, reiterated Tawhiao's vision,

*"On my flag Te Paki o Matariki, Uenuku, the rainbow, is there for everyone to shelter under in unity and aroha. The Maori has a fine tolerance for religious taste. The traditional view is that we all pray to the same God. Karakia, prayer, enters into practically every activity of Maori life; when a house is built, before a journey is started, on the return home, when a canoe is launched, before a meal is taken, in the morning and in the evening. When we took our waka taua "Tahere -tikitiki" to the Henley Royal Regatta in June, our custom went with us."*¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ *ibid* p. 18

THE PERFORMING ARTS

The Maori, before the arrival of the Pakeha, was of one culture and built meeting houses decorating them with carvings, and weaving tukutuku patterns all with the aid of stone tools. Today, in the year 2000, Maori with its multiplicity of cultures and with tools of iron, wide choice of materials and media, like the computer, they can surf the internet and bring the world into their homes. Like their forebears before them, each generation is pioneering a new dawn of consciousness of expression and communication whether it be by means of sculpture, weaving, painting or through speech, poetry, music, dancing, modern action songs or by the twirling of poi, mere (hand weapon) and taiaha (hand-staff). Individually or as a performing group, reciting or the retelling of their tribal history and mythology of both the past and the present and looking into the future, remain meaningful, and penetrating spiritual and aesthetic forms of communication.

The marae is the static display of the tribal mana, mauri, wehi and tapu, but a marae can only come alive if it has people. A marae may have anything from about as small as two families to fifty who have the responsibility for the maintenance and the operation of it. In some cases with a large Marae, like that of Turangawaewae in Ngaruawahia, it will have hundreds of families. A Marae is the turangawaewae (standing place) of a person belonging to the tribe where one can stand tall upon Mother Earth with Ranginui (Sky Father) above and be able to formally greet distinguished visitors. It is a place where Maori know they belong and feel wanted and every individual of the tribe has a role to play. This final segment of this part on Marae will briefly touch on what has been more commonly known as The Performing arts of the Maori and its importance in Maori Spirituality.

Waiata Maori (Songs of the Maori) which includes poetry, chants, haka, modern action song, poi and the display of hand weapons and formal speech making are all part of the

infrastructure of the Marae. The carvings, paintings, speech making and waiata (chants) at tribal meetings, celebrations, sacred rituals and every event dealing with life and death, such are the Performing Arts of the people. Waiata Maori is the channel through which total knowledge is handed down through the generations. 'He taonga tuku iho', treasures handed down. It is the main medium used for teaching and learning in the Kura Wananga (Schools of Learning). For a people who were dependent on oral tradition, the learning became a vital process, as Cleve Barlow points out "*It, (waiata) ranked along with genealogy and incantations as a principal means of disseminating prized knowledge....of lament, epic songs, lullabies and love songs. One of the most famous love songs of the Maori is called Pokarekare, which tells the story of how a beautiful maiden called Hinemoa swam across Lake Rotorua at night to meet her lover on Mokoia Island. Waiata were performed on many occasions for formal events and entertainment.*"¹⁰¹

But it is more than just passing on love stories and lullabies to children to comfort and entertain. It also ensures vital doctrines, ideology and stories are passed on, and so guarantees their continuity. It is an art in itself, developing aspirations and the forging of relationships between the performer and the audience. An expression of mana, mauri, wehi and tapu; of aesthetic, emotional, and impassioned feelings. Maori poetry and song either chanted, spoken or sung using modern medium, as Mohi Wehi did in her song of "Whaka-awe", during the World Rugby games in England in 1999, possess power and resonance which excites and stirs the heart and mind.

The revival of performing arts of the Maori has in recent years been phenomenal. The thousands that attend and participate either as performers or purely to enjoy at all

¹⁰¹ Barlow, Cleve, *Tikanga Whakaaro, Key Concepts in Maori Culture*, Oxford University Press, 1991. P.151.

Regional and National Traditional Maori Performing Arts competitions, clearly indicate its popularity among the young and old. Those involved in the performances continue to make an impression on their audience preserving and encouraging the rich heritage of their past. Performing arts are a combination of spectacular displays of vigorous young men evoking the mood of Tumatatuenga the war god, counterweighted next, by graceful movement of action song by the women and weaving a spell of intricate movements of the poi. Many of the allusions to Maori mythology are contained in the traditional songs, while modern action songs may speak about the political, social and economical situations of the time.

Music, poetry, dancing performances, like art and sculpture, are a crucial means of expressing and communicating the thoughts and feelings of the people. As one elder from Ngati Porou once said, *"....not merely a pastime, but it is also a custom of high social importance in the welcoming and entertainment of visitors. Tribal reputation often rose or fell on their ability to perform the haka."*¹⁰²

Wiremu Parker, a well known Maori radio broadcaster, asked of a tohunga in haka; *"What is the art of performing haka?"* His reply was, *"The whole body should speak."*¹⁰³

Alan Armstrong, in his book, *Maori Games and Haka*, describes it beautifully. *"The haka is a composition played by many instruments. Hands, feet, legs, body, voice, tongue and eyes all play their part in blending together to convey in their fullness the challenge, welcome, exultation, defiance or contempt of the words. It is disciplined, yet emotional. More than any other aspect of Maori culture, this complex dance is an*

¹⁰² Karetu, Timoti, *Haka, The Dance of a Noble People*, Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, Auckland, 1993. P. 25

¹⁰³ *ibid* p. 22

expression of the passion, vigour and identity of the race. It is at its best, truly, a message of the soul expressed by words and posture..."¹⁰⁴

The performing arts of the Maori received mixed reaction when Pakeha came upon it for the first time as depicted by the following report.

*"(It was) a most picturesque scene, and wild and beautiful in the extreme. Their watch fires glanced upon the dark skins of these finely formed men and on their bright weapons. Some groups were dancing; others were lying round a fire, chanting wild songs, descriptive of former wars; whilst the graver elders sat in a circle, and discussed the present state of affairs."*¹⁰⁵

However, not all observers from the new world were so idyllic as Earle in their description of the haka as seen by Brown.

*"Suddenly out dashed Rangiora, the enemy's chief, with huia feathers in his hair and a long spear in his hand, and, giving a yell of rage, he commenced to run up and down the ranks of his people, working himself and his tribe up to a pitch of frenzy. In perfect time, the warriors stamped the ground and beat their breasts, with their eyes hideously rolling and their tongues lolling out in derision. They looked like fiends from hell, wound up by machinery. The ground seemed to shake beneath their tread, and each time their hands struck their breasts there was a report like a hundred stock-whips being cracked at once. And all this time the warrior chief danced up and down the ranks, chanting the war-song of his people, and every now and again the whole tribe would join in, as one man, with guttural yell of horrid hate."*¹⁰⁶

The tremendous upheaval of traditional ways created by the new culture and further exacerbated by the missionaries religious zeal in seeing evil in their arts and

¹⁰⁴ Karetu: 1994 p. 25.

¹⁰⁵ Orbell, Magaret, *Maori Poetry, an introductory anthology*, Heinemann Educational Books (NZ) Ltd, Auckland, 1978. P.5.

entertainment almost spelled the end of Maori performing arts. Through the influence of the missionaries, carvings, Maori paintings and entertainment were discouraged. They even managed to suppress a whole tribe from continuing their arts to the extent, *“that a tribe from one area had to teach another so that it could properly assume its role as host at the 1934 Waitangi celebrations. Fortunately, the majority of the tribes refused to let the missionaries dictate to them so haka continued to thrive.”*¹⁰⁷

Last year, 1999, the writer was fortunate enough to attend two Regional Performing Arts Festival where over 20 groups of 40 performers compete in cultural competitions and watched by thousands of spectators. Another well attended function, held over Easter week-end, was the Tuhoe Festival where between 8-10,000 Tuhoe people and their friends and whanau attend. Beside these gatherings is the annual celebration of the Coronation of Queen Aitairangi Kaahu with thousands of Maori people taking part in the activities for both young and old. In addition to this, the Aotearoa Traditional Maori Performing Arts Festival was celebrated in Ngaruawahia over the Waitangi week-end of 2000. These annual activities, and many others held throughout the country, leave one in no doubt at all that the future of the performing arts of the Maori are well and truly assured. Young people are right in the thick of the performance, beginning from the Kohanga Reo Schools, to primary, and to secondary schools. Competitions between tribes, schools and groups are fiercely competed to test the grit of one another. It is within this field of competitiveness, that Maori will ensure the arts will never be lost into the realm of those who have gone on.

