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THE CHANGING IMAGES OF NINETEENTH CENTURY MĀORI SOCIETY – FROM TRIBES TO NATION

Manuka Arnold Henare

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an historical, ethnographic and linguistic interpretation of rangatira motivations concerning He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni, 1835 and Te Tiriti o Waitangi, 1840 and the movement towards the creation of a Māori nation. It contests the idea that Māori ceded sovereignty forever when rangatira signed the treaty. It constructs a mana Māori history by studying a number of significant events leading up to the signing. The background is laid before you of Māori thinking of the time through an exegesis of early nineteenth-century Māori language texts and a study of the discourse of rangatira at the time. The thesis argues that rangatira of the period had purposive intent and were agents of change. To understand the thinking of the time and the moral and ethical codes of rangatira it has been important to study Māori religious worldview, its cosmology and metaphysics. The research also explores Māori political and economic structures of 1800-1840. The phenomenon of nation making is considered through a study of six decisive events and is the basis of this new interpretation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The components of the phenomenon are: Māori leaders' visits overseas, in particular the visit of Hongi Hika and Waikato to England, the letter from Māori leaders to King William IV in 1831, the encounter with James Busby the First British Resident, the selection of a national flag and its symbolic significance, the Declaration of Independence - He Whakaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni in 1835 - and the discourse between Māori to the offer of a Treaty with Victoria, the British Queen. The study of Māori narrative indicates the historical significance of these events, which have not been accorded significance in settler histories. Events were purposive and intentional. Māori were open to new ideas and moving towards nationhood.

HE MIHI MAIOHA

"Kia rere arorangi atu taku mihi maioha ki ngā wheinga memeha kore, kaumātua atawhai, tūpuna maia hoki, kua whakarewaina nei rātou, kei runga kei ngā rārangi whetū e tū ngātahi ana i Titi-o-kura.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract	i
He Mihi Maioha	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures and Tables	vii
Glossary of Māori Terms	viii
INTRODUCTION	
Introduction	1
Principles of the Research Method	5
The Task of Interpretation	7
Problems of Interpretation	11
A Challenge to Nineteenth-Century Settler Interpretation of Māori History	13
The Myth of Cession: The Myth of the Treaty of Waitangi	17
Macron	21
CHAPTER ONE: DEVELOPING A MĀORI HISTORICAL METHOD	
Uncle Mane - on Hapū History	22
James Henare on Māori History and Spirituality	26
A Māori Philosophy of Vitalism	32
The Colonial Past	33
A Māori Worldview	36
CHAPTER TWO: RELIGION, METAPHYSICS AND PHILOSOPHY	
Introduction	43
Worldview and Cosmos	44
Māori Philosophy of Vitalism and the Natural World	47
The Authenticity of the Io Tradition	56
Early-Mid Nineteenth-Century Anglo-European Worldviews and Problems in Understanding: The Io Tradition as a Case Study	59
The Io Tradition – Sources	68
Metaphysics	75
Metaphysics of Te Tangata, the Human Person – Humanistic Culture and Religion	78
Fabric of a Society Embedded in Religion and Metaphysics	85
Korunga o Ngā Tikanga – Spiral of Virtue, Ethics and Values	85
Ngā Tikanga me Ngā Ritenga and Christianity	94
Te Ruki Kawiti's Ōhākī – The Prophetai and Early Māori Christianity	95
Addendum to Chapter Two – Elsdon Best, Tamati Ranapiri and Tikanga Hau	101
Tamati Ranapiri his Letters and Translations	104

CHAPTER THREE: THE PHENOMENON OF THE MĀORI NATION

Introduction 107
Māori Metaphor – Marae, Kaipuke 108
Understandings of Nu Tireni the Māori Nation 116
Economic Change, the Economy of Mana and the Imagined Community 121
Māori Social Organisation and its' Social Fabric 124
Group and Individual Identity in Social Organisation 125
Whānaungatanga – Whānau, Hāpu, Iwi, Waka, Tangata Māori 126
- Te Whānau – the Fundamental Social Unit and the Domestic Economy 127
- Hapū 132
- Iwi 134
- Te Waka 135
- Being Māori – Identity and Literacy 136

Taonga Tuku Iho – Tangible and Intangible 'Gifts' Handed to Generations 145
Te Ao Tūroa – the Environment 145
Tūrangawaewae – To Stand is to Be 145
Polanyi's Economic History of the Pacific and Nu Tireni 146
Eight Propositions for Understanding Nineteenth-Century Māori Economics 147
The Māori Economy of Mana an Economy of Affection (The Theory of Hau) 150
Tribal Modes of Production – The Economy of Affection 152
The Phenomenon of Nation Making – Towards a New Political Arrangement for Māori 156
The "Conversation" Begins – Hongi Hika, Waikato and King George IV, 1820 160
The Rangatira Letter to King William IV, 1831 172
1831 Letter to King William IV the Gracious Chief of England 174
The English Translation, 1831 Letter (William Yate) 175
The Appointment of a British Resident for Nu Tireni 175
The British Resident Arrives, 1833 177
From the Flag of the Independent Tribes 1834 to the Flag of Independence 179
James Busby's 1834 Address to the Chiefs on the Occasion of the Adoption of a Flag (Māori Text) 186
Address to the Chiefs on the Occasion of the Adoption of a Flag (English Text) 186
Hē W[h]akaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni 1835-1839 187
Addendum to Chapter 3 – Full Māori Text and Translation in English of He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni 197
He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni 199

CHAPTER FOUR: THE PHENOMENON OF TE TIRITI O WAITANGI

Introduction 202
Phenomenology, Heidegger and the Essence of Being 204
Rangatira as Engaged Agents 209
Preunderstandings 215
Te Tiriti 227
An Historical-Semantic Translation 229
The Treaty Discourse 233
Waitangi Signings, 5th & 6th February 1840 (Colenso 1890) 234
Hokianga Signings, 12th February 1840 (Buick 1976 [1914]) 239

Kaitaia Signings, 28th April 1840 240

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION 242

BIBLIOGRAPHY 246

LIST OF APPENDICES 279

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Figures		**Page**
Figure 1.1	Vitalism and 16th Century Italian Art	38
Figure 1.2	Carved Doorway. Judith Binney (1968) *The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall*, Christchurch: University of Auckland Press, p. 128. Also in Augustus Hamilton (1901) Māori Art. The New Zealand Institute, p. 157	39
Figure 3.1	Te Kara - Flag of the Independent Tribes, 1834 and Derivations	184, 185
Figure 4.1	Heidegger's Being-In-The-World	208
Figure 4.2	Māori Temporal Structure in the World	210

Tables		**Page**
Table 2.1	The Io Tradition – Sources	68
Table 3.1.	The Number of Visits by Vessels to the Bay of Islands, 1833 - 1839	110
Table 3.2	New Zealand Trade with New South Wales (Excluding Fisheries)	112
Table 3.3	Historians and Commentators on cession or No Cession of Sovereignty by Rangatira	118

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS

ahurewa	sacred place for the performance of a religious ceremony
Aotearoa	Aotearoa
aroha	compassion, love of other
arohatanga	compassion
ariki	leader, chief, priest
atua	spiritual powers
awa	river
hāhi	church
haka	dances
hapū	descendants of a common ancestor, tribe
hau	vital essence, reciprocity
huaina	names of people and places
hui	gatherings
i ngā wā o mua	in the days gone past, lit. in the days before
ika purapura	corpse buried for religious purposes
Io	supreme numinous being
iwi	people, nation, bones
kāinga	residence, residential community, habitat
kaipuke	sailing ship
karakia	ritual prayer
kaumatua	leader, elder
kete matauranga	knowledge, wisdom
kiore	native mouse
koha	gift, contribution
kōkopu	fresh water fish, native trout
kore	nothingness
kōrero	dialogue, conversations, talk
kōrero tuku iho	legends
koru	fern frond unfolding
kotahitanga	solidarity, Māori solidarity
Kōtuku	White heron
kōwhaiwhai	scrolls, painted curvilinear forms
kuia	female leader

kunenga	conception, the assuming of form
Māoritanga	Māori culture
mahinga	gardens
mana	spiritual power, power, authority, sovereignty
mana hapū	dominant political and economic unit of Māori society, tribal sovereignty
manāki	respect
manākitanga	hospitality
mana Māori	Māori sovereignty, phenomenon of ascribing Māori national identity
mana Māori motu hake	political and economic self determination of Māori
mana Nu Tireni	mana of the sovereign people of Nu Tireni
mana rangatira	individual sovereignty, integrity of leaders
mana tāne	integrity of men
mana tāngata	integrity of people
mana wāhine	integrity of women
mana wairua	spiritual integrity
mana whenua	integrity of the land
manea	sacred places where food is placed
manga	tributaries, branch of
marae	enclosed space in front of a courtyard, common ground, land upon which the whare tupuna stands
mātau, mātauranga	know, be acquainted with, knowledge
mauri	life force, life itself
moana	sea, lake
mōhio, mōhiotanga	know, understand, wisdom
moko	facial or body tattoo
ngāhere	forest
Nu Tireni	New Zealand
ōhākī	oration about peace and prophecy
ora	life, embodied mauri
pā	fortified settlement
pākehā	white people, people from England
panga	riddles
papakāinga	earth where the käinga stands

pepeha	wise sayings
puna	spring of water
pungawerewere	spider
purākau	myths
rangatira	Māori leaders
ritenga	customary practices
rohe	sense of place, boundary
rūnanga	assembly, council
Tai Tokerau	North Auckland area
tangata	human being, person
tangata Māori	human person, Māori person
tangata whenua	people of the land
tangi	weeping
tangihanga	funeral ritual
tamawahine	daughter
taniwha	spirit being, fabulous creature, reference to a rangatira
taonga	visible or invisible things considered valuable, material or immaterial treasures
taonga tapu	religious or sacred objects, valuable
taonga tuku iho	treasures from the ancestors, tangible and intangible gifts
tapu	sacred, being with potentiality
taro	a root vegetable
taumata	resting place, a high peak, gaze on
te ao hurihuri	revolving, changing world
te ao mārama	world of light, enlightenment
te ao tūroa	environment
Te Ika a Maui	The fish of Maui - North Island of New Zealand
te kara	flag of 1834, lit. the colour
te pō	night, season, place of departed spirits
Te Waiora a Tane	The source of life
Te waka a Maui	The canoe of Maui - South Island of New Zealand
tiakitanga	guardianship, caring
tika	natural, right, true, correct, just, fair
tikanga	way in which something is tika, ethic, principle
tikanga hau	spirit, ethics of gift exchange

tikanga pure	rituals
tinana	body
tino rangatiratanga	absolute power and authority, Māori sovereignty
tohatoha	fair distribution of material things
tohunga	skilled person, priest
tohunga ahurewa	highest order of priests
tuna	eels
tupu	to unfold, to unfold one's nature
tūpuna	ancestors
tūrangawaewae	place to stand
urupa	burial place
utu	reciprocity, satisfaction, reward, make a response
wāhi tapu	a small place designated as sacred
wai	stream, water
waiata	songs
wairua	spirit, numinous reality
wairuatanga	spirituality
waka	canoe, group of people with links to a canoe
wānanga	gathering for learning
whai kawa	ceremonies
whakaingoa	naming
whakairo	thoughts
whakapapa	genealogy
whakataukī	proverbs
whaikōrero	formal speeches
whānau	family, extended family
whanaungatanga	kinship
whare wānanga	house or place of learning
whāriki	woven mat
whei ao	dawn
whenua	land, placenta

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

This thesis explores a profound philosophical and moral question regarding the integrity and identity of Māori people of Aotearoa New Zealand of the early-mid nineteenth century. The moral question relates to an interpretation by mainstream New Zealand historiography and legal orthodoxy, that in 1840 some 540 rangatira ceded the sovereignty of themselves and their people in perpetuity to the British Queen. Stemming from this view of the original act of cession is the belief that sovereignty was, in 1852, transferred to a settler government in New Zealand and their successors, forever and ever. The idea that Māori ceded their sovereignty in perpetuity is contested in the thesis in which an alternative Māori interpretation of nineteenth-century history is offered.

In questioning the settler interpretation, the thesis follows a deductive approach by exploring two propositions largely ignored in the extant New Zealand historiographic discourse. The first proposition is that nineteenth-century Māori thought (philosophy, religion and metaphysics) was flexible and coherent enough to adapt to and address new economic, social, religious and political ideas and circumstances. This proposition is addressed in Chapter 2. Part of the discussion about Māori philosophy, religion and metaphysics is a review of historical debate on the authenticity of the Io tradition. In this tradition is the idea that Māori religion contains a coherent body of knowledge and teachings about a supreme divinity, a numinous being named Io. It is argued that Māori leaders of the early-mid nineteenth century were adherents of the religious knowledge and ritual practices associated with what is often described as the Io school.

The second proposition contends that it is not in the nature of being human for Māori, or any other group, to cede sovereignty, meaning power over one's life, forever. In the context of this proposition, the term sovereignty refers not so much to a system of processes or actions, as to the locus of power itself. I intend to support this proposition by presenting evidence to show that Māori actively sought to assert their sovereignty, and to secure the locus of power within their own group rather than give it away to another authority. This will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

The thesis is a Māori people's history of the early-mid nineteenth century, which I define as mana Māori history. It is a history of ideas - some internal to Māori society and others external to Nu Tireni (New Zealand) and a Māori response to them. It is a review of a sequence of events, from the beginning of the nineteenth century and culminating in the signing of a treaty in 1840 between Māori leaders and the British Crown. This history, when thought about as a narrative, offers an alternative interpretation and explanation of early-mid nineteenth-century Māori political, economic and cultural aspirations and intentions. The narrative is told and explained from within a southern Pacific worldview and framework, specifically that of Māori of Aotearoa.

Some clarification is necessary in my usage of three sets of names for New Zealand. For the purpose of the thesis, Aotearoa New Zealand is the name of the country used when referring to the present. It is a way of signifying two Māori spaces, first in a place called Aotearoa, which is both an ancient name and a re-vitalised Māori nation from the late 1850s and is a distinctive Māori space. Second, it recognises that Māori live in New Zealand, which is another space but with other people. Aotearoa indicates a clear preference by many Māori today to name our country in this way thus giving pre-eminence to Aotearoa the older Māori name for at least the North Island but now extended over the whole country. However when discussing the early-mid nineteenth century I will use the then new Māori name of Nu Tireni or its variations such as Niu Tireni, Nu Tirani, which are transliterations of New Zealand, the Dutch-English name imposed on the country. Nu Tireni is conceived in the 1820s as a new nation and a Māori space in an intruding European world taken into Māori space. New Zealand becomes, later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a space for settlers in which Maori are located. The names signify history and its application in historical spaces. This is further discussed in Chapter One.

Six decisive events are considered as a single phenomenon within a Māori moral-ethical framework and are the bases of this new interpretation of the Māori language version of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The first event is Māori leaders' visits to overseas countries - particularly that of Hongi Hika and Waikato to England. The second is the little-known yet decisive letter from Māori leaders to King William IV in 1831.

The encounter with the first British Resident, James Busby, and its impact is the third decisive moment in the period. Fourth is the selection of the first national flag and its

symbolic significance as well as it political impact. Fifth is the declaration of independence of Māori, He W[h]akaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni, in 1835, which gains very little serious recognition in settler historiography, yet remained as a signpost of Māori nationalism and struggle for independence during the nineteenth-century period. The sixth event of significance is the discourse between Māori to the offer of the British Queen of a treaty in 1840.

The focus is on the Māori response to the offer, which takes into account these prior events. The emphasis is on the Māori language version of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, possibly the only known written record of aspects of Māori thinking. Taken together these events show a continuum of discourse over a number of years. The treaty offered by the British Queen is from a Māori view, an affirmation of Māori independence.

The following historical categories of mana are used to signify the changes in thinking and activities - mana hapū, mana Māori, mana Nu Tireni and mana Māori motu hake. Mana hapū refers to hapū as the dominant political and economic unit of Māori society in the early-mid nineteenth century. I render hapū as tribe, a translation consistent with nineteenth-century English language usage. The term sub-tribe for hapū is misleading; it represents a description used in the late nineteenth century (White 1887Vol. I: Five; Vol. II: 193) then gained greater currency in the twentieth century. Apirana Ngata of Ngāti Porou accepted the description of hapū as sub-tribe and iwi as tribe and used these in his translations (see *Ngā Moteatea* Part I: 1979; 37, 69, 75, 109, 131,133, 247, 257). Hoani Nahe of Hauraki similarly translated hapū as iwi (see Ngata part I 1979:129; Part II 1988: 27, 55, 127, 131). However, this is reading backwards into the history of Māori social organisation of the early-mid nineteenth century in terms of their present, namely the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It has the effect of rendering the hapū as subordinate to the iwi, which is a late nineteenth-century construction prompted as much by policy of Governors (Ballara 1998) as with social, political and economic changes internal to Māori society.

Mana Māori refers to the phenomenon whereby some Māori began to ascribe to themselves a national identity in the 1820s with use of such phrases as tangata Māori or Māori usually with reference to tangata Pākehā, being people of England. Mana Nu Tireni refers to the mana gained when Māori leaders and people were recognised internationally

in the 1830s as the sovereign people of Nu Tireni, which is one of a number of glosses given for New Zealand. Mana Māori motu hake refers to the dramatic changes in political and economic circumstances that occurred from the 1840s and throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. It refers to the struggle of many Māori for independence and self-determination in response to the colonisation and domination of Pākehā settler governments. Mana Māori history is located in Aotearoa space rather than that of New Zealand settler space. The naming of place is of importance because the act of naming is like the placing of a marker in a space with it own history. Further, it is an intentional statement of a society to be created usually in the image of those who named the place (Carter 1987). The Māori use of names such as Nu Tireni (New Zealand) and Aotearoa points to a vision of a new nation yet to be built but with the help of the British Crown. Whereas the struggle with the name New Zealand was against unsympathetic settlers who were intent on occupying their new space and nation to be made in their image. This will be further discussed in Chapter One.

Māori metaphysics demands that the critical events of 1800 – 1900 be interpreted as purposive and intentional. Certain events and artefacts of history significant to Māori are used to provide a critical explanation or interpretation, i.e. to give substance to each of the categories of mana. The early period represents an epiphany of events involving visits to England, letters to English Royalty, flags, a Declaration of Independence and a treaty with a foreign power. Each event and the phenomenon of nation making became a potent symbol of significance in Māori self-awareness of themselves as people on a global stage.

The thesis is an exegesis of early-mid nineteenth-century Māori language texts, which have been largely ignored by historians and anthropologists, or read primarily from a non-Māori perspective. Many have uncritically accepted either a supposed translation or an explanation in English as representing the thinking of Māori involved. Some of the documents were composed and written by Māori while others were composed after discussion with Māori and then written down by either Pākehā or Māori scribes. In this latter case, the common practice was to read aloud the draft document to Māori signatories (McKenzie 1985). In this way, Māori were able to further discuss and then agree that the text represented their thinking and thus they put their moko mark, signature, or another sign such as a cross to the paper.

A narrative is revealed, after translating and then reflecting on the context of the texts, which contains a consistent set of ideas, aspirations, anxieties and intentions. When considered as a membrane of ideas they explain something of the mindset and motivations behind Māori engagement in new economic activities, a religious discourse with foreigners, and the quest for new political solutions to old and new problems. In this approach, together with understandings of Māori metaphysics and ethics, I try to get closer to the thinking of the pre-1840 generation of Māori leaders. The leaders were known as rangatira in Māori or chiefs in nineteenth-century English discourse. The texts considered together as a narrative are situated within the sociological, cultural and historical contexts of the narrative. This makes it possible for understanding to develop of the milieu from within which a chrysalis of ideas emerged.

Principles of the Research Method

I accept the following set of principles, which may seem obvious but do require stating because I applied them to my literature searches, archival research and fieldwork. The principles of research and interpretation are a guide to mitigate any tendency to write Māori history in terms of the dynamics of the contemporary Māori struggle for cultural integrity and self-determination.

There are five research principles outlined here and used as part of the exegesis of metaphysics. First, as subjects of history and culture, it is Māori explanations of the meaning of religious and cultural symbols that are important in understanding what they meant to them. Secondly, Māori experience of religion - including explanations of emblems and the nature of things animate and inanimate - define the religion and articulate the meanings of religious activities. Thirdly, the use of early written texts in the Māori language makes it possible for the research to locate the sources, people and places, of a range of ideas, anxieties and preoccupations in a given time frame - for instance in the 1820s and 1840s. Fourthly, the acceptance of the primacy of oral tradition and the values, implicit and explicit, in the stories, proverbs, sayings, songs and dances assisted in identifying the cardinal ethics and values that shaped Māori people's lives in the early-mid nineteenth century. I assert that many previous studies of Māori religion and metaphysics and its concepts have confused the study of the belief in a supreme divinity or a Supreme Being, and there is a need to clarify this question. The notion that all life has an original source is a fundamental belief in traditional Māori religion and is articulated in oral tradition.

In the fifth place, because access has been gained to some of the ways in which Māori of the nineteenth century interpreted events in their lives it has become possible to outline the worldview implicit in the metaphysics and the religion. Finally, in considering the religion as a phenomenon that exists and one that was significant in the lives of Māori in the period under study, it seems that in the Māori worldview, society is embedded in its religion and is not a mirror of something else (Eliade 1987:xi). In other words, the spiritual order is the basis of the social or temporal order (M. Marsden 1992). Māori society therefore, consists of its people, the natural world, and the cosmos; in brief, humanity, nature and cosmos.

The application of these principles is relevant because the study is an insider's view of and an interpretation of history. The search for historical understanding, for new knowledge, for truth and enlightenment demands that the highest level of integrity be maintained. The first two principles are about the subjects of history and culture, explaining their cultural symbols and the experience of their religious traditions. The third is about the use of early written texts in the local language as a basis for reinterpreting ideas and understandings of religious experience. The fourth principle emphasises the primacy of oral tradition as a means of finding values important to how a people shape their lives. The fifth principle is about accessing the ways in which people in a society interpret events in their lives.

These research principles are referenced to the following diverse authorities; Victor Turner, Godfrey Lienhardt, Michael Shirres, Jan Vansina, David Hanlon and Clifford Geertz. Turner suggests a guideline to the first principle. In his Ndembu studies in northern Zimbabwe he speaks of the necessity to have the people of a culture explain their symbols:

> The first step in such a task is to pay close attention to the way the Ndembu explain their own symbols (1974:11).

A guideline for the second principle comes from Godfrey Lienhardt (1966:115-149). He studied the importance of understanding thoughts, beliefs and religious life of a tribal society, from the lived experience of those in the society. In his study of the Dinka of Sudan, Lienhardt stresses the importance of understanding the Dinka experience of their religion, the explanations of emblems and the nature of things:

> When the Dinka speak of changes from human to animal form - as, for example, when they hold that some men are really lions and can change into lions – they suppose that the outward form changes, but the essential nature remains the same. A person human in outward appearance may therefore be *in his nature* an animal of some kind. It is of some importance for an understanding of Dinka thought about

> the animal emblems of some clans, to recognize that they do not always draw a sharp dividing line between the human and the animal as we draw it (1961:117).

Michael Shirres (1979; 1986) infers a guideline for the third principle in his use of some of the earliest known written texts in Māori language of the 1840s where he reinterprets Māori experiences of tapu and karakia (ritual prayer). He utilises a theory of analogy developed by St Thomas Aquinas to explore the underlying meanings of being implicit in tapu, and the significance of karakia as a humanising ritual (1979:9):

> I present the evidence of the Māori texts first and then take this evidence as the basis for ascertaining what tapu meant for the Māori at the time the manuscripts were written.

Jan Vansina (1961, 1964, 1965, 1981; 1985:29 – 32; Vansina, Mauny & Thomas 1961) offers practical guidelines to the fourth research principle in his use of African oral tradition methodology, in religious studies and history. For instance, Vansina (1985:40) finds history in many Pacific rituals. In Pacific history, David Hanlon gives primacy to oral tradition in his history of the island of Pohnpei, in the North Pacific (Micronesia), because it is in oral tradition, religion and history that key values are found which shape peoples' lives:

> I have relied on oral traditions that, in speaking of the island's early periods, convey many of the key values that have helped to shape Pohnpeians' involvement with their land and the larger world. Respect for Pohnpeians' own understanding of their past, I think, demands such an approach (1988: xvii).

Finally, Clifford Geertz states an overall guiding principle for cultural studies when he says:

> ...the guiding principle is the same: societies, like lives, contain their own interpretations. One has only to learn how to gain access to them (1973:453).

The Task of Interpretation

The first task in this Māori interpretation of the period is to make sense of what rangatira, Māori leaders, were thinking and seeking in the encounter with the missionaries, traders and British colonial officials. To do this I explore their motivations and intentions. In other words, I try to identify and understand their worldview and core ethics and values in terms of which decisions; behaviours and aspirations can be evaluated. A second task is to determine to what extent the rangatira thinking and actions of the period had purposive intent and to consider the extent they were either agents of change, respondents to external forces for change or both. To do this I will utilise agency theory as developed in various disciplines by Amartya Sen, economics, politics and philosophy; Battista Mondin,

philosophical anthropology; Martin Heidegger, hermeneutical phenomenology; Charles Taylor, philosophy; and Herbert Butterfield, history.

The Bengali economist and ethicist Amartya Sen, states that the term agent used in its older and grander sense refers to:

> ...someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives, whether or not we assess them in terms of some external criteria as well (1999a:18-19).

Sen (1998 [1987]:29, 42) refers to the "agency aspect" of people where agency is important not just instrumentally for the pursuit of well-being, but also intrinsically. Following this theory of human action in the world, Māori people in the early-mid nineteenth century can be considered as agents of change who showed a remarkable ability to form goals, make commitments, express values and ethics, and make choices. These were not in terms of English utilitarian understandings of choice and utility, but rather in terms of a deliberative Māori agenda of economic, political and religious change. According to Sen:

> The "agency aspect" takes a wider view of the person, including valuing the various things he or she would want to happen, and the ability to form such objectives and to have them realised...the agency aspect pays more attention to the person as a doer (1998 [1987]:59).

In addition, he says that the importance of the agency aspect relates to a view of persons as responsible agents and argues that people must enter the moral accounting by others not only as people whose well-being demands concern, but also as people whose agency must be recognised. However says Sen (1985:185 –187, 203 – 208), agency freedom cannot be examined in terms of any pre-specified objective because a disposition of open conditionality is central to the concept. By combining tools from economics and philosophy, he has restored an ethical dimension to the discussion of vital economic problems. It is this combination of tools', economic and philosophic that is relevant to this thesis. On the matter of agency, Sen discusses the "agency aspect" of the individual that is often employed in the "literature of economics and game theory". In this view, agency denotes a person who is "acting on some-one else's behalf (perhaps being led on by a 'principal'), and whose achievements are to be assessed in the light of someone else's (the principal's) goal." Sen favours the older, grander notion, which I follow.

Understanding both rangatira and Māori people agency in change and transformation of culture and society allows a better way of assessing the moral thinking associated with economic and political decisions made in the nineteenth century. It addresses the question, to what extent is purposive intent found in the early-mid nineteenth century? This type of agency is envisaged in Inden's (1990:23) definition of people agency as:

> the realised capacity of people to act effectively upon their world and not only to know about or give personal or intersubjective significance to it. That capacity is the power of people to act purposively and reflectively, in more or less complex relationships with one another to reiterate and remake the world in which they live, in circumstances where they may consider different courses of action possible and desirable, though not necessarily from the same point of view.

The method of philosophical anthropology is therefore relevant to the thesis because it addresses two fundamental aspects of Māori philosophy and action in the world. According to Battista Mondin (1985:10), philosophical anthropology follows two identifiable phases: the first is phenomenological, and the second transcendental. The first is the aspect in which data about the nature of being human is assembled. The transcendental aspect of the method searches for a justification and an explanation for human behaviour, activities and cultural products. Philosophical anthropology involves seeking the ultimate meaning of the data. Since it leaves open the possibility of metaphysical realities, it departs from the practice and method of empirical anthropology. The application of this method facilitates an exploration of Māori understandings of the human person, te tangata Māori. It also facilitates examination of Māori ideas of existence, of body and soul, of the mind and knowledge, and the broader social setting in which people are considered as moral agents. This latter is Māori metaphysics.

First developed by Immanuel Kant, philosophical anthropology asks four questions on the nature of being human. According to Mondin (1985:18), as far as Kant was concerned, the first question refers to metaphysics, the second to morals, the third to religion, and the fourth to anthropology, but Kant proposed that the first three can be reduced to the fourth question because everything is grounded in the human being, fundamentally "all this can be reduced to anthropology, because the first three questions refer to the last" (Kant 'Logic, 25A' cited and translated by Mondin 1985:18; cf. Kant 1992 [1800]:538). The four questions posed by Kant ('Logic 24A', cited and translated by Mondin 1985:18; cf. Kant 1992 [1800]:538) as applied to this thesis are:

1) What can Māori know?

2) What must Māori do?

3) What can Māori hope for?

4) What is tangata, the human person?

In any study of humanity, and in this case, of Māori, questions of knowing refer to metaphysics, whereas the question about what people must do refers to morals (ethics). The third question, on what humanity (Māori) can hope for, refers to religion that also refers to a visualisation of the future, and the fourth question, what is the human, refers to anthropology. The final inter-related method is ethno-history, which I prefer to describe as a mana Māori history, a history that informs philosophy, metaphysics, and anthropology.

A Heideggerian phenomenological approach is used for this thesis to seek meaning in the everyday actions of early-mid nineteenth-century Māori leadership. Martin Heidegger discusses the idea of *dasein* described as, being-in-the-world, the essence of existence and meaning, the 'is' (Heidegger 1996; Hughes-Warrington 2000:143-150). In studying being-in-the-world, it is necessary to consider the everydayness of being. Heidegger identifies the important relationship between past, present and future and finds that the present is made up of what has gone before and the potentiality of what is yet to come.

There is a synergy between a Māori concept of time, place and history, which is sophisticatedly expressed as "i ngā wā o mua" (Best 1922:44; Williams 1975:213, 472), and Heidegger's *dasein*. The latter, *dasein*, considers the everydayness of being, and the relationship between past, present and future in which a present is revealed, a present that consists of what has gone before and the potentiality of what is yet to come.[1] Both approaches help understand early-mid nineteenth-century tūpuna (ancestors) thinking and decision-making. In the expression, "i ngā wā o mua", Tipene O'Regan (1987a:141) says 'mua' signifies "both that which is before one or in front." Best (1922:44) describes "o mua" as, "of former time", and the Williams Māori Dictionary (1975 213) as, of place, of time. "Mua" is also used when applied to a tapu place in former times (Best 1976:252).

[1] On Martin Heidegger's ideas of *Dasein*, being-in-the-world, I express my appreciation of many discussions with my oldest son, Mark Henare February-April 2001, and to readings on Heidegger suggested by Dr Elizabeth Smythe, Auckland University of Technology (see Kohl 1965; Kaelin 1989; Guignon 1983; Guignon 1997).

"Wā" refers to definite space, and, time and season but in the phrase, wā is used in plural form and refers to times, seasons or places (Best 1922:44; Williams 1975:213). This signification is a template for the present and the future offering a traditional Māori approach to utilising and understanding history. A Māori of the nineteenth century did not look back at history in this framework because the past is forever before her or him. In this historical space the times, seasons or places, ngā wā, are in front, o mua, of the person who is in the present and now looking forward at former times, or sacred places and events.

Further, according to Muru Walters (1979:4, 112, 115), what is considered the present is not an illusion but the facts concerning Māori history. In this worldview, allowance is made for myth, poetry, and symbolic talk as tools for historical understanding. For Walter's, a history that is oral and tells the version of history on marae, must be spoken on marae because that is where tribal members, other Māori and ancestors views are valued. History becomes a living tradition in which the past informs us of the nature of the present and the potential of the future. The person in the present brings with them all the lived experiences of their lives and the lives of their ancestors. Meanings and interpretations come out of this experience. For the most part Māori historical experience has either been buried, disguised, silenced or is now understood in an empty way. It is the silencing and emptiness in New Zealand historiography of the declaration of independence and Māori intentions in treaty making in 1840 that is at the heart of the thesis.

The purpose of using the Heideggerian approach is to uncover meaning from Māori experience of a changing world. Furthermore, it can balance and mitigate the biases in the plethora of early and later Anglo-centric settler eyewitness accounts of what Māori were alleged to be doing from the observer's point of view. This is discussed in Chapter 4.

Problems of Interpretation

The second phase of philosophical anthropology, the transcendental, seeks justification and explanation for human behaviour, activities and cultural products. Such enquiry is not solely reliant on empirical anthropology and history and is open to metaphysical explanation (Mondin 1985:11). The thesis is a consideration of Māori explanation of the te tangata, the person, their ideas of life, existence, soul, spirit, mind and knowledge and the

settings of the early-mid nineteenth century in which Māori and their leaders are considered as moral agents.

Accessing a Māori mindset and interpreting Māori religious thoughts and practices has been something of a walk through dense mangroves and mudflats for many observers where often the latter's own religious or anti-religious frameworks have led them to draw conclusions based on their cultural suppositions, theories of religious ideas and life experiences. Traditional religions of tribal societies have often been analysed in such a way as to portray them as static and unchanging. This is a characteristic of the historians of Christianity and Islam in Africa, says Elizabeth Isichei (1983:218, 517), in her discussion on perceptions of reality, traditional religion and divinity. She depicts traditional religion as a backdrop to the dynamic advance of the world religions. The reaction to this criticism has been to emphasise that it is possible to trace the evolution of changes in religious beliefs and practice in traditional society. However, this is easier said than done.

Māori religion has suffered similar distortions, where it is seen as static and an inhibiting factor towards modernity (Yate 1835:141; S. Marsden in Elder 1932:116 - 117, 286 - 289).

This is a problem for both Māori and Pākehā perspectives. On the other hand, the Anglo-European religion of Christianity is characterised as dynamic and civilising (Sardar, Nandy & Davis 1993). The presentation of Christianity as dynamic and progressive is consistent with the view that the Anglo-Western economic system called capitalism was also dynamic (Purchas 1914; Farrell 1972:34 - 58). It was contrasted with the static nature of subsistence economies in non-Western societies and it is within this structure of thinking that Māori of Nu Tireni are located (Harris 1990:84 - 138; Sanneh 1983; Tauli-Corpuz 2001:284 – 285).

James Blaut's (1993:25-26, 97-98) discussion on coloniser's models of the world, diffusionist theories of the nineteenth-century, myths of emptiness of lands and territories waiting to be colonised, points to a distinctive set of European and Western Christian worldviews. Within these views, he argues that anthropologists accepted the idea of two distinct mental types. The first model, says Blaut, is the idea of the primitive mind of tribal peoples as espoused in Levy-Bruhl's, *How Natives Think,* where he argues that natives were incapable of higher theoretical and abstract ideas and that they were driven by emotion. While some anthropologists such as Boas and Mead opposed such thinking, Blaut suggests that most

accepted it but with qualifications. Blaut's second mental type involved the psychoanalysis of non-Western cultures where only Europeans were considered to have a fully developed individual consciousness, an ego, and an ability to conceive of self as an individual separate from the external world. Within this view considers only European people were considered as rational.

An overview of the history of anthropological studies of indigenous peoples' religions, and religious practices, is also helpful because similar misrepresentations are found in this area. James Boon (1987:308 - 310) says that the tradition of anthropology's concentration on non-literate societies has shaped its approach to religious practice and belief in general. The fallacies in nineteenth-century quests for the origins of primitive religion, where the religion was seen as a distinct category of human experience, have been reassessed. The twentieth century produced vigorous responses to Social Darwinism, the eugenics movements, and other theories of qualitative divisions in the human species. He says that what is obvious are the rival definitions of religion, which characterise anthropological efforts. He concludes these countless dubious theories of religious origins and their metaphysical extensions reveal symbolic classifications implicit in Europeans' own views of nature and of human cultures as well. Boon (1987:309; cf. Ballara 1986) says Edward E. Evans-Pritchard captures the flavour of prejudicial dichotomies that usually favoured the Europeans.

> We [are] rational, [but] primitive peoples [are] prelogical, living in a world of dreams and make-believe, of mystery and awe; we are capitalists, they communists; we are monogamous, they are promiscuous; we are monotheists, they fetishists, animists, pre-animists or what have you, and so on (Cited in Boon, 1987:309. See E. Evans-Pritchard 1965:105).

A Challenge to Nineteenth-Century Settler Interpretation of Māori History

The thesis challenges the New Zealand nineteenth-century settler historical understanding of the past and its concomitant assertion that Māori leaders in the early-mid nineteenth century formally gave up forever all rights and claims to nationhood and statehood. In other words, Māori agency was given in perpetuity to the British Crown. Arthur S. Thomson described by Keith Sinclair as the first of New Zealand's historians, sums up the view. He says:

> ...the Treaty of Waitangi was a wise measure, a Christian mode of commencing the colonisation of the country, and an act, which has proved, of signal benefit to the natives and the peace of the colony (Thomson 1859:23).

The alleged dramatic Māori political act of cession in 1840 has dominated New Zealand settler historiography throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This will be evidenced in Chapters 3 and 4. In the settler historical discourse, the certain events before 1840 are not recognised as a narrative of Māori experience of economic, political and religious change and transformation but rather presented as helping prepare the way for Māori acceptance of the Treaty of Waitangi. In my view, the exclusion of mana Māori history is understandable, because in the settler historical discourse Māori are the objects of history and not the subjects. The events when considered are done so only in terms of situating Pākehā into their space and that of New Zealand history, which prior to and during these events was a mana Māori history.

Expanding on the first proposition this thesis offers a re-interpretation of nineteenth-century New Zealand constitutional and social history. To do this I explore the dynamics of Māori thought and social, political and economic change. These are explained through an analysis of the motivations and intentions of the rangatira. These are considered in terms of the following:

- The philosophical and religious explosion bought about both through the introduction of and the quest for, new ideas and ways of looking at and behaving in the world. New metaphors and symbols are accepted and used by Māori to express changing and expanding political, economic, social and religious visions.
- The economic take-off, including the consequences of the change from subsistence to cash/export-orientated economies with technological and agricultural advances.
- The social disruption evidenced by massive movements of Māori, both internal to hapū configurations and internal to Aotearoa, and the influences of the lifestyle of early Pākehā settlers.
- The political turmoil as whānau and hapū struggled to adjust or cope with the economic and social factors. New political structures and institutions emerged for the ordering of the relationships between Māori and settlers but also between Māori.
- The kinship war, both inter and intra whānau and hapū, very much in evidence, causing decimation of some communities.

In this Māori interpretation of nineteenth-century history the motivation for change that rangatira and their communities sought, is revealed. Finding the means to guarantee an improved quality of life and to make long-term and enduring peace and stability possible

became a single driving force for change from the leadership. The proposals to formally declare the establishment of a nation state were intended to achieve these objectives.

From 1800 to 1840 a series of events took place in New Zealand in which Māori people, led by their political, economic and religious leaders – ariki, rangatira and tohunga - were engaged in what became a radical transformation of culture and society. Dominant themes in New Zealand historiography, however, represent Māori as either passive or unresponsive in the face of the encounter with Europeans, their technology and ideas. In this view, any agency aspect is either ignored or not recognised. This thesis aims to show that Māori religious ideas and culture were coherent and capable enough to adopt and adapt to new economic, political and religious ideas.

It is argued that one significant aspect of all the transformations was the intention of an ever-growing number of tribal leaders to establish a Māori nation and a state under the rubric of mana Māori. Driven by a combination of economic and metaphysical factors, a new political reality emerges for Māori over the horizon. Led by a coalition of Tai Tokerau leaders, this reality coalesces around ideas about managing their affairs in new collective ways previously unknown to Māori experience. They declared themselves a free people, free from any foreign dependency and threat. After decades of inter-hapū and intra-hapū fighting, mass migrations of communities and economic changes they begin the momentum towards forming a confederation of hapū. In itself, it represents a major undertaking fraught with difficulties. It was to be known as He W[h]akaminenga o ngā Hapū, which was rendered by James Busby as The Assembly of Tribes. In Te Whakaminenga when the rangatira gathered in a collective capacity, they would be able to assert mana Māori, rendered as Māori power and authority, namely sovereignty, over the whole country.

Herbert Butterfield's (1931) critique of the whig interpretation of English history, both as a set of methods and the "psychology of historians", has application to a similar tendency in New Zealand historiography.[2] It is particularly noticeable in the accounts (or lack of accounts) of the 1835 Māori leaders' declaration of independence in which little credence is given to Māori agency in its construction and its place in nineteenth and twentieth-century history. Rather, the focus on Māori economic and political history and

[2] I acknowledge Dr. Paul McHugh, Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge University, England and the lengthy discussions on Butterfield's ideas of human agency and the whig interpretation of history, October to December 1999.

anthropology is on Māori leaders ceding sovereignty, and consequently their agency, to the Queen of England in the British-inspired 1840 Treaty of Waitangi. Within this genre, Māori are removed from the theatre of Pacific Island peoples' histories and are instead located in British imperial and colonial enterprise and history. Māori are part-time players in European, specifically British, settlement history. Butterfield says:

> The whig interpretation of history...the tendency in many historians to write on the side of Protestants and Whigs, to praise revolutions provided they have been successful, to emphasize certain principles of progress in the past and to produce a story which is the ratification if not the glorification of the present. This whig version of the course of history is associated with certain methods of historical organization and inference – certain fallacies to which all history is liable, unless it be historical research (Butterfield 1965:9).

I shall argue that Māori people developed and maintained a tradition and history of this remarkable aspect of early-mid nineteenth-century economic and political history, but it has become a 'silence' in New Zealand's historical discourse. The Haitian anthropologist and historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995) has demonstrated a similar 'silence' in historical discourse surrounding the Haitian Revolution. It was the most successful slave revolt in history, and it was not acknowledged in Western historiography, specifically in English and French histories. In the revolution, the highly organised and brilliantly led Haitian forces defeated both the French and English armies and navies inflicting on them extraordinary levels of causalities. Trouillot persuasively argues for a healthy scepticism, that history is not simply a recording of facts and events, but a process of actively enforced silences, some unconscious and others quite deliberate.

Hazel Riseborough (1993:1) has argued that assumptions made in historical and popular literature about Māori leaders are based on unsatisfactory sources, almost entirely Pākehā ones, or on careless use of sources, and sometimes on both. Two separate yet associated problems are identified. First is the unwillingness to credit oral sources as adequate for scholarship and the second, an inability or unwillingness to access Māori language sources, whether oral or written. Many Pākehā of the Victorian era, Riseborough (1993:5) says, were not generally inclined to credit Māori with the higher mental faculties needed to produce astute political leaders. The fascination with Māori intelligence and the quality of it is seen as early as 1843 when the *Southern Cross* newspaper lamented in its 29th April editorial that:

> We had fondly hoped that his superior intelligence would have saved the native of New Zealand from the general and melancholy fate of savages; but ever true to itself in the sad effect, the contact with Europeans, is, in this instance, as well as in others, doomed to the same fatal effect (Cited in Ballara 1986: 85).

These issues of scholarship will be discussed in this thesis, which is a philosophical anthropology and history of early-mid nineteenth-century Māori ideas and their adaptation and elaboration over time. Specifically, it is argued that a whiggish tendency of interpreting the past in terms of the present is found in the New Zealand historiography on the Māori declaration of independence 1835–1839 and early attempts to establish a Māori nation state. The thrust of the Pākehā historical discourse is that Māori leaders of 1840 ceded, forever, sovereignty to Queen Victoria of England and her heirs and generations of governments, and that Māori are infants in respect of matters to do with politics.

Butterfield (1965:17, 18) has argued that it is not for the historian to magnify the similarities of the one age with that of another. He describes this method of interpretation as the study of "the past with reference to the present" in which important historical characters are often classed into those "who furthered progress" and those "who tried to hinder it". This is illustrated, he says, in the whig tendency to draw a line linking certain events, from Martin Luther, to a long succession of whigs, to modern liberty. In nineteenth-century New Zealand history, events of significance to Māori - in which Māori have agency – are generally ignored or are accepted but only in terms of Pākehā agency.

The Myth of Cession: The Myth of the Treaty of Waitangi

The second proposition investigates the question of the myth or reality of the cession of sovereignty. Reference is made to James Busby informing Northern Māori leaders of certain principles in international law as espoused by Emerich de Vattel, a leading eighteenth century writer on international law. Certain Māori leaders were informed of Vattel's principles of protectorate status under which a threatened nation was able to, "obtain for itself protection from a more powerful State" without ceding its sovereignty. In an arrangement that is in the form of promises, "the treaty is merely one of protection, which is not in derogation of sovereignty" (de Vattel 1916 [1758]:80). Busby (GBPP 1837-1840:62) illustrated these principles in a 16th June 1837 letter to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales. He explained that he spoke to Māori leaders at the declaration of independence gathering in October 1835, of the protectorate status requested of the British

Government by the Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean Sea. De Vattel and his *Law on Nations* were hugely influential in England and the United States (de Lapradelle 1916: xxxiv) and would be used by Māori and Pākehā to assert their claims to sovereignty. It was a standard text to be read by any British official as part of their preparation for office. It was the background reading for James Busby as he prepared for his term as British Residence in New Zealand.[3]

Māori intentions in signing the Treaty of 1840 were to form an enduring relationship with the British Queen and it was to be a mutually beneficial arrangement of a practical kind. It was to be reciprocity on a nation-to-nation basis. Māori expected the relationship to be a protectorate-type one, the notion being well understood by many rangatira and would allow Māori, with British help, to build on the ideas and goals enunciated in the declaration of independence, He W[h]akaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni. In return, a limit understood at the time, some of the Queen's people could live in New Zealand in peace. Ultimately, the treaty of 1840, as Māori understood their own action, was for the long-term it was about reciprocity and they reckoned it to be a practical means of guaranteeing Māori freedom.

