

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

TE WAIRUA KŌMINGOMINGO O
TE MĀORI

THE SPIRITUAL WHIRLWIND OF
THE MĀORI

A thesis presented for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in

Māori Studies

Massey University

Palmerston North,
New Zealand

Te Waaka Melbourne

2011

Abstract

This thesis examines Māori spirituality reflected in the customary words Te Wairua Kōmingomingo o te Maori. Within these words Te Wairua Kōmingomingo o te Māori; the past and present creates the dialogue sources of Māori understandings of its spirituality formed as it were to the intellect of Māori land, language, and the universe. This is especially exemplified within the confinements of the marae, a place to create new ongoing spiritual synergies and evolving dialogues for Māori. The marae is the basis for meaningful cultural epistemological tikanga Māori customs and traditions which is revered. Marae throughout Aotearoa is of course the preservation of the cultural and intellectual rights of what Māori hold as mana (prestige), tapu (sacred), ihi (essence) and wehi (respect) – their tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty).

This thesis therefore argues that while Christianity has taken a strong hold on Māori spirituality in the circumstances we find ourselves, never-the-less, the customary, and traditional sources of the marae continue to breath life into Māori.

This thesis also points to the arrival of the Church Missionary Society which impacted greatly on Māori society and accelerated the advancement of colonisation. The Gospel and the arrival of its new frontiers of spirituality were forceful and complex. Te Wairua Kōmingomingo for Māori therefore changed direction and adapted to the Gospel message.

Within this message the Anglican Church in Aotearoa to its credit attempted to align its direction with Māori. In this regard the 1992 Constitution of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia was created which contained provisions for the recognition of three separate huarahi (pathways) - Māori, Pākehā and Polynesian. The provision of these three pathways to carry out its spiritual mission inculcated in their own distinctive cultural practices. With this aligned direction the constitution prevails itself to meet the cultural prescient of the meaning of Te Wairua Kōmingomingo o te Māori linked as it were to the principals of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Following through from the process of colonisation the turbulent years of the 19th century Māori communities had lost vast amounts of land through deliberate government legislation supported by land wars. The Māori population was decimated. This thesis therefore begins by looking at the culture and the theology of this predominately Māori-speaking community of Ruātoki taking into account the dreams and visions of a farmer George Melbourne alongside the Tūhoe prophet Rua Kēnana

who together with their understanding of Te Wairua Kōmingomingo o te Māori developed the City of God in Maungapōhatu in the early 1900s to reinforce the position for Tūhoe and Māori. In 1916 a police expedition arrested Rua Kēnana on trumped up charges and this exact scene was again repeated in October 2007 in Ruātoki. This thesis therefore examines these two very specific invasions and throughout the thesis states a case for Te Wairua Kōmingomingo o te Māori as a platform to be supported and continued.

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge the help and encouragement of Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa, and especially the Archbishop Whakahuihui Vercoe who will always remain to me a fine example of a wise sage of the Old Testament style, a kaumātua well-versed in scripture and tikanga Māori. There was also his office staff, Charles Hemana, Putua Hemopo and Cathy Whata and more recently Betty Gifford who assisted me in everyway they could. There was also the appointed secretary for Te Manawa-o-te-wheke, Hui Amorangi, Carol Gillies who was recently replaced by Ron McGough. E kore e warewaretia.

My gratitude must also go to our newly appointed Pīhopa o Te Manawa-o-te-wheke, the Right Reverend Rahu Kātene whose friendship and supportive leadership made it possible for me to continue unhindered and gave me the opportunity to continue with my research despite the difficulties he encountered. Rangitihi ūpoko i tākaia ki te akatea - Rangitihi whose split head was bound with a vine.

My thanks also goes to staff members of Taapapa for Te Manawa-o-te-wheke who were very supportive of my work and were willing to assist me in any discussions that I had with them as individuals and as a team of colleagues within the Hāhi Mihinare. They were the late Archdeacon Joe Brown-Akuhata, Pare Aratema, Julia Rika, Rachael Aratema, the late Reverend Canon Jim Biddle, Aho Vercoe, and Archdeacon Joe Huta; there were also part-time staff like, Reverends Norma Crapp, Awanui Timutimu, Canon Jimmy McGarvey, Parehuia Tamepō, Bettina Maxwell, Koherangi Waititi, Wally Wells, Tom Poata, and Minnie Pouwhare. Ko tāu rourou ko tāku, ka ora te manuhiri - your food basket and mine will feed the students.

I wish to recognise the help of my friends the team of budding PhD students within the Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa who volunteered to meet once a year and give individual reports offer support and share experiences. These were Archdeacon Turi Hollis, Reverend Peter Wensor, Reverend Rangi Nicholson, Moeawa Gallagher and Reverend Robert Kereopa. As hymn 511 encourages us; to “fight the good fight...”

There has to be a mention of the beautiful Vaughan Park Retreat Centre, its Director, Reverend John Fairbrother and his very efficient staff. I was fortunate enough to receive a

Vaughn Park Residential Scholar for 2008 a period of three months. “Lord, who may dwell in your sanctuary...” Ps. 15: 1.

Special thanks also go to staff of Te Rau Kahikatea at St. John’s College who went out of their way and offered a temporary place as a staff member in turn for some time for me to continue my studies. Kia ora Jenny korua ko te hoa, Te Kenana Kauri o te rangi Kaa. He mihi nui ki a korua. It was greatly appreciated. Anō te pai, te āhua reka o te noho o ngā teina me ngā tuakana i runga i te whakaaro kotahi.

Staff members of Massey University, Department of Māori Studies Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi. Professor Sir Mason Durie, who seems to have unending confidence in every Māori student he meets as he boldly announces, “...see you next year when you start on on your PhD.” My supervisor Professor Taiarahia Black, who never gave up on me, my mentor and conscience constantly motivating me through emails and meetings of the mind and spirit. Special mention must go to Jean Vanags whose call went beyond staff engagement and guidance. “The righteous cry out and the Lord hears them; he delivers them from all their troubles.” Ps. 34:17

Finally my four whānau editors, readers, confidants checking spelling and grammar to my sister-in-law Ngāwaina, my Bible expert Arthur Schwartzfeger with the patience and perseverance, erased, punctuated and carried me through. To my daughter Peata who helped me through the last 8 months when I was ready to give up inspired and spurred me on and she had to endure my slow and ponderous way of working with the computer and suffered the consequence when two systems were discovered to be incompatible. “Whoever loves discipline loves knowledge, but he who hates corrections is stupid.” Prov. 12:1. Often I was. Then came Ruth an old friend who gave the last touches to complete the work as it is now. (Ruth 1:16)

This creation is for my wife Cherry Waikohu, who was adopted out by her mother and she grew up not knowing her connections to her Ngāti Poroutanga until her final year on earth (2006). Her spiritual rapture with Tūhoe is captured in her teaching of the myriads of students. Teaching poi and the Māori language through songs composed by Kōhine and Cherry’s brother-in-law Hirini, will remain as her heirloom. We have spent days of delight in her love affair with Marumaru in Te Urewera as we trekked together, the place where she

discovered and where she became a creature of the mist herself. She changed her name by deed pole after the name of the stream Waikohu, (misty waters), which flows into Ōhinemataroa. Yet this river, as it meanders through the bush, is neither so strong nor so deep as my love for her and she will always remain my partner, friend, lover, mother and grandmother of our wonderful children and beautiful grandchildren. E taku huruhuru kereru, e moe i te moe te whakaaratia!

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	vii
Chapter 1	1
TE HAU KŌMINGOMINGO - THE WHIRLWIND.....	1
Culture and Theology.....	1
TE HAU KŌMINGOMINGO – THE SPIRITUAL WHIRLWIND.....	10
CLEANSED FOR RECONNECTION	13
WAIRUA MĀORI.....	17
ATUATANGA	19
WORSHIP.....	21
THE FUTURE FOR MY MOKOPUNA	28
Chapter 2	31
TE POUHERE - THE CONSTITUTION	31
The Genesis of Tribes	44
THE MAORI STORY OF THEIR GENESIS.	45
THE CANOES	47
RUATARA	49
Importance of the Research Topic	54
Chapter 3	57
TE WAIRUA O TŪHOE – THE SPIRITUALITY OF TŪHOE	57
The Violent Struggle - behind Tūhoe claims	57
It is a great day for Tūhoe.....	58
TOI.....	62
PŌTIKI	64
NGĀ TAMARIKI O TE KOHU THE CHILDREN OF THE MIST	66
TŪHOE.....	67
TE TOKOTORU Ā PAEWHITI – THE THREE SONS OF PAEWHITI.....	69
RANGITEAORERE	71
Waster of property - Waster of mankind	71
MANA ME TE RANGATIRATANGA - SOVEREIGNTY & TERRITORIAL RIGHTS.....	75
PĀKEHA – RAUPATU, COLONISATION – CONFISCATION	77
TŪHOE & THE WAIKATO INVASION.	79
VOLKNER AND FULLOON	82

Chapter 4	87
PRIMAL RELIGION – THE MĀORI COSMOLOGY	87
KINSHIP WITH NATURE – The ecological aspect.	90
HUMAN LIMITATION – The human condition aspect.	96
HUMANITY NOT ALONE – the aspect of the transcendent other.	101
RELATIONS WITH TRANSCENDENT POWERS – The aspect of necessary interaction with the other that is yet present.	103
THE AFTER LIFE – The aspect of transcending finite limitations	104
THE PHYSICAL WORLD AS A SACRAMENTAL VEHICLE OF THE SPIRITUAL WORLD -The aspect of necessary interconnectedness of the seen and unseen realms.	106
Chapter 5	113
CLOSE ENCOUNTER WITH CHRISTIANITY – THE PĀKEHA	113
The New Kingdom	117
Chapter 6	139
TE HĀHI MIHINARE – THE SETTLERS CHURCH.	139
THE SETTLERS’ CHURCH.	150
THE CONSTITUTION.	153
THE KING MOVEMENT	155
Chapter 7	165
A NEW BREED OF SPIRITUALITY	165
THE MARAE	166
THE MEETING HOUSE – Te Whare Tūpuna	168
THE STATIC ARTS – The Changes	171
TE KOOTI MEETING HOUSES	173
APIRANA NGATA – Modern Meeting houses.	178
THE KING MOVEMENT – Ngāruawāhia	179
THE PERFORMING ARTS	181
Chapter 8	189
THE GOOD NEWS IS TINO RANGATIRATANGA	189
THE DEVELOPMENTS	189
PARALLEL DEVELOPMENTS	190
TINO RANGATIRATANGA – The Treaty.	191
THE FISCAL ENVELOPE – Māori response.	193
THE ANGLICAN CHURCH RESPONSE	197
THE SETTLERS CHURCH	198
POLICY OF ASSIMILATION	199
THE CHURCH OF 1992	200
TINO RANGATIRATANGA – Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa	201
A CONSTITUTION FOR A NATION – Māori hopes and dreams	203

THE MĀORI PARTY	204
THE SUPREME GOD – The Io Tradition.....	206
Chapter 9	215
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES	215
THE ANGLICAN INDIGENOUS NETWORK.....	216
VISITATION OF AOTEAROA BY AMERICAN INDIANS.	217
Te Whare Wānanga o Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa	220
The Visit to Hawai'i and American Indians.	222
Hawai'i Church.....	222
Denver Church.....	223
Minnesota Convocation.....	223
Navajoland ('j' pronounced as 'h') Convocation.....	225
NIOBRARA CONVOCATION.....	227
THE ISLANDS OF HAWAI'I.....	229
AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES.....	231
DRAFT DECLARATION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES.....	234
THE CELTIC CHURCH	235
Chapter 10	243
THE FUTURE FOR MĀORI SPIRITUALITY	243
Culture and Theology:.....	243
Chapter 3 concentrated on Toi Potiki and Tūhoe.....	249
BIBLIOGRAPHY	267
PUBLICATIONS.....	274

Chapter 1

TE HAU KŌMINGOMINGO - THE WHIRLWIND

Culture and Theology.

<i>Poi¹ porotiti atu poi porotiti mai</i>	<i>Twirl and twist my poi as you revolve</i>
<i>Kōkiri to haere ki te tahataha rua</i>	<i>Thrust all things aside as you move forward</i>
<i>Kōrerotia mai to pakiwaitara</i>	<i>Tell the stories of your people</i>
<i>Poi porotiti atu poi porotiti mai</i>	<i>Twirl and twist my poi as you evolve and revolve</i>
<i>E rere e hika e!</i>	<i>Go forth my friend!</i>

(Kōhine Pōnika 1970)

Mrs. Kōhine Ponika of Tūhoe and Ngāti Porou descent was a prolific writer of Māori action songs and poi. Her writing of Māori songs began during World War II when her three brothers joined the 28th Māori Battalion, and she had to stay home and milk the cows. Her first composition was an action song, *Kua Rongorongo Ake Ahau*, which was composed in the milking shed. Her father, the Reverend Wharetini Rangi, later joined the 28th Māori Battalion as a Chaplain.

The text in the introduction comes from the first verse of eight verses of a single-long poi composition. It encourages and urges the singer to weave the story by words and music as the poi twists and twirls in the hands of the performer with its convoluted and intricate patterns of telling the culture and the *atuatanga* (pre-European theology) of the Māori people of Aotearoa New Zealand, the spirituality of the Māori.

This first chapter will begin by introducing my small beginnings growing up as a child of the mist in Tuhoe territory where the Prophet Rua Kenana along with my grandfather had a vision of building a City of God and the effect it had on the tribe of Tuhoe. I will then attempt to explain what *Haukomingomingo* is and its spiritual connotations as seen through Maori eyes. A pre-European definition of what is *Atuatanga* (the study of God) and its

¹ Poi: A small ball made of light material tied together with a short string attached to it, which is held between the thumb and the first finger swung and twirled rhythmically to the back of the hand and flicked forward to hit the fore-front of the hand to sustain a beat as the wrist twists and turn to keep in time with the beat of the song being sung. A favourite entertaining past-time of the Māori telling stories of the past.

connections to worship in its cultural context will be examined. This chapter will end with inquiries that no doubt will be asked by my grandchildren as they struggle to discover their identity and their Maori spirituality as they are battered about, tossed in a whirlwind, by the many challenges of their world.

Māori spirituality, like all other indigenous religions and cultures of the world, has been in a whirlwind, evolving since the beginning of time, each generation has felt its effects and has made adjustments to meet the demands and challenges that confronted them as the forbears of Māori who navigated the Pacific commencing around 5000 BC, and finally arriving in Aotearoa New Zealand and surviving into the new millennium of 2000 AD.

In order for us to evaluate and have a better understanding of Māori spirituality and its effects nationally and globally, it is necessary to make brief comments on Māori nature-centred spirituality, what it is, and what it can offer to support the world in its struggle for survival culturally, and as a people. We would therefore need to look at its theological insights for its spiritual effects, and have some understanding of the cultural context from which they come, and how culture affects religious and theological ideas. First, let us discuss what culture is.

The Collins Dictionary describes culture as; 1. The total of the inherited ideas and beliefs, values, and knowledge, which constitute the shared bases of social action. 3. A particular civilization at a particular period. 4. The artistic and social pursuits, expression and tastes valued by a society or class.²

To describe Māori spirituality I will need to begin briefly with my own genesis. My life, my being a Māori is something I had no choice in. I was born into the Māori world in New Zealand, a distinctive variety of Māori who identified and committed to the way I was raised by my parents, and the community I belonged to. I am then the product of history and traditions of the community that gave me my inner being, my spirituality, my sense of ihi and mana, vital force and power.³ This in turn gave me my sense of values of the land I was connected to as I was nurtured in the ūkaipō (bosom) of Papatuanuku (Mother Earth) nestling under the shadows of the range of the hills named Taiarahia running from the

² Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus 1992, p.267

³ King Michael (ed) 1975, *Te Āo Hurihuri*, p. 193

Northern end of Ruātoki valley heading North to Tāneatua, seven miles inland from Whakatāne in the Bay of Plenty, North Island. Nestling at the foot of these hills is the marae of Rewarewa with its two ancestral buildings representing two ancestress, Kuramihirangi and Te Rangimōaho of the sub-tribe Māhurehure and Ngāi Te Kāpō. Alongside these two buildings is the dining hall named ANZAC in memory of the fallen soldiers of Ruātoki who fought alongside their comrades of both the First and Second World Wars. In this valley are nine other similar villages, each with their own large meeting houses and dining hall facilities representing their sub-tribes. It was here that I was raised as a child and began my education as a Māori. My first language was Māori where English was most uncommon, where we as children were allowed our freedom to do as we pleased within the bounds of the adults who ruled, and who themselves were also aware of the boundaries for both male and female, young, middle age and most senior as set up within the structure of tribal organisation. I grew up in this environment learning the dynamics of a cultural relationship and living together as a hapū, quite distinctive and unique to my tribe and my upbringing. Humans are inventive and creative, and we can see how far we have come within a very short time, even within the beginning of the last century 1900. My father was eight years old then. His world did not have all the wonderful new age gadgets that my grandchildren have now, despite the fact that his father owned one of the first Model T Ford cars in the 1920s, which graced the dirt roads of the Ruātoki -Whakatāne area. Cars and aeroplanes were not as common then as they are now, and some of my grandchildren have already travelled the world in safety, even if some of them have only travelled in the comfort of their living rooms, watching television in colour. Even in 1964 when I was serving my curacy in Forest Lake, Hamilton, the Vicar then, did not want his congregation to know that he had a television set, all be it, in black and white. Somehow it did not seem right for the Vicar to have a TV, so he did not have an outside aerial, but instead, opted for an inside one so the congregation would not suspect that the Vicarage had a TV. It took me another eight years before I could afford to buy my own 14-inch coloured television set for my family. It was a big event then for the family. I have great hopes for my grandchildren and their grandchildren. Their future depends so very much on what this generation intend to do, and will do, which is so critical for their world and their future.

The interaction between my grandfather, George Melbourne and I was minimal, despite the fact that I was living with him in his house during his last five years. We were on a 30-acre dairy farm, waiting on carpenters to finish our new Māori Affairs home in 1951. He was in

his nineties when he died. I was attending the Ruātoki District High School. The old house we were living in, according to my six older siblings, was called the castle, because during their time it was the only house in Ruātoki with four bedrooms, a large kitchen with a porch attached to it, and a veranda attached to the two sides of the house facing North and West. It also boasted two brick fireplaces with a modern wood burning iron stove and oven for cooking and heating hot water, with running water taps in the kitchen. George was an architect and builder, and because of his building knowledge the farm became the centre of the Māhurehure settlement. He was also the architect of two of the meeting houses in Ruātoki, Kuramihirangi at Rewarewa, and Apirana at Ōwhakatoro. In addition he supervised the buildings of the Kutarere marae, where he lived until the completion of the project. It was much later on in my life that I was informed that not only was he a follower of Rua Kēnana, “he Iharaira ia,” as an Israelite, but that he was the architect of the Roundhouse Temple at Maungapōhatu for the prophet Rua Kēnana. My younger brother, during his research regarding Tūhoe history, was informed that George was one of Rua’s main contacts in Ruātoki acting as his chauffeur.⁴

George was the son of James Melbourne, a young engineer from England, who arrived on the ship *The Fife*⁵, and established a general store in Whakatāne. He came to Ruātoki in 1860 to mill timber to build a flourmill, and was the only Pākehā there at the time. The Māori community of Ruātoki was so pleased with him that three chiefs named Tūtakangahau, Rangiaho, and Pukeruhu went to Ruatahuna to fetch a young woman for him named Peata Mōtoi. They were married in Ruātoki as Māori custom dictated in those days, and later the pair shifted to live in Whakatāne where Ann (Ani) Melbourne was born on August 6, 1864, and George Melbourne in 1867. James Melbourne died at Whakatāne towards the end of 1870, and was buried there.⁶ Ann married Michael Doherty, an Irishman, and the Doherty’s are a well-known name in Whakatāne.

George married Hinematiaro Te Purewa and came to live in Ruātoki. There they begat my father Harry Tātā and a daughter Hiraina. Hiraina was destined and chosen to be, one of Rua Kēnana’s wives. However, she died before this took place. She was fifteen at the time of her death.

⁴ Private discussions with Syd Melbourne January 1973 Mangakino

⁵ Obtained by my sister Margaret who worked at the Mormon College in Hamilton from 1970.

⁶ Savage Valentine, a declaration signed before a J.V. Merry JP, on 10th June 1927. Family Whakapapa papers.

My grandfather definitely had grand visions, along with Rua Kēnana the prophet. He built a castle⁷ for his grandchildren, two meeting houses for his hapū, and was the architect and builder of the gaily coloured meeting hall and court house, Hiona (Zion), modelled after Solomon's court house, the house of the King and the place of the throne of mercy,⁸ a temple of extraordinary circular dimensions in the most isolated and remote area of Te Urewera, Tūhoe country. The book Mihaia sums up, for me, the vision of the prophet Rua Kēnana. It says;

“Essentially, Rua’s dream had been a simple one; that the Tūhoe might survive. His millennium offered them the chance to build their City of God, on their own lands. To lives which were otherwise bounded by quiet despair he brought hope that might ‘show the heavens more just’. Who would deny them that? “9

The government forces and its branches of law enforcement were suspicious of Rua Kēnana, and persecuted him for minor law infringements like evasion of dog tax, which was an attempt to control dogs threatening Pākeha stock and sheep. Rua was accused of supplying alcohol to his people for personal use, which, at the time was against the law because you had to be a Pākeha to sell it. Sly grog trade by Pākeha was thriving during this period. Rua was challenging the racial connotations behind these concepts of the law as he believed them unjust, and his preference was written on one of his flags ‘one law for two people’. For his audacity of testing the law, he received three months gaol in 1915. Then, in April 1916, three groups of sixty policemen converged on to Maungapōhatu to arrest Rua Kēnana. During the confrontation shots were fired, and two men died in the process - one was the son of Rua. Rua was imprisoned in Mt. Eden. This virtually ended the dream of establishing the New Jerusalem as the people had to pay the cost of the police raid along with the legal costs.

In essence, my grandfather shared that dream, in the most practical way by using his talent and skills to help build that City of God, The New Jerusalem not only in Maungapōhatu, but also on his farm. He built his family home, a grand old house, and with his hapū (kinsmen) in Ruātoki, the two meeting houses which are both still standing and used by his children's children along with the extended family, the hapū. Rua Kēnana might have failed to realise

⁷ The only house in Ruatoki with 4 double bedrooms, a large kitchen and a large porch.

⁸ Binney Judith et al, 1979, Gillian Chaplin, Craig Wallace, Mihaia, The Prophet Rua Kenana and His Community at Maungapohatu, Oxford University Press, Wellington. p.46

⁹ Ibid p. 189

the vision of the City of God during his time, but can we say that it was a total waste of time, and is his vision totally lost in the mist of time? For me, the vision and the dream are both still vibrant. Both continue to reverberate in the awakening of the descendants of Tūhoe who are adherents within the Church of Te Ringatū, the Presbyterian Church and the Pihopatanga of Aotearoa, which is the tikanga Māori of the Anglican Church in New Zealand, and indeed of all Tūhoe who belong to other religious bodies that recognise the rights of indigenous people.

Not even a hundred years has gone by, when on the 16 October 2007 another police raid took place. This time it took place in Ruātoki where it was blazoned across the front page of The Bay of Plenty paper:

*“Terrorism Alert Suspected paramilitary group operating in Urewera ranges”*¹⁰

It continued to report that Ruātoki was sealed off as part of a major antiterrorism operation, with hundreds of heavily armed police flooding the area, hunting for people allegedly involved in a guerrilla warfare training camp. The police executed several search warrants as part of the nationwide operation, conducted under the Suppression of Terrorism Act and the Firearms Act. New Zealand Herald journalist, [Juliet Rowan](#) wrote the next day (Wednesday 17 October, 2007), beginning with the heading;

“Upset, angry Ruātoki residents licking their wounds.”

She reported that;

“Ruātoki was still bearing the scars of Monday’s raids, where members of the remote Bay of Plenty community met to discuss the events of the previous morning, when armed police stormed homes, set up roadblocks and arrested several people suspected of involvement in a guerrilla camp in the valley beyond the township. Police iwi liaison officers from the region joined a group of 50 locals at the Otenuku marae for the meeting, which stretched into the evening. A marae committee member, who did not want to be named, said locals wanted to discuss their upset over the invasion of their peaceful community at the base of the Urewera ranges. The valley’s hurting. Our family needs healing. A lot of them, even the children, got involved.”

¹⁰ Bay of Plenty Beacon , 16 October, 2007.

Reporters, except two Māori journalists with ties to the area, were excluded from the meeting. Earlier that day, other Ruātoki residents spoke of their anger at the way police conducted the dawn raids.

“There’s a lot of talk about care of children, but they didn’t give a damn about ours, “

...Said a middle-aged man who was taken in for questioning with his son. I happened to visit Ruātoki on that day and was present at the meeting on the marae at Otenuku. There was no doubt that the people of Ruātoki were subjected to police antics that traumatised, frightened and terrorised families. They told their stories of how their houses were broken into during the early hours of the morning, and they were rounded up into one room like a flock of sheep while the house was trashed and computers removed. Later in the day, seven of the local liaison police persons of Māori descent, mainly from the Te Arawa region, alongside their kaumātua Mr. Mita Mohi, were invited to explain their role in the proceedings. Alas, they were not included as part of the raid. The Māori police contingent were used as a buffet for the anger and hurt that was felt by mothers and kuia for their whānau, as they hurled their accusations against the law that berated them within the confines of the meeting house.

Most people outside of Ruātoki and Tūhoe, as a whole, consider the attack as justified, as the most dramatic pictures they recall are those of Tame Iti¹¹ shooting the flag, spitting, and blowing his nose in the direction of some Pākehā dignitaries. As Tūhoe people, we will have to live with that, and accept the criticism. But we also need to educate and teach people that it is more than just Tame Iti at stake. It is our freedom and our fundamental human rights issues that are being attacked. That is what Tame Iti is protesting about. Disgusting but dramatic. Not pretty, but to the point. I joined the protest in March that year held in Rotorua on the 26th of October, so did my other colleagues of Tāpapa. This event will live in the discussions as part and parcel of the history of oppression and injustice, and as part of the studies for our church. I was also delighted to meet up with other Māori lecturers of the law from the University of Waikato, and Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa. They came to support the cause that is all about righteousness and justice, what the prophets, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Amos of the Old Testament spoke about, warning and preparing their people. In answer to peoples’ questioning of justice, politicians are asking to

¹¹ A well-known radical political Māori activist born in Ruatoki.

wait until the process of the law has been followed through. I wonder if their families had received the same treatment from the law, whether they would remain calm. The Reverend Wayne Te Kaawa, the Whakatāne Presbyterian minister sent a letter protesting against the police actions, who described it as an insult to the Tuhoe Nation.

The Māori Anglican Church also joined the protest responding with the following report by its Media Officer, Lloyd Ashton, on November 5, 2007 with the heading:

“LEAVE OUR PEOPLE ALONE – Māori Anglican Church angry at police anti-terrorist action in Tūhoe country.”¹²

According to Lloyd Ashton, the breadth and depth of Māori feeling anger toward police tactics during the Armed Offender’s Squad raid at Ruātoki was underlined at the Rūnanganui, or Parliament, of Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa (the Māori stream of the Anglican Church). There was a particular concern at the effects of heavy-handed police action in a Māori community; and there was also suspicion that anti-terror legislation provides a cloak for state action against lawful opponents of government policy, and against Māori opponents in particular.

Archbishop Tūrei who at the time was both the primate overall leader of the Anglican Church in New Zealand, as well as Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa, is normally a gentle, mild mannered man who has been a Priest for fifty seven years. He was uncharacteristically blunt and sceptical about the raids. He likened the Terrorism Suppression Act (which was the basis for the Ruātoki raid, and for other related raids throughout the country) to the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act, which was one of the chief legal instruments for the attempted assimilation of Māori during the early part of the twentieth century.

“This is Pharaoh and the Hebrews in Egypt all over again,”

he said.

¹² Ashton Lloyd, 2007, Anglican Taonga, <mailto:mediaofficer@ang.org.nz>

“Acts of suppression are the instruments of the powerful to bring the people in line with an acceptable system... Moses said: ‘Let my people go.’ Maybe we can say: ‘Leave our people alone.’”

The Rūnanganui passed a resolution that, as a united body, it would express its shock at the Ruātoki raids and concern for the trauma fear, terror and humiliation experienced by the Tūhoe people. It called on the government and the police to apologise to Tūhoe and to the people of Ruātoki in particular, and asked the police Commissioner to involve the Māori Police Advisory Group and Iwi Liaison Officers:

“...at all levels of police operations, not just on selective occasions.”

The resolution went on to say that it was worried about the use of anti-terrorism legislation in the arrests.

“Māori have a history of opposing policies and programmes implemented by the government”

...it said, and noted that the anti-terrorism legislation could mean that protest leaders could expect the same kind of treatment as the people of Ruātoki had tasted.

The Synod endorsed vigilance and genuine security in keeping the country safe, but abhors that the nation be run by security forces at the expense of human dignity and the democratic rights that our tīpuna fought for. We do not belong to a fascist government where police rule by fear. Ka takatahahia te wairua o te tangata (the spirit of man is transgressed). Let me end with a quote by Karaitiana Rārere of Ngāti Kahungunu after the assault at Maungapōhatu in 1916, when a large contingent of police arrested Rua Kēnana under the pretence of sly grog charges. In the process two men were killed. One of them was his son Toko.

“I weep for what has just happened at Maunga Pōhatu in Tūhoe. The police raid seems to be about punishing Kēnana for questioning the Crown and will only take us back in the mists of fear and doubt. I wonder if we will ever stop worrying when it might happen again?”¹³

It did. Not even a hundred years has gone by, and it has happened again. Fortunately, nobody died this time.

¹³ Te Mana Motuhake o Tuhoe, <http://tuhoe.net/contact/>

It is my dream that the world we create will be good for our children and their children's children, even if it is being threatened at the moment. The question remains the same, will the faith I have in my Māori spirituality, as I understand it, my atuātanga (theology from a Māori perspective) - the Māori spirituality that my grandfather shared with Rua Kenāna and their visions for the City of God, would this Māori spirituality be helpful and be meaningful to my children's future, as we progress through the new millennium? With this in mind we move into the culture and religion of Māori - Māori spirituality, to which I have given the title of Te Hau Kōmingomingo – The Spiritual Whirlwind.

TE HAU KŌMINGOMINGO – THE SPIRITUAL WHIRLWIND

What then is Te Hau Kōmingomingo? To understand the culture and theological insight of Māori spirituality pre-European, the first symbolic phrase that we need to explain is kōmingomingo. Williams Māori Dictionary has the word kōmingomingo as 'be violently agitated', with the addition of Collins English Dictionary (1994) swirl, 'to turn or cause to turn in a twisting spinning fashion especially in water'.¹⁴

I have spent many hours meditating about the meaning of life by the river of Te Tamāhine-ā-Hinemataroa, commonly known as the Whakatāne River. More often than not, I would have a fishing line or rod in my hand, and a 303 rifle always handy watching the waters tumble down the rocky narrow valley of Marumaru in the Te Urewera bush country. With its steep banks on either side as it comes to a bend, it crashes into a rocky cliff face, forcing the water to turn and double back on itself, creating small whirlpools, known as kōmingomingo.

Whirlwind is described in Collins Dictionary as a column of air whirling around and towards a more or less vertical axis of low pressure, which moves along the land or ocean surface. In Māori it is known as āwhiowhio or hau takawiri. In addition, H.M. Ngata Dictionary 1993 has paroro, ahumairangi, urupuhau, and all these are known as the children of Tāwhirimātea (see Chapter 3). The winds of Tāwhirimātea are created when a high pressure meets a low pressure, and is disturbed, in a whirl, creating a whirlwind or a typhoon, which is more of a tropical storm, that can be, at times, quite devastating.

¹⁴ Williams, Herbert W., 1957, A Dictionary of the Māori Language, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand, p. 132.

Fortunately, they are not a common occurrence in Aotearoa, but certainly have been known to create havoc at the odd time.

Further explanation by William's Dictionary describes it as to be in a whirl of thoughts by strong emotions, and to be agitated violently.

In the Māori world, one of the best well-known stories of a whirlpool is found in the story of the Te Arawa canoe, as it journeyed across the ocean of Kiwa (Pacific Ocean), from Hawaiki to Aotearoa. It encountered what is known as the Throat of Te Parata, a giant whirlpool, where all the lost canoes of those who travelled from Hawaiki have been known to meet their end. The predicament that the Te Arawa canoe found itself in, the giddy circles of the Throat of Te Parata was caused by the mischievous behaviour between the captain, Tamatekapua, and the priest's wife, Kearoa. When the priest Ngātoroirangi found out, agitated by strong emotions, he called on the fiercest of the winds of Tāwhirimātea, and soon Te Arawa was looking into the mouth of the giant whirlpool. The occasion is well recorded in a song, and sung frequently by the Te Arawa people.¹⁵

So here we have a description of both a whirlwind and a whirlpool, similar in motion except that the whirlpool only happens where there is water. The whirlwind rages in the air and is able to traverse where it wills, even to sucking up water. The sense of Māori spirituality, in my view, is closer to that of te hau kōmingomingo. The idea of the wind spiralling or evolving like a whirlwind as it grows in size becomes more powerful until it becomes a typhoon, a cyclone, a tempest, a tornado capable of moving and destroying everything in its path, similar to Cyclone Bola in March of 1988 that struck the Hawkes Bay Gisborne, and East Cape region of the North Island, which suffered devastating floods. Winds of up to 100 kilometres per hour toppled trees and tore up roads. Three people died in that event¹⁶

The old practise of the New Zealand weather forecast office was to name typhoons after female names until recently, when it was regarded as a sexist notion. Equal status is now shared between the sexes when naming typhoons and hurricanes. What is important from a Māori perspective is that this makes good cultural sense, personalising the weather be it male or female. The battle that exists between man and the elements has always been, since

¹⁵ Alpers Tony, 1964. *Māori Myths and Tribal Legends*, Longman Paul Limited, Auckland, P.161)

¹⁶ www.christchurchcitylibraries.com/Kids/NZDisasters/CycloneBola.asp

the beginning of time. Now, because of the personalising of the typhoons by the modern world of the Pākehā (Western Europeans), Māori feel that the Pākehā has finally understood what is meant when Māori talk about the children of Tāwhirimātea, the weather god. Pākehā have joined the fray of personalising the elements as an enemy to watch out for and guard against, and to have some respect for it as a worthy opponent to deal with.

Te Hau Kōmingomingo describes a particular type of a phenomenon as set out above. The Williams' Dictionary gives the word hau meanings like wind, air, breath, and then adds many other meanings like dew, moisture, coolness as in the word hauhau. An interesting description of hau is found in the fourth (iv) section, (there are ten altogether,) where Williams says 'vitality of man, vital essence of land' and it ties in with the practise of witchcraft. He also has a note attached to it noting that this is most essentially spiritual and intangible, while hau (v) describing it as food used in the ceremonies of pure (pu-re), or rite (cleansing), is the material visible symbol of something. Even with all of Williams's examples given under the word hau, the meaning is not easily understood. However, when we turn to Elsdon Best¹⁷ he gives hau as a quality that pervades the whole body and embraces the aura of the person. It is the notion of personality, and wherever the person has sat or walked the warmth of the person is left behind, which is known as their hau(aura). The aura may be described as āhua and what is taken from a person is called the āhua of the hau, which is, the likeness, the vitality of the person, namely the material form of the invisible hau. This is summarised by Mead,¹⁸

"Thus the hau is an invisible aura that every individual possesses."

The Living Webster¹⁹ provides this useful explanation of the word aura;

"a subtle influence or quality emanating from or surrounding a person or object."

Mead goes on to say that,

"Best might have overstated the case of overseers not able to see an aura of a person"

¹⁷ Best Elsdon, 1982, *Māori Religion and Mythology*, Part 2. Wellington: Government Printer. P.50-53.

¹⁸ Mead Hirini Moko, 2003, *Tikanga Māori, Living By Māori Values*, Huia Publishers, Wellington. p.59

¹⁹ Ibid, p.59

and I concur that modern faith healers and tohunga are able to discern the aura of people – my mother was one of those gifted seers and often startled us with her description of this aura surrounding particular people. It seems that this came to her periodically, particularly when she was not well herself, and people came to visit her, she went into some kind of a semi-trance, but very much aware of her surroundings.

CLEANSSED FOR RECONNECTION

Māori language gives us hau for wind. When we talk about the wind, we add the definite article ‘te’, to give it ‘te hau’. The plural of ‘winds’ requires the definite article ‘ngā hau’ to indicate this. Tāwhirimātea is a name given by Māori to personalise and to describe the current of air and everything produced by the meeting of low and high pressures; these are poetically known as the children of Tāwhirimātea. Besides ill winds produced by Tāwhirimātea, there are also healing winds. There is a Māori proverb that speaks about this, and it says;

“Hokia ki ngā maunga, kia purea koe e ngā hau a Tāwhirimātea. Return to the mountains, that you may be cleansed, by the winds of Tāwhirimātea.”

Basically this is about connecting and reconnecting oneself to one’s tribal identity and everything that has value and meaning to one as a Māori, particularly in connection with the land where you were raised and to one’s connectedness with family, hapū and tribe. It is what is important to you, and to those things that you feel and share in common with your people, which must include your tribal origins and connections through genealogy and through land.

McCully Matiu and his niece Professor Margaret Mutu, in a beautifully illustrated and skilfully presented record book of Te Whānau Moana Customs and Protocols, clearly explain one of the most fundamental values that hold any Māori community together. This is whanaungatanga (blood relationships), or the manner in which everyone is related genealogically.²⁰ According to this publication, knowledge of how one is connected to everyone else is fundamental to the understanding of an individual’s identity within Māori society. Genealogy determines how one is to behave by the traditional roles of the tuakana/teina (older/younger brothers or sisters) relationship. In terms of authority and standing, a very clear distinction exists between those whose genealogy connects them to

²⁰ McCully Matiu, Margaret Mutu, 2003, *Te Whānau Moana*, Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd. P.162

the area and to those who are not so related, in which the behaviour of in-laws are clarified. These traditional features of social organisation are still very closely observed in every Māori community, and it is very dependent on those who stay at home who are often referred to as ‘ahi kā’ (burning fire) and whose job is to keep the home fires burning. Going back home to be blown by the winds of Tāwhirimātea is a reference to keep the connection alive and warm which is a must if one wants to keep in touch and be relevant with one’s people. Returning home, means reconnecting to a place of standing, to regenerate and restore your mana and to feel that wind of freedom and cleansing touching your face, and for a brief moment retreat from the world of modern turmoil and be bonded again to your whānau, hapū, iwi and land.

Another symbolic language that can be added to the above and have just as much emotive connotations as hau is the word ūkaipō. William’s Dictionary of the Māori language simply has it as, (poetical) n. Mother, and under ū, breast of a female. The rest of the word kai as a noun is *food*, and pō is *night*.

The symbol we have then is a contented baby feeding on its mother’s breasts, in other words, the care and the nurturing of a baby, a child by its mother. This image is then extended to the care, not only by the mother and its immediate family, but also to the extended family that will naturally include the hapū made of more than one whānau²¹ the clan. Each hapū would have their own ancestral lands and boundaries well marked, and like any other global society, land will always be an important part of how we are recognised and defined as a people. Like any peoples, land was obligatory to maintain collective cohesion, a base that serves as a social system of survival of the clusters, in their groups of hamlet type of villages, which is called papakāinga. It would contain a central building where large meetings for the clan are held, and also a place to care and offer visitors hospitality, known as a marae. We will look at this in greater depth in another chapter.

The importance of land not only offers a person and their hapū a necessary means of physical survival, but also a place for one to stand on, a tūrangawaewae; where a person has mana (prestige) and can stand to say, this is my home base, my patch, and where one feels secure and important. While the land is important, what is more imperative is the support of one’s people. Without that, one becomes a lone voice in the wilderness, has no standing,

²¹ Mead 2003, p.214

and lies open to the will of strangers. Relationship or connectedness to the land is vital. Meads says it is not about owning the land and being master of it, to dispose of it as the owner sees fit. The land has been handed down the whakapapa (genealogy) line from generation to generation, and the descendent fortunate enough to inherit the land, does not really own it. That person did not buy it. The land cannot be regarded as a personal asset to be traded.²² Durie puts the position very clearly in the following statement;

“In the beginning land was not something that could be owned or traded. Māori did not seek to own or possess anything, but to belong. One belonged to a family that belongs to a hapu that belongs to a tribe. One did not own land. One belonged to the land.”²³

As a mother embraces a son on return from a long journey away from home, so the land to which one returns to feel the healing wind in their faces, not only acts as, but also is ones' mother, for it is the land that bonds those of the past with the present, giving meaning and identity, and to bond with the whānau, hapū and iwi.

My younger brother, the late Dr. Hirini Melbourne, a well-known writer of Māori songs, composed a very simply worded song, with similar sentiments, which for me acts as a hymn, a soul rending song of praise for the sun, wind, and rain ending with its own absolution. The words are as follows;

<i>Purea nei e te hau</i>	<i>Cleansed by the wind</i>
<i>Horoia e te ua</i>	<i>Washed by the rain</i>
<i>Whitiwhitia e te rā</i>	<i>energised by the sun</i>
<i>Mahea ake ngā pō raruraru</i>	<i>liberated from nightly stress</i>
<i>Makere ana ngā here</i>	<i>burdens unshackled</i>
 <i>E rere wairua e rere</i>	 <i>Fly spirit soar</i>
<i>Ki ngā āo o te rangi</i>	<i>to the clouds in the heavens</i>
<i>Whitiwhitia e te ra</i>	<i>energised by the sun</i>
<i>Mahea ake ngā pō raruraru</i>	<i>liberated from nightly stress</i>
<i>Makere ana ngā here</i>	<i>burdens unshackled</i>

²² Mead 2003, p.273

²³ Durie Mason, 1987, Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga, The politics of Māori Self-Determination, Oxford University Press, Auckland. p.78

The references to the elements are very Māori in thinking, under very natural situations and earthly environment that are common to all people, and when we theologise this into Christian spirituality, the symbols are there. The cleansing spirit of God is symbolically captured as the wind. The breath of God, the Holy Spirit as it soars above the clouds. The spirit of God as the rain, life-giving water as it washes and cleanses the land, giving life to all the children of Earth Mother and Sky Father, the trees, grass, flowers, and the gardens of Papatūānuku, Mother Earth which includes man. The spirit of God symbolised as the sun, providing light, warmth, and energy. We get the essence of its cleansing power, of the act of being given absolution by God and those ancestors who were there before, even back to the saints of old.

Whatever we were, polluted and wayward in our ways, have now been made right and once more have reconnected. This is the type of cleansing that can be understood and felt, in the parable of the prodigal son, told by Jesus in St Luke's Gospel 15:11– 31. Returning home and receiving his father's forgiveness, even before he spoke, and the giving back of the ring his mana was restored. He was reconnected once more. The breath of the Supreme Being, God, Io Matua Kore (The Parentless One) the hau cannot be ignored if one is to be reborn and reconnected.

Now there was a man of the Pharisees named Nicodemus, a member of the Jewish ruling council. He came to Jesus at night and said, "Rabbi, we know you are a teacher who has come from God. For no one can perform the miraculous signs you are doing if God were not with him."

In reply Jesus declared, "I tell you the truth, no one can see the kingdom of God unless he is born again."

"How can a man be born again when he is old?" Nicodemus asked. "Surely he cannot enter a second time into his mother's womb to be born!"

Jesus answered. "I tell you the truth; no one can enter the Kingdom of God unless he is born of the water and spirit. Flesh gives birth to flesh, but the spirit gives birth to spirit. You should not be surprised at my saying, 'You must be born again.' The wind blows wherever it pleases. You hear its sound, but you cannot tell where it comes from or where it is going, so it is with everyone born of the spirit.'" (Interactive Study Bible, John 3: 1 - 8)

According to the resource notes, to be born again here can be translated in two ways – 'born again' or 'born from above.' The former highlights the radical reorientation to life

resulting from trusting Jesus, while the latter accents the reality that spiritual life is a gift from God, not something earned by virtue or one's performance. It is like an absolution of one who is on a pilgrimage. A journey to a shrine or other sacred place²⁴ has an immediate healing process where the problems are absolved and peace replaces the tensions. The connection to the people and the land is important – it is cultural identity. As Hirini Meads concludes in his chapter of *The Behaviour of People*;

Tikanga could be very helpful in providing some support and guidelines for people who have lost their way in life. The pathway towards balanced living points to being situated comfortably with a culture, and knowing who, what, where, and why we exist. Disconnection causes many problems and the way back to the pathway appears to be based on reconnection with the wāhi ngaro, or the missing part of one's life. The focus today is on cultural reconnection for Māori and this could be a solution for other

*“ethnic groups as well. Cultural identity, learning te reo Māori, becoming familiar with the history of the hapū and the iwi and restoring cultural pride and confidence are all ingredients of a balanced life. Tikanga Māori provides guidelines for behaviour and as such comprises an important part of cultural identity.”*²⁵

WAIKUA MĀORI

My understanding of wairua Māori (spirituality) is from a Māori philosophical and a theological point of view. I had always understood that wairua is spirit, or a soul. From my readings and informants, mainly elders from my tribe, it seems our tīpuna understood that their world and everything in it has a spirit; the rocks, the hills, trees, mountains the land, the sea, the air, the animals, sea creatures and even man.²⁶ From a Māori perspective, before the earthly world we know existed, there was te kore - the nothing. From this absolute vacuum in which nothing existed, over eon of time, the second phase from the Māori perspective of the genesis of their world came into being. This was the period they called Te Pō, The Night, a time of darkness and ignorance, according to Māori theologians. It was during this second period that 'the Sage of old',²⁷ gave it a human character as it took shape and form and personified as a female, and named her Papatūānuku, Earth Mother. The sky, which wrapped itself around the form of Papatūānuku, was named Ranginui, Great Sky or

²⁴ Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus, Harper Collins Publishers, 1994.

²⁵ Mead Hirini Moko, 2003, *Tikanga Māori*. P.247-248.

²⁶ Barlow Cleve, 1991, *Tikanga Whakaaro, Key Concepts in Māori Culture*, Oxford University Press. p.152.

²⁷ Colonised term

Sky Father. The two bodies intertwined, and like a giant whirlpool meandered through the universe and in its trail, the origin of the male species materialised in the close embrace of lovers for an indefinite period. The birth of mankind and the world Māori knew came into being.²⁸ This will be discussed later in chapter 3.

The spiritual and physical bodies were joined together by the mauri, the life principle, that which gives the heart the spark of life, or manawa ora, a life giving essence that is energized at birth when the ‘sneeze of life’ gives it that awakening burst, thus giving warmth and energy to the body so that it is able to grow and develop to maturity. (See Barlow²⁹ and Mead,³⁰)

So, like the Māori of old, I believe that everything I see, hear, smell, touch and feel has a spirit. The spiritual and physical body are joined together by the mauri (life essence), of which we will also speak later on in this thesis, which is the power that gives the physical thing its identity and its existence within its own realm.

Every person is born with a spirit (wairua), which is impregnated in the embryo during the act of copulation of male and female and is then nurtured in the mothers’ womb, known as ‘whenua’ (placenta), which is also the word for land. According to Best’s informants, it is not until the eyes form in the foetus that the wairua begins its existence and association with that particular life, as well as developing its rudimentary powers of thought.³¹

When the child is born, the wairua becomes part of that person’s existence, and continues to exist even long after the death of the body it was attached to. Unlike the mauri, which never leaves the human life, part of the wairua can detach, but never stray too far away. It is believed that during dreams, the wairua leaves the body and then returns before the person awakes. Apart from this power to detach when the person is dreaming, the wairua is bound to one specific human being for life.³²

²⁸ Buck, Peter Te Rangi Hīroa, 1949, *The Coming of the Māori*, Whitcoulls Limited, Christchurch. P. 435.

²⁹ Barlow Cleve, 1991, *Tikanga Whakaaro*. P.152

³⁰ Mead Hirini Moko, 2003, *Tikanga Māori*. p.53.

³¹ Best Elsdon, 1941, *The Māori*, Vol 1, Polynesian Society. Wellington. p. 301

³² Mead Hirini Moko, 2003, *Tikanga Māori*. p. 55.

Other attributes of wairua recorded by Best³³ are that, firstly, it is part of the whole person and is not found at any particular part of the body. It is known to be immortal and exists after the death of the person, and that it has the power to warn the individual of impending danger through visions and dreams, and that it is subject to attack from both within and without.

When a person dies the physical remains are buried, and are figuratively referred to as returning to where it originated from, which was Mother earth, Papatūānuku, and entering and welcomed into, the spiritual world guarded by Hinenuitēpō, the Guardian of the dead. The spirit of the deceased leaves the body and travels the pathway of Tāne to Hawaiki nui, Hawaiki roa, and even to become one of the twinkling stars in the heavens – kua whetūrangitia koe,³⁴ See Chapter 3 for a fuller explanation.

Most Māori believe that the spirit is immortal. Christians believe that at the resurrection, body and spirit are united in some future time after death, as propagated by scriptures and found in the Apostles Creed. This belief can also be found in parts of Māoridom in its modern form, customs, manners and thoughts. It is and will always be an important part, not only of Māori, but also of many human cultures and ethnic groups. This will be dealt with in chapter 7 when I explain other indigenous spirituality.

ATUATANGA

Atuatanga is the Māori terminology for the study of God from a Māori Anglican perspective and has been under discussion for some time amongst the theologians of the Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa (Bishopric of Aotearoa,) the Māori section of the Anglican Church in New Zealand. It is interesting to note that Te Whare Wānanga o Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa, the educational wing of the Bishopric of Aotearoa, mentioned their difficulties with the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) in 1996, when they applied to have their application approved for the accreditation of their programme degree, which was for the paper of Theology 101.

From the perspective of Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa, any content of tikanga Māori learning, must emerge from the context of the people doing the learning. Paula Friere in his book, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, argues for developing a pedagogy of the oppressed for

³³ Best, 1941. Vol 1, p.300

³⁴ Orbell Margaret, 1985, *The Natural World of the Māori*, William Collins Publishers, Auckland. p.69

minorities or marginalised people, where they can free and save themselves from dependence on the pedagogy of the dominant majority, who consistently behaved as their oppressors. This theory of learning is particularly relevant for Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa, as it strives to operate and establish Māori values and Karaitiana (Christian) priorities, of its Whare Wānanga, equivalent to University level.

Bishop Muru Walters reported³⁵ that the problem that confronted Te Whare Wānanga o Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa in 1996, that is, the accreditation of the degree, is still with Te Pīhopatanga in 1999. In 1996 two of the NZQA panel members, both Pākeha, had fixed ideas about the content and context of theology and that they were able to persuade NZQA not to approve the application paper. A new application was put forward in 1999 with changes made where it was required, and in particular, all references to the word ‘theology’, were replaced by the word ‘atuatanga’.

According to Bishop Muru Walters, the word Atuatanga is a Māori word coined by Te Wānanga o Te Pīhopatanga, for use in its Taapapa courses. The word has two parts; the first is ‘atua’, a word to describe spiritual beings, (more commonly called gods) which were credited with supernormal powers that could be exercised in helping or opposing people, in the mundane affairs of this life. The second part, ‘tanga’, is the suffix which speaks about the culture or dealing with everything that has to do with spiritual beings, or ‘ngā atua’ (gods) Māori and Te Atua o te Paipera, (God of the Bible,) and how Māori modified and adapted their understandings to these in their lives. From the mātauranga (knowledge of) Māori that evolves through the study of Māori religious traditions, and the study of Hebrew Scriptures, we will be able to formulate tikanga (values) of Māori and tikanga Karaitiana (Christian values) and perspectives, for understanding God, creation and other religious topics. This is Atuatanga.³⁶

The study of Atuatanga must begin with its base firmly rooted in Aotearoa from its indigenous peoples understanding of their earliest beliefs about how they were developed, maintained, modified and adapted to fit the changing culture of their people in the social, political, economical and religious circumstances of their past and present. To investigate

³⁵ Winiata Faith, 1999, Atua 101, Atuatanga, Compilation of Readings by Bishop Muru Walters, Edited by Norma Russel, Te Taapapa o Te Ūpoko o Te Ika.p.1.

³⁶ ibid p.2

and explore the foundations of Atuatanga with its matauranga Māori on faith and learning, and identify the adaptations and changes passed down by their ancestors that include Christianity and other beliefs of the present.

One school of thought sees Atuatanga as that discipline of knowledge of the creator and ruler of all things, is infinite in all attributes, and is the object of worship in the monotheistic religion, which is commonly known in the Māori world as Io. Since the arrival of Christianity, some Māori have dropped their traditional beliefs of nature gods of their ancestors, in the erroneous belief that they (the nature gods) contradict the true worship of the Christian church, which is based on their understanding of the Jewish God and the teachings of Jesus Christ, a Jew.

WORSHIP

It is not surprising when non-Māori, or even Māori in New Zealand, particularly those who are brought up in a monoculture community with no teaching of Māori perspective and mātauranga, find them selves at a loss in worship when confronted totally in the Māori language. Through lack of understanding, some will naturally have scorn and reject the existence of traditional beliefs, while others would hold them as treasures passed down and worthy of respect and reverence. Māori spirituality, like other indigenous peoples' spirituality throughout the world, hold a different view of what worship is, and therefore their approach and their expression of trying to connect with the unseen, is totally foreign to the uninitiated, and naturally would appear strange and out of the ordinary. So when we take the word worship into account, there is certainly a reverence and a certain amount of awe, as Collins Dictionary has it:

“ to show profound religious devotion and respect to: adore or venerate (God or any person or thing considered divine.” ³⁷

To pay homage, is ‘a public show of respect or honour towards someone or something.’ In feudal society it was the act of respect and allegiance, made by a vassal to his lord, rather than paying worth-ship, and seeking pardon for any wrongdoing. In the karakia, prayers of the tohunga (expert in a particular field), there is an address to mountains and trees, to the sea and sky and of all creatures on earth, expressing every emotion and mood of the

³⁷ Collins English Dictionary and Thesaurus 1994.

expectations of the people, and in particular of the priest whose job it is to lead the people into voicing their needs, their hopes and their visions, and in the telling of their stories. Like Psalms in the Bible, they have been described as poetry and compiled as hymns, giving praise and thanks. Unlike the Māori mōteatea (laments) used in gatherings of tribal meetings, most are written from an individual's experience and adapted for group singing at tribal gatherings, but nevertheless, used to express the thought, and the emotions of the people.

Karakia, is a prayer recited with an overwhelming feeling of gratitude, no more or no less than when one says grace, to say thank you for food received, or an address to the natural elements of mother nature and of the heavens, designed to please, to pacify or appease.

To worship, and again we turn to Collins Dictionary which says, 'is to show profound religious devotion, to adore and venerate a divine being; to express profound feelings of profound adoration, admiring love or devotion' – I find no evidence in the traditional Māori karakia (prayers) addressed to God and/or creation, which are offensive or distasteful. They are all strictly respectful in their approach, and more often than not the prayer will be Christian based, mixed with traditional Māori thinking. Karakia and worship are synonyms, and share common grounds. The New Zealand Prayer Book of 1989 portrays the concept of worship as 'the highest activity of the human spirit, and offers the prayer book as a means to express all the hopes, and visions common purpose and emerging love of which we are capable...we worship in response to the love of God and out of love for one another,' even to the extent where worship is described as 'a skill to be learned and a creative art to practise,' offering more variety and options, encouraging flexibility in their use.³⁸

It is understandable for some Christians with a monoculture background, to question anything that is out of the normal, particularly when their understanding of spirituality is threatened, and they would find difficult with the thought that other religions and spiritualities are alternative paths to God. Who needs other spiritualities to have life and to have it in full, as proclaimed by Christ? (John 10.10) Did he not make the claim that no one goes to the Father except through him? (John 14.6). Continually one hears the accusations from people who have scant knowledge of Māori language culture and religion, and who

³⁸ A New Zealand Prayer Book, He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa, 1989, William Collins Publishers Ltd, Auckland. p.xv

believe that worship or use of Māori prayers is going back to the beliefs of the old Māori, and should not be tolerated. These thoughts tell us more about the attitude and intolerance of some people, acting on knee jerk reaction rather than on an informed and balanced understanding of the religion and culture of other peoples.

To help us have a better understanding of the clashes of cultures between people, let us examine some thoughts that come from the 8th Anglican Consultative Council (ACC-8) consisting of 63 representatives from 33 Anglican Provinces throughout the world. They met under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the most Reverend Robert Runcie from 22 July to 3 August 1990, held at Dyffryn House, near Cardiff in Wales. The conference embraced worship, Bible study, and the consideration of a range of issues, particularly current concerns of the Church. There were four sections that the whole Council were asked to consider, discuss and adopt. These were: 1. Spirituality and Justice; 2. Mission, Culture and Human Development; 3. Evangelism and Communication; 4. Unity and Creation.

We will look only at the Section Report on Spirituality and Justice, a group from seventeen different countries, lay and ordained, male and female, saw their major task as defining spirituality and the distinctiveness of Christian spirituality. Two other points were also raised from the discussions, which were; is there a natural spirituality? How should the spiritualities of other faiths be approached?

Reflections by the group led them to answer in a positive manner, conscious of the spirituality of indigenous peoples in every nation, a spirituality that is often ignored or disrespected. One member of the group had always understood spirituality to be a 'religious practice',³⁹ until his ministry brought him into contact with the North American Indian people, who taught him that spirituality is about the whole of life, that life itself is an expression of spirituality, and is corporate and not simply individual. In African traditional religion, and in ancient Eastern religions, the whole of life is viewed as spiritual, and justice is a natural consequence of this.⁴⁰

³⁹ Report of ACC-8: WALES 1990, Mission in a Broken World, Church House Publishing, London.p.88

⁴⁰ Ibid p.89

It is the same with traditional Māori religion as mentioned beforehand. As an example, Māori Marsden ⁴¹ of Te Aupouri, Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Kahu, taught that in Māori understanding, the universe is conceived of as a two world system in which the material proceeds from the spiritual, and the spiritual, which is the higher order, interpenetrates the material physical world of the Āo Mārama. Spirituality is paramount in Māori social order, and justice is naturally found in Māori values (tikanga) of tapu, mana, mauri, manaaki, hau and wairua, which we are, or will be dealing with.

The report of The ACC – 8 in Wales, went on to say, that insights of this kind broaden our (Christian) vision and remind us that we do not take God to human beings, when we approach them in our Christian ministry. We find God already there before us, having prepared the way, and inviting us to share in his mission to the world.