The key to all the performing arts is dependent on the survival of the language, the heart of Maori culture. There is also the reawakening of the Maori language itself. It was

¹⁰⁶ Browne, C.R., *Maori witchery: native life in New Zealand*, London Dent, 1929. P. 61

¹⁰⁷ Karetu: 1993; p. 35

reported that more than \$33 million is being spent in the next three years to help the Maori language. There is a Maori proverb which encapsulates Maori leaders in their philosophy towards the Maori language.

<i>He Puawai putiputi te Maoritanga</i>	<i>Maoritanga is a blossom</i>
<i>Ana taketake ko te reo</i>	<i>the language is its roots</i>
<i>Tapahia te puawai putiputi</i>	<i>If you cut the blossom</i>
<i>Ka mate te reo</i>	<i>the language dies</i>
<i>Whakakorengia te reo</i>	<i>If the language dies</i>
<i>Ka mate te Maoritanga</i>	<i>so does Maoritanga</i>

To Maori, the language is 'taonga tuku iho', a gift handed down by their ancestors, and the key to all things Maori. However, it came close to being a lost language. In 1913, 90% of Maori schoolchildren could speak their language. By 1953 the percentage dropped to 26%, and in August last year (1998), a survey done by Te Puni Kokiri (The Ministry of Maori Development) showed only 8% of Maori adults were highly fluent in the language.

But the survey also showed that more than half of those surveyed spoke some Maori, and the number of speakers were on the increase. Of those fluent in the language, 33% were over the age of 60 and 38%, were aged between 45 and 59. The survey did not include the thousands of children in the Kohanga Reo and kura kaupapa schools throughout the country and the biggest problem is the lack of proficient teachers of the language. There are Maori people crying out for more Kurakaupapa schools to be established but there are not enough teachers to fill the gap.

There are also television Maori programmes like Tumeke (TV3) and Mai Time (TVNZ) which are aimed at the young people, talking their language and playing their music. The manager of the Taura Whiri i te Reo (The Maori Language Commission), Te Haumihiata Mason said, *"that all this shows that Maori is a living language that changes with the time. But school or the Marae or church should not be the only place where the language is spoken. She stressed that it should be spoken on the streets and in the supermarkets pointing out that 20 years ago it was rare to hear 'kia ora' on the streets – now its everywhere."*¹⁰⁸ It also includes countries like Kosovo and East Timor where our New Zealand Peace- Keeping Troops have been under the command of The United Nations. In 1987, the Maori Language Act gave the language official status. Its one thing to have it recognised officially but it can only work when parents, teachers, leaders and politicians keep the language alive by using it. This year's budget acknowledged the importance of the language, it is not everything but it is a beginning.

This part began pointing out that the Marae is the heart of the people and without it Maori people will cease to exist as a people. It is the last bastion of Maori where it displays its spiritual and physical existence. Maori may have lost most of their land but it is on the Marae that the spiritual value of the people can be seen, in its language, in its ceremony, in its static arts, in its performing arts, in their care for people and for one another. The Marae is where the heart of Maori lives and throbs and energises. It is a place of refuge enabling Maori to be cleansed spiritually under their terms and values. It is where they pay homage to God and their ancestors. That they may rise tall in their oratory; that they may weep for their dead; that they may have their feast and celebrations, that they may care for their guests; that they may have their meetings, their

¹⁰⁸ Knight, Richard, *Survival is becoming a race against time: News Review*, Herald, New Zealand, Tuesday, June 1, 1999.

weddings, their reunions, and sing and dance and come to know the richness of life and the proud heritage which is truly theirs. As John Rangihau has observed, *"Turangawaewae I suppose, is that emotional tie that the land has for the Maori. The tie is emotional not because the Maori sees the land as something he can use or something negotiable, but the land is the place from whence he came. This is Mother earth, Father sky and is part of the mythology that gives Maori their emotional overtones to the land."*¹⁰⁹

A well known Maori proverb indicate the importance of people.

<i>Ui mai koe ki a au</i>	<i>You ask me</i>
<i>He aha te mea nui o tenei ao,</i>	<i>What is the greatest thing in this world</i>
<i>Maku e ki atu ki a koe,</i>	<i>I will say to you</i>
<i>He tangata, he tangata.</i>	<i>It is people, it is people.</i>

A Marae, is the Turangawaewae (standing place), of a person belonging to the tribe where one can stand tall upon Mother Earth with Rangi above, and have the pleasure of formally welcoming one's guests. A place where Maori know they belong, and feel wanted and each individual have a part to play. The Tangata Whenua, (The hosts) are the holders of Nga Taonga Tuku Iho, (Properties, handed down), of the Marae. The building of a Marae has always been central to any Maori group and the arrival of Europeans with their technology, and their new ideas of the cosmology certainly brought about great changes. The modern Marae of the Maori reflects the changing life of a race and the contribution which the Pakeha culture has brought and continues to influence, as does other cultures of the world, is skilfully blended together to add further dimension into the world of the Maori.

¹⁰⁹ Romanos, Michael, *The I-am-we of Maori culture*, Tu Tangata Issue 25, Department of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 1985. P.22.

PART 4.

TE RONGO PAI (THE GOOD NEWS) FOR TINO RANGATIRATANGA

1. THE DEVELOPMENTS

Throughout the 200 years of contact since the arrival of the Pakeha, Maori life, culture and religion changed and adapted. By the beginning of the twentieth century the new political, social, economic and spiritual change had devastating effects on the Maori population to such an extent that a memorial was erected to a dying race. By the middle of the century, led by various Maori political and religious leaders, a new wave of hope quickened throughout the country as health, education, economics and a renewed spirituality began to take root and grow. In their various groups Maori continued to assert their mana and dignity refusing to lie down and die. Then in 1975, the government of the day affirmed the Treaty of Waitangi as the founding document of Aotearoa, New Zealand. With tino rangatiratanga upon the lips of Maori, and in particular young Maori, it has become obvious that Maori are earnest in their endeavours to develop their own way of life. Maori, as individuals and in their collective groups, are developing systems that take into account not only western perspectives but also Maori world views in all their diversity. Some examples that have been developed as alternatives to, or extensions of, services offered in mainstream health care can be seen in the Smoke Free Sports Campaigns which have been adopted and manipulated to suit and better serve Maori throughout various tribal areas. Health care services have also seen changes that take into account specific perspectives of Maori caregivers and 'clients' or whanau.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Durie M.H. (1994), *Understanding Biculturalism*, p.10.

Other fields which have adopted and developed processes which take into account the specific needs of Maori can be found in the education system, at primary, secondary and tertiary level. It can be, and still is, argued that although these developments are Maori initiatives they can not be seen as parallel systems because they still remain under Government control. What the above show, is the fact that Maori are always seeking ways in which to develop systems that not only allow Maori to take into account Maori perspectives, but methods that actualise tino rangatiratanga. Of the many factors and influences involved, one is religion, and in particular the role which the Anglican Church in New Zealand has played in not only recognising Maori aspirations in self-governance but also giving effect to them.