Edward Said draws attention to problems of colonisation and the difficulty facing peoples such as Māori of 1840. Some of these problems were raised in 1840 because many rangatira had an inkling of how things might turn out; and many vocally expressed their concerns to Hobson about the colonial intentions of the Queen and her desire for more land (Orange 1987:92-93). According to Said (1993:8), an important distinction can be made between imperialism and colonialism, where imperialism is "the practice...theory...and attitudes" of a distant centralised power and colonialism is the systematic process of settlement. Clearly, the 1839 instructions of the Marquis of Normanby to Hobson were very specific about gaining Māori endorsement for cession of sovereignty as the prelude to formally establishing a colony. Hobson had to arrange things so that Māori were seen to be requesting colonisation, in Said's use of the term; once this was gained, the justifications for British acquisition could be made. Accordingly, British colonialism as experienced in New Zealand is largely finished.

[3]My thanks to Dr Paul McHugh, College, Cambridge University, England for this information, October 1999.

However, although the 1850s devolution transferred English sovereign power to the New Zealand parliament, it was delivered into the hands of the settler government thereby entrenching British imperialism in the governing structure of the country. Said continues:

> Both [imperialism and colonialism] are supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formations that include notions that certain territories and people *require* and beseech domination (1993:8).

Said's analysis provides a compelling insight not only into the process of imperialism, but also into the historical interpretation of the process of imperialism. The marginalisation of Māori views and interpretations, and the lack of consideration of Māori agency with respect to the signing of the Treaty fit with this analysis. To argue for cession of sovereignty is to argue for domination, power and control and this is the narrative of nineteenth-century settler historiography. It is what I refer to as the "myth" of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, as expressed in the English-language version of the text. The Māori-language version of the text presents the alternative basis of historical interpretation that Māori people retained sovereignty but sought a protectorate relationship with the British Crown.

In October 1835, significant Māori leaders declared themselves and their people to be a nascent independent state. According to settler interpretation, Māori later changed their minds when in 1840 many rangatira reversed their thinking and decided to cede sovereignty to a foreign power forever. According to the *New Oxford Dictionary of English* (1998: 293, 299), the word 'cede' is a verb, which means to give up power or territory. It originated in the early sixteenth century and is from the French word '*ceder'* or Latin *cedere,* to yield. 'Cession', a noun, is the formal giving up of rights, property or territory by a state. Its origin is late Middle English and it is from Latin *cessio (n-)*, from *cedere.* It is this understanding of sovereignty that British officials, missionaries and settlers alike held. At first, the sovereignty is ceded to Queen Victoria of Great Britain and her government. Then later in the 1850s, the act of cession continued after a process of devolution took place from London to a newly established settler parliament and government in New Zealand. In this view sovereignty remained with the Crown but power was transferred to the colony through the representative government.

On the other hand, should the rangatira of 1840 have understood the meaning of the word cede as giving up power or territory, including rights and property, it is most unlikely that

they would have agreed to such a course. The Māori term equivalent to the meaning of ceding and cession is mana, a term used in the declaration of independence but mysteriously not in the Māori text of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. To cede their mana and all that it implies during negations that are peaceful and where there was no apparent duress is illogical and lacks practical explanation. The notion that Māori ceded sovereignty is a fundamental belief of generations of Anglo-Celtic and Anglo-European New Zealand settlers who have sustained for themselves the exercise of political, economic and cultural power during most of New Zealand's short settlement history. That Māori, the indigenous peoples of the islands willingly ceded their collective and national sovereignty in 1840 to the British Crown is largely accepted as a fundamental of New Zealand's historiography and constitutional history. It is argued that this belief of cession is the great myth of the Treaty of Waitangi. It is a Pākehā and Crown myth powerfully sustained over time in a space called New Zealand.

However, it was not only European settlers who accepted the truth or otherwise of the myth of cession: from the end of the nineteenth and the start of the twentieth centuries, a new group of Western-educated Māori leaders accepted the idea of cession to another culture and its institutions. This movement led by Apirana Ngata and Te Rangi Hiroa argued that Māori ought to accept that cession had taken place and that the agenda was to imitate Pākehā civilisation but on Māori terms. The intent of this strategy was that Māori would find a space in New Zealand alongside Pākehā and that it was folly for leaders in the late nineteenth century to invoke Aotearoa.

Nineteenth-century ethnology and histories, written largely by settlers, missionaries, and government officials consider Māori as children, or as recipients of civilisation in which Māori are the objects and not the subjects of change and development. Māori metaphysics and its religion offer another approach to understanding this history of change, where Māori are the subjects and the agents in the transformation of culture and society in the early-mid nineteenth century.

Māori-language texts in the form of written evidence of an oral discourse, notes, letters, declarations and treaties are considered as primary evidence, some possibly for the first time. These offer a means of understanding the mindset of Māori leadership. Reliance on English translations of the same texts suggests a tendency to read into the minds of Māori signatories what amounts to thinking in English. It is noted that most historians have been too reliant on the English texts to interpret Māori actions and thinking. The English text

represents what was in the mind of the translator and interpreter, rather than what was in the mind of Māori. For example, in Chapter 3, I discuss the uncritical publishing of James Busby's so-called translation of the 1835 declaration of independence, He Whakaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni. It is not a translation. It is his explanation of the text.

In this historical account, the 1840 treaty with the British Queen is considered as a culmination of a lengthy agenda of early-mid nineteenth-century adaptation and change in which Māori are the agents. The notion that Māori leaders knowingly ceded in perpetuity their mana (sovereignty) to a foreign power is challenged in this interpretation of Māori history.

Macron

I have followed a convention regarding macrons use by Jane McRae of Māori Studies, the University of Auckland (McRae 1987 Introduction: iv). Following McRae, when copying sayings from manuscripts I made changes to word division or punctuation in order to clarify the sense of the saying and to record it in accordance with the conventions of today's written Māori. I have used also macrons to mark double vowels in written texts. This policy makes clear the meaning of the word, especially for words that are spelt the same when the meaning can only be distinguished by the length of the vowel. Finally, long vowels in words are marked as recorded in *A Dictionary of the Māori Language* (Williams 1975). I express my gratitude to Jane and Māori Studies Department, the University of Auckland.

CHAPTER ONE
DEVELOPING A MĀORI HISTORICAL METHOD

Uncle Mane – on Hapū History

My first serious enquiry into tribal history began some twenty-five years ago. I did most of the initial work with a man who is now deceased. He was my grandfather's younger brother (by twenty years) and we knew him simply as Uncle Mane of Te Aupōuri and Te Rarawa. I did not know him when I was young, and he did not know me. We met as adults. He was a dairy farmer, a labourer, a forester, an electrical linesman, a football player, a boxer and then on becoming the kaumatua (leader) of our local marae and tribe in the North Hokianga, he emerged as an authority on genealogy and North Hokianga tribal history. It was he who guided others and me through the complex world of Māori thought, particularly of Hokianga and Tai Tokerau on matters to do with our past.

In our Ngāti Hauā account of the history of our harbour, Whāngāpe, the shores of which we have inhabited since the times of Kupe, in our tribal traditions said to be the original Pacific explorer to find these islands. Whāngāpe gained the name from an ancestor Tohe. However, there is a lake in south Auckland also called Whāngāpe, and further south near Matamata is another tribe called Ngāti Haua, and according to those people, we are named after the southern Waikato tribes (Kelly 1986 [1949]:139 - 142). I brought this apparently conflicting account to Uncle Mane's attention, pointing out the thoroughness of the other group's historical account and noting that it was documented and published in a book called *Tainui* (Kelly 1986[1949]). Our account is known largely through oral presentations. After much questioning and debate his response was that if it was Tainui's view, let them have it, but it is not ours. According to Mane, Tohe an ancestor of Te Aupōuri tribe named the harbour Whāngāpe Karaka during his epic journey south searching for his daughter Raninikura, who lived in the Hokianga area. As he came upon places and events, he named many of them as he searched – Kapo Wairua, Tohora, Waikanae, Waipakaru, Hukatere, Waimimiha, Herekino. Eventually, he came upon a group preparing karaka berries for eating, thus the name Whāngāpe (Keene 1963:45 - 52). As for the re-naming of our hapū as Ngāti Hauā, the story refers to the wasted death of an ancestor called Takapari who died in a fight of little consequence, thus hauā. The earlier name was Ngāti Hinepahero.

Uncle Mane knew that I worked in the Tainui area on a regular basis and advised me to be circumspect about how, when in their tribal area, I listened to their version of the history of

Whāngāpe. "It is not for you to challenge their account while in their area," he said. "However if they should come to our marae and tell us their history of how we received our name and that of the harbour, then," he said, "we will correct them." This proved to be a lesson to me in the politics and dynamics of kinship histories.

Uncle Mane's view of history is as an example of what I would describe as mana hapū or mana iwi history, which is local and relative to hapu and iwi mana and specific to the group, whose history it is. It is an example of tribal relativism, meaning that tribal accounts can be understood and assessed only by members of the kinship group. Māori scholars of the 1860s recognised the problems of tribal relativism and the difficulty of reaching common positions on crucial matters. There was debate in 1865 on these points when Te Matorohanga of Wairarapa spoke to his pupils in the Whare Wānanga telling them:

> There was no one universal system of teaching in the Whare Wānanga. For each tribe this was so.... My word to you is: Hold steadfastly to our teaching; leave out of consideration that of other (tribes). Let their descendants adhere to their teaching, and you to ours, so that if you are wrong, it was we (your relatives) who declared it to you (and you are not responsible); and if you are right, it is we who gave you this treasured possession (Smith 1913: Vol. I, 84; cited in Salmond 1985:248).

Salmond (1985:248) suggests that the relativity approach allowed tribal speakers to make known epistemological variation thus allowing them to hold that their accounts are true. It is in this sense that Salmond (1985:241) has identified and persuasively shown that in the 1840s – 1860s there was no universal or commonly agreed upon matauranga, or reliable knowledge system, meaning one Māori epistemology but rather, she shows that there were tribal epistemologies

Be that as it may, this thesis is not a hapū or iwi specific history, but is a meta-history of Māori people. The writer is a descendent of rangatira who signed He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni, the Declaration of Independence, on behalf of their people, Te Rarawa. These co-founders of the nascent Māori nation state were Pāpāhia, Te Huhu, Te Morenga and Panakareao and yet the collective exploits of these Māori leaders and others are little discussed in hapū or iwi discourse.

A number of questions come to mind. Why is it that Māori attempts to set up a nation-state in 1835 have received very little recognition in Aotearoa and New Zealand histories? Why is it that contemporary Māori themselves seem unable to accept that some tūpuna had the foresight to form a confederation of hapū and then establish a Māori state? The answer to

these questions may help us to understand why He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga of 1835 has not received the attention it deserves. Perhaps it is because of the nature of Aotearoa New Zealand history itself. It encompasses a variety of histories of which the two dominant streams are Māori and its tribal histories, and settler history. On Māori history and related issues Pākehā historians have become somewhat critique shy due I think to the wave of criticism from both Māori and Pākehā sources both of which hold that only Māori can say anything about Māori. However, some Pākehā hypersensitive liberal instincts may also be a factor.

Māori history is emerging as a genre with its own standards and ethics. It contains two streams. The strongest and of longer standing are the tribal ethnographies or tribal histories. The second, and yet to be clearly articulated, is the idea of Māori history. Tribal histories are closed histories and are representations and interpretations of the past specific to the members of a particular kinship group, namely whānau and hapū. However under the influence of early Pākehā ethnographers the latter have been elaborated, by both Māori and Pākehā recorders, as iwi (only) histories. In Māori terms outsiders ought not to openly critique or even comment on these perceived views of the past and its interpretations. This is the sole prerogative of those who belong to the hapū/iwi. John Rangihau (1992 [1975]:232) forcefully stated this, "Each tribe has its own history. And it is not a history that can be shared among others" (See also Pere 1991; Royal 1992; Binney 1987; Salmond 1991a & b; Keenan 1994).

A problem with this type of relative history is that it is often inadequate and does not account for or explain the bigger pictures, for example the emergence of new social groups or ethnic identity and nationalist movements. This I discovered when some of the actions of one of our early nineteenth-century ancestors, Pāpāhia were not explained by local oral discourse. For instance why did he and his brother sign the 1835 Declaration of Independence, known by Māori as He W[h]akaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga (see Chapter Three, Addendum and Appendix VII)? What was he doing in 1840 travelling to other parts of the country on Christian missionary work and participating in Treaty of Waitangi debates? (Orange 1990b:144). Pāpāhia's religious and pan-Māori activities are not part of our hapü oral history. His meta-narrative was not considered, for the moment, as significant in local narrative.

Māori history is perhaps a genre that is not yet fully developed or explained. I would define it as a history of the people of that social or ethnic group called Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand. It involves an interpretation of both pre-European and post-European contact

periods. However because of the particularities of tribal histories, Māori history cannot be the sum total of tribal narratives. Insiders or outsiders can do the interpretations within this genre. For a long time Pākehā historians have dominated the discipline and have defined it, set the standards of scholarship to be attained and imposed ethical and moral interpretations of events and people. In recent years a growing group of Māori historians and anthropologists have at best critiqued the outsider's performance and interpretations of the Māori past. It is not yet clear if there are to be new or amended standards of scholarship and ethics to be applied to Māori history by Māori historians.

Māori and Pākehā historians have a role that includes a duty to be accountable to the broader community both Pākehā and Māori, to explain and elaborate what has happened in the past and offer pointers to a future. Māori historians have responsibilities to be accountable to the broader community. However, we have a primary task. It is to critique society on behalf of our own people and the explanations and representations have to be in terms of both tribal worldviews and as a Māori nation of free and independent peoples.

This level of historical discourse involves the idea of Māori history itself. I have defined such history as the representation and interpretation of the past of those who define themselves as belonging to the social and ethnic group called Māori. Therefore, we write histories of Māori as a people. This history cannot be some kind of sum total of tribal ethnographies or histories, largely because of the closed nature of these latter histories. Māori history is open to wider public scrutiny and interpretation. In my view these are histories that can be done by anybody - Māori, Pākehā, Hawaiian, and French and so on. However, Māori historians write their work primarily for the Māori public and then for whoever else wants to understand what has happened.

One's claim to authority depends on which level of history is being discussed or written. There are criteria, which are applicable to tribal or mana Māori history, and in the end it is for Māori to decided the validity of the historical account where it if confirmed at tribal levels or among Māori in communities. Tribal histories usually require a mandate from the kinship group. Māori history done by Māori for Māori requires mandating by appropriate Māori institutions and groups, although the specifics of these criteria are currently being debated. A phenomenon of the late twentieth century is that many Māori have become disillusioned and sceptical of various Pākehā accounts of Māori in New Zealand history and anthropology and assert that Māori must have control over our history.

James Henare - on Māori History and Spirituality

A distinctive Māori expression of history, a meta Māori history, is articulated in a ritual greeting and presentation of Sir James Henare in 1981. Sir James, a leading elder, orator of Tai Tokerau, Aotearoa and Polynesia, farmer, an authority on Māori oral history and Polynesian genealogy, and sage of the twentieth century, gave an account of history that links the creation of the universe and the making of humanity. It represents an insider understanding of religion and its spirituality and is based around a type of oratory made in hundreds of settings, big and small, each day throughout the Māori world of Aotearoa. (Following Martin Heidegger, oratory in a Māori context is part of the everydayness of being Māori, but more of this later). In traditional idiom, a religious philosophy and metaphysics is stated (J.Henare 1981:3):

> E mihi ana kia koutou katoa.
> E tangi ana ki te whenua
> Taonga tuku iho a ngā tūpuna
> Ki te whei ao ki te ao mārama.
> Tuia te kawe, tairanga te kawe.
> Te kawe oi, te kawe o te haere
> Nau mai, haere mai
> Tihei, mauri ora.

Sir James gave the greeting in 1981 when speaking to a local Law Society on the theme of what land meant to Māori historically and spiritually from the time of Kupe, the great Polynesian and Pacific explorer, to 1840. The significance of the year 1840 is that this is when 540 Māori leaders signed a treaty of friendship with the British Queen, Victoria, which they believed formalised a close relationship between themselves and the Queen. He explained what the greeting means:

> Greetings to you all.
> I weep for the land
> handed down by our ancestors
> 'tis dawn, it is daylight.
> Make the shoulder pack
> take up the shoulder pack, and come.
> Welcome. Ah 'tis life.

The narrative is an introduction to Māori worldview, its cosmology and metaphysics. This type of chant-oratory identifies the speaker as having spiritual powers, a place of origin, and relating with his people - both the living and dead. It represents an understanding of the universe and its purpose, in which the universe is always evolving (Shirres 1997:23). In explicating the deeper meanings of the words of the narrator, some insight into Māori thought is gained. However, I am not suggesting here that a single authority on Māori lore

stands for the diversity and richness of Māori thought among all the tribes. Each tribe has its own expert.

He says, "Ki te whei ao ki te ao mārama" and explains it as " 'tis dawn, it' is daylight." The dawn, whei ao, is like a misty, hazy morning and te ao mārama refers to the world of light and by extension, enlightenment. Therefore the phrase suggests dynamic or unfolding enlightenment. Whei ao is a transitional or liminal state between darkness and the world of light and according to Māori thought in every facet of life there exist various conditions of whei ao. The first example of it is seen in the account of the creation of the world. This took place during the time of Sky Father and Earth Mother who were lovers and inseparable in a permanent embrace. The children through separating the parents in the period known as te whei ao, made possible their own escape into the world of light (J.Henare, 1981:6 - 7; Barlow 1991:182 - 184).

Sir James' greeting then moved to the time of Maui, a Pacific hero who was half human and half spirit and who, although scorned by his brothers, earned the respect of humanity by taming the sun, capturing fire and attempting to conquer death. But above all, he said, Maui fished up Te-Ika-a-Maui, the Great Fish of Maui, (which is the North Island of New Zealand) using his grandmother's potent jawbone. Much, much, later, in another time, one of the descendants rediscovered the island of Maui (J. Henare 1981:4 - 9).

Kupe the Polynesian explorer together with his wife, Kuramarotini, voyaged from the northeast Pacific, thought to be the direction of the earthly Hawaiki, in their canoe Matawhaorua. It was Kuramarotini who, upon sighting a long, large white cloud, excitedly pointed to the land naming it Aotearoa – the Land of the Long White Cloud. On arrival, these first human visitors were confronted with a large, complex ecosystem and environment spanning 1600 kilometres from north to south that was alien to the ecosystem of Hawaiki.[1] In comparison to their homeland, it was a landmass of continental proportions. Large trees later identified and named by other generations of Māori provided the canopy covering the main broad-leafed species. In the coastal areas, they would have sighted for the first time the ancestral native trees, particularly the pohutukawa, totara, kauri, karaka and kowhai, which all became revered over time; and, along the muddy margins of the coast, the mangroves.

[1] For a description of the environment at the time of the beginnings of human habitation in Aotearoa, see Department of Conservation (1989:51, 66 - 67, 68 - 69, 70).

As they traversed the valleys seeking food and fresh water, they found swamps of flax and bulrushes, orchids, ferns, fungi, mosses and lichen. Abundant bird life was everywhere and in the undergrowth; astonishing insects and invertebrates unknown to the explorers were found. While fishing or fetching seafood they would have spotted the endless supply of new fish species living along the larger continental shelf of the islands.

After circumnavigating the islands of Aotearoa, Kupe and his family returned to Hawaiki. In time, his descendants decided to migrate to the new land and it was settled according to family groups and tribes. In these early encounters and migrations, the love for the land was consummated, said the kaumatua, and became the foundation upon which the tribes prospered (J. Henare 1981:10 – 11, 14). The historical human link to land and environment was established. Over the centuries there was no buying or selling of land: it was not considered a commodity or a development opportunity. It was, according to Sir James, a person's very being, "on and by the land the people lived and died." It became the task of early communities to begin the identification and naming of the creations of Sky Father and Earth Mother and their children. Names given in the founding times remain important today for local communities who identify themselves with the history of their ancestors.

The naming of place is of importance because the act of naming is like placing a marker in a space with its own history but is also an intentional statement of a society to be created, usually in the image of those who named the place. Paul Carter (1987: xxiv) in his study of Australia describes naming as an act of transformation and history making in which through naming "space is transformed symbolically into a place... a space with a history." When travellers or outsiders name a place, he says, they leave a mark, "a metaphorical wordplace which others may one day inhabit." Further, the aspiration and goal is apparent in the naming of one's world because it is also about an intention to make a society in one's image (c.f. Denning 1980:11, 16). Naming the world as it is experienced is a feature embodied in Māori ritual process and ritual payer from, karakia. In Māori thought, to name something is the means of establishing a relationship, namely a whakapapa, between the person or group doing the naming and the thing named. It is the basis upon which connections are made, identity clarified and asserted, and the mana over it is generated.

Aotearoa is according to Sir James Henare's oral tradition, an ancient name and is associated with the first known human discovery of these islands by Kupe and Kuramarotini. The traditional name was deliberately re-asserted during the intensity of the establishment of the

British settler colonial administration, land acquisitions by the new settler governments and as the flood of British settlers began to out number the Māori population. In June 1858 at the end of the ritual cycle associated with the election of Potatau Te Wherowhero as the first Māori King (Kirkwood 2000:36 – 40), Te Tapihana, of Ngāti Hikairo and Ngāti Apakura, a tohunga of Māori religion but one who was also well versed in Old and New Testament Christian theology, with Potatau chose Aotearoa as the formal name of the Māori nation. They along with other leaders considered the country to be in Māori control (c.f. Belich 1990:87 - 88). In blessing and crowning Potatau in his new role, Te Tapihana did two separate rituals involving naming and they illustrate the purposive intent of choosing Aotearoa. First, upon arriving at Rangiaowhia from Ngāruawāhia and riding a white horse, Potatau remained sitting on it as Te Tapihana (Kelly 1949:438) began te karakia whakawahinga. The karakia is a ritual of Māori religion and often referred to as the raising up ceremony and is a ritual prayer of anointing. In this, case a king (Winiata 1958; c.f. Stokes 1999a: 97 – 100; Kirkwood 2000:29, 38, 40). According to Pei Jones' (1960:224 – 225) account the karakia whakawahinga of Te Tapihana was as follows:

E Io! E Rangi!	Oh Io! Oh Rangi!
Tapā mai rā ia	Wilt thou name him,
Ta tāua tama,	Name this son,
I whakatama ai tāua	who is indeed a son to us.
I o tāua nonoketanga,	A son he was
I nonoke ai tāua,	When you and I strove manfully
I o tāua momoetanga,	Yea, strove manfully.
I momoe ai tāua it e pō.	When you and I were at rest. Yes, at rest
E Io! E Rangi!	Oh Io! Oh Rangi!
Tapā mai rā ia,	Name him and
Ko wai?	call him whom?

He began the karakia talking directly to Io and Rangi, the former is the Supreme Being, and the latter the Sky Father two divinities of Māori religion. He closed the chant invoking the names of Io and Rangi again and posed the question, "Tapā mai rā ia, ko wai?" – Name him and call him whom? The gathered throng responded shouting out such names as "Hei Ariki Taungaroa!" – A chief of the chiefs, then "Hei Toihau" – Supreme Head, then "hei Kahutaratara!" – High chief of scattered tribes but each time Te Tapihana ignored the assembled urgings and repeated the karakia. Finally the supporters cried out, "Hei Kīngi!" – A King! At this fourth and final exaltation Wiremu Tamehana Tarapipi of Ngāti Haua, who was later to be known as the King maker, repeated the cry of the people, "Ae, hei Kingi! Hei Kīngi!", with Te Tapihana joining him. Te Tapihana then continued alone

chanting his karakia but quoting this time from the Christian Old Testament, Tiuteronomi 17:15 (Deuteronomy 17:15):

> Ko tā Ihowa, ko tā tōu Atua e whiriwhiri ai, ko ia anake tau e mea ai hei kīngi mōu: ko tētahi o ō tuakana tau e mea ai hei kīngi mōu: e kore e hei kia meatia e koe hei kīngi mōu te tangata iwi kē, ehara nei i te tuakana nōu (*Te Kawenata Tawhito* 1848:280).
>
> Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose: one from among thy brethren shalt thou set King over thee: Thou mayst not yet set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother.

The karakia was followed almost immediately with a reference to the New Testament and Matiu 21:9 (Matthew 21:9):

> Ko ngā mano i haere i mua, me te hunga i haere i muri, kei te karanga, kei te mea, Ohana ki te Tama a Rawiri: Ka whakapaingia tēnei e haere mai nei i runga it e ingoa o te Ariki; Ohana i runga rawa (*Ko te Paipera Tapu: Te Kawenata Hou* 1981:24).
>
> And the multitudes that went before, and that followed, cried saying, 'Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest'.

Te Tapihana followed his first naming ritual with a second, when, apparently with Potatau's concurrence, he called up the traditional name of Aotearoa. This karakia was followed immediately with a Christian hymn "Ka Mahue a Ihipa" taken from the Māori Church of England Hymn 130 (Kelly 1949:439):

> Forsaken now is Egypt, the land of sin and shame. A new home (we) now seek.... (Jones 1960:223; cited also in Barber 1984:36).

At the conclusion of these proceedings, Potatau relented on his non-acceptance of the role, removed his white top hat and threw it to the ground to signify his final consent and became King.

Te Tapihana's chosen ritual prayers and hymn constitute in his mind and that of the new king a coherence of two religious traditions, Māori and Middle East Christianity, and were a blessing of a hoped for revitalised new nation. The allusion to an Egypt of sin and shame was a metaphor of settler New Zealand and the sought after new home was an Aotearoa to be restored. The effect was perhaps to subordinate the commonly accepted usage of Nu Tireni of those committed to the King Movement. The naming place for the blessing, Rangiaowhia was a thriving new type of Māori community near Te Awamutu, and is itself perhaps as significant as the rituals.

Rangioawhia was centre to a most prosperous Māori controlled economy of farming, horticulture, and wheat and flour production of the country. Much of the produce was enabled the area to become a major exporting region to the local market in Auckland and overseas markets in Australia and California (Barber 1984:33; Simpson 1983:1 – 2). Ironically, yet not surprising, the benefits of Māori export earnings in foreign exchange were siphoned off by settler governments to fund Pākehā settlement and continued emigration from Great Britain (Adams 1977:207 – 209).

The Taranaki prophet Te Ua Haumene restated the theme of salvation, of land and nation restored when he re-baptised Matutaera, the son of Potatau, who upon the death of his father became the second King. In 1868, Te Ua gave to him the name Tawhia Te Ao, rendered as Encircle the World, but was later called Tawhiao. During the baptism, Te Ua referred to Aotearoa as Canaan, the land of the Jews that their God had promised to restore to them. Another incident illustrates how nationalist Māori of the 1860s saw a New Zealand Aotearoa polarity that included in it the recognition that some Māori were for New Zealand and not Aotearoa. According to Te Huia Raureti of Ngāti Maniapoto and veteran of the battle of Orakau, the followers of the Kingitanga chanted a ngeri to kupapa, who were Māori considered as sympathetic to the settler government. The ngeri, a rhythmic chant with hand and body actions (Williams 1975: 233), attempted to shame the kupapa for their passivity and so-called neutrality, and accusing them of shirking their responsibilities and of acting as decoys for the British. They pleaded with the kupapa to return to Aotearoa (cited in Kirkwood 2000:52 – 53):

> E Wi, e Tima, hoki mai ki Aotearoa
> Oh Wi, Tima, return to Aotearoa.

Apirana Ngata and I.L. Sutherland observed later in the mid twentieth century that many Māori Christians identified themselves theologically and in real terms with the suffering of the children of Israel. Old Testament texts were often the inspiration for the insight of Māori religious prophets who found parallels thus making identification easier. According to Ngata and Sutherland (1940:351):

> The Promised Land was Aotearoa restored.

Aotearoa has an honoured place in mana Māori history as it does in the thesis.

There is delicious irony relating to the apparent Māori acceptance of the new name for their islands. Sometime between the visits of the strange new people from Europe, Abel Tasman in 1651 and James Cook in 1762 (Beaglehole 1974) and crews, Māori space was given the name

Zeeland in Dutch, after a place in Holland (Stokes 1970). Zeeland was translated in English as New Zealand. An intention of the exploring foreigners was established and the seeds of a new society were planted in the minds of Europeans. As the encounter between European and Māori developed the transliteration, Nu Tireni came into greater use. Nu Tireni became part of a new Māori discourse noticeable in the nineteenth century about space and place, and society.

In effect in the pre-colonial period, Māori had renamed their place and perhaps, as will be seen in later chapters, it foreshadows a revitalised Māori society. From this usage, albeit in the local language, many Māori nationalists in both the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth centuries reconsidered their experience of the colonial past and the full implications of colonisation.

Māori Philosophy of Vitalism

After the orator, Sir James Henare, established the historical links, he spoke next of the spirituality of land and its human relations. This spiritual, humanistic value of land and environment makes things vital, holy and sacred in Māori understanding. A philosophy of vitalism is expressed in a number of terms in Māori, namely tapu, mana, mauri, hau and wairua. There are problems associated with translating Māori terms into English, especially where Māori terms have multiple meanings. Typically, it is the context in which Māori terms are used that clarifies the metaphysical and spiritual intentions of terms.

Māori vitalism is the belief in an original singular source of life in which life continues as a force, which imbues and animates all forms and things of the cosmos. Accordingly, life itself cannot be reduced to matter or form and in Māori thought; life itself is independent from form.[2] In Western theorising on traditional religions and cultures of indigenous peoples, the religions are often depicted as static,[3] and as closed systems not open to quests for new knowledge. These are provocative judgements and not accurate when applied to

[2] For a discussion on Aristotle's and other Western theories on vitalism see Mondin (1985: 26 – 27); Beckner (1996:253 – 256); Wachowski (1967:570 – 573); Manier (1967:724 – 725). For a discussion on a comprehensive metaphysics applicable to all phenomena, see Bergson (trans. by Arthur Mitchell 1998 [1911]:42 – 43); and trans. by T.E. Hulme 1999 [1912]. The ideas of vitalism, cosmos and worldviews were explored as part of my research through an address to the " Indigenous Traditions and Ecology" Conference held at the Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard Divinity School, Harvard University, Boston, 1997 (see M. Henare 2001).

[3] For a discussion on Melanesian and Polynesian concepts of mana, taboo (tapu) and theories on static and dynamic religions including other indigenous peoples see Bergson trans. by R. Ashley Audra and Cloudesley Brereton 1932 (1986:126 - 128, 134 - 135, 165 - 166, 210 - 211, 214). For discussion on the problems associated with the comparative studies of religions and cultures and the need for a more holistic approach, see Schreiter (1986:43).

the Pacific. Neither do Pacific Islanders share such views about themselves. Anne Salmond has observed that Māori have their own ideas on how relationships are to be conducted between peoples, and between humans and creation. In her studies of the meanings of Māori cosmological chants, she sees described an ordered world of reciprocity, a "generative relation", that exists between individual human hearts and minds, as well as between human minds and matter (Salmond 1997:176). Māori knowledge is an open system capable of a form of systematic enquiry, critiquing and evaluating the world of human beings and spiritual beings (Salmond 1997:516 – 517; 1984:240 – 263).

The Colonial Past

In his greeting and speech to the lawyers, Sir James speaks of weeping for the land handed down from ancestors of the past. However, there are two spheres of the past for which he weeps. There is a recent sphere - one embroiled in broken political promises, and military and legal intervention by the colonial masters in the second half of the nineteenth century. Then is an earlier, timeless sphere of which the remembrance of a mythic history is what links humanity to the natural world. His narrative informs us of the continuing personal relationships of the living with the ancestors and with the land. His words remind those who will listen that the land and the resources are a sacred gift passed on to the present generation from human and spiritual ancestors.

At a deeper affective level the tangi, the weeping, is a declaration about and a reference to the tragedy of land loss and loss of cultural identity. Tangi flows from the remnants of land in which resides the wounded soul handed down by ancestors. Such weeping is not just for the immediate material loss, but also for lost potential and the diminution of spiritual and cultural identity. In the Māori mind there is an on-going connection between the health of Earth Mother and the well-being of humans in communities, for both are connected conceptually, spiritually and through a relationship of rights and obligations. For generations it has been considered that psychological and social illnesses can be attributed to the mistakes and evils of the past associated with the loss of land and the abuse of Earth Mother. In the context of his narrative to the Law Society, this idea is particularly poignant. He reminds his audience that Māori have lost most of the land to others, largely for unjust reasons, but also to a lesser degree as a result of ill-informed decisions by Māori.

The history of Māori encounters with white settlers, which has been interpreted in significantly different ways, involves considerations of religion, economics and politics.

The Māori view of recent history has, following John G.A. Pocock, "shaped assumptions and structures, the ideologies, mentalities and discourses" by which Māori define themselves, others and the world (1998:484). He examines the politics in New Zealand arising from the revivification of the Treaty of Waitangi. It considers historiographical consequences that follow the redefinition of a nation's sovereignty, and treaty relations between differing concepts of sovereignty and history. Māori became a minority population in the 1860s and experienced the onslaught of colonisation and near extinction. The loss of control over their country and their destiny came about despite a Māori Declaration of Independence in 1835 and an 1840 Treaty of friendship with the British Crown, which, I argue, Māori signatories considered would guarantee their sovereignty. However, the British Crown and later New Zealand Governments assumed that sovereignty was ceded to them in perpetuity.

The nineteenth century was one of high political and military activity over claims to sovereignty, and the twentieth century one of encounter with assimilation and integration as espoused by the dominant European society. However, minority status was not always the norm. Estimates of the population in 1840 put Māori society at 100,000, thus constituting the dominant group. However, estimates that are more conservative suggest the population at 70,000 - 90,000 (Pool 1991:58). It is also the year marking the beginning of colonisation and European settlement, largely from Great Britain. However, from the first encounter between Māori and Europeans in 1769, diseases such as measles, tuberculosis, typhoid, venereal diseases and others new to Māori were introduced, and became a significant factor in population decrease into the twentieth century. By the end of the nineteenth-century, observers considered Māori a dying race, since the population had been reduced to 41,993 by 1891 (Pool 1991:76). The alienation of land to settler ownership was almost complete. In 1840 some 66 million acres had been in Māori control, but only about 3 million acres remained under Māori control in 1901 (M. Henare & Douglas 1988). The Chairman of the Waitangi Tribunal, Chief Judge Edward Taihakurei Durie said, in 1996:

> ...Māori land comprises today 5% of the national total, much on poorer land and some 7% [of this] unworkable.... The spread of Māori land is not even and there is little or no Māori land in some tribal areas (cited in Orange 1998:67).

The maintenance of a historical sense and a willingness to learn from experience has ensured the resilience of traditional worldview and religion. This despite major changes in elements of Māori culture and in social organisation; despite the systematic undermining of

kinship groups by the state; despite transformations in material culture, and in political and economic activity. Yet all of these features have abiding elements that remain embedded in traditional Māori metaphysics and religious outlook. The colonial history and Māori experience of it, and Aotearoa New Zealand society's attempts to deal with its past and make a new present so as to move into the future, represents a new experience. In Māori worldview, the past is like a pathway in front of the present, which leads to the future. Māori relive the past in the present and in so doing find the future. Sir James in his ritual greeting to the lawyers refers to past ancestors as if they are standing before the group. He employs the "i ngā wā o mua" approach to history telling (see Introduction).

Sir James brings the past into the present and points towards the need to struggle for cultural integrity, including environmental spirituality. Māori worldview values emphasising the mythico-historical origins of life, of the human, and of reciprocity as central to being Māori were always likely to clash with the nineteenth-century settlers' Christian or secular utilitarianism and positivism.

With the idea of land and environment as gifts, glossed in Māori as taonga tuku iho, go duties and the responsibility of guardianship. In his speech Sir James describes why this is so:

> The Māori word 'whenua' - land, is the term used for both the land and the placenta or afterbirth; therefore, the land for Māori people has the same deep significance as the placenta, which surrounds the embryo. Giving it warmth and security, a mauri, a life force that relates to and interacts with Mother Earth's forces (1981:18).

The sage has introduced us to one of the essentials of a Māori philosophy of vitalism. He acquaints us with mauri, which he describes as an interactive life force. However, he explains another fundamental Māori understanding of the purpose and the source of life itself that has metaphysical, psychological and philosophical implications. He informs us that mauri, with which the embryo was imbued at conception, interacts with Mother Earth's forces, the immediate source of physical life. The land, he says, is the nurturing source of human physical existence, just as the placenta is for the child before childbirth. In this sense, the placenta is a material mauri giving warmth and security to the embryo but as a force, it interacts with the material biological and spiritual life forces of Mother Earth. In Māori cosmological thought, the mauri, together with tapu, mana, hau and wairua, came from Io matua kore, the supreme cosmic being that has no parent, but is the parent of Rangi, Sky Father and Papa, Earth Mother. It is through and from the primal parents that emanates

the cosmos of Māori knowledge and understanding. The land as a system of ecological interactions is a placenta, a material biological life force that nurtures and sustains humanity. Humans reciprocate in special obligatory roles both to the source of their spiritual and physical life and to the placenta or ecology, that nourishes them.

Oral histories inform us that Māori are people of the Pacific Ocean, which traditionally is called Te Moana Nui a Kiwa – the Great Ocean of Kiwa. Kiwa is one of the children of Sky Father and Earth Mother and has the domain of the oceans under its care (Best 1982:252). Pacific Island cultures emerged during hundreds of years of constant habitation on small islands, atolls, and reefs that are spread over thousands of kilometres of an oceanic world and its multiplicity of ecosystems and species diversity (Rappaport 1979:4 – 5). In this oceanic environment distinctive human cultures developed, and are often referred to as Micronesian, Melanesian and Polynesian. Māori of Aotearoa are Polynesians.[4]

A Māori Worldview

The cosmic religious worldview of Māori is as old as the culture itself having its roots deep in the heart of the Pacific Ocean. It constitutes a philosophy, which is a love of wisdom and search for knowledge of things and their causes (cf. R. Williams 1983:235). The interplay between cosmology, worldview and philosophy is discussed by Gregory Schrempp (1992:12, 15) when he emphasises the centrality of cosmology in Māori culture. He points to an analogous linkage with western philosophy that can be a "perspective, theory, and inspiration for conducting cross-cultural study." However, writes Lawrence Sullivan, there are unique qualities in religious worldviews. They are:

> ...all-encompassing because they fully absorb the natural world within them. They provide human beings both a view of the whole and at the same time a penetrating image of their own ironic position as beings in the cosmos,.... worldviews are unique because they draw the world of nature into a wholly other kind of universe... (2001: xi – xiv).

In traditional belief, creation is described as a dynamic movement, which is expressed as "i te kore, ki te pō, ki te ao mārama," and rendered as "out of the nothingness, into the night, into the world of light" (Shirres 1997:16, 118 - 119). At the heart of this view of the creation process is an understanding that humanity and all things of the natural world are always emerging, always unfolding. The Māori term tupu, says Johansen (1954:40 – 47),

[4] The categories of Polynesian, Melanesian, and Micronesian are not indigenous peoples' classifications.

can be glossed as "to unfold one's nature", and within this understanding all things unfold their nature, they live and have form (cf. Salmond 1985:247).

Within this knowledge and enlightenment-seeking framework, Māori and other peoples of the Pacific have, says Anne Salmond (1997:509), "their own ideas on how relations between people and between people, earth and sea must be conducted." In addition, further suggesting that in traditional cosmological chants is found an ordering of the world by "networks of kinship and alliance" and "animated reciprocal exchanges." On the very beginnings of cosmic life, of thought, knowledge and biological life, Salmond says:

> ...the cosmos began with a surge of primal power. From this, thought emerged, followed by memory, the mind-heart, knowledge, darkness and the kore (the nothingness, potential forms of existence). Tapu, or cosmic power, was the source of all creation. It brought complementary forms of life together, generating new beings (1997:401).

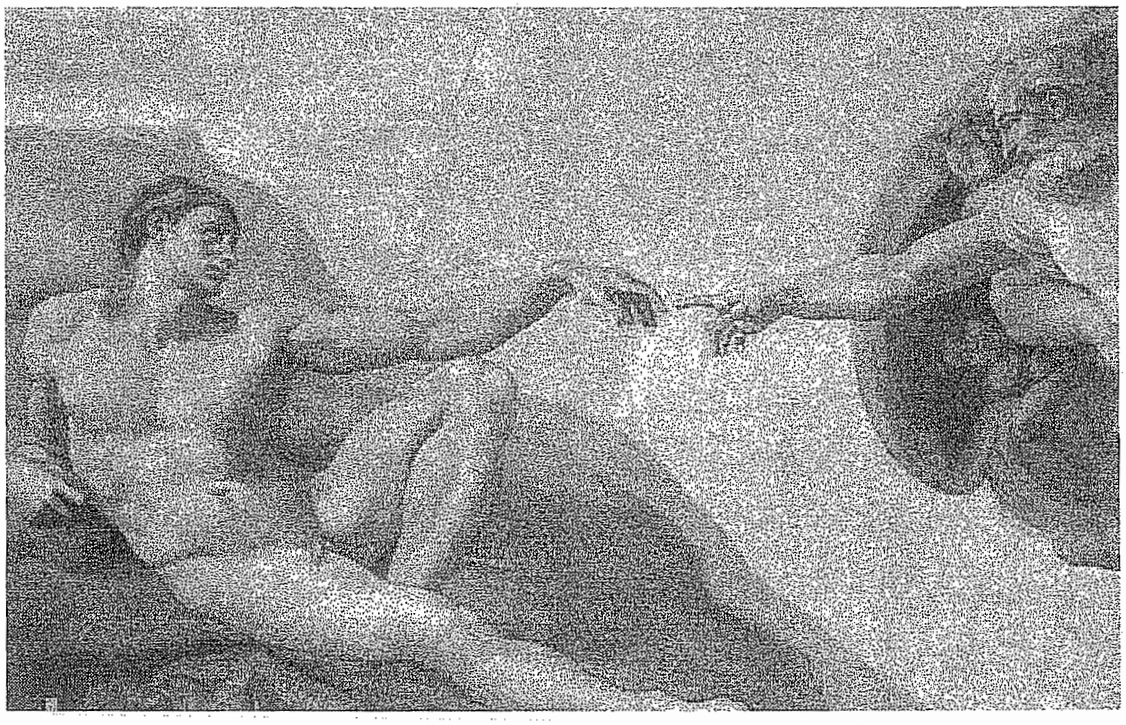
Intriguingly, Māori artists trained in the traditional schools of learning have, in wood and bone carvings, body tattoos, and hand-painted scrolls, presented the cosmic process as a double spiral, which swirls into and out of a primal centre. The chevrons etched into the spiral represent a key link in the unfolding of the cosmos. The naturalistic images utilised are unfolding fern fronds, the swirling power of a whirlpool, and a whirlwind - all of which depict life as a dynamic force that is sometimes creative and sometimes destructive (see Overing 1985; Salmond 1985:247; 1997:405). Māori art is vitalistic in its expression of religion and philosophy, particularly where it is the intention of the artist to enhance vital potential.

Art is said to be alive when the artist or performer intends to express vital potential in what Arieti (1976:196 – 200) has described as vitalistic art. For, as Leonardo da Vinci is reputed to have said about his sculptured monuments, you can compress into an image more than you can ever say.[5] Michelangelo's vitalism is beautifully and harmoniously portrayed in his magnificent painting of the transmission of life from God, the creator and source of life itself to Adam the first human being. I led a group of kaumatua, in 1988, to see the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican City where we were overwhelmed by the ihi, wehi and wana, the awesome power and strength, of Michelangelo's painted ceiling depicting the Biblical account of the transmission of life. See Figure 1.1 Vitalism in Italian Art.

[5] Cited by Marina Werner, a guest on the Jeremy Paxman Show, *Start of the Week* (BBC Radio 4, London, 24th January 2000), in a discussion on the great monuments of Leonardo da Vinci.

Figure 1.1

Vitalism in 16th Century Italian Art



The Creation of Adam by Michelangelo (1508 – 1512)

An Example of Vitalistic Art

"Life is being transmitted from the Creator to the perfectly beautiful and harmonious figure of Adam only by means of the approach of their fingers."
(Pietrangeli. 1990:92 – 93, 97).

A vitalistic depiction of the Christian Biblical account of the transmission of life from the source, the Creator, to Adam the first human being. Life comes from a spiritual world and is imbued in the material world.

The vitalistic power of Māori art is expressed in the carved doorway in Figure 1.2 in which the genesis of humanity (the figurines) emerges from the spirals on the two side panels. The doorway is a representation of the creation story where Rangi, is the top bar and Papa is the lower on which they stand. The figures of the children holding up the separated parents are in between the cosmos, the large single and double spirals (Jackson 1972).

Figure 1.2

Carved doorway

Carved Doorway (Binney 1968:129).

Pacific languages are languages of metaphor and symbol, where words and phrases often have layers of meanings and context is important. They are also vitalistic languages expressive of life forces, metaphysics, and cosmic energy. Māori is no exception in such narrative, where primary sources of knowledge and history in oral form have been passed down to the present from ancestors. Māori history consists of genealogies, kinship systems, poetry, myths, proverbs, songs and ritual dances, which together constitutes a narrative on identity. Paul Ricoeur (1991:188) has described this type of narrative identity as "...[the] kind of identity that human beings acquire through the mediation of the narrative function." The importance of narrative theory and the task of hermeneutics says Ricouer, is to explicate the world in front of the text.

Following Ricoeur, the oral form of transmitting knowledge is Māori literature, wrote Sir James Henare, in a booklet of tribal sayings and proverbs. He articulates an indigenous philosophy and a hermeneutics of oral literature when he wrote such literature was:

> ...[for] centuries preserved only by memory which naturally influenced the development of different forms of literary art, such as proverbs, poetic allusions, metaphor, epics and songs to name but a few. These were handed down from one generation to another in which wise sages embodied the results of their experiences and judicious observations (J. Henare 1987:Foreword).

These literary art forms, he said, are exemplified in the oral traditions, which are:

> a veritable treasure house of genius, wit, condensed wisdom and silent telepathy in the storied souls of our ancestors calling across the ages to their descendants struggling towards the cultural light (J. Henare 1987: Foreword).

The significance and power of oral literature and art form in Māori narratives is found in metaphor and symbol. According to Ricouer, it is possible to understand human beings and human possibilities through an analysis of symbols and texts, which attest to that existence. He claims that it is only through stories and histories that we gain a catalogue of the humanly possible (Vanhoozer 1998:48). The understanding of human beings and human possibilities can be done through an analysis of metaphors, symbols and texts, which he says attests to their existence (Ricouer 1993:69).