*“For what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has shown it to them. Ever since the creation of the world, his invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made.” (Rom 1.19–20, RSV)*⁴²

The group recognised that spirituality is common to all religions of the world, and each one is distinctive to their own understanding of the divine dimension in the universe, and in human life. They were in no doubt that there are common features to be found in all spiritualities, however varied in form and style. A realisation of this will show that it is short-sighted to limit consideration of spirituality to one’s own religious tradition. So Christians can learn from contact with other spiritualities. I totally affirm this sentiment, a thought that ought to be shared with other Christians throughout the world.

The group also came up with their individual definition of spirituality. Most of them I find predictable and prosaic, except for three that obviously come from a totally different perspective and culture. One begins, ‘in India, spirituality commences from the earliest days of one’s life in the home. It broadens as one’s experience of life grows, and especially as one meets other faiths. It has to do with religion, liturgy, worship and devotion.’ The other definition speaks about Eastern peoples, where it is learnt through the family where self-sacrificing love is modelled by parents for their children. In the family, one also learns

⁴¹ King Michael ed, 1992, *Te Ao Hurihuri, Aspects of Māoritanga*, Reed Books, Auckland. p.134.

⁴² Report of ACC -8. P.89

about fear, which includes respect and trust. The sacraments help us to build our spirituality. The third definition supports the other two, ‘in my country, spirituality comes from the community, not from private spirituality. Our life is always together in community. We emphasize integration in the face of diversity and conflict.’⁴³

These three definitions point to a spirituality that is dependent on the connectedness with others outside of the individual. It is typical of indigenous thinking and culture that the spirituality of one can only feel fulfilled and meaningful, based on the relationship of family and community. The essence of a Creator, while not mentioned, is implied in the unity, which touches every aspect of their lives, expressed in and through the community corporately through the devotional and liturgical life of the community of faith, through united action in their belief. For these three spiritualities mentioned, as well as for the group, relationship is the fundamental notion behind spirituality; private spirituality seems to be foreign.⁴⁴

The rest, predictably, were restricted within the bounds of Christian rhetoric, as in giving answers to set questions at a catechism class. There was nothing there that would set the Holy Spirit aflame, in terms of reaching out to other faiths or people other than a Christian. The spiritual flame seems to be contained within its own house, inwardly looking to its own salvation and life, and even the Creator seems to be restricted as; there is no legitimate Christian spirituality unless it is incorporated into the true body of Christ spirituality.⁴⁵ It seems to be restricted through prayer and Bible reading, devotional practices, and to live in harmony with the will and purposes of God.⁴⁶

Despite the emphasis on individualism, the group did agree that spirituality is not to be viewed simply as a matter of religious practice, concerned with the personal life of prayer, holiness and asceticism, and expressed publicly through the liturgical and sacramental life of the community of Christians in the Church. It certainly covers those activities, yet they agreed that the fundamental notion behind spirituality is the idea of relationship and connectedness. Reporting on Christian spirituality, the group seem to have broadened its view as indicated by the following statements.

⁴³ Ibid p.90

⁴⁴ Ibid p.91

⁴⁵ Ibid p.90

⁴⁶ Ibid p.91

“It is not unique to Christianity to pray, to study Scriptures, to meditate, to fast, to listen to and obey the teacher. What is unique to Christian spirituality is the relationship that informs it, for the Christian is related to the God who is the Father who loves, and who sent his Son into the world to live and to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many.” (Mark 10.45; John 3.16.)

The Christian is related to the God who is the reconciling God (2 Cor 5.18ff), God who is peace (Heb 13.20), of justice (Isa. 13. 18), of Trinity, for the Father gives love, the Son bestows grace, and the Spirit imparts fellowship (2 Cor.13.14.). This is the uniqueness of Christian Spirituality; it is marked by a relationship with God in Jesus Christ, and illuminated by the work of the Holy Spirit. The specific and unique standing of the Christian is to be in Christ.⁴⁷

An illustration of God’s spirituality working within the body of Christ, the motivating factor in action for justice, was made by a member of the group who spoke eloquently from experience of the civil rights movement in the United States;

“It was clear that the oppressors and the oppressed had different working definitions of spirituality and justice. For us who are black people in America, spirituality was carved out of a mountain of despair. It was only an unshakeable faith, that God was always in control and always on the side of the oppressed, which saw us through and sustained us in our quest for justice in a land of injustice. This knowledge came through in our awareness of the presence of God in our lives. It is no accident that the civil rights leaders all came from the black church.”⁴⁸

Finally, the report ends showing that an authentic Christian spirituality is not only God-centred and biblically based, but also that it manifests itself in acts of justice in the world, and the group urged members of the Anglican Communion to a life of prayer, to a life of service and action, believing that the work of the group has important relevance to the Decade of Evangelism. In an unjust world, this Christian service of which we (the group) write includes speaking and acting on behalf of the weak, the voiceless, the poor and the oppressed. For the group recognise that none of them are truly free, until all no longer swelter in the heat of injustice, whatever its form.

⁴⁷ Ibid p.92

⁴⁸ Report of ACC-8: Wales, 1990, Mission in a Broken World, Church House Publishing, London.p.93

*“We recognise our frailty and inability to do what is good. However, we are encouraged by this word of promise: My grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness. (2 Cor 12.9, RSV)”*⁴⁹

To summarise this section, while individual personal spirituality is important, it cannot and must not live for itself; for spirituality is dependent on the connectedness with others outside of the individual. It is typical of indigenous thinking and culture that the spirituality of one, can only feel fulfilled and meaningful based on the relationship of family and community. The essence of a Creator, while not mentioned, is implied in the unity which touches every aspect of their lives, expressed in and through the community corporately, through the devotional and liturgical life of the community of faith through united action in their belief. For Māori spirituality, as it is for other indigenous people’s spiritualities, relationship is fundamental; private spirituality seems to be unknown.

We can safely say that Atuatanga is a word used in modern times to describe God, and one could argue that it denotes a study of God, theology, and those things belonging to God. For some, Atuatanga is an attempt by some Māori Theologians to combine aspects of Māori traditional beliefs with biblical teachings. Today there are a number of Māori who are dissatisfied with Christian practices and who are choosing to revive beliefs in the traditional beliefs. The position of Te Pīhopatanga in Aotearoa within Anglicanism has a less radical stance and attempts to interweave traditional concepts along with Christian thinking. Insights of this kind broaden Pākehā Christian vision, and remind one another that God cannot be limited to one particular aspect of life, but that spirituality is common to all religions and cultures of the world, but that all spiritualities are distinctive to their own understanding of the divine dimension in the universe, and in the human life wherever they are. So through Māori finding their own spirituality, it could also be enrichment for the Pākehā Christian through coming in contact with diverse thinking of its Polynesian neighbours.

To conclude this section, it is my belief, along with other members of Te Whare Wānanga o Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa, that developing a study of Atuatanga must begin with the mātauranga Māori (traditional learning), developed from the earliest Māori religious foundations, as well as the biblical foundations and research how they were developed, maintained, modified and adapted, to fit the changing social, political, economical and

⁴⁹ Ibid p.100

religious circumstances of the Māori, the past, the present, in preparation for the future of those people who will call themselves and remain as Māori – Te Wairua Kōmingomingo.⁵⁰

THE FUTURE FOR MY MOKOPUNA

Sometimes, we seem to stand on the verge of war, not only out there in other countries, but here also in New Zealand, and then not only with government which create tensions, enigmas and uncertainties, but with people who hate contradictions and are unable to live alongside people with different views. Even amongst Māori who are Christians and Mihinare, even within my own whānau – extended family.

What we have to be aware of and continue to remind ourselves of is that everything in this world does not stay the same. The world we used to live in is not the same. The changes are so rapid and radical, quite phenomenal at times. For instance, even within my own family of sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces – we are of many races, American-black, Indian from India, Danish, French, Dutch, Scottish, Polynesians, Asians and various Māori; with space travel ready in 2011; many national and minority cultures are threatened with extinction and are beginning to take desperate measures to try to preserve themselves and survive.

I am of the opinion that as Māori, we cannot afford to take things for granted and we cannot afford to simply ignore the future and take what comes. If we want our Māori to survive, we now have to plan not only for our personal future for our mokopuna, but also for the future of the earth itself.

The question we need to address is; will my whirlwind Māori spirituality, our Atuatanga, have a place in our global world? Is Māori Kōmingomingo spirituality/ Atuatanga meaningful for the future of my mokopuna? What values, if any, must I try to preserve for my culture to survive? Will my Tūhoetanga survive the onslaught of modernism? Is my Tūhoetanga going to be the Good News for my moko? Can my Tūhoetanga, with its touch of ancient nature-religion, survive with Christianity in the new millennium and should

⁵⁰ Walters, Walters, 1999. A report, Te Taapapa o Te Upoko o Te Ika; Atua 101, Atutanga; Compilation of Readings, Compiled by Bishop Muru Walters, Edited by Norman Russell, under the supervision of Faith Wakapono Winiata.

Christian principles support my Tūhoetanga?⁵¹ Or will my Tūhoetanga be an impediment to the progress of my mokopuna? Do we have the wisdom, courage and motivation to become global citizens and to become part of a global culture?⁵² What will my mokopuna look like in the new millennium?

⁵¹ Geering, 1999 p.8)

⁵² Ibid p.106

Chapter 2

TE POUHERE - THE CONSTITUTION

Poi Waeroa

Karo atu karo mai pari ana me te tai

Tomokia whakaputa aue neke nekehia

Kumea whakamua kumea whakamuri

Kumea ki te taha ki te tahataha rua

E rere e hika e!

Huri ana i te whenua

mehe manu topa noa

Piri ai ki nga kapua

O te rangi e rere nei

(Kohine Pōnika 1970 2nd verse)

Flight of the Mosquito

Flit here dash there as the tide flow and ebb

plunge forward appear then move it along

push it forward pull it back

thrust to the side now go both ways.

Soar forth my friend.

Circumnavigating the land

Like a bird soaring

Clinging to the clouds

In the sky

Mrs. Kohine Pōnika's song, above, Poi Waeroa, continues its flight as she likens it to a group of her people who are purposefully moving forward as a group in a particular direction as they search for new land to settle and survive. The journey is not easy as difficulties and new problems arise and are to be solved as they plunge forward and then have to pull back and, at times, to sidestep before going forward once more. But the flight of the mosquito is borne into the air as indeed they continue their search for new places, new surroundings, a place to call home.

Chapter 2 raises issues which had a whirlwind effect on Maori spirituality. New Zealanders believed their country to be God's own and stood proud of its race relationships as the best in the world judging by the advertisements to lure tourists from other parts of the world. An image of green fields, bush and unpolluted waterways with wild life an idyllic utopia awaits all comers with friendly indigenous people to guide one through. However, behind this facade was a whirlwind of events that revealed its true nature for the colonised people of Aotearoa.

Part of the exploratory of te wairua Kōmingomingo o te Māori, the whirlwind spirituality of the Māori, is to examine its resurgence and transformation in the ever-changing values of Māori society from its genesis to the present day in the new millennium and to raise the question; Is there an evolutionary or revolutionary quality in the 1992 Constitution of the Anglican Church in New Zealand which accepts or reject, embrace or ignore the evolving spirituality of Māori. – Wairua Kōmingomingo?

1990 in New Zealand was the year of celebrating the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the government, to its credit, felt it was important enough as a young nation to sponsor the whole exercise financially. Various projects were organised like the hewing out and carving of several waka taua (war canoes) by the seven main tribes; a vision set by Princess Te Puea of the Waikato tribe in 1940 to mark the centennial of the Treaty of Waitangi. Te Puea wanted to restore and build seven war canoes to represent the seven major tribes in Aotearoa, to instil tribal prestige, and add an exercise of kotahitanga (make as one) to bring the tribes together. World War II intervened and only three new waka were completed. Fifty years later, the dream was revived but on a much more massive scale than Te Puea had envisaged. Twenty war canoes were to be built or refurbished, some to take part in the opening ceremonies of the Commonwealth games and other events, but all to meet at Waitangi on February 6, 1990.⁵³

In addition to the waka project there was also the printing of a small booklet on the history of the Treaty and the invitation to Queen Elizabeth II to be New Zealand's guest to attend both the Commonwealth Games and the celebrations at Waitangi. The government of the day paid out thirty million dollars on the projects for the celebrations of the Treaty.⁵⁴

It was a brilliant sunny summer's day at Waitangi on the 6th of February, and a huge crowd had gathered and, as on previous celebrations of Waitangi, protest was expected to take place, and a huge contingent of Police was evident. A large Māori group of protesters had gathered, with a smattering of Pakeha groups scattered amongst them, and one can sense the underlying tension, as it neared the time for official speeches to begin. Through the opening speeches, the few protestors who broke through the cordon kept Interjecting and chanting 'Honour the Treaty', 'Tino Rangatiratanga', 'Give back the land' interjected the speeches.

⁵³ Kennedy Warne (ed), 1990, *New Zealand Geographic; Year of the Waka*, Academy Pres, p. 9

⁵⁴ Ibid p.9

When Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe took his turn, as representing the Churches, at the invitation of government officials. The bishop first acknowledged the official party, and then he berated the Māori protesters in their own language for making so much noise for nothing. Then he began his sermon;

*“One hundred and fifty years ago, a compact was signed, a covenant was made between two people...but since the signing of the treaty... our partners have marginalised us. You have not honoured the treaty.”*⁵⁵

There was a moment of stunned silence and shock that someone on the official party had dared to accuse the Crown of dishonouring the agreement through marginalization of its people, and this was said in the presence of Queen Elizabeth II as well. Suddenly there was an eruption of applause and loud cheering from the large crowd present, except from the officials who sat through it impassively. It was an extraordinary moment in history, one that would remain imbedded in the thoughts of thousands of New Zealanders. Bishop Whakahuihui continued that he was here to renew the ties that made New Zealanders a nation, not to debate the treaty nor renegotiate but for the treaty to stand firm as the unifying force between the two peoples that signed the treaty. He came, he said, to cry for the promises that were made by the two sides.

At the end of his speech the ovation from the crowd was one of enormous appreciation – but the officials remained stone faced and aloof. Later, Sir Paul Reeves, who was sitting next to the Queen, in his role as Governor-General, reported that she asked the question, “Is this a radical bishop?” Sir Paul replied, “No Ma’am, but he’s doing pretty well.”⁵⁶

It turned out to be a very memorable celebration, even if it only brought to mind for non-Māori people, as the Consedines’ pointed out,

*“the real reason for the anger and protests of every Māori community through out Aotearoa, New Zealand for these many years was that the promises made in the Treaty had not been kept by successive governments. The anger in the Māori community was very visible, symbolised powerfully in speeches and protest.”*⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Thomas Brian, edit, 2006, *Anglican Taonga*, Commission on Communications, p.16

⁵⁶ Ibid p.17

⁵⁷ Consedine & Consedine Robert & Joanna, 2005, *Healing our History*, Penguin Books, p.79

Since the early 1970s the celebration of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, has been a focus of Māori protest, concentrating on the failure of successive governments to address Māori grievances. The reasons for this anger and the struggles of the Māori through its dealings with colonialism both within the State and the Church since 1852 when the Settler Government took control of the running of the country is marked well in its history. It speaks of treachery, broken promises and dishonouring the Treaty. It is about the challenges that confronted the Māori of old and their journey of evolution as the Māori spirit spiralled its way into the world of globalisation.

In 1992 the Anglican Church in New Zealand, began its profound transformation and evolutionary move when after twenty years of discussions it changed its Constitution of 1857 - the process of decolonising from within its own house began. But more than that, in a revolutionary mood it allowed its members, both Māori and Pākehā, in addition to the Polynesian contingent, freedom to choose to grow and live together, differently and separately as they wish. A decision so bold for its time when one recalls the cry for apartheid, or separatism to be abolished, as the nation of South Africa, (which became affectionately called the Rainbow People), prepared for its unification. The BBC Home News, 18 March 1992, reported FW de Klerk saying;

“Today we have written in our history the fundamental turning point...and have closed the book on apartheid.”

In 1994 the African National Congress (ANC) won South Africa’s first non-racial elections and Nelson Mandela became president.⁵⁸

The changing of the Anglican constitution was just as dramatic and considered a revolutionary change within the Anglican Church worldwide, as they watched with trepidation, as one of its minor and well-known antipodean members set another challenge for the rest of the Anglican Church to follow. The Church in New Zealand was the first in the world, to allow its Laity to be part of its governance in 1857 when Bishop Selwyn set the constitution; the first Anglican Church in the world to ordain a female priest Heather Brunton in 1977 and then elect a female bishop, Dr. Penelope Jamieson in 1990,⁵⁹ and the

⁵⁸ Internet; *BBC On This Day*, 1992, *South Africa votes for change*.

⁵⁹ NZ Clerical Directory 2007/2008, Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, p.124

first in the world to produce a multicultural Prayer Book in 1989, a fine example for other Prayer Books in the world to follow. And now, it is preparing its members to live in three separate ways known as tikanga, (values and practices) under one Constitution. An impressive array of evolutionary movements created to help with the building-up of its mission in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia.

The progress made by the Anglican Māori Church, in its endeavours to decolonise, and go through the process of preparing and programming itself, for what was known by the Church Missionary Society, (CMS,) as the Three-self Movement was non-existence. The first idea of the Three-self Movement was Self-determination that is having its own autonomy (tino rangatiratanga); Secondly, self-propagation, developing its own indigenous ministry on atuātanga, (Māori theology), wairuatanga (spirituality) and awhi whānau (social services) and thirdly, to become self-supporting. As the church move into the New Millennium questions that come to mind, and need to be answered are; will the Māori Anglican Church be able to survive the onslaught of Modernity and its aftermath? Since 1992 what has emerged within the Māori Anglican Church? Will Tāne, personification god of the bush, indeed fit into the concept of the Trinity? To what extent has the Māori Church changed from its former self, if it has changed at all? But more to the point is it carrying out the mission of the Church as set out in its new constitution? This thesis will examine and scrutinise the work of the Anglican Church since its arrival on these shores of Aotearoa, and trace its brief history and its effects on wairua kōmingomingo (Māori whirlwind spirituality) of the new millennium.

According to Lloyd Geering, the world in the last decade of the 20th century, was in the midst of a rapidly evolving global transformation, whereby all economic, cultural, religious and scientific activities, were being pulled together into one worldwide network, in the belief that the world will benefit from a combined effort. As an example the last two decades have witnessed the introduction of the Internet, a fast and cheap personal intercommunication on a global scale,⁶⁰ bringing together different networks of people from all around the world, at a click of a mouse, so to speak. Indigenous peoples were not slow in taking up the challenge, and were joining in the fray with other main players in the fast lane of global order, and the international movements between indigenous peoples, which had

⁶⁰ Geering Lloyd, 1999, *The World to Come*, Bridget Williams Books Ltd, p.97

multiplied fourfold in numbers, to establish claims of collective rights, self determining autonomy.

Major changes to the world's populations have seen dramatic ethnic based upheavals, like Bosnia and Kosovo, Indonesia, East Timor and closer to home, Fiji. Beside these insurrections, there have been numerous indigenous renaissances, particularly in New Zealand, Canada and more recently Australia.⁶¹ Not surprisingly, an international movement of indigenous peoples has evolved sharing experiences of self-determination and incorporating self-propagation, such as in the revitalisation of culture, an increased participation in, and yet at the same time rejecting the mainstream institutions, and strategic alliances with indigenous and non-indigenous groups.⁶²

There is no hiding the fact that colonisation, from the beginning of its industrial revolution in the mother country England, was not only going out to conquer the world, but was preparing the world for globalisation. But, with so many other expansionist dreams, come also the effects, as Sister Pauline O'Reagan points out;

*Colonisation has done great harm to members of the human family. Some of it stemmed from greed, some from arrogance, and some from pure ignorance.*⁶³

In so doing, this has left in its wake, a mass of disastrous consequences for its indigenous whānau (family) in Canada, North and South America, Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand, and many other countries that were colonised. There is no doubt that global culture has made huge inroads into bringing about wealth, better health and spreading modernisation for the betterment of mankind, and producing many more people on the rich list; yet the majority of indigenous peoples continue to live in third world poverty and dependence on the government. Forced off their lands by various forms of legislation, and their rights to live as normal people, they were displaced from their traditional lands by exploitive resource extraction, with a demoralising effect on physical, social, and mental health, with the addition of cultural depravity.⁶⁴ Not surprisingly, the United Nations General Assembly

⁶¹ Bishop Russell & Ted Glyn, 1999, *Culture Counts*, The Dunmore Press Ltd., p.11

⁶² Maaka Roger and Augie Fleras, 2005, *The Politics of Indigeneity*, Published by University of Otago Press, p.7

⁶³ Consedeine 2001, p.14

⁶⁴ Whall Helena, 2003, *The Challenge of Indigenous peoples; The unfinished Business of Decolonization*, The Round Table, 376:365-59.

declared 1993 the International Year for the World's Indigenous People, in the hopes of pinpointing the paradoxes of their life experiences.⁶⁵

MAORI PARTY

Even with this, the New Zealand Government, along with three other countries, refused to sign the United Nations Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which took almost 25 years to finalise. Indigenous people continue with their struggle for justice for all. Even as recently as May in 2004 this brought about another hīkoi (walk) by the thousands of New Zealanders to protest against the government's legislation on the Foreshore and Seabed Act denying Maori ownership of the foreshore and seabed. The court judged that some Maori appeared to have the right to seek formal ownership of a specific area of seabed in the Marlborough Sounds. Tariana Turia, a junior minister, resigned the Labour Party and she was sacked by Prime Minister Helen Clark from her ministerial post. Turia won a by-election in her constituent Te Tau Hauauru seat two months later. The Māori Party, was launched on the 10th July 2004. Tariana Turia, became the first Māori Party Member in July 27. At the countries elections on 17 September, 2005, she was joined by three other members of the Māori Party who had been elected to the House; Mr Hone Harawira for Te Tai Tokerau, Dr. Pita Sharples for Tāmaki Makaurau and Mr Te Ururoa Flavell for Waiairiki. Labour held on to three of the seven Māori electorates. The Sunday Star Times main heading read

"Four-seat sweep sets up Maori Party to make a difference."

*"Parliament's newest entrant, the Maori Party, is easily the election's biggest winner. It stormed in with at least four seats, upsetting Labour's safe and complacent hold on the Maori electorate. By winning several electorate seats more than its party vote of about 1.6% entitled it to the Maori Party creates an overhung parliament. Formed last year in opposition to the Government's foreshore and seabed legislation, the party could muster significant heft in Parliament. It is unclear how it will use it."*⁶⁶

According to Canon Eru Potaka-Dewes, the emergence of the Māori Party marks the beginning of Māori taking control of their own destiny.⁶⁷ It was a hard fought election between the two main contenders, Labour and the fledging Maori Party. Although the

⁶⁵ Tauli-Corpuz, Victoria, 2001, *The Resistance of the Indigenous Peoples of Asia Against Racism and Racial Discrimination*, Indigenous Affairs, 1:43-9.

⁶⁶ Sunday Star Times, Sunday, 18 September 2005

⁶⁷ Aratema, Parehuia et al, *Mai i Rangiatea*; a journal published by Te Whare Wānanga o te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa, Vol. 3, January 2007, p.18.

Maori Party had much more appeal than Labour, Labour's political manipulation of handouts and promises kept the Labour Party faithful from switching to the Maori Party.

Yet the protest of Maori was not an immediate reaction only to the foreshore seabed legislation but to all issues that affected Maori in their land and their rights according the Treaty of Waitangi. One of the outstanding contributions is the Maori Party's consistent delivery of its speeches in the House in Te Reo Maori. This emphasis on speaking Maori has raised a level of awareness of the use of the Maori as a language vehicle. The speaking of the Maori language has always being with the Maori Anglican Church in their insistence of having services in Maori as indicated in the New Zealand Prayer Book which was published in 1989. Another significant contribution is the number of speeches Members have made a year on, some 168 speeches in the house. The Reverend Canon Potaka –Dewes says that the long term causes of the Maori Party may be traced back to the colonisation of this country by the British Imperial power flouting Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Such arrogance culminated in land wars. The struggle against oppression saw the rise of liberation movements such as Te Kotahitanga, then Tino Rangatiratanga..... It is in the crown's shame that one law for all is still not a reality for Maori. The injustice of having their land confiscated and denial of access to the courts strikes at the very heart of democracy.⁶⁸

On October 15th 2007, in the early hours of the morning, while it was still dark, a little peaceful valley, Ruātoki, in the Bay of Plenty, came under police attack on the grounds that they were harbouring terrorists. Next day the news that a peaceful Pacific Paradise New Zealand has terrorists made world headlines. The arrests of Māori activist Tame Iti and sixteen others, made headlines in countries as diverse as Turkey, Thailand, Australia, and the United States. According to the report they were arrested in a nationwide police crackdown on Māori sovereignty, environmental and political activists. The raids stemmed from a yearlong investigation into what police believed were guerrilla-style weapons training camps, being held in the Urewera Ranges, in the Bay of Plenty. The Turkish Press said;

“New Zealand activists held in anti-terrorism raids”

⁶⁸ ibid

Radio Australia highlighted the case of Auckland activist Jamie Lockett, saying police told the court they had recordings of Lockett saying he was training to be a vicious, dangerous commando.⁶⁹

The police cited the Terrorism Suppression Act as the reason for the raid, and created overkill on the peaceful valley of Ruātoki. A normal police visit would have netted the same results without the drama. It reminds us that in the political scene, despite the excellent work of law enforcers and other government agencies; their effectiveness is still very much at the whim of a few leaders who love nothing more than creating a scenario of ‘them’ and ‘us,’ and also raise the wrath of the community creating the division to clean them out of society – them meaning the underdogs, who are mostly Māori.

This chapter points out the long spiritual struggle of the Māori for its identity from its conception to the present day, and talks about the Te Riri o te Pākehā (the anger of the Pākehā). The Māori is doing nothing more than seeking to live a life that is meaningful to oneself, in raising a whānau (family) and being neighbourly to the non-Māori, whether they are next door or in the neighbouring countries. It is drawing attention to the long road of marginalisation and racial connotations, that took place, which eventually brought about social changes in the decade of the eighties, changes that moved the nation into the post-colonial era.⁷⁰

BICULTURALISM

My wife, Waikohu Cherry, and her thirteen grandchildren, are inheritors of many tribes and of many nations. Some are fortunate enough to have double passports. They are truly of the world, and it is with pride that she celebrates their entry into the Te Ao Nui (the world at large), Te Ao Hou (the new world), Te Ao Hurihuri (the spinning world). The question that needs to be asked is, were her celebrations premature? What has changed since 1992 that gave her hope to celebrate? Through their histories, both state and church cultural politics, in Aotearoa New Zealand, have followed policies of assimilation, of integration and of institutionalisation agendas, rooted deep in historical colonial relations. The main reason behind these policies was to ensure that the Māori become acculturated, that is, to become colonised, dispossessed, and marginalised. The 1980’s saw the boom of biculturalism

⁶⁹ ibid

⁷⁰ ibid

despite its controversy as to its meaning, and the form of its practical application both in the church and state.⁷¹

The Anglican Church had developed a bi-cultural programme which questioned the nature of biculturalism. It was set up to see if the two groups of tikanga Māori and tikanga Pākehā will develop separately and differently, is something to celebrate or condemn. It also raises questions like by being pro-Māori does it mean that my wives' children's children need to drop their Christian wairua or their Pākehā tikanga? By being pro-Māori does it mean that my children's children cannot follow a professional vocation and be still Māori? By being pro-Māori do my grandchildren have to neglect their non-Māori social graces?

But it is more than that. At the beginning of the last century the main problem facing my grandparents was whether they and their children were going to survive. The statistics available gave approximately 40,000 Māori still living and was not expected to survive. One Tree Hill in Auckland was put to one side as a memorial to a dying race. In 2008, with the Māori population well over the half million the concern is not for physical survival but rather a cultural revival to retain a Māori spiritual identity. The concern is for my great-grandchildren, will they be able to retain their Māori identity while still being able to participate fully in society and in the communities of the world?

The good news is that this year 2008, the government has negotiated successfully a Free Trade Agreement with China. Ngai Tahu and Sea Lord are preparing to harvest the seabeds of Tangaroa to feed the millions in Asia. The NZ Herald,⁷² reported Mr Phil Goff, Trade Minister saying;

“This is easily the most important free trade agreement on the international calendar. It will mark out New Zealand as being a country that is effective in developing trade relationships and removing barriers to trade. Excitement was also running high among NZ business people gathered at the Sofitel Hotel at Beijing; a reduction in Chinese tariffs on most of NZ agricultural exports and manufactured goods which will reduce to zero over time; greater access to the huge Chinese market for key sectors in NZ's services industry; a faster reduction in NZ's tariffs on imported Chinese clothing, footwear and textiles; statements on labour and the environment; agreement to progress bilateral investments.”

⁷¹ Ibid p.12

⁷² The New Zealand Herald, April, 2008

All this is certainly good news reported by the NZ Herald for business and goes a long way in helping economic stability throughout the country. But more important than this, is the fact that there is no way my father's Māori genes can be systematically eliminated from the face of this earth. The seeds from Rangiatea (a mythical spiritual home of the Māori) and from Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga (an ancestor for all Polynesians), which will be discussed later, are too numerous and have already been scattered by the winds to the four corners of the earth and are multiplying. As Mason Durie noted;

*"The 1996 census confirmed the good news- any probability of genocide is remote. At 579,714 the Māori population has never been more numerous and raises justified concern that mere survival will achieve little if it is not linked to a secure identity, full participation in society and the economy, and wider access than currently exists to the range of disciplines necessary for advancement in today's world."*⁷³

The concern here is not so much in numbers of Māori, although it does help, but rather one of maintaining their wairua Māori (spirituality), that is it must be linked to one of identity and distinctiveness and full input into their community be it whānau, hapū or iwi, in their multiplicity of genes and population and still be a part of the global scene.

The fact that many Māori are denied access to the Māori world and to the wider society; and while the disparities between Māori and non-Māori remain at unacceptable high levels there are some signs Māori are making substantial gains.⁷⁴

In the meantime, while China has opened its doors to trade with New Zealand, it is also pumping out fumes and tearing down forests while the rest of the world is trying to save the planet according to Maurice O'Brien.⁷⁵ China is now the top carbon polluter according to the BBC and has already overtaken the US as the world's biggest polluter. According to the Washington Post, large swathes of the globe's forests are being cut-down at an alarming pace to feed a global wood-processing industry centred in coastal China. Mountains of logs, many of them harvested in excess of legal limits aimed at preserving forests, are streaming towards Chinese factories where workers churn out such products as furniture and floorboards.

⁷³ Mason, Durie, 1997, Taku Titiro: Viewpoint Māori Advancement into Te Aonui; He Pukenga Korero, Raumati (Summer), Vol 3, No. 1 1997, p.6

⁷⁴ NZ Herald 7 April, 2008

⁷⁵ NZ Herald 5 June, 2008

At the current pace of cutting, natural forests in Indonesia and Burma will be exhausted within a decade, writes the Washington Post, while forests in Papua New Guinea will be consumed in as little as thirteen years, and those in the Russian Far East within two decades. O'Brien points out that these are a bulwark against global warming, capturing carbon dioxide that would otherwise contribute to heating the planet. What is troubling, says O'Brien, about global warming is why the world should go out of its way to reduce greenhouse gases when China belches out fumes and tears down forests with impunity? The relative savings the rest of us make in greenhouse gas emissions are more than offset by China's determination to pollute as much as it wants. How can greenhouse gas emissions possibly be curtailed when such global population growth and high emissions rates in China (and India) are undoing whatever reductions the rest of the world makes?

This does not lessen or take away our responsibility to our neighbours as partakers of the Global family. Before we take to throwing stones at China let's look to see if we in New Zealand are truly pure and green. We like to advertise ourselves to overseas people to help our economy in tourism on which we depend for our livelihood. Our environment is important to us as it shapes our way of life and it underpins our economy. To survive, we depend largely on exports like agriculture, horticulture, forestry and these all depend on a stable, predictable climate. We are not sheltered from global climate change. New Zealand has already started warming. According to the latest weather forecasts we are in for more frequent droughts and floods (drier in the east and wetter in the west), rising sea and lower snow levels and changing rainfall patterns.

Despite our smallness our carbon footprint per capita is still significant according to our NZ Committee on Climate Change report. Our greenhouse gas emissions are growing rapidly – we are producing 25% more than in 1990. Per head of population New Zealanders emit nearly twice as much greenhouse gases as the British and almost five times as much as the Chinese. The main growth in emissions (43%) is carbon dioxide from the energy sector mainly transport and electricity generation. Half of our total greenhouse gas emissions are produced by agriculture, methane and nitrous oxide from farm animals. Our growing dairy herds and energy demands mean that our net emissions are expected to grow to over 70 percent above 1990 levels by 2012. We need to shoulder our global responsibilities and cut our greenhouse gas emissions now or create more CO₂ Farms of pine trees. I know of two Maori Trusts who are leading the way by creating Carbon Farming on their lands. The

Maungapohatu Trust began their farm in 2010 and with the present rate of government help in buying up credits, the Trust stands to gain quite a substantial income over the next 50 years in which their vision for their future is assured.

A later report by Brian Fallow of the New Zealand Herald,⁷⁶ says that the chairman for the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), Rajendra Pachauri, visiting New Zealand, says that businesses should be thinking about the response to climate change not as a threat but as an opportunity. The IPCC is the United Nations body whose task is to report to governments every five years or so, on the state of science on climate change, its environmental impacts and what can be done to mitigate it. New Zealand Climate Change Minister, David Parker, believes that in NZ, which is relatively affluent and well endowed with renewable resources, and which trades on a clean, green image, must get on top of its carbon emissions. What hope is there for the world, and what sort of signal does it send to countries which face a harsher version of the same dilemmas? New Zealand, according to the Committee's report, needs to take both immediate and long-term steps to protect our way of life and our standard of living.

Suitable steps that Māori spirituality will need to take along with the rest of New Zealand to be innovative and sustainable and the need to look at lifestyles and an economy that will not put our future at risk for the generations to come.

"I want New Zealand to be in the vanguard of making it happen – for our own sakes, and for the sake of our planet."

So says the Right Honourable Helen Clark, past New Zealand Prime Minister along with many others who share the same sentiments.⁷⁷ The other view, Brian Fallow reports, associated with some of the business lobby groups, says New Zealand is a tiny fraction of the global problem and where we are doing our bit ends and futile self-sacrifice begins depends on what the rest of the world is doing, which at the moment is not much. Better to proceed gingerly, Brian Fallow warns.

⁷⁶ New Zealand Herald, Thursday June 5, 2008

⁷⁷ (<http://www.climatechange.govt.nz/sustainable-nz/sustainable-nz.shtml>)

The Genesis of Tribes

The origins of the Northern hemisphere tribal people, according to Western history, had their beginnings with mythical stories from the Bible of the Hebrews. At least that was the popular theory shared by the majority of Europe up to the middle ages. The story of Adam (first man) and Eve being driven out of the Garden of Eden because of disobedience explains the anti-social tendencies within human communities and the reasons for man's pain and toil on this earth; The story of Cain killing his brother Abel the sons of Adam and Eve, marked the beginning of enmity, even between family members, let alone other tribal people. About 5,000 BC there was a particular group of people who migrated east to the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, which is now known as the Persian Gulf. They developed into an early civilization with a king, priests and cultic practices with a common language. According to the story of the Tower of Babel in Genesis chapter 11 verse 1;

“Now the whole world had one language and a common speech...”

...and then goes on to explain why there are hundreds of dialects and languages representing thousands of people groups throughout the entire world. It was a punishment by God for their pride, of which the tower was the symbol for trying to reach the heavens (4b);

“So that we may make a name for ourselves and not be scattered over the face of the whole earth. (5) But the Lord came down to see the city and the tower that the men were building. (6) The Lord said, “If as one people speaking the same language they have begun to do this, then nothing they plan to do will be impossible for them. (7) Come, let us go down and confuse their language so that they will not understand each other.” (8a) So the lord scattered them from there over all the earth.”
78

The above incident came after the story of Noah, who;

“...was a righteous man blameless among the people of his time.” (Genesis 6: 9)

His family survived the destruction of the world by God through floodwaters because the people on earth were all corrupt. Noah was instructed to build an ark big enough to house himself, his family and;

⁷⁸ Serendipity's Interactive Study Bible, 2001, The Holy Bible, New International Version, Zondervan Publishing House.

“Every kind of living creatures – the birds and animals and all the creatures that moved along on the ground.”

Noah and his family were blessed by God and set up a covenant between Him and the earth and all living creatures of every kind and made the rainbow in the clouds as the sign, a reminder of his covenant promise. (Gen.9: 11 – 13) Noah and his sons, as promised by God, were fruitful and increased in numbers. Many descendants later, within the city of Ur of the Chaldeans, Abram was chosen by God and asked to;

“Leave your country, your people and your father’s household and to go the land I will show you and I will make you into a great nation and I will bless you and I will make your name great and you will be a blessing.” (Gen. 12: 1 -2)

Abram left Ur with his wife Sarai and his nephew Lot, his possessions and his household and they set out for the land of Canaan.

THE MAORI STORY OF THEIR GENESIS.

Meanwhile, about the same period, in the southern hemisphere of the world, a group of tribesman, strung out along the Indonesian-Melanesian island chain who spoke the Austronesian language (formally called Malayo-Polynesian), were preparing to leave their country having discovered how to sail the oceans successfully in their outrigger and double-hulled canoes, that today are known as catamarans. According to David Lewis, around 5,000 BC these Austronesian’s in their sailing canoes began to ferry them to Vietnam, the Philippines and Taiwan in the north, to Malaysia and as far as Malagasy (Madagascar) in the west, along the Melanesians to the east, and ultimately, the width of the Pacific to Easter Island.⁷⁹

Around about 1500 BC when they were living mostly on the coast of Papua New Guinea and some of its offshore islands, they began a significant series of tentative voyages, sailing eastwards over great distances to islands where no human beings had lived before. According to Margaret Orbell;

“They first crossed the ocean to Fiji, and then by 1000 BC some of them were settled in Tonga, Samoa and islands nearby. They hung about for another 1000 years establishing the Polynesian language and culture and then the next huge step of creating and settling of the vast ocean of Kiwa (Pacific Ocean) and to be known as the

⁷⁹ Lewis, David and Werner Forman, 1982, *The Māori- Heirs of Tane*, Orbis Publishing Ltd, p.14

*Polynesians, discovering and settling other islands in the process from Hawaii to the Easter Islands and finally the last to be settled was Aotearoa”.*⁸⁰

They too, like the Northern tribes of the world in the continent of Europe, had their mythical stories of where they come from and where they were heading. The stories of their genesis, like the Hebrews, were orally transmitted from one generation to the next until the printed word came about 450 BC during the Persian Period. For Māori, the youngest nation in the world, writing was introduced with the arrival of the Missionaries in 1814 AD a mere 200 years ago. So according to the majority of historians and to the evidence, from archaeologists to date that is available to us that there were people, with artefacts found, similar to those of eastern Polynesia around the Society Islands, around about AD 750 and 1000.⁸¹

The genesis of the Māori begins with their understanding of their world handed down through the many generations by oral tradition until the written word arrived about the early 19th century. Undoubtedly, the first group of Māori who arrived in Aotearoa came with their distinctive stories from their homelands in the Pacific. According to Māori oral tradition the early Māori settled Aotearoa (Long White Cloud), a name given by the first Polynesian discoverers, generally attributed to Kupe.⁸² They brought with them their culture, their way of life, traditions and religious beliefs that 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 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.⁸³

The next phase, now usually called the archaic era also identified as the moa-hunter period took place between 1100 – 1300 AD. The moa had been exterminated and the development of horticulture for people to survive was crucial. This became possible when they resolved the problem of growing seedlings from kumara in early spring, to the storage of the kumara in pits lined by bracken-fern, maintaining the same temperature through winter. It meant larger fertile areas were required and at times it was simpler to take over a neighbour's

⁸⁰ Orbell 1985, *The Natural World of the Māori*, William Collins Publishers. P.5

⁸¹ Lewis, David, 1982. P.20

⁸² Mitchell, J.H., 1972, Takitimu, A.H. & A. W. Reed Ltd, Christchurch. p.18

⁸³ Walker 1990, p.32

garden, especially when they were few in numbers, than to plant one's own. The building of fortified villages and having larger numbers for defence were becoming necessary for a tribe to survive ⁸⁴

THE CANOES

About the 13th century another group of Māori began arriving and as their numbers grew so did the need for fortifications to defend their plots of kumara. Warfare and raids increased amongst the tribes. Inevitably as each tribe grew in numbers so did the necessity to claim and make counter claims as cultural evolution took place and as a response to the changing conditions. They created their own stories to suit their needs making them more meaningful for the growing generations as their society developed, adapted to their new environment. The need to build bigger and well fortified strongholds, where main buildings and store-houses were decorated with carvings and where sumptuous hospitality was offered and chief and tribe gained much mana, prestige and honour. Horticulture and technology flourished. Historians knew this period as the classical period. ⁸⁵

Despite the changes that took place, on the whole, the nucleus of stories remained static. What was important and natural for the Māori storytellers 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 by arranging an ordered sequence of events surrounding the phenomena of nature, the same way as they do with their human descent, to authenticate and assert their mana and claim their territory. ⁸⁶

The Māori of old were well known for their story telling and even in modern times, throughout the country on every marae (an enclosed area with a few buildings built for the purpose where local people meet and hold special tribal gatherings), of which there are well over a thousand in New Zealand erected for the purpose of practising hospitality to celebrate the life of the people which includes, birthdays, weddings, funerals, unveilings of memorial tombstones, tribal gatherings and meetings of local, regional and national Māori organisations. For every gathering there is a calling of a welcome, the wailing, the oratory

⁸⁴ Ibid p.33

⁸⁵ Ibid p. 33

⁸⁶ Walker 1990 p. 37

and the chanting as each group arrives on the marae.⁸⁷ The marae remains for the Māori, the guardian and fortified village of tribal heritage and polity, where cultural inheritance of spiritual, tikanga (customs) and mana (prestige and power) are practiced 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 Māori spirituality of the past and its significance in the 21st century. The waka tradition as shown in the 150th celebrations of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1990 stems from powerful traditional oral histories of each area claiming the canoe from which their ancestors came and the territory they have occupied since the arrival of these last settlers. In these modern days, the tradition and history of the arrival of these voyaging canoes are recorded through song and stories by Māori poets and orators, in particular the seven main canoes which has become a compelling symbol of mana for the tribes. There are many publications as in the book of Tainui by Leslie G. Kelly, Takitimu by J.R. Mitchell, Tūhoe by Elsdon Best and so the list goes on covering the stories and the traditions of the seven main canoes, Tainui, Te Arawa, Tokomaru, Kurahaupo, Mataatua, Aotea and Takitimu and there are also many other canoes known to each tribe that also arrived about the same time and added to the list. The arrival of the canoes in a convoy was never part of the Māori tradition or the stories of Moriori.

The difficulty of trying to substantiate and explain the myths surrounding these two events are not part of this thesis except to say that these are dealt with adequately by Dr Ranginui Walker in chapter two of his book - *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou, Struggle Without End*. Sufficient for the purpose of this paper to say archaeology has given us enough evidence, to indicate the important changes that took place which influenced the cultural and spiritual change for Māori necessary to cater for the fortification of villages along with increase of gardens, to show that this period of the 14th century marked the transition from the Archaic to Classic Māori culture and the increase of the Māori population for the next 400 years before the arrival of the Pākehā. But now we turn to how the world of the Māori had their genesis from their point of view.

⁸⁷ Salmond Anne, 1975, Hui, A Study of Māori Ceremonial Gatherings, Reed Methuen Publishers Ltd, Auckland. P.

The world of the Māori began with Rangi and Papa, Sky and Earth, so their genealogy tells us, the Genesis story of the Māori from their myths and legends, which we will discuss in Chapter 3.

RUATARA

The arrival of the Reverend Samuel Marsden stated publicly the arrival of Christianity with the preaching of the Gospel on Christmas day in 1814. However, it was not all one-sided as Marsden had a very good friend in a Ngāpuhi chief who befriended him and had visions of his own rather than just having a promise of a kingdom in heaven. His name was Ruatara and he acted as Marsden's protector and guide and gave him and his lay-missionaries hospitality necessary for the success of the mission.⁸⁸

By 1830 one of the missionaries, William Williams, who later became a bishop wrote; after nearly twenty years of labour, the native Christians did not exceed fifty.⁸⁹ Progress for Christianity took a while and the arrival of Bishop Selwyn, a traditional Anglo-Catholic, took a different tack when he realised the difficulty of bringing under one realm the two different cultures of the settlers and Māori.

The larger part of the Church, the Māori people who were guided by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) was known as Te Hāhi Mihinare. On the 14th of May 1857 at a constituted convention held at St Stephen's Church at Mission Bay in Auckland under the leadership of Bishop Selwyn, The branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand was born. This was without consultation or involvement of the larger portion of the Church, Te Hāhi Mihinare, the Missionary Church, the Māori sector. It was a structure built by Pākehā for Pākehā to meet the settlers needs creating four bishoprics in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin.⁹⁰

The whirlwind spiritual dynamics in Māori culture, and other indigenous spiritualities have, a major role to play in bringing about a better understanding and a greater appreciation of our global responsibilities, primarily within a Christian context. The belief systems and

⁸⁸ Williams, William, 1989 Edition, *Christianity Among the New Zealanders*, The Camelot Press Ltd, Southampton. P.12

⁸⁹ *ibid* p. 149.

⁹⁰ Vaggioli Dom Felice, 2000, *History of New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin. P. 237.

social contexts of Māori and other indigenous peoples, like the Northern American first Nations, of Canada and The Native Americans, Polynesians from Hawai'i, the Aboriginal People from Australia and the Celts from the Isle of Skye, will be drawn upon for additional evidence. It will show that by increasing acceptance of the place for such alternative approaches it is effecting a change for good. This can lead to more intrinsic, compatible and harmonious societies – a future filled with hope as indigenous people seek their place and selfhood not only in their own country but in the global community at large.

My master's philosophy thesis⁹¹ examined Māori Spirituality as it was in its early form of primal religion and some aspects of what it is today in the new millennium. The thesis argues that while Christianity took a strong hold on Māori people they never abandoned their Māori spirituality and that primal belief is very much alive in the midst of the ordinary lives of the Māori, especially in the precinct of the marae. The thesis begins by looking at pre-European Māori beliefs and their genesis story which laid down the charter for the dynamic relationships between Māori and their environment as it unfolds in the dramatic myth stories, handed down orally from generation to generation. These stories guided the Māori to an understanding of where they came from, who they were and where they were going.

The impact and the arrival of another culture along with Christian belief brought about dramatic changes for Māori 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 Māori becoming British subjects but the results were disastrous for Māori. The Treaty, in its Māori text, was signed by most chiefs ceding governance to the British Crown while guaranteeing the chiefs' supremacy over their land, property and tribe; their tino rangatiratanga (own sovereignty). It was the beginning of the end for the old Māori of yester year.

By the turn of the twentieth century, colonisation, through greed and broken promises, had stripped Māori of most of their lands and their tino rangatiratanga. The Māori population was in a perilous situation and many predicted Māori would be like the extinct bird, the moa. With the help of modern technology, a new dawn of consciousness became evident as

⁹¹ Melbourne, Te Waaka, 2000, Wairua Māori Rua Mano: Māori Spirituality 2000, Master of Philosophy, Massey University.

the 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 (chants), poetry, action songs, poi (a form of a rhythmic dance with a tiny ball on the end of a string), and haka (defiant and aggressive dance) served to inspire and encourage the younger generations within the bounds of the marae, the last bastion of the Māori. The marae became a pivotal point for Māori survival, its culture and its spirituality.

For over a century the indigenous people of Aotearoa were subjugated and served as second-class citizens 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 Māori members that through self-determination, self-propagation and self-supporting activities, their tino rangatiratanga, and their wairua (spirituality) had finally been given permission and freedom to express itself as they saw their place in the new millennium. 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 Māori (Māori Spirituality).

There are signs of this happening. At a dawn ceremony held at Te Papa, Wellington, to welcome the Dawn of the New Century, 2000, Sir Michael Hardie Boys, the Governor General began his speech with the following words;

Korihi te manu, takiri mai te ata, ka ao, ka ao, ka awatea. Tihei mauriora!

“In words of our first people, I greet the new dawn, the light of a new day, the coming of a new century, of a new millennium. We in this land are the first to see a new day, and despite the short time New Zealand has existed we have become a vigorous nation, taking a respected place, and playing a full role, in world affairs, in war and in peace. Building on our rich heritage from both Polynesia and Europe, often leading the way in social change, in science and in technology, expressing ourselves strongly in art and music and literature, in sport and in high adventure. As we look back over our quite brief history, we can be proud of the achievements of New Zealand and New Zealanders.”

He went on to question what of the future that lies ahead? The Governor General began by recalling what the millennium is really about which is about marking the birth date of one

who is seen by Christians, in the words of the Hebrew prophet Isaiah, as the Prince of Peace.

He continued by saying that;

“Whether we share that perception or not, it is surely the golden age of peace...peace is essentially an attitude of mind, a shared expectation, which cannot be achieved where there is injustice and poverty and hunger, or where there is gross inequity in economic and social circumstances, or where corruption and tyranny deny essential human dignity...New Zealanders work in many roles and in many places and give generously, in order to alleviate them.”

The Governor General was also aware that here at home, commitment is needed.

“Much though we have achieved in the 20th century, much remains for us in the 21st. It is well over 100 years since we were at war among ourselves, yet we are not even now a people fully at peace with ourselves. Past injustices and present inequities still rankle. Financial insecurity, unemployment, underachievement, inequality of opportunity, such things gnaw away at our social fabric.”⁹²

These remarks portray a vision of one man for New Zealand who holds the highest position in the land. What is relevant is the fact that he is a non-Māori and recognises Māori to have a place in his future outlook. He sees two distinct cultures and peoples belonging to each with a future dependent on each other essential to peace in our midst. It requires some change in attitude and a reassessment of some values and priorities from both sides...for an even stronger dedication to the betterment of our fellows, so that the plenty we have is made available for the good of all.

Governor General Hardie Boys has confidence in New Zealand and its people as the past has proven the worth of New Zealand forebears so the present people can with equal enterprise and vigour, embark on the voyage of mind and spirit that opens before New Zealand in this new millennium. He ends with a prayer that our children’s children will thank us that as a nation we rose to meet the challenge, even as we thank those whose vision and whose labours have brought us to this day.

Webster says, in Dave Breur’s - Spiral of Values, that;

⁹² Governor-General of New Zealand – Speeches 2000; Internet.

*“By using values data to provide profiles of the cultures of New Zealand, Dr Alan Webster has shown that many worldviews contribute to the changing fabric of our nation “.*⁹³

Properly understood, any major and dynamic change is expanding and allowing its members to become more liberated; and in the process is making a major contribution in transforming and enriching their Christian eco-theology to be more holistic in their approach and have a more appreciative understanding of its global responsibility towards stewardship of Creation. This changing spirit, particularly within the Westernised and most Northern theologians, must recognise that human beings are part of the created order and not separate from it, and that the world primarily is connected to something or someone, (depending on one's belief), greater than human beings. For humanity to survive on this earth people desperately need to recognise that it is a life of global, all-embracing fellowship with one another that is the required key for the change of spirit.

This recognition is essential in this millennium. This changing spirit must accept the need to check and question all forms of exploitation and this spirit must become a vital force for change towards sustainable developments, sustainable communities, and healthy environments. This will begin the healing of the world and all its peoples and pass this creation on faithfully and intact to our children and to our children's children.

The process then suggests that it is in the leadership of both the temporal and the spiritual realm of the present Māori communities which calls for the most intelligent and determined leadership to express itself in an unqualified endorsement of the traditions and values that have always been associated with the respective Māori tribes, hapū and whānau. Māori leaders, and in particular young Māori leaders, need to speak up and address their problems. They can best perform this task by addressing one another and engaging in new kinds of dialogue within the societies they are involved with in their tribes and between tribes. This is where Māori must begin but Māori cannot stop here for we are a young nation of at least two peoples.

The change of spirit, the vision of social transformation, must extend to non-Māori as New Zealand history shows that the struggle has existed between Māori and non-Māori and that

⁹³ Webster, Alan, 2001, *Spiral of Values*, Alpha Publications, Hawera, New Zealand. p.1

many non-Māori find Māori culture problematic, demanding and, at times offensive. The challenge for Māori is to continue negotiating, talking, engaging with their Treaty partners and show that non-Māori too will benefit greatly by their participation and in the end the reforms can only be called a distinctly Kiwi flavour found no where else in the world thus making its global contribution as New Zealanders and that when they do a haka they do know what they are expressing as New Zealanders whether they are Māori or non-Māori.

Dr Pita Sharples, in his Foreword of State of the Māori Nation writes;

*“This anthology chronicles our enormous range of customs, beliefs and talents that are important not just for the people of Aotearoa, but across the globe. The experiences and ideologies contained within this book demonstrate that our knowledge is both relevant and appropriate for the ongoing advancement of our country. State of the Māori Nation makes a powerful contribution to our history, our strength as tangata whenua, the 1000 missing years from the story of Aotearoa. Furthermore, it promises to bind our multi-nations together as a truly united New Zealand, and to take us forward into the future”*⁹⁴

Importance of the Research Topic

In spite of all the Māori and government initiatives over the last 150 years, Māori education, language and culture, political, social, health, and employment remains seriously at risk of failing within Aotearoa New Zealand, which in turn affects Māori spirituality as well. As an example, according to the Māori Language Commission and the Māori Development Corporation only eight percent of adult Māori speak the Māori language at a highly fluent level and fewer than one hundred Pākehā are fluent speakers. Sociolinguists have pointed out that without a critical awareness of such endangerment and political support by the majority of both Māori and Pākehā to encourage Māori language and culture, their revival will dwindle away

In 1992, The General Synod of The Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand, after 20 years of discussions and debates, changed its constitution of 1875 and became, The General Synod of Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, in an acknowledgement of correcting the past wrongs and in a bold attempt to bring about reconciliation between Pākehā and Māori within the Anglican Church. It also means that it

⁹⁴ Mulholland, Malcolm and contributors, 2006. State of The Māori Nation: *Twenty-first-century issues in Aotearoa*, Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd. p. 9.

is a Church with three different cultural strands, three different languages, three different methods of worshipping and doing their business, three different styles of ministries and yet still under the one constitution. While each section of the Church has the freedom to do its best to meet the needs of their people, so too does the individual have the freedom of choice as to what tikanga or cultural strand they wanted to follow.

For the Māori it means that Māori now have their tino rangatiratanga, their sovereignty, to enter fully into debate with equal rights and equity in decision making, the right to vote and caucus, and the right, along with the other two partners, Pākehā and Polynesia, of veto on issues affecting the whole Church. To my knowledge the issue of veto has never been put to practice since 1992. The Anglican Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia has its Constitution to mission which includes loving service and the changing of unjust structures

It is committed to reconciliation in the form of partnership between Pākehā and Māori as well as bicultural development in its role in facilitating the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840. In 2000 General Synod established a Commission to review what has been achieved in the Principles of Partnership. It was reported back in the 2004 General Synod, that both Pākehā and Māori spoke of the pain of separation. An immediate consequence of the changes was the loss of contact and engagement between Pākehā and Māori at Parish and Diocesan level and this caused sadness for many.

At another level dealing with Leadership – Options for the Primacy the Commission reported that the fear and distrust of the past remains. Clearly the Constitution has only partially achieved reconciliation or should one ask how long should we wait before reconciliation takes place?

Another question that could be asked is what type of a Church are we looking for, and what type is needed in each community? Must we always look for a three tikanga Church? Or is it not more important that each one support the other in their time of need?

In the year 2005 in May at the Installation of Bishop Brown Tūrei as the new Bishop of Aotearoa, Bishop John Patterson in his sermon remarked that the Pākehā people were also in pain as they watched the Māori Church go through some painful decisions. He asked an awkward question why the Maori did not call on Tikanga Pakeha to help out as they were

willing to help and all Tikanga Maori had to do was to ask. There was no reply from Tikanga Maori.

Partnership and bicultural developments are important issues in the Church. It is time to spend more time on our connectedness. To some extent talking to one another, asking for help, swallowing one's pride may be all that is required to make a proper connection, to keep in touch with a partner and pave the way for further working towards a better future for young New Zealander

Chapter 3

TE WAIRUA O TŪHOE – THE SPIRITUALITY OF TŪHOE

Nā Toi rāua ko Pōtiki te whenua Toi and Pōtiki claimed the land
*Nā Tūhoe te mana me te rangatiratanga Tūhoe gave the power and authority*⁹⁵

The above proverb I have heard mentioned many times at various Tūhoe gatherings. Then at a gathering at Te Rewarewa marae in Ruātoki on October 25, 1970 at a hui wānanga, the late Paki Kupai McGarvey condensed Tūhoe's whirlwind collision with its world in the following translation by Dr. Hirini Melbourne;

*“First there was Pōtiki, Toi and Hape. They claimed the land and held it. Then came the canoe Mataatua and its people. They tilled the earth and made laws for the benefit of and to ensure the survival of all the people. Then the Pākehā came to settle, they forced our people off the land and claimed it for themselves.”*⁹⁶

In this chapter we will briefly look how the Tūhoe nation evolved into what it is today from its earliest beginnings.

The Violent Struggle - behind Tūhoe claims

They came on Thursday, the 31 July 2008, into Wellington. Tūhoe swarmed onto Parliament grounds by bus, plane, van, cars and on foot. They came from Waikaremoana, Ruatāhuna, Ruātoki, and Waimana including those who live in Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Christchurch, Rotorua and other towns in New Zealand. In total approximately 400 of Tūhoe descent, representing the hapū authorities from each tribal valley, Tūhoe Western Executive Committee, Waimana Kaaku Executive, the Tūhoe Manawarū Komiti, Waiohau, as well as rohe representatives, to be welcomed and praised by the Crown's Chief Representative, Dr. Michael Cullen.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ An old Tūhoe proverb recited at Tūhoe gatherings.

⁹⁶ O'Connor & Melbourne: 1997, p. 8.