Part four will examine three things. Firstly, we will look at the tino rangatiratanga debate through the hui held at Hirangi. Secondly, we will examine the example of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand, in respect of putting tino rangatiratanga into practice. Thirdly, we will discuss the current debate and development of the 'Io' concept as a potential theological contribution to the context of the contemporary tino rangatiratanga dreams and hopes. Separately and together these three issues spell 'good news' for tino rangatiratanga.

2. PARALLEL DEVELOPMENTS.

In 1992 a parallel system on three 'tikanga' (cultural strands), Maori, Pakeha and Polynesian, was established enabling the Maori section of the Anglican Church to put

into practice their Tino Rangatiratanga: self-determination, self-propagation and self-support. Such parallel development has not escaped scathing criticism from various groups, especially people who consider it as a separatist activity. Moana Jackson, in 1988, floated the idea of having a separate Maori justice system. That was promptly squashed by the Minister of Justice, the Honourable Geoffrey Palmer, who hastened to assure New Zealanders that there would be only one law for all in this country.¹¹¹

Sir Doug Graham, who retired in 1998 as the Minister in Charge of the Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations for the National Government, admitted that he had never studied the concepts of institutional racism or structural racism.¹¹² He rejected the idea of dual sovereignty as a *'waste of time on something which isn't going to happen in a country like New Zealand'*¹¹³. Moana Jackson who pointed out that other countries, like Canada, have a more accommodating approach towards indigenous systems of law rebuffed these comments. However the fact remains that there is a fear and general misunderstanding which still prevails, not only in the corridors of power but throughout New Zealand society that Maori tino rangatiratanga is synonymous with overthrowing the Government and dispossessing all non-Maori.

¹¹¹ *ibid*

¹¹² Archie Carol, (1995), *Maori Sovereignty: The Pakeha Perspective*, p. 115.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, p. 119

3. TINO RANGATIRATANGA – The Treaty

What we have above then are two views. Those who see the Treaty as creating division and those who see the Treaty overcoming divisions. For Maori, there is no doubt that the Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document for this country and this has been endorsed by the government of this country.¹¹⁴ Unfortunately, many Pakeha New Zealanders remain quite ignorant of the Treaty and of the settlement process. Whenever discussions on The Treaty appear in the media, writers are quick to note the serious tensions that are created. This also seems to damage relations between Maori and Pakeha. For this country to have harmonious relations an understanding of the meaning of certain phrases used in the Treaty of Waitangi is important, particularly when referring to the words 'tino rangatiratanga.' Its meaning changes with the individual and his or her life experiences. This is well illustrated in Hineani Melbourne's book, *Maori Sovereignty/The Maori perspective*, to take a few examples. Tipene O'Reagan, Chairperson of Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board, is suspicious of pan-Maori operations asserting their 'tino rangatiratanga' as "...they invariably collectivize the majority to tyrannize the minority".¹¹⁵ Kara Puketapu, Managing Director of Maori International Limited, does not think that talking about 'tino rangatiratanga' is of any use unless one is equally rich in one's culture.¹¹⁶

From a Pakeha view sovereignty and tino rangatiratanga are both translated as having the same meaning. In Carol Archie's book (ed), *Maori Sovereignty/The Pakeha perspective*. Hugh Fletcher, Chief Executive Officer of Fletcher Challenge, states that Maori have no chance of establishing a separate parliament that will have any authority

¹¹⁴ Winiata, Whatarangi (1997), *The Treaty of Waitangi: Maori Political Representation*.

¹¹⁵ Melbourne, Hineani, (1995), *Maori Sovereignty: The Maori Perspective*, p.153.

within New Zealand.¹¹⁷ Similarly, Sue Culling, National Co-ordinator for Corso considers that, "*Maori Sovereignty is just about giving power to Maori over your life. I say no. That was never what was envisaged in the Treaty.*"¹¹⁸ Many other writers echo similar sentiments.

What then was envisaged in the Treaty regarding tino rangatiratanga? As noted before, the Treaty of Waitangi 1840 is widely accepted among Maori and many Pakeha, and has been acknowledged by Government as the founding document of New Zealand. However, even older than the Treaty of Waitangi is the 1835 Declaration of Independence. This document was drawn up by James Busby and translated into Maori by the Reverend Henry Williams and signed by thirty-four Northern chiefs. What was significant about the Declaration was that 'all sovereign power and authority,' (translated as 'kingitanga' and 'mana'), was retained by those who signed it. This ratified Maori 'independence' (translated as 'rangatiratanga') as well as indicating that no subsequent government could be exercised without their authority.¹¹⁹ The Maori Congress meeting at Hirangi in 1995 also came to this conclusion. (See below.)

The Maori text of the Treaty, attested by over 500 signatories, confirmed their tino rangatiratanga giving to the Crown 'kawanatanga' governance in return for a wide range of guarantees. The English version of the Treaty talks about ceding sovereignty in return for these guarantees. It is difficult to imagine anything other than that the signatories were giving over a lesser form of authority, particularly when one considers the realities of 1840 when Maori had complete numerical superiority then by 80,000 –

¹¹⁶ *ibid*, p.45.

¹¹⁷ Archie: 1995, p.11

¹¹⁸ *ibid*, p.83

100,000 Maori as against 2,000 Settlers. ¹²⁰Maori had complete governance over themselves and were subject to no one. It would be quite ludicrous to think that the Maori had signed over full authority. The critical factors in the Treaty are the various interpretations of the relationship between 'kawanatanga' in the first article and 'tino rangatiratanga' in the second article. The third article contains rights of citizenship, which establishes a minimum standard guarantee of Maori rights. There were many discussions on tino rangatiratanga throughout the country from 1990 to 1994. But it really came to the fore when the Government offered a proposal known as the 'Fiscal Envelope', to settle Treaty of Waitangi Land Claims.

4. THE FISCAL ENVELOPE – Maori response.

In January of 1995 close to a thousand Maori, representing the major tribes in Aotearoa, responded to Sir Hepi Teheuheu invitation for a hui held at Hirangi Marae near Turangi. The hui was called because Sir Hepi was concerned about the Government's proposal for the settlement of Treaty of Waitangi claims. The concerns expressed at the hui were that there had been no consultation with the Maori people at any time. The settlement principles outlined in the proposals were viewed as too rigid and seen to be designed to protect the Crown and provide reassurance for the general public. The offering of the fiscal envelope of \$1 billion did not take into account the roles and powers of Government as understood by article two of tino rangatiratanga. The hui, after nearly twelve hours of debate, ended with a complete rejection of the Governments fiscal

¹¹⁹ Mikaere, Annie, (1998), *The Implementation of the Treaty of Waitangi in the University of Waikato: Working Paper*, p.1.