The foundations of Māori religion, metaphysics, and philosophy are inextricably linked to those of the material, oral, and psychological aspects of the culture, which all developed over time. There is no known founder prophet like Mohammed, nor is there a sacred written text such as the Christian Bible, but the religion is an observable phenomenon. Māori religion is a belief in spiritual beings (Tylor 1891) and is both a way of life and a

view of life (cf. Schreiter 1986). At the phenomenological level Māori religion is found in rituals, ceremonies, religious objects, sacred places and sites; in art forms and carvings; in songs and dances, proverbs, wise sayings, and riddles; in the naming of people and places; in myths and legends, and in customs, beliefs, and practices (cf. Mbiti 1975). For example, traditional oral sources are replete with detailed accounts of the religious preparations for crossing the Ocean of Kiwa from a mystical homeland of Hawaiki to Te-Ika-a-Maui, the great fish of Maui, which, upon first sighting by humans, was named Aotearoa – the Land of the Long White Cloud. Fundamental religious and metaphysical concepts, such as tapu, mana, mauri, hau, and wairua, all life and spiritual forces of the cosmos, did not originate in Aotearoa having come in the hearts and minds and rituals of the founding ancestral East Polynesian explorers who discovered and settled the islands. This religion of the Pacific, with its philosophy and metaphysics, blossomed in the new, complex environment in which the older worldview was transformed. Traditional indigenous religious beliefs are the core of contemporary worldview and an interpretation of history (M. Henare & Kernot 1996).

Metaphysics and philosophy are more significant than religion and an explanation is offered for why this is so. This will be discussed further in Chapter 2 where it is argued that a framework of virtue and ethical concepts remains intact today and that current Māori practice is informed by a whakapapa of ethics, glossed as a genealogy of ethics. The ethics, which are considered as cardinal virtues, are described using the symbolism of the koru – thus the korunga of ethics, rendered as a spiral of ethics. The ethics are te ao mārama, te ao hurihuri, tapu, mauri, mana, hau, wairua, tika-tikanga, whānau-whānaungatanga, tiaki, kotahitanga, manaaki, mātau-mōhio, houhou rongo and kotahitanga.

A body of sacred knowledge is identified, consisting of religious experience and insight, philosophical and metaphysical explanation that lead to a conclusion that certain events and significant artefacts of history culminated in the acceptance of the making of the Treaty of Waitangi. Why this is so cannot be understood without more weight being given to Māori thoughts, motivations and choices.

Herodotus' histories about the struggle of a divided Greece against the Persian Empire have led some to name him 'the Father of History.' Herodotus was a collector of information, of stories and accounts of events. He travelled great distances by boat, on horseback and on foot and would fall into conversations in his endeavours to seek promising sources of information.

It seems he was not a linguist, speaking only his own language, Greek. While he did not understand differences between popular tradition and history, he was nevertheless a pioneer in constructing history. His work was soon involved in controversy when Cicero and others referred to him not as the Father of History but as the Father of Lies because he collected accounts of 'barbarians' from second-hand sources (Burn 1972). The criticisms aside, Herodotus stated the purpose of his researches, meaning his histories was:

> ...that the great deeds of men may not be forgotten...whether Greeks or foreigners (Burn 1972:42).

What I like about the approach is the commitment to research, inquiry and the integration of myth with the lives of people. Māori would have little difficulty with the fundamentals of Herodotus' approach. Finally and importantly, he is clear about his perspective and standpoint - as were Uncle Mane and Sir James Henare.

CHAPTER TWO
RELIGION, METAPHYSICS AND PHILOSOPHY

Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to explore the moral approach to life and action that informed Māori society and behaviour in the early-mid nineteenth-century. To explore the forest of morality an exegesis of metaphysics is followed and involves a study of Māori thinking about the nature of being human in a natural world, in which humanity and nature are in a symbiotic relationship.

Battista Mondin's (1985:11) philosophical anthropology is a useful methodology here. Philosophical anthropology offers two closely related phases - the phenomenological and the transcendental - both of which are key dimensions to any Māori history and anthropology. In using this methodology, I follow the traditional understandings of three contemporary Māori religious leaders each recognised as authorities of their tribal histories and with Christian theological backgrounds. The Reverend Maori Marsden (1992:134), of Te Aupōuri, Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Kahu, who teaches 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 Te Ao Mārama." The Reverend Tawhao Tioke (n.d.[b]:1), of Ngai Tuhoe, articulates a view of the universe as a two-world system in which the material proceeds from the spiritual. Finally, the Reverend Hemi Potatau (n.d.; 1991) of Ngāti Kahungunu, writes that all things come from spiritual powers.

In brief, these contemporary religious leaders point to the transcendental narrative suggested by Mondin. In terms of the methodology, the "phenomenological phase" refers to the collection of data, while the "transcendental" phase seeks "justification and explanation that is final, conclusive, and exhaustive, for all human behaviour, for all activities" (Mondin 1985:11). In addition, the two phases are linked through a process of interpretation and observation, which is at once objective and introspective. The task is to seek the why of ritual, cultural practice and morality and not focus solely on the how and techniques of cultural practices. Māori Marsden has observed that on matters of tikanga and change the process of adaptation over time changes the 'how' of things, such as, how resources were to be utilised, and, how the challenges of new situations might best be met. However, he says, the why of things, the meaning and purpose of life - remains constant.

These constants provide the absolutes of life and like the laws of the universe; they do not change (M. Marsden 1991).

In this chapter, I will discuss Māori religion as a metaphysical system that articulates ideas about human nature; of creation and being; body and soul; the mind and knowledge, and the broader social setting in which people are considered. Creation and being, together with a phenomenology of Māori action in the world, in which Māori ideas of life are considered either in vitalistic or mechanistic terms, are examined. In the context of these examinations, the logic of Māori understandings of the origin of life and the nature of human life will also be discussed. From this ontological perspective, the essential constitutive elements of Māoritanga are customs, values and ethics and a distinctive Pacific worldview emerges.

Worldview and Cosmos

Marsden, Tioke and Potatau articulate what can be describes as a traditionalist religious worldview in which the spiritual is pre-eminent in Māori social order. Traditionalist in this context refers to a worldview that pre-dates the influences of Christian values and view. However, at the centre of the view is a philosophy of tapu, mana, mauri, hau and wairua, in brief the theory of vitalism. A worldview upholds a belief in the interrelatedness of people and nature and the ability of people to exert some control over the natural world by the power of the spoken word (Salmond 1984:111, 120; Kernot 1984:142 – 143). This infers that in Māori religious tradition there is a double search for wisdom and utmost respect for the sacred. The life quest for wisdom and divinity, says Alfonso Ortiz an anthropologist and Tewa man of San Pueblo, is a fundamental aspect of living in a sacred tradition. In order to cope with everyday life and death situations, he suggests that people of sacred traditions seek to maintain balance and harmony between the quest for knowledge only and the sacred. For without this balance there will likely be problems (cited in Beck, Walters, Francisco 1990:5). This attitude to life and decision-making in particular is a feature of early mid-nineteenth century Māori leadership.

The linkage between worldview and religion requires some comment because both notions differ in function. According to Alfonso Ortiz, in an anthropological sense worldview describes ways in which people "see" their world and their place in it (Beck, Walters, Francisco 1990:5). He defines the worldview of his people, the Tewa, and other indigenous peoples as follows:

> The notion worldview denotes a distinctive view of reality, which not only interprets and orders the places and events in the experience of a people, but lends form, direction, and continuity of life as well. World view provides people with a distinctive set of values, an identity, a feeling of rootedness, of belonging to a time and place, and a sense of continuity with a tradition which transcends the experience of a single lifetime, a tradition which may be said to transcend even time (1973:91;).

On differences between the function of religion and worldview Ortiz says that:

> A world view – provides a people with a structure of reality; it defines, classifies, and orders the 'really real' in the universe, in their world, and in their society... 'a world view embodies man's most general conceptions of order.' If this is accepted as a working definition, the religion provides a people with their fundamental orientation toward that reality, religion provides both an intellectually and emotionally satisfying picture of, and orientation toward, that reality...religion, as here defined, carries the added burden of [making] endurable such unpleasant facts of the human condition as evil, meaninglessness, and death...(cited also in Beck, Walters, Francisco 1990:5 – 6).

In a similar vein to that of Ortiz, Albert Schweitzer wrote than in the stillness of the primeval forest of Africa he realised that world view is a product of life view, not vice versa. For him all profound worldview is mysticism, and that it is "the germ of all ideas and dispositions which are determinative for the conduct of individuals and society." Following a restoration of a worldview for the principle of life, he found that "ethics too, are nothing but reverence for life" (1929:xiv, xviii, xxiii). Consistent with Schweitzer's appreciation of ethics is the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur (2000:xv) who upon looking at the teleological context of the quest of human agents for "life" and "accomplishments" defines ethics as, "the wish for a good life." Not, as Ricouer and Schweitzer would argue, in an Anglo-utilitarian sense but rather in the spirit of higher moral purpose.

As will be discussed later in the chapter about metaphysics, the cosmological accounts assert the primacy of the cognitive over matter, which in effect is a cognitive map of the space in which Māori locate themselves. The strength, persistence and resilience of tribal worldviews of the nineteenth century are a feature of Māori tribal knowledge systems (Salmond 1984:118), and I argue, a space within which a nascent, distinctive and resilient Māori societal and collective worldview emerges.

While worldviews are slow to grow and emerge only over time, they are equally devilish to change. Scholars in Africa and North America have noted the persistence of and difficulties in changing a people's worldview. Aylward Shorter (1988) in his study of tribal religions of

Africa refers to Donald Jacobs' use of two spheres and four levels model of culture and a hierarchy of importance among them. The two spheres are the practical and the cognitive.

The practical sphere consists of a relatively superficial level of industrial technology, made up of techniques of manufacture, communications, travel and fashion. This level is often in a state of flux and does not affect humans deeply or permanently. According to Shorter, Jacobs argues that the industrial technology level may be attached to any culture. The second part of the practical sphere is what Jacobs calls the 'domestic technical', which is the culture of the home in which family conventions, etiquette, cooking, tastes in food, and leisure or relaxation pursuits are learned. This level of culture affects individuals profoundly and it is often difficult to change many of the conventions learnt because they have to do with cultural tradition.

The second sphere, the cognitive, consists of two further levels, viz. values and worldview that are expressed in symbols. The third level, values, has to do with priorities and choices, which confront people when there are alternatives. Values are instilled into members of the society through cultural education or enculturation and they stem from a deeper underlying level. Jacobs' fourth level - also cognitive - is the worldview, which he defines as the particular way of understanding and acting towards the world. 'World' equates with the whole gamut of human experience, including the experience of other human beings in one's own society and in other societies. In addition, it includes the experience of environment and of religion. In Jacob's schema on traditional African religions, he proposes that a religious understanding of life and reality is at the heart of culture and that worldview is very slow to change.

Ralph Linton (1963:485 – 486) in a study of seven American Indian tribes and the process of culture transfer reinforces Jacob's point of the extreme difficulty of change in philosophical concepts, abstractions and patterns of behaviour. After all, religious experience is about the encounter with ultimate reality, and is the intuition of a truth and power that transcends the evidence of one's senses. People of a religious tradition embedded in a culture and community tend not to throw such experience away on a whim of a new idea or upon the adoption of new technologies. Similarly, Ortiz argued that worldview and religion are about distinctive values, identity, rootedness, time and space, a sense of continuity that makes life endurable for humans. Tradition, says Ortiz, "transcends the experience of a single lifetime." In addition, Schweitzer proposed that world view is a life view and is mysticism, which

relates to a peoples encounter and experience of the divine, the most sacred and an openness to a continuing experience. Mysticism in an age of anxiety, writes the Irish classics scholar Eric Dodds citing from *Vocabulaire de la Philosphie*, is:

> ...belief in the possibility of an intimate and direct union of the human spirit with the fundamental principle of being, a union which constitutes at once a mode of existence and a mode of knowledge different from and superior to normal existence and knowledge (1965:70).

With Marsden, Tioke, Potatau, Ortiz, Schweitzer, Ricouer, Dodds and Jacobs's schema in mind, I turn now to a discussion on nineteenth century philosophy, metaphysics-ethics, mysticism and Māori specific understandings of worldview. The 1820s to the 1840s is a time, perhaps a paradoxical time, of opportunity and anxiety for Māori.

Māori Philosophy of Vitalism and the Natural World

Since mid-nineteenth-century colonisation, Māori have consistently asserted in Aotearoa and New Zealand political and environmental arenas traditional claims over sea, coast and fish, and land and outlined a particular understanding of the relationships between humanity and both the physical world of nature and the spiritual world (Waitangi Tribunal Wai-45 1977:15; Wai 22 1988b:66 – 68, 77 - 94).[1] This is because a worldview that includes a belief in life forces, and their significance in society and nature, are at the heart of the culture. Within this frame of reference Māori see themselves as descendants of spiritual powers, and as such are partners with those powers in a physical and spiritual universe. I have argued elsewhere that Māori philosophy and metaphysics constitutes a philosophy of vitalism and humanism, which I have defined as "the belief in an original singular source of life in which that life continues as a force which imbues and animates all forms and things of the cosmos" (M. Henare 2001:204; Mondin 1985:26 – 32; cf. Bergson 1977 [1935]:115, 252 – 254, 261; 1998 [1911]:42 – 43; 1999 [1912]). The Māori vitalist and humanist view of the universe is rooted in the Io tradition, which is the corpus of cosmological and metaphysical knowledge that constitutes pre 1840 Māori religion (Shirres 1997:113 - 119; Best 1976:72 - 75, 144 – 147; For a full list of sources see Table 2.1 The Io Tradition - Sources).

Historically, according to oral tradition, Māori are an enterprising people, who are pragmatic as well as being deeply religious. In their cosmos all life forms, and phenomena like the sky, sun, wind and rain, are bound to them by treasured links in ancient genealogy. Io-matua-kore,

[1] For other Reports and summaries of findings see the Waitangi Tribunal's Website, URL = http://www.knowledge-basket.co.nz.

glossed as Io who had no parents, is one of many such attributes used to describe the numinous Supreme Being, the vital original source. Other attributes are Io matua, Io who is the parent of all, and Io wānanga, Io who is knowledge itself (cf. M. Marsden 1992 [1975]:130). All things in the universe are bound together in a spiritual oneness, a unity that is expressed in a set of terms the most important of which are tapu, mana, mauri, wairua and hau (M. Marsden & T.A. Henare 1992:8 – 9, 14; cf. Best 1974 [1924]:34, 35, 44, 86; Salmond 1985:241).

Tapu is a cosmic power imbued in all things at the time of creation. Philosophically and metaphysically, tapu is linked to the notion of mana and is "being with potentiality for power" (Shirres 1979:v, 117, 120; 1986:160, 166). In the Sky Father and Earth Mother account each of the children were conceived with the tapu of the parents, and they in turn are the sources of the tapu of all the domains and things of creation ascribed to them. Ultimately, all tapu emanates from Io, the source of creation. In its primary meaning, tapu expresses the understanding that once a thing is, it has within itself a real potency that is manifested in mana. Each being, material, or non-material, from its first moment of existence has this potentiality and its own power and authority. Coupled with the potential for power is the idea of awe and sacredness, which commands respect and separateness. It is in this sense that tapu can mean restrictions and prohibitions (Shirres 1979:117; 1997:79). Persons, places or objects are tapu and are therefore in a "sacred state or condition" (M. Marsden 1992 [1975]:121). However, tapu a core part of Pacific belief systems is glossed as taboo in early Western observations and recognised largely in terms of restrictions or prohibitions (Franz Steiner cited in Shirres 1979:7 - 8 Notes 22, 23). Unfortunately, it is the limited and negative understanding that is often used to explain tapu, but it is only one aspect of its meaning.

Tapu is traditionally applied to many things and there are therefore many types of tapu. All children are tapu, as are individuals and groups. Houses and gardens are tapu, trees and birds are tapu as are rivers, and lakes and oceans, and ecosystems (Shirres 1979:45). The natural world as a whole is therefore tapu. Tapu needs to be treated with respect, awe and sometimes fear, but it depends on the relationship of one's own tapu to the multitude of other tapu belonging to the environment. A respectful relationship ensures balance, health and wellbeing, but a bad relationship of abuse often leads to disharmony and imbalance. This applies to the tapu of distinct features of ecosystems. They need to be protected, strengthened and constantly confirmed so that balance, harmony and potentialities can be fulfilled (Salmond 1997:510; Johansen 1954:185 - 213; M. Marsden 1992 [1975]:119 - 121). Tapu has

an associated principle, which is noa. However, I will not explore this principle in great depth here except to say that noa is a state where tapu is in balance, and is passive (Shirres 1997:42).

A second fundamental concept is mana. Mana is religious power, authority and ancestral efficacy. Together with tapu, it derives from the creation parents and children, and ultimately Io. However tapu and not mana is considered humanity's greatest possession, for as one mid-nineteenth century saying puts it, "Ko tona mea nui he tapu" – One's great possession is tapu (GNZMMSS 31:9, cited in Shirres 1979:28; 1986:166; 1997:37). However, a person or a thing's intrinsic primary mana is an immediate consequence of the receipt of tapu, as another nineteenth century Māori source stated it, "Ko te tapu te mana o ngā atua – Tapu is the mana of the spiritual powers (White 75 B36 35 cited in Shirres 1986:166; 1997:57). Mana has a part to play in almost every ceremony, ritual, and everyday activity. It is central both for the group and for the individual to maintain their integrity. Mana involves the wholeness of social relationships, wellbeing and integrity, as well as continuity through time and space. The whole community's wellbeing — social, economic and political — is implied (Johansen 1954:92 – 93).

Mana is manifested through action, as is aroha (compassion and love of the other). It is linked to the spiritual ancestors' powers as well as to ariki and rangatira. High status genealogies suggest that the ariki have divine beginnings. In older Māori society, religious ritual was used to influence parts of life where the atua influences were considered helpful. These attitudes and concomitant behaviour, while ancient, continue today.

Generative power is also linked to mana. Mana wāhine, the integrity of women, links to Papa-tua-nuku and her generative and nurturing power, while mana tane, the integrity of men, links to the power of Te Waiora a Tane, the source of life (Best 1974 [1924]:139). Besides life-giving powers, the imparting of order (which enables life forces to avoid chaos, destruction and pollution) also contributes to mana Māori, the integrity of Māori people. This association with form and order is the basis of concern for ritual and convention. Mana is exhibited in its completeness when order and form are right. It is a religious quality and power bestowed on individuals or groups by others and not by oneself. An understanding of mana is essential for understanding the worldview of Māori and Polynesians in general.

Whatever complexities may be involved in understanding tapu, it is a significant and distinct concept in Māori thought. However, tapu cannot be separated from mana. I agree with Shirres that the link between tapu and mana is the same as that between active and passive where tapu is existence with a potential for power and mana is the manifestation of that power.

The third fundamental is mauri. Mauri can be variously described as a unique power, a life-essence, a life force, and vital principle. It is fundamental to Māori understandings of the principles of life, conservation and death. Mauri refers to the vital spark, originally possessed by Io, the Primary Life Force and Supreme Cosmic Being. It is a force, according to one tradition, transmitted by Hauora, one of the children of the creation parents, who is responsible for hau and mauri and therefore life in all creation. Mauri is a concentration of life itself, like the centre of an energy source, and because of its power and energy, its purpose is to make it "possible for everything to move and live in accordance with the conditions and limits of its existence" (Barlow 1991:83) and it is not divisible. Everything has its own mauri, its own nature – people, tribe, land, mountains, stones, fish, animals, birds, trees, rivers, lakes, oceans, thoughts, words, houses, factories – that permits these living things to exist within their own realm and sphere.

People may violate, abuse, diminish through neglect, or attack mauri. Thus, trees and plants, rivers, lakes and oceans may not produce in limitless abundance. Fruits would be scarce; there would be fewer birds, animals or fish (Makeriti 1986:181). In Māori religious thought forests, rivers and oceans can have their mauri restored through rituals of conservation accompanied by appropriate ritual prayer forms and ceremonies. The restored mauri would ensure that depleted food supplies such as fish, shellfish or birds would be abundant again.

The fourth concept is wairua. Wairua is a spirit akin to a soul and all things of creation have one. According to Māori beliefs and customs on birth it is implanted in the embryo when the eyes assume form and with the establishment of wairua comes the dawn of intelligence (Best (1975:10-12).. The implanted spirit, the wairua, must remain with the embryo and the developing human body, tinana, in order for the body to continue growing. Wairua is necessary for the existence of the body. "All things possess a wairua; otherwise they could not exist. Matter cannot exist without such a principle," says one Māori informant (cited in Johansen 1954:261). Being part of the human being that dreams is its conspicuous feature. If

the person is threatened, the wairua experiences the threat. As mentioned earlier the mauri binds the wairua and the embryo-body (tinana) together. In this integral entity, life exists. While mauri is life itself, together the body, the wairua and the mauri constitute a living being. However, the wairua is also something of a free spirit and can move away from its material resemblance, the body, but in time, it must return to it. The wairua of humans protects the body by sensing the evil thoughts and presence of others and alerting it of potential danger (Johansen 1954:256 - 257).

Another force, hau, is essential to the totality of life as understood by Māori. The hau, a cosmic power and vital essence, is a dominant theme in traditional Māori religion (Salmond 1997:176 – 177; Best 1974 [1924]:87) and is one of the least understood. It is infused also into the embryo and is another set of specific qualities closely allied to the mauri (Best 1977b:150), yet decidedly distinct (Johansen 1954:118). Hau is often referred to as the breath of life or alluded to as the wind, which is sometimes the phenomenon identified as the manifestation of the life force itself (Ranapiri Letters 7th October & 23rd November 1907 MS Papers 271). The hau is bound in humans when the priestly leader, a tohunga, calls it up at birth. With the hau is the tapu and mana of their ancestral spirit being (Salmond 1997:176 – 177, 395, 491, 510, 513). The latter two are present also at conception and remain with the form in life and in death.

What then is the understanding of death? Māori thought has it that death occurs when the mauri is no longer able to keep body and wairua bound together and so guarantee continued life. A separation takes place and consequently the body is considered dead. The funeral ritual, called a tangihanga, is organised and often lasts three or more days when kinfolk and friends gather to pay their respects, which are expressed in speech making, formal prayer and much discussion about the person. This ritual includes a retelling of the deceased's genealogical and tribal history.

While the social imperatives are important the primary purpose of the ritual is to ensure that, the body is cared for before burial and that the mauri and the hau have departed and returned to their source, Io matua. Moreover, the ritual ought to ensure that the spirit, wairua, is freed of earthly attachments to return to Hawaiki safely and join the great body of ancestors. However, it is believed that should the ritual be held inappropriately things could go wrong, especially for the wairua, which may linger on earth returning in a

malevolent mood or approach the living seeking ways and means of returning to Hawaiki. Having completed the ritual of burial, those remaining continue their daily lives.

These elements of the life-death process also apply to the natural world - land, mountains, rivers, seas, trees, animals and insects. According to Māori all things in creation consist of a tinana, a wairua, a tapu, a mauri and a hau (Salmond 1985:241). This fundamental assembly of life forces gave "form and energy to all matter" (Salmond 1997:510). For instance, a tree is first formed as a seed resplendent with the tapu and therefore the mana of Tane, the child who separated Earth Mother and Sky Father, and the hau from Hauora. The seed now has a being with potential to be a living creating process that is the mana of Tane. In time the form, the seed, is transformed into a trunk, a body, which has a wairua, a spirit, and these are bound together by a mauri, which when separated from the tree causes the tree to die. Thus in using parts of trees or in the cutting down of trees appropriate rituals and customs ought to be followed. If not there may be malevolent tree spirits in the forest (cf. Grey 1928 [1855]:46 – 49; 1974:84 -90.)

Hau has an extraordinary range of applications and homonyms. When considered in terms of its relationships with other principles, it can be seen as "a part of life," which influences the whole (Johansen 1954:117). When applied to all aspects and dimensions of the natural world this life force is closely linked to the mauri. Its purpose is towards goodness. All rivers, lakes, oceans, forests, mountains have this life principle that must be protected by good acts and nurtured because of the association with food and other supplies. The hau of tribal land and forests is their vitality and fertility, which is also a sign of their mana, their honour, prestige and power. However, if they are not cared for, or are neglected or abused the land can be rendered infertile and the forests unproductive. The vitality of trees and its powers is the agency for attracting birds so wrote Tamati Ranapiri in written accounts of the lore of the forests, including its myths, rites, and customs associated with flora and fauna and fowling (Ranapiri 1894 MS 1187 Folder 271, Tihema 7; 1895:132 -152; Best 1909:433 – 481; 1977:9; Gathercole 1978:338; M. Henare & Kernot 1996:205 – 215). Ranapiri of Ngāti Raukawa offers what can be described as Māori metaphysics.

The source of hau is explained in the creation story. It is a gift from Hauora, another of the children of Earth Mother and Sky Father (White 1887 Vol. I: Māori Mythology Chart No. 1 (d)). The significance of the hau and its potency is illustrated in the account of the argument of the children over the rights and wrongs of separating the cosmic parents. At one time, each

tried to destroy the hau of the others, thus attempting to nullify the power and authority of the others to act.

Religious rituals play an integral role in nurturing and protecting the hau of the natural and human world. One is called 'whāngai hau - feeding the hau' and entails making offerings to the sea, river, lake or forest (Shirres 1979:89, 107 – 108). It can be the first catch of fish or birds or the first potato of the crop that are returned to its source or put aside for ritual use. Like the close association of tapu-mana, so is that between mauri and hau in which the hau is thought to rest in the mauri. The mauri protects the hau in the same way that the wairua, spirit, protects its physical basis, the body. In returning the first catch, the fundamentals of reciprocal exchange are identified. By means of these rituals of feeding, hau and mauri are returned to the original source (Best 1995:510) to be re-vitalised.

Over the millennia, hau was established as a complex totalising system of obligatory gift exchange. The exchange followed some basic principles where the intrinsic hau of the taonga and the hau belonging to the donor are imbued in the taonga; these in turn infuse Māori social, economic and religious life with profound implications for the management of social relations and guardianship of the natural world. When considered as a unity mauri, hau and wairua appear to protect tapu and so maintain the mana of the person or group, the tree or forest, the dandelion or plants, the stream or ocean.

The extensive international discussion provoked by Marcel Mauss' *Essai sur le Don* (1950, 1990:10-18) and his response to the 'texte capitale' (Mauss' phrase) of Tamati Ranapiri invites Māori scholars to engage in the discourse. While many anthropologists and economists continue to debate Mauss' (1950:46ff) ideas of 'spirituel' or spiritual power of the gift, the spirituality of gifts, Pacific gift exchange theories and practices, and their wider applications (Godelier 1999 [1996]:10 – 107; Schrift 1997) there has been little by way of a Māori scholarly contribution. Ranapiri's two 1907 letters written in Māori to Elsdon Best, Best's use and translation of the Māori language narrative and then Mauss' use of Best's translations and his hermeneutics of Ranapiri will be a beginning of a Māori engagement in the discourse. This thesis is a start and a further exploration of Ranapiri's *texte capitale* follows later in this chapter.

Irrespective of culture and religion, artists have often used many images, symbols and metaphors to convey mental and visual pictures of life itself, the soul and the source of

sustenance for the soul and body. Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475 – 1564), the Italian Renaissance sculptor, painter, architect and poet in his dramatic fresco painting on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, Vatican City, Rome, has God's hand with pointed finger stretching out across the ceiling of the cosmos giving life to the life-less human person, Adam. Taking the Christian biblical account of Genesis the artistic scene is an evocative expression of the source of life itself, God, and the act of transmission of life force to another form, Adam. Michelangelo conveys his awesome awareness of the significance, specifically the spiritual significance, of beauty. For him beauty was divine and one of the ways God communicated with humanity (WebMuseum, Paris; see Figure 1.1).

In poetry, particularly in sonnets, the insight that the natural world provides evidence of a centre and the source of life itself is sketched in the words of the poet and mystic Gerard Manley Hopkins SJ. Hopkins based himself on the Scottish scholastic philosopher Johannes Duns Scotus (1266 or 1274 -1308) and derived the theory of "inscape" from his intellectual ancestral mentor. The Scotist theory of inscape, which is "the inner spirit of all things, animate and inanimate, as expressed in their outer form" (Van de Weyer 1996:ix; cfGardner 1948 [1918]:xxiv, 232 - 233) is similar to Māori thinking on tapu, mana, hau, mauri, wairua and tinana. In sonnets written in 1877, 'God's Grandeur', and 'Pied Beauty', Hopkins' brings together both the religious and aesthetic aspects of existence (Van de Weyer 1996:ix, 18, 24). In other sonnets such as, 'As kingfishers catch fire, dragonflies draw flame' and 'To what serves Mortal Beauty?' Hopkins strives to deal with the ontological significance of natural, individual form, and characteristic activity. The latter poem being a statement of the "Scotist concept that substances, according to the metaphysical richness of their being, make up one vast hierarchy with God as their summit" (Gardner 1948 [1918]:xviii, 95, 103; Bridges 1948 [1918]:232 – 233 Note 44, 239 Note 57). Duns Scotus and the Scotist theories of knowledge, and haecceitas/haecceity, which is the theory of 'thisness', the element of existence on which individuality depends, influenced Hopkins. The theory of *haecceity* was Scotus' attempt to address the problem, "what is it that makes the individual the individual it is?" (Spade 1994:100; Dawson 1991:295; Inwood 1995:208 - 209).

Like Michelangelo, Duns Scotus and Hopkins, Māori mystics, prophets and poets of pre and post-Pākehā contact times saw in the natural world evidence that all nature had life essences, a force as some African sages call it (Shorter 1977) or numinous energy say the Blackfoot (Peat 1994:271; cf. Erdoes and Ortiz 1997 [1984]:3). These diverse insights

have one idea in common that each act of creation has an original source of life and purpose. Mātauranga, Māori knowledge, as expressed in the form of wānanga, glossed as ancestral knowledge, enabled "its possessor to communicate directly with ancestor-gods and to activate their powers" (Salmond 1985:240). The ancestral power rested in the mauri in which is located the mana of spiritual powers, atua. Further, the mauri protected the dynamic vitalistic energy of hau while the wairua protected its physical form the tinana. This assemblage of life, power and form is constitutive in all matter, inanimate or animate, and are the energy source of tupu, the cosmic generative power (Salmond 1985:241). There is something of the universal human drama and quest for profound knowledge and meaning of life and its purpose in traditional tribal religions such as Māori religion, the Scotist theory of inscape and Christian Biblical explanations about creation.

The relationship of humanity and the daemonic world and the diversity of daemonic personalities such as *prohetai*, 'spokesmen for the supernatural', prophets or spirit mediums, as Eric Dodds (1965:53) describes them, is also something of a worldwide phenomenon including Polynesians. Plato, according to Dodds, defines the daemonic as:

> Everything daemonic is intermediate between God and mortal. Interpreting and conveying the wishes of men [sic] to gods and the will of gods to men, it stands between the two and fills the gap.... God has no contact with man; only through the daemonic is there intercourse and conversation between men and gods, whether in the waking state or during sleep. And the man who is expert in such intercourse is daemonic man, compared with whom the experts in arts or handicrafts are but journey men (cited in Dodds 1965:37).

Early-mid nineteenth-century Māori had yet to experience externally imposed land management policies and practices. Pākehā philosophy, secularist, positivist and Cartesian dualist thinking, motivated colonial management and quantitative analysis. The effect of this thinking and style of management was to critically affect Māori spirituality, culture, people and land. Alienation and disconnection from land, forest, rivers, streams, tributaries, pools and seas distanced people from Earth Mother and nature. The denial of responsibilities of guardianship over creation, and the inability to nurture and feed both the life forces (mauri and hau) of diverse substances, and forms of creation, had for nineteenth century Māori profound implications both for humans and nature. The obligatory reciprocity between humanity and the natural world did not occur and the wairua, spirit, of settler New Zealand and Māori Nu Tireni was sick. Nineteenth century Māori *prophetai*, Taonui (Binney 1966), Te Tapihana and Tawhiao (Greenwood 1942), Te Ua Haumene, Te Maiharoa (Mikaere 1988), Te Kooti (Binney 1995), Te Whiti (Scott 1975) and other

mystics had much to say to their communities about the soulless state of New Zealand. To the *prophetai* the malaise manifested itself in escalating waves of dissension, provocation, war, confiscations, diseases and other forms of human brutality during the second half of the century (cf. Elsmore 1989). In the Introduction I discussed the call of Te Tapihana and Te Wherowhero in 1858 and their invoking of the ancient name of Aotearoa, how through karakia and hymns they made the contrast between the sin and shame of a forsaken Egypt, aka New Zealand, and thus their invocation for a new redeemed home, an Aotearoa restored.

A further elaboration of the extraordinary powers of the daemonic human and dreams, the ritual of ōhākī, which is a prophecy or a legacy, of Te Ruki Kawiti, a Māori community's experience of the ōhākī, and its long-term effects are considered later in the chapter. However, it illustrates the integrative capacity of nineteenth century rangatira who were able to draw from two religious traditions, Māori and Christianity, and keep their worldview largely intact.

The Authenticity of the Io Tradition

"E Io, E Rangi" launches the karakia of Te Tapihana for the naming and calling up of a king. 'E Io, E Rangi' is an invocation to the two most powerful and evocative divinities or supernatural powers known to the elite of nineteenth century Māori society. Consistent with economic, social and political changes taking place simultaneously, it is evidence of dramatic religious change concerning access to the esoteric knowledge normally reserved for an exclusive coterie of leaders but now made more public. The public exhortation of Te Tapihana perhaps signifies the singular most profound impact of Christianity on Māori society in the period. For the first time in Māori people's history, the secrecy over Io teachings and beliefs was lifted and esoteric knowledge became popular sacred knowledge from the 1840s. It is to the Io tradition itself that I now turn.

The Io tradition, as it is sometimes referred to, has at its core the belief that a numinous reality named Io is the primary source of life itself, is life itself and thus of all creation. The associated ethics and values of this belief were central to the mindset of Māori leadership in such events as the 1835 Declaration of Independence and the 1840 treaty with the British Queen; however this will be discussed more closely in Chapter 4. There is an implicit assumption in New Zealand's historiography that Māori leaders were infused with Christian ideology and principles and that these constituted the frame of reference within which the

leadership made political and economic decisions. The assumption is implicit because I could find little comment that says otherwise, except for four exceptional commentaries.

John Owens (1968:39 - 40) rejects the view espoused by Harrison Wright (1959) of "Māori conversion" in the 1830s and the concomitant view of "social disintegration." Owens' countered that through a cumulative awareness of Christianity over time Māori accepted the new religion but much later than the 1830s. However, Judith Binney (1966:322; 1969:165) disputes key aspects of Owen's argument and follows Wright proposing instead that 1833 saw the beginning of the large-scale baptism of Māori converts, particularly in North Auckland. She extrapolates that a similar phenomenon, "a pattern of response" as she calls it, took place outside the Bay of Islands (1969:150 – 151, 162 – 163.) However, Binney puts something of a caveat on the dramatic conversions thesis proposing that:

> Christianity in itself, as a body of belief, would not have replaced Māori beliefs until the society which was governed by those beliefs was challenged (1969:165).

This latter point is a critical aspect because the assumption is that Māori society was profoundly challenged in the 1830s and therefore was ready for change and that Christian beliefs had supplanted Māori belief system. Consequently, the new Christian belief system was the principle ethos that governed Māori leaders' economic and political decision-making before 1840. This is arguable.

Kerry Howe (1973:23, 30) tested Binney's "pattern of response" thesis and found that in the Thames Waikato area there was a Māori response to Christianity in 1833 to 1840, but not because Māori were in a "state of cultural disruption." Rather, says Howe (1973:28, 34 - 36), Māori "responded positively to Christian ideas and techniques because these were novel and intellectually exciting" and second that Māori response was aided by a better-improved missionary effort. Binney (1969:165) concludes that converts to Christianity increased because Māori believed that the Europeans had come to stay.

None of the discussants addressed the question of the Io tradition and the tribal wānanga, wherein rangatira and tohunga were prepared for leadership (cf. Winiata 1967). While I agree with aspects of their discussion, my proposition stands that the frame of reference for moral and ethical thinking and decision making in the early-mid nineteenth century period was what I would describe as the Io framework understood within a coherent world view. I follow Maharaia Winiata (1967) that the Io school was the dominant ethos of Māori leaders, namely the rangatira and tohunga. While Christian theological principles were in the minds of some

rangatira, it is a contentious argument to imply that Christian moral thinking drove the 540 rangatira who were signatories to the 1840 Tiriti o Waitangi.

Wright, Binney, Owens and Howe all concur on one key point related to the depth and quality of understanding of Christian values and practices. According to some Pākehā missionaries such as Henry Williams (1961:343; cited in Howe 1976:29) wrote in November 1838 there was very little understanding of what Christianity was about, something that Māori themselves admitted. Wright (1959:177 - 178) cites two missionaries, William Wade of Wellington and Robert Maunsell of the Bay of Islands who wrote of their frustrations and how Māori were inadequately acquainted with church doctrine. Binney (1969:159 – 160) accepts that many Māori did not fully understand Christianity before 1840 and suggests that any Māori misunderstanding is "explicable in terms of what they sought in the religion." An inadequate comprehension of Christianity she argues does not indicate "an equivalent lack of social impact" on Māori society. Finally, Howe (1973:30, 40) cites also Robert Wade who complained that with their limited Christian knowledge Māori in Thames-Waikato seem not to apply the knowledge to useful purpose but amused and deceived themselves by turning the Christian narratives into "figures and fancies of their own invention" (Wade cited in Howe 1973:40).

My intention is not to ignore the impact of Christian practices in Māori society but the historian's sole reliance on missionary evidence of success has led to a tendency to overstate the influence of Christian values in the realm of high politics and trade. On matters to do with political and trade negotiations with British authorities based in Australia and London, and the nascent Māori discourse about national governance and sovereignty, and other significant issues of the period leads to the following questions. Did the superficial levels of knowledge of Christianity adequately equip rangatira and tohunga for the following type of moral decisions, such as the nature of the relationship with the British Kings and Queen and whether to cede their mana and sovereignty in perpetuity to foreign strangers? Was Māori worldview dramatically challenged in the short period under discussion, namely between 1830 and 1840? Alternatively, did the traditional framework of morality subsume certain Christian values?

I started the chapter with a discussion of worldview and cosmos and the function of religion in terms of the worldview. It was established that worldview was born out of a life view and it grows over time very slowly and are extremely difficult to change. Jacobs's schema suggests that in the Nu Tireni-Aotearoa context the practical sphere of the relatively superficial level of

industrial technology of Māori tribal society was in a state of flux. This was well argued by Wright, Binney, Owens and Howe but the African experience suggests that such a state does not necessarily affect humans deeply or permanently. In the second part of the practical sphere, the domestic technical, meaning life in the culture of the kainga, the home environs of extended families, the conventions, etiquette, cooking, eating, and leisure and relaxation, individuals are affected profoundly. At his level of culture, it is often difficult to change the learned conventions of the kainga because they have to do with Māoritanga, namely cultural traditions. The historical view of kainga is discussed in Chapter 3.

Jacob's second sphere, the cognitive, consists of two additional levels, those of values and worldview that express themselves in symbols. The third level contains kawa, tikanga and ritenga, which are the principles, ethics and values that inform and guide people about priorities and choices when they are confronted with alternatives. Finally, in this level are the forms of behaviour (ritenga) that gives effect to kawa and tikanga. The kawa, tikanga and ritenga are instilled in members of each whānau-hapū through tribal systems of cultural education or enculturation. These values and forms of behaviour grow from a deeper underlying level, which is also cognitive, the worldview. This is the fourth and final level of the schema and as has been found in the African and North American continental contexts proved to be the most difficult to change. World, in the Māori context, equates with the whole gamut of human experience, including the experience of others in Māori society, with the natural world and the cosmos, and the encounter with other Polynesians and Anglo-European societies. Religious understanding of life and reality is at the heart of early-mid nineteenth century Māoritanga and, as the foreign missionaries Henry Williams, William Wade, Robert Maunsell and confreres found, extremely slow to change.

Early-Mid Nineteenth-Century Anglo-European Worldviews and Problems in Understanding: The Io Tradition as a Case Study

Māori religion as a subject of inquiry has suffered at the descriptive and judgemental hands of many earlier ethnographers, historians, theologians and the Christian Churches (Grey 1855; Shortland [1856] 1980; Taylor [1855] 1974; *He Pukapuka Karakia me te Ako Poto o te Hāhi Katorika* [Prayer Book of the Catholic Church] 1958:136 - 139; Best 1976; 1982). Many of the prejudiced comments of earlier writers persist into the twentieth century. One of the earliest known observations by an outsider was that of Sir Joseph Banks, a scientist in the Cook expeditions, who remarked in his Journal that:

> we saw few or no signs of religion among these people; they had no public places of worship, as the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, and only one private one came under my notice, which was in the neighbourhood of a plantation of their sweet potatoes. It was a small square bordered round with stones; in the middle was a spade, and on it hung a basket of fern roots, an offering (I suppose) to the gods for the success of the crops – so, at least, one of the natives explained it. They, however, acknowledged the influence of superior beings (cited in Best 1976: 41; see Salmond 1991:290; Banks in Beaglehole (ed.) 1962:34).

The Christian missionary, Reverend J.F.H. Wolhers, had for many years lived on Ruapuke Island, which is near the most southern part of Te Waipounamu. He had collected Māori language papers over a twenty-five year period from about 1850 onwards and his informants were members of southern hapū in Te Waipounamu. On Māori religion Wohlers reported to the Otago Institute that:

> ...the heathen religion of the Māori of New Zealand has got into such confusion that no meaning could be found of it.... But the Māori religion had lost its hold on the old gods altogether, and had taken hold on their living chiefs, and their surrounding tapu, or sacredness (Wohlers 1874:4 – 5).

Of the early missionaries, Judith Binney observed that while they were friendly and had close relations with Māori leaders of the early-mid nineteenth century:

> ...most of the missionaries recognized the natural intelligence of the islanders but concluded from this fact simply that such intelligence indicated that the New Zealanders could be raised from their degraded state (1968:71).

Later in 1898, the prolific ethnographer Elsdon Best, known by Māori as Te Peehi, wrote on religion, customs and superstitions of barbarous races in his *Notes On Some Customs and Superstitions of the Māori*. Reading before the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science, Sydney, he said:

> The customs, traditions and superstitions of a barbarous race ever contain an element of great interest to those engaged in studies pertaining to the evolution of human culture in various forms.... Of the various Neolithic races, which have been overtaken by the advancing wave of western civilisation within the last century, none present more varied features of interest than the far-reaching people known collectively as the Polynesian race.... The Māori of New Zealand comprise one of the most vigorous divisions of the race...
>
> It would appear that at no single moment during his life was the Māori free from the harassing and appalling array of evil omens, unlucky acts and words which might well have kept him in a constant state of nervous dread. Not even during his sleep was he free... (Best 1898:768, 774).

The minimalist and rudimentary definition of religion, "the belief in Spiritual Beings," was offered by Edward B. Tylor in 1871 (1891 [1871]:424) as definition of tribal religion. While

reasonably accurate in terms of its simplicity, however the insight is not that of an indigenous peoples community but rather a nineteenth century Anglo-European mentality about how colonial administrators, foreign settlers and the fledgling anthropology observed native religions, their view of life and the world. A doctrine emerged after Tylor, like a truism, says Susanne Langer that:

> ...the savage thinks everything that acts on him (sic) must be a person like himself, and attributes human forms, needs, and motives to inanimate objects because he cannot explain their activities in any other way...the untutored mind could not distinguish between heavenly bodies and human bodies, or between their respective habits (Langer 1996 [1942]:192).

Elsdon Best (1976 [1924]:13; 1973 [1954]: 7 – 9; 1982:40, 192 – 196) in his phenomenological study of Māori religion followed Tylor (1891) and reference sources such as the *Handbook of the Folk Lore* adopted by the Royal Anthropological Society. He became a practitioner of the doctrine in his study of Māori religion.

The minimalist's definition while somewhat beguiling, is superficial. In addition, Tylor's fuller definition describes the religion of "lower races" and the belief in Spiritual beings as animism. Animism, argues Tylor, characterises "tribes very low in the scale of humanity" (Tylor 1891 [1873]:424), views held also by Best. Tylor's judgement of indigenous and tribal religions is a relativist's one where tribal religions are measured against the religious context in which Tylor is located. It reflects the inability of Anglo anthropologists of the late nineteenth century to consider other religious experiences and frameworks in terms of the insider point of view (cf. Langer 1996 [1942]:193). His approach is in direct contrast to those of the later anthropologists such as Victor Turner (1974) and Ndembu explanations of their symbols; Godfrey Lienhardt (1966) and Dinka experience of the numinous and their religion; Jan Vansina (1985) who finds history in Pacific rituals; David Hanlon (1961) and Pohnpeian views of history and religion wherein are found key values that shape their lives; Clifford Geertz (1973) and the principle that societies have their own interpretations; Michael Shirres (1976) and exploring meanings implicit in Māori understandings of tapu; Anne Salmond (1983 [1975]) and aspects of the hui and its significance for Māori; and Judith Binney (1995) and her interpretative biography of the nineteenth century prophet Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki and founder of the indigenous Māori Christian faith called Ringatū.

Mircea Eliade (1987:xi) argues that there has been a most significant advance in religious studies of the past several decades in understandings of what he refers to as 'primal religions'. These he defines as the religious systems of "primitive", non-literate peoples. While he

concedes that the once popular theories about the intellectual inferiority of 'savages', or of their 'pre-logical mentality' have been obsolete for some time, he has persisted in using the language of those theories. The primal definition freezes the religious experience of a people. It is too synchronic and presupposes that there is something to follow, rather than a living, vibrant, changing religion. Such a view of religion is too restrictive for a view of Māori religion as it was developing through the 1820s - 1840s (cf. Salmond 1985:260).

Aylward Shorter's (1977) description of African traditional religion as a complex, developing phenomenon, visibly changing and far from dying, is compelling. All societies and cultures are in a process of reproduction, random change or transformation. A culture, if it is to survive or develop, must either reproduce itself where change does not necessarily entail changes in structure, or proceed through random change that entails fundamental changes that bear little relationship to the prior structure. Or, and here I follow Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney who argues that transformation is change that is the opposite of both reproduction and random change. According to Ohnuki-Tierney (1990:151), transformation "represents a change that follows an internal logic in the structure." In this way, changes in meaning associated with Māori structures of symbols and metaphors represent transformations that follow their own logic. Transformation viewed in this way suggests that the symbolic structure of Māoritanga may have changed very little for a very long time.