⁹⁷ www.tekotahiaTuhoe.iwi.nz

Tūhoe and the government were meeting to sign an agreement to negotiate and overcome a long history of conflict today. It was a signal that both parties were ready for settlement of all Tūhoe outstanding Treaty claims.⁹⁸

Described by an overseas paper;

“A rebellious New Zealand Māori tribe entered into negotiations with the government in a bid to gain autonomy over its land. Ngai Tūhoe the only Māori tribe that refused to sign the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, which established peaceful relations between New Zealand’s indigenous groups and white settlers. Tūhoe still insists it retains sovereign control over its culture and its lands in central North Island, which it claims were confiscated illegally by settlers in the 1800s. The tribe, some adorned in traditional feather cloaks, came to the nation’s Parliament to sign an agreement to begin negotiations with the government. During the signing the Tūhoe negotiator Tāmati Kruger hailed the signing as, “a historic event.”⁹⁹

Deputy Prime Minister Michael Cullen admitted that the government had failed the tribe in many ways over many generations as he pointed out,

“As the result of Crown action your people have at times suffered poverty, famine, and significant isolation.”

Last October in 2007, a special squad of police raided several Tūhoe properties, initially alleging they were investigating suspected terrorist activities, but the allegations were dropped after a nationwide outcry about the way the raids were conducted. However, sixteen people were charged with firearms offences and a trial is pending.

In another sign of warming relations, Tūhoe joined six other tribes in June 2008 to sign New Zealand’s largest ever settlement over grievances arising from 19th century loss of lands, forests and fisheries during European settlement of the country.

It is a great day for Tūhoe

Senior tribal member Mr. Tauiri Pouwhare said, but he also added that Tūhoe want to be able to govern themselves on their tribal lands, a thorny question for the central government.

⁹⁸ NZ Herald, 31 July 2008

⁹⁹ Turkish Press/NZ Terrorists 16 October 2007; Scoop: *Terrorist Camps East Cape*. (<http://www.climatechange.govt.nz/sustainable-nz/sustainable-nz.shtml>)

They took the land away, we want the land back. Pouwhare told The Associated Press. Kruger said;

*“The tribe hoped to come up with a resolution to the claims...that is fair and generous. Relations with the Crown have historically been poor and hit a new low point last year with the arrest of several activists on firearms and related charges in the so-called ‘anti-terror raids’”.*¹⁰⁰

Activist Tame Iti, who is awaiting trial for related firearms offences, was also present at the signing, issuing a challenge with a taiaha as part of the ceremonies and signing the terms on behalf of one of sixty-four Tūhoe hapū. However, there was no ill feeling, with Iti and Dr. Cullen giving each other a hongi on three separate occasions.

Afterwards Dr. Cullen said the conduct of Iti, who also shredded a flag with a shotgun blast when Waitangi Tribunal members visited Ruātoki in 2005, had been impeccable. Tame Iti, one of the sixteen people facing firearms charges, said autonomy was one of the key issues for discussion. The Treaty of Waitangi was created in New Zealand under British sovereignty, and guaranteed that Māori could keep their lands, forests, fisheries and culture. Tūhoe refused to sign, and fought bloody battles with settlers for years.¹⁰¹

Dr. Michael Cullen, the Crown’s representative and chief negotiator, was duly impressed by Ngai Tūhoe, and went on to say that while we celebrate the historic apology delivered to the Stolen Generation in Australia, for New Zealand, collective apology is inadequate. He accepted the fact that over the many generations the Crown failed Ngai Tūhoe in many ways as history was vividly explained at the Waitangi Tribunal during Te Urewera Hearings.

Mr. Cullen stated that Tūhoe history is one of great resilience, strength, and pride, but it is also a tragic history, a history of state violence, confiscation of land, and neglect of basic welfare. He surmised,

“Your people have at times suffered poverty, famine and significant isolation...the harrowing loss and strength in the face of adversity...suffered the loss of much of your

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, Māori tribe in autonomy talks with NZ government – World News.

¹⁰¹ NZ Herald.co.nz, 31 July 2008, News, Politics.

lands and considerable loss of life. There was the execution of unarmed prisoners by Crown forces during the New Zealand wars, and the Crown's 1916 Raid on Maungapōhatu and arrest of Rua Kēnana, in which one of his two sons were shot."

Dr. Cullen also pointed out that,

"The Waitangi Hearings also showed how the Tūhoe people have fought throughout to hold on to your land, your language and your culture. Tūhoe have risen to prominence in New Zealand public life as academics, entertainers and sportspeople. Today, more of your people speak Te Reo Māori than any other iwi. Tūhoe have also played an important role as custodians of Te Urewera National Park, an area of great significance to New Zealand."

In summary, Cullen continued,

"You are a people who have suffered significant injustice. But you are also a people who have in the face of that injustice strengthened your culture and kept moving forward. It is the images of today's event and the strong showing made by Tūhoe at the signing of the Central North Island Deed of Settlement – especially the impression made by your young people – that truly reflect your aspirations and value. We now move to the formal negotiations stage, and the hard work begins – negotiating a settlement package that meets the interests of both Ngai Tūhoe and the Crown."

Dr. Cullen then concluded that both parties are committed to achieving an agreement in principle within a year of this signing, which is an ambitious, but achievable task ahead for both parties.¹⁰² The negotiations continue to be discussed in 2010.

Who then are these people? Where did they come from? Why are they so stubborn and adamant and continue to fight against all odds. They suffered under government policy of the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907.¹⁰³ Before that, suffered the Scorched Earth policy of government forces, as they chased the so called guerrilla fighter Te Kooti through Te Urewera territory in 1869,¹⁰⁴ (who established the Ringatū religion) confiscated their land wrongfully and accused them of taking part in the murder of the missionary the Reverend Volkner 1866.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Tūhoe-Te Kotahi a Tūhoe webb site, 31 July, 2008. View Dr Cullen's speech notes.

¹⁰³ Walker, Rangnui, 1990, *Ka whawhai Tonu Mātou, Struggle Without End*, Penguin Books, NZ Ltd. p.174

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p.133.

¹⁰⁵ Milroy Wharehuia, Melbourne Hirini, 1995, *Te Roi o Te Whenua*, Tūhoe Claim Report to the Waitangi Tribunal.

Let us begin our research by looking at the boundaries of these people known as Tūhoe – affectionately known as Children of the Mist, a name given by Elsdon Best (1856-1931) a prolific recorder of pre-European Māori Social life and material culture. The bulk of his published work established him as New Zealander’s foremost ethnographer of Māori society.

Dr. Hirini Melbourne of Tūhoe descent, says that;

*“In declaring tribal identity Māori people point to those things they feel and share in common with all the people of the tribe. They point to their tribal origins and relationships through whakapapa (genealogy), by referring to their lands, mountains, rivers, lakes, to their kāinga (villages) and marae, songs and tribal stories.”*¹⁰⁶

Professor Wharehuia Milroy of Waikato University, a child of the mist himself, gives us the boundaries he knows so well and the symbols and values that bind Tūhoe people. A person who has no knowledge of Tūhoe would need a good map of the North Island of New Zealand, especially one in the heart of Te Urewera National Park to follow the boundaries.

“Our mountains are Panekire, Huiarau, Matakūhia, Maungapōhatu, and Manawarū,’ which are all found in the northern end of Te Urewera National Park. At the southern end are, Tāwhiuau, Te Kaokaoroa o Taiaharua, Te Tahu ki Haotetaha, Parekohe, Te Ikawhenua o Tamaea.”

Professor Wharehuia Milroy continues,

“These are the enduring treasures and the source of many waters. The healing and spiritual waterways of our ancestors are Waikaremoana, Hopuruahine, Tauranga, te Tamāhine a Hinemataroa and Whirinaki. The forest was the food store of my people, the source of their dwellings and meeting houses, their garments their canoes, their weapons, and implements and also their refuge. Our valleys are Waimana, Waiotahi, Ruātoki, Waiohau, Te Whāiti, Ruatāhuna, Maungapōhatu, and Tūai. These are also the dwelling places of the guardian spirits. All these elements encapsulate my Tūhoetanga. Together the living breathes the air of Ranginui. Together we all share Papatuanuku from whom we sprang. Through whakapapa, the kingship links come from the gods, the tangata whenua, the Hawaiki ancestors of the canoe Mataatua, to Tūhoe the ancestor, Tūhoe the people, to Tūhoe of today.

Our language describes the scenes we visualise. Before us are the elders. The land, the marae are our tūrangawaewae, (place of standing). Our being and emotions are from our people now lost from sight, but whose deeds are remembered in the words

¹⁰⁶ O’Conner, Terry, Photographs, Introduction Hirini Melbourne, 1997, *Te Manawa o Tūhoe, The Heart of Tūhoe*, Craig Potton Publishing, Nelson, New Zealand.

and the things they have fashioned and shaped. All these things are united in our belief in the existence of a Supreme Being. This is our Tūhoetanga.”¹⁰⁷

This then spells the spirituality of the people of Tūhoe. It has to do with relationships. It is the connecting of people with people, with the land and, not only of those in the present but also of the past and definitely with those of the future. The aphorism at the beginning of this chapter speaks of three people, Pōtiki and Toi who obtained the land and Tūhoe who gave the prestige and authority. Who then, are these three people Pōtiki, Toi and Tūhoe.

TOI

This proverb is commonly used in Tūhoe.

*“Nā Toi rāua ko Pōtiki te whenua - nā Tūhoe te mana me te rangatiratanga
The land is from Toi and Pōtiki - the prestige and rank from Tūhoe”*

In establishing the origins of Tūhoe, there is no resource that can surpass the work of the most prolific ethnologist New Zealander, Elsdon Best, whose work produced two of the most well-known works of life of the Māori, entitled *The Māori* (two volumes), first printed in 1924, and his classic work, *Tūhoe – Children of the Mist*, in 1925. Sir Apirana Ngata said of him, nine years before Elsdon death in 1931;

“There is not a member of the Māori race who is fit to wipe the boots of Elsdon Best in the matter of knowledge of the lore of the race to which we belong. Some of Best’s theories are no longer accepted by anthropologist and historians, but the information he gathered is invaluable.”¹⁰⁸

In looking at the history of the three men mentioned in the tribal saying above, of Toi, Pōtiki and Tūhoe, there is no doubt as to who Toi was. According to Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe oral records, Toi was born in Aotearoa and was living at Kaputerangi pa situated on a hill above Whakatāne Township and that he was known by two names. One was Toi-te-huatahi (first born), because he was the only offspring, and his other name was Toi-kai-rākau (wood eater), as Toi and his people depended largely on what lived in the bush and fern root for their livelihood. Best says that from here on the traditional history becomes so mingled with that of the later migration from Polynesia that the two narratives are now hopelessly mixed.

¹⁰⁷ Milroy, Te Wh.J., 1985, *Toku Tūhoetanga*, Te Tari Māori, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato.

¹⁰⁸ Best, Elsdon, 1925, 4th edition 1996, *Tūhoe, Children of the Mist*. Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd. Cover, front and back flap.

After looking at two other well-known works by Te Rangihīroa and J.H.Mitchell, I have to agree with Te Pēhi.¹⁰⁹

Te Rangihīroa,¹¹⁰ who received his information from Te Mātorohanga, says that originally, Toi comes from Hawaiki Islands, namely Tahiti.¹¹¹ It seems other chiefs challenged him to a canoe race from neighbouring Islands. He accepted the challenge and it's from here on that the details varied, except that the race took place at Pikopikoiwhiti, and that his grandson Whatonga with a cousin or a friend Tū Rāhiri or Tū Rāhui got lost in high winds that suddenly came upon them. After waiting for some days Toi went in search of his grandson and having no success decided to journey to the land Kupe discovered, Aotearoa. He made many landings at various places and eventually landed at Whakatāne where he decided to make it his new home. In the meantime his grandson Whatonga, ultimately returned and having heard of what his grandfather had done, he too decided to go in search of Toi. He outfitted the canoe Kurahaupo, and after a few adventures himself, was finally untied with his grandfather at Whakatāne.

Toi, whether he was born in Whakatāne or came from Hawai'i, settled among the people he found living in and around Whakatāne. The common date given by earlier historians says that this took place around 1150 -1200 by working on the genealogy but later historians, like Walker and Simmons place it later around the 13th to 14th century when the economic situation changed, mainly through the knowledge of preservation of the kumara under the colder climate of Aotearoa. This came to be the dividing line between the archaic periods, which Duff referred to as the moa-hunter period of Māori culture. By this period land had become valuable as the growing of the kumara became important for the survival of the hapū, and the building of fortification villages had begun to protect their people from others. Warfare was becoming more prominent as it was easier to dispose of people rather than clearing their own plot for their gardens.¹¹²

Best points out that before the arrival of the Mataatua canoe, the Mataatua district was occupied by the many clans of the Polynesians who were referred to as Te Tini o Toi (the

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 12.

¹¹⁰ Buck, Sir Peter, 1949, *The Coming of the Māori*, Whitcoulls Limited, Christchurch. p.22

¹¹¹ Mitchell, J.H. 1944, *Takitumu, History of the Ngāti Kahungunu People*, A.H.& A.W. Reed Ltd. P.19.

¹¹² Walker, Ranginui, 1990, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou; Struggle without end*. Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd. p.33.

Multitude of Toi). Thus, we have the mention of Toi and his descendents who claimed their territory and were roughly divided into four main groups covering the areas of Ōpōtiki, Te Hapū-oneone at Ōhiwa, Te Waimana and Ruātōki, thirdly to Te Whāiti and Pohokura, and finally to Ngā Pōtiki from Karioi inland to Parahaki.

Elsdon Best, in his genealogical table no 1, gives us an elaborate picture of Toi showing twelve generations of his descendents and another set after him bringing us closer to the last century.¹¹³ Hineikaputerangi = Toi begat Ue, Ape and Rauru.

Then Toi married Kuraimonoa and begat Awanuiārangi and Hineruarangi. Interesting that Te Ranghiroa gives a slightly different version as follows;

Toi = Huiarei (Kuraimonoa)

Rongoueroa= Ruarangi

I

Raurunui

Whatonga

Mahutonga

Awanuiārangi

Despite the difference, what is of importance is the tribal name of Tini o Awanuiārangi that came to be one migrated to Hawkes Bay and then settled in Taranaki where they are now known as Atiawa. It is here that we leave the story of whom Toi was, and we now turn our attention to where Pōtiki fits into the picture.

PŌTIKI

The origin of Pōtiki the 1st, according to Best, is shrouded in mist and wrapped in obscurity, which he finds a very singular state of things, particularly when Māori are known to be the most accomplished and conservative genealogists. He can only conclude that the origin usually ascribed to Pōtiki the 1st is entirely mythical, and believed by his descendants, whom Best finds, quite absurd. There was one attempt at giving false genealogies for the purpose of claiming certain lands which was challenged some years later to give Best the assurance that no one can give a satisfactory account of the origin of Pōtiki the 1st¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Best, Elsdon, 1925, *Tūhoe, The Children of the Mist*, Vol. 2- Genealogical Tables and Maps, Reed Books, (NZ) Ltd. p.10

¹¹⁴ Best: 1925, Vol. 1, p.19.

The only story of Pōtiki that Best had heard of was from the Whakatōhea people who say that there was one person who came from Hawaiki in olden days.

*“Pōtiki-mai-tawhiti came from Hawaiki in olden days. After him was named a spring or pond on a hill above the beach to the east of Waiotāhe River. This pond was known as Ō-pōtiki-mai-tawhiti (the place of Pōtiki from afar) and in it were found small fish known as tānahanaha. Subsequently this was also applied to the adjacent lands, and, when Europeans arrived, it was erroneously applied to the site of the present township of Ōpōtiki, the correct name of which is Pākōwhai.”*¹¹⁵

Best then says on the same page;

However we will let Table No. 6 stand as proof of the ignorance of the Tūhoe tribe of their origin through Pōtiki the 1st, the principle line of descent.

The following then is the story well known just about by every living Tūhoe despite Best’s disparaging remarks regarding their lack of knowledge of his earthly origin, but who have no doubt of their spiritual dimension and mana over the land of the mist. The version given is by Tūtakangahau of Maungapōhatu, an old man of much knowledge of ancient lore.

“In times long past away, when men held strange powers and god like beings dwelt on earth, there lived one Hinepūkohurangi (Mist Maiden). She was the personification of mist and fog, while her younger sister, Hinewai (Water Maiden), the personification of the light, misty rain, which descends to earth in foggy weather. Hinepūkohurangi is said to have lured Te Maunga (The Mountain – Maungapōhatu) to earth at a place called Ōnini, which is in Ruatāhuna. Ōnini is known to be a playground for celestial beings and it was there that Hinepūkohurangi and Te Maunga were known to have combined and from that union came forth Pōtiki the 1st, an ordinary specimen of a human being and from whom descended the tribe known as Ngā Pōtiki.”

Best writes;

*“Such is the origin of these people who have held the rugged forest wilds of Tūhoe land for many generations. They are the offspring of supernatural beings, of personifications of natural phenomena, sayeth the Māori. They have sprung from their own savage ranges, and from the white fog clouds which envelope them. They are begotten of Mother Nature; they are the Children of the Mist.”*¹¹⁶

Pōtiki might have come from the mist of time and have appeared from nowhere. That, in its self is the mystery. However, what is more important, is that Pōtiki the 1st, regardless of his mysterious background, despite the ignorance of his descendants of his pedigree, the fact

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p.22

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p.23

that he is named a descendant of the Mist Maiden and Maungapōhatu, add mana to the man. His name was important enough to survive against all odds, and do it well. From obscurity to a position of a landowner, under the surveillance of his father, Maungapōhatu, and his mother The Mist Maiden adds mystique and phenomena to the history of its descendants.

Ngā Pōtiki and his people depended on the animals and insects and birds of the forest and streams for their survival. Then around the 1830's, with the introduction of the potato, they began settling the Waikaremoana, Waimana, Ruātoki, Te Whāiti, Waiohau and Ōpōuriao where they were able to grow crops.¹¹⁷

The following well known song was composed by Hirini Melbourne descendant of Pōtiki.

NGĀ TAMARIKI O TE KOHU

Hiki ake te kohu e

Ko Hinepūkohurangi

Tāpapa ana ki ngā kōawa

Hai kākahu mō

Papatuanuku

Ka hora nei te moenga

Mō te tipua nei a te Maunga

Ki runga o Ōnini e

Ka hono ki a Hinepūkohurangi

Huraina ngā rarauwhe

Kia puta ko Ngā Pōtiki

Ngā uri o te Maunga

Ngā tamariki o te kohu

Ngā tamariki o te kohu

THE CHILDREN OF THE MIST

The mist is rising

It is the Mist Maiden

embracing the gullies

as clothing for

Mother Earth.

The bedding is laid

For the ancestor, the Mountain

on top of Ōnini

and entwined with the Mist Maiden

Part the bracken fern

to allow Ngā Pōtiki to emerge

The descendents of the Mountain

The children of the mist

The children of the mist.

¹¹⁷ Milroy/Melbourne: 1995, p. 30

TŪHOE

We now turn our attention to Tūhoe of which there is no mystery of either his place in history or of his people. The descendant from Te Tini-o-Toi and the original tribes by intermarriage is shown clearly by Elsdon Best informants, but the origin of Pōtiki cannot be substantiated. It is not until the arrival of the people from Mataatua canoe that the genealogy becomes more acceptable to most historians and became a lot clearer.

Captain of the canoe Mataatua - Toroa = Puharaunui

(Daughter) Wairaka = Te Rangikitua

Tamatea-ki-te-huatahi = Paewhiti

Ueimua	Tānemoeahi	Tūhoe- Pōtiki = Paretaranui	Uenuku-Rauri
		= Tōmairangi	

The Mataatua canoe is said to have landed at Whangaparaoa, on the East Coast, sailed ¹¹⁸ across to the Bay of Plenty at Tauranga, and then proceeded down the coast to Whakatāne. The canoe was beached near the site of the present marae of Wairaka. At the time there seemed to be no one around and the men proceeded to search the area. Then occurred the incident from which the Whakatāne Township and river derived its name. All the men had left to do some reconnaissance leaving the canoe with a few people, most of them women and Wairaka; the daughter of Toroa, who was amongst them. The canoe was not beached high enough above the high tide watermark and began to drift away. Wairaka took matters into her own hands crying;

E! Kia whakatāne ake au i ahau. (E! I will act as a man)

...and plunging into the sea she bought the canoe back to the beach and fastened it securely. Thus Whakatāne was adopted as a name for the town and river. ¹¹⁹

After settling in, it did not take long before trouble arose between the brothers (Puhi and his older brother Toroa.) It became so bitter that in the end Puhi decided to take the canoe and seek a new home with his family in the north. It was he who founded the descendants now known as Ngā Puhi. ¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Ibid p. 719

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p. 721

¹²⁰ Mitchell: 1972, p. 68

It was not long after this that a party from Taranaki arrived and was hosted by Toroa. Among the visitors was a very handsome man and Wairaka was struck with love at first sight and determined he was going to be her husband. The evening passed away by entertainment, the man she wanted was leaning just below the window of the house and Wairaka made a mental note of this. After the fires died down and the place was in darkness, Wairaka moved over to the window where she thought her elected man was. Wairaka was not to know, that her esteem for this handsome visitor, was noticed by Maiurenui. He was not at all handsome in any form but he was shrewd enough to work out what was going to happen and he managed to change places with Wairaka's intended lover. The next morning Wairaka informed her father of her choice of husband and explained how she had put her mark on him during the night by scratching his face. All men were called forth and Wairaka was astounded when her chosen man came forth without a scratch on him.

Her astonishment turned to horror when Maiurenui turned up with her mark on him. She realised her mistake and cried;

He pō he pō a Wairaka i raru ai (It was the darkness that caused misery for Wairaka)

...a saying that is used in formal speeches to this day, reminding people of the incident and to be careful when one decides to work under cover of darkness. Wairaka refused to have anything to do with Maiurenui and eventually married Te Rangikitua a member of the original tribe.

Tamatea-ki-te-huatahi married Paewhiti, another original person from Ngā Pōtiki, and begat Ueimua, Tānemoeahi, Tūhoe and their sister Uenuku-rauri. Tūhoe people descended from Toroa, and perhaps have rights to be called Ngāti Awa, but because of intermarriages with the local people of Pōtiki descent they became more predominately aboriginal than migrants from Hawai'i. Thus, Ueimua, his brothers and sister settled at Ruātoki as they were descendants of Turangapikitoi, that is, Ngāi Tūrangā tribe. The family of Paewhiti settled in the Ruātoki districts, which were at this time known as Ngāti Awa. Ngāti Koura and Ngāti Tāwhaki seemed to have occupied Ōpouriao until they were confiscated by the Government

in 1865 towards the end of the land wars, for the execution of the Rev. Volkner in Ōpōtiki, by Hauhau fanatics. The fact that Tūhoe and other local tribes were not involved in the fracas, 200 hectares of land were taken and given to military settlers for their services.¹²¹ A full account of this is given later. We now turn our attention to how Tūhoe became the man of the moment.

TE TOKOTORU Ā PAEWHITI – THE THREE SONS OF PAEWHITI

In the Valley of Ruātoki, about 15 miles inland of Whakatāne, Ueimua lived at Kākātarahae situated on a small hill about one mile north of Te Hauku. Tānemoeahi lived at Te Pūtiki, situated on a hill between the Ōwhakatoro and Kotorenuī streams and about half a mile west of Te Hauku. Tūhoe constructed a pa at Te Hauku immediately above the Ōwhakatoro stream, left bank, just below the mouth of the Waipiropiro creek and north of the Ruātoki Waiohau road.¹²²

It was Uenukuraui (sister of Ueimua, Tūhoe and Tānemoeahi) who made the remark;

Kāinga te kai, kai te hāere te tokotoru ā Paewhiti (Eat your food quickly for the three sons of Paewhiti are about).

It seems that the three brothers had a kind of swashbuckler reputation'.¹²³ Be that as it may, it was not long before trouble arose amongst the brothers in Ruātoki. The younger brothers became jealous of Ueimua as his influence became more prominent. At one stage Ueimua disputed the right of Tūhoe to a piece of land and threatened to eat his heart. Tūhoe retaliated;

*“Let the matter lie over until tomorrow, when I will hand over my heart for you to eat – if you can slay me. Should I slay you, then I will consume your heart.”*¹²⁴

Tūhoe was able to recruit Tānemoeahi to help him against Ueimua. Tānemoeahi, with his war party went early the next day to Ōwhakatoro. Ueimua was informed and he and his war crew marched out to meet them. Tūhoe observed Ueimua leaving his pa and quickly he intervened and attacked. From three directions the war groups came in towards each other. Ueimua and Tānemoeahi units met and closed in for battle before Tūhoe arrived upon the

¹²¹ Grace, John, 1959, *Tuwharetoa*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington. p.420

¹²² Best, p.424

¹²³ Ibid, p.257

¹²⁴ Ibid, p. 243

scene. Ueimua's party was not doing well when Tūhoe joined the fray. Tānemoeahi had Ueimua cornered and yelled out;

"Tūhoe, here is Ueimua."

Together they slew their elder brother. Tūhoe then began to fulfil his remark he had said the previous day. Cutting out his brother's heart he cooked it and ate it. The place is now known as Te Ahi Manawa o Ueimua. This action by Tūhoe thus acquired Ueimua's mana and authority. The sons and adherents of Ueimua fled to Whakatāne and from there raised their forces among the coast dwellers, sons of Awa and Ngāti Pūkeko. From here claims and counter claims of victorious battles ensued from Elsdon Best informants of both sides. Sufficient to say, from here the name Tūhoe became more prominent in and around the Urewera.

Tūhoe, after other skirmishes with Ngāti Awa and Tauranga, eventually left Ruātoki, for very good reasons, disputed by both Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa adherents. The claims and counter claims of the battles between these two clans, for students who wish to follow them up, are well covered by Best.¹²⁵ Tūhoe stayed in Rotorua at Waikutu, below the eastern side of Ngongotaha Mountain, where the Fairy Springs are situated today known as Te Puna o Tūhoe. The reason for Tūhoe's visit and stay in Rotorua was because his nephew Rangiteaorere, whom we will discuss next, was living with his father's people. Tūhoe left Rotorua and made his way to Kāwhia in search of his Uncle Hahanga, brother of Paewhiti. He settled there and took a wife, known as Te Ata, from Waikato. He died after his canoe capsized at sea.

Before we leave the story of Tūhoe, in the year 2003, Maniapoto invited Tūhoe to attend the laying of a plaque in Memory of Tūhoe. The ceremony took place in the early hours of the morning close to one of the many roads where Tūhoe stayed for awhile. According to Best, Colonel Gudgeon gave him the following note;

*"When awarding the land in the vicinity of Rangitoto Mountain, one of the boundary names was Te Ana ā Tūhoe (The Cave of Tūhoe). I asked who this Tūhoe was. The natives said that he did not belong to them, Ngāti Rereahu, but was a stranger of whom they had no record."*¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Ibid, p.245

¹²⁶ Ibid, p.252

It is here that we leave Tūhoe shrouded in the mist of the hills in Maniapoto.

Ruātoki and Owhakatoro were secured by the descendants of Tūhoe's sons, Murakareke and Karetehe and from then on began the extension and consolidation of their mana whenua and mana tangata. Tānemoeahi eventually left the area and went to the East Coast and died there. The fires of Tūhoe and Tānemoeahi were kept burning at Ōwhakatoro by Tūhoe's youngest son, Karetehe. He was able to keep at bay the counter attacks by Ueimua's descendants and their helpers from Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Pūkeko and upheld and maintained, mana whenua and mana tangata – the old adage and oati (gifts);

“Nā Toi rāua ko Pōtiki te whenua, nā Tūhoe te mana me te rangatiratanga; The land belongs to Toi and Pōtiki, the power and authority belongs to Tūhoe.”

Ngāi Tūhoe's prestige and authority took many centuries to emerge – it has yet to determine and control its own destiny – it may not be long.¹²⁷

RANGITEAORERE

Another well-known proverb about Tūhoe is the following;

<i>He kotahi a Tūhoe e kata te pō</i>	<i>The only one of Tūhoe whom the night smiled upon</i>
<i>Tūhoe moumou kai,</i>	<i>Tūhoe, waster of food</i>
<i>moumou tāonga</i>	<i>Waster of property</i>
<i>moumou tangata ki te pō.</i>	<i>Waster of mankind</i>

Waster of property - Waster of mankind

It seems the above saying comes from Rangiteaorere, nephew of Tūhoe, son of Uenukuraiiri, sister to Tūhoe. Uenukuraiiri had left Ruātoki and was living at the Puketapu pa near Te Teko and had married Maungarangi. At one time, when Maungarangi was absent, Te Arawa visited Puketapu. Amongst them was Rangiwahakaekehau whom Uenukuraiiri slept with. When it was time for Rangi to return to Rotorua he instructed Uenuku;

¹²⁷ Milroy/Melbourne: 1995, p.21.

*“If your child is born a female, name it after the flowing waters of Rangitaiki. Be it a male, and then name it after the drifting clouds Rangiteaorere.”*¹²⁸

Rangiteaorere was born and grew to be a famed warrior in Ngāti Awa and took part in many battles. His fame also brought him enemies amongst Ngāti Awa and his peers spoke many a belittling words against him.

“Koia kei tō pōriro nei, koia rawa hei toa?” (He is only a bastard, to be warrior with us?)

These derogatory remarks were too much for our hero and he decided to find his father.

“Where would I find my father?”

...he asked his mother.

“Look toward the setting sun and observe the cloud that hangs over it. Beneath that cloud you will find your father.”

Rangiteaorere took with him a small war party in search of his father. They went by Tikitere after offering food to the Taniwha Kataore (a demon), which lived on the Matawhaura (Rotoiti) range, where Hongi's track is at present. They arrived safely at Te Tihioanono and making enquires discovered his father's house. Instead of waiting for the customary pōwhiri and welcome, Rangiteaorere deliberately went about showing contempt by breaking the rules and protocol. He clambered over the palisade and entered the house through the window and seated himself where Rangiwahakaekehau slept, and called his party to enter the house with their food at the sleeping place of Rangiwahakaekehau.

Their hosts were shocked and appalled and immediately sped forth to Rangiwahakaekehau, and when told what had taken place, he did not wait, and arriving at his house commanded the visitors out. There was only silence. Again he shouted for them to come out in order that they, the insolent visitors, be slain. On hearing this, Rangiteaorere cried out

“Pokokōhua” (bastard).

¹²⁸ Ibid, p.257.

By this time his father was fuming by the action of these rebels and by this most insulting expression, but before he could take action, a lullaby came forth from the house telling the birth story of Rangiteaorere.

“Are you Rangiteaorere”?

...enquired the father after the oriori was finished.

“You yourself said that if your child be a male then let it be named after the drifting Clouds”, came the reply.

Thus, Rangiteaorere found his father, who gave him a fond welcome and performed the tohirite (baptism) of naming him, and showing his acceptance of his son, which ended with a feast. That night, when all had gathered in the meetinghouse, Rangiteaorere discovered all was not well with Te Arawa. The Island of Mokoia was under the rule of Te Tini-o-Kawa-ārero, original people from Tauranga who had defeated them, and were unable to retake the Island. Every time they had tried, Te Arawa warriors were slaughtered and so far they were unable to avenge their defeat.

That night at the assembly, Rangiteaorere requested to his father to hand over the whole affair to him and for his father to become ‘simply a spectator’.¹²⁹ When questioned by Te Arawa how he was going to achieve such a task, with so few men, when all of Te Arawa could not do it. A derisive remark was made;

“Katoa rānei, ko tō kotahi?” (With the few, or just you?)

The reply came back;

“Ae, he kotahi nā Tūhoe e kata te pō, Tūhoe moumou kai, moumou tāonga, moumou Tangata ki te pō.” (Yes! The only one of Tūhoe whom the night smiled upon, Tūhoe waster of food, of property, and of mankind).

Sufficient to say, the preparation and the skill of Rangiteaorere and his men carried the day to victory and Rangiteaorere was also able to dispatch Te Kawa-ārero who ceased to exist as a tribe. The island was once more back in the hands of Te Arawa under its guardians of Rangiwhakaekēhau, Whakāue, Uenukukōpako and Rangiteaorere.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Ibid, p.261

¹³⁰ Ibid, p.262

Elsdon Best says that Rangiteaorere had many other adventures as told by the Tūhoe descendants with all the embellishments that only wonderful Māori storytellers can tell. Te Arawa descendants especially of Rangiteaorere descent may have their versions. Whatever is told it should be a good story. One more incident to close this chapter, Drifting Cloud returned home to mother, as only sons would do to tell of his success. By the time he had returned his Arawa relatives had already divided Mokoia among themselves leaving him nothing but a rock cliff. Hence, Ngāti Rangiteaorere, his descendents, settled at Te Ngāe on the mainland. Their marae (village), where his descendants are now living, are right under the path of passenger jet planes flying daily overhead of the tribe known as, People of Floating Clouds.

In expounding on the proverb said by Rangiteaorere;

“The only one of Tūhoe whom the night smiled upon”.

This refers to Rangiteaorere himself for his bold and outstanding achievement as a warrior of whom, not only the gods were pleased with, but also his peers and his tribe of which his Uncle Tūhoe was well-known at this time, remembering that Tūhoe stayed in Rotorua to be with his nephew for some time so he was not a stranger to Te Arawa people. Tūhoe people who, while not having much in the way of food, or of property, were known to be generous with what they had, even if there was not that much to go around. Moumou tangata ki te pō (waste of mankind), in that his behaviour can only be equalled by gods, he is therefore a waste of a person for this world. This was how the Reverend Wharetini Rangi, explained it to me who came from the East Coast. He was our Māori teacher in Ruātoki High School, from 1953 to 1956, and enjoyed telling us the stories of local history.

Thus, the mana of Tūhoe grew, not so much as told by Tūhoe but by people of other tribes. One of the teachings by the elders of my tribe to us as young people was that, we should never talk about ourselves as Tūhoe, but let your actions and care for others tell them who you are. (Waiho mā waho koe e kōrero, kaua māu.) My early recollections as a young man amongst the people of Maniapoto, Waikato and Pare Hauraki when I was training to be a priest, under the Reverend Canon Wī Te Tau Huata, during the 60's to 70's was one of high

regard and respect because of my being a Tūhoe, well-known for their knowledge of Māori language and culture. Sometimes, I think at the time, we were also looked on,(especially by the younger generation,) as more of being backward people, because these young Tūhoe had not yet caught up with modern times, and were speaking only in broken English. By the mid 70's 80's and into the 90's the pendulum swung the other way especially when Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa and Universities began to teach Māori as a living language. We shall deal with this at a later chapter.

MANA ME TE RANGATIRATANGA - SOVEREIGNTY & TERRITORIAL RIGHTS

According to Melbourne and Milroy, from 1800 to the early 1830's conflict with neighbouring tribes, which surrounded the lands of Tūhoe (known as Te Urewera,) were of Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Pūkeko, Whakatōhea to the coast, Te Arawa, Ngāti Whare, Ngāti Manawa to the west, Tūwharetoa to the north, Ngāti Kahungunu, and Whanaupani to the east. This forged new internal hapū relationships with a new sense of political association and mission – collective survival. By 1840 Tūhoe hapū, by peace agreements, had set aside historic rivalries and grievances. Tūhoe never fought internally again. The development of this collective tribal sense of identity was built on a legacy of loyalty to their natural habitat and their history of overcoming great odds. The whole territory could not have been established and held from all challenges without the motivations of ancestral rights, self-defence, survival, gain, and the backup of a coherent internal political, economic, and social system.

Melbourne and Milroy then retraced the events that gave rise to a Tūhoe collective identity through the words of one Tūhoe nineteenth century historian, genealogist, leader and peacemaker, recorded by Te Makarini Waiari of Tūhoe, stories of inter-tribal battles in which his parents and grandparents participated. Te Makarini Waiari was also an eyewitness to some of these battles and had a hand in the process of settling some of these disputes.

The descendants of Pōtiki, Toi, Hape and Tūhoe fought at times amongst themselves and at times against other tribes on their borders. The consequences of the battles related by Te Makarini Waiari for the tribes concerned were considerable. There was the shedding of blood and the human suffering as a direct result of more than several decades of almost unbroken war. However, the loss of human life overall did not appear to have been, by

modern standards, frighteningly high. While all the tribes had acquired guns by 1830, they were of little use in the bush environment. Te Kaunga, for example was the only battle in which guns were used between Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa.¹³¹

As time marched on, the identity of Tūhoe had evolved. The mixing of descendants of tangata whenua and Tūhoe had blended together and slowly broadened their authority over the land which is now known as Te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe, The Area Covered by Tūhoe. This development was not only obtained through the battles but also by the intermarriages where land was part of the gift that went with the prize tying the links and communications throughout the area. Close bonds developed the tribes and hapū of Te Urewera districts which came to be known in modern times as their Tūhoetanga. This explains the kind of Māori that Tūhoe people feel and know about and becomes the Tūhoe spirituality. Like other Māori tribes, land ownership was of primary importance for survival of any group of people, as pointed out in the Māori proverb;

Mā te whenua mā te wahine ka mate te tāne (For land and women men will die).

Trespassing on someone else's property was always a risk and boundaries were well known. Land was a shared commodity and protected by and for the tribe, hapū and whānau, never individually owned.

The history of Tūhoe mana and rangatiratanga exemplifies aspects of the traditional process of establishing claim to land and holding it. The coming of the Pākehā and the establishment of British sovereignty brought with it another culture, other ideas, other rules and other spirituality of looking and acquiring of land. Tūhoe elder, Kupai McGarvey spoke of the coming of the Pākehā into Te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe in this way;

*“First, there was Pōtiki, Toi and Hape, they claimed the land and held it. Then came the canoe Mataatua and its people. They tilled the earth and made laws for the benefit of and to ensure the survival of all the people. Then the Pākehā came to settle, they forced out the people off the land and claimed it for themselves.”*¹³²

¹³¹ Best:1925, p. 363.

¹³² Ruatoki Kura Wananga held at Mahurehure Marae 25/10/1970

PĀKEHA – RAUPATU, COLONISATION – CONFISCATION

This section briefly examines the arrival of the Pākeha (white people – Europeans), and how they set themselves up and planted their culture and claimed the land. It is not intended to cover the areas that involved Tūhoe and how they were infected with the policies that were created by those in power, mainly the Crown and its governing body. Melbourne and Milroy write;

*“Colonisation and confiscation were directly linked in that colonisation provided the legal means for confiscation and to meet the settlers’ demands for land.”*¹³³

Two other factors were added to colonisation and that was commerce and Christianity, which would bring about what Europeans in the nineteenth century called the amalgamation of the two races – Māori and Pākeha.¹³⁴ These three combined, commerce, Christianity and colonisation, came as one cultural package, as said by Sorrenson;

*“To spread civilisation to the Māori like a benevolent infection.”*¹³⁵

Christianity arrived on Christmas Day at Ōihi, Northland beach, through its agent the Reverend Samuel Marsden, who opened the proceedings with a message of peace, from Luke’s Gospel chapter 2, all in English;

“Behold I bring you glad tidings of great joy”.

Ruatara, a Ngāpuhi chief, acting as his escort and guide, told the congregation that;

“They would all understand and that he will explain the meaning as far as he could.”

Marsden brought with him to Aotearoa, his hopes and dreams for New Zealand Māori, the gospel and his culture were totally intertwined. He looked forward to the day when the Natives would become ‘British Subjects.’¹³⁶

Marsden brought three lay-people as part of his team to pave the way for civilisation. They were builders, and skilful tradesmen – a carpenter, a blacksmith and a rope-spinner, since

¹³³ Milroy/Melbourne: 1995, p.83

¹³⁴ Ibid, p. 84

¹³⁵ Sorrenson, M. P. K. 1956, *Land Purchase Methods and the Effects on the Māori Population 1965-1901*, Journal of Polynesian Society, Vol 9, No 2: 105).

¹³⁶ Davidson & Lineham, 1989, *Transplanted Christianity*, p.28

nothing in his opinion, could pave the way for the introduction of the gospel but civilisation, which could be accomplished amongst the heathens only by the Arts of Civilisation.

¹³⁷Conversion from 1814 to 1830 was a dismal failure. ¹³⁸

This all changed with the arrival of the second group of Mihinare (Missionaries- from the Church Missionary Society) under the leadership of Henry Williams, an ex-naval officer, with his brother William Williams, Oxford graduate, Robert Maunsell, a linguist, William Colenso, a printer and Māori Scholar. By 1827 portions of the Bible, Prayer Book and Hymns were printed. ¹³⁹By the 1840 the bulk of Māori population had become professing Christians, embracing the religion of British civilisation.

The missionary's contribution to the civilisation of Māori, laid the foundation in New Zealand and had a greater and more lasting impact. ¹⁴⁰ Mr. Henry Fitzgerald, a member in parliament, pointed out that the missionaries had removed the greatest obstacles to national and political union, which was superstition and religious belief. The removal of this stumbling block cleared the path for the statesmen. ¹⁴¹

On August 6, 1862, Fitzgerald, moved a resolution that for the adoption of any policy or the passing of any laws affecting the native race, this house will keep before it as its highest object, the entire amalgamation of all her Majesty's subjects in New Zealand into one untied people. For the Māori to accept nationality, they should accept British nationality, for it was;

"A far higher and nobler nationality than any that the Māori could create for themselves." ¹⁴²

Ruatara, who helped Marsden across from Australia, had his doubts about their intentions and before he died in 1819, he reviewed his stance and expressed that Māori would be stripped of their land. He suspected that once missionaries were settled in, the next intake of helpers would be the soldiers who would not only help with the settlement, but become

¹³⁷ Davidson Allan, 1991, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, p.1

¹³⁸ Williams, W. 1867, *Christianity among the New Zealanders*, p.149

¹³⁹ Melbourne, TeW, 2000, *Wairua Māori Rua Mano, Māori Spirituality 2000*, A thesis Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy at Massey University. P.46

¹⁴⁰ Salmond Anne, 1975, *Hui-A Study of Māori Ceremonial Gatherings*, p.19

¹⁴¹ Sorrenson NZJH Vol., No. 2: 13 – 14.)

¹⁴² Milroy/Melbourne :1995, p. 86

settlers themselves. His misgivings were proven right. Marsden had written to Reverend J. Pratt and Commissioner John Thomas Begge, suggesting that it would be advantageous for Britain to have a military force;

*“In case it should be deemed expedient to give encouragement to the colonisation of New Zealand”.*¹⁴³

The agents of change for the civilisation of Māori obviously had forgotten the principles of generosity and good will. Instead commercialism and political interest took precedent. Māori land and the implant of British culture and the strengthening of their own economic, social and political supremacy lead to the suppression of the indigenous people’s way of life. Land had become the most crucial commodity that the new immigrants would demand as their right at any cost (even war), which began in Taranaki and Waikato. The New Zealand Settlements Act of 1863 provided the legal authority for confiscation of land. If all of, or some of any tribe which rebelled against the Queen’s authority, and for paying those who were not rebels, compensation either in land or money.¹⁴⁴

From 1863 to 1866 the Land Wars broadened from beginning at Taranaki and Waikato then to Tauranga, Northern Hawkes Bay, and Bay of Plenty districts were confiscated under the New Zealand Settlements Act. A total of 3,490,106 acres was confiscated. Dalton, (1967:181). Military settlements followed on confiscated lands to discourage outbreak of Māori disturbances and encourage permanent European settlements.

It was a clash of cultures. From the Pākehā perspective, it was a way to obtain the land and marginalise and oppress the savagery of the natives and introduce a better way of life that was superior and bring them to civilisation quickly. It was a way to support and protect the way of the Pākehā, to enforce their sovereignty and to obtain land ‘legally’ from these rebellious and barbaric people and assert the Queen’s authority.

TŪHOE & THE WAIKATO INVASION.

This section will briefly look at the policy Tūhoe held for maximum effect for their survival during the invasion of Waikato by General Cameron’s Imperial Army. War came to Taranaki in 1860 and the invasion of Waikato on 12 July 1863. Governor Grey justified this

¹⁴³ McNab, Robert: 1908, *Historical records of New Zealand*, 483,595.

¹⁴⁴ Milroy/Melbourne: 1995, p.90

invasion against Rewi Maniapoto on the grounds of his part of the Taranaki war, (which was totally fabricated), and of rumours that Māori was preparing to attack Auckland. Governor Grey declared that the Waikato tribes planned indiscriminate slaughter of the Europeans. The ministers claimed that Parliament would be justified in adopting measures of exceptional severity to rid the colony of such a menace.¹⁴⁵ Evidence of Pākehā domination and exploitation of Māori tribes was overwhelming.

King Tāwhiao messengers were constantly in touch with Tūhoe, sometimes with passionate and persuasive compositions and notices from Waikato, proclaiming the need to fight injustices and ward off the threat of annihilation.¹⁴⁶ The wars in Taranaki and Waikato were sufficient evidence to confirm for Tūhoe the ploy of the government to compel tribes into capitulation and confiscate their lands as well. They really could not ignore the genealogical and historical links that Tūhoe shared with Waikato. Their tūpuna (ancestor) Tūhoe, had spent his last days in Waikato, where he married a woman from Ngāti Te Ata and eventually settled and died at Kāwhia. His bones were interred in an underwater cavern known as Muriwhenua at Kāwhia.¹⁴⁷

At one sudden encounter between Tūhoe and Ngāti Raukawa war parties in Te Whaiti, the leaders decided to fight each other instead of a battle between the two groups. Te Purewa of Tūhoe and Tūkorehe of Ngāti Raukawa, after fighting it out, neither could defeat the other so agreed on a truce exchanging mere (hand weapons) and declaring enduring friendship. This peacemaking had far reaching effects. In years to come it became a base for Tūhoe to go and assist the people of Tūkorehe and Rewi Maniapoto in their memorable stand at Orākau.¹⁴⁸

The Tūhoe relationship with Waikato was further enhanced in a wider social, economic and political alliance when Tūhoe pledged its mountain Maungapōhatu as a perpetual covenant of allegiance to King Pōtatau Te Wherowhero in 1858. This was at a meeting at Pukawa Marae on the shores of Lake Taupo, where Tūhoe was one of approximately 37 tribes whose chiefs gave their allegiance at that meeting.

¹⁴⁵ Miller, Harold, 1966, *Race Conflict in New Zealand*, Blackwood & Janet Paul, Auckland. p.108

¹⁴⁶ Milroy/Melbourne: 1995, p.96

¹⁴⁷ Best, 1972, p.1224

¹⁴⁸ Orange, Claudia, Ed. 1991, *The People of Many Peaks – The Māori Biographies from The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Volume 1, Bridget Williams Books, Department of Internal Affairs, p. 235.

General Cameron's war party was well inland and heading towards Rangiaohia in Te Awamutu. Tūhoe had called a meeting held at Ruatāhuna to discuss the war in Waikato in about January 1864. Piripi Te Heuheu was in favour of taking action and striking before the enemy get to close to Te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe, Mataatua. The other chief was Te Ahoaho, who was against striking early but for Tūhoe to leave well alone and protect their lands when necessary. The proposals put forward were concerns and the need to provide shelter for their boundaries as was said by Te Ahoaho;

“Kia tāwharautia a Mataatua (Let Mataatua be sheltered).”

A split was inevitable between two thoughts. Ruātoki and Waimana stood with Te Ahoaho, to stay home and guard the land and only fight when attacked. The other, Piripi Te Heuheu's group favoured immediate action and strike early, which was supported by Ruatāhuna, Waikaremoana and Te Whāiti. Te Whenuanui, Te Makarini Waiari, Te Waru, Paerua, and Paraihe, all went with Te Heuheu accompanied by their wives, to bring their numbers up to approximately 70.¹⁴⁹

In April, at Orākau site, General Carey had surrounded the redoubt with 2 000 soldiers while approximately 300 defenders, including women, defied the attackers. The end came on the third day when the defenders made a bold move and broke through in a body. The Forest Rangers hunted them down, very few got away. Tūhoe's casualties were high. The return of the few to Ruatāhuna, was a bitter pill to swallow, the pain of Tūhoe who stayed home was grief-stricken and piercing wailing filled the valley with the tragedy of defeat. The following was composed in memory of that event;

I hoki mai koe

E Te Whenuanui ki te aha?

Te Mate atu ai

I te unuhanga o te Puhi o Mataatua

Ka mahora ki te riu o Waikato

You return

Te Whenuanui, for what reason?

Better had you died

When the pride of Mataatua

Shattered in the valley of Waikato¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Best E., 1972, pp565-566

¹⁵⁰ Milroy/Melbourne: 1995, p. 100

In summary, Tūhoe's involvements in the Waikato wars were mainly two fold. One reason was the building up of relationships and unity from the time of Tūhoe sojourn in Kāwhia. The other reason was the realities facing them with the invasion of the Europeans and the real threat of losing their land. The joining of forces with Rewi Maniapoto at Orākau by some of Tūhoe clans was to ensure that, not only Waikato survived but also Tūhoe.

On the 2nd of September 1865, the government proclaimed that those who took part in the defence of Waikato were pardoned. The proclamation had judged that the war which began at Oakura, South of New Plymouth town had ended and that no more land would be taken because on account of that war.

*“The rebellious tribes had been punished enough. The British Army would return home. There would be a period of consolidation, of conciliation”.*¹⁵¹

VOLKNER AND FULLOON

A few days after that was announced, a military force, consisting of Kūpapa (friendly Māori volunteers) from Wanganui, attacked Ōpōtiki and then in October another force with Kūpapa force from Te Arawa, lead by Major William Gilbert Mair attacked Ngāti Awa at Matata and Te Teko.¹⁵² The events that lead to these attacks were in response to the killing of Volkner and Fulloon in the Bay of Plenty. Tūhoe was charged to have been involved in these killings and was therefore to pay the penalty of a rebellious act and land was confiscated.

During the uprising of Hauhau in Taranaki, which began in April 1864, Kereopa Te Rau, along with four other men, was chosen as a Hauhau prophet, to spread the new movement quickly. He had lost his family at Rangiaowhia, when the military attacked and burned a church full of old men, women and children, just before the siege on Ōrākau. Kereopa believed, that the missionaries were collaborating with the British Army and were responsible for the massacre and he was seeking utu (reciprocity) against the missionaries. Volkner was not in Ōpōtiki when Kereopa arrived in March 1865, and despite warnings from local Māori to Volkner not to go back, he returned to Ōpōtiki. Arriving on the Eclipse, he and his fellow missionary Thomas Grace were taken prisoners. Next morning Carl

¹⁵¹ Maxwell, Peter, 2000, *Frontier, The Battle for the North Island of New Zealand, 1860-1872*, Celebrity Books, Auckland 10, New Zealand. P.125

¹⁵² Melbourne & Milroy, p.100

Volkner was charged by the Hauhau for spying for the Governor. They found him guilty and led him to a willow tree where he was hung. Later his lifeless body was released and it was said that Kereopa beheaded him and gouged the eyes out and ate them, then drank Volkner's blood out of his own chalice.

The Taranaki papers described the alleged mutilations in moebid detail;

*“Before life was quite departed his stomach was ripped up, his bowels torn out and flung to Māori dogs, his heart cut out and eaten in slices, and his head severed from his body and passed dripping over the upturned faces and gaping mouths of these unsophisticated children of this sunny clime”.*¹⁵³

Milroy and Melbourne believe that the killing of Volkner was not merely a cold-blooded murder of an innocent missionary. Nor was it proof of the savage and evil nature of Pai Mārire. It arose from complex local issues and Māori knowledge of his activities as a Government spy. Hastily conceived reporting of Pai Mārire involvement in the Volkner incident suggested that its rhetoric and rituals had in them something treasonable and criminal, as well as having the character of unlawful conspiracy. It became politically expedient for the government to use such acts as justification to set in motion measures for immediate retribution against those responsible.¹⁵⁴

James Francis Fulloon, also known as Hemi Te Mautaranui, was sent to help in capturing the killers of Volkner and also to take over Volkner's duties as Crown Agent in Ōpōtiki and the Whakatāne districts. It was well known along the East Coast that Mr. Fulloon was enlisting Māori, as kūpapa to put down the Hauhau fanatics and capture the killers of Reverend Volkner. Mr. Fulloon, a chief of Whakatōhea had been warned by Mita not to go into the area, for he feared for Mr. Fulloon's life, (a warning he choose to ignore.) On 21 July 1868 Fulloon and most of his shipmates were killed when entering Whakatāne harbour. The vessel was intercepted when it ignored an aukati (a blockade of all boats entering Whakatāne.)

There was very little reaction by the New Zealand public to Mr. Fulloon's death and in the opinion of Mr. William Thorne Buckland, MP for Raglan, it was;

¹⁵³ Simpson, Tony, 1979, *Te Riri Pakeha; The White Man's Anger*, Hodder & Stoughton Ltd, Auckland. pp.179-181.

¹⁵⁴ Milroy/Melbourne 1995, p.103

“No more murder than that at Oakura, in which it had been said that the threat had first been given.”

The Commission of 1928 regarded the killing of Reverend Volkner and Mr Fulloon were not in themselves acts of rebellion. However, if the natives of Ōpōtiki and Whakatāne had not resisted the armed forces sent to capture the murderers, there would not have been any excuse for confiscating their lands. (AJHR 1928 G-7, p. 20)¹⁵⁵

Milroy and Melbourne then asked the question;

“Did Tūhoe take part in resisting the military force sent to capture the killers of Rev Volkner and Mr Fulloon?”

Another question they put forward;

“Were the forces despatched to the Bay of Plenty for the sole purpose of capturing their killers?”

Throughout the events of the killing of Volkner there was no mention of Tūhoe taking part except when it was reported that Kereopa with his personal bodyguard were reported to have withdrawn to the south into the Urewera Mountains, the unmapped stronghold of the Tūhoe people – the Children of the Mist.¹⁵⁶ Tūhoe have always claimed they had retreated inland and had no part in Volkner’s death.¹⁵⁷

Kereopa, who was renamed as Kaiwhatu – eater of eyes, was living amongst Tūhoe, until 1871, when Te Whiu Maraki, decided to catch Kereopa and hand him over to a war party of Ngāti Porou under Ropata, who had made their camp at Ruatāhuna. Here, it was a case of Tūhoe not wanting to put up Ngāti Porou, who had come to capture the wanted men, any longer than necessary. Te Kooti and Kereopa. The quickest way to do that was to help them. Kereopa was escorted to Napier where he was duly hung.¹⁵⁸ Te Kooti was to escape and live a quiet life at Te Wainui until 17 April 1893.¹⁵⁹ On 17 May 1866, 5 Chiefs from

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 106

¹⁵⁶ Maxwell: 2000, p.130.

¹⁵⁷ Melbourne Hirini, Milroy Wharehuia J., Evelyn Stokes, 1986, *Te Urewera, Nga Iwi Te Whenua Te Ngahere, People, Land and Forests of Te Urewera*, University of Waikato, New Zealand. P.48

¹⁵⁸ Best:1976, p. 662

¹⁵⁹ Binney, Judith, 1995, *Redemption Songs, A life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*, Auckland University Press. p.497.

Whakatōhea were hung at Mount Eden Prison but this was not sufficient payment for the two lives that were lost. Ranginui Walker of Whakatōhea himself wrote poignantly;

*“It mattered not that the perpetrators of Volkner’s execution came from somewhere else, the Whakatohea bore the additional unwarranted penalty of confiscation of 69,200 hectares of their land for military settlers”.*¹⁶⁰

According to Milroy and Melbourne, the Government’s aim was to use military force mainly to capture the fanatic murderers at Ōpōtiki and to destroy the whole Pai Mārire movement. The plan of the mission was to strike a blow at the rebellious natives and to crush the opposition to Government that had come to a head in the Ōpōtiki district. It was hoped that the despatch of the expeditionary force would bring the war to a decisive end. This last reference suggested that the killing of Rev. Volkner and Mr. Fulloon was a pretext so that the the Government could set in motion operations as if a state of war existed. Appropriate action would then be taken to eradicate the threat. If any single act was designed to plunge the colony into renewed war, (this time with Whakatōhea, Ngāti Awa and Tūhoe,) it was the despatching of an expedition which came suddenly and whose intentions were only made clear by their actions.¹⁶¹

The assumed killers of Volkner and Fulloon were caught, tried and thus was hanged and set into motion a sequence of events which escalated into a war in a district where none had existed, and where there had not been even the threat of one. The evidence as set out above can only have one conclusion. It shows quite clearly how the Crown failed Ngāi Tūhoe in many ways as history was vividly explained at the Waitangi Tribunal Te Urewera Hearings. As noted and recognised by Dr. Cullen that Tūhoe history is one of great resilience, strength, and pride. But it is also a tragic history, a history of state violence, and confiscation of land. As the result of Crown action, Ngāi Tūhoe has at times suffered poverty, famine and significant isolation. The year 2009 clearly signals a genuine desire of Ngai Tūhoe and the Crown to sit down together and find an appropriate way forward for recognising and addressing the wrong.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Walker: 1990, p.131.

¹⁶¹ Milroy/Melbourne: 1995, p. 106.

¹⁶² Tūhoe-Te Kotahi a Tūhoe webb site, 31 July, 2008. View Dr Cullen’s speech notes

Chapter 4

PRIMAL RELIGION – THE MĀORI COSMOLOGY

<i>Tēnei au Tēnei au te hōkai nei i taku tapuwae</i>	<i>It is I who must embrace my inheritance</i>
<i>Te hōkai nuku, ko te hōkai rangi</i>	<i>To embrace mother earth and sky father</i>
<i>Ko te hokai o taku tūpuna a Tānenui-ārangi</i>	<i>To embrace my ancestor Great Tane of the sky</i>
<i>I pikitia rā ngā rangi tūhāhā ki Rangiātea</i>	<i>Who climbed the lofty heaven Rangiātea</i>
<i>Ki te tihi o Manono</i>	<i>To the highest point Manono</i>
<i>I rokohia atu e ia a Io Matua kore anake</i>	<i>Where he came upon Io the Parentless</i>
<i>I riro mai ai i a ia ngā kete o te whare wānanga</i>	<i>He was able to obtain the kits of learning</i>
<i>Ko te kete tuauri, te kete tuatea te kete aronui</i>	<i>The tuauri kit, the tuatea kit, the aronui kit</i>
<i>Ka poupoua ka tiritiria ki roto i a Papatuanuku</i>	<i>It was disseminated into mother earth</i>
<i>Kia puta ai ki waho ko te ira tangata</i>	<i>Producing the life-principle of mortal man</i>
<i>Tihei mauri ora.</i>	<i>To sneeze the beginning of life.</i>

The above is a well-known tauparapara (chant) used mainly as an opening before a formal speech. It is a poetic form of an introduction similar to an opening prayer before the speaker begins with the main items on the agenda. The translation gives an indication of its general meaning as to where Tanenuiarangi obtained the three baskets of knowledge from the home of Io the Parentless one, named Rangiātea. The first kit of knowledge the tuauri pertains to the chants connected to sky father, mother earth and their offspring which this chapter deals with. The second kit of knowledge, tuatea, contains all that is evil in action causing dissensions and strife among men and gods. The third kit, aronui, contains love, compassion and peacemaking, all that is good which benefits man and everything else in the world. So, from a Māori worldview the seed of life has its beginnings.¹⁶³

As the heading suggests this chapter discusses the various concepts of what is meant by the word religion. It will look at the humanity's common religious heritage based on Harold Turners premise of what he calls primal religion. Primal religion is the relationship between man and the environment. This relationship and man's response to it describe and reflects their existence that expresses their understanding of themselves and the world around them. For the Maori their oral traditions handed down through their myth stories express and collect together laws, rules and procedures into a system of beliefs thus becoming a source

¹⁶³ Best Elsdon:1976, p. 103.

of spiritual powers activated as recited in their ritual of karakia as shown in the chant above. The myth stories will be examined.