¹²⁰ *ibid*, p.2.

envelope proposals and a call for a focus on the details of a treaty based constitution for the nation which would restore to Maori their tino rangatiratanga.¹²¹

In September 1995, a second hui was again called by Sir Hepi Te Heuheu to enable Iwi and Maori organizations to debate how to progress tino rangatiratanga and implement the Hirangi resolutions passed in January of the same year. Jim Bolger, the Prime Minister, wrote earlier to Sir Hepi in response to previous discussion between the two men. The Government had completed the round of consultation with the Maori tribes on the fiscal envelope proposal to settle Treaty of Waitangi claims and submissions on the proposal had closed. Mr. Bolger was inviting four representatives from Maori to work jointly with four Government officials to consider the submissions. The proposals by the hui in January for political and constitutional change were unacceptable to Cabinet, and Mr Bolger stated that the New Zealand Parliament applies equally to all the people of New Zealand and the sovereignty of Parliament is not divisible. He then went on to invite the hui to consider development of Crown/Maori relationship within manageable parameters, and that the Government would be happy to go along with, but taking into account the indivisibility of Parliament.¹²²

The 1500 plus Maori representing most tribes and other Maori groups present at the second hui rejected Bolger's invitation to work alongside the Government officials and reasserted their earlier proposal for a constitutional change towards establishing tino rangatiratanga based on Maori values rather than Pakeha models. Other issues raised at the hui included an introduction by the Rangatahi to a new word, decolonisation, so that tino rangatiratanga could be achieved. The idea was to encourage Maori to break away

¹²¹ Roberts, John, (1996), *Alternative Vision: He Moemoea ano*, p.4

¹²² *ibid*, p.9.

from Pakeha ways of thinking and develop a political, social, and constitution system based on Maori values. This position will not recognise the significance of partnership. Another key point raised in the proposal for constitutional changes, was for the inclusion of the 1835 Declaration of Independence to stand alongside the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi as the foundation for tino rangatiratanga. Government senior ministers rejected the findings of the hui and reiterated their rejection of claims to Maori sovereignty. Jim Bolger was adamant that it would not happen. The Government was going to press on with the fiscal proposal pointing out that one major tribe, Tainui, had settled their Treaty grievances.¹²³

At this second hui there were some Maori who opted for a more cautious approach to the whole question of tino rangatiratanga and some who totally rejected it, pointing out the intolerance of Government to such an idea. Despite these concerns, the majority moved from discussing what tino rangatiratanga meant to how it should be exercised. Moana Jackson insisted that tino rangatiratanga must be discussed by Maori and must not be based on Pakeha models of governance but then he allowed a little leeway by suggesting that at the very least tino rangatiratanga could mean a dual sovereignty.¹²⁴ What was clear for Maori attending the hui was that tino rangatiratanga was firmly established on Maori agenda and clearly an alternative to the Government fiscal envelope proposal for settlement of Treaty Claims. The task of presenting such a programme for the third Hirangi hui was left to a working group.

The third hui took place in April 1996 when some 2,000 representatives who attended, consisting of a broad cross section of Maoridom from tribal boards and other Maori

¹²³ *ibid*, p.12.

¹²⁴ *ibid*, p.13.

professional and educational organizations along with youth and kaumatua attended.

Three key issues were explored at the hui:

1. Decolonisation.
2. Relationships between Maori and Crown and within Maoridom itself, and
3. Constitutional Change.¹²⁵

1. Decolonisation must take place because the impact of colonisation for Maori resulted in loss of land, language, resources, the theft of ideas and the loss of indigenous spirituality. For Maori to re-establish their own values and progress in today's world they must first cast off the shackles of colonial ways. Maori must seek to reclaim Maori values as a basis for life today. Decolonisation is not a return to traditional ways but a recovering of values which have been life enhancing. This would need careful analysis, teaching, organizing and the will to follow through with action. There has to be a process set up to reclaim mana Maori. It was felt that this was the only way to deal effectively with Government oppression. Iwi and Hapu will need to strengthen their positions before engaging dialogue with Government as past experiences show that it is only by Maori taking drastic measures by civil disobedience and by occupation that Government seems to take note of Maori concerns. What Maori do not have is a single united strategy. Those attending the Hirangi hui believe that this can only be achieved through the process of decolonisation.¹²⁶

2. The Government's continued arrogance in not consulting with Maori has not been helpful in cementing good relationships. The Government stance of a free market

¹²⁵ *ibid*, p.19.

¹²⁶ *ibid*, p.16.

economy has brought about many changes in New Zealand. Privatisation and continued calls by those in the world of commerce to accept globalisation have, in turn, impacted on treaty settlements and the process of redress which has meant that Maori have found it necessary to participate in the debates in order to protect their interest. Unfortunately many Maori organizations lack the expertise to respond effectively to these new demands and disputes have resulted in expensive court costs. The hui recognised that there has to be a process of promoting relationships that will endure between and amongst Maori organizations so that Maori resources may be protected. It is also important that a system of representation, which is just and equitable, needs to be established to enable participation by all Maori in decisions that will affect their lives. The challenge that the hui saw was for Maori to involve more Maori in decision making and to do this a framework needed to be developed to include Maori both urban and rural.¹²⁷

3. The 3rd hui recognized that as far back as 1840 iwi and hapu had governed themselves and that the 1835 Declaration of Independence affirmed that Maori had their own legislative authority; the Treaty of Waitangi 1840 reaffirmed the right of Maori to their tino rangatiratanga. The hui recognized that there is a need to reform, change the present, or present a new Constitution to the Government. Three choices were discussed. First, whether to continue under the Westminster system with its reformed MMP. Secondly, to form a partnership with the Crown and the third option was for Maori to govern themselves. There were different views as to what self-government could mean for Maori and it was agreed that further research was needed. A working party was delegated to prepare a forum for the next hui.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Ibid, p.19

¹²⁸ Ibid, p.20

To summarise the three Hirangi gatherings. Two definite points came through quite clearly. The first is that the Government, at this stage, refuses to negotiate or even entertain the thought of discussing means by which Maori sovereignty or Maori autonomy could be established because they see this as being divisive. The Government view is that the Treaty ceded sovereignty to the British Crown and there is no such thing as dual sovereignty. There is only one sovereign head and one sovereign parliament. We are all New Zealanders. Any notion of shared or parallel sovereignty is rendered practically and politically unworkable.¹²⁹

On the other hand Maori will continue with their quest for tino rangatiratanga relentlessly and will not give up as noted by Chief Judge E. T. Durie,

*"Through 200 years of history the Maori presumption of autonomy has not changed. Nor can it, for it is that which all peoples in their native territories naturally possess. They have ceased to be a people if it is no longer there."*¹³⁰

It began in 1835 with the Declaration of Independence, carried through to the Treaty of Waitangi and as a result of the Hirangi gatherings, Maori are now more determined, strengthened and committed to bring about their tino rangatiratanga which can only come through some form of revolutionary constitutional change. This revolutionary constitutional change has occurred in New Zealand.

5. THE ANGLICAN CHURCH RESPONSE.

In 1984, the Anglican Church in New Zealand came to the conclusion that the principles of partnership and bi-cultural development are implied in the Treaty of Waitangi and

¹²⁹ *ibid*, p.20

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, p.26.

that it is relevant for all the people of New Zealand. More importantly they were convinced that the principles are consistent with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Having recognized this, the Church resolved that its mission was to change what the Church considered to be 'unjust structures' which required that steps are taken to revise their Constitution. In 1992 after eight years of intensive study, consultation and debate, the governing body of the church, General Synod, amended its constitution of 1857 to give effect to the partnership and bi-cultural walk. It was described by the late Archbishop Brian Davis as,

*"The most momentous Synod since the first constitution in 1857 which, in its day was a visionary document, particularly because of the status it gave to the place of the laity. The revised constitution is equally visionary. It will provide for one Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, to express its life and serve its common mission through three equal partners, Maori, Pakeha and Polynesians. It will also bring with it hope of exciting opportunities. It offers the promise of a new cultural partnership in New Zealand between Maori and Pakeha Anglicans beyond paternalism and dependency to a relationship that respects and honours cultural diversity and give each tikanga the mana that is consistent with the mana God gives all as sons and daughters, brothers and sisters of Christ."*¹³¹

To have a greater appreciation of this momentous development one needs to look briefly at the history and growth of Maori in the Anglican Church. The arrival of Marsden, Hall, King and Kendall in 1814, announced the beginning of the work of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in New Zealand. It was only possible through the courtesy of

¹³¹ Proceedings of General Synod, The Church of the Province of New Zealand, (P.G.S.) 1992, p.7-8

Ruatara and his northern clan members, who wanted to bring to their iwi, new technology that would enhance their lives. The CMS's (translated and became better known as Te Hahi Mihinare/ The Missionary Church), mission was to convert Maori and to civilise them, which itself would eventually lead to their Christianisation.¹³² By the early 1840's the Maori Church, Hahi Mihinare, was well established. Churches and Schools were being set up with great enthusiasm. In return Maori became more and more proficient in commercial trading both nationally and internationally. The success of Te Hahi Mihinare was largely due to the fact that those who spread the word of God were Maori, they used the Maori language, and were left to develop methods which were pertinent to their people.¹³³ Tino rangatiratanga was working and meeting the demands of the people of that time.