Contemporary social anthropologists suggest that no society actually reproduces itself through duplication because change takes place over and through time. Many follow a synchronic approach with a narrow appreciation of culture and religion, whereas Shorter argues for both synchronic and diachronic approaches. He applies these to the study of religion, particularly on the continent of Africa. Shorter's understanding of tradition reflects this perspective, and his definition is close to Clifford Geertz's definition of religion:

> A religion is a system of symbols, which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men, by formulating conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic...(Geertz 1973).

Here religion is defined in terms of what it does and when linked with an understanding of culture as a meaning system, it allows traditional religions to be studied in a more open-ended way. However, Geertz's notion of religion empties it of its superhuman, supernatural or holy content (Boon 1987:308) and when applying his idea to a Māori understanding of religion, I do not intend to denude the religion of any of its theological or supernatural bases. That would

be a gross misrepresentation of the religion. However, Geertz's definition does enable a look at what Māori religion does as a set of powerful symbols.

For a more Pacific appreciation of the power of religion and perceptions of the truth of things, Kenelm Burridge is closer to Māori thinking when he refers to religion and religious activity as:

> The redemptive process indicated by the activities, moral rules, and assumptions about power which, pertinent to the moral order and taken on faith, not only enable a people to perceive the truth of things, but guarantee that they are indeed perceiving the truth of things (Burridge 1969:6 - 7).

Māori religion, recognised as a developing phenomenon with powerful symbols, a redemptive tendency and focus on life force and mana, is defined in terms of Māoritanga, a term that gained currency among Māori as early as 1840s, and rendered as Māori culture or the Māori way of life. In the way of life is found the religious, philosophical, and metaphysical attitudes and values upon which Māoritanga is based (Tioke n.d.:2 – 4; Mariu 1978:3 - 4). Māoritanga is, as Māori Marsden has said, "the corporate view that Maoris [sic] hold about ultimate reality and meaning" (1992:191).

Māori religion is a philosophy of vitalism, and a system of symbols that motivate Māori. However, Māori religion is more than a conceptual religion (cf. Mbiti 1975:14 – 15) it is not found in a set of sacred books or dogma such as in the Christian Bible or the Muslim Koran. Neither does Māori religion have a founder prophet like Jesus Christ or Mohammed or Buddha. Rather, it is a religion that can be recognised only in experiencing and living life as a Māori within the culture, and according to tikanga Māori, namely ethics, morals and values. In this sense, the culture is the religion (M. Henare and Kernot 1996:205 – 206).

The maintenance of the religious view of life is dependent upon the maintenance of the culture and its many practices and rituals. In developing the culture, the religion and philosophy are developed and, conversely, in developing the religion and philosophy, the culture is developed. This implies that Māori religion and philosophy is not a closed system of belief and rituals. In a closely related argument Anne Salmond's (1985:240) study of tribal thinkers of the 1840s to 1860 found that "matauranga (Māori knowledge)" was "complex" and an "open system". The mutual dependence and the imperative to development of culture and religion imply that people and their religion are constantly open to evaluation and

questioning. Salmond (1985:253) found that in 1860s debate from many tribal areas the process of the "critical dialectics of whaikōrero" on the marae is evidence of intellectual enquiry. The task of the process was to seek out that which is tika, glossed as true, proper, or correct.

Seeking tika, that is, seeking the truth of something or exploring the nature of truth itself, is philosophy in action. Maintaining tika, an important aspect of whaikōrero discourse, is the means whereby leaders and communities constantly identify ethics and values. For the purpose of this study of Māori religion, metaphysics and philosophy, Māoritanga, the culture and its practices, identifies ethics, morality and values. John Mbiti's (1975) phenomenological typology for the study of African tribal religions is the template used for this purpose. The kinds of observable phenomena in Māori society of the nineteenth century relevant to identifying the Io tradition are as follows:

- tikanga pure, whai kawa, hui, wānanga (rituals, ceremonies and gatherings of the people);
- wāhi tapu, urupa and taonga tapu (shrines, sacred places, religious objects);
- whakairo, kōwhaiwhai (art and art forms);
- waiata, haka (songs, dances);
- whakataukī, pepeha, panga (proverbs, wise sayings, riddles);
- whakaingoa, huaina (naming, names of people and places);
- purākau, kōrero tuku iho, pakiwaitara (myths and legends);
- tikanga and ritenga (customs, beliefs, practices);

The authenticity or otherwise of the Io tradition, including the writings of nineteenth-century Ngāti Kahungunu tohunga Te Matorohanga (Parsons 1990:214) and others, is a matter of some significance in any enquiry of rangatira motives and intentions regarding change. This is particularly relevant concerning the extent of the influence of Christian thinking in the moral and ethical mindset of the rangatira and tohunga in their drive towards mana Māori and mana Nu Tireni. As I have said earlier, the assumption that Christian ideals were the drivers of the pre and immediate post 1840 Māori leadership in their moral decision-making is risky.

In 1988, I began my enquiry into the authenticity of the Io tradition with a research essay titled; *Can the Io Tradition be Authenticated?* In the essay, I re-examined many of the known available sources and re-considered other reviews of the tradition (M. Henare 1988). I followed the examination of Fr Michael Shirres (1974) whose original essay titled, *In Search*

of Io. A Research Essay became a foundation upon which to build other pieces of research around the topic of Io. We freely exchanged and compared notes and launched something of a joint effort. My tentative conclusion was that the Io tradition was widely dispersed throughout all the major tribal regions of the North and South Islands before the major influences of Christianity. Further, in the relatively short time 1830s to 1840s, the sophisticated philosophy of the Io Schools and rituals of the intelligentsia could not have been invented, acculturated and internalised in karakia and adapted in other rituals. The assertion of rapid diffusion of the tradition across the many tribes is problematic, as Jacobs and Linton have found in Africa and North America and the processes of acculturation and enculturation of new philosophies and technologies.

The first recorded account of the Io tradition by an outsider can be traced to circa 1833, when the Pākehā Māori, Frederick Maning (1906:viii, 262 – 263) recorded that he met an old man intoning the Io karakia. According to Apirana Ngata (1951:70 – 71), Maning was the only Pākehā who made a complete study of the cult of Io. Sworn to secrecy over the religious rite he was to maintain it until his death. Many tried to get him to release the information and insights but he refused. Dr T.M. Hocken wrote that he understood Maning to have been initiated as a:

> Tohunga into the mysteries of that order of priesthood...but all efforts to penetrate that sacred arena were unavailing. The plea fell on deaf ears that it was a duty to throw light on obscure points of early religious belief, and that the passage of time and the old tohungas [sic] must surely have absolved him from whatever observances might have been imposed. It was vain; he was silent and evasive (cited in Maning 1906:xiv).

Third, that Christianity added new insights to the existing knowledge of Io and its religious practices that eventually may have bought about the demise of the tradition (M. Henare 1988:5 - 6, 21; cited in Shirres 1997:112 – 113). In 1997, Michael Shirres (1997:107 – 121) published the conclusions of his research on Io-Matua-Kore in *Te Tangata The Human Person.*

Shirres' (1997:107 - 108) review of the material starts with the first publication in 1913 of Percy S. Smith's two-volume work, the *Lore of the Whare Wānanga*, including writings of Elsdon Best particularly that on religion. Smith and Best draw heavily on papers from H.T. Whatahoro who over a forty year period wrote about the teachings of two tohunga of Ngāti Kahungunu, Te Matorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu both of whom taught in a Wairarapa whare wānanga in 1865. In 1907, the Tane-nui-a-Rangi Committee approved and agreed that

Whatahoro's recordings and additional texts were the tradition of Ngāti Kahungunu. Shirres observes that, Whatahoro's works constituted an oral tradition, which the responsible tribal authority approved.

However, this presentation of oral tradition did not meet the critique of Te Rangi Hiroa who rejected its authenticity proposing instead that, "The discovery of a supreme God named Io was a surprise to Māori and Pākehā alike" (1958:526). In Hiroa's view, the supposed tradition originated with Ngāti Kahungunu in the 18th century as a reaction to Christianity. The Danish comparative linguist Prytz Johansen (1958:193) followed Hiroa but cautiously drew a tentative conclusion that "All things considered there is the greatest possibility that Io became high god after the Europeans came to New Zealand." If other pieces of evidence is found, he said, "independent of one another, the pre-European existence of the high-god Io would be assured" (Johansen 1958:39) because the distance of the tribes from one another (Shirres 1997:107).

Te Rangi Hiroa delivered the Cawthron Lecture in 1925. In it he summarised phases of Māori history and culture under the title *The Coming of the Māori*. The Cawthron Institute in Nelson, New Zealand, published the paper. Some twenty years later, the paper was reprinted with additional up-dated material and became a primary textbook in the subjects of Māori studies and anthropology from the 1950s onward. The book retained his original title and is considered a classic in contemporary Māori and Polynesian scholarship, being an insider's study of his own culture. The new material discusses at some length Māori social organisation and religion, but the book remains a major study of the material culture of Māori of Aotearoa.

Te Rangi Hiroa (1949:2 – 3, 433) offers a critique of oral and written evidence pertaining to elaborations in religious thought, distinguishing between the popular exoteric explanations and the exclusive esoteric versions of the creation of the world or cosmos (cosmogony), of the gods (theogony) and human beings (anthropogeny). However, he examined a limited range of publicly available material of the validity of Io as a supreme creator, particularly the works of two leading Pākehā ethnologists, S. Percy Smith (1913, 1915) and Elsdon Best (1976 [1924]) and cited in Te Rangi Hiroa (1949:435). Smith and Best were the principle proponents of the idea that there existed an esoteric school of Māori cosmogony where, according to information of their Māori informants, the knowledge was so sacred it was not available to ordinary Māori people. The informants were involved in what became known as the Ngāti Kahungunu School, in which it was taught that esoteric knowledge was confined to the

domain of a category of highly ranked leaders, namely the tohunga ahurewa, which is the highest order of priests. The teachings of these tohunga were imparted in special schools of higher learning and in specialised rituals, where only those of high genealogical ranking heard the ritual used over the high-born on such occasions as birth, sickness, death and exhumation.

Te Rangi Hiroa's view was that an elaboration of older Māori creation traditions took place in the 1840s and 1850s and that the new school of thought had not had time to iron out its inconsistencies. He identified the Christian Bible as the primary source of the transformed explanation. Te Matorohanga and colleagues, who had already declared themselves Christians, set upon the task of integrating elements of traditional Māori cosmogony and the Genesis accounts of creation in the Bible. The effect was to invent a new tradition. In addition, Te Rangi Hiroa (1949:2 – 3, 433) argued that it was the new tradition of Io and the esoteric school that Smith and Best were promulgating. Yet, somewhat ironically, Hiroa includes in Coming of the Māori descriptions of the esoteric schools of learning as evidence of Māori religious belief. His greatest weakness in his description of Māori material society and culture was to treat religion as separate from the rest of culture. Johansen (1954:7), while somewhat sceptical of the Io tradition, said that for people like Māori it is questionable, if not impossible, to separate religion from the rest of culture. To isolate the religion, he argues, makes understanding the religion meaningless.

However, there is a problem with associating the invention of the Io tradition to the introduction of the Bible among Māori and the influence of biblical teachings about a supreme god called Yahweh or Ihowa, and the creation narrative. The Old Testament account of Genesis, which consists of 50 chapters, was not fully translated in Māori until the late1840s. The translation of Genesis from the James I Authorised English Version started about 1824 when the first three chapters, together with Exodus 20:1 – 17. Mathew 5:1 – 30, John 1, the Lords Prayer, plus seven hymns were published in 1827. By 1833, the translation of Genesis was extended to Chapter 8. In 1840, additional chapters were completed and a full translation appeared in 1845 and 1847. The first three chapters covered the creation of the world, Adam and Eve's life in the Garden of Eden paradise and the fall from grace and their banishment from Eden. The following chapters up to Chapter 8 include the Cain and Abel narratives and those of the patriarchs before the flood and account of the great flood.

It is stretching the imagination of possibility to assume that the diffusion of the first three chapters swept through the North Island to the Ngāti Kahungunu region from Napier to

Wairarapa. While Ngāti Kahungunu leaders like Te Hapuku had close links with the Bay of Islands and Ngāpuhi during the 1820s and 1840s there is little evidence, archival or oral, that I am aware of, which establishes Ngāti Kahungunu or Whanganui intelligentsia studying the Bible creation stories then concocting the Io cult in such a relatively short time frame. The tribal spread of the Io tradition seen in Table 2.1 is much too extensive, covering the principal tribal areas in the North and South islands.

The Io Tradition - Sources

My criteria for evaluating the Io material for inclusion in Table 2.1 were straightforward. First, if the content included references to the Genesis account or was so obviously Genesis in origin the sources are not included. I have for instance signified in one source there is some doubt about it. Second, if references to Io were consistent with traditional narratives of the creation of the cosmos, the universe, nature, Rangi, Papa and the children and ultimately humanity then I considered these pre-Christian. Third, in studying karakia and noting any appeal to Io in ritual prayer forms the structure of it, in my view is a guide as to whether it is a prayer modelled on standard Christian denominations. Finally, I restricted the use of sources that included indirect references to Io, did not name Io or alluded to a supreme being. The aim was to determine the extent to which tribal Io traditions are capable of identification.

Table 2.1.

The Io Tradition - Sources

Tribe/Tribal Area	The Io Tradition – Sources
Te Aupōuri	Maori Marsden (1997 [1975]:130 - 133) Shirres (1974:1-4); Waitangi Tribunal Wai-45 1997:15.
Te Rarawa	Himiona Kaamira Papers (Auckland Institute & Museum) Whakapapa Timata mai i a Io ki Rahiri (Vol. 1, pp.113 – 137); Vol. 1, p 46; Whakapapa from Io to Ruanui te tangata, Ko Mamari te waka, Ko Nukutawhiti te tangata, Ko Ngatokimatawhaorua te waka (Vol. 2, pp.27 – 31).
Ngāpuhi	C.O. Davis (1876:13,132); Judge F.E. Maning 1830s, in (Ngata 1950:336 – 337) Ngata refers to Maning's evidence (see 1951:70 - 71); John White (Smith 1913:viii)
Ngāti Whātua	Te Otene-kikokiko (Smith 1913:viii) referring to C.E. Nelson. C.E. Nelson (1907:109); Penehare MSS (1923).

Tribe/Tribal Area	The Io Tradition – Sources
Tainui	Pei Jones Papers, (University of Waikato), Tainui 3C1/1 1928 Tainui; Te Auakiterangi 3C2/4 [Tā Tainui Tātai mai i te Hanganga mai o te Ao: Tainui Genealogy from the Creation]; Pei Jones & Bruce Biggs (1995:18 – 19).
Waikato	Pei Jones (1959:221 - 225, 243, 246 - 248, 254 - 255; 1960:224 – 225; 1968:134,170; 1971:1); Richard Taylor in 1847 (1852):182; 10:146; 11:265); John White (1887 Vol. II:4; MS 75, B3, B6:145 [Copy of Taylor 1852 10:146]); Apirana Ngata (1951:70); Maharaia Winiata (1967:50);Te Tapihana 1858Maharaia Winiata (1967:64 – 65) Wirihana Aoterangi (cited in Pei Jones & Bruce Biggs (1995:18 – 19, Note 10); Kupe sees Io (Pei Jones & Bruce Biggs (1995:12 - 13)
Ngāti Maniapoto	Erueti Haare Reweti, 1948 (MLC Records Level 4 Minute Books Maniapoto Whakapapa, TA Reel 2982); Best cites Wahanui (1905:210 insert)
Hauraki	Tiwai Paraone to Gudgeon (1907:109); cited in Best 1976 [1924]:63 - 64; criticised by Johansen (1958:36 – 63) and Smith 1974:4 for its Biblical like structure.
Ngāti Raukawa	Te Uramutu, 1852 (Grey 1852 GNZMMSS 47:31 - 33; cf. Grey 1853:110).
Te Arawa	In a karakia (Shirres 1988b:8)
Ngāti Tūwharetoa	Takuira Mariu (1978:6)
Ngai Tuhoe	Tawhao Tioke 1970's? (n.d. [b]:1) Kupai McGarvey & Albert Te Rire, 1980, 1981:1); James Irwin (1984).
Ngāti Porou	Arnold Reedy (1967:3).
Ngāti Kahungunu	Te Whatahoro, Nepia Pohuhu, Te Matorohanga (Smith 1913:6, 8, 16 - 17, 18, 22 - 23, 24, 27 - 28, 36, 51, 52 - 53, 108, 110 - 111, 129 - 130; 1915:4, 18); Nepia Pohuhu (1923:1 – 4); Elsdon Best (1905:210; 1924a:51, 52, 76, 89, 253); Apirana Ngata, (1951:70; 1961:60 - 61); Hami Ropiha (1862 9; 10:69 - 71); Tuhoto-Ariki (1907:45, 50, 55, 56, 57); Te Rangihiroa (1950:234); Richard Taylor in 1847 (1852 9:182; 11:265); Hemi Potatau (n.d.); Wi Huata whakapapa evidence before Waitangi Tribunal Wai-55 Document 13; Samuel Locke Nos 76 – 78 in Apirana Ngata (1990 Part II, 60 – 68); Tu Hotoariki in Apirana Ngata (1990: Part III: 2 – 17).
Ngai Tahu	John White (1887 Vol. I:26; Te Wera cited in John White (1887 Vol. 111:230, 262 - 263); Teone Taare Tikao in Beattie (1939: Introduction, 24, 27, 35, 51).

Tribe/Tribal Area	The Io Tradition – Sources
Moriori	Unknown old man, Chatham Islands 1859 (GNZMMSS 16:17 - 18); Tamahiwaki (JPS 4:42; cited in Johansen (1958:191).
General	W.E. Gudgeon (1905:108 – 110); Ngā Ingoa o Io, in Best (1976 [1924];404 – 405); Karakia Tohunga Matakite (Initiation Ceremony over a Matakite, pp.409 – 411).

The most comprehensive ethnological account about Māori religion is the two-volume work by Elsdon Best titled *Māori Religion and Mythology* (1976 [1924]; 1982). According to Michael Shirres (1983:125 – 127) in his penetrating review of the differences between Best's (1976 [1924]; 1982) two volumes on Māori religion, Best gathered his material between the 1890s until his death in 1931. On the matter of the Io school, he appears to have held two points of view. Initially, as Te Rangi Hiroa has commented, he accepted its authenticity as pre-Christian knowledge. In Volume I the Io story and rituals are recounted without serious questions about their validity. However, in his comparison of Volumes I and II, Michael Shirres discovered that Best might have changed his mind on the veracity of the Io material, particularly of the Te Whatahoro manuscripts, which are used extensively in Volume I. There is a 50-year gap between the publications of the two volumes. Importantly, Volume I was published in 1924 while Volume II was published in 1982, despite the manuscript having been completed some time after 1929 (Shirres 1983:127). My assumption is that Te Rangi Hiroa and Best had met and discussed the Io material, whereupon Best decided to be more circumspect in his endorsement and use of the material.

Highly sceptical of the authenticity of the Io tradition and severely critical of Smith and Best who promoted both the source and the idea of the tradition, Te Rangi Hiroa in 1949 wrote that:

> In spite of its source, it is confused and contradictory, probably reflecting the state of mind of the experts who tried to build a more pretentious structure on the narrow foundations of an older and simpler school (Te Rangi Hiroa 1949:435).

He warned other scholars about "accepting later literary compositions as old and authentic" arguing that:

> The richness of Māori culture is lessened and not enhanced by post-European rationalization alleged to be old and criticism coming from me cannot be tinged with racial intolerance (Te Rangi Hiroa, 1949:3 - 4).

The warning is wise and prudence is needed.

Pritz Johansen who in 1958 and while unsure of the age of 'the mythology of Io', wrote echoing Te Rangi Hiroa's concerns:

> There is a distinct unity in the mythology from the Ngāti Kahungunu tribe and that of the tribes living in the northeastern vicinity. Rituals originating from this region must be offshoots from the same mass tradition (Johansen 1958:42, 58).

Te Rangihiroa's difficulty lies in two areas. First, he appears unwilling to accept the notion of Io, and further to accept that Māori might have constructed such an institution at all. The study of the deeper dimensions of religion other than within a functionalist framework was not his academic strength. The functionalist framework focuses primarily on the functional relationships of social institutions, rather than meaning systems, or ethical or moral motivation. Earlier I discussed Johansen's warning about isolating religion from the rest of the culture because could make the understanding of the religion meaningless. Hiroa may inadvertently fall into this pigeon snare. In the empirical and positivist based approach adopted, metaphysics are unmeasurable and therefore unusable as evidence. While Hiroa and Johansen provided the most serious 1950s critique of the Io material, both worked with a limited set of sources. Moreover, just before the publication, in 1950, of *The Coming of the Māori*, Te Rangi Hiroa was ready to change his mind based on more evidence, and tried to make revisions in the book but it was too late. Openness to the force of evidence and the ability to change his opinion based on evidence was one of his great scholarly qualities. This I found after reviewing nearly all of Hiroa's writings.

Pei Te Hurinui Jones (15th November 1971) in correspondence with the Catholic priest and Māori linguist, Fr. Jim Durning SM, wrote that just before Te Rangi Hiroa's death they had conversed about the Io tradition, after which Hiroa attempted to revise some of his work in the light of further information provided by Jones. According to Pei Jones, Te Rangi Hiroa was not in good health when he wrote the chapter on religion and it contains, says Jones, a rather disjointed account of Io. Consequently, he did not amend the concluding paragraph in the book.

Pei Jones himself was convinced, of the authenticity of the Io tradition, suggesting it was autochthonous to Aotearoa. "I am certain", he wrote to Fr Durning, "that Io was not inserted from a Christian source after the coming of the missionaries'. He appeared to be following Apirana Ngata (1950:336) who said, "I tupu ki kōnei," - it evolved here. Pei Jones had collected and recorded over many years traditional stories of Tainui people, including cosmological genealogies that began with Io (See Pei Jones Papers, "Tainui na Aihe Huirama

18th August 1928" 3C3/1; "Tā Tainui Mai i Te Hanganga Mai o Te Ao – The Tainui Genealogy from the Creation" 3C2/4; "Nā Ngāti Maniapoto tēnei Whakapapa..." Kahunga Whakapapa Wellington Books 10A – 12 TA Reel 2982). While Pei had little formal education he began recording traditional stories sometime after 1913 when a young man. His researches were recognised as authoritative and according to friend and colleague Bruce Biggs (in Jones and Biggs 1995:5, 1), "Unlike most earlier recorders of possible traditions he [Pei Jones] took care to note the time and place and source of information he obtained orally."

There is little Māori evidence that Christianity was the primary moral code used when the rangatira and tohunga made their choices regarding a flag, trade arrangements, a declaration of independence, land transactions, and sale of timber and vegetables to foreign merchants. This despite what missionaries thought or hoped was going on in the minds of Rangatira. Were Christian precepts at work in the minds of Māori leadership at each of the treaty signing venues during 1840? Yes but only for some leaders such as Hone Heke, Waka Nene and Patuone. However, in terms of the extensive tribal and nationwide spread of the 500 plus signatories I doubt this was so. Christianity had yet to penetrate in any significant way the mid-nineteenth-century Māori world view and it follows from this that the worldview of the rangatira and tohunga was that of the primary religious tradition that shaped and sustained the worldview.

The sources in Table 2.1 point to a very widespread use and acceptance of Io as normative. In checking through each of the sources, I noted whether the structure of karakia and the content of them were either akin to or unlike nineteenth century Christian prayer form. The exemplar is Te Tapihana who used both forms, first a pre-Christian karakia and second, new Christian prayers. In the opening, the karakia invokes Io and Rangi. He then followed it with readings from the Bible, and completed the ceremony of calling up a name with a Church of England hymn in Māori. The tohunga has incorporated the new Christian prayer form as part of an ancient religious rite. In this instance, Christianity was subsumed in an Io worldview of the 1850s.

A better assumption is that the dominant moral-choice matrix in which Māori leaders worked was what I would describe as the Io worldview, including the ethics and values of Māori religion and culture. Since the publication of Te Rangi Hiroa and Pritz Johansen's reviews of Io material, the lacuna of oral and written evidence has closed as more sources are discovered or made available. Some of the new sources are identified in Table 2.1. The sources are

evidence of widespread tribal knowledge of the Io narratives. The theory of a rapid diffusion of the Christian notion of God and names such as Ihowa and Atua is improbable, based on the lack of Māori historical evidence of such diffusion. Finally, a comparative study of Christian denominational prayer form, its structure and content, with traditional karakia, its structure and content, suggests that soon after 1840 Māori were using both typologies in services and activities. Thus, Māori religion subsumed 1840s Christianity. It was not the other way round as some of New Zealand's historiography, particularly Christian Church's histories, would have it. I conclude the following:

- The concept and belief in Io, practised in the early part of the nineteenth century by a few select people, an intelligentsia, pre-dates Pākehā contact. It is an authentic tradition and not a recent invention incorporating fundamental ideas drawn from the Genesis account in the Christian Bible. It was, as Apirana Ngata (1950:336) put it, "I tupu ki konei." – it evolved here..The numbers of so-called converts to Christianity increased significantly but only after the 1840s and1850s. Therefore, I argue Christian influence on Māori worldview and core ethics up to 1840s remained relatively minimal or operated at a relatively superficial level of moral-ethical influence.
- To the sages Io is a numinous reality and they did not attempt to attribute human qualities to it. While the Io narratives, including whakapapa, include many attributes ascribed to this reality, rarely is Māori symbolism and metaphor kept apart from their meaning. Io is a symbol and a metaphor of something profound in nature and in the human mind. Primary life force and the source of the force itself are to Māori evidenced in the natural and cosmic worlds (cf. Langer 1972 [1942]:192 – 193). The human need and means to identify with the force and relate to it is found in whakapapa. To whakapapa to something, in this case to Io, is to put layer upon layer of names and stories, starting with ego, namely humanity, to create a link and forge an enduring, permanent reciprocal relationship. Māori wood carvers depicted this appreciation of fundamental beginnings of creation in the koru or takarangi spirals, the double or quadruple spirals, wherein the source of the life force and the force itself are visually presented as symbols and metaphor. Christianity most probably influenced the minds of some leaders towards the view that Io is comparable to a high god or Supreme Being who was at the apex of a hierarchy of atua, or spiritual beings or powers. It could be that this represents adaptations of symbol and metaphor?
- The teachings of Io belief and its associated rituals were transmitted through special tribal whare wānanga, which were secret esoteric schools of higher learning for a carefully selected group of adherents, usually those of high genealogical rank.

- While pre-dating Christianity, the introduction of Christian teachings, beliefs and rituals contributed to the elaboration of Io concepts. Christianity became the new intellectual force that led to the popularisation of Io belief throughout Māori society and this explains why knowledge of this aspect of Māori religious belief suddenly appeared in print and in oral discourse after the 1840s. The popularising of former esoteric knowledge, including the Io tradition is perhaps early Christianity's greatest impact on Māori society.
- The apparent demise of the Io tradition, teaching and rituals, as part of Māori religious belief and practice was the consequence of a systematic attack from the settler Christian churches and government policies on Māori religion in general, and on its beliefs, ethics, values and rituals. Beginning from about the 1860s, this continued into the 1970s. The switch to the Biblical usage of terms such as Ihowa, Atua - Jehovah, God - was made easier when Māori leaders began publicly to use such terms.

In itself, there is nothing unique about a culture having a system of knowledge within an esoteric school, the Navajo, or Dine, the largest single American Indian nation within the United States of America, for instance had such a school. In Navajo belief, a significant portion of their sacred knowledge was esoteric and only certain medicine people possessed it. This knowledge is organised into repertoires of ceremonial procedures, prayers, song and the stories that explain how all these elements came together to form the repertoire. Each repertoire is directed at particular holy people to engage their powers (Kelly and Francis 1994:21; Locke 2001 [1976]:47 - 50). Mbiti, Shorter, Sanneh and Lienhardt found similar phenomena on the continent of Africa. The idea of a Māori esoteric school is consistent with that of the Navajo and served a similar function.

I have concluded that the Io tradition is authentic in that it pre-dates the influences of Christianity, and the latter's particular form of monotheism. However, Christianity contributed significantly to the elaboration of Māori understandings of the creation of the universe, humanity and society a view well established by Te Rangi Hiroa (1949) and others. Maharaia Winiata (1967:44, 49 - 50), has described the influence of Christianity from 1800 to 1840 on Māori leaders in transition as follows:

> Christianity symbolized European culture, politics and commerce, as well as representing a rigidly defined ethical code, a specific rationalization of the universe, and a set of relationships, which discouraged many traditional practices among the chiefs.

Apirana Ngata (1950) with I.L.G. Sutherland (1940:344 - 345) see Christian influences on Māori thinking of religion and civil law but the period to which they refer is the late nineteenth century. Maharaia Winiata presents a different picture of influence than that of Harold Miller (1940:76 - 77) where Winiata identify's Māori agency rather than passivity and demoralisation. However, for Ngata (1950:336 - 337; 1951:70) the cult of Io, as he described it, was well known among the seven canoes, the major tribal areas. Moreover, the secrecy associated with it held for a very long time. He suggests a widespread dispersal of the knowledge among a certain group of leaders. With Winiata and Pei Jones, there was little doubt in their minds of the authenticity of the Io teachings, and of esoteric schools of learning and special rituals and that these were part of the pre-Christian Māori religious belief system.

Metaphysics

Māori metaphysics is about the ontology of tapu, defined as "being, with potentiality for power" (Shirres 1997:18). It can be defined as that part of Māori philosophy that explains the first principles of te ao mārama, the material physical world or the world of light (M. Marsden 1992 [1975]:133 - 134) and mātauranga-mōhiotanga, knowledge and learning. Cosmological accounts of creation before the emergence of Sky Father and Earth Mother enables an exploration of the foundations of all things of creation.

Māori authorities, particularly tohunga, on cosmological and religious thought had as one of their tasks the requirement of establishing, maintaining and explaining the relations between things of creation, which they did by means of metaphor. Utilising the power of metaphor is a feature of early-mid nineteenth century religious, political and economic discourse. Following Paul Ricoeur's study of metaphor and philosophical discourse I argue that Māori philosophy is bought about by metaphorical functioning whereby the Aristotelian idea of "analogical unity of multiple meanings of being" is its base (Ricoeur (1977 [1975]:258, 259). Michael Shirres' (1979:45 -66) study of tapu as an analogical term has decisively made the connection between a cultural study, the study of tapu and its uses and meanings, and the culture's philosophy, the idea that tapu is a transcendental term and is an open word, rather than a closed term. "Tapu," says Shirres, "must be defined in its widest significance" (1979:66). The same case must be said of other vitalistic terms such as mana, mauri, hau, wairua and tinana. Aristotle asserts in his Poetics (1459 a 8) that mastery of metaphor is a gift and cannot be taught:

> The greatest thing by far is to have a command of metaphor. This alone cannot be imparted to another; it is the mark of genius; for to make good metaphor implies an eye for resemblances (cited in Ricoeur (1977 [1975]:vii, 336 Note 24).

Ricoeur has said, "if to 'metaphorize well' is to possess mastery of resemblances, then without this power we would be unable to grasp any hitherto unknown relations between things." Māori tohunga and rangatira, of the early-mid nineteenth century showed genius in their composition and recital of cosmological chants, where is found a command of metaphor.

In the great cosmological poetic chant below, recorded by Te Kohuora of Rongoroa in 1854 and published by Richard Taylor,[2] the language used is 'vitally metaphorical' to use Percy B. Shelley's phrase in defence of poetry (Ricoeur 1979:80). In his hermeneutics of the chant as a model for understanding the universe as an unfolding cosmos and the role of the human person in it, Shirres (1997:23 - 25) identifies two metaphors. The first reveals the idea of an unfolding universe described as a birth. It begins with a conception, which is followed by a time for growth: - "Nā te kune te pupuke/ Nā te pupuke te hihiri" – This is rendered as 'from the conception there is growth and from growth came the thought, and from thought came memory and from memory emerged consciousness, which is a unity between heart and mind'. What follows is a long night, meaning aeons, in the womb and finally, triumphantly, a bursting forth into full daylight.

In the second metaphor the description is that of an unfolding consciousness and thought, where the emphasis is on the evolution of thought, rather than that of matter - "Nā te hinengaro te manako. Ka hua te wānanga". This is glossed as 'from the consciousness came the desire to know more and in time knowledge and wisdom became bountiful'.

Nā te kune te pupuke	From the conception the increase (growth)
Nā te pupuke te hihiri	From the increase the thought
Nā te hihiri te mahara	From rising thought the memory
Nā te mahara te hinengaro	From memory the consciousness (mind-heart)
Nā te hinengaro te manako	From the consciousness the desire
Ka hua te wānanga	Knowledge became conscious (fruitful)
Ka noho i a rikoriko	It dwelt with feeble glimmering
Ka puta ki waho ko te pō	And Pō (darkness) emerged
Ko te pō nui, te pō roa	The great night, the long night,

[2] See Richard Taylor (1974 [1855]:98), cited in Salmond (1984:109 - 137; See also Salmond 1997:171 – 172. For a further discussion on the chant see Lienhardt (1966:138 – 139); on Richard Taylor's ethnography, te kore and another variations of the chant, including translations, see "His Work Survived a Century," in *Te Ao Hou* 13, (4): No. 1.

Te pō i tūturi, te pō i pēpeke,	The dark for kneeling, the dark for leaping
Te pōuriuri, te pō tangotango	The intense dark, to be felt
Te pō wawā, te pō tē kitea,	The dark to be touched, unseen
Te pō i oti atu ki te mate	The dark that ends in death
Nā te kore i ai,	From the nothingness came the first cause
Te kore te wiwia	Unpossessed nothingness
Te kore te rawea,	Unbound nothingness
Ko hotupu hau tupu, ko hau ora,	The wind of growth, the wind of life
Ka noho i te ātea,	Stayed in clear space
Ka puta ki waho te rangi e tū nei	And the atmosphere emerged
Ko te rangi e teretere nei	The sky which floats
I runga o te whenua	Above the earth
Ka noho te rangi nui e tū nei	The great sky above us
Ka noho i a ata tuhi	Stayed in red light
Ka puta ki waho ko te marama	And the moon emerged
Te rangi i tū nei	The sky above us
Ka noho i a te werawera [werowero}	Stayed in shooting light
Ka puta ki waho ko te rā	And the sun emerged
Kōkiritia ana ki runga	Flashing up
Hei pūkanohi mō te rangi [pukanohi in Salmond]	To light the sky
Ka tau te rangi	
Te ata tuhi, Te ata rapa,	The early dawn, the early day, the midday
Te ata ka mahina, ka mahina te ata i hikurangi!	The blaze of day from the sky!
Ka noho i Hawaiki	The sky above dwelt with Hawaiki and land was born:
Ka puta ki waho ko Tāporapora,	Tāporapora
Ko Tauwarenīkau,	Tauwarenīkau
Ko Kūkū-paru,	Kūkū-paru
Ko Wawau-atea,	Wawau-atea
Ko Wiwhi-te-Rangiora	Wiwhi-te-Rangiora

The ritual greeting of Sir James Henare in his address to the Auckland Law Society described in Chapter 1 about Maori history and spirituality, though brief, is full of the very best of metaphor and symbolism. It alludes to Māori history and fundamentals of cosmological thought that is the history. He spoke of Māori history beginning in the time before creation, progressed to the birth of the mythical and original homeland called Hawaiki, which a place distant in time and space that is the link with the spirit world. In this sense, Hawaiki is a cosmic place.

After the birth of Hawaiki, says James Henare, the atua were created. Rangi the Sky Father and Papa-tua-nuku the Earth Mother were lovers locked in an age-long embrace during which they had many children. The offspring lived between them becoming the spirit beings of the sea, winds, forests, wild foods, crops and humanity. In fact, the children are the progenitors of the world and its environment, as we know it. The growing children lived in continuous darkness and in the confined space were crushed by their parents. The children decided that their circumstances had to change. They separated the parent lovers and in doing so, they created a world of light. One of the children, called Tane, the spirit being of forests, tore Sky Father from Earth Mother and so the New World, called Te Whenua Hawaiki, came into being. The earthly Hawaiki exists. It was light at last.

Like Tane, the other children were allocated domains of the natural world for which they were each responsible and thus humanity and a diverse natural world was born. In an oratorical way, the Elder calls confidently, triumphantly, "Tihei mauri ora! – Ah tis life." According to the narrator, affection for and attachment to the land and environment historically commenced.

The sundering of the parents and the concomitant burst of light into the cosmos was the spark that started life for plants, fish, birds and people. Like a wind, says Anne Salmond in her explication of the Te Kohuora chant, it swept through the cosmos bringing freedom and renewal. Once established in the new milieu, the power could be called upon by humans and transmitted through ritual pathways into receptacles such as stones or people. According to Māori, the cosmos started with a burst of primal energy.

Metaphysics of Te Tangata, the Human Person - Humanistic Culture and Religion

The central role of religion and ritual in the humanising of life is amplified in the Te Rangikaheke (GNZMMSS 81:53) version of the Rangi and Papa narrative. Te Rangikaheke's

explanation for the separation of the parents is, "Kia ora ai te tangata" that humanity may prosper (cited in Michael Shirres 1979:23; 1997:65 - 73, 77 - 90). Shirres's study of mid-nineteenth-century ritual and Māori understandings of them in the period focussed particularly on the forms and structures of ritual prayer and showed how acting ritually was acting pre-eminently as a human being.

Similarly in a broader global study Roy Rappaport persuasively argues in his treatise on ritual:

> ... first on ritual's internal logic, next on the products (like sanctity) that its logic entails, and on the nature of their truth, and...on the place of ritual and its products in humanity's evolution (Rappaport 1999:3).

Enlightenment in a Māori sense is an on-going spiral like process, in which all things in creation, inanimate and animate, seek the light, te ao mārama. This impulse is part of the nature of being human and, in the spirit of Kant (1987 [1790]:161), is liberation from fear. However, what Māori encountered in the engagement with Pākehā missionaries, officials and others was a nineteenth-century European fear of superstition. In European eyes, superstition was anything that represented false worship or religion that is, an ignorant and irrational belief in supernatural agency, omens, divination, sorcery; belief in what is absurd, without evidence; rites or practices proceeding from superstitious belief or fear (Davidson 1942 [1901]). The experience of the many enlightenments of eighteenth-century Europe was an extraordinary historical period for the cultures and societies of this far away world. It did however; result in a European agenda, particularly in Anglo-Europe, that was motivated by and constituted a rejection of the authority of tradition and religious metaphysics as the primary sources of explanation (Sidwick 1931 [1886]; Moore 1959 [1903]; Rahner and Vorgrimler 1988:148; Giddens 1999).

However, the idea of rejecting tradition and metaphysics to be replaced with science and scientific metaphysics was not consistent with the early-mid nineteenth-century Māori views of the place of tradition, religion and its metaphysics in understanding their world. I found no evidence of a Māori discourse in which western science was intended to replace Māori knowledge systems. Rather, what Māori leaders affirmed in Te Tiriti o Waitangi signings, was an assurance from Queen Victoria that, "a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a rātou me te ātanoho hoki", which is glossed as, that lasting peace may always be kept with them and continued life as Māori people (see Preamble of Te Tiriti o Waitangi). Victoria's assurance that Māori would have peace and continuance of life style enabled many leaders to support a

treaty with the British. This latter point is further discussed in Chapter 4. The creation accounts are the foundations upon which Māori of the Pacific have built a cosmology, religious philosophy and metaphysics. They are the bases for a Māori philosophy of vitalism and humanism. It teaches that everything in creation, whether material or non-material, has a life, which is independent of the thing itself, and there is an original source of life itself.

Worldview, values, ethics, morals and associated cultural practices are part of Māori ancestral legacy that preserves both unity and identity with roots, and continuity with the past. This is expressed in the ancient the phrase 'i ngā wā o mua.' They are the signal of where Māori are in the present and point to a future horizon. According to two Māori writers, indigenous worldviews transmit certain crucial features. First, myth and legends that are deliberate constructs employed by the ancient seers and sages to encapsulate and condense into easily assimilated narrative, forms their images of the world, of ultimate reality and of the relationships between the Creator, the universe and humanity. Worldviews, then, are at the heart of Māori culture, touching, interacting with and strongly influencing every aspect of the culture (M. Marsden & T.A. Henare 1992:3). Earlier in the chapter, Alfonso Ortiz spoke similarly of the feeling of rootedness, of belonging to time and place and the sense of continuity and tradition. The latter, he said transcends time.

This approach, which has immediate application to any Māori discussion on history, philosophy and ethics, is illustrated in an example from a Waitangi Tribunal Report (Wai-45) on the Muriwhenua Land Claim. The Tribunal observed that:

> The people's accounts started before time began, at Matangireia, home of the first being, Io-matua-kore, and proceeded from there on a mental and spiritual journey through aeons. It told of an enterprising people, pragmatic but deeply religious, so intimately tied to land, seas, and space that in their cosmos all life forms, and phenomena like the sky, sun, wind, and rain, are bound to them by treasured links in ancient genealogy. Māori thus see themselves as descendants of gods, and as partners with them in a physical and spiritual universe (Waitangi Tribunal 1997 Wai-45:15).

In Māori society, atua or God-consciousness as expressed in the Tribunal's overview, is considered very highly because atua are the primary source of all tapu and mana, tikanga and ritenga (sacredness and authority, customs, ethics and values), which drives human behaviour (M. Marsden 1991). According to tribal traditions in North Auckland and Rotorua, for example, long after the creation of the world and universe by Ranginui and Papa-tua-nuku

(Father Sky and Mother Earth) and their children, the land and region of Aotearoa were created by the continuing actions of atua or taniwha.

In another Northern creation tradition, the taniwha (spirit being) Maungataniwha decided to travel to Aotearoa from Hawaiki to ensure there was sufficient food, that the climate was kindly to the people, and that there were no dangers beyond their ability to manage. Upon its arrival, chaos was apparent since lesser taniwha had arrived earlier and were already scrambling up the mountainsides scratching deep indentations in the terrain. The lesser taniwha had already gouged out the harbours of Hokianga, Kaipara, Kawhia, Mangonui and Whangaroa. Maungataniwha crushed the lesser taniwha. The final taniwha dismissed was at Omapere whereupon its death throes ripped the earth and caused a lake to appear. The waters are today known as Lake Omapere, and are close to Kaikohe (Sale 1986:1).

At the completion of the work, Maungataniwha decided to return to Hawaiki and tropical sunshine. While resting in the sun Maungataniwha heard the whisperings of the south wind, that serious trouble was disturbing the peace and calm of Whangaroa harbour area. Maungataniwha grew anxious because he had left behind Taratara, a beautiful woman in whose fidelity he had absolute confidence. However, the seeds of suspicion blown in the wind were already in his mind. He returned at speed to Whangaroa to see what evil had occurred. His fears were well founded. Taratara had been unfaithful and in a rage, he spurned her with his foot leaving Taratara with a broken back and scattered together with her attendants, Kokakohiria, Puketona and Turau. Her head now lies off the coast and is the island of Horo-iwi (the destroyer of bones) near the point, Otawhiri. These are all prominent landmarks along the western approaches to Whangaroa harbour, along with Uma-kukupa (the pigeon's breast).

Maungataniwha then turned on Hotou, the lover of Taratara, slashing him on both sides of his head with his taiaha. In his last fit of rage, he kicked the dying Hotou as far as he could. Today, Hotou is a sharp conical mountain beyond Kaikohe on the way to Dargaville. Finally, Maungataniwha took up his final observation post behind Mangapa, this being the highest mountain in the area. He now watches over the trifling Hotou to the south and his unfaithful Taratara to the north (Sale 1986:1).

Te Uru Heta, a local oral historian of Kaeo, identified their sacred mountain called Tangitū and why it holds special significance for Whangaroa, Kaeo and the whole of the far northern regions known as Muriwhenua. He says:

> Ko Tangitū te maunga i tīmata mai ngā wai e rere ana ki ngā wahapū o te Hokianga, Mangonui, Whangaroa me te Pewhairangi. Ko ēnei wai e tuitui ana i ngā hapū, ngā whānau o ngā takiwā e pa ana ki ngā ngāhere kua ingoatia nei Ōtangaroa State Forest (Heta & Kira 1997:2 - 3).

Tangitū is a maunga in the Whangaroa rohe [region]. Four streams originate from Tangitū. These four streams become rivers. The rivers flow through the ngāhere o Tangitū, [the forests of Tangitū] and into four harbours - Hokianga, Mangonui, Whangaroa and Pewhairangi.

He explains that these waters bind the extended families and their hapū of the four harbour areas that constitute the forests called the Ōtangaroa State Forest. Tangitū is one of the smaller mountains in the Ōtangaroa Ranges above Whangaroa Harbour. Often referred to in oral tradition as the tamawahine, the daughter, Tangitū is the source of many forms of life. It is the source of the awa, wai and manga - the rivers, streams and tributaries -, which flow to the four principle harbours, of the Far North. From the harbours, it is said that the waters flow into the seas to Te Reinga, the most northern cape. An intermingling of waters takes place at the meeting point of the Tasman and Pacific Oceans. There the waters are transformed into clouds, which in time drift southward to eventually return to Tangitū as rain clouds to once again fall on the land and the forests. The cycle of life begins again say the contemporary sages Heta and Kira (1997).

The awa, wai, manga and puna have historically and traditionally been important to the whānau and hapū (descent groups) living alongside them and their mahinga or gardens, which provided staple food for the seasons. These cultivations were seen as separate from the natural foods gathered from the ngāhere, forests, and moana, the seas. The life giving waters of Tangitū nurtured the forests including the bird and animal life. The waters were also recognised as a renewable source when the heavy rains and floods cleansed the streams and rivers and new life started again.

Many of the awa and manga have puna, being special pools seen as separate from the awa and manga. The puna had their own tapu and were strictly controlled and monitored as the water was used for drinking and cooking of food for human beings. Old practices included caring

for the kōkopu, a native fresh water fish - Galaxias (Orbell 1985:118, 147-148), which were placed in puna alongside tuna, eels, to keep the water clean for human consumption. The tuna in such spots were not for catching and eating because the puna were also breeding grounds for tuna.