What then is Maori spirituality? Māori spirituality is simply the notion that all things have a spirit. It includes all matter, animals, the earth, the sky, and the stars in the heavens, birds, fish, plants, and trees. 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 Māori religion. William Colenso wrote;

“According to both the true and popular meaning of the word, they (the Māori) had none...they had neither doctrine nor dogma, neither cultus nor system of worship. They knew not of any being that could properly be called God.”

The Reverend James Buller, a Methodist missionary, dismissed Māori religion in one sentence.

*“The Māoris were devil-worshippers”.*¹⁶⁴

By their own statements, these two men announced their ignorance that they had neither any true understanding of either the language nor the culture of the Māori. Early missionaries came with their own point of view of their time of their beliefs and made the assumptions through their own ignorance and the narrow-mindedness of another world and culture. Through their zealous attempts to share their message of what they considered to be good news, they looked on other societies from their perspective, which, in this case, was from their European culture and their theology. They believed in their own superiority which 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 a common definition understood and held by most people, even in this new millennium.

However, not all religions are centred on 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 all of man's spiritual problems. Salvation, according to its founder Siddhartha, is to follow the

¹⁶⁴ Davidson: 1991, p. 7

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.¹⁶⁵ Even a simple definition such as a system of faith and worship, advocated by Buck, while useful in defining Māori religion does not seem to cover fully the phenomena of religion. According to Buck, Māori shared alongside other Polynesian kin-persons an inherited belief in the existence of spiritual beings, known as atua (gods, demons, super natural beings,) who, with their supernatural powers were able to exert their influence, for good or evil, in the normal run of daily living. This credence constituted faith and through the institution of the tohunga (one who specialises) 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;

*“A belief in the immortality of the soul, may lay just claims to the term religion.”*¹⁶⁶

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 ethnologists like Elsdon Best recorded tribal peoples, like the Māori who were, without written records and dependent on oral traditions. 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 Māori, which was and still is to some, viewed as myths interspersed with magic and superstition. In Turner’s words;

*Scholars of religion have opened up the complex religious systems of the worlds 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.*¹⁶⁷

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 is still

¹⁶⁵ Brown David A, 1994, *A Guide to Religion*, SPCK, Holy Trinity Church London, Ninth Impression, p. 129

¹⁶⁶ Buck:1949; p. 431

¹⁶⁷ Pratt Douglas, 1993, *Religion – A First Encounter*, Longman Paul Ltd., Auckland, p. 19.

practised today. The term he uses to describe this type of religion is primal religion, which he regards as humanity's common religious heritage to all peoples of this present age.¹⁶⁸

Doug Pratt regards the terminology of primal religion as having an advantage in that it gives the idea that it is basic, original, and first principal rather than the old misleading terms of heathen, pagan, superstitious, and native which are misleading and not very helpful to anyone. He calls it;

*"A value-neutral term, simply signifying that which is both conceptually primary and chronologically prior."*¹⁶⁹

Harold Turner gives six main parts to his layout of primal religion to identify specific regions, which I find very helpful indeed to support my own thinking along these lines and further to this, Doug Pratt's analysis of these six points also sheds more light on the subjects of primal religion. I unashamedly, use these two gentlemen's notes for this section with additional notes of my own.

KINSHIP WITH NATURE – The ecological aspect.

Doug 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."*¹⁷⁰

For Māori this 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 in mythical stories that we turn to gain knowledge of their religious beliefs.

Ninian Smart in his book, *The Religious Experience of Mankind*,¹⁷¹ says that,

¹⁶⁸ Turner Harold, 1998, *The Roots of Science*, Printed by Colorcraft Ltd., Hong Kong, p. 18.

¹⁶⁹ Pratt, Douglas:1993, p. 20.

¹⁷⁰ *ibid* p. 21

¹⁷¹ Smart, Ninian, 1984, *The Religious Experience of Mankind*, Charles Scribner's Publishing House, London, p.18.

“ 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 the first two people on earth. Secondly, myth is the term to include not merely stories about God or gods, but also of historical events of religious significance in a tradition, for e.g. the passover ritual in Judaism re-enacts their delivery from bondage in Egypt. The nature 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 that expresses their understanding of themselves. Myths act as guidelines, which people live by, act out and establish patterns acceptable to society as its ultimate authority. It also serves as a guideline for ethical and religious conduct. Myths 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 Māori Myths and Tribal Legends is used here to substantiate that this Māori world-view was written in Māori by a Māori. The translation by Alpers captures the stories simply and with stark vividness that sits well with Māori 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 Māori. For general reading it is clear, concise and has become a textbook for Universities in New Zealand and the many educational centres. From Alpers' notes, the Māori writer was Te Rangi Kāheke of the Ngāti Rangiwewehi tribe in Rotorua. He worked as a clerk for Governor Grey who wished to have a better understanding of a numerous and turbulent people, with language, manners, customs, religion, and modes of thought with which he was not familiar. 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 Māori like the creation story, and the life cycle of Māui by Te Rangi Kāheke, but some were dictated. The result was the published book of Ngā Mahi ā Ngā Tūpuna, 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 Māori 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 Māori, Heaven and Earth were the source from which all things originated."

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

"My friends listen to me. The Māori people stem from only one source, namely the great heaven, which stands above, and the earth that lies below. According to Europeans God made heaven and earth and all things. According to the Māori, heaven (Ranginui) and earth (Papatuanuku) are themselves the source." ¹⁷²

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." ¹⁷³

Te Rangi Kaheke continues;

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

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

¹⁷² Alpers Antony, *Māori Myths and Tribal Legends*, Longman Paul Ltd., Auckland, 1964; p. 231

¹⁷³ *ibid* p. 237

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:*

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.”¹⁷⁴

At this stage one must realise that, just as there are many major Māori tribes in Aotearoa, so too are there different versions of Ranginui and Papatuanuku stories. A student interested in following these stories would find an abundance of information on Māori Religion and Mythology by Elsdon Best gleaned from various tribes. 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 Maatua tribes in the Bay of Plenty, Elsdon wrote that;

Their version of these cosmogonic recitals is based, or likened to the growth of a tree, an illustration ever before his eyes.

Which is set out as follows;

<i>Te Pū</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 Waonui</i>	<i>(Signifies primeval forest.)</i>
<i>Te Kune</i>	<i>(Signifies pregnancy, conception, form acquired.)</i>
<i>Te Whē</i>	<i>(Signifies sound, as of creaking of tree branches.)</i>
<i>Te Kore</i>	<i>(Signifies non-existence.)</i>
<i>Te Pō</i>	<i>(Signifies night; darkness of the unknown.)</i>

¹⁷⁴ ibid p. 237

Ranginui = Papatuanuku (Sky Father and Earth Mother)
*Tāne Tangotango Wainui*¹⁷⁵

Elsdon also noted that, as the Māori 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. Ranginui represents the male element, (te ira atua), life as known to supernatural beings, and Papatuanuku represents life as known to human beings, (te ira tangata).¹⁷⁶ This concept will be dealt with later under the heading of; The creation of woman by Tāne.

Another interesting concept of evolution can be found in Taylor's Te Ika ā Māui, which shows Māori intuition in describing their worldview;

*"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 Te Pō, the enduring, intangible, unseen, unfelt Te Pō."*¹⁷⁷

Then it continues its genealogy to Te Kore, The Space, and Ranginui emerges hovering over earth and, in association with various forms of light, produced the sun which became permanent. One other very important point that I would like to recall from our notes is what Geering points out about how a religion establishes its own symbolic language. How it defines human existence within the world. Each symbolic language is a kind of an elevated language that has to be learned and understood by those who embrace that religion as their way of life. These symbolic terms all join together and relate together, depending upon one another for their full meaning and often been defined in terms of one another. Geering continues to remind us that these symbols need to be understood for a better understanding of the cultures they come from as they interpret the meaning of life. Having said this then it stands to reason that all cultures and religions are created by each of the ongoing ethnic groups as they create their own set of symbols. The Reverend Māori Marsden adds to the discussion by saying that symbols are a deliberate creation of the human mind. They are an indirect reference to some other reality, a representation of it. They are the means by which

¹⁷⁵ Best, Elsdon, 1976, *Māori Religion and Mythology*, A.R. Shearer, Government Printing, Wellington, p. 62

¹⁷⁶ *ibid* p. 61

¹⁷⁷ *ibid* p.60

the mind creates maps, models, and formulae as a means of representing, grasping, interpreting, reconciling, integrating the different orders of reality.¹⁷⁸

This then is how pre-European Māori made-up their ultimate reality of their cosmology. The different stages of Te Kore and Te Pō are the symbols describing a sequence of adjectives to designate an aeon of time as each stage slowly evolved to form earth. These symbols were a deliberate creation by the Māori mind as a means by which there is an indirect reference to some other reality. The Māori observed the universe in its ongoing process as pure energy - unpolluted force. Their theory for the existence of their world comprised of a movement of interrelated fields separated by aeons from which finally their Natural World appeared. They composed their sets of symbols to provide them with models to portray each stage in this evolutionary process. The images they used by which they could understand and interpret reconciled the various worlds they were in to represent an ultimate reality for them.

These symbols were condensed and expressed in their narratives of myths and legends; in the art work of their meeting house as also in their proverbs, their rituals and in their ceremonial activities of the marae. All of which we will look at later. The genealogy of the cosmos is likened as in the growth of a tree from seed to fruit, or as in the act of lovemaking with its climax in the birth of a progeny. Out of the obscurity 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 Māori.¹⁷⁹ Our story from Antony Alpers continues;

*“Then Ranginui, 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.”*¹⁸⁰

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

¹⁷⁸ Royal, Te Ahukaramu Charles, ed, 2003, *The Woven Universe, Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden*, Printcraft '81 Ltd., Masterton. p.30

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p.31.

¹⁸⁰ Alpers:1964 p.16.

Papatuanuku. They were the first cause preventing light from entering the world because of their close marital embrace.”¹⁸¹

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 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, and so the world of pre-European Māori was formed. Unlike the world of the Hebrew which came into existence when God said;

“Let there be light

...and there was light.”¹⁸²

The world of the Hebrews came alive in the symbols that they in their culture formed. Their world was created when God, spoke the word. Then approximately 5,000 years further down the human track of time a writer by the name of John inaugurates a new creation with the coming of a particular Jew, Jesus Christ. He wrote about him in Chapter 1 verses 1-2;

“In the beginning was the Word; and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was with God in the beginning.”

The Word is the translation of the Greek word Logos, a symbol with multiple meaning. A popular form of Greek thought taught that the Logos was an impersonal force or principle that gave order and meaning to the universe. The Old Testament spoke of the Logos as the divine wisdom active in creation and human affairs.

So the Māori deduced that their cosmos came into being when Ranginui and Papatuanuku were brought into existence as the first cause, with their sons living in between their parents in darkness and oblivious to anything else.

HUMAN LIMITATION – The human condition aspect.

This section of Turners second aspect of primal religion is where Doug Pratt perceives some limitations on human beings as being weak, finite, impure or sinful. He sees that there is, in

¹⁸¹ Walker:1990, P. 12.

¹⁸² Cleve Barlow, ed., 1992, Ko Te Paipera Tapu/The Holy Bible, Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, Rotorua, Genesis Chap.1. v 3

some sense a widespread idea of restrictions conceived and expressed in a variety of ways. It establishes the idea that people stand in need of some form of mediation to a power greater than theirs and from beyond this world. The limitation of the human condition requires either rescue or transformation, or both.

Furthermore, Doug Pratt recognises the image of human limitation, expressed variously throughout all religions, but clearly emerging as a basic feature of primal religion. He suggests that it is in this unassuming nature of human existence that the birth of religion maybe found. Pratt observed that if there were no limits there would be no needs. This universal sense of humility leads to assorted manifestations of the feeling of dependence, which is also itself an expression of the primal design of human limitations. So as we continue with the myth story as told by Alpers, explaining how all this dynamism and phenomenology established limits in the Māori cosmology. How they recount the origin of the forces and factors that impose limits on Māori understanding including the twofold code of two opposites, like good and evil, tapu (holy) and noa (unsanctified), birth and death, mana (power) and whakamā (belittling), mauri (life) and mate (death). 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.”¹⁸³

As time evolved, Ranginui and Papatuanuku with their procreative powers bore numerous children, all male, living in dark imprisoned quarters. Elsdon Best listed seventy names, but only six are prominent in the Te Rangikāheke version. (The birth of the seventy sons, depicts a number that makes up a war party, which was taken up and continued in the formation of the Māori Battalion of the World War 11, known as Te Hoko Whitu a Tū (The Seventy of Tū)). The six well-known sons, whose names describe the major elements of the natural world, are as follows;

Tānemāhuta, representing the trees and plants and all living creatures of the forest, and as one who fertilises. Tūmatauenga, whose name is sometimes shortened to Tū, personifies the warring spirit of man. Tangaroa, whose portfolio covers the fisheries department. Tāwhirimātea, ancestor of all elements in the heavens affecting weather. Rongomātāne,

¹⁸³ Pratt:1993, p. 28

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 Tūmatauenga to kill their parents but agreed to the wisdom of Tānemāhuta who put forward the idea of separating their parents, to drive away darkness and ignorance. Only Tāwhirimātea 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, Tūmatauenga, slashed away at the sinews joining them causing blood to flow, giving rise to ochre, or red clay, the sacred colour, but failed. It was not until Tānemāhuta lying on his back and using his feet, while the brothers chanted a ritual, entreating their parents to let them go, was able to thrust Rangi upwards. The sons finally succeeded in their quest for light and freedom. Thus it was that Tānemāhuta also became known as Tāne-te-toko-o-te-rangi, (Tāne the prop up of the heavens). This symbolism is portrayed in the forest of Tānemāhuta as the massive tōtara and kauri trees soaring into the skies, seemingly acting as props. The coming of light announced the third state of existence for the Māori, the world of knowledge and growth, the world of human beings, Te Ao Mārama (world of light).

The formation of nature had begun and the elements were personalised and given names. These were known by Māori as ngā atua, translated by Williams as God, demon, supernatural being, or ghost. 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, ngā atua, are in fact nature itself involved in and part of the created order in a much more dynamic relationship.¹⁸⁴ This view by Māori is based on the concept that the environment and the world interact, and are not only interrelated but also interdependent and are of the same lineage, that is, they come from the first cause, Ranginui and Papatuanuku, Sky Father and Earth Mother.

James Irwin noted that Māori 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, and there is no such thing as spirit;

¹⁸⁴ Davidson : 1991, p. 3

*“Instead Māori worldview binds Māori society together as a functional whole and illustrates the complexity of humankind’s relationship to the sacred and the secular worlds. Māori 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 humanbeings 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.”*¹⁸⁵

The sense of belonging, as part of creation, is a reaffirmation of the Māori identity. Whakapapa (genealogy) is therefore a crucial part of the Māori 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 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.”*¹⁸⁶

In one sense, Māori do see atua as spiritual powers but in another sense they are not as these atua are looked on as kith and kin, descendants from the same source, from Ranginui, the spiritual, tapu (sacred), and from Papatuanuku, the physical, noa (common) and human, denoting an intimate relationship. The personification, that is by giving the elements personal names emphasises this point, humans and other life forms are bound by the indissoluble ties of kinship.¹⁸⁷

According to Te Rangi Kāheke, the separation was thought of as the first sin or wrongdoing. The arrival of light gave knowledge of good and evil an analogy to the biblical

¹⁸⁵ Irwan James, 1984, *An Introduction to Māori Religion*, National Library of Australia, Printed by the University Relations Unit, Flinders University, p. 5.

¹⁸⁶ Shirres Michael P. 1997, *Te Tangata – The Human Person*, Published by Accent Publications, Auckland, New Zealand, p. 20.

¹⁸⁷ Orbell Margaret, 1995, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, p. 11.

tree of knowledge and its forbidden fruit. The dual code of two opposites like good and evil is one of the central themes underlying Māori mythology, which the sons played out in the separation of their parents.¹⁸⁸ However, in Māori myths, there is no definite separation between what is good and evil but both edicts are totally involved. At times ngā atua, these spiritual phenomena, behave in what may be considered as good and exemplary ways, like Ranginui and Papatuanuku wished nothing but warmth and careful nourishment of their sons, but they were totally oblivious to their sons need for room and light to grow. Then there were deeds that were morally wrong or hurtful to others and produced positive results as well as misery and grief such as the brutal severance of Ranginui and Papatuanuku, which produced light and knowledge necessary for the growth of their offshoot 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 umbilical cord, so to speak, from their parents and allowing them the freedom to choose their own pathway through life. However, Ranginui and Papatuanuku, separated for all eternity, grieve for one another ceaselessly and their sorrow takes visible form in the rain 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 Māori, a more natural and earthly beginning which, by acts of procreation, was acceptable. For the Hebrews it was the power of the word, a conscious thought;

*"Then God said, "Let there be light", and it was so. "Let the waters under the sky be gathered together into one place and let the dry land appear", and it was so."*¹⁸⁹

For Māori 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.

¹⁸⁸ Walker: 1990 p. 12

¹⁸⁹ Metzger Bruce M, Murphy, Roland E. (ed), 1989, *New Revised Standard Version, The Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrapha*, Oxford University Press, New York, p. 2.

HUMANITY NOT ALONE – the aspect of the transcendent other.

This third section of Turner's characteristic of primal religion recognises the perspective of the other world full of powerful spiritual beings, which are personalised and function in and on earth. Harold 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".¹⁹⁰

For Māori, according to Doug Pratt;

"The aspect of Transcendent Otherness experienced as a present reality, is found in the emergence of the gods which heralds classical Māori 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. "¹⁹¹

Continuing with the Māori genesis story, we recall how Tāwhiri, who kept his peace during the discussions regarding their parents, finally expressed his opposition. When Tāne succeeded in separating their parents, Tāwhiri left earth in anger as he was jealous of Tāne's achievement and decided to live with their father Rangi, who vowed to get even, thus introducing the theme of utu (revenge). Tāwhiri, with his ravaging hurricanes first set upon the forests and decimated and flattened the children of Tāne. Then he chased Tangaroa across the oceans. Tangaroa had fathered Punga, and Punga had begat Ika Tere, the father of fish, and Tū Te Wanawana, father of lizards and reptiles. A dispute arose between them as to the safest place to be. Some went on land and were helped by Tāne, others sought safety in the sea. Buck surmised that this is how Māori 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 Tāne by eating away the foreshore and headlands.

Tāwhiri then turned on his most peaceful brothers, Haumia and Rongo, but their mother Papa who hid them in her bosom thwarted his plans. Tāwhiri's last battle was with

¹⁹⁰ Pratt: 1993: p. 22

¹⁹¹ ibid p. 28.

Tūmatauenga, Minister of War, who withstood everything that Tāwhiri threw at him. Tāwhiri, 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 is willing to give up.

When Tāwhiri left after the battle, Tūmatauenga became angry with his brothers because they deserted him in his hour of need. He in turn attacked them. He knew the offspring of Tāne were numerous and multiplying at a rapid rate, and so he first made snares from Tāne's trees and vines and caught the birds and animals, the children of Tāne, and ate them. Next, Tū made nets from Tāne'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, Tūmatauenga had lifted the tapu (desanctified) and had made them become common. Thus, the ritual of not allowing common things to come in contact with any place or anything regarded as tapu (sacred), until a hākari (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 that de-sanctifies the sacred moment and returns everything to normality. The act of Tūmatauenga belittling his brother's 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 Tāne 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 rest, Tāne, Tāwhiri and Tūmatauenga. Each one displaying his power and significance in some way but unable to complete other assignments. Tāne and Tū both triumphed where others came to grief. Tāne in separating Rangi and Papa, Tū in defying Tāwhiri, but Tāne is devastated by both Tāwhiri and Tū. Tū fails in his attempt to separate their parents and does not win over Tāwhiri. Tāwhiri pursues his brothers, Haumia and Rongo, but fails to prevent them separating Rangi and Papa, and he cannot overpower Tū. Such is the world of the Māori gods; nothing is ever perfect, forever impaired as it is for humans.

The revenge of Tū on his brothers for not helping him in his battle against Tāwhiri, justifies man's superior position to nature. Tū degraded his brothers Tāne and Tangaroa by turning them to food and common use. Ranginui Walker argues that this action of Tū introduces a

basic dichotomy of tapu and noa. Tapu stems from the gods. The act of Tū eating his brothers' offspring, and by 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.¹⁹²

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, one can share the powers and protection of the transcendent realm.¹⁹³ For Māori 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 lifeline open.

The physical world of the Māori is so wrapped up with the spiritual, that it becomes a basic necessity for Māori, to have karakia and intercessions to offer to the Transcendent Powers. Whether it's 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 Māori 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 Rangi Kāheke in the story of Rangi and Papa comes after Tūmataunga had de-sanctified his brother's children. The karakia that Te Rangikāheke wrote was to pacify and ensure a bountiful harvest for the future. There were also karakia directed at Tāwhiri and Rangi in the hope of obtaining good weather for the production of all provisions and finally, Tūmataunga had karakia for individual needs either in sickness or health, for baptism, for strength and victory in war and for all man's belongings.¹⁹⁴ Karakia, according to Buck, is a means of communicating orally that is either said or intoned mainly in a formula of words which have been described in English as,

¹⁹² Walker: 1990; p. 13.

¹⁹³ Pratt, 1993: p.22

¹⁹⁴ Alpers: 1964, p. 24.

chants, spells, enchantments, witchery, magic, exorcism or incantation.¹⁹⁵ All these sayings are correct but it does not cover all English words. It depends largely upon the context that is used. For instance, karakia is used to describe worship. Karakia Mō Te Ata (Morning Worship), which according to Williams Dictionary, refers to public Worship, is of course, modern.

Further, James Irwin, pointed out that;

*“Classical Māori 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.”*¹⁹⁶

So it is ones behaviour and actions that transcend the spiritual understanding of their world. For example, the social recognition of Māui was completed by his father, Makeatutara, when he performed the tohi ritual (baptism). The act legitimized Māui and reconciled him to his father. The mistake in the ritual by Makeatutara is the Māori's rationale for the loss of immortality. Māui's father knew his son would die, but the 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.¹⁹⁷

THE AFTER LIFE – The aspect of transcending finite limitations

This chapter 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.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Buck: 1949, p. 489

¹⁹⁶ Irwin:1984, p. 17

¹⁹⁷ Alpers:1964 P.41

¹⁹⁸ Pratt:1993, p. 32

The world view of the classical Māori, in respect to the realm of the dead, is found in both the mythical story of Hinenuitepō (guardian of the underworld), (the physical) and in the realm of Rangi, (the spiritual). You hear speakers on the marae in their eulogy referring to the dead, as *kua wheturangihia* - one 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-ā-Māui (North Island) and departing from there to the Māori mythical home of Hawaiki-nui (Great Hawaiki), Hawaiki-roa (Long Hawaiki), Hawaiki-pāmamao (Far distant Hawaiki). In conjunction with this, is the belief of the spirit returning to Hinenuitepō, both of which refer to the spiritual realm.

These doctrines are contained in the stories of Tāne the fertiliser. There are so many different narratives of Tāne, 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 Tāne. In his search for the female element to produce humankind he carried out some experiments with various objects that produced trees of the forest and because of this, he was given the name Tānemahuta or Tāne-te-wao-tū, (Tāne of the standing forest).¹⁹⁹ There are also different versions as to how Tāne 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. Tāne 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. Māori philosophy designates to earth those beings that are temporary, and subject to death while the realm of the transcendent 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 Māori world order, it is imperative that the human must be compounded of both elements to be whole. Tāne, the immortal male, provide 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. With his newfound knowledge, Tāne created his mate,

¹⁹⁹ Buck:1949, p. 450

Hineahuone – earth formed maiden, from Papatuanuku red earth, red with the blood of the sinews that once joined Rangi and Papa.²⁰⁰ The first-born was Hinetitama – the Dawn Maid and by Tāne’s incestuous act, Walker and Alpers suggest that this was inevitable in order for the species to be established. Tāne recognised the folly of his action in taking his daughter to wife, as morally wrong. When Hinetitama confronted him 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 that led her to her act of atonement that was to last for all eternity and to benefit all mankind.²⁰¹ 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 Māori. As Alpers points out, the Māori sees that just as death without birth would be disastrous for man, so would birth without death. So by changing her role to become Hinenuitapo, 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.²⁰² However, in this realm of ngā atua, death has not yet come. Not until the arrival of the demi-god Māui who went out to try and obtain for man life immortal.

THE PHYSICAL WORLD AS A SACRAMENTAL VEHICLE OF THE SPIRITUAL WORLD -The aspect of necessary interconnectedness of the seen and unseen realms.

This sixth and final 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.

²⁰⁰ Alpers:1964, p. 23

²⁰¹ *ibid* p. 237

²⁰² *ibid* p. 238

For the Māori the whole world order is seen as an interconnectedness in life by genealogy, showing who they are, where they come from and where they are going. Doug 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 worldview, to the universal order of things: the setting for relationships and responsibility.”*²⁰³

These aspects are well illustrated in the adventures of Māui. Māui, the demigod, was a hero who attains greatness against all odds. His stories are shared throughout the whole of Polynesia and including the Islands of Micronesia. Joseph Campbell describes Māui as;

*“Roughly a counter-part of Hercules in a sense...their Odysseus, and in addition the Māori Prometheus, for controlling fire and founder of his peoples’ art.”*²⁰⁴

By deceitful means and ignoring rules, and by knowing the right people and having the right magic, Māui was able to evade certain disasters and become an archetype in Māori society, especially to the youngest siblings. Māui was the last born, a pōtiki, which holds a low status in the family. Further, he was an aborted fetus near the sea. This gave rise to the Māori belief that if anyone was born near the sea, it indicated that his spirit would be impish and gremlin like, a mischievous troublemaker. Māui 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 Māui 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 from which he hailed whether from the North, South, East or West. Thus it is also socially acceptable to ask where one comes from, but never the direct, ‘what is your name?’ Once territorial and tribal origins are established it is relatively easy to identify the person. Once Māui 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.

²⁰³ Pratt:1993, p. 28.

²⁰⁴ Alpers:1964, p. 238.

Children opposed and fought each other, their parents, and went their separate ways. The myth stories depicted ambivalent relationships with jealousy lurking just below the surface of friendliness and frequently exploding in assault and treachery as in the case between the sons of Rangi and Papa, and Māui and his brothers.

Māui's search for his father is a common theme in Māori myth and tradition. Rangiteaorere of Te Arawa and Tūhoe descent, and Tamainupō 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 Māui, 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 are 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, Māui's father made a mistake omitting a portion of the prayer as he performed the ritual. The outcome of this was that his son Māui would die in his attempt to overcome Hinenuitepō and conquer death. Henceforth all of mankind would have to follow suit.

The story of Māui 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 straightforward means, but by daring and self-confidence on the one hand and cleverness and trickery on the other. Māui 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 made a hook to fish up the North Island of Aotearoa, shaped like a stingray, which became known as Te Ika-ā-Māui (The Fish of Māui). Foremost in Māori tradition is the ritual of karakia, the offering of thanks and a portion of the catch to the gods, before partaking of food. The brother's act of sacrilege explained the reason why Aotearoa is so rough and mountainous.

There are other stories of Māui, each with an explanation of how things are in this world and so we come to his final adventure as he encountered Hinenuitepō, the great maiden of

the night. He had hoped to reverse the process of birth by entering Hinenuitepō, via her womb and emerging through her mouth. Regrettably, Māui's comical antics were too much for his friend the fantail who just could not refrain from laughing, twittering and frolicking about, waking Hinenuitepō in the process. She instinctively brought her legs together, and Māui who was only halfway through, was crushed to death. Through his death, Māui opened the gateway for all mankind to follow. It was from Mother Earth that Rangi formed the first woman. She was named Hineahuone, sand-form maiden. Through this marriage, spirit and matter combined producing mankind in the form of Hinetitama the Dawn Maiden. Abused by Tāne and again by Māui, man's pathway to immortality was destined to end. For Māori, 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, Māori myths are dramatic stories orally passed down from generation to generation and taken as gospel truth. They provide Māori 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 Māori 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 Māori their holistic outlook on life. That the spirit and matter are one and the same substance originating from the one source.

Despite this they were realistic 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) and to put aside abuse or affront without revenge, lessens one's power. Tūmatuaenga displayed his superiority over his brothers by cooking and eating their offspring. The powerful spiritual beings of the other world were personalised and they provided the rules and regulations for Māori society as

portrayed in their stories. The myths also helped to explain the reasons for 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 Tāne on the beaches and headlands, and how Tūmataunga 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 Māori society, its dependency on oral tradition is so vital and of great importance for its survival, that a mistake in the recital of a karakia spells disaster. Life after death is not seen by Māori as being divided into heaven and hell but as a continuous process of meeting up with those who have gone before, where individuality and communal living are finally established, all be it 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 returning to the elements. Te Ira Atua (life principles of the spirit), return to Rangi (Sky Father), depicted in a newborn star, and Te Ira Tangata (life principle of mortals), return to Mother Earth, where Hinenuitepō (sentinel of the night) await, the return of her children.

The whole of life for the Māori 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 Māori society.”*²⁰⁵

Finally, as Doug Pratt, correctly points out that before the arrival of the European;

*“Māori had ‘no national religion as such and there was no universal system of worship. Except for tuahu, which were simple shrines and temples that would readily identify religious activity. As the marae was the centre of Māori life there was no need to separate out a sacred space or building to attend to that part of life.’”*²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ Buck:1949, p. 467.

²⁰⁶ Pratt, p. 29.

The marae was, and still is the tūrangawaewae (a place of standing) of the tribe, the sacred ground of each hapū (clan), where formal sacramental acts continue to be maintained and performed. This is dealt with in chapter seven.

Chapter 5

CLOSE ENCOUNTER WITH CHRISTIANITY – THE PĀKEHA

*Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.
Luke 2: 10.*

This chapter is an endeavour to give some insights on the impact of Christianity on the Māori and their world, and the interaction of the gospel and cultures which Alan Davidson described as both complex and dynamic.²⁰⁷ The arrival of another culture from another world with their superior technology, had some powerful effects and consequences which brought about dramatic changes for the Māori, not only in its cultural context, but particularly in its spiritual outlook. This section attempts to try and understand how Māori spirituality, confronted with another way of looking at life, responded to that challenge. It is not possible to give a full rationalization of ever movement, or a comprehensive coverage of all aspects, but to give some credence to the direction that this thesis is limited to, and at least have a general appreciation of developments from the arrival of the Pākeha.

The question as to when Aotearoa was inhabited by the Māori 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 Māori settled Aotearoa somewhere between 500 and 1100 A.D., giving a middle date of about 850 A.D. The discovery of Aotearoa by the first Pākeha was some 800 years later, on September 18th 1642, by a Dutchman, Able Tasman. This first encounter with Māori was disastrous. His two ships sailed into what is now known as Golden Bay. Two native canoes swiftly approached the ships and they heard the sound of a horn being blown which sounded like a moorish horn. Nothing untoward happened until the next day, when Tasman manned a longboat with seven sailors, to warn the other ship to be on guard.

“When the Māori saw the boat, they rushed at it and killed three of the crew, and mortally wounded another. They swiftly paddled away, carrying off one of the dead sailors. Tasman fired his guns upon the aggressors who got away, and, weighing anchor, he left the area

²⁰⁷ Davidson Allan K., 1991, Christianity in Aotearoa, A History of Church and Society in New Zealand, Education for ministry, Wellington. P.7.

without provisions, but not before shooting down a chief in one of the canoes that came too close to the ship. He named the area, Murderers Bay. The Māori were mystified by the sound of gunfire, and no doubt stupefied by the fact that it can kill anyone from a distance. “
208

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),²⁰⁹ became common knowledge to European explorers and may have discouraged further visits, for the next visit by a Pākehā did not take place until one hundred and twenty seven years later. This was James Cook, an Englishman who arrived in 1769, and landed at what is now known as Gisborne. Like his predecessor, it was marked by violent encounter that resulted in six Māori being killed.²¹⁰ 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 Māori 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 Māori and Pākehā. In 1769, a Frenchman, Jean F.M. de Surville, landed at Mangonui where he was warmly welcomed by his hosts and supplied with food and water. A fierce storm kept the captain and sailors on land, and they were looked after by the village. When the storm abated after two days, a longboat was missing. De Surville, with no clear proof accused the natives of stealing it, burnt the village and took the chief captive. He died eight days later of heartbreak and voluntary starvation.²¹¹ Three years later, Marc Joseph Marion du Fresne in 1772, landed at the Bay of Islands on two ships, with a very sick crew. The local Māori gave them a very friendly welcome and an exchange of gifts and food took place. After a month of intimacy, friendship and confidence had developed to such a degree between Māori and French that

²⁰⁸ Vaggioli Dom Felice, 1896, *History of New Zealand and Its Inhabitants, first English Translation* 2000 by John Crockett, University of Otago Press, p. 13.

²⁰⁹ Bassett Judith, Sinclair Keith, Stenson Marcia, 1985, *The Story of New Zealand*, Reed Methuen Publishers Limited, p 19)

²¹⁰ Davidson:1991, p 5

²¹¹ Vaggioli: 2000 p.16

no one suspected anything, until it was too late. The Māori suddenly fell upon the sailors without warning, and killed and ate the Captain du Fresne. However, his second-lieutenant, Captain Crozet, who was not to be taken lightly, was able to avoid being killed, and rallied a large contingent of his men and burnt the village down, killing many of its inhabitants. He named the place Treachery Bay.²¹²

By 1800, Māori had become far more familiar with the white overseas visitors, from the killing of the crew of the Boyd and its burning in 1809.²¹³ While these encounters were few and far between, never the less, they created fear and misunderstandings between the two peoples. Both sides had tradition and protocol to follow. The blowing of the horn to announce their arrival, the salute by gunfire and the portrayal of the fierce haka and pukana (grimacing and poking of tongue) and the gesturing of the hand held mere (club) and taiaha (hand staff), were intended to warn off would be attackers, rather than a preparation for a frontal attack. Both sides came from a vvdifferent worldview, and with different languages and cultures, who was to know what was taking place? With no knowledge of the language and lack of cultural sensitivity on both sides, their first encounter was set for a violent clash.

After Cook reported his first visit, other explorers, from France, America, Norway, and Spain became more frequent, especially visits by sealers, whalers and trades-people, wanting flax and timber. Māori 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 with basic needs. The interchanges were not always successful, as misunderstanding and ignorance continued, but contact with a different world with its new technology, opened up for the Māori. These strange visitors brought unusual animals, and peculiar food as noted by Te Horeta Taniwha, writing 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 our throats, and we did not care for such food. Then there were their magic walking sticks when

²¹² *ibid* p. 17

²¹³ *Ibid* p. 26

*pointed at a bird thunder was heard and a flash of lightening was seen and the bird dropped dead. This was enough to scare the children out of their wits as they ran to hide themselves.”*²¹⁴

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), words which were repeated by the goblins, at which we laughed, and were joined in the laugh by the goblins.”*²¹⁵ *Cook himself gave a nail to Te Horeta. He treasured this nail finding it of great use as a point for his spear, and making holes in wood. Unfortunately his canoe capsized at sea, and when he lost his nail he made the comment, “my god was lost to me.”*²¹⁶

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

Warfare amongst Māori was a form of social control that was constantly activated by chiefs, in trying to maintain and protect their mana over their clan, land and provisions. Loss of 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 numbers of people were exterminated, more slaves to be had, and some tribes even became misplaced.

The early encounters were at times violent and as reported by Dom Felice Vaggioli;

“The Māori’s incredible ferociousness and cannibalism posed an insurmountable obstacle. More savage than wild animals, they gleefully drank their victims’ blood pouring from mortal wounds and filled their stomachs with their succulent flesh. Europeans saw themselves as mild and peace loving in comparison...the mere thought

²¹⁴ Bassett et al: 1985, p22.

²¹⁵ Belich: 1996, p 123.

²¹⁶ Bassett et al: 1985, p. 23.

*of coming across graphic scenes of cannibalism froze the most stalwart Europeans' blood."*²¹⁷

But as time progressed, each culture began to exploit 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 one another's protocol and law. The lively intercourse between the two races brought about a new generation of lighter complexioned Māori, showing their adaptability to the pressures of the new world as they interacted with the new-comers. This was then the scene when the next lot of visitors, the Missionaries arrived. They were to have a huge and more enduring impact.²¹⁸

The New Kingdom

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. Samuel 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 (Ruatarua) that they could not understand what I meant. He replied, that they were not to mind that now, for they would understand by and by; and that he would explain my meaning as far as he could."*²¹⁹

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, as one take note the pleasure with which Marsden viewed the British colours flying in New Zealand as the dawn of civilization, liberty and religion, and how much he looked forward to the Natives becoming

²¹⁷ Vaggioli:2000, p.19

²¹⁸ Salmond: 1975, p. 19.

²¹⁹ Davidson & Lineham, 1989, p28

British subjects. Marsden, described as the apostle to New Zealand, ²²⁰was to some historians an ambiguous figure with a reputation for being a harsh, unforgiving magistrate in Australia. He was a very successful entrepreneur and farmer, and in addition he was committed to the spread of Christianity. A loyal supporter of the pioneering work of the London Missionary Society in the Pacific, and making attempts, albeit unsuccessful, to evangelise aborigines in Australia. He was a product of the eighteenth century evangelical revivals, known as the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), and his uncritical identification of Christianity with British civilisation and national identity, reflected the evangelical worldview. The C.M.S. emerged from the evangelical Protestants when the Methodists decided to split from the Anglicans in 1795. This branch of the church is generally known as the Low Church, which was to differentiate them from the High Church. The High Church followed the practices more akin to its 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 crosses, candles or surplices. They emphasised having a personal relationship with Jesus, and were always conscious of the devil close by, leading them into sin. The evangelicals were closely interwoven with the humanitarianism movement, which preached against the 'white man's burden', (the practise of slavery,) which was eventually abolished.

There was also the habit of being patronising towards other societies, attacking their religious worldview and replacing it with their own religion. The discovery of the Pacific, with its many populated islands of heathens gave them the opportunity to carry out their mission of civilising and conversion of the heathen. The C.M.S. who were Anglicans, and the W.M.S. Wesley Missionary Society, the Methodists, began their 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 Māori Church within Anglicanism. These are, firstly, self-determination, which spells out the autonomy of the church in its new surroundings having transplanted its teachings and policies. Secondly, a programme on self-propagation, giving priority to self- development of indigenous ministry and indigenous evangelisation, and thirdly, self –supporting, that is having an organization to physically support and govern itself by its own means, found within the

²²⁰ Booth, Ken, ed, 1996, *For All The Saints*, The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, p.157

local culture.²²¹ We will discuss in the next chapter, why these noble principles of Henry Venn did not work, when it came to the organization of the Anglican Church in New Zealand.

It was to Parramatta, in Australia, that some visiting Māori from New Zealand ventured, soon after Marsden's arrival in Australia. 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 was unwavering in finding some means of encouraging them in 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), which was founded in 1799 as a voluntary society within the Church of England, to look to New Zealand as one of its early areas for missionary endeavour. He argued;

*"Nothing, in my opinion can pave the way for the introduction of the gospel, but civilization."*²²²

He obtained their permission, and returned to Australia in 1809 with William Hall and John King with their families, on the ship *Ann*.

The arrival of Christianity was not a one-sided Pākehā affair. In his extract, (see above), Marsden mentions Ruatara explaining to Māori 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."*²²³

Ruatara was a Ngāpuhi Chief of Ngāti Rahiri and Ngāti Tautahi hapū on the side of his father, Te Aweawe, and on the side of his mother. Tauramoko, was of Ngāti Rahiri and Ngāti Hineira. Like many young Māori 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 were abused. Marsden first met

²²¹ Te Kaupapa Tikanga Rua – Bi-Cultural Development, 1986, The Report of the Bi-cultural Commission of the Anglican Church on the Treaty of Waitangi, Church of the Province of New Zealand. P.3

²²² Davidson & Lineham, 1989, p.26

²²³ Patterson John (ed) *For All the Saints*, 1980, p.140

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 very sorrowful 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 Māori. 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 that his country should reap the advantage of which he knew it was capable, by the cultivation of the soil on wastelands, and was fully convinced that the wealth and happiness of a country depended greatly on the produce of its soil.”*²²⁴

In 1810, Marsden made arrangements for Ruatara and other young Māori 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 Ngāpuhi chief Te Paahi had died, and that 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 ship *Active* came to New Zealand in late 1814, Ruatara brought with him a group of ten Māori 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 had in mind to protect ‘his’ Pākeha, his investment into the future of his people. They were a very important group, despite his misgivings about the wisdom of bringing them to Aotearoa. He voiced his apprehension when he heard stories at Port Jackson, that the missionaries would only be the beginning of the many Europeans who would in due course reduce the Māori to the same desolate condition as the Australian indigenous peoples. Ruatara felt placated when Marsden offered to turn back. The following year, Marsden returned to Port Jackson having established the mission, and knowing it was in good hands. Ruatara had shared his vision for the progress of his tribe to have market gardens, and towns just like the many he had seen, following a European pattern with streets and a Church right in the middle. Unfortunately, the plans died a sudden death, for Ruatara died four days after Marsden’s departure. Rahu, the wife of Ruatara, also took her

²²⁴ Booth, 1996; p.153

own life, in grief over her husband's death, and both were buried at Motutara. Māori power now shifted to another young Māori, Hongi Hika in the Kerikeri area. Hongi Hika continued to protect the missionaries, but kept them relatively restricted. He did not share the vision that Ruatara had. His was more aggressive, and had visions of slaughtering his enemies in the North Island.²²⁵

Ruatara had hoped that the mission of 'his' Pākeha would bring technological and other resources to assist him in his vision for his people, to develop a modern community based on what he had seen and experienced. Marsden had hoped that the hospitality and protection given by Ruatara would pave the way for the seeding of the Gospel. The Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and Polynesia, has put aside the 11th of May of each year to commemorate and honour Ruatara, described as, Te Ara mo te Rongopai, (The Pathway for the Gospel).²²⁶ The question remains whether the vision by both men has been fulfilled.

If one was to judge the success of the early Christian Missionaries in Aotearoa by terms of conversion from 1814 to 1830, the conclusion would be one of dismal failure. For 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 a nearly twenty-year labour, the native Christians did not exceed fifty."*²²⁷

The first group of missionaries, Thomas Kendall, William Hall, and John King were skilful Tradesmen, but were not well prepared for the task of conversion, as they had no immediate tradition or 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 Māori life intertwined with the sacred. Added to this were the physical difficulties for their families, living alongside war faring and cannibalistic tribes bent on the edict of utu. Further, having very little financial and moral support from the mother country, which usually took over a year to communicate, did not help at all in the evangelism of a culture totally alien to them.

²²⁵ Davidson, 1999, p.11

²²⁶ Booth, 1996, p.152.

²²⁷ Williams, W. 1867, *Christianity among the New Zealanders*, p.149

The mission of Evangelism amongst the Māori, was not helped by personality conflicts and the lack of understanding 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 Māori were unproductive. The 'sitting around' form of education made little sense to them when there were no obvious benefits to be gained. The differences between the two cultures were quite significant. Nevertheless, important beginnings were made as Kendall began to master the Māori 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 Māori dictionary and grammar.²²⁸ This was printed in the same year. Kendall also began to make significant attempts to understand Māori cosmology and religious beliefs. These were, however, distorted by his view that Māori 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 worldviews. Sadly Kendall's pioneering work was terminated following his dismissal from the mission in 1823, and his departure from New Zealand in 1825. The Māori language was not the only present Kendall and Hongi Hika brought back from England. There was a more sinister resource that Hika brought back. With the presents he got from visiting King George the IV, he bought 300 guns in Australia. He then went on a rampage every year from 1821 until his death in 1828, killing and enslaving thousands, (men women and children), as he raided villages in Thames, in the North, down to Rotorua and as far south as Whanganui, and the powerful Ngāti Whātua tribe of 20,000 living in Auckland. His last battle he fought at Wangaroa Wesleyan mission.²²⁹ A Protestant called Wakefield concluded;

*"Thus, the fine devout Christian showed himself for what he was, ambitious and bloodthirsty, and one of his first acts of devotion was to destroy the Wangaroa Wesleyan mission."*²³⁰

²²⁸ Vaggioli, 2000, p.37.

²²⁹ Ibid, p.41

²³⁰ Ibid.p.42

Hongi showed that he was a fine, devout Anglican, copying Henry VIII and Elizabeth, who destroyed monasteries and Catholic churches to establish the Reformation. Another aspect that the missionaries brought with them was their own bias, and the hatred of their religious differences and of the political and cultural hang-ups that come to the fore, as the cynical statement by Dom Felice Vaggioli above shows.

Despite all this, not all efforts were in vain, for Samuel Marsden was able to write in January 1829, with 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.”*²³¹

William Colenso one of the early missionaries in New Zealand in 1834, announced that,

“Religion, according to both the true and popular meaning of the word, they (Māori) had none. They had neither doctrine nor dogma, neither cultus nor a system of worship. They knew not of any being that could properly be called God.”

The Rev. James Buller, a Methodist missionary, dismissed Māori religion in one sentence;

*“The Māori’s were devil worshippers.”*²³²

Missionaries in their zealous attempt to share their message of the good news looked on other societies with condemnation and euro centric and ethnocentric interpretations. The arrival of the second group from the Church Missionary Society began with Henry Williams in 1823. That lead the way. A former naval officer, he brought discipline to the mission, and directed its energies away from Marsden’s emphasis on civilising, to evangelisation. Williams acquired considerable status for his work as a forceful peacemaker among conflicting Māori groups. Together with his brother William Williams, and their colleagues knowledge of the Māori language increased. They were resolute on Christian instructions and conversion as an introduction to civilisation.

²³¹ Davidson Allan, 1991, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, p.1

²³² *ibid* p. 7

Another change that occurred which made a big difference, was that they became more independent, and broke the missionaries dependency on Māori for food and transport by developing a farm station and building a sailing ship. Other long-serving missionaries, their wives and families helped Henry. They became an integral part of the Māori communities where they lived. Henry's brother, William, a graduate from Oxford, arrived in 1826, and with Robert Maunsell, another linguist, William Colenso - a printer and Māori scholar, were all better equipped. In August 1827, portions of the Bible, Prayer Book and Hymns were printed in the Māori language. Richard Davis of the CMS printed Four hundred copies of a thirty one-page booklet in Sydney. It included Genesis chapters 1 to 3, Exodus chapter 20:1-7, the Gospel of John chapter 1, Matthew chapter 5, 30 verses, the Lord's Prayer and seven hymns. By 1830, Rev William Yates had printed in Sydney, a 117-page booklet containing in Māori, Genesis, chapter 1-3, Matthew chapters 1-9, John's Gospel chapters 1-4, 1 Corinthians 1-6, the Ten Commandments, plus 19 hymns, two prayers and two catechisms. The book that was to make an impact was slowly being developed. By 1835 the New Zealand CMS printed their 1000 copies of the Gospel of Luke, and 2000 copies of the Epistles of Paul to the Ephesians and Philippians, as well as books of prayers, catechisms, and hymns. The New Testament was completed in 1837. The Old Testament was completed in 1868.²³³ The gospel brought by the CMS and the Wesleyan Methodists, who commenced work in New Zealand in 1822, initially in close cooperation with the CMS, reflected the Evangelical experience that 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 Māori, what had been a turning point in their own lives.

For the Māori in New Zealand, their identity played a vital role in the community, which involved all members of the family (whānau), hapū (clan) and tribal groups. The idea of an individual making a decision that would lead to a separation from the others, was alien. The missionary view of salvation had little to offer to Māori. According to August Earle, a visitor to New Zealand in 1827-28, missionary teaching about eternal punishment and the torment of hell, led Māori 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;

²³³ Elsmore Bronwyn, 1999, *Mana From Heaven*, Published by Reed Books (NZ) Ltd, p.9

*“They would not have nothing to do with a God who delighted in such cruelties; and then (as a matter of right) hope the missionaries would give them each a blanket for having taken the trouble of listening to him so patiently.”*²³⁴

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 Māori. They appreciated the nature of tapu, prohibitions of activity and the sense of the holy or awesome in worship; but religious observances for Māori 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. Māori 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.”*²³⁵

In order to convert Māori, missionaries could only introduce their own theological framework and patterns of worship into the Māori world in ways that Māori might respond to and accept. The dynamics associated with Māori acceptance of Christianity, however, were much more complex than a simple Māori 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, where taking life was more the norm to retain their mana (authority).

Māori were responding to the missionaries out of their own worldview and way of life. Throughout the second half of the 1820s, changes were observed taking place within Māori society, originating from Māori 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.”

²³⁴ Davidson & Lineham, 1989, p.37

²³⁵ *ibid*

He noted examples such as the planting of sweet potatoes without prayers, and how Māori were;

“Gaining a knowledge of the theory of religion”

...and making inquires;

“To know who that Great Saviour is that we so much talk to them about.” ²³⁶

Debate has raged amongst historians about the reasons why many Māori 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, combined with cultural confusion as the old patterns of belief were challenged and unable to respond to new European challenges. In this context the missionary message offered a new worldview and understanding of salvation.

Other historians have argued that trade and European goods, led Māori to associate with missionaries. Māori were very entrepreneurial, growing potatoes, wheat and raising pigs to trade with Europeans. In the 1840s and 1850s they built their own flourmills 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 Māori 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 Māori becoming Christians so quickly, and in such large numbers.

However, there are two factors that clearly contributed to the spread of Christianity; the impact of literacy and the activities of indigenous evangelists. William Yates noted in his book published in 1835;

“The thirst for knowledge - which has been exciting among the New Zealanders. Everyone now wishes to learn to read and write.” ²³⁷

The translation of parts of the New Testament, and the distribution of the first printed copies, resulted in a response that surprised the missionaries. The impact of literacy among

²³⁶ *ibid*, p.43

²³⁷ *ibid*, p.44

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 Māori, this new knowledge, available in their language, was exclusively religious. The printed text itself was seen as tapu or holy. The medium became part of the message, as Māori played a significant role in the spread of Christianity. Spontaneously, Māori 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 found that their message had gone ahead of them.

In 1837, a Ngāpuhi 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 Ngāti 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-ā-kura who was responsible for the growth of this worshipping congregation. Piripi of Ngāti Porou, when the Ngāpuhi 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 Whakawhititerā, near the Waiapū 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".²³⁸

referring to Henry Williams wearing spectacles.

His people were so impressed with his work that they built a large gathering place to hold their meetings, and were greatly influenced not to work over weekends. In 1836 during a tribal feud with Te Whānau-ā-Apanui he led the attack with a 'musket in one hand and a New Testament in the other', and with bullets slicing the air all around, he came through unscathed, providing more speculation about the supernatural powers he now possessed through taking up this new religion. He had persuaded his people to take on Christian

²³⁸ Booth (ed), 1996, p.168

principles of compassion towards their enemies, in that they were not to be killed; no eating of the flesh of their enemies, or any needless wreckage of property. His mana and legend grew when he came through the battle alive, showing the influence of the Christian god. It was possible that it was during this period that he was baptised as Piripi (Phillip). Change was taking place within the culture of the indigenous people. Local people of the East Coast say that it was after this skirmish, that Taumata-ā-kura began his teaching of the local men, which is acknowledged in the haka, Tihei Taruke. His teaching may not have been acceptable to the Hāhi Mihinare (CMS), and may have fallen short of their target, but nevertheless, it certainly prepared the way for them, and conversion was made easy.²³⁹

Two years after the battle, William Williams and others paid a visit to Paihia with nine more candidates for training to continue Piripi's mission. Raniera Kāwhia was a student of Piripi, who was duly ordained by Bishop Williams in 1860. In the Diocese of Waiapū up to the period of the 1950's, nine of the fifteen Māori priests were all descendants of Piripi Taumata-ā-Kura, the first missionary, who was not even baptised until he had proved himself. Despite his dubious teachings, Piripi opened the way for the Pākehā missionaries. His work is remembered by a tablet at St. Mary's Church, Tikitiki and by a memorial bell at Rangitukia.

The response of individual Māori to the Gospel varied during those early years. One of the most outstanding and incredible stories regarding the growth of Christianity amongst the Māori by Māori, is that of Tarore of Waharoa in the Waikato area. Her father Ngakuku, was a chief of the Ngāti 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 1838, 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 children and several other Māori. 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,

²³⁹ Orange Claudia, General Ed, 1991, *The People of Many Peaks 1769-1869, The Māori Biographies from The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume 1*, Bridget Williams Books, Department of Internal Affairs. P.150

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.”*²⁴⁰

In 1839 Ngakuku was baptised as William Marsh after the only son of A. N. Brown Marsh Brown. Ngakuku assisted with the founding of the Ōpōtiki mission station, and was a teacher before A. J. Wilson took up residence. He went with Archdeacon Brown on his journeys, including work in Tūhoe 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. Ripihau, who was once a slave up north and was on his way home to Ōtaki, called in at Rotorua to visit his relations. He read the story to Uita who was so moved by it that he was converted to Christianity, and sometimes later requested an audience with Ngakuku and his people to worship alongside of them. With slight 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,²⁴¹ The power of the Word, which turned cannibals to repentance forgive others, and to encourage others to do the same. Strange things were happening.

In the meantime, Ripihau the slave, continued with his journey to his homeland, to Ōtaki with remnants of St. Luke's Gospel which had belonged to Tarore. When he arrived he was pressed upon to read to Katu, son of Te Rauparaha, and his cousin Mātene Te Whiwhi, Ripihau at first refused saying;

²⁴⁰ Williams W.G. (ed)1949, *The Child Grew*, p. 34

²⁴¹ Booth, 1996 p.166

"It was a bad book, teaching men not to fight or drink rum or have two wives." ²⁴²

However, Ripihau relented and Katu and Mātene, not only learned to read and write, but also disenchanted by warfare, they were motivated to seek more of the Good News. They 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 Mātene became teachers of the new religion. In 1842, Hadfield had intended to travel to the South Island, but instead sent Tamihana and Mātene who became missionaries to the Kai Tahu people, sworn enemies of his father, Te Rauparaha. Their journey took them as far as Ruapuke and Wharekauri (Chatham 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." ²⁴³

In June 1843, Te Rauparaha had other pressing concerns on his mind when 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, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, influenced by a little girl's precious gift, the Gospel of St Luke, courageously faced the people, who were previously savaged by his father, and preached peace and reconciliation.

In 1846, Te Rauparaha was put under house arrest for sedition and sent to Auckland by Governor Grey. Ngāti Raukawa with Rangihaeata were planning to attack Wellington. Tamihana and Mātene were students at St. John's College at Meadowbank and Te Rauparaha sent them back to Ōtaki with the following message to Ngāti 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." ²⁴⁴

²⁴² Stock, 1935, *The History of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand*, p. 23

²⁴³ Booth, 1996, p. 179

²⁴⁴ *ibid*

The attack was called off. There are many other examples of where Māori Christians 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). There was Nopera Pana-Kareao of Kaitāia, a Te Rarawa leader, who was attributed to have converted northern groups, and²⁴⁵ Wiremu Nera Ngātai, 1837-1860, of Ngāti 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.”

Minarapa Rangihatuake, 1839 – 1893, Ngāti Mahanga missionary, is credited for establishing the Wesleyan church in Wellington. This credit is usually given to Bumby and Hobbs, but should by rights go to Minarapa who laid the foundation.²⁴⁶

Te Mānihera Poutama ? – 1847, Ngāti Ruanui mission teacher, missionary and colleague of Kereopa, who together, after teaching their own people of South Taranaki, volunteered to venture into enemy territory of Ngāti Tuwharetoa, at Taupo. Te Huiatahi, an aged chief, ambushed and killed the pair in reprisal for previous killings by Ngāti Ruanui. Ngāti Ruanui chose 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 Māori Christians under the umbrella of their missions, catechising and baptising Māori, and training teachers and catechists. The impact of the gospel on Māori and their culture, worked at different levels. Māori with their great ability to memorise, learnt off-by-heart, large parts of the liturgy, and parts of the Bible, as it became available in translation. Formal rhetorical speeches were significant in Māori culture, and these were increasingly infused by Bible allusions, sometimes in ways that perplexed the missionaries. Great interest was shown, for example, in Biblical genealogy, which was not surprising given the importance of lineage or whakapapa, in

²⁴⁵ *The People of Many Peaks, The Māori Biographies from The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Volume 1, 1991, p.85.

²⁴⁶ *ibid*, p.115

establishing Māori identity. At Baptism many Māori adopted Biblical names in Māori forms. The advent of literacy resulted in Māori becoming active correspondents.

Changes also took place in Māori 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 Māori response to the Gospel was complex and varied. George Clarke estimated in 1845, that out of the total Māori population of 110,000, some 64,000 were regularly attending mission services. How many of these Māori Christians met the missionaries' expectations, is difficult to estimate. Evidence indicates that many Māori associated with the missions, naturally congregated as fellowship groups. Some individuals clearly impressed the missionaries by their theological knowledge and spiritual example. Other examples, such as Papahurihia in the early 1830s, indicate that Māori were assimilating the missionaries message and European influences within their own culture, giving rise to new religious movements which were syncretistic, and early instances of indigenous theological responses 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, inflamed by the Reformation and subsequent history, along with nationalistic rivalries between the 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 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.²⁴⁷

For Māori, the varieties of Christianity they were now persuaded to consider, resulted in some confusion and their division into denominations, often along traditional 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.”*²⁴⁸

and the mission headquarters at Paihia. Missionaries complained about the way in which European immorality undermined their teaching, and began to campaign for legal constraints to check the worst excesses of Pākehā behaviour. Missionaries played a crucial role in Māori becoming British subjects in 1840. Protestant missionaries initially opposed colonisation, however, with their assistance, thirteen chiefs in the North petitioned the King of England to provide some form of control over their British subjects, and also the possibility of protection from other foreign intervention. James Busby was appointed British Resident, that is, as the ‘King’s man’, but Māori and missionary were not happy with this arrangement. He was described as a man of war without guns, but nevertheless an initial step towards annexation.²⁴⁹ Threatened by land speculators Thomas McDonnell in the Hokianga and Charles de Thierry, James Busby called a meeting with 34 chiefs from the Northern territory, and persuaded them to sign a Declaration of Confederation and Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand. It stated that ‘all sovereign power and authority within the United Tribes of New Zealand is hereby declared to reside entirely in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes in their collective capacity.’ Henry Williams and George Clarke signed the Declaration as English witnesses.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ Wilson, 1910, *The Church in New Zealand*, p. 523

²⁴⁸ Elder, 1932, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden 1765 – 1838*, p.12

²⁴⁹ Walker, 1990, p. 88

²⁵⁰ Davidson, 1991, p.20

The missionaries were persuaded by a variety of factors, including the beginning of large 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 Māori, and along with other missionaries, secured Māori signatures to the document throughout the country.