6. THE SETTLERS CHURCH.

The arrival of Bishop Selwyn in 1843 saw a shift of attitude within the Church. Selwyn reflected the traditional Anglo-Catholic in the wearing of ecclesiastical apparels, the use of candles and crucifixes on the altar were viewed by the C.M.S. members as popish innovations. His reluctance and delays in ordinations for Maori candidates led to strained relationships. Despite his ability to speak Maori, it did not help in cementing the good relationship with Maori which Samuel Marsden and Williams had achieved. This led him to believe that,

*"It was harder than he thought to plant the seeds of a new religion in the hearts of the Maori and harder still to unite settler and Maori in a single Church..."*¹³⁴

¹³² Davidson, Allan (1991), *Christianity in Aotearoa*, p.14.

¹³³ *Te Kaupapa Tikanga Rua: Bicultural Development*, (1986), p.3.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, p.3.

He then turned his attention to the setting up of the Settler Church and on May 14th 1857, at a constitutional Convention held at St Stephen's Church at Mission Bay in Auckland, The Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand, was established. This was constituted without consultation or involvement of the larger portion of the Church, Te Hahi Mihinare. It was a structure devised by Pakeha for Pakeha and to meet the Settlers' needs. Up to that time the diocesan Synod in Waiapu was almost conducted entirely in Maori but by 1869 it was noted:

*"Synods were now held in the English language which virtually precluded the attendance of Maori Clergymen. Consequently Maori Church Boards were established to have control of Maori religious matters."*¹³⁵

7. POLICY OF ASSIMILATION

After the Land Wars, Bishop Williams in Tauranga reported that great numbers had fallen away and his mission station at Waerenga Hika was destroyed. In 1876 a hui in Tologa Bay raised the question of a Maori Bishop. The request was declined on the grounds that there were no suitable candidates although it did not pass the notice of the Maori to question why some Maori were raised to permanent positions in Government and not in the Church.¹³⁶ The Maori Church Board of the Diocese of Auckland made another attempt in 1880 for a Suffragan Bishop for the Maori portion of the Church in Auckland. This was rejected by General Synod as it was considered to be undesirable because of the oneness which exists between the English and the Maori, and the hope

¹³⁵ Davidson: 1991, p.130

¹³⁶ Ibid

¹³⁶ Ibid

¹³⁶ Ibid

that they will be brought yet closer together in worship and in organization.¹³⁷ The intentions of Synod in trying to draw closer bonds between the two peoples failed to see reflections of assimilation, and worse still, took little account of the Maori needs. With the emphasis on unity of Maori and Pakeha, institutionally Maori were marginalised, and the overall authority was not going to be handed over so easily. The Governing body, General Synod, had no Maori representatives and the call for Maori representation in 1901 and 1913 were not successful.

The advance of the Ratana movement in the 1920s caused the Anglican Church to respond and so created the Diocese of Aotearoa. However, the nomination of Herbert Williams, as Bishop for Maori was rejected by Maori. Then in 1928 General Synod rescinded the 1925 legislation and created an Assistant Bishop, who would be Maori, to work under a Diocesan Bishop. But he was a Bishop without status, without influence on Church Courts, and elected by Pakeha Bishops. The first Bishop of Aotearoa, was Fredrick Augustus Bennett. While Maori saw his election as a historical event, they were also cynical of the appointment as the Bishop was described frequently by his own people as being a '*man-of-war without guns*'.¹³⁸ This situation remained so for the next fifty years.

8. THE CHURCH OF 1992

Time after time the Maori Church pleaded for its tino rangatiratanga, at the very least a representative at the governing body, but to no avail, until 1978 when Bishop Manu

¹³⁷ Ibid

¹³⁸ P.G.S. (1986), p.R.269

Bennett was finally given power to vote as a full member.¹³⁹ In 1984 the Church was challenged to address its life according to the Treaty of Waitangi. A constitutional Commission was set up with equal representation of Pakeha and Maori and in 1986 a Provincial Commission on Bi-culturalism was set up *"to devise programmes within the Church of the Province for a better understanding of the meaning and practice of partnership and bi-cultural development."*¹⁴⁰ Despite the report of fear and uncertainty, and of some confusion between Maori and Pakeha, a final draft of the constitution was presented to a special sitting of General Synod and Te Runanga Nui, (the Maori Parallel of General Synod), at Wellington in November 1990, which was unanimously agreed upon and set for its final reading in 1992.¹⁴¹

From the arrival of Samuel Marsden and his friends as guests of Ruatara in 1814 until 1992, a period of 178 years, a fully-fledged Maori Church, Te Hahi Mihinare has finally emerged despite the set-backs experienced. Despite years of subjugation to and the rigid stubbornness of its parent body, tino rangatiratanga has finally been achieved. With the revised Constitution now in place, how does it work? What has been achieved? and has it made any inherent differences to The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia and in particular to Te Hahi Mihinare?

As mentioned earlier, the structure adopted is run on a three parallel system under the key word of 'tikanga' which is understood to mean, in this context 'cultural strand'. The tikanga involved are the Maori and the Pakeha, who are recognized as the Treaty Partners, with the addition of Polynesia as the third party. Each tikanga have their own governing body. The Maori Church, Tikanga Maori is named as Te Pihopatanga o

¹³⁹ Ibid, p.273

¹⁴⁰ P.G.S. (1988), p.R.96.

Aotearoa (The Bishopric of Aotearoa). The Constitution allows for each of the cultural strands, Maori, Pakeha and Polynesian, to live the Gospel in their own way, according to the customs and traditions of their own cultures and in their own language. Matters that affect the whole church are governed by the Rungananui (General Synod) which has representatives from the three tikanga. It means that no policies or regulations can be passed by General Synod unless there is an agreement by members of each tikanga. This means that all matters are carefully considered in reference to this context before being introduced. It also means that the numerically majority partner, the Pakeha, and the minority partners, Maori and Polynesians, are held to be equal without a shadow of domination by the larger over the smaller. Any resolutions that come forward for discussion must be agreed upon by all three tikanga. The Constitution means that, within one church, within one structure, under the same rules and regulations, it is possible to allow space for all and receive the gifts of the different cultural streams. There are a lot of discussions among the members of each tikanga to work out a way forward. There is scope for any two tikanga to meet jointly for clarification and mutual agreement of an issue.. When a resolution is passed it is a result of free choice of each tikanga. It is a commitment to partnership. One partner cannot override another's wishes by majority vote.¹⁴²

9. TINO RANGATIRATANGA – Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa.

What has been achieved? Since the inception of the revised Constitution, Tikanga Maori (Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa) has progressed in leaps and bounds far beyond all

¹⁴¹ P.G.S. (1990), p.R.172.