When food in the puna was short, the tuna would migrate overland during the rain in search of other food sources while the kōkopu would remain. Above the water, and apparently working in harmony with kōkopu, were many pungawerewere (spiders), and their webs. Pungawerewere kept the water clean from above and kōkopu cleansed from below. The water was tapu and special cups were used to dip into the puna and the water then tipped into a drinking or cooking utensil (Heta & Kira 1997). This ensured there were no unnecessary clashes of tapu, clashes, which could be detrimental to others.

Taro, one of the most sacred foods to Māori, has been grown in the awa and manga of Tangitū (Heta and Kira 1997). Traditional accounts tell of the taro being bought from Hawaiki to Aotearoa by the voyaging canoe. Over twenty varieties were grown in the warmer parts of the North Island close to water supplies. They prefer rich, moist soil of a sandy nature. The original taro proved difficult to cultivate and was later superseded by other vegetables. As well as food a source, taro has also medicinal powers, which was used for such purposes as strength giving before battles and for feeding the foetus in the womb prior to the women giving birth (Riley 1994:444 - 445).

At least two varieties of taro grow near Tangitū. When awa and manga became flooded, some of the taro would be washed down the streams to grow along the banks and become a source of food for local communities down stream, especially when kumara was in short supply (Heta and Kira 1997).

The point of retelling these creation accounts specific to regions like of Whangaroa and outlying areas is to illustrate how historically and spiritually the people identify themselves with the land; the surrounding coastlines, the rivers and forests, and all other forms of creation. In so doing they remind themselves and others of the primary sources of their tapu and mana. Having settled and developed the area, the people gained an intimate knowledge of the geographical landscape and its wider environment. Over time, this became sacred knowledge and an identity between the people and the environment was forged. In this way, people became the tangata whenua—the people of the land. By

frequently re-establishing their mana tangata, mana whenua and mana wairua in this way, they asserted their responsibilities and obligations to the region. In particular, the mana of Whangaroa is the tapu of a number of associated atua, spirit powers. In Māori belief, tapu is the greatest possession (Shirres 1997).

Even today the relationship with the [Io Matua Kore] creative parents Rangi and Papa and their atua children, and the recognition that the world and all created things in it are sourced to primary spiritual powers, serve as the basic norm of Māori values and law. The ethics and values embodied in the worldview and experience confirm a consistent Māori understanding of the universe and its purpose. In the words of Maori Marsden:

> The past and present are caught up together and commingle into an integrated whole where time and space, life, the universe is seen as the 'one'. The approach of Maoridom under this view is holistic. There is no disjunction between the sacred and secular, between the spiritual and material. All life is sacramental
>
> We see ourselves as holding a special relationship to Mother Earth and her resources; an integral part of the natural order, recipients of her bounty and therefore indebted to her largesse rather than controllers. She is to be treated reverently, not to be abused, misused, exploited, and ravaged (M. Marsden 1991).

From the early-mid nineteenth century with the arrival of European explorers, traders and Christian missionaries a religious encounter began and it continues today. While Christian dogma, teachings, rituals and Church institutions and denominations became an accepted part of Māori society and culture, Māori Christianity recognises itself as distinctive when contrasted with the Christianity of the European settler society. Neither the religious nor the colonial encounter led to the total demise of traditional religion, ritual practices and beliefs, and worldview (M. Henare 1990).

Māori people did not see themselves as separate from nature, humanity and the natural world, being direct descendants from Earth Mother. Thus, the resources of the earth did not belong to humankind; rather humans belonged to the earth. While humans as well as animals, birds, fish and trees can harvest the bounty of Mother Earth's resources they did not own them. Instead, humans had "user rights" (M. Marsden and T.A. Henare 1992:18). Māori have recorded their user rights in their cosmic and genealogical relations with the natural world.

Fabric of a Society Embedded in Religion and Metaphysics

Over time and with adaptation and the reproduction of culture four key sets of Māori concepts associated with tapu and mana can be distilled. They provide social, economic and political criteria for an understanding of the foundations of Māori society and its development since the early-mid nineteenth century. They are gathered under four titles, which I refer to as the four foundations of mana — ngā pou mana e wha, namely, whanaungatanga (sense of belonging); taonga tuku iho (highly prized intangible and tangible treasures inherited from past generations); te ao tūroa (the environment, cultural milieu), tūrangawaewae (lit. a place to stand and be). They are interdependent, interrelated and interacting (M. Henare 1988:24 – 25). This mana Māori model of society offers a way of understanding history from within a philosophical framework that may have made sense to Māori leaders of the nineteenth century.[3] An outline of the four foundations is in Chapter Three and is descriptive only because what I seek is a holistic appreciation of the society and its foundations, rather than particularistic tribal perspectives. However, as we explore the many concepts and their practices it clarifies those values that are likely to be more important than others. As stated at the beginning of the chapter according to the injunction of Maori Marsden our task is to find the principles or the 'why' of tikanga and ritenga and not so much focus on the how of things.

Korunga o Ngā Tikanga – Spiral of Virtue, Ethics and Values

I now identify the fundamentals of the early-mid nineteenth-century moral system of Māori. Collectively I describe them as a, 'korunga o ngā tikanga', rendered as a spiral of virtue, ethics and values. Using the distinctive double koru pattern as a symbol of Māori political and economic action in the physical and spiritual spheres, an Io based matrix and moral-ethical system is elaborated. This is not to infer that many leaders were averse to applying Christian ethics when appropriate, Hone Heke, Waka Nene and Patuone clearly did.

In recent years, there has been a movement to clarify the extent to which traditional practices and values can inform the present. Particularly regarding ethics relevant to humanity in meaningful relationships with each other and with the world. Contemporary Māori claimants appearing in courts and other fora have articulated core values parallel to some of the findings of the Waitangi Tribunal. According to the Tribunal a set of criteria underlie Māori thinking on the resources of the environment that constitute rules that ought to govern human

[3] The ngā pou e wha model of the foundations of Māori society has its beginnings during the research phase of the Royal Commission of Social Policy, see M. Henare (1988). My appreciation is extended to the Commissioner, Dr Mason Durie for his inspiration in developing the model.

behaviour in the environment. The same criteria ought to apply to other areas of life, such as economics and politics. They are:

- a reverence for the total creation as one whole;
- a sacred regard for the whole of nature and its resources as being gifts from the spiritual powers;
- a sense of responsibility for these gifts (taonga) as the appointed stewards and guardians;
- a distinctive economic ethic of reciprocity and a sense of commitment to safeguard natural resources for future generations (Waitangi Tribunal Wai-22 1988:179).

Conceptual regulators associated with land rights and communal obligations when applied to the environment and land have been identified. The values are also part of a general system for regulating human behaviour. They are given as:

- whānaungatanga (kinship), which stresses the primacy of kinship bonds in determining action and the importance of genealogy in establishing rights and status;
- arohatanga (compassion), which is a basis for peaceful co-existence;
- manaakitanga (hospitality), which is a desirable character trait of generosity, care-giving, or compassion, and is generally about establishing one's mana;
- utu (reciprocity), which concerns the maintenance of harmony and balance, and of mana (Waitangi Tribunal Wai-45 1997:179).

However, these are an incomplete set of human regulators for this study. Māori religion, metaphysics and philosophy of vitalism and cosmos inform us of a much deeper and more fundamental set of virtues and ethics that governed rangatira behaviour during the nineteenth century. Listing a set of regulators in itself does not convey a picture of the worldview within which they are located. Neither do a set of regulations point towards the life view of rangatira and tohunga. Following Albert Schweitzer's ethics and mysticism, I seek the germ of ideas and dispositions that define the conduct of Māori leadership and communities in their emergent new society, namely the quest for mana Nu Tireni and mana Māori motuhake. In the worldview is found the principles of life and subsequent reverence for life. Nineteenth century worldview is a life view embedded in kawa and tikanga and expressed in ritenga, which ultimately express a reverence for life.

The spiral of early-mid nineteenth-century cardinal ethics and virtues represents a matrix of traditional ethics, which simultaneously present a Māori worldview and acts as a check on

that worldview. There are no specific Māori terms for virtue, ethics and values (M. Marsden 1991) but the term tikanga embodies them all. Earlier, in Chapter 1, I briefly outlined the significance of the double spiral in wood and bone carvings, body tattoos and hand-painted scrolls. The koru, or takarangi or pitau style of spirals, are often symbols of the cosmos and together with other symbols associated with the art constitute a set of powerful and emotive expressions of profound thought and complexity (Jackson 1972:42 – 43; 72 - 73). The spiral is an ancient motif popular in wood carving and can range from single spirals to complex four way spirals (Archey 1960:18, 16, 13, Plate IV, Figure 17) in which, like a fern's frond the inner core is revealed when it unfolds (see Figure 1.2. Carved Doorway; Three Upright figures alternating with expanded double spirals. Rotorua Door Lintel – Double spiral rhythm and Double spiral symbolising human development in the physical and spiritual spheres. Te Paki o Matariki – Coat of Arms of Tawhiao, 1870; cf. Mead 1986:79, 170, 228; Neich 1993:39 - 41).

The choice of the koru as the depiction of a matrix of ethics and deep meaning is deliberate and emerged during a discussion with Ngapare Hopa,[4] about how to depict in a Māori way a collection of virtues and ethics. I sought a symbol that captures the spiritual, emotive and psychological power that each virtue evokes and stirs in the mind and stomach of Māori responsiveness. My reading of Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney (1990:129 – 130) and James Fernandez (1990:95 - 97) clarified for me an anthropological approach to the study of culture and meaning systems through time. Their focus on dominant symbols as "emblems of identity" (Fernandez 1990:95) and metaphor as a "vehicle of contemplation" (Ohnuki-Tierney 1990:147), offered a way of ordering meaning in Māori society while at the same time enabled a tracing of changing forms and meanings over time (cf. Ohnuki-Tierney 1990:10 – 11). The symbol I sought must suggest flow, continuity, life, source, centre and movement away from centre and a return to its source. In identifying cardinal Māori ethics and values of the early-mid nineteenth-century, the idea that they represented a hierarchy of ethics, a framework common in nineteenth century English metaphysics (Sidgwick 1931 [1886]; Moore 1959 [1903]) and implicit in Pākehā New Zealand worldview, seemed inappropriate. There is neither explicit nor implicit hierarchy inferred in traditional Māori discourse as evidenced in artistic expression whether in cosmological poetry, woodcarvings, painted-scrolls, or in ethnographic accounts outlined below. Ngapare Hopa suggested a koru as the symbol.

[4] Professor Ngapare Hopa, Māori Studies Department, University of Auckland.

Finally, a 1990 speech of Te Arikinui Te Atairangikahu in Wellington on the background of the Kīngitanga, the King Movement, validated the choice of koru as the symbolic representation of the matrix of ethics. Te Arikinui described how the iconography of the movement's coat of arms, called Te Paki o Matariki, came into being. She said:

> In 1870, Tawhiao appointed two tohunga to design heraldic bearings or coat of arms for himself and his successors.
>
> This device shows a double spiral symbolising human development in the physical and spiritual spheres, with two figures, Te Atuatanga (spirituality) and Aitua (misfortune, each grasping the whorl, to show their influence on peoples of the world and the peoples' constant struggle between good and evil (Te Arikinui Te Atairangikahu 1999:15).

A double spiral symbolising human development in the physical and spiritual spheres encapsulates the intensity and fluidity of the relationship between each ethic. The ethics illustrate a basic principle of Māori philosophy as it does of Māori art, that is, in order to understand the whole one must understand the parts or put another way, in order to understand the parts one must understand the whole (cf. Jackson 1972:73). Each ethic is integrated and interdependent with each other and each has a cluster of other values of importance to Māori. However, when considered as koru like, the centre symbolises the source of life itself and concentrated cosmic energy.

The centre of the spiral symbolises, te kore and mauri (Harrison 1999),[5] meaning life itself and the beginnings of life and together with the outlined ethics and virtues below constitute a unity, a holism and a way of linking humanity, nature and cosmos in relationships of reciprocity and respect. In deciding the ethics, I considered the following series of questions. What do Māori sources identify as fundamentals of life and decision-making? What do observers and ethnographers in the nineteenth century identify as primary values that motivated rangatira to action? What do contemporary observers, Māori and Pākehā, anthropologists, theologians and historians discern in identifying the causes of Māori religious, political, social and economic action? The result is the following group of powerful generative terms. This chapter is an attempt to construct a coherent philosophy, metaphysics and religion in which cardinal ethics and virtues are identified to explain motivation for Māori agency in the nineteenth century. They are as follows:

- Tikanga te ao mārama (ethic of wholeness, evolving, cosmos)[6]

[5] Dr Paki Harrison, master carver, Kennedy Bay, Coromandel, personal communication.
[6] For discussion of the concepts te ao mārama, creation and cosmos, see Salmond (1997:401 - 404). For discussion of Māori terms for world and enlightenment, see Barlow (1991:4).

- Tikanga te ao hurihuri (ethic of change and tradition)[7]
- Tikanga tapu (ethic of existence, being with potentiality, power, the sacred) [8]
- Tikanga mauri (ethic of life essences, vitalism, reverence for life) [9]
- Tikanga mana (ethic of power, authority and common good, actualisation of tapu) [10]

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[7] For an expression of the idea of te ao hurihuri as a revolving, turning world, see King (1992 [1975]:191):

> Te Ao Hurihuri te ao huri ai ki tona tauranga: te ao rapu; ko te huripoki e huri nei i runga i te taumata o te kaha. Te Ao Hurihuri is a world evolving: a world that moves forward to the place it came from a wheel that turns on an axle of strength.

For a formal definition of huri, the root word of hurihuri, see *Williams Dictionary of the New Zealand Language* (1892:39), huri – turn around; overturn; overflow; fall to; set about. Hurihuri – turn over in one's mind; ponder; reflect upon.

[8] There is an extraordinary volume of literature on tapu and mana and the following are, in terms of this thesis, the more significant sources. For discussion of Māori transcripts, 1845 – 1854, about the use and meaning of tapu, see Shirres (1979:7 [its primary meaning related to being], 4 – 7 [relationship to mana]; of a philosophical and metaphysical meaning of tapu as, "being, with potentiality for power" (1979:114 – 117; 1997:53 – 61), and personal tapu, rituals, see (1986:160 – 175). Tapu as humanity's and creation's greatest possession, "Ko tōna mea nui, he tapu' see, *GNZMMSS* 31:9, cited in Shirres 1979:25). For an account of an early-mid nineteenth century Pākehā missionary's attempt to understand the secrecy surrounding tapu, and its potency as a sustaining religious force, see Binney (1968:73, 144 - 146, 172 – 175). For a second early-mid nineteenth century Pākehā ethnology on tapu as a "system of consecration "and its total influence over human action in the world, its political and religious purposes, leadership qualities and tapu, and extensions of tapu, see Yate (1835:84 – 90). For discussion on the Pacific roots of tapu as an ancient institution, the personal tapu imbued in leaders at birth and its diverse applications to life at all levels, see Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck) (1949:345 - 349, 350 - 351, 100, 405 [restriction], 416 - 417, 425 [and death], 457, 462 [divinities and tapu], 481 [sacred places as shrines], 500 [as sacred water in ritual]). For discussion on the metaphysics of tapu as a power, which is sacred, untouchable and a restriction, see M. Marsden (1992:119 – 121). For discussion of a definition of tapu as power, see Barlow (1991:125 – 128). For discussion of the possession of personal tapu, the loss of tapu and its social value, see Firth (1972:181 - 182, 214 [loss of tapu], 248 [a social value]). For discussion on tapu as a set of rules that mediate human behaviour, as something sacred, as a power, and as rites, see Best (1976:42, 270, 280 [rules for behaviour, 209 [sacred], 263 [power], 377 [rites]). And, for further ethnographic description on tapu as a set of principles, a discipline, a teaching, as rules for behaviour and the breaking of rules, and its efficacy in sacred places and as a rite, see (1982:137 [a teaching], 541 - 543 [a description of tapu], 560 [as respect], 15 - 30, 47 - 48, 65, 133, 198, 458, 474, 493, 530 [rules, acquisition and principles], 39, 342 [power], 92 - 98 [sacred places], 124 [rites], 126 - 127 [ritual]). For a discussion of tapu as central to Māori religion, see Irwin (1984:21 – 31). For an early-mid nineteenth century ethnologists view of tapu, see Shortland (1980 [1856]:83, 84, 101 – 113). For discussion on the implications of imbalances between such values as mana and tapu, see M. Kawharu (1998:199). For discussion on important ideas associated with tapu removal and the relationship of life and death, see J. Smith (1974).

[9] For discussion on mauri as a sacred life principle, see Best (1976:365); (1982:32, 40, 46 - 50, 52, 100, 101, 139, 153, 331); (1986:53, 55 [as power]) and (1973:5, 6, 29 – 42). See also Tikao (1990:68). For discussion of mauri as a life principle, a "bonding force" and the various types of mauri, including a theological explanation of the associated notion of "tau mai te mauri", rendered as "let all the gifts required in a person come down", see M. Marsden typescript (1999:32 - 33, 35, 79, 89), and see also M. Marsden (1999: transcripts Tape Five) of a seminar by M. Marsden. See also M. Marsden and T.A. Henare (1992:79, 89). For a definition of mauri as life itself, see Barlow (1991:82 – 83), and Irwin (1984:21 – 31). For a secularist-materialist discussion on mauri as a magical talisman, which guarded the hau of the forest, as a vital principle, a spiritual essence and a non-materialist core, and on its material representations, see Firth (1972:152, 157 [guardian of hau of the forest], 255 - 258 [vital principle], 279 - 281 [mauri and hau – material and non-material representations]). For discussion of mauri as the spiritual essence in animate and inanimate things and its relationship to the environment, see M. Kawharu (1998:163); Rangihau (1992 [1975]:12 – 13 [learning of mauri], [diminution of mauri).

[10] For further discussion on mana as potency of the gods, power and prestige, see Best (1976:312, 370, 407 [power]; and (1982:15, 19, 117, 130, 474 [prestige], 17 [mana and the gods]). See also Mahuika (1992:45

- Tikanga hau (ethic of the spiritual power of obligatory reciprocity in relationships with nature, life force, breathe of life)[11]
- Tikanga wairua – wairuatanga (ethic of the spirit and spirituality)[12]
- Tikanga tika – tikanga (ethic of the distinctive nature of things, of the right way, of the quest for justice)[13]
- Tikanga whānau – whānaungatanga (ethic of belonging, reverence for the human person)[14]
- Tikanga tiaki – tiakitanga (ethic of guardianship of creation, land, seas, forests, environment)[15]

[power]); and Tikao (1990:95 - 99; and Irwin (1984:21 – 31). For a theological and an anthropological discussion on mana as spiritual power and authority, and, its significance in the natural world, see M. Marsden, 1992:118 – 137), and (1999:32 - 33, 35, 79, 89). For a philosophical discussion on mana as 'actual power', see Shirres (1997:53 – 61); for definitions of mana as power, authority, prestige, see Barlow (1991:60 – 61).

[11] Tamati Ranapiri Letters 7th October & 23rd November 1907 to Elsdon Best, ATL; – See Addendum to Chapter 2 – Elsdon Best, Tamati Ranapiri and Hau. For discussion on hau as a vital breath, a vital aura, a quality that occupies being, and as personality, see Best (1982:31, 32 [vital breath], 50 - 53 [quality pervades being], 151, 152, 159 [vital aura], 167, 580 [aura], 597 [personality]); (1973:5, 6, 42 – 46). See also Shortland (1980 [1856]:215); see M. Marsden (1999:32 - 35). For discussion on hau as guardian of the forest, as vital principle and its material and non-material representations see Firth (1972:152, 157, 255 – 258, 279 – 281). For discussion on hau as a vital principle, see Johansen (1954:117 – 119). For discussion on hau as vital principle, an essence and its relationship to a taonga, and comment on Tamati Ranapiri's writing on the subject, see Firth (1972:279 – 281, 417- 421, 419). See also M. Kawharu (1998:199 [imbalance]). For an interpretation on hau and Christianity, see Reed (1955:12). For discussion on two types of reciprocity, see Schwimmer (1979) 271 –272).

[12] On the ethnography of wairua, spirits and the soul, see Best (1976:220); (1982:32 - 34, 40 - 45 [on the soul], 46, 47, 48, 49, 77, 89, 100, 101, 400, 500, 621 [on spirit and spirits]; (1973:5, 8-19); for discussion on wairua as spirit, see Reed (1955:12) and Barlow (1991:152). For discussion on Thomas Kendall's attempt at a hermeneutics of early-mid nineteenth century Māori understanding of spirit, see Binney (1968:128 n.15). For a comprehensive discussion of the metaphysics of wairua as spirit, existence and as a phenomenon, see Johansen (1954:254ff [its nature], 256 [dreams and wairua], 257 [dangers], 258 [appearance in rituals and link with hau], 259 [life long association with a person], 260 – 261 [wairua of all things material and non-material], 261 [without a wairua there is no existence], 264 [death]).

[13] For further discussion on tika – tikanga, see Shortland (1980 [1856]:187); Johansen (1954:172 [natural], 172 –174 [true]); Schwimmer (1978:207 – 208 [distinctive nature of creatures of creation determined by genealogy and strife]).

[14] For further discussion on whānau – whānaungatanga, see Schrempp (1992:88, 93 – 94); Mira Szászy, *Creed*, (Kaitaia 1977); Rangihau (1992 [1975]:183 – 190) [kinship and belonging]; Shirres (1997:53, 54, 56) [belonging, birth]; Rakena (1971:7 – 10, 27,) [belonging as fundamental principle of Māori society].

[15] For further discussion on tiaki- tiakitanga, see Best (1982:252, 253, 263, 276, 309, 445); M. Marsden & T.A. Henare (1992:85 – 86); M. Kawharu (1998:7 – 45 [resource management customary context], 46 - 117 [changing world], 152 - 264 [Current]); Barlow (1991:34 - 35 [guardianship]).

- Tikanga hohou rongo (ethic of peace and reconciliation, restoration)[16]
- Tikanga kotahitanga (solidarity with people and the natural world and common good)[17]
- Tikanga manaaki (love and honour, solidarity, reciprocity)[18]

The above are cardinal ethics that inform Māori agency and are the matrix of ethical pluralism referred to earlier. They inform Māori relationships between Māori, Māori with Pākehā and the world at large, and specifically in terms of this thesis, relations with British Kings and Queen and other officials such as Busby and Hobson and Grey. In the next chapter, I will explore these ethics and their application to economic and political events in the early-mid nineteenth century.

Tikanga hau, the 'spirit of gift exchange' or the ethic of generosity, and its associated values are identified in this study as a principle motivation of Māori leaders in their time. This is evident both in economics, and significantly also in the politics leading to their 1835 declaration of independence, and their cautious willingness to be party to Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840. The view is that Māori metaphysics and ethics would inform a leader on mana retention, mana enhancement, mana consolidation rather than principles for ceding the mana of the people, the kainga and the whenua, ngāhere and moana to another authority unless under duress, fear of death or a cataclysmic occurrence or some other abnormal extreme circumstance. On the basis that there is little evidence of the combination of these criteria it challenges the idea that rangatira and their people freely and consciously ceded their "mana i te whenua" - power, authority endowed in the rangatira from the land -, and therefore

[16] See Shirres (1997:47 - 48, 97 – 102) [ritual prayer for peace].

[17] The idea and spirit of kotahitanga is implicit and explicit in whakataukī, pepeha, pakiwaitara (proverbs, sayings, moral stories, charms, witticisms, figures of speech, boasts); expressions of kotahitanga in socio - political and Māori consciousness movements beginning after 1769 to the 1840's, and the continuity of Māori consciousness making 1840 – 1990s. I studied 2669 pepeha, see Mead and Grove (2001 [1981, 1991, 1994]), seeking out those that conveyed the idea of kotahitanga both in abstract and symbolic meanings. The study began as a student with Professor Hirini Mead and Neil Grove and an unpublished research essay titled, *Kotahitanga – A Primary Value*, see M. Henare (1991). Further, when used by many people, they are interpreted as a call to unity, to acts of solidarity. For the purposes of analysis, I have put them into one of three categories, recognising the fact that each one could be placed in two or even the three categories. The categories are mine. Those in Category I emphasise the way things, actions and attitudes are connected. That is, they emphasise relationships, which imply solidarity. Those in Category II suggest that when there is solidarity in thought and action, things can be achieved; a community of interests and responsibilities exists. Those in Category III demand and/or reinforce solidarity in the minds of people through common identity with an ancestor, the land, mountains, water - rivers, lakes, the sea, and the sky. These are the whānau, hapū, iwi waka and national Māori symbols which aim to unite the people. The socio-political and Māori consciousness movements and history are the focus of this thesis.

[18] See Johansen (1954:27 – 30).

sovereignty to the British. In the second place, the bases of the cession discourse in historical evidence do not support such an interpretation, and this is discussed in Chapter 4.

The focus on the metaphysics of things will be discussed further, including the politics and economics of reciprocity in early-mid nineteenth-century Māori society, and in particular, the layers of meaning in gift exchange and exchange generally, particularly with reference to its metaphysics. In anthropology, especially in the work of Marcel Mauss who was informed on Māori thinking by Tamati Ranapiri of Ngāti Raukawa, exchange theory and gift exchange are often presented in the form of the following propositions: that exchange is a fundamental social system; that gift exchange is a prior economic system; that a gift economy is animated by the spirit of the gift (hau); that the spirit of the gift creates an indissoluble bond between persons engaged in the exchange, and that it was Western societies which were responsible for the separation of persons and things (Mauss 1923 – 1924:30 – 186; 1950:143 - 279; Halls 1990; Cunnison 1954; Schrift 1997).[19]

However, a focus solely on material and cognitive anthropology of gift exchange and generosity without recourse to its metaphysics is not adequate for the purpose of this study. While Mauss has, in my analysis of the Ranapiri letters, remained close to Ranapiri's metaphysics and indeed was informed by it, other commentators have concentrated on the material and social aspects of gift exchange disputing a metaphysical explanation at all. Consider the following severe critiques of Raymond Firth, Claude Lévi-Strauss and Marshall Sahlins on Mauss' hermeneutics and treatment of hau. They reflect utilitarian, materialist, secularist, and psychological and western rationalist critiques of Māori metaphysics as understood by a French scholar. The only ethnographer to have worked from the original Tamati Ranapiri letters was Elsdon Best as both were in correspondence with each other. As far as I know, none of the commentators read or accessed the original letters in Māori of Tamati Ranapiri. They were therefore depended upon the accuracy of Elsdon Best and his transcribing and translating the letters correctly.

As can be seen in the Addendum at the end of this chapter, I found that Best had, when transcribing the letters and preparing extracts ready for publication in *Māori Forest Lore* (1909), made significant changes to key phrases. The effect of Best's changes turned Ranapiri's hermeneutics about Māori metaphysics into a secular materialist's explanation thus

[19] My thanks to Amiria Salmond, Anthropology Department, Cambridge University, England for discussions on these points in 1999 and in New Zealand in 2000.

reflecting Best views more so than those of Ranapiri. The error was partly corrected by Mauss, albeit somewhat intuitively, but Firth, Lévi-Strauss and Sahlins followed Best's edited translation of the Ranapiri letters and the former's phenomenological approach. Most others have followed suite (see Forge 1972; Gathercole 1978; McCall 1981 – 82; Weiner 1985; 1992; Parry 1986; Frame 1991; Godbout with Caillé 1998; Godelier [1996] 1999). Following Best, Firth, Lévi-Strauss and Sahlins challenged Mauss' interpretation and his idea of the spirit of the gift itself. According to Firth:

> When Mauss sees in gift exchange an interchange of personalities, a 'bond of soul,' he is following not a native belief, but his own intellectual interpretation of it (1972:418).

Claude Lévi-Strauss wrote:

> Hau is not the ultimate explanation for gift exchange; it is the conscious form whereby men of a given society, in which the problem had particular importance, apprehended an unconscious necessity whose explanation lies elsewhere (cited in Schrift 1997:55 – 56).

Finally, Marshall Sahlins presents a rationalist utilitarian criticism:

> Since Mauss...anthropology has become more consistently rational in its treatment of exchange. Reciprocity is contract pure and mainly secular, sanctioned perhaps by a mixture of considerations of which a carefully calculated self-interest is not the least (cited in Schrift 1997:93).

Exchange and its spiritual-moral bases are therefore a central theme in this chapter and it is a Māori view of the exchange and its moral bases of the human action that matters. Exchange, spirituality and morality are part of a matrix of ethics, which constitutes a moral system, based on a plurality of ethics. Māori ethical pluralism in the context of the early-mid nineteenth century is defined in terms of its "plurality of principles" and any matrix of Māori ethics can be defined, following Sen, as "principle pluralism". Amartya Sen (1985:176) convincingly makes the distinction between pluralism meaning a plurality of ethics and its "claim about the form of moral structures", and pluralism meaning "intuitionism", which he says, is a "claim about how the moral structure may be *derived and supported* (i.e. whether by intuition only)" (Sen's italics). The form of Māori moral structures is central to this chapter. Saying something akin to Sen is Maori Marsden, a leading philosopher on traditional tikanga Māori and an evangelical Christian theologian, who holds that the cardinal spiritual values of tapu, hau, mauri and other spiritual properties:

> ...form a powerful interlocking system which provide socio-cultural mechanisms of control in regulating behaviour, motivating, guiding and managing corporate activities; stressing the importance and the necessity for concentrated effort to be applied to different activities, or phases of it (M. Marsden 1999).

Understanding the moral system at play in the 1830s – 1840s is important because a contrast is to be made between the ethical pluralism of Māori leaders and the monist utilitarian tendency of Anglo-Pākehā personalities and their moral structures involved in the construction of the Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840. In this way, it is possible to consider and understand the motivation and intentions of Māori and the British Crown and settler government.

Ngā Tikanga me Ngā Ritenga and Christianity

Another encounter crucial to the elaboration of a Māori worldview was that between the ancestral religion and Christian theology, ethics and values. This encounter with the foreign worldview, ethics and morals contained within a European Christian history, including theology, rituals and institutions, of some 1000 years but more specifically the history of England from the seventeenth century of Anglicans, Puritans, Presbyterians and others who made their appeal to the Bible (Heron 19801:1 – 6; Rahner 1979). This clash of religious histories constituted one of the most influential episodes in mana Māori history. F.D.E. Schleiermacher's (cited in Heron 1980:29) definition of Christianity points to the kind of difficulties Māori encountered in the nineteenth century in their religious dealings with foreign missionaries. He wrote:

> Christianity is a monotheistic faith of the teleological type of religion, and is essentially distinguished from other faiths by the fact that everything in it is related to the redemption accomplished by Jesus of Nazareth (CF2 §11).

It is this framework of a monotheistic faith and the conviction that Judaism and Christianity more perfectly emphasised humanity's ethical freedom and responsibilities that inspired the missionary spirit of the missionaries to Nu Tireni. The stories of the arrival and endeavours of Pākehā Christian missionaries throughout Nu Tireni-Aotearoa have already been well recorded by missionaries and the Christian Churches. The initial encounter with Christianity promised much but was quickly entangled with Pākehā settler politics and economics. It meant that the encounter of one religious tradition with another was enmeshed with the wider encounter between two cultures, the European and the Polynesian Māori. The politics and economics of the Māori - Pākehā encounter made murky the religious-spiritual encounter.

The accounts of initial Māori encounters with Christianity often represent adventure stories of Pākehā missionary messengers of the gospel and their adaptation to the world of Māori, rather than a Māori account of the encounter with the teachings of the Old Testament and God (Ihowa) and the person of Jesus Christ. Despite somewhat difficult beginnings

however, North Auckland can claim to be the stone upon which the house of Māori Christianity was founded and built. The relative speed with which local rangatira and tohunga utilised for Māori purposes the new religion—its biblical and catechetic teachings, rituals, institutions and its missionaries—points to powers of adaptation, acculturation and incorporation. The power to adapt and acculturate did not require a fundamental change to worldview as described in Jacobs' schema but it is likely that the worldview enabled adaptation and acculturation to take place.

The role played by many of the rangatira and tohunga of Nu Tireni-Aotearoa in establishing a Māori nation state is a silent part of mana Māori and New Zealand Pākehā history to date. Many younger voices, however, are rediscovering this history in assertions of mana Māori motu hake and tino rangatiratanga, rendered as self-determination, self-reliance and Māori sovereignty. Nor was the settlers' mix of politics, economics and religion foreign to Māori, rather it was the norm. What Māori made of this political, economic and religious encounter and the significant contribution over time of Christian biblical and social theology to the development of Māori ethics and values is difficult to assess anthropologically and historically. However, they are bases for any set of ethics and associated values that may be applied to historical and philosophical anthropological understanding.

Te Ruki Kawiti's Ōhākī – The Prophetai and Early Māori Christianity

Some time after the 1846 British Army siege of Ruapekapeka, Te Ruki Kawiti (?-1854) of Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Hine went with his people to the outskirts of Whangarei. Disillusioned with the Governor's actions and intentions over the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori, Kawiti, Hone Heke and others concluded that the British had broken the Treaty. In patriotic fervour, Kawiti and Heke believed they must defend the mana of the treaty. In an early morning light, Kawiti gave an oration about peace and made a prophecy. This type of talking is referred to as an 'ōhākī' (Martin 1990a: 221; 1990b:36) and is often given as a leader's final gift or guidance to their people, sometimes prior to the person's death. Kawiti, the prophetai, said:

> E te whānau, i te pakanga ahau ki te Atua i te pō,
> Heoi kihai ahau i mate.
> Na reira, takahia te riri ki raro i o koutou waewae.
> Kia u ki te Whakapono, he poai Pākehā koutou i muri nei.
> Waiho kia kakati te namu i te wharangi o te Pukapuka,
> hei konei ka tahuri atu ai.
> Kei takahia e koutou, ngā Papa Pounamu ā ō koutou tūpuna e takoto nei.
> Titiro atu ki ngā taumata o te moana (Harawira 1975:43 – 44).

Reverend Herepo Harawira (1975) has beautifully glossed the text as follows:

> My illustrious warriors and people, I had war with God during the night,
> but I survived.
> Therefore, I call upon you to suppress war under foot.
> Hold fast to the Christian faith, for the day will come when you will become labourers under your Päkehä friends.
> Await, therefore, until the sand fly nips the pages of the Book (i.e. the Treaty of Waitangi).
> Then, and only then, shall you rise and oppose.
> Do not desecrate the Papa Pounamu (the Articles of the Treaty), endorsed by your forbears.
> Look beyond the sea, to the transfiguration of the future.

To many Northern Māori this prophecy has extraordinary meaning and potency today, just as it has for earlier generations since the British siege of Ruapekapeka (December 1845 - January 1846). Descendants have taken it as a special injunction to act, whenever Treaty of Waitangi promises are not upheld (Martin 1990:216; 1991:31). The inference of the command is to look after the tapu, mana, hau, mauri, wairua and wairuatanga, meaning the power, authority, integrity, life force and spirituality, of the Treaty.

According to this oral tradition, the opening sentence in his ōhākī gives an important clue as to its significance and the possible source of ideas for his prophecy:

> E te whānau, i pakanga ahau ki te Atua i te pō, heoi kihai ahau i mate.
> My people, I had war with God during the night, but I survived.

This somewhat unusual statement was not a normative expression for early-mid nineteenth-century Māori leadership. The idea of a human being fighting with the highest - ranking atua – spiritual power or a divinity - was not a common feature of traditional Māori religion. Rather it is a clear indication of Kawiti's knowledge and use of early mid-nineteenth century Christian biblical theology. Aspects of the prophecy bear a remarkable resemblance to the enigmatic story in Ko Kenehi 32:22 – 30 (*Te Kawenata Tawhito* 1848:48) the Genesis 32:22 – 30 account (King James 1st Bible; see also Jerusalem Bible 1995:53) of Jacob wrestling with God. Kawiti would have known about and then studied the Māori vernacular version of the Genesis text while on his sojourn at Pakaraka with Henry Williams and family sometime after the Ruapekapeka defence and before he died in 1854.

James Shepherd, W. G. Puckey and Robert Maunsell and others started translating portions from the Christian Bible from 1824, including Genesis 1 – 3, Exodus 20:1 -17, Mathew 5:1 – 30, John 1 and the Lord's Prayer, plus seven hymns (Kenehi 1827). William Yate added some

liturgical matters and additional hymns in *Ko te Pukapuka Tuatahi o Mohia huiana ana ko Kenehi* (1830). By 1833, the translation of Genesis was extended to Chapter 8. In 1840, John Hobbs probably translated additional Chapters of Genesis. A full translation of Genesis appeared in 1845 and by 1847; the first books were completed and after revision, they were forwarded to the Bible Society. Following is the 1840s translation of the Kenehi 32:22 – 29 text from *Ko Te Tahi Wahi o Te Kawenata Tawhito*. It is the Māori vernacular text that Kawiti most probably studied and discussed with Henry Williams. Two translations in English, the first from the King James 1st Bible, which LMS missionaries used, and the Jerusalem Bible in English is a present day usage are presented below as follows:

Chapter 32: Verse	**Ko Kenehi Māori Text, 1848**	**King James 1 Bible English Text**	**Jerusalem Bible English Text**
22	A i whakatika ia i taua pō, i tango hoki i āna wāhine tokorua, me āna pononga wāhine tokorua, me āna tamariki tekau mā tahi, a ka whiti atu i te whitinga i Iapoko.	And he rose up that night, and took his two wives, and his two womenservants, and his eleven sons, and passed over the ford Jabbok.	That same night he rose, and taking his two wives and his two slave-girls and his eleven children, he crossed the ford of the Jabbok.
23	A i tango ia i a rātou, i mea hoki kia whiti atu i te awa, a i mea anō ia kia whiti atu ngā mea i mahue ki a ia.	And he took them, and sent them over the brook, and he sent over that he had.	He took them and sent them across the stream and sent all his possessions over too. And Jacob was left alone.
24	A i mahue iho a Hakopa ko ia anake; ***a i raraka ō rāua waewae ko te tahi tangata, a takiri noa te ata.*** (Italics and bold my emphasis)	And Jacob was left alone; ***and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking day.*** (Italics and bold my emphasis)	And there was ***one that wrestled with him until daybreak*** (Italics and bold my emphasis)
25	A, te kitenga o tērā kihai ia a taea e ia, nā ka pā atu ia ki te ateatenga o tōna hūhā; a ka takoki te	And when he saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of	who, seeing that he could not master him struck him with the socket of his hip, and Jacob's hip was

	ateatanga o te hūhā o Hakopa i a rāua e raraka waewae ana.	joint, as he wrestled with him.	dislocated as he wrestled with him.
26	A ka mea mai ia, Tukua ahau, kua takiri hoki te ata. A ka mea atu ia, E kore koe e tukua atu e ahau, kia manaakitia ra ano ahau e koe.	And he said, Let me go, for the day breaketh. And he said, I will not let thee go, except thou bless me.	He said, 'Let me go, for the day is breaking'. But Jacob answered, 'I will not let you go unless you bless me'.
27	A ka mea mai ia ki a ia, Ko wai tōu ingoa? A ka mea atu ia, Ko Hakopa.	And he said unto him, What is thy name? And he said, Jacob.	He then asked, 'What is your name?' 'Jacob', he replied.
28	A ka mea mai ia, Heoi anō kianga ko Hakopa tōu ingoa, engari ko Iharaira: no te mea kua pērā tō mahi ki te Atua ki te tangata me tā te rangatira, a i a koe anō te mutunga.	And he said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel: for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed.	He said, 'Your name shall no longer be Jacob, but Israel, because you have been strong against God, you shall prevail against men'.
29	Na ka ui atu a Hakopa, a ka mea atu, Tēnā rā, kōrerotia mai tōu ingoa. Anō rā ko ia, Na te aha tōku ingoa i uia ai e koe? A ka manaaki ki a ia i reira.	And Jacob asked him, and said, Tell me, I pray thee, thy name. And he said, Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him there.	Jacob then made his request, 'I beg you, tell me your name', but he replied, 'Why do you ask my name?' And he blessed him there.
30	Na huaina ana e Hakopa te ingoa o tēnā wāhi ko Peniere: ***mōku i titiro atu ki te Atua he kanohi ki te kanohi, a i ora anō hoki ahau.*** (Italics and bold my emphasis)	And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel: for ***I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved.*** (Italics and bold my emphasis)	Jacob named the place Peniel, 'Because ***I have seen God face to face'***, *he said* ***'and I have survived'.*** (Italics and bold my emphasis)

The following exegesis from the *Jerusalem Bible* (1966:53, Footnote 32 d) tells of a physical struggle, a wrestling with God from which Jacob seems to emerge as the victor. In it, Jacob recognises the supernatural character of his adversary and exhorts a blessing from him. The text, however, avoids using the name of Yahweh and the unknown antagonist will not give his name. The author has made use of an old story as a means of explaining 'Peniel' (face of God) and the origin of the name Israel. At the same time, he gives the story a religious significance: the patriarch holds fast to God and forces from God a blessing; henceforth it is believed that all who bear Israel's name will have a claim on God. Finally, there is some significance in "I have seen God face to face" or as Kawiti would have studied it, "mōku i titiro atu ki te Atua he kanohi ki te kanohi", because to look upon God was considered death to the person and if he or she survives, it is by special privilege.

Kawiti's oratory, including his mysticism, has all the signs of the above type of exegesis and reflects what Moltmann refers to as a "medium of Christian faith" and implies an "eschatological outlook", which he says, "is a characteristic of all Christian proclamation of Christian experience." (Moltmann cited in Lane 1990:329) After the fighting at Ruapekapeka, Kawiti lived near Henry Williams and family at Pakaraka where he received further instruction in the Christian faith and the Church of England but this was not his only background (Benfell 1992:106). He was involved in the lengthy discourse between Northern rangatira and Christian teachings. Many of his close allies and enemies had already spoken of the Christian faith in positive terms, including his ally at Ruapekapeka, Hone Heke. Before he died he declared himself a Christian, some sources say he was baptised by Henry Williams, on 20th February 1853, just 15 months before he died in May 1854 (Martin 1990a:36; 1990b:31). Kawiti's disposition at the end of his long life, he was said to be 80, is a mix of Māori religious and Christian religious orientations but woven together in a seamless tapestry of ideas, insight and belief. The ōhākī is a ritual event in the life of rangatira in which the power of prophesy, interpreted through dreams, are of both ancient Māori and Christian traditions (cf. Dodds 1965:45 - 52).

However, Kawiti (1990a:219), Te Tapihana and te Wherowhero, like other Māori leaders of their time, were students of their hapū whare wānanga and were recognised as rangatira and tohunga. Kawiti the rangatira was a person with the appropriate whakapapa (genealogy) and the personal qualities and integrity for political, social, and economic leadership of his kinship group. The true mark of a rangatira was their concern for the people. He was a signatory to the 1835 declaration of independence and after some scepticism a signatory to the Māori

version of the Treaty of Waitangi. Kawiti the tohunga was also a recognised authority in the area of metaphysics, religion and philosophy. While the two roles of tribal temporal and spiritual authority were often separated and were the responsibilities of two or more people, Kawiti embodied the attributes and requirements of leadership for both temporal and spiritual worlds. So for nearly all of his adult life Kawiti's worldview was fundamentally shaped within the milieu of traditional Māori religion. This is true of Te Wherowhero and Te Tapihana of Waikato. Thus, while studying and sometimes incorporating Christian insights, ethics, morals and ritual practices as part of their worldview, it cannot be assumed that Māori worldview was somehow subsumed, or obliterated or wiped clean by another view of life. It is highly likely that Christian theology as interpreted by Māori, reinforced traditional worldview contrary to missionary and settler government expectations.

Aylward Shorter (1988) and Lamin Sanneh (1989:208 - 209) show that in the African context early encounters with foreign missionaries and the vernacular translations of catechisms and the Bible often equipped the texts with terms of familiarity of the locals. Further, in favouring the vernacular the process often encouraged the role of the recipient culture as decisive for the final appropriation of the message. The recipient culture determined the value and understandings acquired in the transmission of the new faith and its teachings. What missionaries considered as the significant and important elements of faith and doctrine, the locals may not necessarily recognise them, transmitted in the process of evangelisation, as of the same importance. It is reasonable to argue that the power of the biblical theology and catechetical teaching spoke to Māori but in Māori terms. This may explain, among other factors, the open declaration of commitment to Christian belief after the 1840s that point to a broader, more public acceptance of aspects of Christian theology and ritual practice. However, the caveat remains that acceptance was on Māori terms.

Worldviews are notoriously slow to change; points emphasised by Linton, Jacobs, and Ortiz and are likely to require many generations before there are recognisable transformations as described by Ohnuki-Tierney and Shorter. The historical evidence of the first generation of Māori Christians points to the traditional worldview being maintained and affirmed while slowly broadening (Lineham 1992). Kawiti, Te Wherowhero and Te Tapihana are very good examples of the intellectual adaptive capacity of early mid-nineteenth century Māori leadership. These rangatira and tohunga are representative of the 50 known leaders who declared independence as signatories to the 1835 He Whakaputanga o Te Rangatiranga o Nu Tireni, and the 540 signatories to Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Addendum to Chapter Two - Elsdon Best, Tamati Ranapiri and Tikanga Hau

Elsdon Best, known by Māori as Te Peehi, received in October and November 1907 two separate letters written in Māori language from an informant Tamati Ranapiri of the Ngāti Raukawa people of Manakau near Otaki. Best gathered information on Māori forest lore, its myths, rites, and customs; he referred these as superstitions, and the art of the fowler. Ranapiri and Best corresponded with each other over a number of years, 1894 –1907, on various related matters related to customary practices for bird snaring and killing (Ranapiri MS Papers 1187 Folder 271). Ranapiri had already published with the assistance of Rev J. McWilliam of Otaki a major piece with four pages of illustrations titled, "Ngā Ritenga Hopu Manu a te Māori, o mua" in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Ranapiri 1895:132 – 142). S. Percy Smith translated this in the same edition as "Ancient Methods of Bird-Snaring Amonst the Māori (1895:143 – 152). The article contains details of the methods of catching such birds as kererū, kaka, tui, kakariki, parera, kiwi and kokomako. In January 1895, Ranapiri had made interesting presentations on topics such as mauri, mauri ora and had posed the question on whether the mauri was a stone or something? (Ranapiri MS Papers 1187 Folder 127). The relationship with Ranapiri prompted Best to seek clarification on the religious aspects of bird catching in the forest.