Captain Hobson, who became the first Governor, drew up the Treaty. It recognised the 1835 Declaration, but there was confusion between the Māori and English texts of the Treaty. The Māori 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 Māori were 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',²⁵¹ and encouraged other Māori to follow the advice of the missionaries. Some chiefs saw it 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.”*²⁵²

However, William Colenso, a CMS missionary, warned that Māori 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 Māori faiths and customs. This became known as the fourth article.

In traditional Māori culture, law and religion were part of the whole framework of society. The involvement of missionaries in religious and moral teachings, agricultural development and political issues, could easily be understood by Māori in traditional terms. But the relationship between the missionaries and the government authorities, both before and after the Treaty was ambiguous. The influence which missionaries had before 1840 came from their involvement in Māori society and the European political vacuum in New Zealand. After 1840 their authority was quickly undermined and marginalised by the growth of the

²⁵¹ Colenso, 1890, *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*, p.26

²⁵² Orange, 1987, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, p.57

colonial government, and the influence of the increasing settler population with their own concerns. The settler pressure for more and more land, conflicted with the missionaries' attempts to safeguard their own interests and to protect Māori.

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

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, missionaries noted that many Māori 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 that encouraged Māori 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 Māori to priesthood delayed the development of indigenous leadership.

Māori developed their own political structures, notably through the King movement in the central North Island, as they attempted to withstand Pākehā 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 Māori rights by leading Anglicans. The Waikato war that began in 1863, however, resulted in little support for Māori. Māori assertion of sovereignty and the defence of their land were 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 Māori and they were hence unable to act as mediators or peacemakers.

The emergence of vigorous Māori 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 Māori in 1865, because of his supposed association with some of the atrocities Māori 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, Tūranganui. Te Kooti, imprisoned on false charges, escaped from the 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 Ringatū Church with its use of the Psalms, monthly worship and reinforcement of Māori values of whānau, and indigenous culture. Te Whiti, together with Tohu, in face of land confiscations 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 Māori responded to the pressures that they faced. The repeated accusation brought against the missionaries was;

*"That we came to this country and taught them (the Māori) to lift up their eyes to heaven while we ourselves kept our own turned to the land."*²⁵³

The Gospel that Marsden helped to introduce, contributed to Māori becoming British Subjects, but the results of this were often disastrous for Māori. Colenso in 1868, reflecting on the serious depopulation among Māori 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 a European."*²⁵⁴

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 way in which Māori took the gospel into their own culture, on Māori terms. While Māori had become British subjects, they retained their strong sense of identity as Māori. The Gospel that they acquired reinforced this, through the variety of

²⁵³ Davidson & Lineham, p. 57

²⁵⁴ Colenso, On the Māori Races of New Zealand, 1868, p.75

forms of Māori Christianity that they adopted. Some of these were aligned with the missionary Churches, while others were, in missionary terms, heterodox. Almost despite the missionaries, Māori in some notable instances, creatively adapted their carving, art and architecture, their speeches and songs to express the impact of Christianity within their culture, which we will look at in chapter seven. The relationship between Gospel and culture for Māori in the nineteenth century was dynamic and complex.

That there was to be some resentment and misunderstanding, as Māori made some adjustments between the old and new spiritual beliefs, coming from a very different cultural background was inevitable. In the early period some adaptations had to be made by both cultures and peoples. But as time went on, the image of God took on a very different picture to both peoples.²⁵⁵ Intertribal wars decreased by the 1830s, and images of the father figure and peacemaker were beginning to come through especially with the work of the missionaries. Very little of the written word of the Old Testament in Māori was available to the Māori.²⁵⁶

It was a period of adjustment as pointed out by Evelyn Stokes, Māori was dazzled by the power of the written word, and how it portrayed the thoughts, without the person being present. Empowered by this method of communication, it helped to spread the work of the missionaries. It was the in-thing to do and it spread quickly, to Thames, Waikato and Whanganui, and there were certainly advantages of becoming a mihinare, or missionary.²⁵⁷ Interest in the new religion grew rapidly. To change from a savage warrior to be Christ's warrior needed a special type of a person of diplomacy and tact. Such a person came onto the scene in 1835, when A.V. Brown of the CMS, began his station near Matamata and attracted a young man, named Tarapīpipi, who was the son of a Waikato Chief, Te Waharoa, and a man who took to the message of the Gospel. He learned to read and write in six months and acted as his father's secretary, writing letters on his behalf. He was described by a visitor to the mission as a;

²⁵⁵ Elsmore Bronwyn, 1999, *Mana From Heaven, A Century of Māori Prophets in New Zealand*, Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd. p. 28

²⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 30

²⁵⁷ Orange Claudia, General Ed, 1991, *The People of Many Peaks, The Māori Biographies from The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume 1, 1769 – 1869*, Bridget Willimas Books, Department of Internal Affairs. p.290 ff.

*“Fine, clever, active young man.... most forward in knowledge and most desirous to know. In the absence of Missionaries, he used to take the lead in all school matters.”*²⁵⁸

He was baptised on the 23rd June 1839, and given the name Wiremu Tamihana (William Thompson), and began a life of teaching and preaching in the Tauranga and Matamata districts. Edward Shortland, visiting Waikato in 1842, observed that Tarapīpīpi was

*“The most influential chief of the tribe, exhibiting his fathers mana and persuasiveness in speech, and that he had not quite left his traditional beliefs, But he believed the Christ to be a more powerful Atua, and a better nature, and therefore he no longer dreaded the Atua Māori.”*²⁵⁹

Wiremu Tamihana nurtured Christian precepts into his traditional Māori cultural understanding, and directed his people to follow him. He began to build a new settlement, north of the present day Waharoa, using the Ten Commandments as a rule of life. In March 1839, approximately 300 residents followed their leader, with a school and a chapel erected as well. Late that year fire razed the chapel, several houses and part of the fencing. They community was not deterred, and much bigger and better church and houses were erected. William Colenso made the remark that;

*“It is the largest native built house in New Zealand...big enough to hold up to 1,000 worshippers.”*²⁶⁰

The influence of the written word cannot be refuted, and had taken hold of its latest convert, to impress and to please the messengers of the word. Encounters with Christianity began with a message and a vision of great joy. There was no understanding by the recipients. Instead a period of a decade passed before there was a stirring amongst the indigenous people. By the late 30s it took hold, like a fire in the bracken – the spark came from the written word, supported and followed up by the missionaries, with the help of indigenous leaders who were inspired. They responded to the new life of a new Kingdom, but the Joy soon turned to the wailing and gnashing of teeth.

²⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 291

²⁵⁹ ibid

²⁶⁰ Ibid,

Chapter 6

TE HĀHI MIHINARE – THE SETTLERS CHURCH.

*E kore au e ngaro te purapura i ruia mai i Rangiātea.
I shall not be lost, the seed sown from Rangiātea.*

Te Rauparaha

In this chapter I want to look at the response of the Māori as the settlers began to arrive in their shiploads, and spilling out their cargo at various ports throughout the country. It was not long before Māori were outnumbered. The response was inevitable and aptly put by Melbourne and Milroy as they saw colonisation and confiscation were directly linked, in that, colonisation provided the legal means for confiscation, to meet the settlers demands for land. Underlying the process of European colonisation of Aotearoa was ultimately the aim to absorb or assimilate the Māori into the European knowledge of the true God, civilisation and government. Christianity, commerce and colonisation were confidently expected to bring about what Europeans in the 19th century called the amalgamation of the two races – Māori and Pākeha. Commerce, Christianity and colonisation acted together, to spread civilisation to the Māori like a benevolent infection.²⁶¹

At the signing of the Treaty in 1840, the Māori population was somewhere between 90,000 and 200,000, and there were about 2,000 Pākeha. By 1858, the Pākeha population increased to 51% of the total population, and by 1896 this number went to 94%, while Māori was figured at 6%.²⁶² By 1900 the Māori population stood at 40,000.²⁶³

From the introduction of Christianity in 1814 to 1857 the Church in New Zealand was mainly made up of Māori adherents fashioned in part by the members of the Church Missionary Society who planted the seed. The seed lay dormant in its new soil for a long period. The word mihinare is a transliteration of the word missionary. They attempted to educate Māori in civil etiquette in preparation for their conversion, but failed miserably. Hall reflected;

²⁶¹ Sorrenson, NZJH Vol.9 No.2:105. p.84

²⁶² Green Paul f. ed. *Studies in New Zealand Social Problems*. 2nd Ed; The Dunmore Press, 1994, p.

²⁶³ Orange, Claudia, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Briget Williams Books Limited, Wellington, 1987. P.7.

*“I find it is almost impracticable to make mechanics of them, or teach them the Arts, at New Zealand.”*²⁶⁴

However, William Williams could see that the preparation for the furtherance of the Gospel was to be very gradual as several slaves were found to be more open to impression, and the effect of this will be seen hereafter when the seed sown began to vegetate.²⁶⁵ We read of the ingenuity of the Māori themselves, like Piripi Taumata-ā-kura of the East Coast, and Wiremu Tamihana of Ngāti Haua of Waikato, and a host of other Māori messengers of the Word, as we saw in the last chapter. The Church in New Zealand was for all intents and purposes, a Māori Church. In fact, the Māori Church, formed by the mission to cater for the indigenous needs of the Church Missionary Society, was indeed the Church of England itself. The word mihinare became synonymous for Anglicanism in New Zealand. By 1840, the Māori Churches of the Methodist, Roman Catholic and Anglicans, were all made up of Māori adherents under the administration of the Pākehā missionaries including its karakia (prayers and worship), teaching and ministry training.

The early failure of the Mihinare Church was mainly through the lack of guidance and help, from their benefactor Ruatara, who died four days after Marsden had left them. Their new benefactor, Hongi Hika, had a vision that was a far cry from what Ruatara had in mind, a peaceful settlement surrounded with fields of green gardens. Hongi’s vision was fields covered with dead bodies and the red blood of his enemies.

Marsden’s idea was for the missionaries to become an independent community supplying their own food cupboard. It did not work out that way at all, as they became reliant on local services, and even from communities as far away as Sydney. What Māori wanted more than anything else from their guests was the supply of guns, and the temptation was too great for some of the missionaries. To survive they had to compromise their message of peace. It was imperative to supply the guns. It is so easy to be judgemental on the missionaries who were thousands of miles away from home and their kind. Constantly in danger of being killed themselves, and living under trying conditions where they witnessed, along with their wives, terrifying scenes;

²⁶⁴ Davidson: 1991, p.10

²⁶⁵ William: 1989, p.40.

*“2,000 prisoners, men women and children, but chiefly the latter,’ brought back on canoes from raids, and some were dispatched there and then on the beach and cooked and eaten... Hongi had the audacity to ask Mr Kemp to eat some, and said it was better than pork. A part of one of the women killed the day before by the natives was cooked on the side of the hill at the back of Mr. Kemp’s house. The head, they cut off and rolled down the hill, and several of them amused themselves with throwing large stones at it, until they had dashed it to pieces.”*²⁶⁶

The missionaries and their wives were sorely put to the test, as they tried in vain to follow the policy of civilisation, which was basically the mission of evangelism. They were restricted to the Bay of Islands, and were dependent on their hosts for their food and shelter, with nothing much to offer in return. In the meantime, people of their own nationality arrived who were whalers, traders, and escaped convicts. They came to New Zealand for their own gratification, women, gun trafficking, and the supply of rum. Having no respect or concern for cultural correctness like tapu, they further impaired the mission of the church. The dissension amongst the missioners and their participation in trading did not help their cause either.

Kendall, who was a teacher and farmer, seemed to have the greatest input into the activities of the mission at this particular time, especially in his efforts towards learning the Māori language. He attempted to teach the basics of reading and writing, as well as Christianity to the children, but, without much success. However, he made further progress when he took upon himself to return to England in 1820, accompanied by two Ngāpuhi chiefs, Waikato and Hongi Hika. Kendall, with the help of a linguist Professor Samuel Lee of the CMS, (who also worked with Hongi on several occasions.) produced the first Māori dictionary and grammar, and while there in England, Kendall was ordained.

Meanwhile, Hongi Hika, passed off by Kendal as;

*“A fine, devout Protestant...his behaviour, his finely tattooed face, his conversion made him a sensation in hundreds of London’s leading salons where he was lionised. Everywhere in London, he was treated as a member of the aristocracy and his bearing, Rev. Taylor comments, was very dignified...he was treated as a great man, he assumed the manner of a prince...he charmed the religious world by acting the part of a devout Christian.”*²⁶⁷

²⁶⁶ Ibid, P.33.

²⁶⁷ Vaggioli: 2000, p.36

King George IV gave him a private audience, with many valuable gifts, including a set of armour, and several shotguns. On his return to New Zealand via Sydney, he exchanged all his gifts for 300 muskets and gunpowder.²⁶⁸ Thus, well supplied with arms, Hongi Hika, from December 1821 until his death, 6th March 1828, terrorised, slaughtered and captured thousands of his fellow countrymen, women and children. It was during this time when the missionaries were confined to the Bay of Islands that a;

*“Great body of unhappy slaves from all parts of the country were brought to that spot from which the missionaries were not permitted to move. It was an act which sprung from the worst propensities of sinful men, but like the slave trade on the western coast of Africa, it was to be overruled to the furtherance of the gospel...Several of them both male and female were allowed to live in the mission families as servants, and they appreciated the kindness and commiseration they met with there, which was so different from the severity of their masters. The effect of this will be seen hereafter when the seed sown began to vegetate.”*²⁶⁹

In 1823 Marsden returned to New Zealand and with him he brought the Reverend Henry Williams, who was to be known amongst Māori as Te Karu Wha - Four Eyes, a reference to his wearing spectacles.²⁷⁰ It was at this time that Marsden decided to act precisely and Kendall was asked to leave, for his part in trading with muskets and his wayward interest in a chief's young daughter. The Reverend John Butler, who only arrived in 1819, was also dismissed, accused of being under the influence of alcohol. Under the strong management of Henry Williams, as an ex-naval officer, the mission that had moved to Waimate in 1830 finally became independent of their hosts. They grew their own food and began to take a much more forward movement in terms of evangelism, education and literacy, which was to be the turning point for the indigenous people of the land.

*“The role of the missionaries, particularly Henry Williams, as peacemaker, contributed to their growing status in Māori society.”*²⁷¹

His brother William who brought with him his skills in the Māori language soon joined Henry. With CMS missionary Richard Davis, they produced 400 copies of 31 pages, sections of the Bible, the Lord's Prayer, and seven hymns. These were printed in Sydney, in

²⁶⁸ Ibid, p.37

²⁶⁹ Williams, 1989, p.39ff

²⁷⁰ Te Kaupapa Tikanga Rua, 1986, p.2

²⁷¹ Davidson: 1991, p.11

1827.²⁷² Further missionaries arrived, like Robert Maunsell another linguist, William Colenso the printer and Māori scholar. There was George Clarke, who later became Chief Protector of Aborigines, and men like A.N. Browne, Octavius Hadfield, Richard Taylor, all of who were to prove notable figures as the century advanced. New missions were instituted in the north at Kaitaia and Whangaroa and heading down south at Manukau, Thames, Waikato, Matamata, Rotorua, and Tauranga and further down to the East Coast.²⁷³

For the Southern half of Te Ika ā Maui (North Island), nothing of note took place until 1839 when Mātene Te Whiwhi and his uncle, Tamihana Te Rauparaha of Ōtaki, who were influenced by the Gospel of St. Luke, sailed to Paihia, in the Bay of Islands, to request a missionary for the Kāpiti Coast. In response, Octavius Hadfield answered the call although he was suffering from poor health. He writes, ‘I may as well die at Kāpiti as here’. He walked from Wellington to Kāpiti where he met up with Te Rangihaeata on Mana Island. He arrived at Waikanae on November 18, 1839. His diary tells of his first meeting with Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Raukawa at Tahoramahaurea, an offshore Island of Kāpiti, where the seed for the building of Rangiātea Church was sown.²⁷⁴

So the impact of the missionaries was, to begin with, quite insignificant. The first baptism did not take place until March 1823 by Kendall, to one, Maria Ringa, before she was married to Phillip Tapsell. The other missionaries were not happy, and questioned whether she had a real conversion or was it one of convenience?²⁷⁵ Nine years of missionary toil in New Zealand for one baptism, and with a shadow of doubt cast over the conversion, seems a rather extravagant waste of manpower and resources to say the least, in trying to civilize and convert the indigenous natives. This throws some doubts on the claim made by Melbourne and Milroy earlier about absorbing and assimilating Māori into European knowledge of the one true God, civilisation and government, and falls short of Sorrenson’s alleged spreading of civilisation to the Māori like a benevolent infection. It seems to be a rather a slow moving virus.

²⁷² Elsmore:1999, p.9

²⁷³ Oliver W.H.& B.R. Williams, Ed., 1981, *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Wellington. P.36 ff.

²⁷⁴ Baker, Andre, Second Edition 2003, *Rangiātea, Ko Ahau te Huarahi te Pono me te Ora*, National Library of New Zealand, in Partnership with Te Rōpu Whakahaere o Rangiātea.p.28

²⁷⁵ Davidson: 1991, p.11

The Anglican Church in Australia seems to have considered New Zealand as part of its territory, as the first Anglican Bishop in Australia, W. G. Broughton decided to pay New Zealand a visit in 1838. This was the second movement that came from the church in Australia. He announced that being aware of his Episcopal ministry to the boundaries of Australia, he believed that;

“Every bishop has an inherent right, in virtue of his consecration to officiate episcopally, whenever the good of the church may be promoted by his so doing.”

He then proceeded to ordain Octavius Hadfield as a deacon for New Zealand as well as confirming Māori converts and consecrating churches and burial grounds. He noted the need for a bishop in New Zealand in his report, to carry out its full ministry. In line with this, the CMS also wanted to have a bishop, along with the New Zealand Company who regarded this as an essential part of the church establishment.²⁷⁶ New Zealand had to wait for another four years before Bishop Selwyn arrived to head the Church.

The settlement of New Zealand by Pākehā began in earnest from 1840 onward, after the annexation, the British Government had visions that the new colony would exhibit relationships of a new kind, between settlers and indigenous peoples. The Aborigines Protection Society had as their aim to secure for all men an equality of natural rights. The theory was that colonisation would help civilise the Māori through political amalgamation. Māori and British would live together peacefully in a single political community, shaped to a class structure similar to that of Britain. Late in the year of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Government as official promoter of colonisation in New Zealand accepted The New Zealand Company under Edward Gibbon Wakefield as its agent. The Company had established the principles of systematic colonization and the Company's preparation to receive its settlers in New Zealand, was a mockery of promises made in London. The first 1,000 Wellington settlers were dumped on the Petone beach between sea, swamps, and bush, with little or no shelter for themselves and their goods, and no ground of their own on which to settle. Wakefield's plan was to swiftly establish instant civilisation throughout New Zealand, and in the six years the company landed 9,000 settlers in Taranaki, Nelson, Otago and Canterbury, each area struggled to survive.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 28ff.

²⁷⁷ Oliver & Williams: 1981, p.60.

Māori were cooperative when the new settlements began and even supplied the settlers with food, but they soon became apprehensive as the numbers began to increase. Conflicts took place as settlers demanded their rights, and the first serious conflict erupted at Wairau, where Te Rauparaha denied selling the land, and burnt a hut erected for the surveyors. The Magistrate, H.A. Thompson, and Captain Arthur Wakefield, with a strong-armed party, went out to arrest Te Rauparaha. Twenty-two Europeans and four Māori were killed in the encounter that took place. The account given by Saunders was that the men were untrained, ill disciplined and badly led. While crossing a stream a defective rifle had gone off accidentally, and the new draftees were startled into firing at will. Te Rangihaeata's wife was the first victim to fall and in defence and with more skill, Te Rauparaha and his party quickly put an end to the skirmish. This incident became known in New Zealand history as the Wairau massacre, despite the fact that the Māori were only acting in self-defence. Some regarded this as a victory to Māori as Fitzroy the new Governor held that the Europeans were at fault. He took no action, as he had no troops to carry out any decision he made.²⁷⁸

Soon after this, Hone Heke began to regret that he ever signed the Treaty, as the relations between the British Government and the New Zealand Company in the early 1840s demonstrated the failure of both to stand by their declared principles, and showed the weakness of humanitarianism in the face of commercial interest. Self-interest, greed and bad management all played their part. Hone Heke attacked the Russell flagstaff in protest of losing his mana and control, which led to the Northern disturbances.

According to Allan Davidson, the churches' involvement with the settlements throughout the country, varied. The Reverend John MacFarlane from the Church of Scotland, and the Reverend J.F. Churton from the Church of England, came with the first group that arrived in Wellington in 1840. The latter ended up in Auckland and was appointed as chaplain by Hobson, and established the first Anglican Church for the settlers. After the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Mihinare Church (the Anglican Māori Church), took upon themselves to evangelise and spread the gospel by the use of Te Reo Māori, along with the cultivation of crops, and the building of flour mills. With the growth of teaching, using the Māori language, Māori became a literate nation. As noted in the previous chapter the power of the written word was easily grasped by Māori, once they understood the symbols

²⁷⁸ Walker:1990, p.102.

presented in writing, as they were great artists themselves, in carving and the weaving of patterns in their clothing. Those who were trained at the mission schools became the bearers of the word through the written word into their communities, which preceded their European counterparts – the missionaries. As in the case of William Williams, arriving at Poverty Bay in 1840 to establish a station there, he found quite a few people could already read and write. The Reverend Johannes Riemenschneider, discovered a young man by the name of Te Whiti-o-Rongomai, who could recite whole passages of scripture from memory.²⁷⁹ He became the prophet of passive resistance at Parihaka and faced extreme provocation and violence from the government over confiscated lands in Taranaki in 1865.

The proliferation of the written word was to be the first infection to take hold of a nation, since its inception, by a people who had communicated by word of mouth for centuries. The wonder of literature was to be the most significant tool to make an impact on the Māori culture and its people. It was truly as Melbourne, Milroy and Sorrenson had predicted, that commerce, Christianity and colonisation, has acted together to spread civilisation to the Māori, like a benevolent infection. The invasion of Māori culture had begun in earnest and the virus was to spread rapidly through the country.

What also helped Māori in grasping the message of the Good News were two other factors. One was the availability of portions of scripture and translations of the Prayer Book, which while not plentiful, were available in parts. The other was their computerized brainpower that had the ability to memorise the spoken word with very little effort, having being trained since birth to remember, stories, history, genealogy, and songs – each brain was a walking library in itself. Henry Williams, met a Raukawa chief Te Kuru, at his marae Papakutu Pa, close to the mouth of the Ōtaki river. He was able to sing many hymns, and had composed his own tunes for them, to fit the words. Not only that, but he also began the Morning Service without the aid of the written word, and Williams believed that he would have gone through with ease had he not stopped him. In appreciation, he gave the chief a primer and two prayer books only to discover he could not read.

The chief had used his internal computer and imprinted the hymns and the Morning Service on his brain. This was normal for him to do so. It was obvious literacy was a magic way of

²⁷⁹ Elsmore: 2000, P.28.

conveying thought patterns other than by word of mouth. One could imagine a large gathering of Māori putting this theory to the test. How could one convey one's thought without speaking it, except by putting patterns on paper that could be deciphered by another? This indeed was beyond Māori comprehension. The test proved to be conclusive, and the final judgement was that the God of the Pākeha was indeed more powerful than that of the Māori. When the mystery of the written word was explained and learnt, the hunger for the new tool was insatiable. Hundreds, even thousands were recorded to have made themselves available to the learning of the new art. It was the in-thing; one must have it to be up with the play, and one cannot afford to be left behind and loose mana.

The idea of possessing a Pākeha was no longer a novelty, as it meant learning to read or write or even having a flour mill, and soon made a tribe better off than others. James Melbourne is a good example of this, an engineer and boat builder living in Whakatane alongside other settlers. He was invited to Ruatoki to mill trees for a Flourmill. All his helpers were the local Māori people cutting timber for the mill. The locals were quite pleased with their Pākeha, and decided to find a woman for their Pākeha to retain him. The chiefs, Tūtakangahau, Rangiaho and Pukeruhu trekked their way to Ruatāhuna to fetch Mōtoi Peata, who was eighteen at the time. They brought her back to Ruatoki and she was given to James as his woman. This was in 1864,²⁸⁰ the beginnings of another Māori family amalgamating with Pākeha, and so supporting the 'benevolent infection' of the colonisation of Aotearoa. There were many other such unions throughout the land.

By the early 30's, missionaries from the Northern stations were sought after from the to go and teach them. This was the case of Octavious Hadfield who went to Ōtaki. The teaching of reading and writing in Māori, was a planned strategy of the CMS Mihinare who supplied Bible and Prayer Book material only, to capture the market before secular reading became easily available to the Māori. Thus one can understand how scriptural materials themselves, became highly valuable to Māori. The Bible itself written in Māori became the library and was looked upon as a great treasure and possessing great mana.

The second group of missionaries were also skilful in the building of houses, farming and household management. After the 1830s, as they became more efficient in their agricultural skills, they were less dependent on the Māori for their survival and became much more

²⁸⁰ Melbourne: Private letters written by grandfather, George son of James.

prominent teachers of new knowledge. They also became better known as peacemakers, due to Henry Williams saving the life of a chief named Pango, captured from Te Arawa, and returned him to Tauranga. As the missionaries released Māori slaves back to their tribes, their role as peacemakers became entrenched.²⁸¹ The new Pākeha God was becoming more acceptable and pleasing as an alternative to war and killing. The CMS Mihinare was showing this by having a source of revenue, as they began to have their own agriculture base at Waimate, brought their own ships they began trading with other tribes. The Pākeha God became more popular, as Māori saw how blessed they were, with greater power and wealth, and sufficient amounts of resources, ships, guns, and other goodies.²⁸²

However, even in the proclamation of the Gospel, the Māori catechists and teachers were never guaranteed their safety, as in the case of Te Manihera Poutama and Kereopa a fellow teacher. In 1847, both of these men of Ngāti Ruanui tribe, decided to dispute with those who were still antagonistic towards the British Government, as well as to proclaim the Gospel, and insisted that the people accept it. The people they visited were their previous traditional enemies. Both men were killed as utu for previous killings in Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Some years later, a Chief, an evangelist and a teacher of Ngāti Tūwharetoa tribe, William Tauri, made this statement on the death of the two catechists;

*“That although a minister or teacher might be taken away, yet that event, however deplorable, would not hinder the spread of the Gospel; a minister...was like a lofty kahikatea tree full of fruit, which it sheds on every side around, causing a thick grove of young trees to spring up; so that although the parent tree may be cut down, its place is more than supplied by those which proceed from it.”*²⁸³

Utu was not sought in payment, but from amongst those who were involved in the confrontation, came Piripi Wiremu Hanataua of Ngāti Ruanui, Te Manihera's replacement who lived with Ngāti Tūwharetoa and built a church at Poutu.

As guns became more readily available to other tribes, it had the effect of distributing power evenly over the tribes, and with the passing away of Hone Heke, the wars between tribes diminished rapidly. This allowed free access for the new religion, to wear down Māori customs and traditions. Men had to put away their wives except for one, slaves were

²⁸¹ Walker: 1990, p.84.

²⁸² Ibid, p.86.

²⁸³ Taylor, Richard, 1855, Te Ika a Maui or New Zealand and its Inhabitants, London, p.566

²⁴ Walker: 1990, p.86

disallowed, and the tohunga (expert) and his mana (power) were gradually ignored, as was the controlling force of the teaching of tapu (restrictions). The role of the chief as a leader amongst his people was slowly taken away, as the control by the Pākehā institutions took its place.²⁸⁴ The changes made by the missionaries, cut across the arts and crafts of Māori. This will be dealt with in another chapter. The settlers were arriving by the thousands and demanding their rights and share of the new country, as promised by the New Zealand Company. The Treaty of Waitangi gave the right for a government to be formed in New Zealand. One of the signatory's to the Treaty was a Northern chief Nopera Pana-Kareao, who had dealings with the CMS mission. He was known to have stated his understanding of what the Treaty was all about when he said;

"The shadow of the land is to the Queen, but the substance remains to us."

At the time of signing, Māori were not under any threat of any kind, as they outnumbered the settlers a hundred to two. They did not feel that they were signing anything away, let alone conceding substantive sovereignty. All the Māori who signed it felt quite confident about their mana staying with them. However, by January of the next year, Nopera changed his mind as he witnessed the changes that were taking place and could see how;

*"The substance of the land can go to the Pākehā, the shadow only will be the portion of the Māori" ...*²⁸⁵

...as the Settlers poured out of their ships by the thousands. Māori vision of settlers helping to build Aotearoa together by the signing of the Treaty, vanished, with the onslaught of colonialism and as land began to change hands. The order for the new era, by which Māori had hopes of working out a new partnership with its new migrants, was shattered. Resentment by Māori towards settlers began to fester, which was very natural as disputable land sales began to emerge. This feeling of anger was strengthened by other examples, made known by Māori who had travelled the world. One such person was a chief Pirikawau who had witnessed the treatment of South African Blacks in Cape Town in 1854. He testified that they were treated like slaves, with no standing, among the whites, and warned that the same could happen to the Māori.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁵ Davidson:1991, p.27

²⁸⁶ Elsmore:1985, p.29

²⁸⁶ Elsmore:1985, p.29

The hunger of the settlers for land was insatiable, and the Land Wars of the 60s justified the qualms that Ruatara had expressed, when the ship left Sydney with Samuel Marsden and the other missionaries. Land was the focus of economic and political confrontation between the new formed partnership of Māori and Pākehā particularly so by the missionaries who had great concern about their converts not getting a fair deal, and were continuously embarrassed by the bad behaviour of some Europeans. These were mainly people who were ex-prisoners, and settlers who disapproved of the Treaty of Waitangi, and saw the missionaries as the originators of their problems. Even the missionaries themselves were not totally free of self-indulgence, as many of them bought large quantities of land for themselves and their families, looking well into the future.²⁸⁷ Land was required by both cultures, creating the tension between them. For Māori, the spiritual implications far outweighed the mere usefulness for livelihood, as land was Papatuanuku herself. That is, Mother Earth, sacred and part of Māori who share her genealogy; and Māori, as care-takers of the land which is held in trust for the tribe, not by one person for one person, but by all for the tribe. Among Māori, no one person of Māori owns the land. To lose the land is to lose the tribal identity and the reason for their existence. Thus, the terrible fear for the survival of the tribe. The loss of land to the settlers was so great, that a meeting was held not to sell land and this was the beginning of the Māori King Movement in Waikato.²⁸⁸

THE SETTLERS' CHURCH

The arrival of Bishop Selwyn in 1842 to head the Anglican Church saw a shift of attitude within the Church. Selwyn mirrored the traditional Anglo-Catholic in the wearing of ecclesiastical apparel, the use of candles and crucifixes on the altar, which were viewed by the C.M.S. members as;

*“Popish innovations.”*²⁸⁹

His reluctance and delays, to ordain Māori candidates to the priesthood, led to strained relationships with the CMS, and delayed the development of indigenous leadership. Despite the fact that they were competent in church law, worship and knew their Bible well and only lacked in their classical education in not knowing Hebrew and Greek. The unwillingness and hesitancy was deep rooted within the mission itself, to absorb and to assimilate the Māori into the European knowledge of the true God, to civilize them, and to

²⁸⁷ Grace:1949: p.424

²⁸⁸ Elsmore:1985, p.30

²⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 29

govern and control them. Their mission was to change them from heathenism to Christianity, and from barbarism to civilization.

Rota Waitoa, of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Maru and Te Arawa descent, was such a case. It was said that he was born at Waitoa near Morrinsville, had migrated south with Ngāti Raukawa and was one of Octavia Hadfield's converts. He took the name Rota (Lot) when he was baptised in 1841. When Selwyn was on Kāpiti Island visiting Te Rauparaha in 1842, Rota volunteered his services to go along with Selwyn. For twelve years Rota Waitoa was his friend and travelling companion, and as a student of St. John's College was established at Waimate North from 1843 and was then transferred to Auckland a year after.

He was described as a;

*“Man of integrity and exceptional intelligence, possessing a warm and generous nature.”*²⁹⁰

Part of his training was to serve as the College butler, he also acted as the quartermaster store. He was promoted as master for the department of the young Māori boys' school, and won the Abraham Scholar Award and became a catechist. Rota was very cognizant of the pain and depravity of his people, who were slowly being disadvantaged, and losing control of their land to the settlers. He wrote to Selwyn in 1847;

“My heart is heavy; the Governor is pushing the people too hard over the land.”

The same heavy heart was expressed to William Williams after the defeat of the Hauhau in the Waiapu valley. Then in 1861 Rota explained to Archdeacon Charles Abraham, the Māori view of whenua (land), as he guided him through the Taranaki district. Rota believed that the people's spirit would be renewed through the gathering of communities of faith. As the people's spirit was crucified over these years, Rota believed it could be resurrected through the saving actions of Christ. To this end, he pleaded with Williams to ordain more Māori priests in their own communities, and he gave his own life to nurture new church communities.²⁹¹

²⁹⁰ Orange, Claudia, General Editor, 1990, *The People of Many Peaks, 1769-1869*, Bridget Williams Books, Department of Internal affairs, GP Print Limited, Wellington. p.315.

²⁹¹ Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, 2002, *Te Hunga Tapu o Te Hahi Mihinare Booklet*, Printed at Taapapa Rotorua.p.55.

He was ordained deacon 22 May 1853. The CMS appointed him as a minister to the CMS station at Te Kawakawa, Te Araroa, East Coast. It was at this period that it was noted by the church how many of the Ngāti Porou Māori adherents were losing interest in Christianity, being encouraged by the increased contact with European traders and settlers. Missionaries saw this as a dangerous influence. Waitoa also received slight resistance from Māori, in particular from one Ngāti Porou chief Te Houkāmau, who was twice denied baptism by William Williams. Houkāmau resented having a Māori from another tribe taking the lead among his own people. However, Waitoa eventually won him over, and with his help built St. Stephen's church at Te Araroa, and possibly St. Barnabus at Hicks Bay. Waitoa's appointment was seen as an urgent need to help stop the fall away and provide supervision and spiritual guidance for the Māori work. It was not until the Waiapū Diocese was created in 1858, with its new Bishop William Williams, that Rota Waitoa was finally ordained on March 4 1860, at Gisborne. He had been 18 years as a deacon, before he became the first Māori Anglican priest. A training period of eighteen years is indeed a very long time for any one candidate to be trained in the ministry, particularly during very trying times for the church. The control and governance was still very much under the bigotry of Pākehā within the church, despite the fact that the majority of church members were clearly Māori. This was to manifest itself in other ways, and remained that way for almost another 150 years. Ranginui Walker cuts through the niceties of colonialism in their assumed superiority, as he sees the missionaries as;

*“The cutting edge of colonisation. Their mission was to convert the Māori from heathenism to Christianity and from barbarism to civilisation. Underlying this mission were ethnocentric attitudes of racial and cultural superiority.”*²⁹²

This attitude of displaying a superior attitude had the unfortunate effect of clouding the missionaries' judgement of Māori culture. The same could be said of the Pākehā community. This did not help bring about better understanding between the two cultures. Instead it drove a deeper wedge into the heart of Māori spirituality despite the good works the missionaries did. Remarks like that which Colenso made, when he said he thought that the gods of the Māori were nothing more than imaginary beings.

The Reverend Robert Maunsell, Māori language translator considered Māori waiata (songs) as filthy and debasing, and Williams wrote that Māori were governed by the Prince of

²⁹² Walker: 1990, P. 85.

Darkness in all their movements, and told a Māori that his people were wrong in all their ways. Compelled by this feeling of superiority, it was only natural in their thinking that they had the right to impose their ways on these uncivilised children, who needed all the help they could get. It was therefore their duty to their God to convert these wayward people, and feed them on the truth and get rid of their so-called filthy ways and stupid beliefs of mythological and legendary proportions. Māori spirituality had no meaning, and Māori would be far better off without it.²⁹³

So the cultural invasion began, and the first step was to substitute Māori spirituality with Christian spirituality, from a Northern Hemisphere Pakeha point of view. The exchange of one culture for another, one worldview upon another, involves cultural incursion. This was how it was seen and named by Paulo Freire from his assessment derived on;

*“A parochial view of reality, a static perception of the world, and the imposition of one worldview upon another. It implies the superiority of the invader and the inferiority of those who are invaded.”*²⁹⁴

The proliferation of this narrow view had shocking effects on the indigenous people, and as a result, brought about the slow decrease of Māori involvement in the church, and the turning to other spiritual leadership.

THE CONSTITUTION

When Bishop Selwyn first set foot in New Zealand in 1842, the Māori Church, Te Hāhi Mihinare, was well entrenched and ministered to by the missionaries. By this time most of the missionaries had won over the confidence and reverence of the people amongst whom they lived and worked. People like the William brothers, Mr. Chapman in Rotorua, Mr. Brown in Matamata, Mr. Ashwell in Taupo, Richard Taylor at Whanganui, Robert Maunsell at Port Waikato, William Puckey at Kaitiāia, and many others.²⁹⁵ Selwyn was young and keen, and he was inspired by his ability to speak Māori, and preached in the language immediately upon his arrival. Despite this, it did not help him in cementing the good relationship with Māori that Samuel Marsden, Henry Williams and others had achieved. This led Selwyn to reconsider his original vision of having one church. After ten years of

²⁹³ Elsmore: 1985, P. 15-16.

²⁹⁴ Paulo Freire, p.129

²⁹⁵ Davidson: 1991. p.11

working alongside his colleagues in the CMS and with the missionary clergy, he concluded that;

*“It was harder than he thought to plant the seeds of a new religion in the hearts of the Māori and harder still to unite settler and Māori in a single Church.”*²⁹⁶

He then redirected his interest to the setting up of the Settler Church and on May 14th 1857, he summoned a statutory conference held at St. Stephen’s Church at Mission Bay in Auckland. It lasted for five weeks. Selwyn found that laymen wanted to take an active part in church affairs. Leading politicians attended the meeting with the Premier E.W.Stafford, Henry Tancred, William Swainson and Frederick Whitaker, along with the clergy.²⁹⁷ The end result of this gathering was that The Branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand was established. The constitution included the provincial national structure with its General Synod and Diocese with the representation of Bishops, Clergy and Laity, with each house voting separately and thereby able to exercise a veto over each other. The constitution was viewed by some in England as a radical novelty because of the Lay participation. It was by its very nature a document for the Settler Church. For forty-three years since Samuel Marsden had established Te Hāhi Mihinare, The Missionary Church had consisted mainly of Māori adherents, yet there was not one Māori signature attached to the Constitution of 1857.

This was constituted without consultation or involvement of the larger portion of the Church, Te Hāhi Mihinare. The formulation was a structure devised by Pākehā for Pākehā and to meet the Settlers’ needs. Up to that time the diocesan Synod in Waiapū was almost entirely conducted in Māori, but by 1869 it was noted;

*“Synods were now held in the English language, which virtually precluded the attendance of Māori Clergymen. Consequently Māori Church Boards were established to have control of Māori religious matters.”*²⁹⁸

The missionary clergy believed strongly that the interests of the Māori Church were best safeguarded by the CMS, which led the commission to leave out the Māori Church from the constitutional discussions. At the first General Synod in 1859 Bishop Selwyn expressed some doubts of the future stability of the Native Church, and asked Synod to consider the

²⁹⁶ Te Kaupapa Tikanga Rua, p.3.

²⁹⁷ Davidson:1991, p.31

²⁹⁸ ibid, p.130

best mode of, drawing our Native brethren into closer bonds of Christian fellowship with the colonists. The same problem, expressed in various ways, was to continue to haunt the Church for almost 150 years, until the 1857 Constitution was changed in 1992. Selwyn also expressed his concern that it might be found impossible to carry on a double government for the Colonial and Missionary Church. The 1992 Constitution made way for three governing bodies to exist, which will be dealt with in Chapter 8.

THE KING MOVEMENT

In the year 1952, Bishop Holland of the Waikato Diocese appointed Reverend Wī Te Tau Huata as Missioner in the King Country District and Diocese of Waikato. Bishop and priest had met before, in a rugby match in Italy, played between friendly forces during World War II. Wī was chaplain to the Māori Battalion at the time. Each happened to be playing on the wing, opposite each other. Wī was instructed to;

“Put the winger out, he’s a padre too.”

True to his orders, Wī did his job and the future bishop’s leg was sufficiently injured to stop his play in that particular match. When Bishop Holland wrote a letter to invite Wī as a Missionary, the Bishop told him;

*“This is going to be a bigger job than the Māori Battalion. I want you to put the Pākehā and the Māori together, and put 12 Missioners in place, and then leave.”*²⁹⁹

It was not long before Wī found out how big or challenging the job was going to be. Bishop Holland and Bishop Pānapa accompanied Wī on their first welcome at Parewahawaha, Kihikihi in Te Awamutu. They were greeted with the following words;

*“Haere mai te hāhi nāna nei mātou i tahu
Welcome the church that burnt us.”*³⁰⁰

It was not a very auspicious beginning for a new missionary and one can only imagine the pressure that was put onto the guests, as they wondered what it was that they had stumbled into.

²⁹⁹ Richard Spence, 1994, *Whakaaria Mai; The Biography of Canon Wiremu Wi Te Tau Huata*, The Dunmore Press Ltd. p.83

³⁰⁰ Ibid, p.85

The hosts were referring to an incident that took place during the Land Wars, particularly an incident at Rangiaowhia when General Cameron's Forces invaded Waikato in 1863. The repercussions of the invasion were devastating for the work of the church with the Hāhi Mihinare and other Māori work. Wherever the fighting took place, mission posts had to be forsaken and the workers were pulled out. The church was caught up in the politics of war and which side to be on. Selwyn, while he supplied chaplains to the troops, ministered to them himself, and Māori saw him as a turncoat, betraying the cause of Māori in trying to defend and keep their land. At Rangiaowhia, on 21 February 1864, the day was Sunday and the local people were at church, mainly elderly people and children. It was understood that Christian Māori would not fight and did not expect Pākehā troops to fight either.

Furthermore, Rangiaowhia was not a fortified position.³⁰¹ General Cameron had The Forest Rangers and the 65th Battalion, (1100 in number) to destroy the supplies stored at Rangiaowhia.³⁰² They attacked the building, and rifle fire kept the congregation down except for one elderly man who had managed to emerge to indicate that they were surrendering. He was shot and the building was set alight, and all those inside were burnt alive, including two daughters of the Te Arawa chief Kereopa Te Rau, who afterwards sought retribution for this violent act of war.³⁰³ Wī Huata then understood why they were welcomed with the words, 'Welcome the church that burnt us.'

Rusden wrote;

*"Of what avail was it to preach peace to the Māoris, and tell them to be merciful, when a British force, commanded by a General, and accompanied by a Bishop, burnt women and children in a Māori house?"*³⁰⁴

After all those years of working amongst the Māori people in Waikato and Taranaki, and earning their trust and obedience, the goodwill was shattered, all because of wanting to help out fellow-soldiers at war. There was no doubting Selwyn's popularity with his clergy and people, and because of this, he accompanied the British soldiers everywhere. He saw it as his duty. It was only natural that Māori would tend to look at him not as their friend, as he

³⁰¹ King Michael, 2003, *History of New Zealand*, Published by Penguin Group. P. 215

³⁰² Vaggioli: 2000, p.191

³⁰³ Walker: 1990, p. 124

³⁰⁴ Vaggioli: 2000, p.191

claimed, but worse; he also lived with the enemy. Selwyn, not only lost their affection, but earned their intense hatred, and repercussions were yet to come against the church, not only because of the action taken by Cameron, but also of Selwyn's presence amongst them.

The Waikato invasion ended on March 30, 1864 when Brigadier General Carey and 700 extra men arrived to join up with a force of 1650 soldiers that had encircled a quickly erected pa, as their enemy made their last stand at a place called Ōrākau. The remnant force of 300 Māori, including women, had kept the British forces at bay for three days despite the inclusion of heavy artillery. They had no water, little food and little ammunition. On 1st April, after heavy artillery fire had devastated the pa the Māori were requested to surrender. The reply came;

*“Ka whawhai tonu mātou mō ake ake.
We will fight to the death.”*

The next day, April 2, defences were mined and part of the palisades blown up, followed by an attack through the breach by a detachment of soldiers, but they were driven back and the fort held. At 4pm, in a block formation;

“ With women and chiefs in the middle, the tight group coolly left the pa and moved through the soldiers of the 40th Regiment's lines. As they descended the slope, several natives leapt on the enemy and clubbed some of them to death.... others realised that the Māori were escaping and cried out; 'to arms', but it was too late...The chiefs were able to escape but many men and women were killed.” 305

Again, that poignant call of,

‘Welcome the church that burnt us.’

Following the event at Ōrākau, the Hauhau uprising took place in Whanganui April 6, 1864 when a company of soldiers were attacked and seven were killed and some were wounded. This brought elation to the Taranaki Māori and many joined the movement, believing that the gods had turned against the Pākehā. Five extra leaders were required and appointed. One of them was Kereopa Te Rau, who had lost his daughters in the fire at Rangiaowhia and who believed that the church collaborated with the British Army, so he was seeking utu. A month later Kereopa was at Ōpōtiki recruiting converts to the Hauhau, the political-

³⁰⁵ Ibid, p.192

religious movement. The Anglican missionary, Carl Volkner, returning from Auckland, was captured and charged as a spy for the government. They found him guilty and he was executed. The other Anglican missionary, Grace, who was with Volkner, was also captured and tried, but was freed. This action by Kereopa was all the government needed as

*“An excuse to exact a rapacious penalty against Whakatōhea.... it mattered not that the perpetrators of Volkner’s execution came from elsewhere, the Whakatōhea, (including their tribal neighbours,) bore the additional unwarranted penalty of confiscation of 69,200 hectares of their land for military settlers.”*³⁰⁶

Welcome the church that burnt us.

It was an ominous welcome for The Reverend Canon Wī Huata. Like previous missionaries, he had to swallow his pride and through humility and hard work, along with his team of workers, face prejudice from both Māori and Pākehā. They worked hard, and slowly made inroads to the hearts of the lost Anglicans in the Waikato Diocese, and with the Waikato People. It was a proud moment for Kahungunu when he was appointed as a member of the King Korokī Te Rata Māhuta Council, and played a major role at the Coronation of Te Arikini Dame Te Atairangi Kaahu on May 23, 1966, as well as the funeral of King Korokī.³⁰⁷

At the age of 59, Wī had a serious stroke that resulted in blindness. In 1973, Wī left Waikato to return to his people in Kahungunu, as Vicar of Wairoa-Mōhaka. He is not forgotten in Waikato; whenever Waikato are manuhiri in Kahungunu, their whaikōrero will be;

*“Kei hea koe e Wī? Ko Waikato tēnei a whanga atu ki a koe e Wī.
Where are you Wī? This is Waikato waiting for you to return.”*³⁰⁸

The Invasion of Waikato resulted not only in death and loss of land, but also deep suffering, anguish and hatred, over the atrocities of the innocent, not only at Rangiaowhia but elsewhere during the Land Wars. No doubt the reaction of some Māori by the killing of the missionaries, Volkner and Whiteley, indicated the rejection by some Māori of missionary

³⁰⁶ Walker: 1990, p.131

³⁰⁷ Spence: 1994, p.118

³⁰⁸ Ibid, p.122

Christianity, as pointed out by Alan Davidson.³⁰⁹ But this was not shared by all, despite the welcome given to Te Hāhi Mihinare ninety years after the incident;

“Welcome the church that burnt us”.

Tarapīpipi Te Waharoa was chosen as the next chief for his tribe Ngāti Haua, he was already a Christian through the ministry work of Alfred Brown. He was baptised with the name William Thompson. He established a new settlement on Christian principles, which he called Tāpiri at Peria on a hill above Matamata. Bishop Selwyn and other well-known settlers were deeply impressed by the quality of schooling, medical care and the general administration of the settlement.

The demand for land was enormous by the New Zealand settlers, and Tamihana was exploring ways for the two races to live in harmony, according to the Treaty. He was not the originator of the King Movement, but when he found in Deuteronomy 17.15b the instructions to; ‘Choose: one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee.’³¹⁰ This gave him the vision to further the King Movement, and saw no conflict between the King Movement and the English monarchy. He pointed out to the Governor that his desire for the establishment of a king was not disloyalty to the Queen, but to put an end to land feuds. His ideals were for the peaceful union and civilisation of the Māori, under the control of Christian chiefs. Religion, love and the law were the catchwords of his political doctrine.’

³¹¹ Gore-Brown and his Ministers rebuffed his request, which was looked upon as a rebellious act.

Wiremu Tamihana earned the title Kingmaker. He created the first of the Waikato kings. He tried to mediate during the land wars, and was forced to take up arms in defence of his own land and people. He tried to mediate during the invasion of Waikato but was ignored. He wrote many letters to the government and the colonial authorities, advocating a just provision for both races. He dreamed of a Kingdom of God for his people both Māori and Pākehā. His conversion was thorough.

³⁰⁹ Davidson: 1991, p.43.

³¹⁰ Ko te Paipera Tapu, 1992

³¹¹ Grace: 1992, p.448

For Māori Mihinare (Anglican), the conflict for them was either to join their families and tribe, or remain with the church, as was so for the missionaries themselves. An example of this is cited by N.V. Hall at the mission station of Te Papa, at Tauranga when A.N. Brown opened his station as a refuge for white women and children, and British troops were stationed close by. Brown invited the British officers for Holy Communion on the night before the attack on Gate Pa, April 28 1864. Following the battle, a few days later it was with sadness that he buried all of his guests but one.³¹²

On the Māori side we have two stories, of Hēni Te Kiri Karamu of Te Arawa and Henare Wiremu Taratoa of Ngai Te Rangi of Tauranga, both involved with the defence of Gate Pa. Hēni, who fought alongside her brother and members of her tribe, is remembered by the Anglican church every year on April 30 as a compassionate heroine during the battle at Gate Pa, where;

*“ During a lull in the conflict, she crept down to where the officer, and other soldiers lay wounded and offered them water to drink out of a tin can.”*³¹³

Taratoa, a student at St John’s College, a mission teacher and a Lay Reader of the church serving under Bishop Selwyn, is known to have drawn up the ‘orders for the day’ on how to conduct themselves during the battle, which was handed over to Colonel Greer, the British commander, at the behest of the chief Rawiri Puhiraiki.³¹⁴ Taratoa survived the attack on Pukehinahina, at Gate Pa, but was found dead at Te Ranga where the Māori defendants regrouped. Pages from his Bible were found on his person that were the orders of the day for their conduct during the battle, concluding with Paul’s words;

*“If thine enemy hunger feed him, if he thirsts, give him drink.”*³¹⁵

Apparently it was Bishop Selwyn, who supported the version that it was Taratoa who performed the compassionate act of giving water to the wounded officer there. When Bishop Selwyn returned to England in 1867, he placed a stained glass window in the private chapel of his palace in Lichfield, commemorating Taratoa’s act at Gate Pa .

³¹² Hall N.V.,1981, *I Have Planted: A Biography of Alfred Nesbit Brown*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, p. 209

³¹³ Booth: 1996, p.140

³¹⁴ Ibid, p.229

³¹⁵ Davidson: 1991, p.43

The Land Wars were not over yet as Te Ua Haumene and his Pai Mārire teaching took hold of a syncretised movement in Taranaki, which promised them liberation from the Pākeha oppression. Te Ua based his thinking alongside the thoughts found in Scripture, especially the Psalms of David, and the story of the Hebrews freed from bondage. Pai Mārire would give Māori the spiritual power over their aggressors. By 1866 the uprising of Pai Mārire in Whanganui and Taranaki, were contained and laid waste which;

*“Led to many dying of starvation, and long-enduring anger.”*³¹⁶

The clash shifted to the Bay of Plenty in Ōpōtiki, the East Coast and Gisborne, as Pai Mārire swept eastward. The death of Volkner at Ōpōtiki brought skirmishes between Pai Mairire and Kupapa (Friendly Māori) parties. The conflict culminated at Waerenga-a-Hika in Gisborne in November 1865, where 400 Pai Marire followers were taken captives to Chatham Islands. One of those arrested, without trial, was Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki, a Kūpapa himself at one stage, trained in a missionary school, and an apt student of the scriptures. Te Kooti will be a major figure in the next chapter.

In summary then, the pressure for land began with the skirmish at Wairau with Te Rauparaha, when he disputed the land claim by Captain Arthur Wakefield in 1843 and because Pākeha were killed at that commotion, it was known in New Zealand history as the Wairau massacre. By 1858 the settler population surpassed the Māori population of 56,000, and the Taranaki settlers questioned why Māori alone should own 800,000 hectares. According to them the Māori had far too much land and Gore Brown was determined to get land by fair means, if not, then by any means.³¹⁷ Governor Grey’s justification for his invasion of the Waikato was based on rumours of Waikato tribes planning an ‘indiscriminate slaughter’ of the Pākeha in Auckland. This was declared at the General Assembly which met in October 1863. General Cameron’s forces invaded Waikato on July 12 1863.

The emergence of vigorous Māori religious movements at this time represented a rejection of the missionary Churches rather than of Christianity itself. This was seen in the execution of a CMS missionary, C.S.Volkner by Māori in 1865, because of his supposed association

³¹⁶ King Michael, 2003, The Penguin History of New Zealand, Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd, Auckland, p.218

³¹⁷ Walker 1990, p.113

with some of the atrocities Māori had suffered, and his actions as a government informant or spy.

The interweaving of Biblical, particularly Old 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, Tūranganui. Te Kooti, imprisoned on false charges, escaped from the 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 Ringatū Church with its use of the Psalms, monthly worship and the reinforcement of Māori values of whānau, and indigenous culture. Te Whiti, together with Tohu, in face of land confiscation 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 Māori responded to the pressures that they faced. The repeated accusation brought against the missionaries was;

*“That we came to this country and taught them (the Māori) to lift up their eyes to heaven while we ourselves kept our own turned to the land.”*³¹⁸

The gospel that Marsden helped to introduce contributed to Māori becoming British subjects, but the results of this were often disastrous for Māori. Colenso in 1868 reflecting on the serious depopulation among Māori 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 a European.”*³¹⁹

By this stage it was rather too late and there was no stopping the immigrants. 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 way in which Māori took the gospel into their own culture on Māori

³¹⁸ Davidson & Lineham: 1989, p.57

³¹⁹ Colenso: 1868, p.75

terms. While Māori had become British subjects they retained their strong sense of identity as Māori. The gospel that they acquired reinforced this through the variety of forms of Māori Christianity that they adopted. Some of these were aligned with the missionary Churches, while others were, in missionary terms, heterodox. Māori 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 Māori in the nineteenth century was dynamic and complex.

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s missionaries noted that many Māori 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 that encouraged Māori 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 Māori to the priesthood delayed the development of indigenous leadership in the context of their new world. The two worlds tried to blend in with one another, with one side demanding more particularly the possession of land by browbeating tactics, broken promises and at times ignoring the plight of the Māori world. It became lawful under the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852. This Act established six provincial councils, a General Assembly, and an Upper House nominated by the Crown. To qualify to vote one had to have freehold land of ten pounds in town or five pounds in the country. This effectively disqualified the majority of Māori whose land was still under customary tribal land.³²⁰

In 1854, when the General Assembly met a white minority government was successfully established, while the Native Affairs was put under the control of Governor Grey. The institutionalisation of racism at the very beginning of democracy in New Zealand, was the seed of conflict, was entrenched and continued between Māori and Pākehā in the North Island and the colonial plundering which followed. What was yet to be achieved was to transfer power from the Governor to the Cabinet Ministers.

Māori developed their own political structures, notably through the King movement in the central North Island, as they attempted to withstand Pākehā pressure on their land. The

³²⁰ Walker: 1990, p.112 ff

outbreak of war in Taranaki in 1860, following an illegal land purchase by the Crown, prompted a vigorous defence of Māori rights by leading Anglicans. The Waikato war that began in 1863, however, resulted in little support for Māori. Māori assertion of sovereignty and the defence of their land were 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 Māori, hence they were unable to act as mediators or peacemakers.

To have a greater appreciation of this momentous development one needs to look briefly at the history and growth of Māori, 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 Ruatara and his northern clan members, who wanted to bring to their iwi, new technology that would enhance their lives. The CMS mission (translated and became better known as Te Hāhi Mihinare, or The Missionary Church), was to convert Māori and to civilise them, which itself would eventually lead to their Christianisation.³²¹

By the early 1840's the Māori Church, Te Hāhi Mihinare, was well established. Churches and Schools were being set up with great enthusiasm. In return Māori became more and more proficient in commercial trading both nationally and internationally. The success of Te Hāhi Mihinare was largely due to the fact that those who spread the word of God were Māori, they used the Māori language, and were left to develop methods which were pertinent to their people.³²² Tino rangatiratanga was working, and meeting the demands of the people of that time. The spiritual seed was truly planted into the soil of Aotearoa, and Māori response was emerging in different forms and ways. They battled through the political field of both the church and the ruling body, (the government), spiritually disillusioned and resentful, in search of their identity in the new world presented to them.

³²¹ Davidson: 1991, p.14.