¹⁴² The Commission on Constitutional Changes (1998), *A Constitution for our Nation*. P.1

expectations. The restructuring and development of the Episcopal regions has led to the establishment of five Hui Amorangi (Synodical Conferences) bringing to bear the main tribal areas more consistent with Maori boundaries. For example, Te Manawa o te Wheke Hui Amorangi consists of the tribes from the Maatatua, Te Arawa and Tainui waka. This meant changing the Waikato boundary to include Tamaki Makaurau, which brings in Mangere city. The emergence of the self-supporting Priesthood Training Scheme led to a dramatic and enthusiastic growth of training in ministry both for ordained and lay. In 1976 there were a total of 28 Maori Priests throughout Aotearoa. Now there are well over 350 Priests, including women Priests, and over 200 Kai Karakia (Lay Readers).¹⁴³ It resulted in the resurrection and re-establishment of the Maori Theological College, Te Rau Kahikatea, which is situated on the St John's Theological College in Auckland. Further evidence of its rapid thrust within the educational and learning needs of Te Hahi Mihinare is its extension of ministry to Australia where there are now Maori Priests in Sydney, Brisbane and Darwin with five more Maori being trained at Te Rau Kahikatea for placement in Australia. Within the international context Te Rau Kahikatea can boast of opening up a reciprocal training agreement with the Native Ministries Consortium on Theological Education within the Vancouver School of Theology. Charles Cook Theological School in Arizona and the Hawaii Episcopal Church exchange faculty and students. Besides Theological training it has also added to its training scheme to include Awhi Whanau (Social Services) degree.¹⁴⁴ These programmes received approval from the New Zealand Qualifications Board in August of 1999.

¹⁴³ *Te Whakapapa o te Phipatanga o Aotearoa: A Mission Statement and Profile of the Bishopric of Aotearoa*, Bryce Ian Printers, Rotorua, 1992. P.33f.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p.19

Anglican representatives from other countries had their first hands-on experience when they attended the Provincial Consultation of Partners in Mission (PIM) held in Christchurch in September 1992. There were 18 distinguished overseas ecumenical partners. It was the first chance for any world-wide representatives to explore partnership in a newly re-constituted three-tikanga Church. Bishop Colin Sheumack, of the Diocese of Citoria, Australia, described it as, *"The most soul-shattering thing to have happened in the New Zealand Church with tremendous potential for greatness."* He attended the 1976 P.I.M. in New Zealand and observed that it was Pakeha dominated.

*"There was almost no Maori voice except for the Bishop. The whole set up was completely Pakeha with everything done in the Western way of working. With this Consultation, the three voices have really been allowed to be spoken and the Maori Church and the Tikanga Pasifika have done their own thing and that this P.I.M. has been a more exciting and fulfilling experience than 1976."*¹⁴⁵

Archdeacon Philip Allen, a Sioux Indian, who chairs the Council of Indian Ministries of the Episcopal Church of the U.S.A. sees the new structure as a positive form that the whole Anglican Communion could learn from the New Zealand Church has shown how different ethnic groups could be partners. He continued to say that,

*"In the U.S.A. on a National level, we are changing structures, learning from New Zealand. For the first time Indian people in the Church are in charge of their own decision making."*¹⁴⁶

From these observations and rapid changes within the Hahi Mihinare, the educational programmes for women, children and youth, the formation of the New Zealand Prayer

¹⁴⁵ New Zealand Anglican Board of Mission, 1992, *Here & There*, p.11

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p.6.

Book with its distinctive Maori flavour, spell out a different spirit moving within the Anglican Church. This spirit spells tino rangatiratanga for both Pakeha, Maori and Pacifica. Under the revised Constitution the sense of respect, responsibility, aroha and humility on both sides cannot be refuted. There is a more sympathetic understanding amongst the Pakeha of what is meant by partnership. At the same time one cannot ignore the fact that there are still a lot of Pakeha and Maori who are still reluctant to accept change. They feel insecure and, because of this lack of understanding, feel threatened. The on-going education of partnership, bi-culturalism and The Treaty of Waitangi is still vital.¹⁴⁷

10. A CONSTITUTION FOR A NATION – Maori hopes and dream.

In May 1998, the General Synod of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, presented a discussion document for use in groups and gatherings in the Church and the wider community entitled 'A Constitution for our Nation'. It states that since its inception there have been four sessions of General Synod and there have been no serious problems. There have been many Tikanga Caucuses and intense inter-tikanga negotiations, but no divisions have been called, nor has any Tikanga veto been formally applied. Some people speak positively about the constitution enriching the life of the Church, allowing power sharing, and encouraging a sensitive dialogue. Others speak of a sense of loss of the close relationship between Maori and Pakeha. There are also doubts about whether the Tikanga have yet found effective ways of relating to each other, but experiences have been very positive and rewarding. The real strength of the

¹⁴⁷ P.G.S. 1992, p.2.33

system is that it allows each partner to be authentically themselves and to be seen as equally important.

General Synod is concerned that while there are Acts of Parliament which deal with some constitutional matters, the Treaty of Waitangi is not clearly established as one of them. General Synod believes that at critical times in a nation's history, re-writing its constitution allows people to focus on what is really important in governing their country. A constitution, once written, provides an agreed basis for political debate and action. General Synod believes that now is one of those crucial times for New Zealand.

General Synod believes that having set their own house in order, the experience of the Church may now serve as a means of developing a new model for the country at this all-important time of change. The paper, presented by General Synod, sets out an outline of the present situation, how the Church's history has led to this step and a summary of four possible ways in which New Zealand could be governed in the future.

11. THE SUPREME GOD – The 'Io' Tradition.

Before bringing this part to its conclusion, one other question needs to be raised. That is, what is the possible role for a theological contribution of tino rangatiratanga of the debated belief in a supreme God named Io? There are those who believe that both oral and written evidence is insufficient to back the theory of Io as a valid tradition. On the other hand, there are those who are of the opinion, that the evidence in hand is sufficient for the acceptance that the tradition of Io was in existence before the arrival of the Pakeha. Thirdly there are those who are more cautious and non-committal about the traditional existence, but who seem to accept the theological concept of Io.

While, in my view, there is insufficient clear evidence to uphold the classical tradition of Io, I also believe, that the evidential question is really an academic discussion as to when the Io theory began. The more important is, should the tradition of Io be encouraged and developed as a Christian Maori theology or should it be abandoned as a bad idea? I do not propose to follow this idea through at this stage, but simply points out that the tradition of Io has already been in existence for well over a hundred years and is well imbedded in many minds, both Pakeha and Maori. The name of Io is called upon at many Kohanga Reo (Language Nests) Schools, Kura Kaupapa Maori Schools in their prayers, on numerous Marae throughout the country, and publicly at openings of buildings. The doctrine and theology of the tradition of Io is readily available through the works of such scholars as Elsdon Best, Apirana Ngata, Teone Taare Tikao, Maori Marsden and more recently, Michael P. Shirres. It is sung and talked about on Maori Radio stations, on Television, at Regional and at National Performing Arts Cultural Competitions. What ever its generic, the tradition of Io is already part and parcel of Maori Spirituality. However, how did the tradition of Io, the supreme god within Maori religion, begin and, more to the point, when did it emerge in its written form? These questions I will now address.

The first general knowledge of Io became known when Percy S. Smith published an article for the Polynesian Society, titled 'The Lore of Te Whare Wananga' in 1913.¹⁴⁸ Then in 1924, Elsdon Best, published his book, 'Maori Religion and Mythology.' These two books were the first publications that became available for public reading. Both these writers used written material about Io which came from H.T. Whatahoro, who took notes at a series of lectures given by two prominent Maori

¹⁴⁸ Smith, S. Percy. *The Lore of the whare wananga or teachings of a Maori College*, part 1 Polynesian Society, Mem; Vol. 3, 1913.

Tohunga (experts) of Ngati Kahungunu tribe, Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu, at Te Whare Wananga (University of Learning), in the Wairarapa district in 1865. In 1907, after a period of 42 years, the notes from these lectures were rewritten and added to, to produce a large volume and presented to Tane-nui-a-rangi Committee, to be approved 'as an agreed expression of genuine Ngati Kahungunu tradition in that year.'¹⁴⁹ Bishop Muru Walters point out that these two men were converted Christians and that Te Whatahoro, the scribe, had spent some time in Hawaii. One can only deduce from this that all three men involved were well versed with the one God of the Old Testament and, therefore, it is not surprising to see so many similar ideas emerging in the now rewritten stories of how the Maori world came into being, as noted by Walters.