In late 1907, Ranapiri answered seven questions in his first letter of 23rd October in response to Best's enquiry contained in a letter dated 13th September 1907. Best asks Ranapiri to explain the difference between te mauri o te ngāherehere and te hau o te ngāherehere. Ranapiri (1907a:1) in his reply notes the question as follows: "Patai 1. Te mauri o te ngāherehere, me te hau o te ngāherehere." Ranapiri's initial explanations relative to the first letter contains his brilliant and tantalising explication on mauri and hau, which I gloss as two life forces recognised as separate realities yet are so closely linked in effect and power that they can be considered in a symbiotic type of relationship. Ranapiri refers to the "mauri o te ngāherehere" as a karakia, a ritual prayer, "ko te mauri he karakia," chanted by a tohunga at a special place in the forest. In this explanation of a mauri, Ranapiri writes of a physical mauri recognised as a rock, a tree or a hill in which the mauri, the life force, resides and is to be protected from malevolent actions.

Ranapiri then addresses the hau and instructs Best on two customary practices, "e rua ritenga o te hau o te ngāherehere," associated with the hau of the forest. From this foundation of explanation, Ranapiri's musings on the metaphysics of the hau of a person's taonga, glossed as a gift, or a valuable item given to another, were introduced in the second letter dated 23rd

November. Best translated Ranapiri explications into English and these were later to be influential in shaping Marcel Mauss' theories on the spirituality integral to gift exchange and reciprocity. Mauss refers to Ranapiri's writings as a "text capitale" (Mauss1950 [1923-24]:157 - 161; 1990; 1967 [1954]).

Many of Best's questions to Ranapiri seek explanations about the life forces and vital essences, such as mauri, hau and tapu, in the forest environs; about associated sacred places, rituals and the role of religious experts such as tohunga. Other questions enquired about the potency of women and cooked food in affecting the vital forces in animate and inanimate things of the forest; and the ancient art of felling trees, including appropriate karakia; and catching kiore, the native mouse. In succinct explanations, Ranapiri instructs Best on: the mauri and the hau of the forest; the manea, rendered as sacred places where food is placed for atua often with the expectation of continued well-being; the ahurewa, rendered as a sacred place for the performance of a religious ceremony; and the ika purapura.

However, as part of his preparation for publishing on the subject, Best constructed another text with some injudicious and judicious editing, cutting and pasting of extracts. He in effect created another letter, which while attributed to Ranapiri, helps Best present what he considers traditional Māori thought of the late nineteenth century. He published a series of articles under the general title, *Māori Forest Lore: being some Account of Native Forest Lore and Woodcraft, as also of many Myths, Rites, Customs, and Superstitions connected with the Flora and Fauna of the Tuhoe or Ure-wera District* (1909). The Ranapiri material was published in an article titled, "The Lore of the Whare Mātā – The Art of the Fowler" and it was read before the Auckland Institute on 22nd November 1909 and later published in 1910 (Best 1909:440 – 441). However, nowhere does Best warn the reader of his editing and neither does he mention anywhere that he made some significant changes in Ranapiri's grammar. A consequence of the changes is that readers are offered a particular meaning in Best's translation that differs to that of Ranapiri in the vernacular of his written narrative. Best's translations have confused scholarly debate on Ranapiris texts since.

In his 23rd November letter, Ranapiri explained the relationship of the donor's hau to the taonga and therefore the consequence of this relationship for the recipients of the taonga. He wrote two key sentences as follows:

> Na, ko taua taonga i homai nei ki a au, *ko te hau tēnā o tō taonga* i homai rā ki au i mua (1907b:2). (*My italics*)

Now that gift, which was given to me is *your life force in your gift* given to me before (*my italics and translation*).

The second sentence is:

No te mea he hau no *tō taonga* tēnā taonga na (1907b:2) (*my italics*).
This is because *your life force (hau) remained in your gift* given to me (*my italics and translation*).

However, Best made the following changes to pronouns. He replaced "tō taonga with "te taonga" in both the sentences. He then translated these as follows:

Na, ko taua taonga i homai nei ki a au, ko te hau tēnā o te taonga o homai rā ki au i mua
Now that article that he gives to me is the *hau* of the article I first received from you and then gave to him (Best 1909:441, 439).

The second sentence was similar to the first where he changed "tō taonga" to "te taonga":

No te mea he hau no tō taonga tēnā taonga na
Because they are a *hau* of the article you gave me (Best 1909:441, 439).

I was unable to find any explanation of Best's reasons for editing those letters as he did. Either it is a mistake in Best's transcribing from Ranapiri's letter to his notebook. Or, he may have mis-read his own writing. These are unlikely because the two changes occur in the same paragraph of the November letter and in the context of the translation are consistent changes from Best's point of view. Using the definitive "te", the, is natural to an English speaking person. Best may have had this in mind and therefore decided to replace 'tō' with 'te'. Whatever the reason or purpose the change has some significance. Ranapiri's use of 'tō taonga' in the text implies that the 'taonga' is still in the possession (still belongs to) the original donor, even though the physical location of the taonga may be elsewhere. According to Winifred Bauer (1992; 1997:397 – 399), Māori make a fundamental distinction between ownership and what is considered as temporary possession. Temporary possession, says Bauer, is expressed as location in Māori not as possession or as in Ranapiri's case, as ownership. The distinction between ownership and location is not made in English.

It seems to me that Ranapiri is alluding to two distinct hau associated with the taonga in question. The first, is the hau intrinsic to the taonga itself, which is the hau infused at the creation of the taonga. The second hau, and this is what Ranapiri refers to, is the original donor's hau that is associated with his possession or ownership of the taonga. Best's editing out of Ranapiri's possessive pronouns "tō" places emphasis on the hau of the taonga itself and

not on the hau of the possessor. This distinction has caused confusion and debate among international scholars since Marcel Mauss.

I therefore argue that Marcel Mauss' (1950; 1954; 1990) intuitive explication of the meaning and significance of hau has been correct all along. Moreover, it is close to Ranapiri's meaning.

Ranapiri's texts are about the metaphysics of exchange and reciprocity between tangata, humans, and the natural world of ngāhere and the supernatural world of atua and Io Matua Kore, Rangi and Papa. I have transcribed both letters in full, but followed Best in terms of adding full stops and paragraphs. This helps in the reading of the letters and gaining a more complete context in which to understand Ranapiri's narrative on the moral and spiritual forces implicit in obligatory reciprocity in gift exchange, trade and labour and the locating the ownership or source of the of the hau in the taonga.

Tamati Ranapiri, his Letters & Translations

Ranapiri Letters	**Best's Translation of Ranapiri's Two Letters, edited as one letter**	**Mauss' Translation of Best's Translation**	**Biggs' Translation of Best's Version (For Marshall Sahlins 1972:152; 1997)**	**Manuka Henare's Translation of Ranapiri's text**
Na, mo te hau o te ngāherehere (Whāngainga o te *hau* ngāherehere.)	I will now speak of the hau, and the ceremony of whāngai hau	Je vais vous parler du *hau*...	Now concerning the *hau* of the forest.	Now about the life force (*hau*) of the forest, and the (feeding of the forest life force.)
Taua mea te hau, ehara i te mea ko te hau e pupuhi nei	That hau is not the hau (wind) that blows	Le *hau* n'est pas le vent qui soufflé	This hau is not the hau that blows (the wind)	That aforementioned force (hau) is not the wind that blows
Kāore. Māku e āta whakamārama ki a koe. Na, he taonga	not at all. I will carefully explain to you. Suppose that you possess a	Pas du tout. Supposez que vous possédez un	No. I will explain it carefully to you. Now, you have something	Not at all. I will explain it carefully to you. Now, supposing you have a certain
tōu ka hōmai e koe mōku. (Kāore ā tāua whakaritenga utu mo tō taonga).	certain article, and you give that article to me, without price. We make no bargain over it.	Article déterminé (*taonga*) et que vous me donnez sans prix fixé(4). Nous ne faisons pas de marché à ce propos.	valuable which you give to me. We have no agreement about payment.	gift, which you give to me. (We have no agreement about a payment for your gift).

Na, ka hoatu hoki e ahau mo tētehi atu tangata, ā, ka roa	Now, I give that article to a third person, who, after some time	Or, je donne cet article à une troisième personne qui, après qu'un certain temps	Now, I give it to some one else, and, a long time	Now, I give it to some one else, and, after a long time
peā te wā, ā, ka mahara taua tangata kei a ia rā taua taonga	has elapsed, decides to make some return for it, and so	s'est écoulé, décide de rendre quelque chose	passes, and that man thinks he has the valuable,	passes, that person remembers that he has the gift,
kia hōmai he utu ki a au, ā, ka hōmai e ia. Na, ko taua taonga	he makes me a present of some article. Now, that article (taonga)	en paiement (utu) (5), il me fait present	he should give some repayment to me, and so he does so. Now that valuable	and should give some reciprocity (utu) to me, and so he does. Now that gift (taonga),
i hōmai nei ki a au, ko te hau tēnā o tō taonga i	that he gives to me is the hau (te hau) of the article I first received from	de quelque chose (*taonga*). Or, ce ō qu'il me	which was given to me, that is the hau of the valuable	which was given to me, is your life force (tō hau) in your gift
hōmai ra ki a au I mua. Ko taua taonga me hoatu e ahau ki	you and then gave to him. The goods that I received for that item I	lui ai donné à lui.Les *taonga* que j'ai reçus pour ces *taonga*	which was given to me before. I must	given to me before. The aforementioned gift I must
a koe. E kore rawa e tika kia kaiponutia e ahau mōku;	must hand over to you. It would not be right for me to keep such goods for myself,	(venus de vous) il faut que je vous les rendre. Il ne serait pas juste (tika)	give it to you. It would not be correct to keep it for myself,	give it to you. It would not be correct to keep it for myself
ahakoa taonga pai rawa, taonga kino rānei, me tae rawa	whether they be desirable items or otherwise. I must	qu'ils soient désirables (rawa), ou désagréables (kino). Je dois	whether it be something good, or bad, that valuable must be	irrespective of whether it is something good, or bad, the gift must be
taua (taonga) i a au ki a koe. No te mea he hau no tō	hand them over to you, because they are a hau (te hau) of the	vous les donner car ils sont un *hau*(6) du	given to you from me. Because that valuable is a *hau* of the	given to you from me. This is because your life force (he hau) belongs to your
taonga tēnā taonga na. Ki te mea ka kaiponutia e ahau taua taonga	article you gave me. Were I to keep such equivalent	taonga que vous m'avez donné. Si je conservais ce deuxième *taonga*	other valuable. If I should hang onto that valuable	gift (tō taonga) given to me. If I were to keep that gift
mōku, ka mate ahau.	for myself, then some serious evil would befall me, even death.	pour moi, il pourrait m'en venir du mal, sérieusement, même la mort.	for myself, I will become mate.	for myself, I could as a consequence die.

Koina taua mea te hau, (hau taonga, hau ngāherehere).	Such is the hau, the hau of personal property, or the forest hau.	Tel est le *hau*, le *hau* de la propriété personnelle, le *hau* des taonga, le *Hau* de la forêt..	So that is the hau – hau of valuables, hau of forests.	So this thing the life force that generates/motivates reciprocity is the force of valuable things, it is the life force of forests.
Kāti ēnā.	*Enough on these points.*	*Kāti ēnā*. (Assez sur ce sujet.)	So much for that.	So much for that.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PHENOMENON OF THE MĀORI NATION
HE WHENUA RANGATIRA

Introduction

During a somewhat wet and stormy week in late October 1835, a group of concerned local and travelling rangatira responded to an invitation to meet with James Busby the British Resident. The rangatira met with a person whom they considered a senior foreign political adviser to them. They gathered on the front lawn of Agnes and James's house, as they were used to doing since 1833, where they would sleep in the open and debate with James, important issues of the day. Many of the rangatira, Te Morenga, Taiamai, Heke, Pomare, Kiwikiwi, Moetara, and Waikato, and probably the following - Waka Nene, Patuone, Rewa, Moka, Warerahi, Kawiti, Titore Takiri, Kekeao, Taonui, Matangi, Te Haara, Te Reweti Atuahaere, Tareha, Pumuka, Panakareao, Papahia and Tirarau - had gathered at a similar event 19 months earlier on Thursday 20th March 1834. On this occasion, with Busby's guidance and in the midst of British pomp and civility, some twenty-five rangatira and hundreds of supporters selected "te kara" (Von Hügel 1834:432, 433, 438; Lee 1983:177), their first national flag for Nu Tireni. New Zealand, already known internationally in the English-speaking world by this name, was rendered in Māori as either Nu Tirani or Nu Tireni (Busby MS 46 1834:139; cf. Von Hügel 1834:449, 450).

Acting on the instructions of the New South Wales Governor, Busby called the assembly of chiefs to enact a law to prevent Charles Baron de Thierry, the self-styled French "King of Nukuheva and sovereign chief of New Zealand" from gaining a foothold. This particular assembly was one of many convened since Busby's arrival in 1833 where he took the opportunity to progress his own idea that Māori leaders ought to "act in concert" (Busby to Ellic, 22nd June 1833, MS 46) for the well being of their people. While the perceived Thierry-French scare was a British ploy aimed at ensuring Māori dependency on the goodwill of the British it is not altogether clear, from Māori sources, what weight if any rangatira gave to the alarmists.

In this chapter, I explore the dynamic of Māori metaphor in political, economic and social processes over time until 1840. Different phenomenological approaches are used in this chapter as well as history, philosophy and philosophical anthropology. The main aim in the first part of this chapter is to discuss Māori motives and understandings for their active

participation in these new types of public gatherings, which rangatira in and around the Bay of Islands accorded some priority, especially those convened at Waitangi with the British Resident.

Māori Metaphor – Marae, Kaipuke

The late October gathering in Busby's space was the climax of a series of events involving practical day-to-day political and longer-term economic and social issues. And, in the process, they established an identity of themselves as a distinctive people in relation to the world at large, namely Australia, the wider Pacific and the new European worlds. Incorporated in this emergent national identity was the sense of belonging to a nation and a state in the making. Meeting with Busby, the rangatira agreed to the formation of a "Whakaminenga o Ngā Hapū", a phrase glossed by Busby as a confederation of hapū, was the culmination of a series of events acknowledging the identity of Māori in relation to the world and defining themselves as a nation. In entering Busby's cultural space the rangatira crossed a boundary into a liminal state (cf. Barlow 1991:182 – 185), which is a "step neither inside nor outside but in-between" (Denning 1980:157), a taumata in Northern Māori dialect, but known in other regions as paepae, wherein was another world. In that world, a new way of looking at the reality of economics and politics was possible, all of course on a grander scale to that which they were used to.

In many ways, the British Residence functioned like a marae and would explain why rangatira from all over Nu Tireni were comfortable meeting in the space. Such marae became places of encounter between Māori and Pākehā and were a metaphor similar to the "islands and beaches" described in Greg Dening's (1980:3) illuminating ethnohistory of the Marquesas Islands of East Polynesia. For Dening the Marquesan metaphor is the model around which a history is found, rather than the historian's model of history, and within which a Marquesan history is constructed. The beaches of the Marquesas were the neutral zones of encounter where strangers could meet and cross over into different worlds and return later to their own. In the crossing over and back again, nothing would be the same after the encounter. Following Dening's reflections on history, anthropology and methodology I discuss two Māori metaphors, the marae and the kaipuke. The first metaphor is a model of decision-making and exchange, and the sailing ship metaphor is a Māori model of society, the nation or the state.

In early nineteenth-century Māori society, the marae complex of land and buildings was a formal institution. In addition, one could be constituted in any place considered convenient to Māori. A marae, says Kawharu (1987:12), was a place of consultation, a forum for debate where binding decisions might be reached "by sanctions on trust and credibility, sanctions of ridicule or hostility or rejection." "For political purposes," he says, "any piece of ground would suffice as a marae, given an appropriate identification of the political group."

Wi Tako created such a marae in 1839 when on the Pito-one beach in Port Nicholson (Wellington) he decided to welcome a shipload of Pākehā settlers who had arrived as part of the New Zealand Company's settler colonisation scheme. Rather than remove his people who were working on the beach surrounds to their formal marae setting further inland Wi drew a line in the sand to mark the paepae. Gathering his people on one side, he indicated to the strangers that they remain on the other side of the line in the sand. Whaikōrero, the ritualised speech making of orators, were made and a haka given. Thus were some of the early settlers to Wellington formally welcomed to these islands. The institution of the marae was a place of encounter between locals and visitors, the living and the dead – a timeless place where matters were considered and deeds done according to ritual. As Salmond (1983:32) describes it, these places of encounter were "beginnings and ends", "frontiers and boundaries."

At Waitangi the house and property was James' and Agnes' cultural space, a little piece of Scotland that they called home. The Busby home overlooked Māori space called Te Moana i Pikopiko i Whiti, which is the ancient name of the inland harbour and its many bays, beaches and inlets spread out across the whole area. The foreigners called it the Bay of Islands and its transliterated Māori term is Pewhairangi. Te Moana i Pikopiko i Whiti also refers to the beachfront on the Pacific island called Wawauatea at Rangiatea. This, the Ngāpuhi tradition is the original Hawaiki homeland of Māori (E. Henare 2001). Wawauatea was the island beach from which Kupe's canoe, and later many other canoes, were launched to start the crossing of Te Moanui a Kiwa and the ancestral search for Aotearoa (cf. Simmonds 1976:31, 210, 212). Sir James Henare refers to this earthly Hawaiki in his meta-history discussed in Chapter One of this thesis.

Te Moana i Pikopiko i Whiti was the breeding ground akin to a tropical eco-system of warm water in which fish spawned in the shallows. The sea-children of Tangaroa grew in this natural sanctuary before leaving the safety of the harbour for the deeper coastal waters and the open expanses of Te Moana Nui a Kiwa, the Great Ocean of Kiwa, but known to the English

European world as the Pacific Ocean. The bay, and its beaches and islands, was already internationally famous for dolphin, marlin, whales and bird life aplenty (Department of Conservation 1989).

Standing on the small round grass lawn in front of house and porch the rangatira could, gazing slightly to their right see across to the other side of the harbour towards the town and grog shops of Kororāreka, aptly called Hell by the missionaries (Markham 1963:63). To their left they could see the jutting, rocky Tapeka peninsular past which the whaling, trading and military ships would enter the safe haven of an inland resting place for both ships and their crews. On top of the cliffs sat Tapeka Pā, a strategic security sentinel with clear views along both the northern and eastern coastlines of the outer Pewhairangi bay. From within the pā the guardian could look directly ahead in an easterly direction to the horizon of Te Moana Nui a Kiwa. The white masted sailing ships, which Māori described as kaipuke because they appeared to be like floating hills of food, delivered their produce and other products for Māori and Pākehā consumers. Kaipuke were not considered waka, which were the traditional canoe and the only other means of sea transport of Māori (Nahe 1894:233, 235). On their outward journey from Pewhairangi, kaipuke were loaded with fresh vegetables, timber and other commodities. Ninety-one British colonial, American and Tahitian ships had arrived in 1834 and 89 the year earlier of which 31 and 20 were trading vessels respectively. Eighteen thirty-five also looked prosperous with the arrival and departure of 103 kaipuke, followed with 151 in 1836, 108 in 1837, 133 in 1838 and 155 in 1839 (See Table 3.1).

Table 3.1

The Number of Visits by Vessels to the Bay of Islands, 1833-1839.

	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838a	1839b	1839c
British and Colonial								
British Warships	2	3	2	2	2	3		}
British Colonial Vessels	2	1				3		}
British Whaling Vessels	23	23	20	25	20	15		}19
British Trading Vessels	6	2	3	2	5	3		}
NSW d Whaling Vessels	16	30	25	35	15	12	15	
NSW Trading Vessels	18	10	21	25	13	12	34	
VDL e Whaling Vessels	4	3	3	4	2	1	1	
VDL Trading Vessels	1	3	1			1		52
British-American Whaling Vessels		1	1		2	1		
Total	72	76	76	93	59	51	71	71

Foreign								
American Whaling Vessels	11	10	18	49	44	57		}
American Trading Vessels	4	4	8	5	1	1		}59
Tahitian trading Vessels	2	1	1	1	1	2		}
French Whaling Vessels				3	3	18		}
French Warships						3		}20
Dutch Warships						1		5 f
Total	17	15	27	58	49	82	84	84
Total of all vessels	89	91	103	151	108	133	155	155
*Total trading vessels	31	20	34	33	20	19	34	
Percent of NSW vessels that were trading vessels	57	25	54	41	46	50	69	

* total trading vessels in source summed incorrectly – correct totals in text.

a. Full details of vessels for 1838 are given in John D. Long, *New Zealand in 1839*. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1839) pp.91-94.
b. Busby does not give full details for 1839 (Tapp, *Early New Zealand*, p.177).
c. A.J. Harrop, *England and New Zealand* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1920), p. 107.
d. NSW = New South Wales
e. VDL + Van Damiens Land (Tasmania).
f. Category title is "other", which would include Dutch and Tahitian vessels (Id).

Source: James Busby to the Governor of New South Wales (except where noted), in Tapp (1958:17)

Many of the rangatira had already sailed aboard these floating hills and when looking at them as they glided in and out of the 1830s Māori world of Pewhairangi they were imagined as a community with a captain to steer it. The kaipuke became a potent Māori metaphor for nationhood and sovereignty during the 1830s and 1840s, illustrated by Nopera Panakareao's usage of metaphor in May 1840 while summing at the Kaitaia signings of the Tiriti o Waitangi. He said:

> We have now a Helmsman, before everyone wished to steer the helm, one said let me steer, another said let me steer, and we never went straight (Taylor MS Vol. 1, p.352; see also Wards 1968:49; Ballara 1990:326).

In addition, many had first had experience in trade with foreign vessels and knew of the value that such business bought to their respective kainga. The value of trade was of extraordinary levels. In a seven-year period 1826 to 1833, exports from Nu Tireni to New South Wales alone, totalled £531, 403. While the imports from New South Wales totalled only £164, 083 (see Table 3.2). Historically advantaged, Māori could not know the vagaries of European market forces and impacts on local whānau-hapū and regional economies, such as the Bay of Islands and the North Auckland. Neither were they aware of the overall national effects of the trade on the country. However, based on what they experienced in the period the future

looked very promising and the response to the new commercial activities was optimistic. They had no way of knowing otherwise.

Table 3.2

New Zealand Trade with New South Wales (Excluding Fisheries)

Year	Value of Exports to New South Wales	Value of Imports from New South Wales	Vessels to New South Wales		Vessels from New South Wales	
			Number	Tons	Number	Tons
1826	£ 30,000	£ 1,735				
1827	63,000	4,926				
1828	125,862	4,845				
1829	135,486	12,692				
1830	60,356	15,597				
1831	68,804	60,354				
1832	47,895	63,934				
1833						
1834						
1835	35,542	39,914				
1836	32,155	36,184	41	5,430	36	4,709
1837	42,886	39,528	36	5,480	45	6,721
1838	53,943	46,926	38	4,291	39	5,358
1839	71,707	95,173	51	8,368	81	13,581
1840	54,192	215,486	68	13,123	83	17,111
1841	45,659	114,980	48	7,601	80	14,607
1842	37,246	131,784	81	14,085	78	13,080

Source: Thomson 1859 Vol. II:324.

James and Agnes had settled in their space and had already developed vegetable and flower gardens but also took to planting additional trees among the existing native species. Two rows of tii kouka (*Cordylis Australis*) commonly referred to as cabbage trees were planted soon after their arrival about 100 yards to the left in front of the house. Within the trees was their garden. One tradition has it that they were planted to shelter a vineyard but it may also have formed an ornamental border to the gravel path surrounding the garden. In 2001 I stood in these grounds imagining the 1830s, the tii kouka remain standing as elder sentinels to a Scottish family plot and a sacred meeting place of tūpuna, the ancestral leaders. The plants reflected the couple's passion for viticulture and botany including grapevines, fruit trees, vegetables and a nursery of native seedlings.

In a Māori sense the Scottish family house and porch, with its lawn and gardens laid out in front of it overlooking the waters, was the British Resident's marae. Moreover, rangatira treated the place as such whenever they gathered individually or collectively to meet with

Puhipi, as Māori named James. He and his wife created a unique cultural space wherein stood their whare tupuna, an ancestral house containing cultural artefacts and mementos of their respective Scottish and English ancestors and past. The marae ātea, the clear grass space lying before the whare, was an environment where leaders met to discuss debate, make decisions of significance, and seek a meeting of minds.

In Busby's cultural space, rangatira gathered to consider proposals of extraordinary complexity involving shifting horizons of opportunity and anxiety. At the end of intensive and lively discussion, a group of rangatira reached a consensus and a document in Māori language was prepared thus closing proceedings on the 28th October. On this day, Northern Māori leaders declared that they and their people were free and independent. In their agreement to form a Whakaminenga o Ngā Hapū, a new cultural institution, they decided they must act in a collective capacity, and on this basis declared their position and intent. They reinforced their claim to the mana of the islands for Māori people.

Early nineteenth-century rangatira had an understanding of sovereignty, which is about the locus of power itself. This understanding is inferred in the term mana. The rangatira written evidence shows that the English notion of sovereignty is rendered in Māori in two phrases, the first in a way new to Māori thinking of the time and the second, represented a traditional Māori political understanding of power and the exercise of it. The Māori language text of the Declaration of Independence refers to the authority and power of the Māori leaders to act and speak as, "Ko te kīngitanga, ko te mana i te wenua" (see Clause 2 Addendum at the end of the chapter). Busby and Henry Williams rendered these as sovereignty, power and authority. "Kīngitanga" is glossed as sovereignty. The second phrase, "Ko te mana i te wenua" needs explication as the translation simply as power and authority is inadequate and does not capture the subtlety and nuances implicit in the phrase. It refers to the mana intrinsic and infused in the land, which flows directly from it to the rangatira. The whenua gives to rangatira the mana and is the basis upon which they must act as custodians and defenders of the land and its mana. Busby and Williams translate the phrase as all "power and authority within the territories" but in their translation, they address only the effects of the mana i.e. power and authority. The literal translation does not identify the source of the mana intrinsic in the land. The phrase in Māori is more subtle and extensive, 'ko te mana i te whenua', refers to the source of the mana, which is the land and ultimately the source of mana itself which is that of Papatuanuku and Ranginui to Io Matua Kore.

For Busby, this became the political basis for the Māori claim of sovereignty, nationhood and statehood as understood in the writing's of the renowned Swiss jurist Emerich de Vattel (1916 [1758]) in *Droit des Gens.* Translated as, *The Law on Nations* it was published in two volumes in London in 1760. A new corrected translation was published in London in 1793 and later in the United States in 1805 (Burns 1989:71). Busby illustrated de Vattel's principles regarding the retention of sovereignty while being in a protectorate relationship with another independent state. He spoke to the rangatira of the Ionian people and a treaty between the European allies respecting the sovereignty of the Ionian Islands (Jervis 1852:291 – 295; Orkney (George W.H. Fitzmaurice) Earl of, 1864 Vol. I:293 – 298).

However, for the rangatira, their statement on mana-sovereignty asserted a metaphysical and moral entitlement over the land based upon natural inheritance through the five great principles of land tenure. The first, taunaha whenua, (the bespeaking of land) gained through discovery. The second principle of entitlement is whenua raupatu, which involved conquest and the ability to hold the land. Whakapapa, the genealogical connexions to the land is the third principle, followed by the fourth, ahi kā roa, (long-burning-fires) meaning constant occupation, including residence on the land, working the cultivations, hunting, bird snaring and fishing on or near the land (Parker 1978:170 – 171). The fifth principle is known as ringa kaha, which is the defence of entitlement to occupation. Simply put no-one is strong enough to kick the people off the land.

What is observed is a convergence of principles between those of Māori and Emerich de Vattel but more on this point later. However, without knowing it Māori leaders followed de Vattel and others in articulating what Paul McHugh might describe as a constitutionalist belief. According to McHugh (1986:28) the constitutionalists in the Anglo discourse, held that:

> ...where (and for whatever reason) man came together in political society, that is organized and co-operative association, the group assumed a corporate identity so conferring the 'natural attribute' of inherent authority over its own members.

Māori leaders of the 1830s did not or could not locate mana in one person but were able to recognise the collective mana of a gathering of rangatira who met for a specific purpose. This idea, follows the assertion of sovereignty and mana, "Ko te Kīngitanga, ko te mana i te wenua" is expressed as "ka meatia nei kei ngā tino Rangatiratanga anake i tō mātou huihuinga," which Busby and Williams gloss as "declared to reside entirely and exclusively in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes in their collective capacity." However, a better

translation is as follows: [The sovereignty (Kīngitanga) and the mana from the land of the Confederation of Nu Tireni] are here declared to belong solely to the true leaders (Tino Rangatira) of our gathering in common. The leaders state that their collective mana, and therefore sovereignty, is located in the land (mana i te whenua) and its people, therefore they reject the English notion that sovereignty is vested in one person or a parliament.

Prompted and informed by Busby, the rangatira proclaimed Nu Tireni as, "he whenua rangatira", which is rendered as the most noble of land. Busby and Williams gloss it as "an independent state." In other words, the idea that the country considered in this way is the highest expression of mana. In effect, in accepting the usage of the expression mana i te wenua, the gathered leaders made explicit what was already implicit. In rangatira minds, the islands belonged to Māori through taunaha whenua, whakapapa, raupatu whenua, ahi kā roa and ringa kaha. The principle of taunaha whenua is implicit in the naming of the islands. The whenua had many names one being the great fish of Māui, Te Ika a Māui (North Island), also named by Kupe and his wife as Aotearoa, and then yet again named Nu Tireni (New Zealand). Whatever the name it remained Māori land and milieu. The assertion of a collective mana over the islands was an old value expressed in a new idiom, the idiom of nascent international law and politics.

The extraordinary political event of 28th October 1835 would in the life of any modern nation state be celebrated as a milestone of achievement. However, for much of the first and second halves of the twentieth century it is a silent part of mana Māori history as the treaty discourse became dominant. Moreover, in settler political and constitutional historiography of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it has been often ignored, simply denigrated or dismissed as irrelevant to New Zealand history and by definition it is assumed to include Māori historiography. Arthur Thomson described the declaration process as, "the absurdity of the whole affair", judging it not in terms of Māori agency, but he is aghast also at the idea that Māori would be capable of appreciating its significance (1859:277 - 278). Pember Reeves referred to the Declaration gathering as "this comical scheme" for a "congress, legislation, magistrates and other machinery of civilisation for a race of savages still plunged in bloodshed" (1998 [1898]:133).

In explaining the phenomenon of the making of a Māori nation, it is important to consider the understandings that Māori and European brought to the encounters and to acknowledge that different worldviews were present. Following a Heidegerrian approach, this chapter will

explore the pre-understandings of Māori through a discussion of society, its economy and the emerging view of nation.

Understandings of Nu Tireni the Māori Nation

Two understandings of the idea of a nation are considered in this chapter. The first understanding embodies the natural human tendency to want to form a nation. This implies that identifying as a nation expresses a desire to, and is a means of, controlling and managing their affairs. The second understanding involves eighteenth and nineteenth-century political ideas on the nation and the state. Both understandings have ethical, economic and juridical implications.

Both metaphysical and genetic understandings of the natural basis of being born into and belonging to a nation make it possible for a fresh consideration of Māori motivations in the first half of the nineteenth century, particularly in the 1800 to 1840s. On the fundamentals of the concept of nation three apparently diverse authorities are considered; a philosopher, a geneticist and sociologists.

The idea and possibilities of nation is found in its parent term 'nature,' which is derived from the Latin, *nätus* and *nätüra,* meaning that which is born, made, and that which is destined by nature, or formed or constituted by nature (Smith 1933 [1855]:454, 455; see *Chambers Dictionary of Etymology* 2000:696). The idea that the nation is natural to being human was recently articulated in a philosophical discourse at the 50th General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation on 5th October 1995. Pope John Paul II, a philosopher and leader of the Catholic Church, spoke to the Assembly on the rights of nations and how the tension between the particular and the universal is immanent in human beings. The word 'nation', he said, is derived from the root term *näscï,* to be born into. From these Latin terms derive the idea that the primary nation within which a human being is born is the family, he said. When considered philosophically and anthropologically, "by virtue of sharing in the same human nature, people automatically feel they are members of one great family," which he said could be considered a nation. Further, every other subsequent group to which the person belongs, says John Paul II, is considered a nation, "the whole of their ethnic and cultural group, which is called, not by accident, a 'nation'." Inherent in membership of a nation are the moral, political, economic and cultural rights and duties that flow to each person and the groups constituting the nation. This natural law exposition of natural groupings for solidarity, identity and strong sense of personal worth in

community is close to that inferred in Māori philosophy and elaborated in the social organisations constructed over time and in history.

I turn now to the geneticist Steve Jones (1996:vii, viii) who in his book, *In the Blood* considers the idea that destiny is inborn and its linkage to the root meaning of nature and nation.

> Genetics is, at last, like Germany, ready to stop apologizing for its past.... My title *In the Blood* turns on the widespread conviction that destiny is inborn. That belief began long before science. The term 'nature' itself derives from the Latin *nätus*, that which is born, 'nation' from the same root. The Latin sanguis gave rise to the English 'sanguine'; hopeful and confident. Originally, though, it meant not just blood, but family, race and descent

According to Tom Nairn (1997:13), "The discovery of the intimate structures of living heredity" through genetic research and other projects such as the Human Genome project makes it possible to "understand the materiality of descent in ways not available to previous generations." Nairn in his discourse on nationalism, particularly Scottish nationalism, and its diversity of applications argues that both Darwinism and social Darwinism were founded on simple ignorance and that it is now possible to look at linkages in more informed ways. He says, "Any new paradigm depends on establishing a plausible link between biology and kinship on one hand, and the world of political nation-states and resurgent nationality on the other." In addition, from the fundamentals of the linkage between *nätus*, *näscï* and nation and the impact of modernity, he says the linkage to nationalism is made. Nairn thus challenges the view of Ernst Gellner (1983; 1987) that nationalism produces the nation, instead arguing that the nation informs nationalism. The discussion about whether nationalism produces nations or whether the nation gives birth to its nationalism is continued later in the chapter.

There are two aspects to my thinking in this thesis. My argument is that the Māori nation conceived in the womb of Māori metaphysics was born when necessity induced it. The consequent nationalism expressed itself in active involvement in transforming political, economic and social events in the early-mid nineteenth-century. It is essentially a "primordialist" case. As David McCrone (1998:10) says, "nations are primordial entities embedded in human nature and history which can be identified through distinctive cultures expressed by way of language, religion and culture." However, McCrone says, for the 'modernists' who are in the ascendancy at the moment, "nationalism is a cultural and

political ideology of 'modernity', a crucial vehicle in the Great Transformation from traditionalism to industrialism, and in particular the making of a modern state."

There is every reason to argue that in the dominant New Zealand discourse on nation and state, Māori agency gains little credence in the period under discussion. Rather, settler historiography ascribes agency for the founding of the modern nation state first in British initiatives represented in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi and second in Māori cession of sovereignty in perpetuity. Table 3.3 lists some historians and commentators who write in favour of cession; and others who suggest that while cession took place it was not what Māori intended; finally, a group of tribal historians and other historians and commentators have recorded that either their respective rangatira did not cede sovereignty, or that Māori did not cede.

A second way of looking at forces influencing Māori leadership of the early-mid nineteenth-century involves the notion of the imagined community or communities (cf. Belich 1996:85, Footnote 63), which is a modernist view. In this view, nations are imagined entities in which nineteenth-century political ideas of the nation and the state are critiqued also. In the 'anthropological spirit' of Benedict Anderson (1991 [1983]:15 & Footnote 9), one of the modernists, the nation is:

> ...an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

Table 3.3

Historians and Commentators on Cession or no Cession of Sovereignty by Rangatira

Cession intended or took place	
Thomson 1859 Vol. II:2	Cession occurred and cites Emmerich Vattel, p.23, on unclaimed country
Swainson 1859:379	Cession
Rusden 1975 [1888]:4 – 5	Cession
Reeves 1998 [1898]:145	Cession
Buick 1976 [1914]:163, 279	Cession
Shrimpton and Mulgan 1921:91	Cession
Harrop 1926:139	Cession
Rutherford 1949:65	Cession
Condliffe 1954:62	Cession
Waters 1956	1840, established British sovereignty
McLintoch 1958:61	Cession
Tapp 1958:131	Cession
Wright 1959:187	Cession
Ngata 1963	Cession
Wards 1968:43	Cession
Sinclair 1980 [1959]:7- - 73; 1984:28	Cession

Lambourne 1988	Cession
Binney 1989:26; 1990a:70; 1990b:27	Cession likely
Walker 1990	Cession
Doubt that cession by Māori was intended	
Wilkes 1845 Vol.II: 375 – 376	No cession by Pomare and others
Pompallier in McKeefrey1938:123 – 125; 1840	Cession took place but it was not the Māori intention
Vaggioli 2000 [1896]:98	Deception took place, no Māori cession
Turner 1986:88, 100	Cites Louis-Catherin Servant
Belich 1990:75	Nominal sovereignty kept but British got cession
No Cession Intended	
Kelly 1986 [1949]:426	No cession by Te Wherowhero
Grace 1992 [1959]:238; Kelly 1949:426	No cession by Te Heuheu Mananui
Stafford 1967:347	Cession doubtful while acknowledging the mana of Queen Victoria
Ward 1973:42	No intention of surrendering mana
Orange 1987:46 – 59; 1990:43	No cession intended
Henare, Sir James 1987:13; cited in Kelsey 1990:8 – 11	No sovereignty ceded, No cession
Kawharu 1991:576	No cession of rangatiratanga or mana intended
Williams, J. 1991:190 – 197	Not ceded but redistributed
Durie 1991:157.	It is doubtful whether Māori saw themselves as ceding sovereignty

Anderson cites Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States. An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (1977:5):

> All I can say is that a nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation, or behave as if they have formed one.

Following Seton-Ward, Anderson argues that 'consider themselves' may be translated as 'imagine themselves'. It is 'imagined', says Anderson, because while all those who are members of a nation may never know every one in it or meet them they have in their minds an image of their communion. He suggests three criteria in the idea of nation as imagined; it is limited, sovereign and a community. The nation is imagined as 'limited', says Anderson, because it has finite and somewhat flexible boundaries beyond which are other nations. Further, a nation is imagined as 'sovereign' because the concept came from the turmoil of the European Enlightenment and revolution when the legitimacy of divinely ordained and hierarchical kingdoms was being destroyed. Finally, it is imagined as a 'community' when, irrespective of any inequality or exploitation that may be at hand, the nation is always seen as a "deep, horizontal comradeship." For Anderson (1991 [1983]:16), it is intimately a brotherhood and sisterhood.

Pre and early-mid nineteenth-century Māori saw themselves as a nation in a number of ways. The beginnings of the sense of the belonging to a social group greater than that of a primary group lay in the evolution of the culture and the agency of Māori in coping with the ever-increasing needs and aspirations of the culture and environment. There was an inbred sense of kotahitanga and whānaungatanga, of solidarity and of belonging to a place and a people. Kinship ties linked individuals and human groups to the ancestral atua children of Papatuanuku and Ranginui, both physical and metaphysical worlds were one in the Māori mind.

Oral tradition, popularly expressed as "ngā mahi a ngā tūpuna," informed Māori that Māui the Polynesian explorer and fisher extraordinaire fished the islands now known as Nu Tireni from the depths of the great ocean of Kiwa, Te Moana Nui a Kiwa. In this tradition, the metaphorical understandings are powerful. The north island is the giant fish of Māui, "te ika a Māui," and the south island is the canoe of Māui, "te waka a Māui". This imagery continues today in contemporary haka, song and speech making and invokes pride and a strong spirit of whānaungatanga and kotahitanga to a nation with a history and a culture.

However, in the early-mid nineteenth-century, another politically and economically powerful metaphor emerges in the heavily populated regions of Tai Tokerau, Waikato and Ahuriri (Hawkes Bay). The metaphor is Nu Tireni. In October 1831 a gathering of thirteen Ngāpuhi leaders boldly signed a letter to King William IV in London in which they signed off as "ngā Rangatira o te Iwi Māori o Niu Tireni" (NA CO 201/221), glossed as the leaders of the Māori people of New Zealand. Later in October 1835 a much larger grouping of Tai Tokerau leaders asserted in *He W[h]akaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni* (see Clause 1) that the islands of Māui constituted Māori territory named Nu Tireni. From 1835 to 1839, additional support for the agenda of the declaration came from Waikato and Ahuriri (Hawkes Bay). Collectively, the rangatira spoke of Nu Tireni as their land and country, rendered in the vernacular as "tō mātou whenua."

The possessive pronoun "tō mātou", glossed as our or ours, is revealing. In Chapter 2 (see Addendum to Chapter 2), I outlined the linguistic significance of the possessive pronoun "tō" with reference to "tō taonga" where issues of possession and location of the taonga are important in Māori thinking. "Possession in Māori is extremely complex", says Winifred Bauer (1997:390). Possessive pronouns are divided, as general a rule, into two categories in which a choice is made between the "o" form and the "a" form. The "o" form is used

with things inherited such as: qualities, transport, clothing, buildings, and water for drinking, people in authority, organisations to which one belongs and land and country. The "a" form is used with things produced by one's own effort such as: movable property, food, tools, husband, wife, children, or animals not used for transport (Ryan 1995:12 – 13; cf. Bauer 1997:390 – 391; cf. Williams 1975 [1844]:1, 237).

In "tō mātou whenua" usage, it is rendered as, our land. The rangatira confidently state that the whenua, the land and resources of the islands, are in the possession or ownership of Māori leadership. There is no issue with location of the possession, because it is not gifted to any other person, persons, or authorities. Acting as kaitiaki, which is their guardianship role, the whenua is the land and resources of Nu Tireni are considered in a collective sense. An alternative expression might have been "ō mātou whenua", which is the plural form of "tō mātou whenua", and refers to 'our tribal lands'. This latter expression refers to both the possession and location of separate tribal lands to which each rangatira is associated and where each is a kaitiaki over their particular tribal area. The use of the possessive pronouns, which affirms whenua possession, coupled with the emergent metaphorical model of society in "kaipuke," points to a nascent collective consciousness of self as nation. Both the linguistic meanings and embryonic metaphors are compelling evidence of a transformation in thinking and vision. Later in this chapter another powerful and closely related metaphor around the notion of "kainga", as meaning home, living environment and country, is explored.

It is well to recall that from the British Crown's view, New Zealand was the already the recognised international name of the islands. In Captain James Cook's instructions from the Admiralty (1769), he was to visit, "the land discover'd by Tasman and called New Zealand" (cited in Begg and Begg 1969:3). This implies that in the British mindset possession of New Zealand was in the hands of Māori.

Upon encounter with the world of colonial Australia and Europe, the Māori sense of nation is reinforced and enhanced. As strangers, Pākehā begin recognising the Māori nation and treating its leadership with deference and respect.

Economic Change, the Economy of Mana and the Imagined Community

Economic changes and transformations were also a significant part of the dynamic towards the articulation of nationhood. In the following outline of the economic history of Māori, I

bring together key insights of five major works by Karl Polanyi, Goran Hyden, William Schaniel, Raymond Firth and Dorothy Urlich. The first work provides a general theoretical framework of economics through which early-mid nineteenth-century Māori economics can be understood. Karl Polanyi's world economic history, with specific reference to the Pacific and Māori evidence shows that Pacific tribal economies do not fit the economic man model (as espoused by proponents of Adam Smith) and therefore have economies, which are embedded in their societies. Therefore, following from Chapter 2, the economy is embedded in the religion, and its values and ethics contained in the religious system. These inform the functioning of the economy.

The other four works are more particularly related to Māori economic understandings of the early-mid nineteenth-century; Hyden by comparison with African groups and Schaniel, Firth and Urlich through direct study. Following Chapter 2, my discussion of these four works will address the adaptive capabilities of Māori economics as a function of Māori thought.

Polanyi's notion of the embedded economy is sustained in the work of Goran Hyden (1980), who argues that tribal economies have their own modes of production that are driven by the ethics and values of their societies and not necessarily the self-regulating markets of capitalism. Hyden's work on the economies of West African societies, which he describes as 'economies of affection', has application to the Pacific particularly in Nu Tireni. Elsewhere, I have argued that the Māori economy can be defined as an economy of affection with its own mode of production, which consisted of the mobilisation of kinship ties for food production and associated social services (M. Henare 1995:215 - 216). The economy of affection may also be considered as an economy of mana.

William Schaniel's (1985) important economic history titled, *The Māori and the Economic Frontier: An Economic History of the Māori of NZ, 1769-1840* is currently the only Māori economic history available. However, it can be contrasted with Raymond Firth's (1972 [1929]) seminal work on the economic anthropology of Māori economics. Schaniel emphasises the agency aspect of Māori involvement in trade with the outside world, and the changes bought about by the introduction and use of new technologies and ideas. However, he offers evidence to show that in acquiring European technology through transactions, Māori did not necessarily acquire European values of appropriate use. In other words, Māori did not conceive of the introduced technology in a European scientific

framework but rather used the new technologies - iron tools, white potatoes - within Māori frameworks. His explanation is consistent with the Jacobs' schema of levels of culture and cultural change discussed in Chapter Two, namely that technological changes do not necessarily lead to changes in fundamental values and worldview.

Schaniel provides also a good economic historian's critique of the fourth work, Raymond Firth (1972 [1929]) on Māori Economics, in which Firth argued that, "on the whole the organization of economic activity remained singularly unimpaired." In Firth's economic anthropology of the Māori economy, change is little acknowledged or explained. Neither are there references to the massive migrations and the consequent disruptions to communities and society identified by Urlich. Schaniel highlights the problem of anthropological literature when dealing with large changes in Māori livelihood and social process, which were the consequences of the encounter with European contact.