³²² *Te Kaupapa Tikanga Rua: Bicultural Development*, (1986), p.3

Chapter 7

A NEW BREED OF SPIRITUALITY

<i>Ka tū au ka wawata</i>	<i>I stand for a moment and think</i>
<i>Ko wai rā taku iwi?</i>	<i>What tribe am I from?</i>
<i>Ko wai rā taku ihi?</i>	<i>Where am I?</i>
<i>Taku wana, taku tū?</i>	<i>What am I who am I?</i>
<i>Ka hoki ngā mahara</i>	<i>My thoughts wander back</i>
<i>Ki te pane o Pūtauaki</i>	<i>to the peak of Pūtauaki</i>
<i>Kei tua ko te papa</i>	<i>On the other side is the region</i>
<i>E aroha nei au</i>	<i>that I so yearn to be.</i>

Kohine Pōnika

There are two bastions of cultural tikanga (customs and traditions) for the Māori that are sacrosanct. One is kinship within the tribal polity, and the other is the marae and the institution of the tangi.³²³ The modern marae of the Māori reflects the changing life of a race and the contribution which the Pākehā culture has brought and continues to influence, as do other cultures of the world, and is skilfully blended together to add further dimension into the present world of the Māori. This section looks briefly at the development and changes that took place on the marae as dictated by the political and religious influence as Māori struggled to stand their ground. These comments alone spell out how vital the marae institution, is as part of Māori culture with its spiritual connotations attached to it. The buildings play an important part in the whole complex as it displays the pride and the heart of the hapū. The need for such an establishment for the ceremonial and social events of the hapu and tribe is imperative in caring not only for the hosts themselves but more importantly to cater for the visitors. It does not matter how many guests turn up, the local people must offer them manaakitanga (hospitality) as it is part of tikanga and custom. It is what makes a Māori.

The Tūhoe people who live away from Te Urewera because of their need to work and to pursue their dreams and visions feel a strong attachment to the region and return whenever the opportunity present itself, especially at the bi-annual Tūhoe Ahurei (Gathering Celebrations), which is mentioned later in this chapter. They return to a place of refuge,

³²³ Walker: 1990, p. 187

healing, growth and a time for connecting. It is a time to escape the high speed of modern life and its constant rap of demand sapping ones energy to keep up with western values and systems and to re-connect with the relationships of kin and tribe and strengthen and reinforce the cultural values of rangatiratanga (Self-Determination), whanaungatanga (Relationships), kotahitanga (Unity), wairuatanga (Spirituality), and whakapapa (Genealogy), smothered with aroha and of course most important is the savouring of the use of Te Reo Māori. All of these values hold together in manaakitanga (care and hospitality) and one cannot stress enough the importance and place of the marae to enable the individual whanau to feel connected to it.

Kohine Pōnika, in her composition at the beginning of this chapter describes a situation of an itinerant, which many Tūhoe, like herself, find themselves in as they are forced to go out into the world to work and live. She composed this waiata while she was living in Tūrangi and her thoughts and heart longed to return home to Ruātoki.³²⁴ This chapter looks at the importance of the marae and its vital role in the world of the Maori from a Tuhoe perspective.

THE MARAE

The spiritual heartbeat and soul of modern Māoridom then can be seen, heard, felt and savoured on the marae. We will look briefly and discuss the changes on and around the marae after the Land Wars, its importance and the significance for Māori spirituality. As Māori 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 worldview, did Māori 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 Māori tradition is the marae.

At the beginning of the 20th century life for Māori communities was mainly located in the rural areas, and centred round small pockets of settlements. Within these settlements, centrally situated, was the gathering place for the hapū or iwi. These were then known as the marae usually surrounded by a well-defined fence and named to identify the people.

³²⁴ O'Connor;1997, Te Manawa o Tūhoe, The Heart of Tūhoe, Craig Potton Publishing, p. 10.

Special events for the settlement take place there that are of great cultural and spiritual importance to Māori. It is where the extended families gather to celebrate special occasions like birthdays, weddings, and family reunions. It is a meeting place where people can talk or argue, care for guests, pray and weep for their dead. It is a place of great importance to the sub-tribe and generally consists of a wharenuī (big house), for meetings, sleeping, and, until mid-fifties, eating together. There were also one or two other smaller houses known as kāuta, for cooking food and generally built out of sawn pit timber and roofing iron. (Some of these buildings lasted well into the 1950's in Ruātoki and one still existed in Maungapōhatu, until 2007 when the new dining hall was built.) 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. Taylor noted this,

*"Sickness, tohunga revealed was the terminal gnawing of lizards at the entrails of a dying race."*³²⁵

The impact of the Pākehā 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 Māori stripped of their mana, livelihood and control of their own destiny.

*"Missionaries had reported that some Māori 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."*³²⁶

At the signing of the Treaty in 1840 the Māori population, was somewhere between 90,000 and 200,000 and there were about 2,000 Pākehā. By 1858, the Pākehā population increased to 51% of the total population and by 1896 this number went to 94% while Māori was figured at 6%.³²⁷ By 1900 the Māori population stood at 40,000³²⁸

It was predicted that the Māori 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 rekindle

³²⁵ Taylor, Alan, 1989, *Māori Folk Art*, Century Hutchinson, P.48.

³²⁶ Taylor: 1989, p.48

³²⁷ Green Paul F., ed., 1994, *Studies in New Zealand Social Problems*, 2nd Ed; The Dunmore Press, p. 42

³²⁸ Orange: 1987, P.7.

their wairua Māori, their Māori culture that brought about the renaissance in the late 1970's to the year 2000. While community leaders are important, what bonds the 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 Ōtaki 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 Māori community. Until these are provided the community will not seriously take other problems and will not freely contribute to funds for these other affairs.”*³²⁹

THE MEETING HOUSE – Te Whare Tūpuna

Why is a marae so important to Māori 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 Pākehā, and on their arrival in Aotearoa they noted that most of the Māori 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 kāinga 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 raupō reeds or fern stems tied together, and the floor of earth dug out and the soil placed on the sides. Food-stores, known as pātaka 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 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,³³⁰ 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

³²⁹ Taylor, E. Mervyn, 1952, *The Story of the Modern Marae*, Te Aohou No.1, Department of Māori Affairs, Wellington, p. 23.)

³³⁰ King: 1975, P.21.

reminisce and tell stories, to establish beliefs, values, follow traditions and connect with the transcendent powers. The marae is itself the physical world that acts as the sacramental vehicle of the spiritual world, of mauri (life force), mana (power), wehi (awe), ihi (psychic force) and tapu (sacredness)

The marae ātea 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 tūpuna (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 artwork. These houses were the residence of the rangatira (chief) of the tribe and his family. Not only were they bigger than other houses but also more elaborately decorative in the carvings and artwork. The whare tūpuna 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 ātea during speech making, it is the whare tūpuna that displays to its visitors the ihi (vital force), wehi (awe), mauri (life force), mana (power), and tapu (sacredness) of the tribe.

The whare tūpuna, normally 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 māihihi, the bargeboards 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 meetinghouse, above the door is the pare (door lintels) with carved figures representing human and spiritual figures. Inside is the tāhūhū (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 tāhūhū 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 Tāne the father of the people, and the life-giving element. The back post represents Hinenuitepō, Tāne’s daughter and wife. Hinenuitepō

*represents death and the ridge-pole between her and Tāne represents the journey through life.”*³³¹

Some houses will have patterned tukutuku (lattice work), between the slabs depicting the heavens, animals, plant life and human figures. The kōwhaiwhai (spiral and decorative designs) patterns that runs through the whole building represents the flowing of the bloodline that connects everything to the main ancestor. The whare tūpuna then holds the stories and picturesque lore of the tribe.

It is, in a sense, the museum of the tribe and hapū where the treasures and artefacts of the past are kept and safeguarded. It is the cathedral of the tribe depicting the Māori 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 legislative 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 meetinghouse, 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.”*³³²

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

³³¹ Simmons, D.R., 1984, *The Significance of Decorations in a Māori Meeting House*, Records of the Auckland Institute and Museum, P.61

³³² Taylor: 1988, p.49.

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 artwork expresses the personal authority, influences, and mana (prestige) not only of the chief but also of the tribe.

The traditional arts before the Pākehā arrived were devoted to the business of expressing and enhancing mana, mauri and tapu. Art depicted and embellished the beliefs of the Māori community. 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 meetinghouse 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.³³³

When one speaks of tapu, it is normally defined as a sacred state or condition that is under spiritual restriction. As Māori Marsden puts it;

*“A person, place or object is set 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.”*³³⁴

Due to the arrival of the Pākehā with steel tools and the missionaries with their new God, Māori 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 Pākehā technology, and this in itself brought great changes to Māori life and art. The introduction of the musket meant that acquiring guns became vital for the survival of the tribe. Consequently greater concentration was given to the 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

³³³ Davis, Frank, 1978 *Art in Pre-Pākehā Times*, Education, School Publications, Wellington, p.24

³³⁴ King: 1975, p.197.

*“The natives have now ceased to construct works of so much labour and ingenuity, and content themselves with building a raupō 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 paths.”*³³⁵

During the peace between the era of intertribal Māori war and the land wars, Māori communities began building meetinghouses, churches, mills, schools, trading vessels and canoes. Many were now becoming educated under the Pākehā system. Because of the steel tools, greater emphases were put into carving elaborate surface decorative designs. New subject matters were introduced like mermaids, plant 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. Pākehā reacted negatively to the explicit portrayal of the penis and vagina on carved figures. The Māori spiritual significance of sexual organs are explained by Frank Davis.

*“Māori 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.”*³³⁶

*“About this time many Māori became disillusioned and rejected the Pākehā churches and for some, Christ was seen as an atua or god of the European.”*³³⁷

By the late 1860’s it was apparent to Māori that tribal lands were fast disappearing and, with no great military leaders available, Māori 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 oncoming 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 Māori 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 Māori attitudes and values.

³³⁵ Salmond: 1987, p.80

³³⁶ Davis: 1976: p. 28.

³³⁷ Maclean, Christopher, 1979, *Te Kooti Houses, Historic Buildings of New Zealand North Island*, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington. P.168.

TE KOOTI MEETING HOUSES

Te Kooti, in founding the Ringatū faith, probably achieved more than any other single person, Māori or Pākehā. Interweaving the Christian faith and the old beliefs together, complements one another to the satisfaction of its adherents. In the established Ringatū 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 meetinghouses and he developed and advanced the continuation of carving, tukutuku and kōwhaiwhai, throughout the Bay of Plenty, Urewera and East Coast areas. Māori artwork was modernised with polychrome painted carvings and imaginative paintings known as ‘Māori Folk Art’. Under his tutelage, art became innovative, direct and powerfully expressive. Tukutuku weaving 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 Tūranga. He was educated at Whakatō School of the CMS. His interest in becoming a lay preacher within the church was opposed by William Williams, probably because of his turbulent youthful activities. These were sufficient for a neighbouring chief to act upon. He raided Te Kooti’s pa using the excuse that he had become a terror to the district.³³⁸ In 1865, after the Hauhau and their supporters attacked Waerenga-ā-hika CMS Station, Te Kooti, (who was actually fighting against the Hauhau), was accused of supplying them 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 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 (Chatham Island) to their homeland in Gisborne. He achieved this and accompanied by his followers, he ventured to take them inland requesting to be left alone. Unfortunately, the wheel of justice, as it was in New Zealand, was already in motion and he and his followers were hunted, harassed and killed. 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), 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 Tūhoe of the Urewera.

³³⁸ Orange: 1991, p.195.

When Te Kooti was formally pardoned in 1883, he accepted King Tawhiao's protection and his command for days of peace. A new era was initiated and a beginning from which the new premises of the faith would emerge. In recognition of his host's kindness, Te Kooti supervised the building of the meetinghouse, Tokanganui-ā-noho (A large basket of stay at home; which comes from a local proverb alluding to his long sojourn in Maniapoto territory). The original building was constructed mainly by Ngāti Hauā of Waikato, was opened on 22 October 1873. This house was moved and reconstructed at its present site extensively re-carved and re-worked and opened on 2 January 1883.³³⁹

"The carving of this house was in the style of the Mataatua canoe region, executed by men from Ngāti Awa, Te Whanau-ā-apanui, East Coast and Tūhoe carvers. Scenes included Māori mythology and the tukutuku woven into the field of representation of ancestors, and much more radical, were the innovations in figurative paintings known as Māori Folk Art. 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 manāia (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 Māori prophets to realise that the cyclical reproduction of events in the traditional Māori view of history had finally ceased forever. Te Kooti's new project of historical interpretation was stimulated by Māori 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."*³⁴⁰

The artwork clearly acts as an 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 reintroduced the institution of tapu ensuring that the sacred and profane were seen as a separate entity to an act seen as going against values and beliefs brought in by the Pākehā. 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 already had been used by Rukupō, who was one of his trusted advisers. However, Te Kooti took up painting

³³⁹ Binney: 1995, p.272f.

³⁴⁰ Neich, Roger, *Painted Histories; Early Māori Figurative Painting*, Auckland University Press, 1993. p.72.

as part of his medium to depict the fast transition of Māori social and political order. The scenes and representations were changing from the old to the new order but still recorded the history of the people involved in the conflict. The meetinghouses preserved the histories of the forebears and the icons from the myth stories, but now they also included paintings exhibiting the new world with its latest edition of colourful pictures of domestic scenes. Pointed out by Binney;

*“As the meetinghouse 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. Tokanganui-ā-noho encompassed visually the ancient and the modern histories of all the tribes sheltering with the Rohe Pōtae. 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.”*³⁴¹

Above all, Te Kooti was concerned about justice when he told his people that in future reparation for any wrongdoing 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.”*³⁴²

The Ringatū Church, basing its teachings on 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. A clergyman reported that they had now given up the way of the Son...adopting instead the way of the Father. The Rev. J. Laughton, a Presbyterian minister, who spent most of his ministry amongst the Tūhoe people, came to the conclusion that the Ringatū 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 Ringatūism was established.”*³⁴³

However, as time marched on, and because of their affiliation with other Māori Christian Churches, a shift would naturally occur. David Allan points out;

*“No religion remains static. As contexts change so do people’s understanding of themselves, their world and the way they express their religious values.”*³⁴⁴

³⁴¹ Binney: 1997, P. 280

³⁴² Elsmore: 1989, p. 236

³⁴³ Elsmore: 1987, p.144

³⁴⁴ Davidson: 1991: p. 47

In January 1963, my mother and I attended a Ringatū Tekau Mā Rua (The Twelfth) celebration of the Ringatū Church held at Ohotū, in Ruātoki. Two other lay readers of the Anglican Church, Mr Pirau Ruru and Mr Kahu Tihi, who were both elders of the Valley, also attended. These gatherings were held once a month held on different marae. For the Ringatū Church in Ruātoki, it was, (so I was later informed), a historic occasion when a reading was taken from the Gospel of St. Luke. Another matter that was discussed during the weekend session was the blessing of water during a baptism at a river. The difficulty of blessing a river 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 detects from these discussions that there has always been an active theological interaction by the Ringatū and that changes are bound to take place. There were of course references made regarding the Anglican practice of taking a small amount of water to be blessed and poured on the recipient. Even to the suggestion of using a spray utility which is carried on one's back for spraying fruit trees and the killing of ragwort. Bronwyn Elsmore points out;

*“It should be noted that the Christian aspects of Ringatū 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 Māori Christian Church.”*³⁴⁵

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

In Ruatāhuna, in the middle of the Urewera territory of the Tūhoe 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 and his elusive tactics with the government forces.

In 1882, Ruataupare was built which stands on Kokohinau marae in Te Teko, to express Te Kooti's gratitude to Ngāti Awa who supported him during the conflict. It was fully carved with painted kōwhaiwhai and painted tukutuku patterns, with the same polychrome paint on the carvings of the porch. It remains today a stronghold of the Ringatū faith.

³⁴⁵ Elsmore: 1987, p. 145

On 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 Tūranganui (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 goodnews) at Waituhi, the third was at Mangatū, named Te Ngāwari (charity) and the fourth was built at Tāpuihikitia that was called Te Aroha (love).

This was a huge undertaking, as one can well imagine, and 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 Māori 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 kōwhaiwhai 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. The young men of the Whānau-ā-Kai did most of the work and the elders were most upset by the modern portrayal of their sacred ancestors.

It was prophesied that Te Kooti would never set foot inside.³⁴⁶ Te Kooti was stopped by the militia and the police from visiting Gisborne and he never set foot in any of the four 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.”*³⁴⁷

To Te Kooti, it was vital for the survival of Māori that their culture became 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

³⁴⁶ New Zealand Historic Places Trust, *Historic Buildings of New Zealand*, Cassell New Zealand, 1979. p.

171

³⁴⁷ Ihimaere: 1988, p. 188

people to the promised land, which so many Māori had already lost through confiscation and dubious transactions by the government. He fused together the Christian faith with Māoritanga in the setting of the marae with great success, resulting in the continuation of the strong presence of the Ringatū Church in Aotearoa.

APIRANA NGATA – Modern Meeting houses.

Another wave of meeting houses appeared on the scene between 1890 and 1900 where minor houses were built in different parts of the country but did not rival Te Koorti's period. It was not until the 1920's, when the school of carvers at Rotorua, kept alive by the tourist trade and the boom in buildings in the Bay of Plenty, revived the practise of building carved meetinghouses. 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. Marae also needed to be well planned with lawns and gardens and sports ground for the young people included. The dining hall became the central focus for the community for social and informal gatherings. The meeting house became the focal point for ceremonial occasions as well as the offering of hospitality for full accommodation.

These ideas of course are modern, proving that Māori are adaptable and will rise to meet the challenge of the new while maintaining some continuity with the old world. These were big projects. One of the first to be set up was Te Poho-ō-Rāwiri in Gisborne and was followed later by the Waitangi House, Apanui at Te Kaha, Te Hono-ki-Rarotonga at Tokomaru Bay, Raukawa in Ōtaki, with many others spread all over the country. The most renowned of all them would be the buildings at Tūrangawaewae in Ngāruawāhia, aptly termed the fortress of Māori culture.

Behind this revival was the driving force of Apirana Ngata, former statesman and churchman of the Anglican faith, along with his colleagues, Carrol, Buck, Pomare, and well-known master carvers, John and Pine Tāepa and many others who were schooled at Te Aute College, a product of the Missionaries. Prompted by the Governor, Sir George Grey,

The Reverend Samuel Williams, nephew and son-in-law of William Williams, began the school in 1854, and it stands today as a continuing monument to him.³⁴⁸

THE KING MOVEMENT – Ngāruawāhia

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 what other artists throughout the world have reproduced in their sacred buildings. Like artists the world over they convey in their own way striking images of what they consider to be important to the community, using 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 meetinghouse.

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

The Kingitanga movement began in 1855 when Wiremu Tamihana sought parliament's permission for the establishment of a Rūnanga, (a parallel system with parliament), to deal specifically with Māori land 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."*³⁴⁹

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 Māori are the rafters on the other side. God is the ridgepole against which all lean, and the house is one. Yet another chief, in trying to make it clearer said, "The Māori King and the British Queen with love, aroha, binding them together, and with God over them both."*³⁵⁰

³⁴⁸ Rosevear, Watson, 1960, Waiapu The Story of a Diocese, Printed in Australia by Halstead Press, Sydney, p. 44.

³⁴⁹ Ward, Alan, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'amalgamation' in nineteenth century New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, 1995 Ed : p. 98.

³⁵⁰ Turongo House, 1999, *Koroki, My King*, Rice Printers, P.10

The misunderstanding proved to be a calamity for the Māori, which they never anticipated in their innocence of such a request. All they were seeking was that a paramount chief as head of the Rūnanga (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 Tūrangawaewae began in the morning of 11 August 1921.³⁵¹ The land, which was illegally confiscated, had to be brought back by the people. Led by Te Puea, the purchase price was earned by collecting flax in the 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 by their own hands and the sweat of their brows, with their little baskets, the earth had to be shifted.

Eight years of hard work and perseverance, Māhinarangi meeting house was completed in 1929 and Tūrongo was added on and finished in 1958. The love story of Māhinarangi, a princess from Ngāti Kahungunu of the Takitimu canoe, and Tūrongo of Tainui, remains one of the classical stories in Māoridom. 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 Māori people and the Kīngitanga.

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 cooperation between Waikato and the Government and there is an obvious change in attitude for the betterment of New Zealand and the Māori people. There is still some way to go before the visions of real partnership can be formed, which was dreamed of by our Māori ancestors.

This dream is depicted in the flag of the Kīngitanga known as Te Paki o Matariki. It is the heraldic shield of Kingi Tāwhiāo 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

³⁵¹ King Michael, 1982, *Te Puea, A Biography*, Hodder and Stoughton, Auckland, London, Sydney. p.109.

spiral are two figures representing the physical and the spiritual, each with one hand holding the spiral. This signifies their influence on human activities of the world and the environment, depicting that constant battle between good and evil. Sitting above the spiral and centre of the two figures is the shape of the heart, the spiritual essence of a person. 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, second name of Tāwhiao).

The name Te Paki o Matariki refers to a Māori expression when fine weather is forecasted. The idea here is that Tāwhiāo had hoped to see peace and calm over Aotearoa, New Zealand and that the Māori 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 the Tūrangawaewae sacred courtyard to pay their respects to Queen Te Ātairangikaahu, great great granddaughter of Kingi Tāwhiao.

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

“On my flag Te Paki o Matariki, Uenuku, the rainbow, is there for everyone to shelter under in unity and aroha. The Māori 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 Māori 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 tauā Tahere –tikitiki to the Henley Royal Regatta in June, our custom went with us.”³⁵²

THE PERFORMING ARTS

The Māori, before the arrival of the Pākehā, was of one culture and built meeting houses and canoes decorating them with carvings, all with the aid of stone tools. Today, in the new millennium, Māori with its multiplicity of cultures and has tools of iron, a 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,

³⁵² ibid p. 18

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, it remains a meaningful, and penetrating spiritual and aesthetic form 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 Tūrangawaewae in Ngāruawāhia, it will have hundreds of families. A marae is the tūrangawaewae (standing place) of a person belonging to the tribe where one can stand tall upon Papatuanuku (Mother Earth) with Ranginui (Sky Father) above and be able to formally greet distinguished visitors. It is a place where Māori know they belong and feel wanted and every individual of the tribe has a role to play. This final segment of this chapter about marae will briefly touch on what has been more commonly known as the performing arts of the Māori and its importance in Māori Spirituality.

Waiata Māori (songs of the Māori) 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, are the performing arts of the people. Waiata Māori is the channel through which total knowledge is handed down through the generations. He tāonga tuku iho, (Treasures handed down). It is the main medium used for teaching and learning in the Kura Wānanga (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 Māori is called Pōkarekare, 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.”*³⁵³

³⁵³ Barlow: 1991, p.151.

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 the mana, mauri, wehi and tapu; of aesthetic, emotional, and impassioned spiritual feelings. Māori poetry and song either chanted, spoken or sung using modern medium, as Hine Mohi Wehi did in her song of “*Whakaawe*,” during the World Rugby games in England in 1999, possess power and resonance which excites and stirs the heart and mind of New Zealanders touched with Māori spirituality.

The revival of performing arts of the Māori has in recent years been phenomenal. The thousands that attend and participate either as performers or purely to enjoy at all regional and national traditional Māori performing arts competitions clearly indicate its identity 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 Tūmatatuenga 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 Māori 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 Ngāti 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.” ³⁵⁴

Wiremu Parker, a well known Māori radio broadcaster, asked of a tohunga in haka,

“What is the art of performing haka?”

His reply was,

³⁵⁴ Karetū, Timoti, 1993, *Haka, The Dance of a Noble People*, Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, Auckland, P. 25

*“The whole body should speak.”*³⁵⁵

Alan Armstrong, in his book, *Māori 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 Māori culture, this complex dance is an 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.”*³⁵⁶

The performing arts of the Māori received mixed reaction when Pākehā 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.”*³⁵⁷

However, not all observers from the new world were as idyllic as Earle in their description of the haka. C.R. Brown saw it differently as reported below.

*“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.”*³⁵⁸

“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 entertainment almost spelled the end of Māori performing arts. Through the influence of the missionaries, carvings, Māori paintings and entertainment were discouraged. They even managed to suppress a whole tribe from continuing their arts to the extent,

³⁵⁵ *ibid* p. 22

³⁵⁶ Karetū: 1994 p. 25.

³⁵⁷ Orbell, Magaret, 1978, *Māori Poetry, an introductory anthology*, Heinemann Educational Books (NZ) Ltd, Auckland, P.5.

³⁵⁸ Browne, C.R., 1929, *Māori witchery: native life in New Zealand*, London Dent, P. 61

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.”³⁵⁹

In 1999, the writer was fortunate enough to attend two regional performing arts Festival where over 20 groups of 40 performers competed in cultural competitions watched by thousands of spectators.

Another well-attended function, held over Easter weekend in Ruatoki, is the Tūhoe Festival known as Te Ahurei a Tūhoe, where between 10-15,000 Tūhoe people and their friends and whānau attend biennially. The three-day event is organised by the local people in a bid to celebrate their identity as a united tribe.

The high energy kapa haka competitions for young and old are held on the main stage, where twenty senior teams and thirteen junior teams strut out the compositions of their leaders from each group. In the meantime fifteen teams battle it out in action-packed netball and rugby games played out on the courts and fields.

Also featured at the hui are rides, talent quest, debates in te Reo Māori, art exhibitions, Wearable Arts and of course the food stalls. They all cater for the children and teens at the festival. The kaumatua are also kept active and are well cared for during the whole festival.

There are over fifteen marae in the region that are used for accommodation and the feeding of the visitors from all over New Zealand and even from across the Tasman. The catering and the care of the people are taken over by their local people. A huge undertaking all in an act of aroha and manaakitanga, with no one paid for their services except for special guest artists – and even they count it as a privilege to perform.

Beside these gatherings and probably the biggest of them all, is the annual celebration of the Coronation of the Maori King (or Queen) that caters for not only the tribe of Waikato but for all the tribes in Aotearoa. It is nothing to have 20 - 30 thousands of Māori people taking part in the activities for both young and old for more than three days. The atmosphere is one of regalia and pomp and ceremony as it should be for the Māori nation's pride and joy.

³⁵⁹ Karetu: 1993, p. 35

In addition to this, the Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival is celebrated in Ngāruawahia over Waitangi weekend of. 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 Māori are well and truly assured. Young people are right in the thick of the performance, beginning from the Kōhanga Reo schools, to primary, and to secondary schools. Competitions between tribes, schools and groups are fiercely competed to test the skill of one another. It is within this field of competitiveness that Māori will ensure the arts will never be lost into the realm of those who have passed on.

The key to all the performing arts is the survival of the language, the heart of Māori culture. There is a reawakening of the Māori language itself. \$33 million are being spent on nurturing the Māori language. There is a Māori proverb which encapsulates Māori leaders in their philosophy towards the Māori language.

<i>He Puawai putiputi te Māoritanga</i>	<i>Māoritanga 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 Māoritanga</i>	<i>so does Māoritanga</i>

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

But the survey also showed that more than half of those surveyed spoke some Māori, and the number of speakers was 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 Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa schools throughout the country. The biggest problem is the lack of proficient teachers of the language. There are Māori people crying out for more Kura Kaupapa schools to be established but there are not enough teachers to fill the gap.

There are also television programmes like Tūmeke (TV3) and Mai Time (TVNZ) that are aimed at the young people, talking their language and playing their music. The manager of the Taura Whiri I Te Reo (The Māori Language Commission), Te Haumihiata Mason said;

*“That all this shows that Māori 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.”*³⁶⁰

It also includes countries like Kosovo and East Timor where our New Zealand Peace Keeping Troops had been under the command of The United Nations. In 1987, the Māori Language Act gave the language official status. It is 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. The budget for 1999 acknowledged the importance of the language, it is not everything but it was a beginning.

This part began pointing out that the marae is the heart of the people and without it Māori people will cease to exist as a people. It is the last bastion of Māori where it displays its spiritual and physical existence. Māori 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 Māori lives and throbs and energises. It is a place of refuge enabling Māori to be cleansed spiritually under their terms and values. It is where they pay homage to God and pay their respects to their ancestors. That they may rise tall in their oratory; that they may weep for their dead; that they may have their feasts and celebrations, that they may care for their guests; that they may have their meetings, their 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 observed;

*“Tūrangawaewae I suppose, is that emotional tie that the land has for the Māori. The tie is emotional not because the Māori 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 Māori their emotional overtones to the land.”*³⁶¹

³⁶⁰ Knight, Richard, 1999, *Survival is becoming a race against time: News Review*, Herald, New Zealand, Tuesday, June 1.

³⁶¹ Romanos, Michael, 1985, *The I-am-we of Māori culture*, TūTangata Issue 25, Department of Māori Affairs, Wellington, P.22.

A well-known Māori proverb indicates the importance of people;

<i>“ Ui mai koe ki a au</i>	<i>You ask me</i>
<i>He aha te mea nui o tēnei ao,</i>	<i>What is the greatest thing in this world</i>
<i>Māku 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 tūrangawaewae (standing place), of a person belonging to the tribe where one can stand tall upon Papatuanuku with Rangi above, and have the pleasure of formally welcoming one's guests. A place where Māori know they belong, and feel wanted and each individual has a part to play. The Tangata Whenua (the hosts) are the holders of Ngā Tāonga Tuku Iho (properties, handed down) of the marae. The building of a marae has always been central to any Māori group and the arrival of Europeans with their technology, and their new ideas of the cosmology certainly brought about great change. The modern marae of the Māori reflects the changing life of a race and the contribution which the Pākehā culture has brought and continues to influence, as does other cultures of the world, and is skilfully blended together to add further dimension into the world of the Māori.

Many changes are taking place in the world of the present Māori. Changes that I never thought I will have to make decisions on. I am now at a stage where I suddenly find myself in a privileged position of standing as the kaumātua of our marae as I reach that golden age. The presence of Kohanga Reo on our marae we never had them in our time as we were taught at home. We never had women taking part in church services on the marae. Now it is becoming a common sight. It is becoming extremely difficult for some marae to have the working force available as young people are required to find work and not be dependent on the dole and yet the marae is our heart, our soul, our wairua. The challenge for us is to maintain who we are and what we are so that our children's children can stand proud i to rātou tūrangawaewae – (on their marae). This chapter therefore charts the spiritual connection of Māori to the marae.

Chapter 8

THE GOOD NEWS IS TINO RANGATIRATANGA

Kia tae mai tou rangatiratanga

ki runga i te whenua kia rite ano ki to te rangi.

Your kingdom come

on earth as it is in heaven

Jesus on prayer

THE DEVELOPMENTS

Self-determination, Self-propagation, Self-supporting. Henry Venn.

Throughout the 240 years of contact since the arrival of the Pākeha, Māori life, culture and religion has changed and adapted caught up in a whirlwind – he kōmingomingo. By the beginning of the twentieth century the new political, social, economic and spiritual change had devastating effects on the Māori population to such an extent that a memorial was erected to the dying race on One Tree Hill in Auckland. By the middle of the century, a new wave of hope led by various Māori political and religious leaders, quickened throughout the country as health, education, economics and a renewed spirituality began to take root and grow. In their various groups Māori retained 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.

This chapter will contend that Maori sovereignty, as practised and understood by the 1992 Constitution of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, is the best and only means to advance bi-culturalism and strengthen its Nationhood to cope with the multi-cultural peoples that are now in Aotearoa New Zealand.

With tino rangatiratanga (Maori sovereignty) upon the lips of Māori, and in particular young Māori, it has become obvious that Māori are earnest in their endeavours to develop their own way of life. Māori, as individuals and in their collective groups, are developing systems that take into account not only western perspectives but also Māori worldviews in all its 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 (government taking steps to stem the addiction of smoking), that have been

adopted and manipulated to suit and better serve Māori throughout various tribal areas. Health care services have also seen changes that take into account specific perspectives of Māori caregivers and clients, or whānau.³⁶²

Other fields which have adopted and developed processes which take into account the specific needs of Māori 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 Māori initiatives, they cannot be seen as parallel systems because they still remain under Government control. What this highlights is the fact that Māori are always seeking ways in which to develop systems that not only allow Māori to take into account Māori 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 Māori aspirations in self-governance but also giving effect to them.

This chapter will also examine three things. Firstly, we will look at the tino rangatiratanga debate through the Maori Congresshui held at Hīrangi in 1995. 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 visions. Separately and together these three issues spell good news for Aotearoa and New Zealand residents and for their tino rangatiratanga.

PARALLEL DEVELOPMENTS

In 1992 a parallel system on three tikanga (cultural strands) of Māori, Pākehā and Polynesian was established enabling the Māori 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 Māori justice system. The Minister of Justice, the Honourable

³⁶² Durie M.H., 1994, *Understanding Biculturalism*, Kokiri Ngatahi Hui, Side by side Seminar, Department of Māori Studies, Massey University p.10.

Geoffrey Palmer, hastened to assure New Zealanders that there would be only one law for all in this country promptly squashed that.³⁶³

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.³⁶⁴ He rejected the idea of dual sovereignty as a:

*“Waste of time on something that isn’t going to happen in a country like New Zealand.”*³⁶⁵

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 Māori tino rangatiratanga is synonymous with overthrowing the Government and dispossessing all non-Māori.

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 Māori, there is no doubt that the Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document for this country and the government of this country has endorsed this.³⁶⁶ Unfortunately, many 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 Māori and Pākehā. 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. It’s meaning changes with the individual, and his or her life experiences. This is well illustrated in Hineani Melbourne’s book, *Māori Sovereignty - The Māori Perspective*. To take a few examples; Tipene O’Reagan, Chairperson of Ngai Tahu Māori Trust Board, is suspicious of pan-Māori operations asserting their tino rangatiratanga as they invariably collectivise the

³⁶³ *ibid*

³⁶⁴ Archie Carol, 1995, *Māori Sovereignty: The Pākehā Perspective*, Hodder Moa Beckett Publishers, p. 115.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 119

³⁶⁶ Winiata, Whatarangi 1997, *The Treaty of Waitangi: Māori Political Representation*, A working paper.

majority to tyrannize the minority.³⁶⁷ Kara Puketapu, Managing Director of Māori International Limited, does not think that talking about tino rangatiratanga is of any use unless one is equally rich in one's culture.³⁶⁸

Some Pākehā have the view, that sovereignty and tino rangatiratanga are both translated as having the same meaning. In Carol Archie's book (ed), *Māori Sovereignty - The Pākehā Perspective*, Hugh Fletcher, Chief Executive Officer of Fletcher Challenge, states that;

*"Māori have no chance of establishing a separate parliament that will have any authority within New Zealand."*³⁶⁹

Similarly, Sue Culling, National Co-ordinator for Corso considers that;

*"Māori sovereignty is just about giving power to Māori over your life. I say no. That was never what was envisaged in the Treaty."*³⁷⁰

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 Māori and many Pākehā, and has been acknowledged by Parliament 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 Māori 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 kīngitanga and mana), was retained by those who signed it. This ratified Māori independence (translated as rangatiratanga) as well as indicating that no subsequent government could be exercised without their authority.³⁷¹ The Māori Congress meeting at Hīrangī in 1995 also came to this conclusion. This is dealt with later in this chapter.

³⁶⁷ Melbourne, Hineani, 1995, *Māori Sovereignty: The Māori Perspective*, Hodder Moa and Beckett Publishers, p.153.

³⁶⁸ *ibid*, p.45.

³⁶⁹ Archie: 1995, p.11

³⁷⁰ *ibid*, p.83

³⁷¹ Mikaere, Annie, (1998), *The Implementation of the Treaty of Waitangi in the University of Waikato: Working Paper*, p.1.

The Māori 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 Māori had complete numerical superiority (80,000 – 100,000 Māori as against 2,000 Settlers).³⁷² Māori had complete governance over themselves and were subject to no one. It would be quite ludicrous to think that the Māori 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 Māori 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.

THE FISCAL ENVELOPE – Māori response.

In January of 1995 close to a thousand Māori, representing the major tribes in Aotearoa, responded to the invitation of Sir Hepi Te Heuheu for a hui to be held at Hīrangi marae near Tūrangi. 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 Māori people at any time. The settlement principles outlined in the proposals were viewed as too rigid and seen as being 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 role and powers of Government as understood by article two of tino rangatiratanga, where Māori has control over their own destiny. The hui, after nearly twelve hours of debate, ended with a complete rejection of the Government's fiscal envelope proposals and a call for a focus on the details of a Treaty based constitution for the nation which would restore to Māori their tino rangatiratanga.³⁷³

In September 1995, a second hui was called by Sir Hepi Te Heuheu to enable Iwi and Māori organizations to debate how to progress tino rangatiratanga and implement the Hīrangi

³⁷² *ibid*, p.2.

³⁷³ Roberts, John, 1996, *Alternative Vision: He Moemoea ano*, Published by the Joint Public Questions Committee of the Methodist Church of New Zealand and the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand. p.4

resolutions passed in January of that year. Jim Bolger, the Prime Minister at the time, wrote earlier to Sir Hēpi in response to previous discussion between the two men. The Government had completed the round of consultation with the Māori 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 Māori 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/Māori relationship within manageable parameters that the Government could go along with, but taking into account the indivisibility of Parliament.³⁷⁴

The 1500 plus Māori representing most tribes and other Māori groups present at the second hui rejected Bolger's invitation to work alongside the Government officials and they reasserted their earlier proposal for a constitutional change towards establishing tino rangatiratanga based on Māori values rather than Pākehā models. Other issues raised at the hui included an introduction by the rangatahi (youth) of a new word, decolonisation, so that tino rangatiratanga could be achieved. The idea was to encourage Māori to break away from Pākehā ways of thinking and develop a political, social, and constitutional system based on Māori values. This position will not recognise the significance of partnership.

Another key point raised in the proposal for constitutional change, 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 Māori 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.³⁷⁵

At this second hui there were some Māori 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

³⁷⁴ *ibid*, p.9.

³⁷⁵ *ibid*, p.12.

Jackson insisted that tino rangatiratanga must be discussed by Māori and must not be based on Pākehā models of governance but then he allowed a little leeway by suggesting that at the very least tino rangatiratanga could mean a dual sovereignty.³⁷⁶ What was clear for Māori attending the hui was that tino rangatiratanga was firmly established on the Māori agenda and was clearly an alternative to the Government fiscal envelope proposal for settlement of Treaty Claims. The task of presenting such a programme to the third Hīrangī hui was left to a working group.

The third hui took place in April 1996 with 2,000 representatives attending from a broad cross section of Māoridom from tribal boards and other Māori professional and educational organizations along with youth and kaumātua (elders) attended. Three key issues were explored at the hui:

Decolonisation. Relationships between Māori and Crown and within Māoridom itself
Constitutional Change.³⁷⁷

Decolonisation must take place because the impact of colonisation on Māori resulted in much loss of land, language, resources, the theft of ideas and the loss of indigenous spirituality. For Māori to re-establish their own values and progress in today's world they must first cast off the shackles of colonial ways. Māori must seek to reclaim Māori values as a basis for life today. Decolonisation is not a return to traditional ways but a recovering of values that were enhancing in the past. 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 Māori. 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 experience shows that it is only by Māori taking drastic measures (by civil disobedience) and by occupation that Government seems to take note of Māori concerns. What Māori do not have is a single united strategy. Those attending the Hīrangī hui believe that this can only be achieved through the process of decolonisation.³⁷⁸

³⁷⁶ *ibid*, p.13.

³⁷⁷ *ibid*, p.19.

³⁷⁸ *ibid*, p.16.

The Government's continued arrogance in not consulting with Māori has not been helpful in cementing good relationships. The Government's stance of a free market 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 Māori have found it necessary to participate in the debates in order to protect their interest. Unfortunately many Māori organizations lack the expertise to respond effectively to these new demands and disputes have resulted in expensive court costs. The hui recognised that there had to be a process of promoting relationships that will endure between and amongst Māori organizations so that Māori resources may be protected. It is also important that a system of representation, which is just and equitable, needed to be established to enable participation by all Māori in decisions that would affect their lives. The challenge that the hui saw was for Māori to involve more Māori in decision making and to do this a framework needed to be developed to include Māori, both urban and rural.³⁷⁹

The 3rd hui recognised that in 1840 iwi and hapū had governed themselves and that the 1835 Declaration of Independence affirmed that Māori had their own legislative authority; the Treaty of Waitangi 1840 reaffirmed the right of Māori to their tino rangatiratanga. The hui recognized that there was a need to reform, change the present Constitution, or present a new Constitution to the Government. Three choices were discussed, firstly, whether to continue under the Westminster system with its reformed MMP system. Secondly, to form a partnership with the Crown and the third option was for Māori to govern themselves. There were different views as to what self-government could mean for Māori and it was agreed that further research was needed. A working party was delegated to prepare a forum for the next hui.³⁸⁰

To summarise the three Hīrangī gatherings, two definite points came through quite clearly. The first was that the Government, at that stage, refuse to negotiate or even entertain the thought of discussing means by which Māori sovereignty or Māori autonomy could be established because they saw 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

³⁷⁹ Ibid, p.19

³⁸⁰ Ibid, p.20

notion of shared or parallel sovereignty is rendered practically and politically unworkable.³⁸¹

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

*“Through 200 years of history the Māori presumption of autonomy has not change, 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.”*³⁸²

It began in 1835 with the Declaration of Independence, carried through to the Treaty of Waitangi and as a result of the Hīrangī gatherings, Māori 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.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH RESPONSE

In 1984, the Anglican Church in New Zealand, after taking most of their parishioners through a series of bicultural journey, came to the conclusion that the principles of partnership and bicultural development are implied in the Treaty of Waitangi and 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. This required that steps be 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 bicultural walk. The late Archbishop Brian Davis described it 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, Māori, Pākehā 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 Māori and Pākehā Anglicans beyond paternalism and dependency to a relationship that

³⁸¹ *ibid*, p.20

³⁸² *Ibid*, p.26.

*respects and honours cultural diversity and gives each tikanga the mana that is consistent with the mana God gives all as sons and daughters, brothers and sisters of Christ.”*³⁸³

To have a greater appreciation of this momentous development one needs to look briefly at the history and growth of Māori 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 Ruatara and his northern clan members, who wanted to bring to their tribe, new technology that would enhance their lives. The mission of the CMS (also known as the Missionary Church which became better known as Te Hāhi Mihinare), was to convert Māori and to civilise them, which itself would eventually lead to their Christianisation.³⁸⁴ By the early 1840s the Māori Church, Hāhi Mihinare, was well established. Churches and schools were being set up with great enthusiasm. At the same time Māori became more and more proficient in commercial trading, both nationally and internationally. The success of Te Hāhi Mihinare was largely due to the fact that those who helped to spread the word of God were Māori, they used the Māori language, and were left to develop methods that were pertinent to their people.³⁸⁵ Tino rangatiratanga was working and meeting the needs of the people of that time.

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; C.M.S members viewed the use of candles and crucifixes on the altar as popish innovations. His reluctance to ordain and delays in ordination for Māori candidates led to strained relationships. Despite his ability to speak Māori, it did not help in cementing the good relationship with Māori that 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 Māori and harder still to unite settler and Māori in a single Church.”*³⁸⁶

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,

³⁸³ Proceedings of General Synod, The Church of the Province of New Zealand, (P.G.S.) 1992, p.7-8

³⁸⁴ Davidson: 1991, p.14.

³⁸⁵ *Te Kaupapa Tikanga Rua: Bicultural Development*, 1986, p.3.

³⁸⁶ Ibid, p.3.

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 Hāhi Mihinare. It was a structure devised by Pākehā for Pākehā and to meet the Settlers' needs. Up to that time the diocesan Synod in Waiapū was conducted almost entirely in Māori but by 1869 it was noted;

*“Synods were now held in the English language that virtually precluded the attendance of Māori Clergymen. Consequently Māori Church Boards were established to have control of Māori religious matters.”*³⁸⁷

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 Māori Bishop. The request was declined on the grounds that there were no suitable candidates, although it did not pass the notice of the Māori to question why some Māori were raised to permanent positions in Government, and not in the Church.³⁸⁸ The Māori Church Board of the Diocese of Auckland made another attempt in 1880 for a Suffragan Bishop for the Māori 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 Māori, and the hope that they will be brought yet closer together in worship and in organization.³⁸⁹ What they meant of course was for Māori to become assimilated totally into their Pākehā system. 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 Māori needs. With the emphasis on unity of Māori and Pākehā, institutionally Māori were marginalised, and the overall authority was not going to be handed over so easily. The governing body, General Synod, had no Māori representatives, and the call for Māori representation in 1901 and 1913 were not successful.

The advance of the Rātana movement in the 1920s caused the Anglican Church to respond, and so created the Diocese of Aotearoa. However, Māori rejected the nomination of Herbert Williams, as Bishop for Māori. Then in 1928, General Synod rescinded the 1925 legislation and created an Assistant Bishop, who would be Māori, to work under a Diocesan Bishop.

³⁸⁷ Davidson: 1991, p.130

³⁸⁸ Ibid

³⁸⁸ Ibid

³⁸⁸ Ibid

³⁸⁹ Ibid

But he was a Bishop without status, without influence on Church Courts, and elected by Pākeha Bishops. The first Bishop of Aotearoa was Fredrick Augustus Bennett. While Māori saw his election as an 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.³⁹⁰ This situation remained so for the next fifty years.

THE CHURCH OF 1992

Time after time the Māori Church pleaded for its tino rangatiratanga, or at the very least a representative on the governing body, but to no avail, until 1978 when Bishop Manu Bennett was finally given power to vote as a full member.³⁹¹ In 1984 the Church was challenged to address its life in accordance with the Treaty of Waitangi. A constitutional Commission was set up with equal representation of Pākeha and Māori 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. ”*³⁹²

Despite the report of fear and uncertainty, and some confusion between Māori and Pākeha, a final draft of the constitution was presented to a special sitting of General Synod and Te Rūnanga Nui, (the Māori parallel of General Synod), at Wellington in November 1990. This was unanimously agreed upon and set for its final reading in 1992.³⁹³

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 Māori Church, Te Hāhi Mihinare had finally emerged despite the setbacks experienced by Māori. Despite years of oppression 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? Has it made any inherent differences to The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia and in particular to Te Hāhi Mihinare?

As mentioned earlier, the structure adopted by the Anglican Church in New Zealand, is run on a three parallel system under the key word of tikanga, which is understood to mean, in

³⁹⁰ P.G.S. (1986), p.R.269

³⁹¹ Ibid, p.273

³⁹² P.G.S. (1988), p.R.96.

³⁹³ P.G.S. (1990), p.R.172.

this context a cultural strand. The tikanga involved are the Māori and the Pākehā, who are recognized as the Treaty Partners, with the addition of Polynesia as the third party. Each tikanga has its own governing body. The Māori Church, tikanga Māori is named as Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa (The Bishopric of Aotearoa). The Constitution allows for each of the cultural strands, Māori, Pākehā and Polynesia, 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 Rūnanganui (General Synod), which has representatives from the three tikanga. It means that General Synod can pass no policies or regulations 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 Pākehā, and the minority partners, Māori 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.³⁹⁴

TINO RANGATIRATANGA – Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa

What has been achieved? Since the inception of the revised Constitution, Tikanga Māori (Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa) has advanced in leaps and bounds far beyond all 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 Māori boundaries. For example, Te Manawa o te Wheke Hui Amorangi consists of the tribes from the Maatātua, Te Arawa and Tainui waka. This meant changing the Waikato boundary to include Tāmaki Makaurau, which brings in Māngere 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 Māori Priests throughout Aotearoa, New Zealand. Now there are well over 350

³⁹⁴ The Commission on Constitutional Changes (1998), *A Constitution for our Nation*. P.1

Priests, including women Priests, and over 200 Kai Karakia (Lay Readers).³⁹⁵ It resulted in the resurrection and re-establishment of the Māori Theological College, Te Rau Kahikatea, which is situated at the St. John's Theological College in Auckland. Further evidence of its rapid thrust within the educational and learning needs of Te Hāhi Mihinare is its extension of ministry to Australia where there are now Māori Priests in Sydney, Brisbane and Darwin with five more Māori 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 Hawai'i Episcopal Church exchange faculty and students. Besides Theological training it has also added to its training scheme to include an Awhi Whānau (Social Services) degree.³⁹⁶ These programmes received approval from the New Zealand Qualifications Authority in August of 1999.

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 worldwide representatives to explore partnership in a newly re-constituted three-tikanga Church. Bishop Colin Sheumack, of the Diocese of Victoria, 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 Pākehā dominated.

*"There was almost no Māori voice except for the Bishop. The whole set up was completely Pākehā with everything done in the Western way of working. With this Consultation, the three voices have really been allowed to be spoken and the Māori 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."*³⁹⁷

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

³⁹⁵ *Te Whakapapa o te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa: A Mission Statement and Profile of the Bishopric of Aotearoa*, Bryce Ian Printers, Rotorua, 1992. P.33f.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p.19

³⁹⁷ New Zealand Anglican Board of Mission, 1992, *Here & There*, p.11

Anglican Communion could learn from the New Zealand Church. It 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.”*³⁹⁸

From these observations and rapid changes within the Hāhi Mihinare, the educational programmes for women, children and youth, the formation of the New Zealand Prayer Book with its distinctive Māori flavour, spell out a different spirit moving within the Anglican Church. This spirit spells tino rangatiratanga for Pākehā, Māori and Pasifika. Under the revised Constitution the sense of respect, responsibility, aroha and humility on all sides cannot be refuted. There is a more sympathetic understanding amongst the Pākehā of what is meant by partnership. At the same time one cannot ignore the fact that there are still a lot of Pākehā and Māori who are 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.³⁹⁹

A CONSTITUTION FOR A NATION – Māori hopes and dreams

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 Māori and Pākehā. 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 system is that it allows partners to be authentically themselves and to be seen as equally important.

³⁹⁸ Ibid, p.6.

³⁹⁹ P.G.S. 1992, p.2.33

General Synod is concerned that while there are Acts of Parliament that 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.

THE MĀORI PARTY

The birth of the Māori Party was almost by accident, which is now a political party with some influence, as the last election showed when the National Party Leader, John Keys, invited the Māori Party to be part of the governing body after the 2008 Elections. However, its beginnings go back to the dreams and aspirations of its indigenous people to achieve self-determination for whānau, hapū and iwi and to live according to Tikanga Māori that is based on their commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. But Māori of the new millennium are now in the minority. The governing of this country works on the basis of majority and minority and the present Westminster parliamentary system will always be difficult for Māori to use as a base to launch their values and culture and;

*“There is a huge pressure to compromise in this system. After all, it works on majority and minority – and we are the minority.”*⁴⁰⁰

This was the case when Tariana Turia, a Māori Labour Member of Parliament in 2004, broke with her party on the Foreshore and Seabed Legislation and crossed the floor, resulting in her expulsion from Labour. This left her free to form her own party. Her five male colleagues in the Labour Party were accused of “having no balls”,⁴⁰¹ and the other female member, Nanāia Māhuta, stayed put with the party rather than risk losing her people's tribal claim of the Waikato River.

⁴⁰⁰ Mana – The Māori news magazine for all New Zealanders, No 46 p.41

⁴⁰¹ Mai i Rangiatea Journal 2007, Vol.3, Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa. P.9

On July 2004, the Māori Party was launched and two weeks later, on 27 July 2004 the first Māori Party Member, Tariana Turia, of Te Tai Hauauru, took her seat in parliament. The following year 2005 at the elections in September she was joined by three other members, Hone Harawira, who took Te Tai Tokerau seat, Dr. Pita Sharples, who won Tāmaki Makaurau, and Te Ururoa Flavell who took the Waiariki seat. The next elections in 2008 saw one more join the group, Rāhui Reid Kātene for Te Tai Tonga. Five Seats out of seven Māori Seats are now in the hands the Māori Party, with another election this year (November 2011) to fight.

Reverend Canon Pōtaka-Dewes says of Tariana;

“History will recall Tariana’s action in crossing the floor as the turning point that marks the birth of the Māori Party. She walked for Tangata Whenua rights. The impetus for this heroic action was, of course, the Foreshore and Seabed Legislation. But this legislation was also the impetus for the Hīkoi. The hīkoi consolidated the formation of the Māori Party. Its successful emergence at the polls was due to hard work by those determined to establish an independent Māori Party.” ⁴⁰²

According to Aroha Harris, modern Māori protest began in the 1960s⁴⁰³ which emerged from events and movements underlined by incidents of racism, dissatisfaction with Governments decisions to understand Māori aspirations this has been the case since 1852 when the Settlers began to govern and immediately disregarded the Treaty of Waitangi and its promises to Māori. The basis of Māori protest since then has never altered from believing that land grabbing, dishonoured Treaty of Waitangi promises. It is about promotion of the Māori language, about self –determination, about partnership, about caring for people – and against the oppression of a culture. Recently, Dr. Pita Sharples reported that;

“On 15 August 2007, the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination released a report on New Zealand which condemned actions which, and I quote, ‘tend to diminish the importance and relevance of the Treaty and to create a context unfavourable to the rights of Māori.’” ⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰² Mai i Rangiatea: a journal published by Te Whare Wānanga o Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, Vol 3, Bryce Printers, Rotorua. p.9

⁴⁰³ Harris Arhoa, 2004, Hīkoi – Forty Years of Māori Protest, Huia Publishers, Wellington, p.13.

⁴⁰⁴ Mana Magazine Issue 80, p.23

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 to 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 Pākehā. 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. What is more relevant is, should the tradition of Io be encouraged and developed as a Christian Māori theology or should it be abandoned as a bad idea? I do not propose to follow this idea through at this stage, but simply point 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 Pākehā and Māori. The name of Io is called upon at many Kōhanga Reo (Language Nests) Schools, Kura Kaupapa Māori Schools in their prayers, on numerous marae throughout the country, and publicly at ceremonious 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 Tīkao, Māori Marsden and more recently, Michael P. Shirres. It is sung and talked about on Māori radio stations, on television, at regional and at national performing arts cultural competitions. Whatever its generic, the tradition of Io is already part and parcel of Māori spirituality. However, how did the tradition of Io, the supreme god within Māori 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 Wānanga in 1913.’⁴⁰⁵

Then in 1924, Elsdon Best, published his book, *Māori Religion and Mythology*. These two books were the first publications that became available for public reading. Both these writers used written material about Io that came from H.T. Whatahoro, who took notes at a

⁴⁰⁵ Smith, S. Percy. *The Lore of the whare wananga or teachings of a Māori College*, part 1 Polynesian Society, Mem; Vol. 3, 1913.

series of lectures given by two prominent Māori tohunga (experts) of Ngāti Kahungunu tribe, Te Mātorohanga, and Nēpia Pōhūhū at Te Whare Wānanga (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 Tāne-nui-ā-rangi Committee, to be approved as an agreed expression of genuine Ngāti Kahungunu tradition in that year.⁴⁰⁶

Bishop Muru Walters pointed out that these two men were converted Christians and that Te Whatahoro, the scribe, had spent some time in Hawai'i. 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 Māori 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 Tāne and Tāwhiri during the separation of Rangi and Papa was now relocated to the ascent of Tāne to the uppermost heaven where Io dwelt. The new explanation for the purpose of the ascent of Tāne to gain the three baskets 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.”*⁴⁰⁷

Further to this, Walters argued that;

*“The invention of a supreme god Io was a response to the political, social and economic circumstances of the times...(my) own tribe Te Rarawa did not know about it and that a few Māori of the Kahungunu tribe invented it.”*⁴⁰⁸

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 Māori and Pākeha alike, and that this was more a reaction to Christianity. He further asserted that the account of the separation of the spirits of the dead on their arrival at Hawaikinui (Destination of the dead), the righteous go

⁴⁰⁶ Shirres: 1997. P.107.

⁴⁰⁷ Walters, Muru, The Right Reverend, *Māori Religious Freedom*, written address given at a Pacific Region Religious Liberty Congress, Suva, Fiji. 7–10 June 1993. P.7-8.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid. p.11

to the Upper world and sinners to the underworld, totally contradicts Māori belief of pre-European times.⁴⁰⁹

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.⁴¹⁰

Eric Schwimmer was sceptical but said the truth lies somewhere in between opposing views.⁴¹¹ Apirana Ngata, at the conclusion of an unpublished lecture, said that whether Io is independently evolved or borrowed, he was inclined to think that it was possible for Polynesian philosophers to dream up such a concept.⁴¹²

Rev. Fr. P.W. Shirres who examined carefully the various early authorities personally approached James Irwin. One source going back to the 1840s came to the conclusion that the Io tradition was pre-European in origin.⁴¹³ Irwin, along with Schwimmer and Apirana, are the more cautious and non-committal group, but seemed to accept and propagate the tradition of Io. Michael P. Shirres was in no doubt of his belief in the tradition of Io as a pre-European element of the Māori religious life. His acceptance of the Io tradition is based on written evidence, not only from Kahungunu but also from Waikato, Ngāpuhi, 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 Māori', based on notes from Reverend Richard Taylor's notebooks referring to a teacher at Whāwhārua, a settlement between Ōtorohanga 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 tāua tama, ko te whakarongonga..."*⁴¹⁴

⁴⁰⁹ Buck: 1949, P. 526.

⁴¹⁰ Shirres: 1997, P. 107

⁴¹¹ Schwimmer, Eric, *The World of the Māori*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1966. P.116.

⁴¹² Irwin: 1984. P.35.

⁴¹³ *ibid.*

⁴¹⁴ Shirres: 1997, P.108.

Taylor also made another reference to Io in his notes revealing his knowledge of the Kahungunu teaching of Io. In another instance, Shirres pointed out that Pei Te Hurinui Jones, in his biography of King Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, refers to a High Priest addressing Io at a raising-up ritual for the Māori King in 1859. Shirres pointed out the strong links between the opening lines of this prayer with the prayer said at Whāwhārua which reads;

*“E Io e rangi, Tapa mai ra ia, ta taua tama, etc.”*⁴¹⁵

The Kahungunu material has already been dealt with through Percy Smith and Elsdon Best's publications. Moving on to the Ngāpuhi 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.⁴¹⁶ 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 burning them. The other Ngāpuhi 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 Māori, 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.”*⁴¹⁷

Further Ngāpuhi written evidence comes from what is known as the Penhare manuscripts of 1923 where it tells the story of a certain chief, Pōkaia, in search of a powerful karakia, obtainable only from the Whare Wānanga of Io. He wished to use this incantation against his enemy Taoho of Ngāti Whatua. More evidence for Shirres came 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.”*⁴¹⁸

Moreover, Shirres continued, Governor King, Governor of New South Wales between 1800 – 1806 recorded a conversation with Tip-a-he, a chief of the Bay of Islands, in 1806;

⁴¹⁵ *ibid*, p. 109

⁴¹⁶ *ibid*, p. 110

⁴¹⁷ *ibid*.

⁴¹⁸ *ibid*, p. 111

*“The existence of a God who resides above they believe and that his shadow frequently visits the earth.”*⁴¹⁹

From the Kaitahu tradition, Teone Tare Tikao, a recognised tohunga in South Island Māori culture, informed Herries Beattie in 1920 of his account of the genesis story.