*"The original Rangi and Papa story was modified to include the separation of light from darkness and waters from dry land; as well as a suspended firmament. A one supreme god of everything superseded Rangi and Papa. The family of Rangi and Papa was increased from six to seventy. Twelve heavens with guardians and houses all named were included. The conflict between Tane and Tawhiri during the separation of Rangi and Papa was now relocated to the ascent of Tane to the uppermost heaven where Io dwelt. The new explanation for the purpose of the ascent of Tane to gain the three basket of knowledge from Io was provided. Hinetitama and Whiro were relegated to the underworld to direct the righteous through an east doorway, and the sinners through a south doorway."*¹⁵⁰

Further to this, Walters argues that *"the invention of a supreme god Io was a response to the political, social and economic circumstances of the times,"* and added that his

¹⁴⁹ Shirres, Michael, 1997. P.107.

¹⁵⁰ Walters, Muru, The Right Reverend, *Maori Religious Freedom*, written address given at a Pacific Region Religious Liberty Congress, Suva, Fiji. 7 –10 June 1993. P.7-8.

*own tribe Te Rarawa did not know about it and that it was invented by a few Maori of the Kahungunu tribe.*¹⁵¹

The Io tradition was rejected by Sir Peter Buck who said that the discovery of a supreme God named Io in New Zealand was a surprise to Maori and Pakeha alike and that this was more a reaction to Christianity. He further asserts that the account of the separation of the spirits of the dead on their arrival at Hawaikinui (Destination of the dead), the righteous go to the Upper world and sinners to the underworld, totally contradicts Maori belief of pre-European times.¹⁵²

Prytz Johansen also dismissed the Io tradition on the probability that it came after the arrival of the Europeans although he argues that if other pieces of evidence came from another tribe the high-god Io would be assured because of the geographical distance between tribes.¹⁵³

Eric Schwimmer is sceptical but says the truth lies somewhere in between opposing views.¹⁵⁴ Apirana Ngata, at the conclusion of an unpublished lecture, said that whether Io is independently evolved or borrowed, he is inclined to think that it was possible for Polynesian philosophers to dream up such a concept.¹⁵⁵

James Irwin was personally approached by Rev. Fr. P.W. Shirres who, examined carefully the various early authorities. One source going back to the 1840's, came to the conclusion that the Io tradition was pre-European in origin.¹⁵⁶ Irwin, along with Schwimmer and Apirana, are the more cautious and non committal group, but seem to accept and propagate the tradition of Io. Michael P. Shirres is in no doubt of his belief in

¹⁵¹ Ibid. p.11

¹⁵² Buck, Sir Peter (Te Rangi Hiroa), *The Coming of the Maori*. Maori Purposes Fund Board, Wellington. 1958. P. 526.

¹⁵³ Shirres: 1997. P. 107

¹⁵⁴ Schwimmer, Eric, *The World of the Maori*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1966. P.116.

¹⁵⁵ Irwin, James, *An Introduction to Maori Religion*, 1984. P.35.

the tradition of Io as a pre-European element of the Maori religious life. His acceptance of the Io traditon is based on written evidence, not only from Kahungunu but also from Waikato, Ngapuhi, Kai Tahu and possibly from Moriori, in addition to the oral tradition.

From the Waikato area there is the written evidence of John White's, '*Ancient History of the Maori*', based on notes from Reverend Richard Taylor's notebooks referring to a teacher at Whawharua, a settlement between Otorohanga and Te Kuiti. There, on the 7th of May 1852, the teacher began his address with a karakia (prayers) directed to Io. "*E Io e rangi, tapa mai e koe a taua tama, ko te whakarongonga.....*"¹⁵⁷ Taylor also made another reference to Io in his notes revealing his knowledge of the Kahungunu teaching of Io. In an another instance, Shirres points out that Pei Te Hurinui Jones, in his biography of King Potatau Te Wherowhero, refers to a High Priest addressing Io at a raising-up ritual for the Maori King in 1859. Shirres points out the strong links between the opening lines of this prayer with the prayer said at Whawharua which reads, "*E Io e rangi, Tapa mai ra ia, ta taua tama, etc.*"¹⁵⁸

The Kahungunu material has already been dealt with through Percy Smith and Elsdon Best's publications. Moving on to the Ngapuhi evidence Sir Apirana Ngata reported how Judge Manning, who settled in Hokianga from 1833, obtained the tradition of Io. Apparently, Manning was allowed to study the cult of Io and "*absorbed the karakia and everything and was even initiated in it.*"¹⁵⁹ He sought medical treatment in London for his cancer during which time he wrote about the Io tradition. However, because of his sworn secrecy not to reveal the knowledge of Io, he had his writings destroyed by

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Shirres: 1997. P.108

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 109

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 110

burning them. The other Ngapuhi written record is a book by C.O. Davis on the life of the chief Patuone written in 1876 where Patuone *"revealed the fact that the Maoris, in the olden times, worshipped a Supreme Being whose name was held so sacred that none but the priest might utter it at certain times and places."*¹⁶⁰

Further Ngapuhi written evidence comes from what is known as the 'Penehare' manuscripts of 1923 where it tells the story of a certain chief, Pokaia, in search of a powerful karakia, obtainable only from the Whare Wananga of Io. He wished to use this incantation against his enemy Taoho of Ngati Whatua. More evidence for Shirres comes from a French missionary, Catherine Servant, who wrote in 1842, that *"he had no doubt that in earlier times the natives used to believe in several gods, but they nevertheless accept the existence of a great spirit."*¹⁶¹

Moreover, Shirres continued, Governor King, Governor of New South Wales between 1800 – 1806 records a conversation with 'Tip-a-he', a chief of the Bay of Islands, in 1806 writes, *'The existence of a God who resides above they believe and that his shadow frequently visits the earth.'*¹⁶²

From the Kaitahu tradition, Teone Tare Tikao, a recognised tohunga in South Island Maori culture, informed Herries Beattie in 1920 of his account of the genesis story. *'Io, the Supreme God, brought the sky (Rangi-mui or Rangi) and land (Papa-tua-muku or Papa) into being....I was not taught the whole story of creation, but I had certain*

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 111

¹⁶² *ibid.*

portions explained to me. I was taught to repeat the following words, "Io whatata; Io whatamai; Ko hekeheke-i-nuku; Ko hekeheke-i-papa."¹⁶³

The written evidence from the Chatham Islands comes from an old man who wrote a prayer for his children in 1859 goes "...te ruanuku eio te ruanuku tane te ruanuku tangaroa." For Shirres, this could be a reference to Io.

Apart from the written evidence, probably what helped Shirres take the stance he did was the written and oral work as well as the experiences of The Reverend Maori Marsden through the Ngapuhi tradition. Shirres, in his book *Te Tangata*, follows Maori Marsden's theology of the creation based on the tradition of Io as understood by the Ngapuhi tradition taking it through its various stages. It is an impressive outlay of the Maori belief system beginning with Io as the Supreme God who created all things. Io the omnipotent (Io Nui Tikitiki o Rangi) and the omnipresent (Mata -Kana) having lived eternally, (Te Korekore). At the centre, proceeding from Io, the Breath or Spirit of life, the source of all mauri...giving shape and form, and unity, to all things. For Shirres, To be one with the universe and to be one with Io.