Dorothy Urlich (1969) studied the causal relationships in migrations in the period 1800-1840. She over emphasises the role of muskets as a primary causal factor for migrations and tribal re-groupings - a point that Schaniel makes, and one with which I agree. However, the value of her study is the detail and the fact of massive migrations, which took place in the period. While Schaniel does not adequately discuss the migrations and its causes, his historical economic evidence and explanations offer a more complex set of factors leading to understanding why such migrations took place.

Given the understanding that Māori economy was embedded in Māori and Pacific wide societies, I will first discuss Māori social organisation then proceed to Māori economy. It is intended that these discussions will set the background to Hongi Hika and Waikato's 1820 visit to England and the meeting with King George IV, the Rangatira letter to King William IV, the emergence of Busby, the flag of trade 1834, the Declaration of Independence 1835, which I will present as a metaphysical narrative of Māori nation building. It is all about economics, livelihood, nationhood and peace. The Tiriti o Waitangi with Victoria, to be discussed in the next Chapter, can now be reinterpreted from within a Māori framework, rather than an Anglo-European scientific (utilitarian, positivist, secularist) one.

The 1835 He W[h]akaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni (Declaration of Independence) and the 1840 Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi) were possible only

because other things were in place; a social fabric, an economy and a new born nation. All of these were instrumental in feeding the soul and life force of the impulse toward nationhood. In order to discuss Māori motives for participating in the many gatherings with the British Resident that culminated in the 1835 Declaration then later to respond to the British Queen's invitation to a treaty in 1840 it is necessary to discuss these three points. In this way, Māori pre-understandings inform the events and provide an indigenous interpretation of the history.

Māori Social Organisation and its Social Fabric

Mauri, tapu and mana as part of a matrix of ethics are pointers to a Māori worldview and understandings of how society operated under what private and social mores. In the following outline of Māori society of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and taking into account adaptations involving the reproduction of culture, four sets of Māori concepts associated with mauri, tapu and mana are distilled. I have earlier described them as "ngā pou mana e wha" because they representing the four pillars of mana. They constitute a framework for a discussion on Māori society, and are interdependent, interrelated and interacting. The aim is to keep a holism in the view of society rather than emphasise one part or any number of parts. These provide social, economic and political criteria for an understanding of the foundations of Māori society and its development since the early-mid nineteenth-century (cf. M. Henare 1988:24 – 25; 1999:51 – 53).

The four fundamentals of mana in society are descriptive to keep a holistic appreciation of the society and its foundations, rather than the 'thick description' (Geertz 1973), of particularistic tribal perspectives. The fundamentals of mana are the cement that binds the society and constitutes the social fabric of Māori society. As I explore the appropriate tikanga and ritenga, the many concepts, principles and their practices, the values that are likely to be more important than others are clarified. This is in keeping with the philosophical anthropological approach, wherein we look into the nature of the fundamentals of society and its human leadership. Indeed says Maharaia Winiata (1967:30) in his study of changing roles of traditional and modern Māori leadership and cultural change, it is a society, "deeply embedded with ritual practices and religious ideals".

The criteria for leadership and the role of leadership exercised by rangatira are discussed not from a static perspective but rather from one in which the dynamism of leadership is understood. All rangatira of quality possessed attributes, talents and qualities some of these

said to be inherited, almost in a genetic sense, some were ascribed upon performance and some gained through tribal schools of learning and experience (cf. Winiata 1954:1 – 3). Finally, the role of national Māori leadership will be considered in chapter four.

Group and Individual Identity in Social Organisation

A decentralised system of social groups known as whānau and hapū was a dominant feature of social organisation and society at the end of the eighteenth century and early-mid nineteenth-century. Specific identity was founded on these two entities and people, especially rangatira and tohunga, had relations with a number of combinations of hapū. The cognatic descent meant that genealogical connections were possible through either the father's side or the mother's side and the principle could be extended through generations of either male or female ancestors (cf. Metge 1995: 52 – 53; Kawharu 1975). It is says Metge (1995:77) a distinctive feature of Māori social organisation that descent from ancestors and ascent from descendents back to ancestors is traced through links of both sexes. The descent lines are everything to descent group and affiliation (Metge 1967:8 – 9). In addition, Māori were ambilocal, which also allowed for further choice, choice as to which sides of the respective whānau the husband or wife went to live after starting their relationship. The flexibility of choice in association had consequences for social organisation and leadership. In this context, rangatira had a number of distinct groups with which the individual might have reciprocal ties, as did members of each group. The same ties also enabled rangatira and groups to mobilise support in times of need and crisis often on a very large scale. Statuses, rights and obligations of rangatira were rarely forfeited but could be made to lie dormant and were revived when residence was taken up. Residence and genealogy governed the performance of status, roles and obligations.

While decentralisation of social organisation remained a constant feature throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, the number of closely bound social groups grew. The emergence of the iwi as a new system of social organisation was a major development and a direct consequence of both British Crown and settler agency and Māori agency. First, the Crown found it easier for its colonial purposes to manage its affairs over Māori to both force and encourage the formation of larger entities as part of its programme of pacification. However, Māori found that such new formations were a pragmatic means of maintaining semblances of localised mana while at the same time continuing their assertion of Mana Māori. The developments addressed the Crown imperative of acquiring effective sovereignty, or as James Belich (1996:267 – 268) describes it "substantive sovereignty or

real empire", which he says is where, "the sovereign power removes the capacity of its subjects to make war among themselves." However, Māori support for new institutions was a response to the Crown's and later settler government's drive for total power and control of New Zealand was a practical means of asserting Māori independence. Reference to waka, or canoe associations also become a significant factor for group identification in the struggle against the hegemony of foreign settlement (Ballara 1998).

Outlined below are five levels of Māori identity of the nineteenth-century - whānau, hapū, iwi, waka, tangata Māori, which are intimately associated with the peoples' system of social organisation and related matrices of values associated with the system. The set of social values discussed are – whānaungatanga, taonga tuku iho, te ao tūroro and tūrangawaewae.

1. Whānaungatanga – Whānau, Hapū, Iwi, Waka, Tangata Māori

Belonging and solidarity are implicit in the ethics of whānaungatanga and kotahitanga where kinship rights and obligations underpin te whānau, te hapū, and te iwi (Rakena 1971). These latter, whānau, hapū and iwi, are systems of social organisation wherein the values of whānaungatanga are lived and maintained. The rights and obligations strengthen individuals, families and larger social groups. The sense of belonging thus developed is deeply ingrained. Kotahitanga, solidarity, is a basic cultural value that is felt by members of the group for it to operate effectively and cohesively. However, whānaungatanga also includes the following cluster of associated core values but it is not by any means an exclusive listing:

- wairua – acknowledgment of the metaphysical aspect of reality;
- mauri – the principle of the life essence, life force, life itself, imbued in all human, material and non-material things;
- tapu – the state of being, of existence derived from the spiritual world and beings. Closely associated with tapu is noa, which is the state of existence where the efficacy or potency of the spiritual forces is temporarily mitigated;
- mana – the actualisation of the power of tapu, which is agency in the world;
- hau – the fundamental religious and philosophical principle for obligatory reciprocity;
- whakapapa – the linking principle, in which human beings and natural phenomena are genealogically connected with each other and with the spiritual world;

- tika and tikanga – where tika refers to the nature and ethos of things, tikanga is the way of living according to what is considered correct and appropriate, morally, spiritually and socially at any given time;
- ora – the embodied mauri;
- manaaki – the principle of the quality of caring; expressing mana, generosity;
- aroha – principle of love for those known as kinsfolk, including the atua;
- reciprocal exchange of goods and services in a Māori mode of production;
- tohatoha - the social responsibility principle of the fair distribution of material things;
- utu - the principle of exchange.

Pre-European Māori understood themselves as normal and were identified by their whānau-hapū kinship relationships based on ancestry (Metge 1995:48). These primary group relationships were reinforced in local social, economic and political activities. From the 1760s to the 1830s in areas such as North Auckland and other coastal communities, the encounter with Europeans intensified through trade and the adaptation and use of new technologies such as white potatoes and iron, which the foreigners supplied. These together with competition for the control of land and other scarce natural resources, Māori began to consider new systems of social organisation that met the demands of the new economic and political forces. They began in some areas to identify more strongly with a nascent iwi system of social organisation, which became more firmly established about 1850. The development and reasons for the emergence of iwi is described in Angela Ballara's in-depth account of the dynamics of Māori political and social systems from the eighteenth century to mid-way in the twentieth century (Ballara 1998; cf. Durie 1998: 6). A further late nineteenth-century development is the emergence of waka, the founding canoe associations, as another means whereby kinship groups identified themselves. Finally, as will be discussed later in the chapter I discuss the historical roots of the notion of tangata Māori, the idea of being a Māori person, and te iwi Māori, the Māori people. These new identifiers are found in the earliest known letters written by Māori at a time when the relationship with the English and other Europeans was intensifying. Some Māori referred to the latter as te iwi Pākehā (See the story of Eruera Pare Hongi 1825 later in the chapter).

Te Whānau – the Fundamental Social Unit and the Domestic Economy

Te whānau of the eighteenth century has been considered the smallest and "self-contained" social group of Māori society (Best 1924:340; 1974: 95), and was the domestic economy

(cf. Salmond 1991:255). It constituted the fundamental social unit because it was the primary land-holding institution and the principal unit of food production (Walker 1990:63). Its membership consisted of three or four generations of extended family, which lived together under the guidance of the kaumātua and kuia, male and female leaders. While the kaumātua and kuia could also be referred to as rangatira, their leadership was significant in the process of day-to-day family decisions that were usually made at whānau level (Schwimmer 1966:33). These features of the whānau continued throughout the nineteenth century as the primary unit of socialisation and organisation of Māori society. Historically, a feature of whānau social organisation has been its ability to both initiate change and manage it and to produce leaders with appropriate acumen for each generation.

Change is fundamental to the life of whānau, says Joan Metge (1995:74 – 75; cf. Winiata 1954:V – xi) in her major review of conceptions of the whānau, where characteristically it "passes through a cycle of growth, segmentation and regeneration." In addition to this constant pattern of existence, the whānau has since the end of the eighteenth century passed through a "series of irreversible, historical changes." The most traumatic of the changes involved the "incorporation into a capitalist market economy" followed later in the twentieth century by the phenomenon of "urban migration." Here Metge refers to the core set of values of such an economy.

According to Metge, the three leading New Zealand anthropologists of the early twentieth century, Elsdon Best, Raymond Firth and Te Rangi Hiroa, identified the whānau of the late eighteenth century as:

- a family usually comprising three generations: an older man and his wife, some or all of their descendants and in-married spouses, or some variant (such as several brothers with their wives and families) representing a stage in a domestic cycle;
- a domestic group occupying a common set of buildings (sleeping house or houses, cookhouse and storage stages) standing alone or occupying a defined subdivision of a village;
- a social and economic unit responsible for the management of daily domestic life, production and consumption;
- the lowest tier in a three-tiered system of socio-political groups defined by descent from common ancestors traced through links of both sexes, the middle tier consisting of hapū and the highest of iwi (1995:35).

Metge summed up this early 1920 model by citing Firth who said:

> In matters of organisation each whānau was fairly self-reliant, the direction being taken by the head man of the group in consultation with other responsible people. As a rule it managed its own affairs without interference, except in such cases as came within the sphere of village or tribal policy (1995:111).

However, in this neat and tidy model of whānau, Metge (1995:37) offers a critique noting that the anthropology of Best, Firth, Hiroa very much reflected its time. While they recognised that whānau increased in numbers over generations, in time the writers determined whānau became a hapū. According to Metge, the three did not fully appreciate "the complexity of the process and the differences in the function carried out by whānau and hapū." Further, the model was "limited in its provision of detail and its handling of variation, process and change." The idea that there was some kind of explicit evolutionary progress from whānau to hapū was further elaborated in the research of Maharaia Winiata, Pat Hohepa and Hugh Kawharu, including Joan Metge herself. According to Metge (1995:44), they were trained in British functionalism, "a theoretical approach, which emphasised functional relationships in the present and undervalued historical depth." The focus was on the whānau in its modern form and uncritically they accepted what Metge describes as the "classic whānau" model. It meant that they did not examine the model critically nor did they "chart the process of change" over time. It seems to me that a consequence of the formula that whānau became a hapū led to the assumption in later twentieth anthropology and Māori political ideology that the hapū became an iwi.

However, says Metge (1995:44), during the last 30 odd years of the twentieth century more critical approaches to the study of Māori society have highlighted greater diversity, changes and developments. She highlights the critical works of Stephen Webster (1975), Margaret Orbell (1978), Joan Metge (1990), Eric Schwimmer (1990) and Anne Salmond (1991). According to Metge (1995:44 – 46), Webster shows how the relationship between ideologies of descent enabled whānau to persist and how the practical processes of both restricting and recruiting members enabled them to function as groups. He argues that Māori were more flexible and rhetorical in the use of the term's whānau and hapū, which were usually "contextually determined" but understood by members of the community.

Orbell's revisionist study of classic models of eighteenth century whānau, concluded with a critique of the standard translation of hapū as sub-tribe. What Orbell identified says Metge (1995:45), were at least two levels of hapū, small ones, usually with degrees of

autonomy and larger composite hapū, which could form fighting alliances and at times fought among themselves. Through his study of the generative capacity of hapū Schwimmer demonstrated that rather than the whānau blossoming into hapū, such formation was much too complex than originally described. Instead, the process involved fission and fusion of hapū, which included at times the need to restructure genealogy in response to historical challenges (Metge 1995:46).

Finally, in Anne Salmond's study of Māori cosmology, ancestors and cognatic descent and her stress on the "tremendous flexibility" characteristic of Māori social life particularly as applied to whānau and hapū relations, Metge identified certain principles that gave a philosophical grounding to Māori social order in the pre-encounter period. The principles, says Metge, "were worked out in practice at groups at every level, including whānau." She cites Salmond who wrote (1995:46):

> the unity of all phenomenal life through genealogical connection; the complementarity of male and female; the principle of primogeniture; all of which can be overcome by a fourth principle of competitive striving expressed in a language of war.

Metge's important revision of early anthropological interpretation is valuable but when considered together with the adaptive and transformative capacity of the kainga system, the residential and settlement community of Māori society, we gain an insight into the primary role of the whānau in society, in history and of "structural transformations"(cf. Ohnuki-Tierney 1990:9 – 18), that are inferred in the system. The flexibility and relative autonomy of the whānau system is demonstrated in the way that settlements and houses were adapted and changed over time as both people and circumstances required.

Significant archaeological findings of individual residences, known as kainga, show both a remarkable resilience and high level of adaptability. According to Douglas Sutton (1990:186, 201, 203), his team found evidence of four types of early Māori dwellings and houses associated with undefended settlements around Pouerua in Tai Tokerau. The uniqueness of this kainga study was that kainga change was analysed over a much longer historical period than the study of the pa, the fortified settlement, which was itself a much later development in societal change. The pā represents a relatively recent feature of Māori history apparently appearing about 1400 AD. Whereas the kainga mode of settlement was the dominant pattern in the pre-1400 period, and was a particular feature of Tai Tokerau settlement building history.

Roger Green (1990:23) reconsidered the ethnographies of Firth (1959:92) and Te Rangi Hiroa (1949:137) and their tendency not to make clear the distinctions between the pā, as the fortified village, and the kainga, as the unfortified or unprotected village. According to Green, as the pā developed from 1400 A.D. so too did the kainga continue to change according to circumstances, where many but not all became part of the fortified settlement system.

The place of kainga development figures little in the history of societal change, especially when seen from the perspective of early twentieth century ethnology. Elsdon Best (1974:174) exemplifies an evolution of society approach modelled on British civilisation theory when he overstates eighteenth-century-societal reality. He asserts that pre-European Māori "lived for the most part in small fortified villages situated on hills and headlands." While he concedes that in some cases, "people were enabled to live in unfortified hamlets" he concludes that kainga were, for the most part, closely associated with the pā (1974:254). Schwimmer (1966:48) closely follows Best in citing village life in only two forms, some "with stockades and known, as pā "and" others, unfortified were known as kainga."

The Tai Tokerau kainga study, documents the "continuous change from the beginning ... on into the historical period" where each dwelling type served a variety of domestic purposes associated with food preparation, cooking, tool making and maintenance, and communal food storage. Using a functional definition of kainga, Sutton describes them as "discrete undefended settlements...which existed in New Zealand prior to the development of fortifications." The kainga says Sutton, "tended to increase through time in size, number of dwellings, and by implication, population" (1990:201). He (1990:208) concludes that, "The origins of the pā reflect the formation of larger and larger socio-political units over time, and suggest the recent origins of large scale Northern Māori tribalism." Salmond (1991:39) explains the expansion of settlements from coastlines to inland areas and the changes in sixteenth century horticultural regions as consequences of population pressures, and the growing competition for resources and prestige. The construction of fortified pā was one of the developments. Finally, after walking over the landscape of Pouerua and the surrounding area, I found that the kainga area includes waterways, such as streams and lakes and forests in close proximity to the settlements, suggesting that kainga are a lot more than housing, cooking and general living blocks of land.

The critical aspect to this discussion is the role and scope of the kainga and its continued dynamic function within the larger social groupings. The people dimension to the kainga is historically the whānau who were the agents of change in settlement patterns and developments. The mid-nineteenth-century-twentieth-century notions of iwi had neither usurped the significance of the kainga and the whānau or their primary functions in society. A point is made that as the system of social organisation adapted to meet to the conditions of any given times so too did transformations in meaning attached to kainga take place.

The pre-eminent space and place of Māori people in history is the kainga, whether they were part of the pā complex or in the many unfortified villages scattered throughout the country. The pre-eminence of kainga in early-mid nineteenth mindset is evidenced in the earliest known letters of Māori. From the 1820s, the term is used to describe a living area like a town and a country, as in Pare Eruera's letter of 1825 to the gentlemen of England where he refers to England as, "tou kainga pai", your good country. Eight years later, the 1831 letter of Ngāpuhi leaders to King William IV utilises kainga in two ways. First, to refer to the place in which they write the letter as Kerikeri, which was a busy Māori town in the Bay of Islands and a base for missionary activity, "ki tēnei kainga kei te Kerikeri." Its second usage in the letter speaks of kainga as country when they say to the King, "ko tou kainga anake," meaning your country alone is kindly disposed towards Māori. This is followed by, "tō mātou kainga," where they refer to New Zealand as our country. These letters are discussed in detail later in this chapter. Finally, in the first half of the second article of the Māori text of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the contents of which is a reasonable snap-shot of Māori society in 1840 – "te tino rangatiratanga o ō rātou wenua ō rātou kainga me ō rātou taonga katoa." This is a reference, says Kawharu (1991:576), to Māori being in absolute control over their communities and estates. The treaty texts are discussed fully in Chapter four.

Hapū

Let me now return to the next level of social organisation, structure and identity, the hapū, whose members traced their descent from a common ancestor. Most people were connected to a number of hapū. While it is agreed that hapū consisted of an unspecified number of whānau, the warning of Metge, citing Winiata (1967), Kawharu (1975) and Hohepa (1964), that it cannot be presumed that "whānau" grew into hapū (Metge 1995:43; 38 – 39) is timely.

Headed by rangatira, each hapū had autonomy and its primary purpose was to foster and support its member whānau. L arger cultivation, fishing, canoe-making and political affairs were dealt with at hapū level. The larger group identity was reinforced in a range of activities and events organised at the appropriate level. The social and political processes were dynamic, and land and resources could be reapportioned as change occurred.

Some clarification on the meaning of the word tribe as used in the early-mid nineteenth-century by British English speakers is pertinent because of the later rendering of hapū to mean subtribe. I have glossed hapū as meaning tribe rather than sub-tribe because it is the appropriate English term to be used and is the likely understandings that follow the English language text of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Further, the new translations of the Māori version printed in 1869 by order of the Legislative Council (*AJLC* 1869:69 – 71; Orange 1987 Appendix 5:262 – 263) refer to "ngā hapū" as "Tribes", see the Preamble and in Article Two.

Two popular English language dictionaries of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries define tribe in the following ways. The 1768 and 1806, Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* says that tribe is from the Latin *tribus* and defines tribe as "1. A distinct body of peoples as divided by family or fortune, or any other characteristick (sic) and 2 "It is often used in contempt (1768:TRI; 1806:TRI). The 1813 *Barclay's Dictionary* says tribe is, "[tribus, Latin] in antiquity, was a certain quantity or number of persons, when a division was made of a city or people into quarters or districts" (1813:TRI). Busby, Henry Williams, Colenso, Hobson, and others would have understood tribe as a distinct body of peoples, rather than the later nineteenth century and twentieth century usage of tribe.

The translation of hapū as sub-tribe is a relatively recent rendering and relegates the hapū to a subordinate function of the iwi, which is glossed also as tribe. A reading back into 1820s – 1840s the later nineteenth and twentieth-century interpretation of societal reality is problematic. Two examples are seen in the anthropological works. First is Anne Salmond (n.d.:3 – 4) who, for a submission to a Waitangi Tribunal Claim, has translated hapū as sub-tribe. It is illustrated also in the Sir Hugh Kawharu English language translation of the Māori text where "ngā hapū" is rendered as "the subtribes" (Kawharu 1984; 1991:576; 1992:24). The Kawharu translation of the Māori version was written and used by the New Zealand Appeal Court during the *New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney-General* case, as a primary document in the late twentieth century reworking and interpretation of the

meanings of the 1840 treaty (Richardson 1987; 1 *NZLR* 641). The effect of the new interpretation is to shift the locus of political and economic mana, power, from the whānau-hapū nexus to that of the iwi. The effect of this is seen in post treaty and colonial tribal politics, and remains troublesome in history and anthropology as well as Māori studies.

Iwi

The iwi is at the heart of Māori and Crown agency discourse in the 1990s but it has contestable meanings. However, the reading back into early and mid nineteenth-century Māori history from a twentieth-century Māori and Pākehā interpretation is a very good example of a tendency to write history in terms of the present. While the term is as old as the language itself, its primary meanings have changed and been elaborated over time. According to the 1892 edition of the *Dictionary of New Zealand* Māori Language (Williams 1892:44), iwi is glossed as 'bones' and 'tribe'. In the 1975 edition of the *Dictionary of Māori Language* (H. Williams 1975:80) iwi has the following primary meanings, 'bones', 'stone of fruit', 'strength' and " nation, people." However, in the context of this thesis the primary meanings of 'bones', tribe' 'nation' and 'people' are the most relevant.

Historically, iwi was used to refer to people connected to each other through whakapapa, thus the 'bones' analogy. It is the older meaning to the term. Later, as Māori communities re-organised themselves from the 1800s and later still as colonisation developed, hapū groupings formed iwi, which themselves became more institutionalised from about the 1850s. A significant factor in the emergence of the larger tribal configurations was the process of British colonisation and settler government policy. Ballara (1998) shows how institutionalised iwi were promoted for New Zealand settler government purposes; but that Māori communities also responded in such a way that the government programme of reorganisation became a Māori programme of agency and resistance (cf. Durie 1998). In this sense, the term iwi refers to the Māori people and conveys the larger idea of Māori nation. From the mid-1850s, two institutional forms expressed this new embedded notion of being a distinctive people. One was the traditional rūnanga, which refers to types of councils of local Māori administration and authority. The second was the Māori King movement, a specifically monarchist nationalist movement wherein Māori attempted to control the chaos of land dealings with the colonialists and the colonial government (O'Malley 1997:187 - 188; Cox 1993). These struggles for autonomy and mana Māori

continued despite the fact that governments denigrated and worked against the rūnanga and were openly hostile towards the monarchy movement. According to Alan Ward (1973:242):

> the rūnanga persisted. It enjoyed favour because it embodied Māori, not alien, authority, because its proceedings and decisions in some respects were more appropriate than English law.

The iwi has become, since the mid nineteenth century, a new system of social organisation and constitutes a larger grouping of whānau-hapū, over which it often exhibits some political and social control in opposition to other kinship groups and in dealings with settler governments and the New Zealand Crown. In many parts of the country, iwi acquired a territorial entity, the latter previously associated with the diverse numbers of local hapū. Iwi thus became the basis for a wider group ideology and in effect were alliances of whānau-hapū who remained together as interdependent political units, achieving self-sufficiency and self-government in economic and social matters. Prominent landmarks, significant ancestors and oral history all helped to firmly establish iwi identity throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Te Waka

Te Waka is defined as a group of people with a common territory and common links with members of a voyaging canoe. The term is used to identify larger groups than iwi or hapū. While very strong in some regions of Aotearoa, the identification with a single, primary waka is not found in all Māori communities. For example, waka affiliation in Te Tai Tokerau is extremely complex because most of the whānau and hapū are associated with many different waka, which landed around the peninsula. Some voyagers initially settled, but later moved on to other areas around the North and South islands. The Northern peoples celebrate their multiplicity of waka associations as part of their identity. Some hapū and iwi groupings in other parts of the country are associated with a sole primary waka. Tainui is an example of such a configuration of iwi and hapū. To what extent were waka affiliations significant in the economic, political and social dynamics of early-mid nineteenth-century society is very difficult to ascertain. Ranginui Walker (1990:65) has argued that the waka represented "a very loose ideological bond." While agreeing with the ideology association, I have found no archival or heard oral evidence that suggests a prominence in shaping or driving Māori agency in the early-mid nineteenth century.

Being Māori - Identity and Literacy

Identification as a Māori person in contrast with the identification with other people who are not Māori is historically quite recent. The first written records of terms associated with Pākehā and Māori are 1817 and 1820, which suggests a much earlier oral usage. John Liddiard Nicholas in his 1817 two-volume narrative about his voyage to New Zealand has the following words in a vocabulary in Volume One. "Packahâ," is rendered as "white man", with the following notation - "the flea is also called by this name, as they (Māori) assert it to have been first introduced into their country by Europeans – the turnip is likewise called packahâ" (my brackets). Elsewhere in the vocabulary is found "Pakkahah", which is glossed as "White men" and "tungata maoude" is "blackmen" (1817:338, 344).

The second early written record, published in 1820, is *A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand* (1820) with Samuel Lee providing the preface. The section Dialogue II, contains a question and answer conversation possibly between Professor Samuel Lee, Waikato and Hongi Hika. The following are answers to questions about the purpose of the trip and their return. Reference is made to "te ánga o te pákeha" and translates as "the occupations of the people" (*A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand* 1820:97):

> Ko te títiro átu óki ki te pai o te wenúa óki, ki te ánga o te pákeha óki, ki te tini o te tangata óki, ki te tíni o te tángata óki.
>
> To see the goodness of the land, the occupations of the people, the number of the inhabitants.

In addition, to a question about when they propose to return to New Zealand the response includes reference to "te tángata máodi" as "the people of their country":

> E e óki mai ána ra óki rátu. E ánga mai ána pe óki ratu kin nga tamaníki, me aki te tángata máodi. E kóre pe óki rátu e óti átu.
>
> They return. They perhaps regard their children, and the people of their country. Perhaps they will not remain abroad.

The description of the two distinct groups, tangata Māori and tangata Pākehā, is quickly consolidated in the following years. The earliest known Māori writings include these terms. In defining themselves as tangata Māori, glossed as Māori people, Māori identified themselves as a distinct people in relationship to others in the world. At the same time, there is an appreciation that in international terms Māori society constituted a larger community and possibly a nation.

From as early as 1825 and in 1837, three Māori writers composed three letters in their mother language about relations between themselves and English people. Terms used are "tangata Māori", for Māori people or natives, and "ngā Pākehā" for Europeans from England or white people.

However, a small digression, to make a distinction between literacy in Māori language and literacy in English, is necessary. A number of young Māori started to learn to read and write in English between 1814 and 1825. Kuini Jenkins' account of the experiences of two young Māori men both aged about 18 years old, Tuai and Titere of Ngāpuhi of the Bay of Islands, is illuminating. They attended a school in Madeley, Shropshire in England, after spending two years from 1815 with Samuel Marsden in Parramatta, Australia. On his initiative, they sailed to England in 1817 to attend the Madeley School and returned to their homeland in 1819. Copies of their letters to Mr Josiah Pratt, Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, London, are held at the Turnbull Alexander Library. The letters, written in 1818, describe the difficulty of learning to read the Bible and to be Christians (Jenkins 1993). While interesting history in itself the evidence of literacy in English is not germane to this thesis. My focus is on the vernacular and the transmission of ideas and other information related to nascent self-identity and group consciousness.

Māori literacy becomes a new means whereby Māori define and name the world as they see and experience it, including giving definition to categories of other people in the world. In addition, the free use of Nu Tireni and its variations such as Niu Tireni or Nu Tirani as the translation of the English name New Zealand shows an acceptance of the new national identity imposed on their lands. In itself, the acceptance of Nu Tireni as the given name also points to a degree of sophistication in an ability and willingness to think outside the limits of tribal boundaries towards a larger imagined community.

The recent discovery by Alexander Turnbull Library archivists of additional papers that were part of the Webster Collection, included letters from George Clark and a young Māori male named Eruera Pare Hika. A nephew of Hongi Hika, Eruera Pare, in English named Edward Parry, had from an early age learnt to read and write in Māori ori and probably in English. Popularly known in historical accounts as Eruera Pare, he has received scant attention and does not figure either in Northern history or mana Māori history. Eruera Pare was a young schoolboy when in 1825 he wrote an open letter to the gentlemen of England (See Appendix V). In it, Eruera Pare (1825) introduces himself to

the good gentlemen, asks for more writing paper and seeks an invitation to visit England. One of his mentors, the Christian missionary George Clark (1825), wrote a rather poor translation. However, the letter is that of a young man curious about a wider, bigger world, which he would like to get to know better. His writing is firm and readable and shows an experienced hand.

With the finding of the letter, Eruera Pare becomes a significant person in New Zealand and Māori histories. His letter is the earliest known piece of Māori writing available. Further more, his historical mana continues to rise through his involvements in transforming events around the Bay of Islands Later, during his young adult life. He was baptised a Christian by William Yate in November 1831 and died in October 1836 a year after the signing of *He W[h]akaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni.* Married in 1833 or 1834 he wrote a tender letter to a mentor Reverend William Yate (1802 – 1877), and it is rumoured, was one of Yates' one-time lovers (Binney 1975; Jerram 1999:122). Yates, who arrived in Paihia in 1828 to join the Church Missionary Society, was later dismissed from the CMS because of allegations of sexual relationships with several young Māori men and the third mate of a ship (Elder 1932:518 – 519, 531 – 532; Binney 1990:611 – 612). Before his departure from New Zealand in 1834, Yates received from Eruera Pare the following note of affection. The flow of the English narrative suggests it is a translation by William Yate of a text in the Māori vernacular (1835 Letter XVIII:266 – 267; see Jerram 1999:122). To find the original Māori text would be a treasure, a taonga indeed. Eruera says:

> To the man whose name is Yate, and who comes to teach us here.
>
> Here am I, sitting in the verandah of my house at Ohaiawai (Ohaeawai), thinking within me, that I shall not see your face again, nor hear the sound of your horse's feet. The soles of his feet, with you upon his back, will not leave a mark behind them on my ground again, till I am dead, and Paitaro is become the head Chief of Mangakauakaua. Perhaps I shall die; perhaps not. You say you shall return; but I am thinking, no: you will not leave again your good country, for this bad country, and this very bad and unbelieving people. You will love your own friends more than the New Zealanders, and will not again leave them for this. These are our thoughts. We have love in our hearts for you; we have love in our words; and all our thoughts to you are one, at this residence. We are not good to your going; we are not satisfied with the Buffalo for sailing from Wangaroa, when you are within. Go in peace, Mr. Yate, and see your friends in Europe; and say my How-do-you-do to the whole of them, not passing over one. This is all, from him who was once your boy, but is now married to a wife at Mangakauakaua, me……Hongi.

By 1834, Eruera Pare is competent writer in Māori when he assisted Busby as a secretary at the flag selection ceremony. In the following year, he played an important behind the scenes part in the success of the 1835 making and recording of the declaration of independence, *He W[h]akaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni*. For this occasion, he was the minute taker for Busby and a scribe for the Māori draft of the declaration. His name is listed on the declaration as Eruera Pare, te Kaituhituhi, the scribe (Appendix V). Given his newly acquired skills as an interpreter and translator in Māori and English he was an advisor who was able to discuss topical issues freely with the rangatira, many of who were his uncles, expressed as matua in Northern dialect, and other close relatives, who were involved in this constitutional historical moment. He no doubt acted as translator for them in their conversation with Busby and served Busby. Eruera Pare uses terms such as "tangata Māori", for New Zealanders and "tangata Pākehā" for the gentleman of England. He is very clear about the distinctiveness of both groups of people and uses appropriate Māori terms to emphasise this.

The second letter, written sometime in 1825, is from a great innovative Ngāpuhi rangatira, Rawiri Taiwhanga (c. 1774 -1874) from Paihia. It is addressed to his friend in Australia the Rev. Samuel Marsden, who was known to Māori as Te Matenga. I assume that he has dictated the letter to a scribe but it could be that he wrote it himself. Taiwhanga, hapū leader of the Ngāti Tautahi of Uri - o - Hau section of Ngāpuhi, was, during his long life of 100 years, a fighting leader of Ngāpuhi and ally of Hongi Hika. He would have known Hongi's thoughts, reflections and experiences. He would have been conversant with the thoughts and experiences of Hongi Hika, and like Hika saw value in befriending pākehā traders and missionaries.

Taiwhanga dramatically changed his circumstances becoming a farmer, a missionary and a school teacher. He urged his people to learn to read and write, had started a new European type school for his children and developed new modes of agricultural production such as milking cows and a greater diversification in vegetable growing on the tribal estates. His life reflects the dramatic changes in Māori society in the 1820s and 1830s. He died in 1874. Taiwhanga lived with Samuel Marsden in Parramatta, Sydney, for nearly 18 months from 1822-1824 where he developed his knowledge of "European farming methods and skilled trades." On his return to Nu Tireni, he continued his responsibilities as a fighting leader but after the last fighting expedition in 1825, he decided to quit fighting and started working as a sawyer at the Paihia Anglican mission (Orange & Ormond Wilson 1990:417).

Taiwhanga's adoption of foreign farming methods and associated skills may signify special qualities in Marsden's eyes but does not in itself represent change in Taiwhanga's world view and view of what he had achieved. Schaniel has demonstrated that in acquiring European technology through transactions, Māori did not necessarily acquire European values of appropriate use. In other words, Taiwhanga did not conceive of the introduced technology in any European mechanistic framework but rather used his acquired technologies and skills within Māori frameworks. Furthermore, Jacobs' schema of levels of culture and cultural change, discussed in Chapter Two, applies in the case of Taiwhanga, namely that technological changes do not necessarily lead to changes in fundamental values and worldview.

In writing to Marsden, Taiwhanga requests a cask of nails so he can build a new house and teach in it. He complains about the difficulty in preaching to his people who will not listen or are deaf to his words. His use of terms such as "tangata Māori" and "ngā Pākehā" are rendered as "natives" and "white people." Taiwhanga indicates in his letter a new national perspective when he refers to, "ngā tāngata katoa o tēnei kainga o Nu Tireni" (Taiw[h]anga to Samuel Marsden 1825. Vol. 3 A1994, pp.68, 69, 147). This latter is translated as, all the people of this settlement of New Zealand. The distinctions between Māori and settler are very clear in Taiwhanga's mind. Further, his acceptance, seen in the phrase "tēnei kainga o Nu Tireni", both of the name of his country and his place in it points to an imagined community consisting not solely of his own tribal patch but of his country, in other words of his nation.

Nopera Panakareao's (?-1856) of Te Rarawa was in his long life time, a rangatira, a warrior, an evangelist, and an assessor. He wrote the third letter in Māori. Dated 9th May 1837 it was sent from his base in Kaitaia to Te Matenga in Sydney. In it he requests, "tētahi Kawana mo tātou, hei tiaki i a tātou" - a Governor and protector for us. Panakareao is concerned about Ngāpuhi and their current fighting and while he was a supporter of Busby, he was worried about Busby's inability to protect Te Rarawa. However, he goes further than just seeking a governor asking Marsden for soldiers for the natives who would perhaps stop Ngāpuhi from fighting. He wrote, "Mehemea e wai hoia ana te tangata Māori e kore pea e w[h]awai me Ngāpuhi e w[h]awai nei" – If the Māori people had soldiers then perhaps Ngāpuhi would not fight as they fight now (Panakareao to Marsden, 9th May 1837, Vol. 3 A1994, pp.139, 136 – 137.) 1837). He supported an active engagement with Pākehā missionaries and traders, developing an acute understanding of their ways of thinking and

practices (Ballara 1990c:327 - 328). Like other nascent Māori writers Eurera Pare and Taiwhanga, he had a strong sense of categories of distinctiveness and relationships between Māori and Pākehā.

Taiwhanga's long-term vision is more transparent on 13th January 1836, three months after the letter. He associates himself with some Ngāpuhi, despite misgivings, and Te Rarawa leaders and joined "te wakaminenga", the fledgling confederation of hapū. Taiwhanga together with Tamati Waka Nene, Huhu, Tona and Kiwikiwi put their moko marks to "te wakaputanga Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni." They were in the second group of signatories following the October 1836 huihuinga. The English missionary George Clark was foreign witness to this occasion and may well be the author of the explanatory paragraph added to the document:

> Ko mātou, ko ngā Rangatira, ahakoa kihai i tae ki te huihuinga nei, no te nuinga o te Waipuke, no te aha rānei, ka wakaae katoa ki te wakaputanga Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni, a ka uru ki roto ki te wakaminenga (Appendix VII Addendum).

This is glossed as:

> We, the rangatira, although not able to attend the great gathering (huihuinga), because of floods and for what ever other reasons, we all fully support (wakaae) the declaration of independence of Nu Tireni, and we now enter into the sacred confederation (wakaminenga).

The declaration and his 1837 letter are consistent around one issue pertinent to this thesis. Panakareao requests of the British a protectorate relationship and assistance from the King in building a united Māori nation. There are shades of Busby's advice to Northern Māori of the application of de Vattel's principle whereby an emergent nation is able to seek help from an established nation, without the necessity of ceding sovereignty. Implicit in Panakareao's letter is Busby's exemplar outlined to the 1835 huihuinga. Busby had talked about the Ionian Islands and its protectorate relationship established between the European allied powers and the Islands through *Le Traité de Paris 1815* (Treaty of Paris 1815 see Appendix VIII). In Article Two of the Treaty, the new State of the United States of the Ionian Islands was placed under "the immediate and exclusive protection of His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors."

Historically, the 1825 letters are only five years after Māori language became a newly designed written language, and are pointers to the speed at which those who had the opportunity and put their minds to it acquired a developed utility of literacy in their mother

tongue. These little known items of early Māori writing may be the earliest surviving examples of such writing in Māori by a Māori. They are snapshots of how younger and older Māori were thinking about themselves, their country and a glimpse at how they referred to the people from England. Māori of the period identified themselves in relation to the European world.

There is no inference however, that literacy of the 1820s or the 1830s was widespread among Māori. Don McKenzie (1985:9, 15 Note 19, 32, 35) who reviewed problems associated with European assumptions about the impact of literacy in Māori society suggests that missionaries and recent historians alike have "misread the evidence for Māori literacy." I would concur because the principle means of communication between Māori in the 1820s to 1840s remained the spoken word and art forms. The letters, other documents and descriptions of the process of writing, all point to a ready acceptance and willingness to utilise new means and tools of communications when it suited Māori purposes. McKenzie states it well when he argues that written texts, such as the Treaty of Waitangi, must be considered as not simply "verbal constructs but as social products" also.

The Waitangi Tribunal in the *Motunui-Waitara Report* (1983 Wai-6:10.3) affirms a vital high principle for a Māori approach to understanding the Treaty of Waitangi, particularly the Māori version (McKenzie 1985:46). According to Chief Judge Edward Durie the Tribunal articulates the Māori approach that gives primacy to seeking the "wairua," the spirit, of what is being conveyed in written form rather than:

> ...literal constructions of the actual words....The spirit of the Treaty transcends the sum total of its component written words and puts narrow or literal interpretation out of place (Wai-6:10.3; cited in Durie 1991:164; cited in McKenzie 1985:46).

This thesis adopts this attitude and approach for understanding and translating early Māori writing in Māori. The context in which the words are used is everything in Māori historical understanding (McKenzie 1985:19 Note 35; See King 1978:9 – 18). In the words of the President of the New Zealand Appeal Court when affirming the importance of understanding the spirit of the Treaty, "What matters is the spirit" he said (*New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney-General* 1987:663).

However, the term Māori is not controversy free, particularly from the 1890s to the present. Some have argued that its nineteenth-century usage is a case of the colonisers imposing the term on Māori (Atkinson 1893:136; Paora 1893:116 - 117). I have

demonstrated already that rather than late nineteenth century beginnings the category, tangata Māori, is about self-description and self-identification. Its genesis was the rapidly increasing encounters with the English and other foreigners' and necessity demanded its usage. The late nineteenth century debate over the word Māori reflects the tyranny of the racist context of the times (cf. Ballara1986:35). From 1865 to 1900, settler politicians had convinced themselves that Māori were a conquered and dying race and that their divine role was to "smooth his dying pillow." Sir Robert Stout spoke for many settlers when he was moved to say:

> The race is dying, and if we were at all affected with love of humanity we should strive to preserve it, or make its dying moments as happy as possible (cited in M. Henare and Douglas 1988:149).

The Native Land Court was in action. It alienated vast tracts of land to the Crown for on selling to immigrant settlers. Ironically, for Māori, the profits from Crown land sales paid for British emigration schemes to New Zealand (Adams 1977:205). Settler parliaments passed legislation that effectively destroyed the dominance of Māori in the economy as well as strip Māori of access to natural resources (D. Williams 1984:301 – 302, 318 – 319). Heavy military interventions supported moral suasion (Belich 1986). Tamati Reedy of Ngāti Porou spoke of the 1840s to 1890s as a "te takahitanga" phase of Treaty of Waitangi history, which he said is the era of demoralisation. Settler government policy, he said was about the amalgamation of Māori and settler as quickly as possible. Takahitanga is appropriate because it translates as the trampling under, or the plundering of the people (cited in M. Henare and Douglas 1988:148). The takahitanga context enabled silly intellectual debate in which Māori identity came under attack.

In 1893, A. S. Atkinson challenged the explanation that tangata Māori refers to a native of New Zealand and offered an alternative translation, which provoked a subsequent debate. In an article titled "What is Tangata Māori?" and published in the *Journal of Polynesian Society* he argued that the primary meaning of Māori as in "tangata Māori" is:

> a human being; not a human being of the Polynesian race as distinguished from some human being of another race; but a common or real human being as distinguished from a being, human indeed in form, but not in fact (1893:136).

Rev. Hauraki Paora (1893:116 – 117) countered stating that the word Māori means both common and native. When added after a noun, it can mean common as in "kaipuke-Māori" which can be glossed as an ordinary or common sailing ship. However when used to refer to "te tangata tupu o te whenua", the original person of the land it means native. Finally, he

countered that "Māori" distinguished those things of the Pākehā. He disagrees with an earlier article by Tuta Tamati who suggested that the word Māori was not an old word. It dates, he said, to when Pākehā arranged the orthography of the language (see Tamati 1893:60 – 61). Hoani Nahe (1894:27 – 31, 32 - 35) also took issue with Tuta Tamati arguing that the word Māori is indeed an ancient term originally from Hawaiki. He cites very old love songs and chants where the terms Māori and tangata Māori are repeated, which when applied properly in its context means native.

The term Pākehā for English European has also a controversial history over its meaning and usage. Hoane Nahe argues that both Pākehā and kaipuke are new words that emerged since the coming of people from Europe. In conclusion, I do not share either of these late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century criticisms because the written historical evidence shows that such terms were readily acceptable and freely used by Māori and Pākehā alike from at least 1815, possibly much, much earlier. The three letters are an illustration of a wider acceptance and utility, especially in Māori language newspapers, such as Te Karere.

The term Pākehā first appeared in print earlier than these letters, when in 1815 Thomas Kendall published a book titled *A Korao no New Zealand*. It contains an entry "tanggata packahhah," which is glossed as white man. The eminent linguist Bruce Biggs (1988) has established that from earliest contact Māori and Pākehā speakers were, "using Māori and Pākehā as nouns distinguishing New Zealand's two populations." At first English speakers of the early-mid nineteenth-century used the words English and native to make distinctions between the two communities, until the word native declined in use because of "negative connotations." According to Biggs, the origin of the word, Pākehā, is obscure but it is clearly a Māori word and not a derivation of an English word. Likewise, he says, the word Māori is "derived from proto Polynesian maa'oli and means "true, genuine, normal" and that originally a tangata Māori was a "normal, mortal man in contrast...to a superhuman, immortal atua."

In recognising a new level of personal identity, belonging to a group identity became explicit. Historically, whānaungatanga is the fundamental ethic upon which levels of identities were built, irrespective of the particular forms of social organisation – te whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori.

2. Taonga Tuku Iho—Tangible and Intangible 'Gifts' Handed to Generations

Taonga are treasures or something of value. 'Tuku iho' refers to taonga handed down from early generations. As will be discussed later taonga are ultimately derived from spiritual powers or the ultimate divinity. It is the recognition of the primary source of taonga that establishes their value. Taonga tuku iho include the following values:

- kete mātauranga—the knowledge and the gift from Io-matua-kore (the primary source of all creation), the wisdom of past generations, the skills passed down;
- tikanga—is derived from tika which determines its meaning where tikanga is the way in which something is tika: everything in creation possesses tikanga: it can thus mean function or destiny: the tikanga of human beings is their nature i.e. appearance, conduct, habits: the principles which determine ethics, values and behaviour, and the rights of the individual or group (Johansen 1954:174 – 175);
- ritenga—the philosophy of behaviour: the practice determined by tikanga: a custom as such is called ritenga i.e., which corresponds (rite) to something previous (Johansen 1954:175).

3. Te Ao Tūroa—The Environment

Te ao tūroa refers to guardianship and stewardship over the visible and invisible worlds, where the well being of the land is linked with mana Māori and personal well being. The features of the land are often personified and used to link people to the land and to their ancestry. Some important concepts include:

- whenua—land linkages, usage and responsibility for the future, given by those of the past: the mauri (life force) is present and is respected through the ritenga of food production and gathering;
- ngāhere—forests, including flora and fauna;
- moana—seas;
- awa, puna—lakes, water ways;
- tiakitanga—guardianship.