*“Io, the Supreme God, brought the sky (Ranginui or Rangi) and land (Papa-tua-nuku or Papa) into being....I was not taught the whole story of creation, but I had certain portions explained to me. I was taught to repeat the following words, Io whatata; Io whatamai; Ko hekeheke-i-nuku; Ko hekeheke-i-papa.”*⁴²⁰

The written evidence from the Chatham Islands comes from an old man who wrote a prayer for his children in 1859, and goes;

“...Te ruanuku e io te ruanuku Tāne 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 were the written and oral work as well as the experiences of the Reverend Māori Marsden through the Ngāpuhi tradition. Shirres, in his book *Te Tangata*, follows Māori Marsden’s theology of the creation based on the tradition of Io as understood by the Ngāpuhi tradition taking it through its various stages. It is an impressive outlay of the Māori 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 is 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 Pākehā or not, is not relevant to our main purpose. Rather, what is important is the theology, the concept, and what the people believe 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

⁴¹⁹ *ibid.*

⁴²⁰ Beattie, Herries, *Tikao Talks, Ka Taokao te Āo Kōhatu, Treasures from the ancient world of the Māori*, Penguin Books, 1990. P. 24

in re-interpreting and understanding the theology of Māori spirituality. This is the challenge and opportunity for all Māori people to grapple with as those before us had to do.

At the January Tāpapa Ministry Summer School 2000, held at Rotorua, a guest speaker, Dr. Aroha Yates –Smith, Senior Lecturer of Māori studies at the University of Waikato challenged the gathering with the following proclamation. She had been brought up in a strong Māori Anglican environment at Ōhinemutu, Rotorua, where she was confirmed Anglican. She has studied Māori gods, especially Māori female gods for her doctoral thesis, and she no longer holds a simplistic view of Jesus as her Saviour. Instead, her beliefs, especially in respect to life after death, is based on the beliefs of ngā tīpuna, the beliefs of her ancestors. It seems Māori gods are still quite relevant, at least for some people, in the computer era of virtual reality in the new millennium.

By way of summary of this chapter, Māori 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 Māori singers who, in 1998, found themselves caught up in a seemingly helpless situation where unemployment was high and with the likelihood of being evicted from their rental home. In despair they cried out to their traditional Māori gods for help and looking for some answers raised the issue that perhaps going back to the old beliefs may be a way out of their dilemma and perhaps maintain their tino rangatiratanga. These were some of the problems confronted by beneficiaries and the unemployed during the late 90's with Māori at the bottom of the heap. This was highlighted by the Anglican Church in the same year which organised The Hīkoi 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, (Māori 15.5%; NZ Official Yearbook 1997), poor health and about 18% of households in New Zealand living below poverty line, (Māori are 2 ½ times more likely to be in poverty than Pakeha).

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? After nearly 200 years of Christianity and influenced by other World Religions, is there room for Māori gods? Can Māori reject the Christian Pakeha God so easily? Would it be possible to be both Māori and

Christian? Would Māori gods be able to go surfing in this world of Internet and Virtual Reality? What relevance, if any, would Māori gods bring to modern society let alone to floundering young Māori people in the 21st century? By going back to the Māori gods will this remove the yoke of Māori suffering and injustices of the present and the future? Will Māori be able to attain their tino rangatiratanga?

The first section, in looking at the question of who and what are Māori gods, used Harold Turner's analysis of primal religion as a base to help identify various aspects of the dynamic relationship of Māori cosmology. The root source of Māori stories, were taken from Tony Alpers retelling of Māori Myths and Tribal Legends, especially of Rangi and Papa and snippets of Māui stories. Māori 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 Māori resides in the fact that Māori 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 Māui the demi-god. Every animate and inanimate object, every activity, individually and socially, reverberates with spiritual mana, mauri and ihi. Māori spirituality before the arrival of the Pākehā was absolutely necessary to the proper functioning of Māori society.

The arrival of a new world order of technology and different culture, while violent at times, has slowly been absorbed and adopted. Māori changed their status from an independent country to become part of the British Empire and had British Rights. The new settlers were very much dependent on the Māori business acumen, and Māori soon embraced the new religion, but not in its totality. While they became British subjects their approach to life remained very much Māori. 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, outmanoeuvred, and outgunned, the Treaty was swept aside as null 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, Māori remained very much Māori. While the clash of the two cultures was vibrant and complicated, the ancient belief of Māori 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 Māori plundered of their resources and means of subsistence, and in due course the loss of mana, mauri and a decrease in numbers. Māori almost became extinct, like the Moa bird before them. Destitute and impoverished, Māori inwardly turned to their own resources of whānau, hapū and iwi for their inspiration and the reawakening of ancestral spirits within the context of the marae, the last bastion of Māoridom. 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 Māori. Out of the relived past a sense of identity prevailed, but with a difference. The artwork had changed. Traditional reproduction and representation took another leap into the new century, capturing the moment and changes in time. Religious beliefs and concepts changed to include Christianity. Yet in spite of the changes the marae remained a refuge, a haven, and a sacramental vehicle where emotional feelings and formal speeches flowed freely. Here the dead are cried over and farewelled, 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 to portray its spiritual depth and understanding.

The key to all this knowledge lies within the language. Only the Māori language can capture the essence and nuance of the Māori 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 whānau, hapū, and 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 Māori spirituality remained strong during the period of interaction with the new world and Christianity was adopted and in some cases adapted into Māori culture. Changes took place. Christianity was supported, upheld and broadcast by Māori and the Io tradition began to appear publicly but surreptitiously. But the ancient spiritual tradition remained alongside the new religion. This came through quite clearly in the artwork within the meetinghouses, churches, and halls with added dynamism and display of colours.

For over 160 years Māori have longed for the return of tino rangatiratanga as set out in the Treaty of Waitangi, and to be able to live life the Māori 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 Māori and their tāonga katoa (all their properties), under the guise of lawful actions and the myth of one people, one nation. Māori

efforts to persuade, discuss, consult, were, and still are, met with stubborn resistance as the three Hīrangi 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 Māori members, tino rangatiratanga is a reality. Now, the Church has set out a challenge to its members and the wider community, both Māori and non-Māori, 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 latest Hīkoi of Hope is any indication of the dedication and genuine concern of the Anglican Church and other Churches to make changes in Government, Māori will be foolish to let this moment slip by. Māori now have powerful allies with empathy and understanding. Pākeha and Māori are willing to debate, consult and educate the Colonial Pākeha. Their missionary zeal for justice and equality are unquestionable as part of the Gospel that their Pākeha tīpuna brought to this land Aotearoa, where Marsden preached the first sermon on Aotearoa soil,

“Behold I bring glad tidings of great joy”.

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. There is a need 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 Māori singers - the Māori 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 Māori aspirations and which will be of great benefit for the future of both Māori and Pākeha. As the Māori proverb encourages all to do;

“E rere te mānuka, tomokia. As the dart flies true to its mark, let us follow it through.”

Chapter 9

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

*Go forth, nor bend to greed of white man's hands,
By right by birth, we Indians own these lands,
Though starved, crushed, plundered, lies our nation low;
Perhaps the white man's God has willed it so.*

E. Pauline Johnson-Tekahionwake. (Mohawk Tribe)⁴²¹

This chapter attempts, very briefly, to correlate five other nations', indigenous spiritual journeys from an Anglican point of view. They are part of the Aboriginals in Australia, The First Nations Peoples in Canada, The Native Americans in the United States of America, including the Peoples of the State of Hawaii, and the Celtics on the Ilse of Skye. This is an attempt to show that perhaps the Māori whirlwind journey through colonialism may not be as violent or as terrible as this writer makes it out to be. But, more than that, through reflection upon differing effects that colonialism has brought to the indigenous peoples of these five nations, that by the sharing of pain and spiritual existentialism, like the Pheonix bird we may rise together from the ashes. To affirm one another, the dignity that all humans require, promised from within the rising of the son of God as indeed the spirituality of this thesis is based on from a Māori cultural perspective.

The above poem by Pauline Johnson-Tekahionwake seems to set out a challenge to her people that despite being oppressed and savaged of land and of spirit the spark is still within the ashes as they remind themselves who owned the lands but then seemingly to submit to the inevitable will of the white man's God.

The five above mentioned nations do not have the privilege of the 1992 Constitution of the Anglican Church in New Zealand nor do they have the Treaty of Waitangi to act as a Magna Carta to explore models and ways for living together differently which would have a settling effect with a pledge to look at autonomy and cultural rights. Instead each colonised nation has their own history and means of combating and trying to decolonise and transform their lives. Indigenous peoples throughout the world over the last 30 years have rapidly

⁴²¹ Riordan James, 1996, *The Songs My Paddle Sings, Native American Legends*, Pavilion Books Limited, London. P.9.

become leading players in a developing global order. It is not surprising then to see that an international movement of indigenous peoples has developed through the coming and working together and sharing experiences. It is not difficult to see why this happened so quickly with the new technology bringing the colonised to one another's attention in an instant.

The common ground of claims of self-determination and self-autonomy plus the failure of western ways to satisfactorily deal with indigenous social, educational, political and financial equity, has given way to the rejection of mainstream institutions as the revitalisation of culture, exploded to the forefront. Despite the increase in state assistance throughout the world indigenous peoples remain virtually the same as before, that is, at the bottom of the heap.

The white people, as our poetry points out, continue to expand their strong grip on all main fronts in the name of progress and continue to ignore and spurn indigenous cultures and traditional lifestyles.

THE ANGLICAN INDIGENOUS NETWORK

The genesis of The Anglican Indigenous Network (A.I.N.) began with discussions in the 1980s during the meeting of the General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Vancouver in 1983. From these discussions further informal meetings were held which included delegates from Australia, Canada, Hawai'i, New Zealand and the United States. Then in 1991, at The General Synod of the Episcopal Church in Phoenix, Arizona Convention the network was born when Reeves, along with Vercoe and Archbishop Peers of Canada, called together a small group of Native Americans to shape an Anglican response to the United Nations Year of the Indigenous People. That meeting in Phoenix broadened the cooperation and gave birth to the network according to Owanah Anderson, staff officer for Indian Ministry.⁴²²

The Māori Anglican Church in Aotearoa began its real journey with the indigenous peoples of the Native Americans when The late Right Reverend, Sir Paul Reeves, former archbishop of the Church of the Province of New Zealand, (who had just finished his six-year term as

⁴²², Ikhan, Spring/Summer 1994, National Committee on Indian Work of the Episcopal Church p.8.

Governor General of New Zealand), was received on January 13 1991 at Trinity Church, Wall Street, New York as the first permanent representative of the Anglican Communion to the United Nations. Reeves, a Māori, formally assumed his new role as the Anglican Consultative Council's representative to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and also as an assisting bishop in the Episcopal Diocese of New York.⁴²³

He was handed over in a short, colourful handing-over ceremony of the Anglican ritual mixed with Māori tradition. It is Māori custom to accompany a person when one takes up a new position or begins a new job as a sign of the community's continuing love and support. The delegation that accompanied Reeves and his wife, Beverley, included the late Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe of Aotearoa, of New Zealand with his wife Doris and other church leaders.

At the welcoming ceremony, Reeves was wearing a kahukiwi korowai, a traditional ceremonial robe of kiwi feathers that is worn as a sign of chiefly rank. To the accompaniment of a Māori chant, the delegation moved to the chancel steps. Bishop Vercoe cited Reeves accomplishments to the congregation and, following tradition, told those present that if the community did not appreciate the treasure that had been brought, the New Zealanders would return to reclaim him.

Reeves was received by the U.S. representative to the Anglican Consultative Council, The Reverend Austin Cooper; Dr. William Vendeley, Secretary General of the World Conference on Religion and Peace, and Reverend Canon George Packard, who received him as an assisting bishop. The ceremony was completed by the exchange of the Māori cloak for a new cope and mitre, presented as a gift from the parish by the rector of Trinity, Paul Matthews. Thus Sir Paul Reeves was installed into a World Wide organization based in America where he played an important role in helping to establish connections with the members of the Anglican indigenous peoples of American Natives, Hawai'i, Canadian First Nations and of course, with the Māori of Aotearoa, New Zealand.

VISITATION OF AOTEAROA BY AMERICAN INDIANS.

Our first contact with a large group of American Indians was back in August of 1990 when a strong contingent of 12 delegates arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand. They were from the

⁴²³ Ikhana, Spring 1991, p. 4.

Athabascan in Alaska, Caddo, Chippewa, Choctaw, Creek, Mohawk, Navajo, Sioux and Ute tribes.

*“We come to learn how the Māori – our counterparts in New Zealand – do their growing ministry. We seek to learn how the partnership functions between the Anglican Church in New Zealand and the non-geographic, ethnically based Māori Bishopric of Aotearoa, and to take back with us new approaches in bringing the gospel to our people.” says Owanah Anderson, of the Choctaw tribe and acting grandmother to the group.*⁴²⁴

The group was broken up into several sections and handed out to their hosts from all over Aotearoa and down South to the Waipounamu for five days and met back in Rotorua for their final gathering of sharing and learning what Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa was all about. They learned that it was the indigenous pathway to evangelism; it was an alternative programme of training lay and clergy and that it was in partnership with the Anglican Church of New Zealand and Polynesia which had separate and adequate funding. All too soon the party came to an end and the parting of the ways - but with the promise for the future that some of us will meet again.

They came in ignorance and with open minds as Tolly Estes wrote;

*“ I went to Aotearoa with many questions and an attitude of honest ignorance. When we were leaving I had overcome my ignorance but still had many questions... I am renewed because of their search for themselves and I fear for them if they fully find themselves. They were a great inspiration to me personally. ”*⁴²⁵

The Reverend Johnson Loud who found something to take back to the North American Natives says;

*“I was deeply impressed because the many many villages throughout the North and South Island practice the same format with marae hui. There is a protocol used now that has been used for centuries. The one thing I brought back with me is that all North America natives can use the model of more openness to integrate their religions with traditional customs with emphasis on saving all they can of who they were as a people and who they need to become.”*⁴²⁶

The partnership with the church must be one through their culture. One of them noted that;

⁴²⁴ IKHANA, Fall 1990, p. 13

⁴²⁵ Ibid p. 12.

⁴²⁶ Ibid p.13

*“Too often we are trapped by our Anglicanism...even though so many Anglicans are no longer white. I think the church even tends to push (non-white) people away.”*⁴²⁷

There was also praise for the Māori training programs that make use of archdeacons who serve as ‘Enablers’, travelling to teach and work with students in their home communities. One of the problems he sees that they have in America is that they do not enable or empower their people to do ministry, where as they are doing a good job of it in New Zealand reported Archdeacon Phillip Allen, a Sioux from the Diocese of Minnesota.

The Reverend Anna Frank, an Athabascan from Alaska who is one of only two ordained Indian women priests in the American church, also noted that more Māori women are now being ordained, despite the reluctance in Māori tradition to place women in leadership roles.

The American team did recognized important differences, however, between the American and New Zealand situations that make it difficult to use the Māori model for ministry with native people in their country. While the Māori comprise 15 percent of New Zealand’s population, American Indians account for less than 1 percent of the population, making it much more difficult to convince non-Indian church people of the need for true partnership and affirmation of native people. The 300 different languages amongst Indians does not help to unify by a common language. The financial instability of most Indian ministries is also a major obstacle to effective ministry. The challenges are huge and colossal like the country itself, broad and massive.

Despite this, both Māori and American delegations are of the opinion that common concerns are shared like marginalization, unemployment, finding and training ministers, and attracting young people to the church. Not surprising that both groups are investigating longer-term exchange and further coming together to help and assist the ministries of the indigenous peoples.

⁴²⁷ Ibid p.14

**Te Whare Wānanga o Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa
(The University of The Bishopric of Aotearoa.)**

It was a short visit of two weeks mainly to visit and meet the Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa Educational team of nine Enablers (Kai Whakamana), who were responsible for the setting up and establishment of a Whare Wānanga (University) of Te Pīhopatanga, and to observe the training programme development which Te Pīhopatanga had established since 1978. The delegation came to learn how the indigenous Māori of New Zealand have achieved self-determination, which we will look at briefly before continuing with the Anglican Indigenous Network.

In 1978, General Synod gave leave for the inauguration of the Bishopric of Aotearoa with its own Synodical Council and structures. It meant that all Māori work came under the direct control of the Bishop of Aotearoa, but working in partnership with all Diocesan Bishops and synods. In 1980, the Council of the Bishopric was constituted as an Electoral Synod to nominate and elect the fourth Bishop of Aotearoa. The first three Māori Bishops of Aotearoa from 1928 to 1968 were elected by the North Island Diocesan Bishops only. This was to be an historic occasion for the Māori portion of the Church to elect their own Bishop. So it was that The Right Reverend Whakahuihui Vercoe was elected and consecrated as Bishop of Aotearoa with its own General Synod

The Bishopric of Aotearoa since 1976 was not idle in the educational programme of its clergy as they began the self-supporting Priesthood Training Scheme in the Diocese of Waiapū which led to a dramatic and enthusiastic growth of training in ministry, both for the ordained and for the lay-people and challenged other diocese to adopt the scheme. The exceptional results from this programme, Minita-ā-iwi (M.A.I.), took the church by storm. Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe stimulated the M.A.I. programme throughout, allowing more lay-people to be ordained and in the process making significant constitutional reforms. In 1976 the number of priests throughout New Zealand working for Māori people numbered a total of 29. By 1991 there was a total 208 priests (8 of them women), 204 Lay Readers (Kaikarakia) (64 of them were women) a total of 512 personnel all up.⁴²⁸ Further to this in

⁴²⁸ Proceedings of Te Rūnanga o Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa, 1991 p. 92.

1984 a challenge to the Church to address its life according to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

This was taken up by both the Anglican and Methodist Churches towards bicultural partnership virtually agreeing that we are two partners and have our own form of government, of structure and of organisation. This was confirmed at the 1986 General Synod which received the report of the Bicultural Commission of the Treaty of Waitangi and agreed that the 1875 Constitution of the Church should be revised so that the principles of partnership and bicultural development are expressed and entrenched.⁴²⁹

As pointed out by Allan Davidson, in the General Synod's response to this, the ministry of Te Pihopatanga was redefined as providing episcopal care and oversight of Māori people throughout the Province. Mandatory commissions from diocesan bishops were no longer required. The office of Te Pīhopa o Aotearoa was put on the same basis as that of a diocesan bishop. Te Pihopa was also given the right to attend, speak and vote in diocesan synods as a bishop.⁴³⁰

What the partnership means for the Anglican Church as it discovers and acknowledges its history is quite revealing. In accepting and pronouncing its bicultural partnership the Commission was made aware of the dangers of having separate ecclesiastical structures. However it was accepted throughout the history of the Anglican Church in New Zealand that there have always been two churches. Te Hāhi Mihinare and the Settlers' Church, which was to be referred to by the Bicultural Commission in 1988 as tikanga Māori and tikanga Pākehā.⁴³¹

A special meeting of General Synod was held in November 1990 in Wellington and after some minor debates and corrections the revision of the Anglican Constitution was passed and was to be ratified at the General Synod of 1992.

⁴²⁹ PGS, 1986, p.31.

⁴³⁰ PGS, 1986, pp116-17.

⁴³¹ PGS, 1988, R.192.

The Visit to Hawai'i and American Indians.

In 1991, under the leadership of Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe, Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa, headed a delegation of 15 Anglican Māori personnel in June to return the visit by twelve American Indians who came to Aotearoa the year before. With the bishop was his wife Doris and the rest of the team consisted mainly of the Enabling Team and their wives, The Venerable Ben Te Haara and wife Gwen, The Reverends Frank Harrison and wife Hannah, Mark Mete and wife Mako, Te Waaka Melbourne and wife Cherry, Joe Akuhata Brown, Mrs Nika Harrison, Mrs Meri Hōhaia, and two youth representatives Miss Valerie Roderkirk, and Miss Waihekerangi Maaka.

Hawai'i Church.

We stopped over in Hawai'i for a three-day visit of the Cathedral church St. Paul's, where Charlie Darrow, Malcolm Chung, Yvonne Kaiahua and many of the local people greeted and welcomed us. Probably what was soon obvious to us as we joined them in worship and meetings was the deprivation of the culture of such beautiful and warm-hearted people of Hawai'i. It was like finding a lost relation only to realize that it is only half a relation you have found as it struggles culturally to find oneself. It was heartbreaking and sad. However by the end of our visit after many meetings, worship, meals and singing, hula and haka together, it was heartening to learn that local government is now funding a Kōhanga Reo, based on the Aotearoa model and that there are now total immersion programmes in the Hawaiian language. A couple of comments made by the local people were,

*"Your bishop is very loose, I wish ours was more like him, and we're amazed at the relaxed and friendly manner of your clergy."*⁴³²

We left Hawai'i very happy and relaxed but sad for the people and the struggle they have ahead of them for their identity and their tino rangatiratanga. We will come back to the Hawaiian people later in this chapter.

⁴³² Melbourne Cherry, Report on Visit to Native American and Hawaii, p.1

Denver Church.

Our next call of port after a short visit to Disney Land was Denver where members of the Vine Deloria, Snr. Memorial Indian Mission hosted and welcomed us at a celebration of the Eucharist at St Barnabas Episcopal Church.

“It was Bishop Hui’s 40th anniversary to the priesthood was quietly celebrated during this service as we were welcomed by the slow, chilling call of the drums, one felt like one was way back in time, as Cherry Melbourne recalled in her report. The leader, Barnard, had not learned his reo until after twenty years absence from home. He returned to his parents who taught him his reo and he in turn teaches his 14-year-old son Duane the reo, drums and songs. A native elder presented an insight into the political battles past and present being fought by the natives and suggested support by way of written supplications forwarded to American authorities. In response Bishop Hui explained that Māori had travelled the same road without success and believed the most effective way is throughout the church and that spiritualism is their commonality with all indigenous peoples. A spirituality not seen or appreciated by the white man.”⁴³³

Bishop Whakahuihui continued to point out that,

“As indigenous people throughout the world we are all searching for the best way to retain our culture, language and traditions; and this is more evident within the structures of the Church. The whole question of identity and participation within the structures of the church for native peoples has now been fully addressed by the Church, and some significant changes have taken place, to change the shape and image of the Anglican Church in many parts of the world. I firmly believed that the survival of a people cannot be achieved by political or economical means, but by the faith in which we live in all that we do and say.”⁴³⁴

Bishop Vercoe’s comments set the theme and tone of our visit to the American Natives. Next morning we broke up into groups and flew to our various destinations. Rev. Akuhata-Brown winged his way to Alaska as the guest of Bishop Steve Charlston.

Minnesota Convocation

Rev. Mark Mete and Mako his wife along with Mrs Nika Harrison, at 81 years old as our kuia (Elder), Miss Valerie Roderkirk met up with The Most Reverend Paul Reeves on their way to the Lower Sioux Reservation near Morton, Minnesota, to attend their Convocation otherwise known as a Synod in Aotearoa.

⁴³³ Ibid p. 2

⁴³⁴ Ikhana, Summer, 1991p.8

At the Sunday worship service Bishop Reeves in his sermon noted the similarities between Māori and the Native Indians, having the same hymns set to the Victorian tunes, both were exposed to the 19th century colonization and they even looked alike.

“The only disadvantage about this place is the distance you have to go to gather seafood,” he joked.

Reeves noted the tribulations and the determination of the Dakota Episcopalians who built St. Cornelia’s Church, whose construction was interrupted by the U.S. – Dakota conflict of 1862. Many of the members managed to flee to other communities, returning in 1891 to complete the church in the Morton area. A copy of The New Zealand Prayer book was then presented to the church in a flax woven kit in appreciation for their hospitality.

A highlight of the service was the singing of a composition, The Bishop Whipple Mission Blues, during the offertory, composed and sung by a Dakota musician, Steve Emery, Eagle Butte, S.D., an attorney for the Standing Rock Tribe.

These were then some of the observations made by the Native Indians. The Vicar of St Cornelius Church Rev. Lyal Noisy Hawk, concluded that the Māori are far ahead of the Native Americans in achieving self determination in their church and it has given him encouragement to learn that they could be pretty well responsible for running their own church.

Loud, the Redby priest said it was a pleasure having the Māori as guests, observing,

“it seems like we have always known each other.”

He noted that the two groups were similar in not being part of the dominant society and trying to fit into that rule which is not sensitive to the needs of minorities.

Allen, the archdeacon, noted how much the Māori have done in making their church indigenous.

“They are way ahead of us in numbers of natives’ priests, deacons and bishops and in control of their resources. In a short time the Māori will have their own Anglican Province. (Which was achieved in the following year 1992). Besides looking alike, the Māori and Native Americans have a lot of the same customs and some of the same problems, including land rights, sovereignty rights, alcoholism and problems with youth. The only difference I could see is that they have one language and we have 300”.

Perhaps, if he had remembered, he would have mentioned that they also had numerous Treaties and Māori had one.⁴³⁵

Navajoland (‘j’ pronounced as ‘h’) Convocation.

Monument Valley, Utah a blending of cultures at the Navajo land’s 16th Annual Convocation, at St Mary’s of the Moonlight, remotely located in the shadows of fierce red cliffs some 12 miles from a paved road.

“Kia ora,”

said the four visitors from Aotearoa, New Zealand, Land of the long white cloud.

“Yah-tay,”

responded the Navajo.

“Hi,”

spoke the rare belagana (white person).

From the fertile green North Island, half a world away, came a Māori delegation headed by Bishop Whakahuihui and his wife Doris and alongside was Rev. Sonny Melbourne, an Enabler, with his wife Cherry who hosted the Rt. Rev. Steven Plummer, when he visited New Zealand in 1990.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁵ Ibid, p. 21.

⁴³⁶ Ibid, p. 5.

“We still walk in beauty, we hold on to what we believe, we are called to be leaders, we learn from each other, listen to your hearts. Nihita yakte – God is good.”

So rang the words of the Chairman, Bishop Steven Plummer, at the end of his opening address to the Church in Navajo land at their 16th Annual Convocation held at St Mary of the Moonlight, Oljeto, Utah. Here were the Dine People of the land. Seemingly untouched by the Belegana way. I was duly impressed by their strength, stamina and endurance as I sweltered in the constant 90-degree heat. Truly they are the Dine. Small in stature and small in numbers but they are like the redish monolith giants, scattered around the country, towering into the heavens, cathedral like in their stance, as they worked through their business unhurriedly and quietly except by a sudden outburst of rage from one of the Belaganas.

Their youth were much more expressive, or was it only because they spoke in English and I understood what they were saying. Like their adults they took their time reaching a consensus of opinion for a weekend jaunt together.⁴³⁷

Bilingual worship services are customary in Navajoland, where most of the old grandmothers do not understand the English language, but this summer, the 175 participants in the Episcopal Church in Navjoland Convocation heard a third language – the language and songs of the Māori. Bishop Vercoe preached at the Sunday service that saw Gary Sosa, a businessman, ordained to the diaconate, where he entreated Navajo to;

“Hold onto the child that is within you...the child within us must stay alive if we are to grow in holiness.”

Mark Maryboy, the first Navajo elected to a Utah public office, was banquet speaker. Elected County Commissioner in 1986, Marboy was recently appointed to the national church’s Peace and Justice Commission. He pledged to bring the Navajo concept of interrelatedness with all creation to the national forum, stressing that Navajo language and culture must remain intact.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁷ Ibid, p. 8.

⁴³⁸ Ibid, p. .5

An eight member tribal council has governed this 2500 square mile nation since the 1920's and although it includes industries, schools, hospitals and museum it is still not a wealthy land. The Navajo suffer the shortest life span, the greatest infant mortality, lowest income, highest unemployment and the highest alcoholism, diabetes and T.B. of any racial – ethnic group in the land. Receiving the dole is not easy, as they have to hassle through the federal state and the state governments who really do not want to know the natives and their problems.

Another nation of people we were fortunate to visit were the Hopi people living on a mesa 6,500 feet above sea level, a 2,000 feet high sheer rock jutting up the dessert floor believed to be the oldest inhabited place on earth. Atop and around this rock is the Hopi reservation in the middle of the Navajo reservation where much dissent still flows between the two tribes over the land. Water is scarce and is carried to the top of the mesa on a platform pulled up by hand on ropes. An old man invited us into his Waipi dwelling dug out of the rock, where he was boiling his water for coffee on an old iron coal range in a 90 plus degree heat.⁴³⁹ There was not a sight of trees or shrubs anywhere – except out in the desert 2000 feet below. I didn't ask what meals they have to survive on. It was enough for me to know that I will be dining well at our motel that night. One comment Bishop Whakahuihui made to me as we looked at a portrait of a group of Hopi elders;

“Do they not look like our tīpuna (elders) from Maungapōhatu?”

He was referring to our people of the Tūhoe tribe high up in Te Urewera country in New Zealand, from where we both descend. It was uncanny how closely these people resembled our own elders.

NIOBRARA CONVOCATION

After 9 days we left Farmington in New Mexico for South Dakota. The transformation was stark. From dry red and gold sands to luscious green rolling plains with a temperature drop from 90 down to 26 degrees. This was in the small town of Mowbridge beside the Missouri River where we were billeted for the next few days while attending the Niobrara Convocation was held at Standing Rock Reservation, an hours drive into the wilderness of rolling hills and grass without seeing stock of any kind and barely a dwelling. Then

⁴³⁹ Melbourne Cherry notes p.5.

suddenly, a hollow valley appeared surrounded by rocky cliff. In the centre of this green depression was a white tipi, a marquee, a stone church a cookhouse and plenty of people. Our own people who had arrived before us welcomed us. It was an incredible experience having a Synod in the middle of nowhere, the climatic changes of hot and cold wind, and the feeding of 300 people.

Cherry Melbourne wrote how after the service Bishop Vercoe introduced his team. That was followed by the singing of Whakaaria Mai that brought about the first of many praises for Māori singing. Also, how the input of the Māori language, culture, craft, spirituality, tradition, dignity and pride combined with the progress within the church in New Zealand were all aspects. This gained much applause and appreciation among the Sioux, Caddo, Choctaw and numerous other native tribes present. A sample of buffalo meat, singed in a huge hole like a barbecue, beans and fry bread was ours to enjoy before returning to our billets.

Cherry continued to note that the agenda included a motion against the ordination of gays and the promotion of indigenous culture into the liturgy, which was agreed to. A discussion on whether to mix native tapu with Christian tapu was likened to using a peace pipe in place of a cross on the alter. Rev, Martin Broken Leg spoke of the use of Māori culture in the clergy vestments, songs, chants and even their stance, and the gathering voiced their wholehearted approval. Bishop Hui spoke in support of the resolution and reminded those present that Christ is above culturalism. The end of the Synod closed with a Holy Communion service, with 7 bishops, 25 priests, 20 lay readers and about 300 in the congregation. It was here that we witness the Niobrabra goodbye circle where everybody got to say thank you, goodbye and God bless to everybody.⁴⁴⁰

Our hosts were gracious and kind and performed a massive undertaking in looking after 15 Māori for over two weeks. Their care and support of made our stay very memorable and unforgettable. There is no doubt that our presence as Māori Anglicans made a huge impact on the way that they will look at themselves in terms of their tino rangatiratanga, self-governance and self – supporting. They have many more challenges and difficulties to face than we as Māori do, and yet, they will be able to learn from our mistakes and our efforts in bridging the gaps between peoples. Like Maori they have many grievances to set right, yet

⁴⁴⁰ *ibid* p. 6.

amid it all they soldier on always hopeful for a positive outcome. We hope our visit had been helpful to their cause.

THE ISLANDS OF HAWAI'I

We continue with our comparison of the spiritual life of the indigenous peoples with those of Hawai'i as they struggle for self-determination. This will be looked at within the framework established in the draft declaration of Indigenous Peoples. It will be necessary first to give a brief outline of the country's history since contact was made with the western world. A resume of the relevant articles from the draft declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 1993 will follow and conclude that despite its slow ponderous and imperfect progress, the law will eventually prevail, and give hope for the future of self-determination for indigenous peoples.

The islands of Hawai'i before the contact with the western world were governed under the ancient land system, which was distinctly, Polynesian. Hawai'ian society was divided into their various departments working under the directions of the chiefs and priests. The chief was the authority and his authority came from the gods with the help of the priests. The land and natural resources were his responsibility acting as a trustee and administrator on behalf of the gods and the people. All activities came under strict rules designed to conserve natural resources and provide sustenance for all people of the Hawai'ian society. The concept of private ownership of land had no place in the pre-European Hawai'ian society.⁴⁴¹

The transition began in 1795 after Kamehameha the First compelled most chiefs to come under his rule using western technology and allies to help him. While he created some new regulations he followed very much the ancient tenure of Hawai'ian custom appertaining to the land. This gave the people a strong sense of reliance and certainty of their future well being. By the time of Kamehameha 3rd, the young king was persuaded to adopt a policy of hereditary succession called the law of 1825. More pressure came when trade collapsed and to provide agriculture products for the growing market in California, a more substantial land tenure system was required for the individual. A Declaration of Rights was announced in

⁴⁴¹ MacKenzie Melody Kapilialoha, 1991, *Native Hawaiian Rights Handbook*, University of Hawaii Press, p.4.

1839. The Constitution of 1840 was formally declared, to ensure that the land belonged to the top chiefs and people, with the king as trustee to all.⁴⁴²

In 1842, the United States, under President Tyler, decreed the 'Tyler Doctrine' announcing to the rest of the world that Hawai'i was under the protection of the U.S. by virtual right of conquest.⁴⁴³

In 1887, American merchants forced the Bayonet Constitution on Hawai'i's monarch to secure the reciprocity Treaty by which Pearl Harbour was ceded to the U.S. in exchange for duty free sugar transport. The Treaty was good for business people and the military but devastating for the Hawai'ians and their sovereignty. Annexation was only a formality and this was achieved without the consent or consultation with the Hawai'ian natives. To justify their action, the debates in congress cited the native and Asiatic as inferior and ignorant, clearly reflecting their arrogance and racist attitude. Ignoring its own constitutional provisions, Congress approved Hawai'i's annexation without a ballot, (unlike Texas which was given the opportunity for a referendum). With these unconstitutional manoeuvres, Hawai'i was annexed in August 1898.⁴⁴⁴

In answer to a local, national and international outcry, the U.S. set up a special trust on behalf of the Natives in Hawai'i, known as the Homestead Act Fund, allegedly under the guise of improving the conditions of the Native Hawai'ians. This was far from the truth. An investigation of eleven years by a Commission on Civil Rights published their report. Known as a broken trust it showed documentation of seventy years of federal and state failure to protect the civil rights of Hawai'ian people. Also research work by the Wall Street Journal, Common Cause, and the Readers Digest magazines have published further shocking revelations about the mismanagement of the Homestead Trust in illegal uses and transfers of thousands of acres of Hawai'ian lands for U.S. military bases, public schools and facilities, parks and county projects, as well as the leasing of lands for commercial and industrial purposes for private parties and politicians making preposterous profits. There were many other illegal undertakings by the U.S. in violation of the trust. In seventy years

⁴⁴² ibid p.5

⁴⁴³ Massey University, Book of Readings 50.701, Trask Mililani B., *The Politics of Oppression*, p.354.

⁴⁴⁴ ibid p.357

since the passing of the Act, less than 6 000 Natives have received land, 22 000 are still on waiting lists and an estimated 30 000 natives have died waiting for their homestead.⁴⁴⁵

After the annexation of Hawai'i their language, culture, religion and traditional practises were suppressed. Regardless of this, the native Hawai'ians remained active in their various organisations maintaining the traditional ruling chiefs and exercising their rights accordingly without political power. From 1983 to 1987 a coalition of native leaders began the task of setting up workshops in all native communities throughout the Hawaii Islands concentrating on the right of self-determination. The movement resulted into a Native Constitutional Convention held in 1987 to form a new nation, Kalahui Hawai'i, The Gathering of Hawai'i. There were 250 delegates from 33 traditional districts and within five years it grew to 16,000. While the Kalahui Hawai'i is not recognised by the U.S. It has won the respect and support of the broader community in Hawai'i and has negotiated treaties with five Alaskan and American Indian Nations.⁴⁴⁶

The Kalahui Hawai'i has made submissions to the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Population for three years and participated in international events including regional consultations with the World Council of Churches Committee to Combat Racism and the Rio Conference. They defied and enunciated native rights to worship, fish, gather and undertake other commercial activities as well as implemented educational programmes focussing on historical and cultural data which have given the Hawai'ian much insight and understanding of themselves as a nation, empowering them to assert more control over their own nationhood and sovereignty.⁴⁴⁷

AUSTRALIAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES.

The colonisation of Australia by the British in 1768 was more straightforward than that of any of the other colonised countries in the world as the laws and customs of the indigenous people were ignored. They were not recognised as they had been in other parts of the British Empire. Instead, in their arrogance and ignorance the British claimed the land as 'terra nullius' that is, land without an owner. Not only did the British claim sovereignty over Australia but also ownership of the land. This approach was based on the preconception

⁴⁴⁵ ibid p.363

⁴⁴⁶ MacKenzie Melody Kapilialoha, *Native Hawaiian Rights Handbook*, University of Hawaii Press, 1991. p.98

⁴⁴⁷ ibid p.99

about the way land can be occupied, by tilling the soil and other traditional British techniques and failed to recognise the land management practices of the Aboriginal tribes. Diseases introduced by Westerners and by the deliberate act of genocide decimated the Aboriginal people.⁴⁴⁸

During the late 19th century and early 20th century it was believed that the indigenous people would die out and they were forced to live in reservations and on the outskirts of towns where they suffered appalling poverty and deprivation.

By the 1930s it was further decided that the Aboriginal problem would be solved if they were assimilated and made to live like white people.⁴⁴⁹ The arrival of the 1960's proved the solution futile but by then the Aboriginal natives had had enough and began protesting against injustices incurred which resulted in the successful referendum in 1967, giving power to the Commonwealth to change legislation to assist the Aboriginal people and include them in the census.⁴⁵⁰ In the early 70's the policy of assimilation was eventually replaced by the policy of self-determination and the Northern Territory Supreme Court in the Milirrpun case acknowledged the existence of indigenous laws in Australia but with the assumption that it did not change the law of 'terra nullius'.⁴⁵¹

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Commission (ATSIC), was set up in March 1990, with an all-appointed Board of 5 members. Within a year, the elected Regional Councils, and a full commission of predominantly elected members were in place. Under the ATSIC Act 1989, (the Act), the group has many roles. It is the principal adviser on all Aboriginal people's issues. It also monitors the effectiveness of programmes for the indigenous people, including programmes conducted by other bodies, and to develop policy proposals to meet the needs and priorities of the indigenous people at nation, state/territory and regional levels. The Act is also the vehicle in allocating government funds to assist self-determination.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁸ Jonas Bill, 1994, *The Little Red, Yellow, & Black (and green and blue and white) Book; A short guide to indigenous Australia*, Lane Brothers Printing, Adelaide.

⁴⁴⁹ *ibid* p. 31

⁴⁵⁰ *ibid* p. 33

⁴⁵¹ *ibid* p. 34

⁴⁵² Internet-Report to the Minister for ATSIC, February 1989, <http://www.tsic.gov.au/section26/0.htm#structure>. P.3 of 8

In 1992, the Australian High Court, in the Mabo Case ruled that the law in Australia can no longer ignore ownership of the indigenous people and that native title in relation to land must be applied. However encouraging this may be for the Aborigines in Australia, it was fraught with major contradictions. The Native Title Act 1993 was the result of the frustrations felt by the Aboriginal and non-aboriginal interests and the Government.⁴⁵³

By 1996, matters of significant concern emerged about the operations of the Act. From out of 238 claimant applications for determinations of native title, none have been finalised, and of 658 future act notices which have become subject to the right to negotiate, (mainly involving proposals to grant mining and exploration leases in Western Australia), only 12 successful agreements have been reached.⁴⁵⁴ A report of the ATSIC to the Minister, in February 1998, proposes a number of substantive changes to the native Title Act 1993 to improve its operation and to strengthen ATSIC's capacity to address the aspirations and needs of indigenous people over the next five years and beyond. The Commission believe that the proposals represent an evolutionary approach that will enable the ATSIC to build on past achievement and to meet new challenges, without compromising the need to sustain the highest levels of accountability both to the general community and to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people themselves.⁴⁵⁵

In October 2000, after five years of negotiations, the Federal Court ratified an agreement that recognised the Wik people's native title over 6,000 sq km of land in Cape York, although another 24,000 sq km still remain to be determined.⁴⁵⁶ The 2000 Summer Olympics in Sydney depicted a celebration of the Australian spirit. Aboriginal athlete Cathy Freeman was selected to light the Olympic torch to represent the spirit of Australia. It was also the year when hundred of thousands of Australians marched in support of Reconciliation with Aborigines. It was the largest protest march recorded in the history of Australia. It was more against the government of the day and Prime Minister John Howard presenting a narrow view of those of ordinary Australians, refusing to say sorry. The Aborigines had to wait until January 13th, 2008 when the new Labour Government led by Prime Minister Kevin

⁴⁵³ *Praxis*, Newsletter No.3 & 4, July-December 1997, The World student Christian Federation Asia-Pacific Region, Regional Office, Kowloon, Hong Kong. p. 25.

⁴⁵⁴ Internet – The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet. <http://www.dpmc.gov.au/native/part1.html>. p. 2 of 5.

⁴⁵⁵ Report to the Minister for ATSIC, February 1989, p. 8 of 8 pages.

⁴⁵⁶ Singh Sarina, Ed. 1998, *Aboriginal Australia & the Torres Strait Islands, Guide to Indigenous Australia*, Lonely Planet Publications, Melbourne, p. 31

Rudd offered a formal apology for this blemished chapter in their Nation's history. He continued to say that it was a first step, resolving that the injustices of the past must never happen again and promises of a future based on mutual respect, mutual resolve and mutual responsibility. Only time could prove it one way or another.⁴⁵⁷

Australia is a massive country and as there are hundreds of Aboriginal languages spoken so are there many different cultures and spiritual beliefs. Fortunately there is a common belief in creation, or what is known as The Dreaming, a time when the ancestral beings travelled across the country creating the natural world, as Māori ancestors fished up Te Ika a Māui, The Fish of Māui – The North Island of New Zealand. Like the ancestors of the Māori making their law and customs and traditions, so did the ancestors of the Aborigines take the form of humans, animals, or natural features in the landscape. Irene Watson says that law and spirituality is one and the same thing; our laws are also our spiritual beliefs. Spirituality and the land are also one entity, for our spirituality comes from The Dreaming ancestors whose spirits are alive in the land. The land is us, for we are in the land, as is the spirit of creation in all things. All is one, one is all.⁴⁵⁸

DRAFT DECLARATION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES.

Congress and the federal-state system has yet to give clear indication of their intentions of their responsibilities as signatories to the United Nations Charter under which they are duty-bound to help advance the Hawai'ian Natives for their rights of self determination and sovereignty. Melody MacKenzie is of the opinion that it is possible for the Native Hawai'ian to remain within the structure of the existing Federal-state system and maintain a separate native government. Melody also points out that the native Hawai'ians are in a better position than they were fifteen years ago in that they have organisations to carry out their vision of self determination and self governance mainly through the Kai Lahui Hawai'i and the office of Hawai'ian Affairs.

As with the Aboriginal natives, they have the international human rights forum as well as church and other indigenous organisations to help and support them and put pressure on the law of the land in their efforts for self-determination. What is critical for a young nation

⁴⁵⁷ New Zealand Herald, Section B1, Wednesday, January 13, 2008.

⁴⁵⁸ Singh Sarina, Ed. 1998, *Aboriginal Australia & the Torres Strait Islands, Guide to Indigenous Australia*, Lonely Planet Publications, Melbourne p. 106

seeking self-determination and self-governing status is their own efforts to continue to assert their human rights.⁴⁵⁹

In concluding this section the Australian indigenous people, by all recent accounts, seem to have a fair and positive working relationship with the present government, regardless of support from Hone Harawira an MP of the Māori Party. In 2009 he went across to Australia to lend his support to the Aboriginal people protesting against an act by government. While the aboriginal population is only 2% of the whole population they surely have survived as culturally distinct peoples against the brutal force of colonisation, probably as much as any other colonised country in the world. It is quite a distinctive culture, one that Australia as a whole is proud to sell it to the world to persuade people in the tourist trade to visit their country. Dr Irene Watson points out that in their struggle for survival against assimilation, many of their people have retained connections to their culture and are still living on the lands of their ancestors. They have retained many of their traditional customs and many of their ancient ceremonies are being revived throughout Australia.⁴⁶⁰

The Hawai'ian natives still have some way to go. History has written of the atrocities, which were deliberate in their execution on all indigenous peoples, and there is nothing that can be done about that now. History may be recalled and rewritten from another perspective the injustices remain but the lessons can be learnt and the future of the peoples to come can only be secured by continual discussions and planning. The law system may be slow, ponderous and imperfect but it is open for criticism and correction. Many changes have taken place and achievements reached for the betterment of societies no matter the pain. Self-determination and sovereignty will only come with continual discussions. Keep talking until there is a resolution process of the law to take its course.

THE CELTIC CHURCH

GOD

I am the wind that breathes upon the sea,

I am the wave on the ocean

I am the murmur of leaves rusling,

I am the rays of the sun

I am the beam of the moon and stars

⁴⁵⁹ MacKenzie 1991, p. 98.

⁴⁶⁰ *ibid* p. 106

*I am the power of trees growing,
 I am the bud breaking into blossom
 I am the movement of the salmon swimming,
 I am the courage of the wild boar fighting,
 I am the speed of the stag running,
 I am the strength of the ox pulling the plough,
 I am the size of the mighty oak tree,
 And I am the thoughts of all people
 Who praise my beauty and grace.*

Taken from The Black Book of Carmarthen, an ancient Welsh work.ⁱ

*“When the Celtic tribes of ancient Britain and Ireland embraced the Gospel, they created a unique form of Christianity. They rejoiced in the beauty of God’s creation, even welcoming animals in their monasteries. They understood the unity of spirit and matter, infusing work and pleasure with the spirit of prayer. And they expressed their faith not in theology and dogma, but in poetry and parable, in music and art.
 Robert Van de Weyer 1990.”⁴⁶¹*

According to David Bellingham in his book, *An Introduction to Celtic Mythology*, the earliest historical references to the Celts occur in Greek Literature from around 500 BC. By this time they already appear to be found in a wide geographical area from the upper region of the Danube in Eastern Europe across to France and Spain. Archaeological dating of Celtic finds not only confirms the histories, but also informs us of the prehistoric Celtic past recognising ‘proto-Celtic’ culture existed around the upper Danube in 1000 BC. Some archaeologists argue for a widespread and gradual spread of Celtic culture that existed in Bronze Age Northern and Western Europe: thus, Celtic Britain might date back to as early as 1500 BC. In their trading for iron tools and weapons they expanded their territories towards France and the Iberian Peninsula. The Gallic tribes then made unwelcome intrusions into Roman Italy and besieged Rome in 387 BC. In the 4th century Alexander the Great received Celtic ambassadors at his Macedonian court. The Romans named the French Celts Galli (Gauls), and the British Celts Belgae (originally from what is now Belgium) and Brittani (Britons), which became Roman Britain under the emperor Claudius in AD 43. By AD 45 Paul was preaching to the Celts in Galatia.⁴⁶² Ireland escaped the Roman invasion

⁴⁶¹ Weyer Robert Van de, 1990, *Celtic Fire: An anthology of Celtic Christian Literature*, Darton, Longman and Todd, London, p.92.

⁴⁶² *The Acts of the Apostles*, Chapt. 13 & 14, Paul’s First Missionary Journey.

and their myths and culture therefore tend to preserve their earlier, prehistoric Celtic culture in more detail. In AD 70 Jerusalem fell to the Romans.

Bellingham points out those writers of the 1st century, like Justin Martyr, Quintus Tertullian along with Julius Caesar give us detailed reports of Celtic culture and customs as seen by non-Celts. He says that the distinctive part that appears is that there was little unity among them. They were separated into aristocratic tribes ruled by chieftains who appear to have been constantly fighting one another. Bellingham concludes that it must be remembered that the Romans probably encouraged such native tribal divisions to facilitate their own invasions.⁴⁶³

According to the Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church the Celtic Church is generally understood that it had its beginnings in the British Isles well before the arrival of its missionaries St Augustine from Rome in 596 AD. The missions seem to have come from either Rome or Gaul during the 2nd and 3rd century. The Church was organized and competent enough to send some delegates to the Synod of Arles in 314 AD and to the Council of Arinimum in 359. By the 4th century, Christianity had spread beyond the borderlines of Roman Britain. It was also noted that the delegates from the Celtic Church who attended the Arinimum Conference were poorly clad and concluded that Christianity seem to have been confined to the poor people until much later in the century when evidence pointed to much more well to do Christians as well as having influenced the army. A small-undated Celtic church has been unearthed at Silchester.⁴⁶⁴

Even earlier than this is a discovery by archaeologists in a Roman villa at Chedworth near Gloucester, built about 180 AD, uncovered various Christian monograms. Uncovered also at the well of a villa at Appleshaw in Hampshire a pewter dish of similar date was also found, etched with the Chi-Rho symbol. Turtullian (160-220), theologian from Carthage, mentions places in Britain that had yielded to Christ.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶³ Bellingham David, 1998, *An Introduction to Celtic Mythology*, Quantum Books Ltd, London. P.8

⁴⁶⁴ Cross, F.L. Ed., 1958, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Oxford University Press, London. P. 256

⁴⁶⁵ Van de Weyer Robert, 1990, *Celtic Fire, An Anthology of Celtic Christian Literature*, Darton, Longman and Todd, London. p.4.

A common thought held previously by many was that the Roman Army could have brought Christianity to England. This can not be substantiated but certainly after the Romans left, Deanesly seem to think that sufficient evidence of bishops and groups of Christians were in town under Roman protection.⁴⁶⁶ Christianity undoubtedly extended in time throughout the land and by the year 314 when Constantine summoned a Council at Arles the list of attendees had three bishops named from London⁴⁶⁷

By the end of the 4th century a British monk Pelagius, went to Rome and was the author of the earliest surviving written document by a British writer, a commentary on St Paul's letters. Pelagius taught a theological system which held that a man took the initial and fundamental steps towards salvation by his own efforts apart from the assistance of Divine Grace. This view had a strong following in Britain and it was St. Augustine of Hippo who became Pelgius's strongest critic and attacked his teachings that were finally condemned by the Council of Ephesus in 431.⁴⁶⁸ It is important to realise that the British church did not come under the wider rule of Rome at this stage. The coming of the Picts, Scots, Saxons and others in the second half of the 5th century submerged Celtic Culture, and with it the Celtic Church in England. The towns, where earlier in the century, Christianity had had strongest footing, were destroyed or abandoned, and the Christian communities that survived in Cornwall, Wales, and elsewhere, were cut off from intercourse with Rome and the Continent. The Celtic Christians therefore found it hard to approve of the Roman Christianity to which St Augustine summoned them in 603 AD to submit; and though agreement was effected almost completely at the Synod of Whitby in 664 AD, an independent Celtic Christianity lingered on in Wales and Ireland for many years.⁴⁶⁹

David Bellingham informs us that the pagan Celts spoke an Indo-European language which relates them in prehistory to the Greeks, Romans and Hindus and points out that no record exists of the ancient language, except for brief inscriptions from the Roman period, and references in the classical authors to Celtic names. Bellingham believes that when the Celtic myths were finally written down in the early medieval period, the languages varied according to the authors country of origin; thus the Irish myths were recorded in Old Irish,

⁴⁶⁶ Deanesly, Margaret, 1961, *The Pre-Conquest Church in England*, London, Adam & C. Black.p.4.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid p.7

⁴⁶⁸ Meek Donald E.,2000, *The Quest for Celtic Christianity*, The Handsel Press Millfield, Boat of Garten, Scotland. p.128.

⁴⁶⁹ Cross, F.L. Ed., 1958, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Oxford University Press, London. P.257

but the contemporary Welsh form of the Celtic language would not have been understood by the Irish writers. Any thought of former cultural unity provided by one Celtic tongue had vanished by the time of the Roman settlement: the Irish Celts were speaking Goidelic, while the British Celts were speaking Brythonic which is related to those spoken by the Gauls. By the 5th century invasions and population movements in the western Celtic territories gave way to changes in the spoken word. The Irish Goidelic language crossed into Scotland which produced Scottish-Gaelic; the Anglo Saxon English language penetrated southern Britain, encouraging the Brythonic language to Brittany.⁴⁷⁰

Martin Wallace pointed out that the Synod of Whitby had three main items on the agenda. One was to determine the date of Easter as the Princess of Kent was a practising Roman Christian and the King was a Celtic Christian and both were celebrating Easter day according to their traditions; while one was fasting during the period of Lent, the other was feasting to celebrate the Resurrection. Secondly on the agenda, was to decide how the monks were to have their head shaven, whether the tonsure kind, symbolising the circular crown of thorn or, the Celtic style, shaving of the frontal hair and allowing the back part to grow into a pony tail which was current amongst the Druids of the time. The third item on the agenda was to decide whether at baptism, the candidate should be dipped once, or thrice in the water.⁴⁷¹

Underlying all this was more to do with the political scene in that the church in Rome was more based on urban communities and organized on a hierarchical style. The bishop was the head of the diocese and the emphasis was very much on unity, power and organization. Apostolic authority came from St. Peter in Rome to whom the keys of the kingdom were given. The Celtic churches, on the other hand, were based much more from rural areas, from tribal societies. A federal type of government was used with no head to govern from the top or the middle. Rather a loose type of confederation was practiced. In charge of each community was the abbot and the abbot or abbess was the soul-friend responsible for all in the monastery, and under him or her would be a bishop. The bishops' task was to ordain and to evangelise. The Celtic churches were materially very poor and they took their authority on the basis of St. John's the beloved disciple of Jesus, the disciple of love. The Synod of Whitby has been seen as the watermark for the removal of Celtic Christianity in Britain.

⁴⁷⁰ Bellingham David, 1998, *An Introduction to Celtic Mythology*, Quantum Books Ltd, London p.10

⁴⁷¹ Wallace Martin, 1998, *The Celtic Resource Book*, The National Society/Church House Publishing, p. 11.

Shirley Toulson, in her book, *The Celtic Alternative* argues that it was a more significant turning point in British history than the Battle of Hastings. She writes,

*“We lost a form of Christianity which, through its druidic roots, was truly linked to the perennial philosophy of humanity...The leaders of the Celtic Church followed a religion that was primarily concerned with the relations between people, a religion of an isolated rural landscape, in which to meet a fellow human being is to hail him. At Whitby we traded that for a city-based religion, and in the cities people are missed in crowds, to be manipulated, no matter how benevolently.”*⁴⁷²

It may be true that the Synod of Whitby did mark the beginning of the end of a distinctive native Celtic Christianity in Britain. However, it could be seen as an over-exaggeration of the influence of one episode in the early history of the church as it took a long time for anything to end, if it has come at all. The Celtic Christianity throughout Britain continued to be quite active. The encounter at Whitby is sometimes seen as a ‘culture clash’. It was part of an on going attempt to bring uniformity to the diverse practices of Christendom.

The Celtic church retreated north to Scotland, and later on to Ireland discouraged and at a loss. Meanwhile the Vikings were making their presence felt around the coasts of England as their raids increased. Unfortunately, many of the monasteries of Celtic origin were built around the coast. They became easy picking and were ruthlessly set upon destroyed and plundered. The Celtic centres became deserted and unpalatable for any revival of the spirit and lost their former power to sway.⁴⁷³

Gradually through the centuries Celtic Christianity was swallowed up by the more formalised and intruding beliefs of Catholicism and the Protestant Reformation, but somehow it never lost its unique flavour of the elements of earth, water, fire and wind, giving it its distinctive spiritual tradition. In rural Ireland unaffected and because of its isolation it escaped the ravages of the invaders where the distinctive themes of Celtic Christianity were practised and are upheld to the present day. As pointed out by Bradley.

*“Celtic Christianity still resonate most clearly among a people who have remained remarkably unaffected by the more recent trends of Roman imperialism, Protestant rationalism and secular scepticism.”*⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷² Toulson S., 1987, *The Celtic Alternative*, Century Hutchinson, London, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁷³ Wallace 1998, p.12.

⁴⁷⁴ Bradley Ian, 2000, *The Celtic Way*, Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd., London, p.100

Today in its various denominations of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and parts of France and in British churches, Robert Van de Weyer ascertained a continuation of the Celtic fire, recognised by the great German theologian, Karl Barth, when he described British Christianity as incurably Pelagian. The rugged individualism of the Celtic monk, his conviction that each person is free to choose between good and evil, and his insistence that faith must be practical as well as spiritual, remain hallmarks of Christians in Britain.⁴⁷⁵ Robert points out that in Britain the primary test of faith is not religious observance, but daily behaviour towards our neighbours – and towards our pets, livestock and plants. It is not easy to paint with surety what Celtic spirituality is for, like Māori and many other indigenous peoples, spirituality does not destroy the cultural traditions and roots but rather builds on them and baptises them with their own fire and moko (facial tatoos). They are the aesectic gifts passed down from the ancestors to today's generations which can never be puritanical or narrow-minded in its outlook. It embraces all arts, music, poetry culture and learning. All-embracing sense of every part of the world and sky with its elements filled with the spirit of God.

Bradley concludes the Celtic Way by pointing out that the,

*“Celtic knot interweaves the old and the new, the pagan and the Christian, the sacred and the secular, nature and grace, creation and redemption, matter and spirit, masculine and feminine, this world and the next. Along its tangled and twisted threads, with their reminder that all is connected and nothing stands alone, we can make our own journeys of faith and experience, with all their risks and possibilities, circumscribed only by the constant guidance and protection of God who ever enfolds and encircles us.”*⁴⁷⁶

This chapter began with a passionate poem from E. Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake to give her the Mohawk name she preferred to use. Described by James Riordan⁴⁷⁷ as an amazing woman a tireless fighter for her people's cause and who became a distinguished poet and collector of folktales. In her poem a cry from an Indian wife of what took place in the past that cannot be undone. There is hope in the cry of suffering that the oppressor may yet see the truth of history and begin to compensate the injustices caused.

⁴⁷⁵ Van de Weyer, 1990, p.11

⁴⁷⁶ Bradley, 2000, p.121.

⁴⁷⁷ Rioran, 1996, p. 10.

For the indigenous peoples throughout the world especially the Māori of New Zealand, the Native Americans, the Aboriginal peoples of Australia, the Polynesians of Hawai'i, the First Nations of Canada, and the Celtic of Europe and the United Kingdom their culture depends largely on imagery to express their thoughts and concepts for their hopes and visions of their people.

The return of a people's culture and dignity and with the power of the written word to express the spiritual beauty that is contained in the many stories will only help us understand the heartfelt cry of people's pain of their broken relationship to the earth and to the sky as we are hurled together by the whirlwind of virtual reality into the future. We need to stand together. Many written work and paintings have eloquently and vividly expressed indigenous peoples legends and stories of their spiritual understanding of their world for centuries. The reality is people in pain need people to walk with them, to hear, to see, to touch and to feel a way of life, to give them meaning.