From the writer's point of view, this does not contravene, nor is it much different from, many other indigenous points of view in their stories of the creation of the world. However, in the end, whether the tradition of Io began before the arrival of the Pakeha or not, is not relevant to our main concern. Rather, what is important is the theology, the concept, what is believed by the people and what has been taught about Io. What is presented so far by Shirres, Best, Taylor, Apirana, White, Marsden and others is exciting and has great potential in re-interpreting and understanding the theology of Maori

¹⁶³ Beattie, Herries, *Tikao Talks, Ka taokao te ao kohatu, Treasures from the ancient world of the Maori*, Penguin Books, 1990. P. 24

Spirituality. This is the challenge and opportunity for all Maori people to grapple with as those before us had to do.

At the January Taapapa Ministry Summer School 2000, held at Rotorua, a guest speaker, Dr. Aroha Yates –Smith, Senior Lecturer of Maori studies at the University of Waikato, challenged the gathering with the following proclamation. Having been brought up in a strong Maori Anglican environment at Ohinemutu, and her self, a confirmed Anglican, and having studied Maori gods, (particularly Maori female gods as her doctoral thesis), she no longer holds a simplistic view of Jesus as her Saviour. Instead, her beliefs, in respect of life after death is based on the beliefs of nga Tipuna. It seems Maori gods are still quite relevant, at least for some people, in the computer era of Virtual Reality in the new millennium.

11. SUMMARY

By way of summary of this thesis, Maori Spirituality, in trying to capture what was and what is, has not been easy to contain in a neat little package and say 'here it is'. Rather it has been an attempt to help unravel some answers in reply to a group of young Maori singers who found themselves caught up in a seemingly helpless situation. In despair they cry out to their traditional Maori gods for help to maintain their 'tino rangatiratanga.' The question arises is it possible that, in this modern world of chip and computer, old values and beliefs of yester-year can help these young people?

The first section, in looking at the question of who and what are Maori gods, used Harold Turner's analysis of Primal Religion as a base to help identify various aspects of

the dynamic relationship of Maori cosmology. The root source of Maori stories was taken from Tony Alpers retelling of 'Maori Myths and Tribal Legends' especially of Rangi and Papa and snippets of Maui stories. Maori religion was holistic in its outlook of life. Spirit and matter are from one and the same source. However, the reality of the finite requires the power of the Transcendent Other, the spiritual, in order for mana to be achieved. The ecology of the Maori reside in the fact that Maori interact continuously in mutual interdependence. In a sense, the physical world acts as a sacramental vehicle in the ordinary and extra-ordinary acts of the sons of Rangi and Papa and of Maui the demi-god. Every animate and inanimate object, every activity, individually and socially, reverberates with spiritual mana, mauri and ihi. Maori spirituality before the arrival of the Pakeha was 'absolutely necessary to the proper functioning of Maori society'.

The arrival of a new world order of technology and culture, while violent at times, has slowly been absorbed and adopted. Maori changed their status from an independent country to become part of the British Empire and have British Rights. The new settlers were very much dependent on the Maori business acumen and Maori soon embraced the new religion, but not in its totality. While they became British subjects their approach to life remained very much Maori. Only a tribe owned land not the individual. Many adopted Christianity and joined the Missionary Churches, while some took on the unorthodox line of heterodox new religious movements. The clash of the cultures was inevitable. Outnumbered, outmaneuvered, and outgunned, the Treaty was swept aside as 'nul and void' and new rules were applied by the political operation of the Dominion. In spite of unjust land confiscation and means of livelihood taken away, Maori remained very much Maori. While the clash of the two cultures was 'dynamic and complex', the ancient belief of Maori Spirituality was retained in its new bi-cultural environment.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the advent of the new colonial world had seen the Maori plundered of their resources and means of subsistence, and in due course the loss of mana, mauri and numbers. Maori almost became extinct, like the Moa bird before them. Destitute and impoverished, Maori inwardly turned to their own resources of Whanau, Hapu and Iwi for their inspiration and the reawakening of ancestral spirits within the context of the Marae, the last bastion of Maoridom. The Marae remain the static location for the dynamic presentation of the past. This past is conveyed in mythology, legends, stories of the ancestors, and the connection to the spirituality of the Maori. Out of the relived past a sense of identity prevail, but with a difference. The art work had changed. Traditional reproduction and representation took another leap into the new century, capturing the moment and changes in time. Religious beliefs and concept changed to include Christianity. Yet in spite of the changes the Marae remained a refuge, a haven, a sacramental vehicle where emotional feelings and formal speeches flow freely. Here the dead are cried over and fare-welled, genealogy is recited, and stories retold. It is a place for the performance of arts in speech, song and action, giving voice to the buildings, carvings, mountains, rivers, to all inanimate objects.

The key to all this knowledge lies within the language. Only the Maori language can capture the essence and nuance of the Maori world in all its differences and subtleties. The Marae today reflect the beliefs of the ancient past, skilfully and artistically interwoven with the technology and materials of the new millennium, to stand before its Whanau, Hapu, Iwi and remain as an inspiration for the future generations to come. It is only in looking back to the past that one can shed some light on why things are as they stand today. The ancient Maori Spirituality remained strong during the period of

interaction with the new world and Christianity was adopted and in some cases adapted into Maori culture. Changes took place. Christianity was supported, upheld and broadcast by Maori and the Io tradition began to appear publicly surreptitiously. But the ancient spiritual tradition remained alongside the new religion. This came through quite clearly in the art work within the Meeting houses, churches, halls with added dynamism and display of colours.

12. CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion, for over 160 years Maori have longed for the return of tino rangatiratanga as set out in the Treaty of Waitangi, and to be able to live life the Maori way. To hear it, to see it, to feel it, and to taste and savour it. From the first set of constitutions of both the political and religious bodies, the powers to be, slowly devoured Maori and their taonga katoa (all their properties), under the guise of 'lawful actions' and the myth of 'one people, one nation'. Maori efforts to persuade, discuss, consult, were, and still are, met with stubborn resistance as the three Hirangi hui have shown. However, in the midst of all this, a section of the Nation, the Anglican Church in New Zealand, boldly stepped out in faith and changed its Constitution to embrace the Treaty of Waitangi. For its Maori members, tino rangatiratanga is a reality. Now, the Church has set out a challenge to its members and the wider community, both Maori and non-Maori, to discuss a Constitution for our Nation. The opportunity for education, discussion and consultation of a Nation for the establishment of tino rangatiratanga with all peoples has arrived. If the recent 'Hikoi of Hope' is any indication of the dedication and genuine concern of the Anglican Church and other Churches to make changes in Government, Maori will be foolish to let this moment slip by. Maori now have powerful

allies with empathy and understanding. Pakeha and Maori are willing to debate, consult and educate the Colonial Pakeha. Their missionary zeal for justice and equality are unquestionable as part of the Gospel that their Pakeha tipuna brought to this land Aotearoa. Now seems to be a wonderful opportunity for the mobilisation of a creative Constitution for our Nation and a challenge for all peoples in the new millennium. This indeed is 'good-news' for 'tino rangatiratanga' and what needs to happen is for the leaders of both the Church and State to involve young people in the discussions so that they too may be able to 'walk the talk' and take up the challenge. There is also the need for someone to remind the young Maori Singers that the Maori gods never left, they have always been present. All it requires is their willingness to follow through and a change in attitude to share in the excitement of re-discovery and re-interpretation and celebrate the development of a unique dimension to our New Zealand way of life.

I contend that 'tino rangatiratanga', as practised and understood by the Anglican Church in New Zealand, Aotearoa and Polynesia, is the best means to advance Maori aspirations and which will be of great benefit for the future of both Maori and Pakeha. As the Maori proverb encourages all to do, 'E rere te manuka, tomokia.'. As the dart flies true to its mark, let us follow it through.'

ABBREVIATIONS

1. P.G.S. Proceedings of General Synod. The Church of the Province of New Zealand.

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