Chapter 10

THE FUTURE FOR MĀORI SPIRITUALITY

Kua tata nei au ki tāku tauranga

Kua tae tonu atu ki te mutunga

E hoki ai au ki te whakatā

E tau ai taku moe

I am nearing the end of my journey

quite close to the finish

that I may go and rest

and sleep with contentment

Kohine Pōnika

Culture and Theology:

This thesis began with a verse from a Poi song composed by a part Tūhoe- Ngati Porou woman, Mrs Kohine Ponika. The song encourages and urges one strongly to persist with the weaving of a story, a small section of the spiritual journey of a people, Tūhoe. The basis of a story began from a launching pad of a culture that had survived for over the 7,000 years. Of that time span the most significant was mostly on the last 200 years, a very small part but with lots of intriguing happenings for such a short period. The culture of each generation evolving and revolving and in the first 5,000 years spent in the vastness of the Pacific Ocean Te Moana Nui a Kiwa with its multitude of islands. Like a hurricane on the ocean going one way then another. Changing and adjusting to the environment and to the life it offered. Finally, the Vikings of the South arrived at Aotearoa.

Anthropologists and historians say that Aotearoa has only acted as host to Māori for about one thousand years. The culture changed, as did its theology to meet the new demands and challenges of the new land. For seven to eight hundred years Māori lived, loved and fought and survived pursuing artistic and social activities and actions for their survival. The arrival of Abel Tasman and Captain Cook signalled to Aotearoa a change was about to take place. The change came to New Zealand. In a very short time of no more than 100 years Māori was overwhelmed and dominated but not conquered.

Māori spirituality became distinctive only in the telling of a story of a people in the valley of Ruatoki a section of a tribe of Tūhoe, as the new millennium of 2000 approached. Likened to the force of a whirlwind on a journey of trying to find an identity and intrigue as they twist and turn with each moment in history played out in their struggle to survive as an

entity. The poi spins twirls and beats time with the music in the hands of the performer weaving its pattern to tell the plight of a people.

A story of a people and the environment they grew up in. Learning the dynamics of a culture of relationships peculiar to these people as a hapu quite distinctive and unique to a tribe to a family. We shared a little of my parents world, my grandfather's world and their visions for their City of God the New Jerusalem. The vision and the dream are still vibrant, both continue to reverberate in the spiritual awakening of the descendants of Tūhoe, who are adherents within the Te Ringatū Church, the Presbyterian Church and the Anglican Church in New Zealand, and indeed of all Tūhoe who belong to other religious bodies that recognise the rights of indigenous people. Rastafarians, Moslems, Mormons, Apostolic, the list goes on.

I recall hearing The Reverend Canon Wi Te Tau Huata, more than once saying, with tongue in cheek, when giving a talk during his period as a Superintendent of the Māori Mission work in the Waikato Diocese,

“The Anglican Missionaries arrived first to Aotearoa saying they are the true church. They were followed by the Methodists who also said they are the true church. The Roman Catholics arrived and condemned the first two. Now we have over 100 religions in Aotearoa, everyone claiming to be true, which is enough to make anybody crazy.”

October 2007, the little peaceful valley of Ruatoki was raided at early dawn by the law-enforcement of the land. Described as a nightmare but this time it was for real. Special Police under the Terrorism Suppression Act set upon selected families.

The Pihopatanga o Aotearoa General Synod endorsed vigilance and genuine security in keeping the country safe from Terrorism, but abhors the nation being run by security forces at the expense of human dignity and the democratic rights that our tīpuna fought for. We do not belong to a fascist government where police rule by fear. Ka takatakahia te wairua o te tangata. (The spirit essence of man is transgressed). By 2011 the charges against those arrested in Ruatoki for the so called Terrorists Act have now been scaled down to possession of illegal firerams – that is not having licence to have a rifle for hunting wild pigs and deer in their own back yard in the Urewera National Park.

This section ended with a reminder by Karaitiana Rārere of Ngāti Kahungunu after the assault at Maungapōhatu in 1916, when a large contingent of police arrested Rua Kenana under the pretence of sly grog charges. In the process two men were killed. One of them was Rua Kenana's son Toko.

Not even a hundred years had gone by, and it happened again. Fortunately, nobody died this time. The vision of Rua Kenana and George Melbourne, to build a 'City of God, The New Jerusalem', and that the world we create in Aotearoa New Zealand will be good for our children and their children's children, cannot begin to happen not while it is being threatened from within by its own law abiding citizens who seem to be deaf and ignorant to the cry of the Māori people for justice and mercy.

The question then is, will my Māori spirituality be helpful and meaningful to me and to my other partners of the Treaty of Waitangi in this new millennium? As I understand my Atuatanga, (my theology from a Māori perspective), the Māori spirituality that my grandfather shared with Te Rua at Maungapohatu, their visions for the 'City of God. The New Jerusalem', would it be helpful and be meaningful to my children's future, as we enter into the new millennium?

In chapter two, I posed quite a few questions.

"Is there an evolutionary or revolutionary quality in the 1992 Constitution of the Anglican Church in New Zealand? Does it accepts or reject, embrace or ignore the evolving spirituality of Māori which is known as Wairua Kōmingomingo".

The church and the government, made a formidable team of setting the scene in Aotearoa New Zealand at the signing of the Treaty at Waitangi 7th February 1840. 1990 in New Zealand was the year of celebrating the 150th anniversary of that occasion. The government, to its credit, felt it was important enough as a young nation to sponsor the whole exercise financially, paying out \$30 million on the project for the celebrations of the Treaty.⁴⁷⁸ Queen Elizabeth II was New Zealand's guest at both the Commonwealth Games and the celebrations at Waitangi.(Crying waters)

It was a brilliant sunny summer's day at Waitangi on 6th February,

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid p.9

“One hundred and fifty years ago, a compact was signed, a covenant was made between two people...but since the signing of the treaty... our partners have marginalized us. You have not honoured the treaty.”⁴⁷⁹

Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe continued;

“I have come to renew the ties that made New Zealanders a nation, not to debate the treaty nor renegotiate but for the treaty to stand firm as the unifying force between the two peoples that signed the treaty. I come, to cry for the promises that were made by the two sides and not kept ever since.”

It turned out to be a very memorable celebration, even if it only brought to mind for non-Māori people, as the Consedines’ pointed out, the real reason for the anger and protests of every Māori community throughout Aotearoa, New Zealand over many years. The reason was that the promises made in the Treaty had not been kept by successive governments. The anger in the Māori community was very visible, symbolised powerfully in speeches and protest.⁴⁸⁰

In 1992 the Anglican Church in New Zealand, began its profound transformation and evolutionary move when after twenty years of discussions it changed its Constitution of 1857 - the process of de-colonising from within its own house began. But more than that, in a revolutionary mood it allowed its members, both Māori and Pakeha, in addition to the Polynesian contingent, freedom to choose to grow and live together, differently and separately as they wish. A decision so bold for its time when one recalls the cry for apartheid, or separatism to be abolished, as the nation of South Africa, prepared for its unification. The BBC Home News, 18 March 1992, reported FW de Klerk saying;

“Today we have written in our history the fundamental turning point...and have closed the book on apartheid.”

In 1994 the African National Congress (ANC) won South Africa’s first non-racial elections and Nelson Mandela became president.⁴⁸¹

The changing of the Anglican constitution, was just as dramatic and considered a revolutionary change within the Anglican Church worldwide, as they watched with

⁴⁷⁹ Edit. Thomas Brian, 2006, *Anglican Taonga*, Commission on Communications, p.16

⁴⁸⁰ Consedine & Consedine Robert & Joanna, 2005, *Healing our History*, Penguin Books, p.79

⁴⁸¹ Internet; *BBC On This Day*, 1992, *South Africa votes for change*.

trepidation, as one of its minor and well-known antipodeans member, set yet another challenge for the rest of the Anglican Church to follow. The Church in New Zealand was the first in the world, to allow its Laity to be part of its governance in 1857 when Bishop Selwyn set the constitution; the first Anglican Church in the world to ordain a female priest Heather Brunton in 1977 and then elect a female bishop, Dr. Penelope Jamieson in 1990.⁴⁸² Also the first in the world to produce a multicultural Prayer Book in 1989, a fine example for other countries in the world to follow. And now, it is allowing its members to live in three separate ways known as Tikanga, (values and practices) under one Constitution. An impressive array of evolutionary movements created to help with the building-up of its mission in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia.

Chapter two examined and scrutinise the work of the Anglican Church since its arrival on these shores of Aotearoa, and traced its brief history and its effects on wairua kōmingomingo – (Māori whirlwind spirituality,) up to the new millennium. At the turn of the new millennium 2000 General Synod established a Commission to review what had been achieved in the Principles of Partnership over a period of eight years. It was reported back in 2004, that both Pākehā and Māori spoke of the pain of separation. An immediate consequence of the changes was the loss of contact and engagement between Pākehā and Māori at Parish and Diocesan level and this caused sadness for many.

At another level dealing with Leadership – Options for the Primacy, the Commission reported that ‘the fear and distrust of the past remains. Clearly the Constitution had only partially achieved reconciliation or should one have asked how long should we wait before reconciliation takes place?

Another question that was asked is what type of a Church are we looking for, and what type is needed in each community? Must we always look for a Three Tikanga Church? Or is it not more important that each one support the other in their time of need?

In May 2005 at the Installation of Bishop Brown Tūrei as the 2nd Bishop of Aotearoa, Bishop John Patterson in his sermon remarked that the Pākehā people were also in pain as they watched the Māori Church go through some painful decisions. He asked the question;

⁴⁸² NZ Clerical Directory 2007/2008 p.124

“Why did you not call on us? We were waiting for you. We are only too willing to help in any way. All you had to do was to ask.”

Partnership and bicultural developments are important issues in any relationship especially cultural understanding and connectedness. It may take more time and certainly talking to one another, asking for help, swallowing one’s pride may be all that is required to make a proper connection to keep in touch with a partner and pave the way for further working out a better future for young New Zealanders. Like a honeymoon couple it takes time to work out for better relationships in a marriage.

In chapter three I centred on Te Wairua o Tūhoe – The Sprirituality of Tūhoe. This chapter briefly looked how the Tūhoe nation evolved into what they are today from its earliest beginnings. Described by an overseas paper;

A rebellious New Zealand Māori tribe entered into negotiations with the government in a bid to gain autonomy over its land. Ngai Tūhoe the only Māori tribe that refused to sign the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, which established peaceful relations between New Zealand's indigenous groups and white settlers.

Tūhoe still insists it retains sovereign control over its culture and its lands in central North Island, which it claims were confiscated illegally by settlers in the 1800s. The tribe, some adorned in traditional feather cloaks, came to the nation's Parliament to sign an agreement to begin negotiations with the government. During the signing the Tūhoe negotiator Tāmāti Kruger hailed the signing as;

A historic event.

Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Cullen also pointed out that;

“The Waitangi Hearings also showed how the Tūhoe people have fought throughout to hold on to your land, your language and your culture. Tūhoe have risen to prominence in New Zealand public life as academics, entertainers and sportspeople. Today, more of your people speak Te Reo Māori than any other iwi. Tūhoe have also played an important role as custodians of Te Urewera National Park, an area of great significance to New Zealand.”

In summary, Cullen continued;

“You are a people who have suffered significant injustice. But you are also a people who have in the face of that injustice strengthened your culture and kept moving forward. It is the images of today’s event and the strong showing made by Tūhoe at the signing of the Central North Island Deed of Settlement – especially the impression made by your young people – that truly reflect your aspirations and value. We now move to the formal negotiations stage, and the hard work begins – negotiating a settlement package that meets the interests of both Ngai Tūhoe and the Crown.”

There is argument as to the authenticity of the genealogical background of Toi and Tūhoe. Only Pōtiki might have come from the mist of time and have appeared from the misty mountain of Maungapōhatu and Hinepūkohurangi. It adds mystique and phenomena to historians as well as to their descendents. As far as Tūhoe people are concerned what the gods have set that is what they accept. The evidence as set out above can only have one conclusion. It shows quite clearly how the Crown failed Ngāi Tūhoe in many ways as history was vividly explained at the Waitangi Tribunal Te Urewera Hearings. It was noted and recognised by Dr. Cullen, Tūhoe history is one of great resilience, strength, and pride, but it is also a tragic history, a history of state violence and confiscation of land. As the result of Crown action, Ngāi Tūhoe has at times suffered poverty, famine and significant isolation. The year 2009 clearly signaled a genuine desire of Ngai Tūhoe and the Crown to sit down together and find an appropriate way forward for recognising and addressing the wrong.⁴⁸³

Chapter 3 concentrated on Toi Potiki and Tūhoe.

Dr. Hirini Melbourne of Tūhoe descent, says that;

*“In declaring tribal identity Māori people point to those things they feel and share in common with all the people of the tribe. They point to their tribal origins and relationships through whakapapa (genealogy), by referring to their lands, mountains rivers, lakes, to their kāinga (villages) and marae, songs and tribal stories.”*⁴⁸⁴

Professor Wharehuia Milroy of Waikato University says that the boundaries he knows so well and the symbols and values that bind Tūhoe people are all found in the northern end of Te Urewera National Park to its most southern end. To Milroy;

“These are the enduring treasures and the source of many waters. The healing and spiritual waterways of our ancestors are Waikaremoana, Hopuruahine, Tauranga, te

⁴⁸³ Tūhoe-Te Kotahi a Tūhoe webb site, 31 July, 2008. View Dr Cullen’s speech notes.

⁴⁸⁴ O’Conner, Terry, Photographs, Introduction Hirini Melbourne, 1997, *Te Manawa o Tūhoe, The Heart of Tūhoe*, Craig Potton Publishing, Nelson, New Zealand.

*Tamāhine-ā-Hinemataroa and Whirinaki. The forest was the foods store of my people, the source of their dwellings and meetinghouses, their garments their canoes, their weapons, and implements and also their refuge. Our valleys are Waimana, Waiotahi, Ruatoki, Waiohau, Te Whāiti, Ruatāhuna, Maungapōhatu, and Tūai. These are also the dwelling places of the guardian spirits. All these elements encapsulate my Tūhoetanga. Together the living breathe the air of Ranginui. Together we all share Papatuanuku from whom we sprang. Through whakapapa, the kingship links come from the gods, the tangata whenua, the Hawaiki ancestors of the canoe Mataatua, to Tūhoe the ancestor, Tūhoe the people, to Tūhoe of today. Our language describes the scenes we visualise. Before us are the elders. The land, the marae are our tūrangawaewae, (place of standing). Our being and emotions are from our people now lost from sight, but whose deeds are remembered in the words and the things they have fashioned and shaped. All these things are united in our belief in the existence of a Supreme Being. This is our Tūhoetanga.*⁴⁸⁵

This then spells the spirituality of the people of Tūhoe. It has to do with relationships. It is the connecting of people with people, with the land and, not only of those in the present but also of the past and definitely with those of the future. The aphorism at the beginning of this chapter speaks of three people, Pōtiki and Toi who obtained the land and Tūhoe who gave the prestige and authority. Who then, are these three people Pōtiki, Toi and Tūhoe?

In chapter four I opened with a well-known tauparapara (chant) to indicate the general outline of what this chapter will be all about. It contained briefly the outline Atuatanga the Māori theology of pre-European time. Where Tānenuiārangi obtained the three baskets of knowledge from the abode of Io the Parentless one, named Rangiatea. The first kit of knowledge the *Tuauri* pertains to the chants connected to Sky Father, Mother Earth and their offsprings. The second kit of knowledge, *Tuatea*, contains all that is evil in action causing dissensions and strife among men and gods. The third kit, *Aronui*, contains love, compassion and peace making, all that is good that benefits man and everything else in the world. So, from a Māori worldview the seed of life has its beginnings.⁴⁸⁶

In summary, Māori myths are dramatic stories orally passed down from generation to generation and taken as gospel truth. They provide Māori 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 Māori and the

⁴⁸⁵ Milroy, Te Wh.J., Toki Tūhoetanga, Te Tari Māori, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, 1985.

⁴⁸⁶ Best Elsdon, 1976, Māori Religion and Mythology Part 1, A.R. Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington, NZ p. 103

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 Māori their holistic outlook on life. That the spirit and matter are one and the same substance originating from the one source. Despite this they were realist in a 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) and to put aside abuse or affront without revenge, lessens one's power. Tūmatuaenga displayed his superiority over his brothers by cooking and eating the offspring of his brothers.

For the Māori, a more natural and earthly beginning, by acts of procreation, was acceptable. For the Hebrews it was the power of the word, a conscious thought;

Then God said, "Let there be light", and it was so. "Let the waters under the sky be gathered together into one place and let the dry land appear", and it was so.⁴⁸⁷

For Māori 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.

The powerful spiritual beings of the other world were personalised and they provided the rules and regulations for Māori society as portrayed in their stories. The myths also helped to explain the reasons for 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 separate ways, and why the seas of Tangaroa continue to encroach the land of Tāne on the beaches and headlands, and how Tūmatauaenga becomes the caretaker of the environment.

⁴⁸⁷ Metzger Bruce M, Murphy, Roland E. (ed). *New Revised Standard Version, The Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1989; p. 2.

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 Māori society, its dependency on oral tradition is so vital and of great importance for its survival, that a mistake in the recital of a karakia spells disaster. Māori does not see life after death as being divided into heaven and hell but as a continuous process of meeting up with those who have gone before, where individuality and communal living are finally established, all be it 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 returning to the 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 Māori was permeated by a spiritual presence to the extent that a tohunga (specialists) for karakia (prayers) were 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 Māori society”.

Finally, as Doug Pratt, correctly points out that before the arrival of the European, Māori had;

“No national religion as such and there was no universal system of worship. Except for ‘tuahu’, which were simple shrines and temples that would readily identify religious activity. As the Marae was the centre of Māori life there was no need to separate out a sacred space or building to attend to that part of life.”

The Marae was and still is the tūrangawaewae (a place of standing) of the tribe, the sacred ground of each hapū (clan), where formal sacramental acts continue to be maintained and performed. This is dealt with in chapter seven.

In chapter five I made an attempt to give some insight of the powerful effect of Christianity on the indigenous peoples and their world. The interaction of the Gospel and cultures, Alan Davidson rightly describes as both complex and dynamic. The arrival of another culture from another world with its superior technology had a very strong impact and some

consequences which brought about dramatic changes for the Māori, not only in its cultural context, but particularly in its spiritual outlook. This section attempted to try and understand how Māori spirituality, confronted with another way of looking at life, responded to that challenge. It is not possible to give a full rationalization of every movement, or a comprehensive coverage of all aspects, but to give some credence to the limits of this thesis, and at least have a general appreciation of developments since the arrival of the Pākehā.

1850 – 1860 The emergence of vigorous Māori 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 Māori in 1865, because of his supposed association with some of the atrocities Māori had suffered, and his actions as a government informant or spy. The interweaving of Biblical, particularly Old 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, and including Volkner's death, and the destruction of the mission station at Waerengahika, Turanganui. Te Kooti, imprisoned on false charges, escaped from the 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 Māori values of whanau, and indigenous culture. Te Whiti, together with Tohu, in face of land confiscations in the 1870s and 80s, used strategies of civil disobedience and pacifism, a style which was used to good affect by Mahatma Gandhi a century later in India. These brief descriptions can only be suggestive of the way in which some Māori responded to the pressures that they faced. The repeated accusation brought against the missionaries was:

*“That we came to this country and taught them (the Māori) to lift up their eyes to heaven while we ourselves kept our own turned to the land.”*⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁸ Davidson & Lineham, p. 57

The Gospel that Marsden helped to introduce, contributed to Māori becoming British Subjects, but the results of this were often disastrous for Māori. Colenso in 1868, reflecting on the serious depopulation among Māori 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 a European.”*⁴⁸⁹

The Gospel they brought, reflected the world from which they came. What they were not prepared for was the way in which Māori took the Gospel into their own culture, on Māori terms. While Māori had become British subjects, they retained their strong sense of identity as Māori. The Gospel that they acquired reinforced this, through the variety of forms of Māori Christianity that they adopted. Some of these were aligned with the missionary Churches, while others were, in missionary terms, heterodox. Almost despite the missionaries, Māori 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 Māori in the nineteenth century was dynamic and complex.

There was to be some resentment and misunderstanding, as Māori made some adaptations between the old and new spiritual beliefs, and coming from a very different cultural background, this was inevitable. In the early period some adaptations had to be made to both cultures and peoples. But as time went on, the image of God took on a very different picture by both peoples.⁴⁹⁰ Inter-tribal wars decreased by the 1830s, and images of the father figure and peacemaker were beginning to come through especially with the work of the missionaries.

*“Very little of the written word of the Old Testament in Māori was available to the Māori.”*⁴⁹¹ *It was a period of adjustment as pointed out by Evelyn Stokes;*⁴⁹²

Māori were struck by the power of the written word, and how it portrayed the thoughts, without the person being present. Fascinated by this method of communication, it helped to spread the work of the missionaries. It was the in-thing to do and it spread quickly, to

⁴⁸⁹ Colenso, On the Māori Races of New Zealand, 1868, p.75

⁴⁹⁰ Elsmore Bronwyn, 199, Mana From Heaven, A Century of Māori Prophets in New Zealand, Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd. p. 28

⁴⁹¹ Ibid, p. 30.

⁴⁹² Orange Claudia, General Ed, 1991, The People of Many Peaks, The Māori Biographies from The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume 1, 1769 – 1869, Bridget Willimas Books, Department of Internal Affairs. p.290 ff.

Thames, Waikato and Whanganui, and there were certainly advantages to becoming a ‘mihinare’ a ‘missionary’. Interest in the new religion grew rapidly.

To change from a savage warrior to be Christ’s warrior needed a special type of a person of diplomacy and tact. Such a person came onto the scene in 1835, when A.V. Brown of the CMS, began his station near Matamata and attracted a young man named, Tarapipi, who was the son of a Waikato Chief, Te Waharoa, and a man who took out to the message of the Gospel as did many others, Ripihau, Tarapipi, Kereopa and even the book of a little girl, Tārore.

The influence of the written word cannot be denied, and it had taken hold of its latest convert, to impress and to please the messengers of the Word. Encounters with Christianity began with a message and a vision of great joy. There was no understanding by the recipients. Instead a period of a decade passed before there was a stirring amongst the indigenous people. By the late 30s it took hold, like a fire in the bracken – the spark came from the written Word, supported and followed up by the missionaries, with the help of indigenous leaders who were inspired. They responded to the new life of a new Kingdom, but they were not to know what was to come.

In chapter six I looked at the response of the Māori as the settlers began to arrive in their shiploads, and dropping their cargo at various ports throughout the country. It was not long before Māori were outnumbered. The response was inevitable and aptly put by Melbourne and Milroy as they saw colonisation and confiscation were directly linked. Colonisation provided the legal means for land confiscation, to meet the Settlers’ demands for land. The pressure for land began with the skirmish at Wairau with Te Rauparaha, when he disputed the land claim by Captain Arthur Wakefield in 1843. The event became known in New Zealand history as the Wairau massacre. By 1858 the settlers’ population surpassed the Māori population of 56,000, and the Taranaki settlers questioned why Māori alone should own 800,000 hectares. They thought that the Māori had far too much land and Gore Brown was determined to get land by fair means;

*“If not, then by any means.”*⁴⁹³

⁴⁹³ Walker 1990, p.113

Governor Grey justified his invasion of the Waikato based on rumours about Waikato tribes planning an indiscriminate slaughter of the Pākehā in Auckland. This was declared at the General Assembly that met in October 1863. General Cameron's forces had already invaded Waikato on 12 July 1863.

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s missionaries noted that many Māori 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 that encouraged Māori 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. Selwyn's failure to ordain Māori to the priesthood delayed the development of indigenous leadership in the context of their new world. The two worlds trying to blend in with one another, with one side demanding more particularly the possession of land by browbeating tactics, broken promises and at times ignoring the plight of the Māori world. It became lawful under the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852. This established six provincial councils, a General Assembly, and an Upper House nominated by the Crown. To qualify to vote one has to have freehold land of ten pounds in town and five pounds in the country. This effectively disqualified the majority of Māori whose land was still under customary tribal land.⁴⁹⁴

In 1854, when the General Assembly met a white minority government was successfully established, while the Native Affairs was put under the control of Governor Grey. The institutionalisation of racism at the very beginning of democracy in New Zealand was the seed of conflict, entrenched and continued between Māori and Pākehā in the North Island and the colonial plundering which followed. What was yet to be achieved was to remove power from the Governor to the Cabinet Ministers.

Māori 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 Māori rights by leading Anglicans. The Waikato war that began in 1863, however, resulted in little support for Māori. Māori assertion of sovereignty and the defence of their land were seen as conflicting with the authority of the government.

⁴⁹⁴ Walker p.112 ff.

Bishop Selwyn and some missionaries acted as chaplains to the British forces, thereby losing credibility in the eyes of Māori and they were hence unable to act as mediators or peacemakers. By the early 1840's the Māori Church, Hāhi Mihinare, was well established. Churches and Schools were being set up with great enthusiasm. In return Māori became more and more proficient in commercial trading both nationally and internationally. The success of Te Hāhi Mihinare was largely due to the fact that those who spread the word of God were Māori; they used the Māori language, and were left to develop methods that were pertinent to their people.⁴⁹⁵

The importance of chapter seven, the modern marae of the Māori reflects the changing life of a race and the contribution which the Pākehā culture has brought and continues to influence, as do other cultures of the world. They skilfully blend together and add further dimension and richness into the present world of the Māori. Chapter seven looked briefly at the development and changes that took place on the marae as dictated by the political and religious influence as Māori struggle to stand their ground on the last bastion that a hapu- a tribe has to uphold their sovereignty, their mana, their wehi and ihi as well as their intertribal obligations and responsibilities be met as tikanga and custom dictates.

The importance of a marae can only be seen in the use of these amenities as I remind you of events that are held annually. In 1999, the writer was fortunate enough to attend two Regional Performing Arts Festivals where over 40 groups of 40 performers competed in cultural competitions watched by thousands of spectators. The two regions were Waiariki Region that covered the tribes of Te Arawa and the Mataatua Region covering those tribes of Tauranga, Whakatane, Te Kaha and the Tūhoe tribe of Te Urewera. There were of course ten other regions throughout Aotearoa. So the numbers involved would be more than 10,000 participants without even counting the supporters.

Another well-attended function, held over Easter weekend, is the Tūhoe Festival where between 10 -15,000 Tūhoe people and their friends and whanau attend. Alongside of these gatherings of the clans is the annual celebration of the Coronation of the Maori King or Queen with thousands of Māori people taking part in the activities for both young and old. In addition to this, the Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival was celebrated in Ngāruawāhia over the Waitangi weekend of 2000.

⁴⁹⁵ *Te Kaupapa Tikanga Rua: Bicultural Development*, (1986), p.3.

These activities, and many others held throughout the country, leave one in no doubt at all that the future of the performing arts of the Māori is well and truly assured. Young people are a major part of the performances, beginning from the Kōhanga Reo Schools, to Primary, Kura Kaupapa, Wharekura 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 Māori will ensure the arts will never be lost into the realm of those who have gone on.

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

But the survey also showed that more than half of those surveyed spoke some Māori, and the number of speakers was 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 Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa schools throughout the country. The biggest problem is the lack of teachers proficient in language teaching. There are Māori people crying out for more Kura Kaupapa schools to be established but there are not enough teachers to fill the gap.

There are also television Māori programmes like Tūmeke (TV3) and Mai Time (TVNZ) which are aimed at the young people, using language and Māori music. The manager of the Taura Whiri i te Reo (The Māori Language Commission), Te Haumihiata Mason said,

*“All this shows that Māori 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.”*⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁶ Knight, Richard, *Survival is becoming a race against time: News Review*, Herald, New Zealand, Tuesday, June 1, 1999.

This chapter began pointing out that the marae is the heart of the people and without it Māori people will cease to exist as a people. It is the last bastion of Māori language where it displays its spiritual and physical existence. Māori 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 Māori lives and throbs and energises. It is a place of refuge enabling Māori to be cleansed spiritually under their terms and values. It is where they pay homage to God and pay their respects to their ancestors. That they may rise tall in their oratory; that they may weep for their dead; that they may have their feasts and celebrations, that they may care for their guests; that they may have their meetings, their 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;

“Tūrangawaewae I suppose, is that emotional tie that the land has for the Māori. The tie is emotional not because the Māori 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 Māori their emotional overtones to the land.”⁴⁹⁷

A well-known Māori proverb indicates 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>Māku 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>

In chapter eight I examined three things. Firstly, was the tino rangatiratanga debate through the hui held at Hīrangī. Secondly, this examined the example of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand, in respect of putting tino rangatiratanga into practice. Thirdly, the chapter discussed the current debate and development of the Io concept as a potential theological contribution to the context of the contemporary tino rangatiratanga visions. Separately and together these three issues gave hope to Māori for their tino rangatiratanga in the coming years.

⁴⁹⁷ Romanos, Michael, *The I-am-we of Māori culture*, Tu Tangata Issue 25, Department of Māori Affairs, Wellington, 1985. P.22.

In the two hundred plus years of contact since the arrival of the Pākehā, Māori life, culture and religion changed and adapted caught up a whirlwind – he kōmingomingo. The Treaty of Waitangi 1840 opened the way for the Colonial abuse of trust. By the beginning of the twentieth century the new political, social, economic and spiritual change had devastating effects on the Māori population to such an extent that a memorial was erected to a dying race on One Tree Hill in Auckland.

However, by the middle of the century, a new wave of hope led by various Māori political and religious leaders, quickened throughout the country as health, education, economics and a renewed spirituality began to take root and grow. In their various groups Māori 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 (self-determination) upon the lips of Māori, and in particular young Māori, it has become obvious that Māori are earnest in their endeavours to develop their own way of life. Māori, as individuals and in their collective groups, are developing systems that take into account not only western perspectives but also Māori worldviews 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 that have been adopted and manipulated to suit and better serve Māori throughout various tribal areas. Health care services have also seen changes that take into account specific perspectives of Māori caregivers and clients, or whānau.⁴⁹⁸

This chapter showed how 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 Māori. Out of the relived past a sense of identity prevail, but with a difference. The artwork 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 and other religious beliefs. Yet in spite of the changes the marae remained a refuge, a haven, and a sacramental vehicle where emotional feelings and formal speeches flow freely. Here the dead are remembered 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 to portray its spiritual depth and understanding.

⁴⁹⁸ Durie M.H. (1994), *Understanding Biculturalism*, p.10.

One of the keys to all this knowledge lies within the language. Only the Māori language can capture the essence and nuance of the Māori 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 and pride 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 Māori Spirituality remained strong during the period of interaction with the new world and Christianity was adopted and in some cases adapted into Māori culture. Changes took place. Christianity was supported, upheld and broadcast by Māori and the Io tradition began to appear publicly but surreptitiously. But the ancient spiritual tradition remained alongside the new religion. This came through quite clearly in the artwork within the meetinghouses, churches, and halls with added dynamism and display of colour.

The recent Hikoi of Hope is an indication of the dedication and genuine concern of the Anglican Church and other Churches to make changes in Government, Māori will be foolish to let this moment slip by. Māori now have powerful allies with empathy and understanding. Pākeha and Māori are willing to debate, consult and educate the Colonial Pākeha. Their missionary zeal for justice and equality are unquestionable as part of the Gospel that their Pākeha 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 people 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 Māori Singers that the Māori 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, has tremendous potential to advance Māori aspirations which will be of great benefit for the future of both Māori and Pākeha. As the Māori proverb encourages all to do, E rere te mānuka, tomokia. As the dart flies true to its mark, let us follow it through.

In chapter nine I began with a passionate cry from E. Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake to give her the Mohawk name she preferred to use. Described by James Riordan⁴⁹⁹ as an amazing woman a tireless fighter for her people's cause and who became a distinguished poet and collector of folktales. In her poem a cry from an Indian wife of what took place in the past that cannot be undone. There is hope in the cry of suffering that the oppressor may yet see the truth of history and begin to compensate the injustices caused. Her voice, as pointed out in this thesis, is not alone as it is no different to the many cries from throughout the colonised peoples of the world.

The tapestry woven between the colonised indigenous nations of New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Hawaii, First Nations in America and the Celts can best be summed in Ian Bradley's description of the Celtic knot when he said that it;

*“Interweaves the old and the new, the pagan and the Christian, the sacred and the secular, nature and grace, creation and redemption, matter and spirit, masculine and feminine, this world and the next. Along its tangled and twisted threads, with their reminder that all is connected and nothing stands alone, we can make our own journeys of faith and experience, with all their risks and possibilities, circumscribed only by the constant guidance and protection of God who ever enfolds and encircles us.”*⁵⁰⁰

The indigenous peoples throughout the world especially the above mentioned whose culture depends largely on imagery to express their thoughts and concepts for their hopes and visions of their people. The return of a peoples culture and dignity and with the power of the written word to express the spiritual beauty that is contained in the many stories will only help us understand the heartfelt cry of peoples' pain of their broken relationship to the earth and to the sky as we are hurled together by the whirlwind of virtual reality into the future. Indigenous people need to stand together. A vast amount of written work and paintings have eloquently and vividly expressed indigenous peoples legends and stories of their spiritual understanding of their world for centuries. The reality is people in pain need people to walk with them, to hear, to see, to touch and to feel a way of life, to give them meaning.

⁴⁹⁹ Riordan, 1996, p. 10.

⁵⁰⁰ Bradley, 2000, p.121.

According to Thomas O'Loughlin in his book *Celtic Theology*,⁵⁰¹ there are many ways of doing theology. There is what is commonly known as the systematic exposition of some part of what is understood as Christian doctrine as a means of conveying a religious message, which can be given in a sermon, a lecture or a book on some topic.

Another way of doing theology is to make commentary on some classic text whether it's from the Bible or from *whakataukākī*, perceptions of traditional historical sayings. The commentary is to bring about a deeper understanding and that the theology, the explanation will somehow advance and give meaning to the concerns of daily living. It aims to set a text or texts in its context, enabling one to have a deeper appreciation of what is written and through one's interaction allow one to develop one's own theological understanding and position.

A third way of doing major theology which, despite being widespread in earlier times is rarely used today, is through narrative, that is story telling. Probably, a most common way in Māoridom to help recall the facts as their ancestors understood their world. It is the basis of their belief that is later formalised as a system incorporated into the way they move and live their lives as a community. This form of theology is the most commonly used in the Old Testament as for example, with its stories of the Creation account in Genesis 1-2:4 and Genesis 2:4-4:26, which are told in a dramatic historical form as did the old Māori of their Genesis. In the New Testament the Gospels conveyed their theology through the happenings of events told by four different people in their own way and style and by interpreting the significance of these events.

One of the difficulties of Christian theology from a Māori perspective is the question of matter. The Church has spiritualized the faith and set it apart from the rest of the world of creation of matter. The world is God's world, at least that is what the book of Genesis says, and it was good. The Reverend Māori Marsden, a Māori theologian says that God is known in and through it;

⁵⁰¹ O'Loughlin Thomas, 2000, *Celtic theology; Humanity World and God in Early Irish Writings*, TJ International Ltd., Padstow, Cornwall. P. 92

*“Remembering that the cultural milieu is rooted both in the temporal world and the transcendent world”.*⁵⁰²

Professor John Macquarrie agrees with this as he writes;

*“The profound sense of the immanence of God in the world...the sense of all pervading presence”.*⁵⁰³

The idea is that God is in everything and very much part of ordinary life whatever you see, touch, hear, smell, or feel, mundane and earthy, the Source of Spring, the Soul Energy, the Ever-Essence of daily life is there, not somewhere ‘At a Distance’ as suggested by a recent country hit song. It is very much a down-to-earth spirituality.

Like the Celtic spirituality it is;

*“...the sense of the presence of God informs daily life and transforms it, so that any moment, any object, any job of work can become the time and the place for an encounter with God. It is ultimately a question of vision, of seeing. So the Celtic approach to God opens up a world in which nothing is too common to be exalted and nothing is so exalted that it cannot be made common. As an old woman in Kerry, in the southwest of Ireland, says, ‘Heaven lays a foot and a half above the height of man.’”*⁵⁰⁴

Celtic spirituality is deeply incarnational. It is through the world in its totality, infused all-pervading presence of Io Matua Kore, the Parentless Io, a world to be claimed, affirmed and honoured.⁵⁰⁵

In this final chapter, I opened by asking will my whirlwind Māori spirituality, our Atuatanga, have a place in our global world? Is Māori kōmingomingo spirituality/ Atuatanga meaningful for the future of my mokopuna? What values, if any, must I try to preserve for my culture to survive? Will my Tūhoetanga survive the onslaught of modernism? Is my Tūhoetanga going to be the Good News for my moko? Can my Tūhoetanga, with its touch of ancient nature-religion, survive with Christianity in the new

⁵⁰² Royal Te Ahukaramu Charles (ed), 2003, *The Woven Universe; Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden*, Printcraft '81 Ltd., Masterton. P. 23

⁵⁰³ Wakefield Gordon S., (ed) 1983, *Celtic Spirituality; A Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*, SCM, p. 83-4)

⁵⁰⁴ Esther De Waal, 1997 (Revised ed.), *Celtic Light, A Traditional Rediscovered*, Fount Paperbacks, Harper Collins. P.9

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 32.

millennium and should Christian principles support my Tūhoetanga? ⁵⁰⁶Or will my Tūhoetanga be an impediment to the progress of my mokopuna? Do we have the wisdom, courage and motivation to become global citizens and to become part of a global culture?⁵⁰⁷ What will my mokopuna look like in the new millennium?

I have the feeling that I am not the only one that ponders on these questions as we reach the golden age of life and have our grandchildren around us at home, or on the beach. But more recently for me when my three sons and one daughter, along with their children and with a grandniece, (twenty persons in all), hiked into the Urewera bush and spent four glorious days camping and enjoying the wonderful natural bush and river, of 2,000 acres of private land left by our tipuna for all Tūhoe to enjoy and care for. We were most fortunate inheriting this legacy left by our tipuna. We really do not need the Prime Minister's permission to enjoy our inheritance. The land is ours to do what we the whanau like to do with it.

Milroy and Melbourne presented their case before the Waitangi Tribunal that Te Wao Rahui o Te Urewera is the forest homeland, turangawaewae of Tūhoe. Tūhoe people wherever they may be living now, still feel strong attachment to the region and return there when they can. It is essential for the social and psychological well being of tribal people that such ties with the tribal homeland are maintained. Tūhoetanga, as my children and grandchildren showed, a sense of cultural identity with Te Urewera is still a potent force and of course all my children are part of the world as they are world travellers and comfortable with it.

Many questions were raised in chapters one and of the thesis. As it meandered its way through the chapters, attempts were made to answer them in general terms. However, there is the main question; Is there an evolutionary or revolutionary quality in the 1992 Constitution of the Anglican Church in New Zealand which accepts or rejects, embraces or ignores the evolving spirituality of Māori – Wairua Kōmingomingo? I have sorted through the evidence and my answer is definitely there is an evolutionary and a revolutionary quality in the 1992 Constitution of the Anglican Church in New Zealand. On top of this there are also those in the Anglican Church in New Zealand who will accept and embrace

⁵⁰⁶ Geering 1999 p.8)

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid p.106

Māori spirituality and there will be some who will reject and ignore Wairua Kōmingomingo.

As the new Constitution itself allows freedom of choice for its adherents to either choose tikanga Māori or tikanga Pākehā, or tikanga Polynesia for that matter, for their form of worship, the constitution also allows anyone to select the three if they are competent in the culture and language of the worshippers. That indeed is both evolutionary and revolutionary. So, here it is in a neat little package which one can then sit down to and slowly unravel the wonders of its theology and philosophy for the little ones to wonder at and enjoy its mysteries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alpers Tony, 1964, Māori Myths and Tribal Legends, Retold by Antony Alpers, Longman Paul Limited, Auckland 10, New Zealand.
- Aratema, Parehuia et al, 2007, Mai i Rangiatea; a journal published by Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, Vol. 3.
- Archie Carol, 1995, Māori Sovereignty: The Pakeha Perspective, Hodder Moa and Beckett Publishers.
- Ashton Lloyd, 2007, Anglican Taonga, <mailto:mediaofficer@ang.org.nz>, Auckland.
- Baker, Andre, 2nd Edition, 2003, Rangiatea, Ko Ahau te Huarahi te Pono me te Ora, National Library of New Zealand, in Partnership with Te Ropu Whakahaere o Rangiatea.
- Barlow Cleve, 1991, Tikanga Whakaaro, Key Concepts in Māori Culture, Oxford University Press
- Bassett Judith, Sinclair Keith, Stenson Marcia, 1985, The Story of New Zealand, Reed Methuen Publishers Limited.
- Beattie, Herries, Tikao Talks, Ka Taokao te Āo Kōhatu, Treasures from the ancient world of the Māori, Penguin Books.
- Bellingham David, 1998, An Introduction to Celtic Mythology, Quantum Books Ltd, London.
- Best, Elsdon, 1925, 4th edition, 1996, Tūhoe, Children of the Mist. Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd. Cover, front and back flap.
- Best, Elsdon, 1925, Tūhoe, The Children of the Mist, Vol. 2- Genealogical Tables and Maps, Reed Books, (NZ) Ltd.
- Best Elsdon, 1982, Māori Religion and Mythology, Part 2; Government Printer, Wellington.
- Bishop Russell, Glyn Ted, 1997, Culture Counts; Changing power relations in Education Dunmore Press.
- Binney Judith, Gillian Chaplin, Craig Wallace, 1979, Mihaia, The Prophet Rua Kenana and his community at Maungapōhatu, Oxford University Press, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Binney, Judith, 1995, Redemption Songs, A life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki, Auckland University Press.
- Bradley Ian, 2000, The Celtic Way, Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd., London.

- Brown David A, 1994, *A Guide to Religion*, SPCK, Holy Trinity Church London, Ninth Impression.
- Browne, C.R., 1929, *Māori witchery: native life in New Zealand*, London Dent.
- Booth, Ken, ed, 1996, *For All The Saints*, The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia.
- Buck, Peter, 1949, *The Coming of the Māori*, Whitcoulls Limited, Christchurch
- Cleve Barlow, ed., 1992, *Ko Te Paipera Tapu/The Holy Bible*, Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, Rotorua
- Coates Ken S. & McHugh P.G., 1998 *Living Relationships*, Victoria University Press.
- Colenso, W., 1868, *On the Māori Races of New Zealand*, Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute.
- Colenso, W., 1890, *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*, Government Printer Wellington.
- Consedine & Consedine Robert & Joanna, 2005, *Healing our History*, Penguin Books.
- Cross, F.L. Ed., 1958, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Oxford University Press, London.
- Davidson, A.K. 1991, *Christianity in Aotearoa – A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*, Education for Ministry, Wellington.
- Davis, Frank, 1978 *Art in Pre-pakeha Times*, Education, School Publications, Wellington
- Davidson, A.K., & Lineham, P.J., 1989, *Transplanted Christianity - Documents Illustrating Aspects of New Zealand Church History*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North.
- Deanesly, Margaret, 1961, *The Pre-Conquest Church in England*, London, Adam & C. Black.
- Durie Mason, 1987, *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga, The politics of Māori Self-Determination*, Oxford University Press, Auckland.
- Durie M.H., 1994, *Understanding Biculturalism*, Kōkiri Ngātahi Hui, Side by side Seminar, Department of Māori Studies, Massey University.
- Durie Mason, 1999, *He Pukenga Korero: A Journal of Māori Studies*, Ngahuru (Autumn), Vol.4, Number 2, Paul Meredith, *Hybridity in the Third Space: Rethinking Bicultural Politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand*
- Durie, Mason 1997, *Taku Titiro: Viewpoint Māori Advancement into Te Aonui*; He Pukenga Korero, Raumati (Summer), Vol 3, No. 1.
- Elsmore Bronwyn, 1999, *Mana From Heaven*, Published by Reed Books (NZ) Ltd.

- Elder, J.R., 1932, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden 1765 – 1838*, Dunedin, Coulls Somerville Wilkie.
- Esther De Waal, 1997 (Revised ed.), *Celtic Light, A Traditional Rediscovered*, Fount Paperbacks, Harper Collins.
- Geering Lloyd, 1999, *The World to Come – From Christian Past to Global Future*, Astra Print, Wellington.
- Grace, John, 1959, *Tuwharetoa*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington.
- Green Paul F, ed, 1994, *Studies in New Zealand Social Problems*. 2nd Ed; The Dunmore Press.
- Hall N.V., 1981, *I Have Planted: A Biography of Alfred Nesbit Brown*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North.
- Harris Arhoa, 2004, *Hikoi – Forty Years of Māori Protest*, Huia Publishers, Wellington.
- Irwan James, 1984, *An Introduction to Māori Religion*, National Library of Australia, Printed by the University Relations Unit, Flinders University.
- Jonas Bill, 1994, *The Little Red, Yellow, & Black (and green and blue and white) Book; A short guide to indigenous Australia*, Lane Brothers Printing, Adelaide.
- Karetū, Timoti, 1993, *Haka, The Dance of a Noble People*, Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd, Auckland.
- Kennedy Warne (ed), 1990, *New Zealand Geographic; Year of the Waka*, Academy Pres.
- King Michael ed, 1975, *Te Ao Hurihuri, The World Moves On, Aspects on Māoritanga*, Hicks Smith & Sons Ltd. Wellington.
- King Michael, 2003, *History of New Zealand*, Published by Penguin Group.
- Knight, Richard, 1999, *Survival is becoming a race against time: News Review*, Herald, New Zealand, Tuesday, June 1.
- Lewis, David and Werner Forman, 1982, *The Māori- Heirs of Tane*, Orbis Publishing Ltd.
- Maaka Roger & Augie Fleras, 2005, *The Politics of Indigeneity*, University of Otago Press.
- Maclean, Christopher, 1979, *Te Kooti Houses, Historic Buildings of New Zealand North Island*,
- Neich, Roger, 1993, *Painted Histories; Early Māori Figurative Painting*, Auckland University Press.
- New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Cassell Wellington.
- MacKenzie Melody Kapilialoha, 1991, *Native Hawaiian Rights Handbook*, University of Hawaii Press.

- Maxwell, Peter, 2000, *Frontier, The Battle for the North Island of New Zealand, 1860-1872*, Celebrity Books, Auckland 10, New Zealand
- McCully Matiu, Margaret Mutu, 2003, *Te Whanau Moana*, Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd.
- McNab, Robert, 1908, *Historical records of New Zealand, Volume 1*, Wellington.
- Marsden Māori, 2003, Ed by Te Ahu karamū Charles Royal, *The Woven Universe, Selected Writings of Rev. Māori, Marsden*, Printcraft 81 Ltd, Masterton.
- Massey University, Book of Readings 50.701, Trask Mililani B., *The Politics of Oppression*.
- Mead Hirini Moko, 2003, *Tikanga Māori, Living by Māori Values*, Huia Publishers, Wellington.
- Meek Donald E., 2000, *The Quest for Celtic Christianity, The Handsel Press Millfield, Boat of Garten, Scotland*.
- Melbourne Cherry, 1993, *Report on Visit to Native American and Hawaii*.
- Melbourne, Hineani, 1995, *Māori Sovereignty: The Māori Perspective*, Hodder Moa and Beckett Publishers.
- Melbourne Hirini, Milroy Wharehuia J., Evelyn Stokes, 1986, *Te Urewera, Nga Iwi Te Whenua Te Ngahere, People, Land and Forests of Te Urewera*, University of Waikato, New Zealand.
- Melbourne, Te Waaka, 2000, *Wairua Māori Rua Mano: Māori Spirituality 2000*, Master of Philosophy, Massey University.
- Metzger Bruce M, Murphy, Roland E. (ed), 1989, *New Revised Standard Version, The Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Mikaere, Annie, 1998, *The Implementation of the Treaty of Waitangi in the University of Waikato: Working Paper*.
- Miller, Harold, 1966, *Race Conflict in New Zealand*, Blackwood & Janet Paul, Auckland
- Milroy Wharehuia, Melbourne Hirini, 1995, *Te Roi o Te Whenua, Tūhoe Claim Report to the Waitangi Tribunal, WAI 36, (Commenced 1989 – Collated 1995)*.
- Milroy, Te Wh. J., 1985, *Toku Tūhoetanga, Te Tari Māori, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*.
- Mitchell, J.H., 1972, *Takitimu, History of the Ngati Kahungunu People*, A.H. & A. W. Reed Ltd, Christchurch
- Mulholland, Malcolm and contributors, 2006. *State of The Māori Nation: Twenty-first-century issues in Aotearoa*, Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd.

- O'Conner Terry, Photographs, 1971, Te Manawa O Tūhoe (The Heart of Tūhoe), Craig Potton Publishers, Introduction by Hirini Melbourne
- Oliver W.H. & Williams B.R., Ed., 1981, The Oxford History of New Zealand, Oxford University Press, Wellington.
- O'Loughlin Thomas, 2000, Celtic theology; Humanity World and God in Early Irish Writings, TJ International Ltd., Padstow, Cornwall.
- Orange, Claudia, 1987, The Treaty of Waitangi, Bridget Williams Books Limited, Wellington.
- Orange, Claudia, General Editor, 1990, The People of Many Peaks, 1769-1869, Bridget Williams Books, Department of Internal affairs, GP Print Limited, Wellington.
- Orange, Claudia, Ed. 1991, The People of Many Peaks – The Māori Biographies from The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume 1, Bridget Williams Books, Department of Internal Affairs.
- Orbell, Margaret, 1978, Māori Poetry, an introductory anthology, Heinemann Educational Books (NZ) Ltd, Auckland.
- Orbell Margaret, 1985, The Natural World of the Māori, William Collins Publishers, Auckland.
- Orbell Margaret, 1995, The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Māori Myth and Legend, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch.
- Patterson John (ed), 1980, For All the Saints – A resource for the Commemoration of the Calender, The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, Rotorua
- Pratt Douglas, 1993, Religion – A First Encounter, Longman Paul Ltd., Auckland
- Richard Spence, 1994, Whakaaria Mai; The Biography of Canon Wiremu Wi Te Tau Huata, The Dunmore Press Limited.
- Riordan James, 1996, The Songs My Paddle Sings, Native American Legends, Pavilion Books Limited, London.
- Roberts, John, 1996, Alternative Vision: He Moemoea ano, Published by the Joint Public Questions Committee of the Methodist Church of New Zealand and the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand. Dunmore Press Ltd.
- Romanos, Michael, 1985, The I-am-we of Māori culture, Tu Tangata Issue 25, Department of Māori Affairs, Wellington.
- Rosevear, Watson, 1960, Waiapu The Story of a Diocese, Printed in Australia by Halstead Press, Sydney

- Royal, Te Ahukaramu Charles, ed, 2003, *The Woven Universe, Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden*, Print-craft '81 Ltd., Masterton.
- Russel Norma (Ed), 1999 *Atua 101, Atuatanga, Compilation of Readings by Bishop Muru Walters, Te Taapapa o Te Upoko o Te Ika.*
- Salmond Anne, 1975, *Hui, A Study of Māori Ceremonial Gatherings*, Reed Methuen Publishers Ltd, Auckland.
- Schwimmer, Eric, 1996, *The World of the Māori*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington.
- Simmons, D.R., 1984, *The Significance of Decorations in a Māori Meeting House, Records of the Auckland Institute and Museum.*
- Simpson, Tony, 1979, *Te Riri Pakeha; The White Man's Anger*, Hodder & Stoughton Ltd, Auckland.
- Singh Sarina, Ed. 1998, *Aboriginal Australia & the Torres Strait Islands, Guide to Indigenous Australia*, Lonely Planet Publications, Melbourne.
- Shirres Michael P. 1997, *Te Tangata – The Human Person*, Published by Accent Publications, Auckland, New Zealand.
- Smart, Ninian, 1984, *The Religious Experience of Mankind*, Charles Scribner's Publishing House, London
- Smith, S. Percy. *The Lore of the whare wananga or teachings of a Māori College, part 1* Polynesian Society, Mem; Vol. 3.
- Sorrenson, M. P. K. 1956, *Land Purchase Methods and the Effects on the Māori Population 1965-1901*, Journal of Polynesian Society, Vol 9, No 2:
- Sorrenson, M.P.K., 1967, *Māori & European since 1870, A study in adaption & adjustment*. Heinman Educational Books, Auckland.
- Stock Eugene, 1935, *The History of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand*, New Zealand Church Missionary Society
- Taylor, Alan, 1989, *Māori Folk Art*, Century Hutchinson.
- Taylor, E. Mervyn, 1952, *The Story of the Modern Marae*, Te Aohou No.1, Department of Māori Affairs, Wellington.
- Taylor, Richard, 1855, *Te Ika a Maui or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, London.
- Tauli-Corpuz, Victoria, 2001, *The Resistance of the Indigenous Peoples of Asia Against Racism and Racial Discrimination*, Indigenous Affairs.
- Toulson S., 1987, *The Celtic Alternative*, Century Hutchinson, London.
- Turner Harold, 1998, *The Roots of Science*, Printed by Colorcraft Ltd., Hong Kong.
- Turongo House, 1999, *Koroki, My King*, Rice Printers.

- Van de Weyer Robert, 1990, *Celtic Fire, An Anthology of Celtic Christian Literature*, Darton, Longman and Todd, London.
- Wakefield Gordon S., (ed) 1983, *Celtic Spirituality; A Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*, SCM.
- Walker Ranginui, 1990, *Ka Whawhai tonu Matou, Struggle Without End*, Penguin Books, Wairua Road, Auckland.
- Wallace Martin, 1998, *The Celtic Resource Book*, The National Society/Church House Publishing
- Walters, Muru, The Right Reverend, *Māori Religious Freedom*, written address given at a Pacific Region Religious Liberty Congress, Suva, Fiji. 7 –10 June 1993.
- Ward, Alan, 1995, *A Show of Justice: Racial ‘amalgamation’ in nineteenth century New Zealand*, Auckland University Press
- Weyer Robert Van de, 1990, *Celtic Fire: An anthology of Celtic Christian Literature*, Darton, Longman and Todd, London.
- Wilson, J.J., 1910, *The Church in New Zealand – Memoirs of the Early Days*, Dunedin, Tablet.
- Winiata, Whatarangi, 1997, *The Treaty of Waitangi: Māori Political Representation*, A working paper.
- Whall Helena, 2003, *The Challenge of Indigenous peoples; The unfinished Business of Decolonization*, The Round Table.
- Webster, Alan, 2001, *Spiral of Values*, Alpha Publications, Hawera, New Zealand.
- Williams, William, 1989 Edition, *Christianity Among the New Zealanders*, The Camelot Press Ltd, Southampton, first published in 1867.
- Russel Norma (Ed), 1999, *Atua 101, Atuatanga, Compilation of Readings by Bishop Muru Walters*, Te Taapapa o Te Upoko o Te Ika.
- Royal Te Ahukaramu Charles (ed), 2003, *The Woven Universe; Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden*, Printcraft ’81 Ltd., Masterton.
- Vaggioli Dom Felice, 2000, *History of New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin.

PUBLICATIONS.

A New Zealand Prayer Book, He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa 1989,

Williams Collins Publishers Ltd., Auckland.

The Provincial Secretary, The Church of the Province of New Zealand.

Mission in a Broken World, Report of ACC – 8 Wales 1990, Tasprint Limited, South
Woodford, London.

The Secretary General of the Anglican Consultative Council 1990.

Brian, Thomas (ed), 2006, Anglican Taonga, Commission on Communications, The
Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia.

Ikhana, Spring/Summer 1994, National Committee on Indian Work of the Episcopal
Church.

Ikhana, Fall 1990

Ikhana, Spring 1991,

Internet-Report to the Minister for ATSIC, February 1989,

<http://www.tsic.gov.au/section26/0.htm#structure>

Internet – The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.

<http://www.dpmc.gov.au/native/part1.html>

Lloyd Ashton Anglican Media Office Tuia -The Office of the General Synod

200 St Johns Road, Meadowbank, Auckland, P O Box 87188, Meadowbank,
Auckland 1742

Mai i Rangiatea: a journal published by Te Whare Wananga o Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa,
Vol 3, Bryce Printers, Rotorua.

Mai i Rangiatea Journal 2007, Vol.3, Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa.

Mana – The Māori news magazine for all New Zealanders, No 46.

Mana Magazine Issue 80.

Mission in a Broken World, Report of ACC – 8 Wales 1990, Tasprint Limited, South
Woodford, London.

New Zealand Anglican Board of Mission, 1992, Here & There.

New Zealand Herald, Section B1, Wednesday, January 13, 2008.

Praxis, Newsletter No.3 & 4, July-December 1997, The World student Christian Federation
Asia-Pacific Region, Regional Office, Kowloon, Hong Kong.

Proceedings of General Synod, The Church of the Province of New Zealand,(P.G.S.) 1992.

P.G.S. (1986).

P.G.S. (1988).

P.G.S. (1990).

P.G.S. (1992)

Sorrenson NZJH Vol., No. 2

Sorrenson, NZJH Vol.9 No.2:105

The Acts of the Apostles, Chapt. 13 & 14, Paul's First Missionary Journey.

The Commission on Constitutional Changes (1998), A Constitution for our Nation.

The Proceedings of Te Runanga o Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa.

Te Kaupapa Tikanga Rua – Bi-Cultural Development, 1986, The Report of the Bi-cultural Commission of the Anglican Church on the Treaty of Waitangi, Church of the Province of New Zealand.

Te Whakapapa o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa: A Mission Statement and Profile of the Bishopric of Aotearoa, Bryce Ian Printers, Rotorua, 1992.

Te Whare Wananga o te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, A Journal Vol 3, 2007, Mai i Rangiatea, Bryce Printers Rotorua.

Turkish Press/NZ Terrorists 16 October 20007; Scoop: Terrorist Camps East Cape. (<http://www.climatechange.govt.nz/sustainable-nz/sustainable-nz.shtml>)

New Zealand Geographic, 1990 Year of the Waka, Academy Press

Anglican Taonga, 2006, Man for All Seasons, Commission on Communications Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand & Polynesia.

Serendipity's Interactive Study Bible, 2001, Holy Bible New International Version Zondervan Publishing House

Governor-General of New Zealand – Speeches 2000; Internet

Internet; BBC On This Day, 1992, South Africa votes for change

NZ Clerical Directory 2007/2008, The Anglican Church in Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia.

NZ Herald, 31 July 2008

Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, 2002, Te Hunga Tapu o Te Hahi Mihinare Booklet, Printed at Taapapa Rotorua.

The New Zealand Herald, April, 2008

The New Zealand Herald, June 5, 2008

Tūhoe-Te Kotahi a Tūhoe web site, 31 July, 2008. View Dr Cullen's speech notes.

www.tekotahiaTūhoe.iwi.nz