4. Tūrangawaewae—To Stand Is To Be

According to Bishop Manuhuia Bennett (1979:74 – 79), the concept of tūrangawaewae is essentially that land becomes an outward and visible sign of something that is deeply spiritual. It is a source of nourishment for the inner person, rather than for their physical needs. It is the origin of the person's identity their awareness, their mana, indeed their very life. It includes the following cluster of associated values:

- kainga—primary place of abode and living;
- papakainga—earth upon which the kainga stands, closely related to Rangi-nui and Papa-tua-nuku (Sky Father and Mother Earth);
- marae—the land upon which the whare tupuna (ancestral meeting house),and the whare kai (eating house)stand and the open space in front for oratory, debate and rituals of encounter; a place where one and the group have a sense of belonging;
- rohe—a sense of place, a boundary;
- urupa—a sacred burial place where ancestors are interned; the idea that things have come to an end;
- koha—the gift or contribution towards another; reciprocity.

In this review of nineteenth-century social organisation and its social fabric, I have identified four sets of Māori concepts associated with mauri, tapu and mana, which are called ngā Pou mana e wha, the four posts of Māori society. My aim is to indicate a holism in traditional Māori view of society in which society consists of humanity, the natural world and the cosmos. The whānau is the key agent of change and adaptation. In the whānau, both individuals and the group are able to exercise very high levels of adaptability and agency where choice and freedom are lived in the milieu of the culture and society. At the same time, the whānau continued its traditional role as the fundamental unit of socialisation for itself and for other levels of tribal society. Associated with the whānau is the kainga as the primary place of habitation in which the whānau and hapū carry out their everyday activities, including economic activities. The kainga, like the whānau and the hapū, was adapted to new technology, ideas and adjustments of economic transformation during the eighteenth and ninetieth-centuries.

Polanyi's Economic History of the Pacific and Nu Tireni

The economic historian Karl Polanyi makes the obvious but important point that no society lives for any length of time without it possessing an economy of some type. Further more, says Polanyi, "no economy ever existed that... was controlled by markets" (Polanyi 1957:3). It is the ideas about the linkages of culture, society and economy and the supposed autonomy of the market that I now discuss. The idea of the market economy was very much a predilection of nineteenth-century European writers, who assumed that market-driven economies were normative for all societies worldwide. Polanyi shows how Eurocentric was this view (Polanyi 1957:43). His point in terms of world economic history, and particularly for Māori and other Pacific peoples, is that historically speaking

the idea of a market economy with its implication that it is a self-regulating and self-adjusting system is new. It did not exist anywhere until the nineteenth century (Polanyi 1957:269).

As regards Nu Tireni and other Pacific Islands, this type of economy emerges in some shape after the establishment of Anglo-European and Anglo-American settler societies throughout the great ocean. According to Polanyi, the institution of the market as an integral part of any society is found after the Stone Age, but "its role was no more than incidental to economic life" (Polanyi 1957:3). Such an economy with its market was not indigenous to the Pacific. While many nineteenth-century thinkers were to assume that it was "natural" to behave like traders, Polanyi has demonstrated with reference to social anthropology, sociology and nascent studies of tribal economies that the philosophy of economic liberalism was not natural to the Pacific (Polanyi 1957:269. His questioning of the liberalist view led to an attack on the liberal assumptions, which were stated like universal truths that underlay the market economy system.

Eight Propositions for Understanding Nineteenth-Century Māori Economics

Karl Polanyi posits eight propositions which, when taken together, furnish an understanding of early and mid nineteenth-century Māori economics as an internally logical system that proceeds from a religious worldview. In studying Polanyi's work, particularly his cited anthropological and historical sources - Thurnwald, Malinowski, Firth, Goldenweiser, Radcliffe-Brown, Linton, Benedict, and Herskovits - relevant to the Pacific, I reviewed his citations to check his assumptions and the appropriateness of his eight propositions.

His first proposition (Polanyi 1957:156, 269 citing Thurnwald 1932:xiii and Malinowski 1930:60) was that the motive of gain is not "natural" to humanity and is evidenced in a characteristic of tribal economics by the absence of any desire to make profits from production or exchange. The second proposition (Polanyi 1957:269) is that to expect payment for labour is not "natural" to humanity. He follows Malinowski (1930:169), who said that gain never acted as an impulse to work under the original native conditions and Thurnwald (1932:169) who found that nowhere was labour ever leased or sold. Furthermore, in Raymond Firth's (1972 [1929]) study of Māori economics, Polanyi found that the treatment of labour as an obligation did not require indemnification.

The third proposition of Polanyi (1957: 270 citing Thurnwald 1932:209, 163) is centred on the idea that to restrict labour to the unavoidable minimum is not "natural" to humanity. Thurnwald observed that work was never limited to the unavoidable minimum but rather he said exceeds the absolute necessary amount owing he argued "to a natural or required function urge to activity". He further argued that labour consistently goes beyond that which is necessary.

The fourth proposition, says Polanyi (1957:270 citing Malinowski 1926), is that the usual incentives to labour are not gain but reciprocity, competition, joy of work and social approbation. According to Malinowski:

> Most if not all economic acts are found to belong to some chain of reciprocal gifts and counter-gifts, which in the, long run balance, benefiting both sides equally.... The man who would persistently disobey the rulings of law in his economic dealings would soon find himself outside the social and economic order- and he is perfectly well aware of it (cited in Polanyi 1957:270).

This is the ethic of reciprocity.

On competition, he followed Malinowski (1930:61) who argued that:

> men vie with one another in their speed, in their thoroughness and in the weights they can lift when bringing big poles to the garden or in carrying out their harvested yams (cited in Polanyi 1957:270).

Polanyi (1957:270 citing Goldenweiser) found that "competition is keen, performance though uniform in aim is varied in excellence, a scramble for excellence in reproducing patterns." On joy of work he found in Firth (E.J.) that work for its own sake was a constant characteristic of Māori industry and in Malinowski, the observation that a lot of time and labour was given to aesthetic purposes making gardens tidy, clean, free of debris. There was no doubt that Western Pacific people pushed their conscientiousness way beyond the limit of the necessary. According to Polanyi (1957:271 citing Malinowski, Firth and Radcliffe-Brown 1948) the tidiness of gardens, public expressions of laziness and the value of social service were features of Pacific people's economic activities and social approbation. The maintaining of perfect gardens was the general index to the social value of a person and in Polynesian economies every person is expected to show a normal measure of application. Further, to make available one's labour under the leadership of another is a social service and not merely an economic service. In addition, in the Andaman Islanders, laziness is an antisocial behaviour.

The fifth proposition of Polanyi (1957:271 citing Linton 1963:484; Thurnwald 1932:282; Benedict 1934:168) is that humanity is the same down the ages. All sources, according to Polanyi hold the view that human societies are fundamentally similar in stages of economic development, and that collective emotion are essentially the same with all human beings and account for the recurrence of similar configurations in social existence.

In his sixth proposition, Polanyi (1957:273 citing Thurnwald 1932:xii, 106, 107; Malinowski 1930:167; 1926:125) argues that economic systems are embedded in social relations and that distribution of material goods is ensured by non-economic motives. According to Thurnwald, early economies are social affairs, which dealt with the number of persons as part of an interlocking whole, and where wealth was not of an economic nature but rather was social. Malinowski found that labour was capable of extremely effective work because it was "integrated into an organised effort by social forces". He also found that the bartering of goods and services was carried on within a standing partnership or at least associated with defined social ties or coupled with the mutuality in non-economic matters.

According to these studies the two main principles which governed economic behaviour were reciprocity and storage-cum-redistribution. For Malinowski, "the whole tribal life is permeated by a constant give and take". Moreover, Thurnwald argued that today's giving is recompensed by tomorrows' taking. This he said was the outcome of the principle of reciprocity. Malinowski said that what made reciprocity possible were duality of institutions or "symmetry of structure" found in every tribal society. These provided the indispensable basis of reciprocal obligations.

Furthermore, says Polanyi, Thurnwald discovered that combined with reciprocal behaviour was the practice of storage and redistribution. This was the most general application from the hunting tribe to the largest of empires, where goods were centrally collected and then distributed to members of the community using a diversity of ways. It was a feature among Micronesian and Melanesian peoples. This distributive function, he argued, was a prime source of the political power of central agencies.

In his seventh proposition Polanyi (citing Firth 1972 [1929]:12, 206, 350; Thurnwald 1932:170 – 268; Herskovits 1940:34; Malinowski 1930:167) finds that individual food collection for the use of his own person and family does not form part of early human life

citing. These studies, says Polanyi, corrected the assumption that pre-economic people took care of themselves and their families only.

His final proposition, Polanyi (1957:273 citing Thurnwald 1932:106 - 108) is that reciprocity and redistribution are principles of economic behaviour, which applied not only to small primitive communities, but also to large and wealthy empires. According to Thurnwald, distribution has its own particular history beginning with the life of the hunting tribes where differences begin to emerge when societies have more pronounced stratification. The distributive function increased with the growing political power of a few families and the rise of despots. These developments resulted in complicated systems of distribution. As the archaic states emerged, such as Ancient China, the Incas, the Indian kingdoms, Babylonia and Egypt, use was made of metal currency for taxes and salaries. However, the reliance on payments in kind stored in granaries and warehouses and later distributed to officials, warriors, and leisured classes that is to the non-producing part of the population, was maintained. In this case, distribution fulfils an essentially economic function.

The Māori Economy of Mana an Economy of Affection (The Theory of Hau)

I turn now to a review of Māori economic history to 1840. William Schaniel's (1995) economic history from 1769 to 1840 investigated the evolution of Māori institutions of livelihood and the movement of goods engendered by pre-colonial contact. In his study, he considered Māori social process, change and innovation and looked at how the roles of the leaders and slaves changed in the response to trade as did intertribal relations. In the trade process Schaniel notes that both sides, European and Māori, followed their own rules where both interpreted their actions and the actions of the other within their own frame of reference. Schaniel (1995:2) correctly disputes Raymond Firth's (see 1972 [1929]:446) study of economics of the New Zealand Māori and his argument that, "on the whole the organisation of economic activity remains singularly unimpaired." Schaniel highlights the problem of anthropological literature when dealing with change in Māori livelihood and social process over time. In the period under study, Māori established transactional relations with visiting vessels, missionaries, traders, sealers, and whalers.

However, before exploring the history of Māori transactional relations I recap key aspects of philosophy and religious belief in which, following Polanyi, the economy is embedded. Schaniel does not adequately address the matter of worldview and beliefs. Tikanga hau and

other associated tikanga in the korunga of ethics is a prism through which a Māori theory of economy is viewed. Hau is a cosmic force and a vital essence in humans and all other things in creation. The spiritual impulse that is hau urges reciprocity in human relations with nature and in relations with other people. This is the metaphysics as explained in the writings of Tamati Ranapiri and critically added to in Mauss' elaboration about the spirit of gifts and gift exchange. The aim in this chapter is to suggest the link between hau the belief system and the practice of hau exchange as the fundamental to the economic system. Goran Hyden's notion that tribal societies each has it own mode of production, which defines its type of economy. In the West African case, it is as an economy of affection that is considered.

Karl Polanyi's economic history and the eight propositions related to the economic attitudes and behaviour of the Pacific island peoples and cultures supports Hyden's thesis about the affective nature of tribal economies. These views of local Pacific economies and the hau suggest that in considering Māori attitudes to trade, the sale of goods and services to foreign kaipuke and crew are intrinsically different to the economic attitudes and behaviour of Pākehā English capitalists.

According to Schaniel, the initial focus for European trade was the Bay of Islands located in the northern tip of the North Island, but by the late eighteen twenties traders were channelling European goods to many other coastal Māori communities. The inland and landlocked communities had networks of traders and gained regular access to European goods. Schaniel observes that while inter and intra tribal transactional systems remained unchanged the composition of goods transacted changed considerably. The transactional relations and patterns and the new technology embodied in the goods and foodstuffs acquired made a significant impact on the role of women, slaves, men and Māori leadership. According to Schaniel white potatoes, iron, and firearms increased the importance of women and slaves in the process of gaining livelihood. The activities of men and leaders such as rangatira and tohunga (religious leaders) changed also, for instance, war expeditions particularly from North Auckland were longer in duration and greater distances were undertaken. The role of leadership now included managing the transactions with Europeans.

Not only did intertribal relations change as the ability to conduct such relations expanded; there was a widening of the range of relations:

> While European technologies and goods changed social roles and livelihood, they were integrated into the same conceptual framework as the items they replaced. The Māori maintained their non-scientific framework and pursued their traditional ends (Schaniel 1995:3).

According to Schaniel (1995:4), the "little change" school of anthropological thought looked upon the constancy of the non-scientific framework and ends, and ignored the impact of European transactions and technology on the actual working of Māori systems.

His second critique is of historical literature, which has maintained an opposite position to that of the anthropologists. Economic historians, such as J.P. Condliffe, ignored the pre-colonial period because this earlier period has little importance in New Zealand history. The historian E.J. Tapp said of this early contact period that it was questionable whether the impact of European upon Māori was beneficial. Finally, the geographer Kenneth Cumberland said that the consequences of contact were that Māori were exploited and their culture and economy largely destroyed (cited in Schaniel 1995:4 – 5).

The historians' approach has several assumptions, which Schaniel (1995:5 – 6) properly describes as of dubious validity. First, they confuse change with social disintegration, suggesting that change is the same as disintegration. Second is a "moralistic judgement" that Europeans involved in the early trade relationships between Māori and European were "bad elements", and therefore that trade with those Europeans was necessarily detrimental to Māori society. I agree with Schaniel (1995:7) when he argues that this is a view founded solely in a European ethical evaluation, and denies Māori the ability to understand their own actions. Since Māori were the significant political and economic power of the time, the relationship should be analysed in light of Māori understandings of it. This point indicates a need to for more anthropological and historical research on Māori economic agency. In this way, we can evaluate the performance of their endeavours.

Tribal Modes of Production - The Economy of Affection

I move now to link Schaniel's history with Goran Hyden's description of tribal economies of affection. The latter is particularly relevant to Māori of Nu Tireni. Earlier it was noted that each culture developed its economy in terms of various factors such as population growth, access to natural resources, and the overall environment in which a people produce and consume food and other services. Recent studies of African modes of production and the interaction of traditional tribal economics with capitalism and the market economy

suggest models applicable to Māori studies. According to Hyden (1980:18 – 19), each mode of production gives rise to its own type of economy, in the African continent context an African peasant mode caused an economy in which the affective ties based on common descent, and common residence prevailed.

There has been inadequate research on what I would describe as the positive aspects of the notion of a Māori mode of production and the likelihood of a Māori "economy of affection". Following Hyden (1980:18 – 19), in the case of Māori a tribal rather than a peasant mode of production developed over time and blossomed as an economy of affection. Early pre-European tribal groupings developed their own ways of organising reproduction of both material and social conditions, the circulation of goods and services, and consumption. The exchange of goods between communities was common throughout the country. While money was not used for pricing purposes, it seems that Māori exchange was not simply a barter system as in other societies. Muriel Lloyd Pritchard (1970:4) has succinctly described it as, "People received gifts and they made gifts".

The primary concern was with the problems of reproduction rather than production. Work, or improved productivity, was not an end in itself. In such an economy, economic action was not motivated by individual profit alone but had other considerations such as the redistribution of opportunities and benefits. Reciprocity was expected and was both structurally and spiritually induced, according to Māori belief systems in the early-mid nineteenth-century. As in the continent of Africa, the nineteenth-century Māori economy of affection encountered the intrusions of the market economy. However, it cannot be assumed that with the introduction of a market-driven economy during the latter part of the nineteenth century that its introduction led to the demise of the Māori economy of affection. Hyden has demonstrated that the market economy does not unilaterally cause the destruction of economies of affection because the latter have the power to survive and over time could affect the operation of the market economy (1980:18 – 19).

Māori power to survive and adapt within the market type of economy of the second half of the nineteenth century is demonstrated by Merrill (1954) review of economic activity and will be discussed later in this section. Firth's (1972 [1929]) study of pre-European Māori economic psychology shows a complexity of motives in economic life. First, Māori were impelled to meet basic vital needs. At the same time, the totality of economic life was not to

be considered solely on this basis. For Māori, rational effort was tinged with warm emotional interest. Firth (1972 [1929]:175) describes it as:

> The pleasure of craftsmanship, the feeling of emulation, the desire for public approval, the sense of duty towards the community, and the wish to conform to custom and tradition, all these and more find outcome in economic action.... It is clear that self-interest alone is not the driving force in native (Māori) industry...each man (sic) is actuated to some degree by the wish to promote the welfare of the community of which he is a member.

The underlying social and functional values of the settler economy are problematic for Māori kinship, ethics and values relating to human labour, or work. Little New Zealand research has been done on the cultural impact of ethics and values embodied in such ideas as, an efficient labour market, the commodification of labour, the primacy of capital over labour, principles of supply and demand, and the motivating power of self-interest, utility-maximisers, and the free market. Together these principles, values and ethics represent the sum of a particular cultural milieu and worldview and a feature of eighteenth and nineteenth century Anglo-capitalism.

According to this view Māori, whether as individuals or in their whānau-hapū kinship groups, are motivated primarily by self-interest, and respond to the laws of supply and demand as do other New Zealanders. However, the effect of these attitudes and behaviour is to reduce Māori and their culture to being mere instruments of the economy. This is not new for Māori because historically settler governments assumed and planned that Māori be the skilled labour for the settler economy. This is evidenced, in the type of schooling and tertiary education offered Māori (Walker 1991; Barrington and Beaglehole 1974).

Traditionally however, this is not how Māori understood the nature and the purpose of an economy. The early Māori economy served both material and spiritual needs. It was the result of "high mental endowment and their environment" and very hard work (Sutch 1964:6, 8) where aesthetic values were highly developed (Firth 1972 [1929]:395) and, how Māori were able to carry out extensive economic changes in a culture that appeared to have very few institutions considered necessary for the tasks (Merrill 1954). Firth, Merrill and Sutch began to define the early Māori economy before the full impact of capitalism and the market economy. Firth analyses the structure of Māori economic organisation. Merrill gives an outline of the Māori economy and society around 1840 until the 1860's and identifies the features of Māori economic change and Sutch offers a survey of the time of the coming of the European. Significantly, Merrill (1954:401 – 408) argues that Māori social structures

and institutions of the time facilitated rather than inhibited economic changes. Rather than competition between self-interested individuals or small nuclear family groups, Māori economic activity was motivated by a paradoxical clash in essential values. On one hand is the unifying power of the ethic of whānaungatanga and kotahitanga, structurally expressed in the kinship groupings of whānau, hapū and later iwi and waka. On the other hand is the rivalry and competition that the ethic of mana demands. This is not a case of balance; rather it is a case of the creativity of contrasting values. The flexibility of atomisation induced by the rivalry for mana was complemented by the unity of purpose of the kinship groups. The competition is to ensure the well being of the group.

The paradoxical nature of Māori thought stems from a strong motivation for survival. This is characteristic of Polynesian systems, which arose in the tightly circumscribed environments of atolls and small islands and the concomitant limited natural resources available to sustain large populations (cf. Sullivan 1985). One might speculate that this quality is an inheritance from the Lapita peoples whom archaeologists argue colonised the Western Pacific. Irwin (1989) argues that survival was the primary consideration in the Polynesian colonisation of the Pacific both in terms of motivation and method of exploration.

I suggest that the phenomenon of survival continued in Aotearoa-Ni Tireni. From the 1850s to the 1900s, a recognisable Māori economy was destroyed through direct military and legislative means coupled with massive immigration flows of new settlers and a judicial and parliamentary programme established to support an economy more suited to meet the social, cultural aspirations of the settlers. Māori lost control of both reproduction and production. The new immigrants came to build an Anglo-European economy, first alongside the Māori one and then to replace it (Hawke 1985:4). According to Merrill, Māori attitudes and behaviour towards work and employment did not disappear with the emergent market economy. Later studies point to the maintenance of attitudinal and behavioural indicators similar to that observable in an economy of affection. These sentiments and values underpinned a reconstituted rural Māori economy developed under the influence of Apirana Ngata and the Young Māori Party. Ngata's agenda was for greater incorporation in the market economy of the early twentieth century (Ngata and Sutherland 1940:135).
Further study of the tribal mode of production would help identify the basic logic and structures of early Māori social formation. It would also clarify, following Hyden, the changes, if any, to Māori attitudes to work and employment in the nineteenth century.

The worldview of the new settler economy was a mechanistic one in which human labour was valued solely for its economic purpose. The economistic approach adopted by settler society placed capital and other material resources at the centre of economic activity, rather than the people in society. Finally, it contained a vision of an atomised society consisting of individuals serving and meeting their own self-interests (M. Henare 1991:5 - 7).

To summarise Polanyi's eight economic propositions he states that gain, and expecting payment for one's labour is not natural and neither is restricting labour to in unavoidable minimum. Further, the incentives for labour are reciprocity, competition, joy of work and social sanction and can be seen as social service. He asserts that man has not changed and that economic systems are embedded in social relations and non-economic motives ensure the distribution of goods. Two principles from the Pacific, including the Māori data of Merrill, Firth and Schaniel, also point to reciprocity, whānaungatanga and redistribution governing economic behaviour. These lead to a conclusion that the early-mid nineteenth century Māori economy can be described as an economy of affection, or in Māori terms, an economy of mana and the actualisation of tapu.

The Phenomenon of Nation Making - Towards a New Political Arrangement for Māori

In recognising a new level of personal identity, a group identity for Māori became explicit and a feeling of a nation was the outcome. Coincidentally Māori communities set themselves up for participation in the emerging international world order and like an unfolding fern frond an imagined community emerged. The convergence of the two forces, one internal and the other external, occurred. This dynamic also fulfilled the increased demands of Māori leadership and the maintenance of self-sustaining communities. The proposals of James Busby for concerted action through the formation of a system of national governance of Māori made sense to them. They began to realise that to gain increased benefits from new technology and trade, and new ways of producing goods and services, a new political process was needed, perhaps something independent from existing tribal process.

The seeds for a new political system of governance were sown earlier in 1820 when Samuel Marsden travelled to the Hauraki-Thames area with Te Morenga, a close Ngāpuhi friend and confidante over many such trips. Te Morenga, like the Hauraki leaders, was concerned about the need for the cessation of Māori fighting Māori and he considered that

some form of government might now be appropriate. According to Marsden, some Hauraki people endorsed the idea of "regular government" and the protection of the British Government. There were two reasons. The first was that some form of governance might protect them from the aggressions of the larger and stronger tribes and second they wanted to turn their attention to new endeavours and as Te Matenga wrote, "reap the fruits of their industry" (Marsden in Elder 1932:46, 335). Te Morenga and others like Hongi Hika and Waikato were also privy to lengthy discussions with missionaries and traders who expounded ideas of government, either in Nu Tireni or Australia. For Hika and Waikato such ideas were like a bald bird given feathers when later in 1820 they experienced at first hand a parliament in action with their visit to House of Lords sitting in London.

In 1844 in a letter to Governor Fitzroy the then Colonial Secretary said that he:

> ...repudiated the notion that the treaties which we have entered into with these people are to be considered as a mere blind to amuse and deceive ignorant savages.... You will honour and scrupulously fulfill the conditions of the Treaty of Waitangi (cited in Waitangi Tribunal 1987).

The fact that the Secretary felt the need to strenuously oppose the idea that Māori were nothing more than ignorant savages, suggests that the idea was actively being debated and pursued in certain important circles.

The Māori as savage theme received something akin to official legal sanction in 1877 when Chief Justice Sir James Prendergast made his infamous ruling that the Treaty of Waitangi was a "simple nullity" (in Wi Parata v. Bishop of Wellington, 1877). Prendergast based his finding not on matters of law but on the assertion that barbarians and savages were not capable of signing treaties with civilized nations. These pre-understandings were apparent in Prendergast's earlier career as the colony's Attorney General. Conditioned by what Keith Sorrenson (1993) describes as the "war psychosis and heightened racism of the time," Prendergast's line of argument, or prejudice, is significant in that Māori as individuals and as a group would no longer be considered a civilized nation.

Following from these two premises, Māori were therefore incapable of signing, in an English rational sense, a treaty with civilised societies and nations. It marked a shift in Pākehā constitutional and legal thinking. The age of positivism, specifically legal positivism, now rose like a new star over the horizon. The effects of this ruling dominated New Zealand legal and constitutional law for a hundred years, until 1975 with the passing

of the Treaty of Waitangi Act. The combined consequence of legal positivism was to negate Māori endeavours for legal and constitutional remedies based on the treaty (Brookfield 1985:15 – 17). Mana Māori or sovereignty were both ignored and set aside.

The Prendergast ruling provided the settler community with the moral-legal force to take whatever steps were necessary for a total social, economic and political acquisition of the balance of land and other natural resources required to meet the aspirations of settler society. While part of Prendergast's ruling was later over-ruled by the Privy Council at the start of the twentieth century the substantive part stuck. The treaty was now a "simple nullity" and the ruling became orthodoxy that effectively blocked Māori from invoking Te Tiriti o Waitangi, their Magna Carta, before the Courts. The judiciary had joined the economic, political and military instruments of war against Māori. The takahitanga phase was complete.

That nations and nationalism were inventions of European experience and intellect (Gellner 1983, 1987) and operated in Nu Tireni and Māori society only when Pākehā advisers like Busby encouraged Māori towards a nationalist framework is a modernist theory that does not make sense in Māori terms (cf. Anderson 1991 [1983]). Earlier I discussed the understanding of Nu Tireni as the emergent nation. Following the contemporary Scottish historians McCrone and Nairn, the Māori nation is a primordial entity embedded in nature and Māori history and culture. Finally, this indigenous nationalism is of Māori metaphysics and emerges as necessity demands.

External influences are important but the internal mechanisms and urge for change are pre-eminent. Māori nationalism is a dominant feature of the later nineteenth century as flourishes as the bitter experience of settler colonisation, underpinned by British imperialist dreams, fed Māori nationalists urge for vestiges of effective mana and sovereignty.

However, in the first half of the century the movement towards expressing themselves as a Māori nation occurs within a culture and society in transition and transformation, particularly in the context of an engagement in a greater global arena. Finally, an observation is pertinent, about why other countries of the 1830s, such as Japan, Germany, Italy and India, had not yet started their quest for nationhood but remained societies consisting of smaller kingdoms, counties and/or regions. The case of Haiti and Māori

nation formation in the 1820s and 1830s and seen in this broader context is intriguing and informative.

A selection of six important events considered not as isolated or unrelated activities but as a process elucidate the phenomenon of the making of an indigenous nation. Many of the events, in their time, are internationally recognised symbols of nation and state building (cf. Hobsbawm 1983:1 – 14; 1990). They are events around which Māori leadership of the period considered new approaches to solving old problems of society i.e. the tendency to atomise. The phenomenon includes the visit of Hongi Hika and Waikato to England and their historic meeting with King George IV and their visit to the House of Lords. The second part of the phenomenon is a rangatira letter to King William IV, which led to the third event the appointment of James Busby as the first British Resident. His arrival in Nu Tireni and subsequent meetings with Māori led to the adoption of the first indigenous flag and the consequent international recognition of Māori sovereignty. The fifth component of the phenomenon of nation is the attempt to establish a national body of Māori leaders and their issuing of a declaration of independence, *He W[h]akaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni*. The final component in the phenomenon is a treaty with Queen Victoria of Great Britain.

Using a Heideggerian phenomenological approach outlined in the Introduction of this thesis, I am looking for meaning in the everyday actions of Māori leadership, the *Dasein* or being-in-the-world as Heidegger puts it. In studying the essence of existence and meaning, the everydayness of being a rangatira, places emphasis on their humanity, which is their tapu and mana. Moreover, the important relationship between past, present and future is kept in front of us. The present, says Heidegger and Māori, is made up of what has gone before and the potentiality of what is yet to come. Finally, utilising a Heideggerian approach Māori engaging in these events bring with them their own pre- understandings; their understandings of society, their understanding of the economy and their understanding of nation. This is set against the very different pre-understandings of Kings George and William, the British Resident James Busby, Queen Victoria, Captain William Hobson, the Christian missionaries and all other strangers involved in the encounters. I move now to give a narrative of the interaction between Māori of Nu Tireni and Royalty of Great Britain, particularly the outstanding success of the Hongi Hika and Waikato visit to England in 1820.

The "Conversation" Begins - Hongi Hika, Waikato, and King George IV, 1820

Hongi Hika and Waikato of Ngāpuhi, assisted by the Christian missionary layman, Thomas Kendall, spent an extremely busy 17 months away from Nu Tireni in Australia and England, from March 1820 to July 1821. Thus begins the first of the events in the phenomenon of nation formation.

They were neither the first nor the only Māori to travel abroad in this period. Others travelled to England in 1805, 1806, 1807, 1809, 1815, and 1818. Many others visited Australia, particularly New South Wales, and some joined crews of whaling ships. Almost without exception, they returned to their homeland laden with presents (Colenso1868:64, 66). A striking quality of the time is their adaptability to rapidly changed circumstances. They retained their Māoritanga, their Māoriness, and showed remarkable resilience often in extreme situations. Some travellers suffered in acute and oppressive circumstance while others, who received appropriate mentoring and patronage, exhibited a remarkable ability to move freely within the conventions of new ways of life. Language difficulties were not impediments to exploration and were overcome. Despite being isolated from the rest of the world for over one thousand years, they were readily able to exploit opportunities offered and resources discovered and had retained the Polynesian instinct for travel (Wilson 1990).

The Northern tribes first developed a relationship with the British Crown with visits by Te Horeta of Ngāti Maru, Te Taonui and the two brothers, Waka Nene (?-1871) (Ballara 1990d:306) and Patuone (?-1872) (Ballara 1990e:338), to British Navy ships. Titore Takiri of Te Moana i Pikopiko i Whiti (Yate 1835:271) writes in Māori with a tantalising offer to King William IV. He would place a tapu on timber and promised more timber spars for the British Navy. Further, as a sign of good faith he included with the letter a mere pounamu, a greenstone hand weapon, and two kakahu, chiefly garments. Titore sought a favoured position for his people in terms of a trading and friendship relationship. His gifts considered in there time are taonga of great value. Titore was another to receive a favourable response when a letter and suit of armour from King William IV arrived. Similar acts of reciprocity continued with Patuone receiving plate armour and a sword from the King via Captain Hobson (Orange 1987:10). In Māori thinking of tikanga hau, taonga and hau exchange was complete and relationships established of a very intimate nature. On balance these profound acts of friendship and goodwill figured prominently in rangatira and their peoples minds.

Later, another rangatira called Whare reminded officials of the meeting between King George IV and Hongi in 1820, when the King is reputed to have told Hongi and Waikato that Māori and British subjects were not to kill each other. The Elizabeth affair of 1830 violated the agreement. The tragic event provoked Samuel Marsden who promptly sought the appointment of a British Resident plus a ship (Orange 1987:12). However, according to Northern Māori belief the transgression of tapu and the mana, which were trampled upon, demanded recompense of some appropriate kind to restore balance in the relationship. There is another sequence to Whare's intervention.

During the uprising of Hone Heke and Kawiti and others against British breaking of the treaty, Heke sought advice from his friend the Catholic Bishop, Jean Baptist Pompallier, who urged no fighting and suggested he put his case in writing to the Queen (McKeefrey 1938:123 – 125). On the 10th July 1847, Hone Heke finally sent a letter in Māori to Queen Victoria. He protested that the relationship between Māori and Her Majesty was broken and that she was ultimately instrumental in the break, through the actions of her officials:

> I therefore say, who was it sent those people (Busby, Hobson, Fitzroy, and Grey a fighting governor) here? Which makes me think that you were the original cause of the dispute between us.

Heke reminded Victoria of the special relationship established between his uncles, Hongi Hika and Waikato, and her grandfather, King George, in 1820. Reminding Victoria of what King George had said to Hongi Hika, he requested she "restore the flag of my island of New Zealand, and the authority of the land of the people." If you do this continued Heke, it will be a sign of your love for New Zealand and for what King George had said to Hongi. "For although he and Hongi are dead, still the conversation lives; and it is for you to favour and make much of it, for the sake of peace, love, and quietness", he wrote. According to Heke, the "conversation" between Māori leaders and Royalty began in 1820 and remained a living discourse (Heke GBPP 1850 [1280]:17).

The "conversation" idea is another fine example of Māori historical metaphor and is as Ricoeur reminds us in Chapter One, a narrative on identity. Heke recalls an epoch event that reinforces Māori consciousness of identity, which in turn, as Ricoeur describes such an event, "generate feelings of considerable ethical intensity" (1988 [1985]:187). The passion of Heke's address to Victoria and his fierce defence of the integrity of the Treaty of Waitangi an occasion he referred to as "he kawenata hou", the new covenant, is in this order.

Others travelled to London and elsewhere much earlier than 1820. The beginnings of Māori overseas experience were hardly auspicious and the adventures were somewhat mixed. Beginning with de Surville's kidnapping of Ranginui in 1769, and his tragic death in 1770 when he succumbed to scurvy (Salmond 1991:339 – 343), this was followed by further kidnapping's in 1793 of Tuki and Huru by colleagues of Philip G. King to Norfolk Island. Upon their eventual return home, many others were to travel, some working their passages on whaling boats that had called at New Zealand (Wilson 1990:27). However, the travel to London is highlighted to set a context for Hongi Hika and Waikato's spectacular 1820 visit.

Perhaps the first Māori of Nu Tireni to visit London was Moehanga of Kororāreka, who travelled with Dr John Savage in 1805. He stayed with Earl Fitzwilliams, Savage's patron, and was able to observe aspects of London life but was not introduced to the King. On his return to Nu Tireni, he became a postman delivering letters to sea captains when they were in the harbour. His ability to speak English enabled this new occupation. Moehanga continued regaling listeners, Māori or Pākehā, about his visit making observations of the Royal family, the London water supply system, horses, carriages, house furnishings, roads, and agriculture. According to Marsden, Moehanga was listened to attentively (cited in Elder 1932:202; cf. Colenso 1868:66; cf. Wilson 1990:29).

Matara, a son of Te Pahi, was taken to London on 1807 with a friend of his father, Phillip King, who had recently retired as Governor of New South Wales. Not much is known of the visit other than he was introduced to the Royal family and Governor King died a year later. Matara returned to New South Wales laden with gifts after being treated well, although, Marsden believed that the gifts were stolen. He was to die soon after his return from an illness picked up while away (Colenso 1968:66; Ramsden 1936:27; Wilson 1990:28).

The third Māori to London was Ruatara in 1809. He had served on whaling and sealing ships since 1805 and had suffered at the hands of Europeans. After a short return to the Bay of Islands, he went back to sea in 1808 serving on the sealer, *Santa Anna*, but was never paid for his work. Once again, he was destitute. Undeterred Ruatara returned to serve on the *Santa Anna* but this time as a sailor on its journey to England. It was his hope to see King George III but in London in 1809 left stranded without a patron, he became ill, and was destitute. Somehow Ruatara returned to Sydney where Rev. Samuel Marsden, later to be called Te Matenga, found him on board the ship *Anne*, penniless and debilitated. Ruatara

lived with Marsden for six months at Parramatta before joining the whaling ship, *Frederick.* Again, he suffered at the hands of European captains and crew before he eventually returned, some four and half years later, to the Bay of Islands. It was now 1812 (Wilson 1990: Lee 1983:60). However, whatever the circumstances, these early travellers are the forerunners of what is to become a feature of modern rangatira commercial and political action namely to travel to England with an aim of meeting the Kings and the Queen of England. I turn now to the decisive events of 1820 and the start of what Hone Heke in 1849 referred to as the "conversation".

On 2nd March 1820 one of the most powerful Māori leaders of the generation, Hongi Hika, and a younger rangatira, Waikato, accompanied by Thomas Kendall left Nu Tireni for England arriving in London on 8th August 1820 (Kendall, 14th August 1820). Hongi (1772–1828), a direct descendent of Rahiri (Ballara 1990a:201), and Waikato, of the Mawhatu people, from Kaihiki in Mangonui Inlet (Lee 1987:103 – 106), departed for overseas to fulfil an ambition of Hongi. Waikato's role on the trip was as a "servant companion for Hongi" (Binney 1968:56 Note 1).

Kendall who was not a young man when he joined the missionary endeavour in the Pacific arrived in Australia in 1813. He was a layman who aspired to the Anglican priesthood and was appointed a Justice of the Peace in November 1814, together with three rangatira of the Bay of Islands, Hongi, Ruatara and Korokoro. The four were vested with authority to implement orders to do with law and order, and lawlessness on a vague jurisdiction over New Zealand. However, the Governor envisaged some type of minimal protection was to be offered to Māori of the Bay of Islands from the "customary depredations". The beginnings of the relationship of Hongi and Kendall had begun in Sydney where Hongi lived for a short period with Samuel Marsden. Hongi, Ruatara and Korokoro and others accompanied Marsden and Kendall on board the *Active* when it sailed for Pewhairangi in 1814. In very short time, Kendall became more and more dependent on the goodwill and patronage of Hongi Hika (Binney:13, 25 – 26; Thomson 1859 Vol. I:254).

The trio took passage on the whaler *New Zealander* and the journey to England took 23 weeks, during which Kendall wrote his *Guide to the Study of the New Zealand Language* (Morgan 1927:148). Little is known of the activities of Hongi and Waikato during the voyage but it can be assumed that they assisted in Kendall's task.

Meeting the King in England was an aim of Māori leaders of the time and an objective encouraged by missionaries. Hongi returned from England with an understanding that he reached an agreement with King George IV. From Hongi's point of view and in terms of Māori ethics and values the relationship was based on the pleasantries exchanged, namely tikanga manaaki; the exchange of interests, tikanga mana; and culminated with the shaking of hands and gift exchange, tikanga hau o tō taonga. In Hongi Hika's and later Ngāpuhi thinking, it was understood that a special bond was established in 1820 (Orange 1987:8).

On arrival in London, the Church Missionary Society saw an opportunity to achieve a systematic spelling and orthography for the Māori language. The group went quickly to Cambridge, which is about 60 miles north of London, to confer with Dr Samuel Lee. He was one of the great European linguists of the nineteenth century. At the time of the visit, Lee was a Fellow of Queens' College and Professor of Arabic and later in his extraordinary career became Fellow of Trinity College and Regius Professor of Hebrew. Lee was their host at Queens' College, which sits on the side of the Cam River and Silver Street to Milne Street, but now known as Queens Lane, where they were in residence for about two months (Lee 1820 Preface).

The cultural and architectural milieu within which Hongi and Waikato worked with Professor Lee is beyond anything they would have experienced in Nu Tireni or Sydney and would have captivated the inquisitive mind of Hongi. Queens' College received its charter in 1446 from King Henry VI possibly in honour of a youthful Queen Margaret of Anjou. A second queen, Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward IV was it second patron. One of the College's heraldic devices is the boar's head badge, which derives from King Richard III whose queen, Anne Neville, was the third patroness of the College.

The Old Court and the Cloister Court that Hongi and Waikato regularly walked are considered the most picturesque in Cambridge and were completed in 1449 and the 1490s respectively. The Old Court is made of medieval brickwork and consists of a typical university college plan with all the essential features embodied in a single court – Chapel, Library, Hall, Kitchens and living accommodation. The Cloister Court is an enclosed court on one side and contains a reception room for visiting dignitaries. In the south-east corner is the tower in which the famous European scholar Erasmus of Rotterdam lodged during his long stay in Cambridge sometime between 1511 and 1514. Another feature that Hongi would have studied and enquired about is the famous sundial that dates from 1733 and its

unique moon-dial. The Pacific visitors would have dined in the great Hall with its 1732 classical panelling together with tutors and students. They all sat under the watchful gaze of the portraits of Erasmus, Elizabeth Woodville, and Sir Thomas Smith himself a renowned Fellow of the College and an Elizabethan scholar and Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth I (Queens' College Pamphlet 2000).

The collaboration took place in rooms and the cloisters of Queens' during the long vacation at Cambridge and ended with the publication of *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand* in November 1820 (Morgan 1927:148). This work, although later modified and revised, formed the basis of written Māori language (Yate 1835:227, 228 – 229) as it is known and used today

According to Rev. Jonathon Holmes, Keeper of the Record at Queens College, Cambridge University (2000), Lee an uneducated farm labourer, was found one-day sitting near a barn reading and studying languages. His Squire was so impressed with such dedication to study he sent Lee away to be educated. Almost immediately on his appointment to Queens College, he became a Professor. Lee, now the pre-eminent language scholar in Europe, enthusiastically addressed the problem of the Pacific language. Earlier attempts to write Māori language had produced differences in the phonetic values of the vowels and Lee decided to place the Italian sound upon the vowels. He decided on an approach while setting in order Kendall's work and collections of words Kendall and second, listening to demonstrations of pronunciations by Hongi and Waikato (Morgan 1927:149).

However, Lee came to the task with some prior experience in his attempts to develop the language in print form. He had earlier criticised Kendall's foundation work for its complexity and decided that the language must be printed "as simple and comprehensive as possible" (Lee 1820:Preface; cf. Binney1968:60). Two years earlier, Lee had met the two young Ngāpuhi rangatira, Tuai and Titere, who in 1818 attended a school in Madeley, Shropshire. They came to learn English both oral and written (Jenkins 1993:4 – 5). Tuai, misspelt as "Tooi" and Tui, and Titere had assisted Lee in the task of constructing a written language but they were not able to complete the project. Lee had sent the material collected from Tuai and Titere to Kendall in New Zealand (Binney 1968:56, 61 Note 26). The result was the *Grammar* to which much credit belongs to Kendall, Lee, Tuai, Titere, Hika and Waikato.

However, Kendall's absence from New Zealand was not approved and he was censured for being away and the possibility of priestly ordination was withdrawn. Eventually, the Society relented and he was ordained a Deacon in Ely and received Holy Orders in Norwich during his brief stay in England and remained an employee of the Society.

J.L. Nicholas, who accompanied the original settlers to New Zealand in 1814, renewed his acquaintances with his old friends, and at Cambridge, Kendall met Baron de Thierry a student at Queens College (Holmes 2000). Thierry was said to have given Kendall a large sum of money to purchase some 40,000 acres of land from Muriwai and Patuone at Hokianga. However, in 1837 when Thierry arrived, he could not substantiate the claim (Lee 1983:103).

There have been a number of explanations of Hongi's motives and involvement on the trip. According to Judith Binney (1968:56 - 57), Thomas Kendall was a gunrunner and his trade in muskets become a "monkey on his back". He took his colleagues to England for weapons, instilling in the mind of Hongi that "he would obtain a good supply of muskets." His "fundamental object", says Binney, "was the acquisition of muskets and powder" to enact utu on the Hauraki and Ngāti Whatua tribes who inflicted a series of defeats over Ngāpuhi from about 1793. Jack Lee, a Bay of Islands historian, says the most significant political aspect of the visit was the presence of Hongi Hika who, "undoubtedly undertook the journey with the sole objective of promoting his own warlike ambitions by securing further arms" (Lee 1983:104). However, Lee goes much further making a moral judgement about Hongi's character. He believed Hongi to be an "evil genius," and his assertion of Hongi's motives follows similar views and assumptions of earlier settler historians (Cowan 1930:174; cf. Condliffe and Airey 1954:31; Harrison 1959:92, 98).

The assumptions and judgement regarding Hongi's moral character are harsh and in my view not well substantiated. When explaining his motives for the visit to England it is either stated or inferred that he went to fetch guns for his own political ambitions. This is a case of reading a motive into actions after the event possibly to underscore prejudgements of the historians. Shrimpton and Mulgan (1921:40), say of Hongi's motives that:

> He was so impressed by a defeat suffered by his tribe at the hands of a chief who had a few muskets, that he went to England mainly with the intention of providing himself with enough muskets to make his tribe invincible.

Cowan, Shrimpton and Mulgan, Condliffe and Airey, Harrison, Binney, J. Lee and others reached their conclusion to demonstrate that Hongi's motivation was driven by utu, rendered as revenge, on his enemies. This explanation is simplistic, somewhat monist and constitutes a form of reductionism in arguing a one-reason case for motivation. However, the assertion does not make sense. If Hongi was motivated solely by utu, he did not need to go to England to purchase guns, ammunition and the necessary accessories. He had only to go direct to Sydney to do so (cf. Belich, which is where he eventually bought them on his return from England. The logic of the reductionist argument is as follows. Hongi, ridden with utu, conspired to go to England to meet the English King, gather a large cache of gifts then return to Sydney, sell the presents and purchase weapons. This logic is very close to that proposed by one Ngāti Whatua source of the time (cited in Binney 1976:57 Note 5). It is timely to reassess the biases of the Ngāti Whatua source. The point being emphasised is that Hongi did not go to England solely to purchase weapons but rather had started with other nobler intentions more in tune with his primary responsibilities, as suggested in the korunga o ngā tikanga, the matrix of ethics in Chapter 2. His aim was to provide for the well being of his people.

There were very large stocks of surplus British weapons already on sale both in New Zealand and in Sydney in 1820. Kendall himself had reckoned that before their departure in 1820, some 300 muskets were already in the Bay of Islands. In the preceding and coming years, Sydney was a major supply centre of weapons to New Zealand (cf. Belich 1986: 22). Kendall himself was an arms dealer in New Zealand and on his eventual return continued selling arms in order to afford his missionary work. No doubt, there is much more to be written about Hongi Hika's reasons for visiting England. In my mind, Hongi was on rangatira business for rangatira purposes. Let me explore this further.

Thomas Kendall, the organiser of the group to England, wrote on the 14th August 1820, six days, after their arrival in London, about "the objects of Shunghee and Whykato visit to England." According to Kendall:

> Shungee and Whykato are come with a view to see King George, the multitude of his people, what they are doing, and the goodness of the land. Their desire is to stay in England only one moon (*month?*); and they wish to take with them at least one hundred men as settlers. They are in want of a party of men to dig up the ground in search of iron. An additional number of Blacksmiths: an additional number of carpenters; and an additional number of preachers who will try to speak to them in the New Zealand Tongue in order that they may understand them. Also 20 soldiers and 3 officers over them. The above settlers are to take cattle with them in order to

assist in cultivating the land. Land will be readily granted to the settlers. "The words of Shunghee and Whykato."

Shungee and Whykato assert that as Englishmen are permitted to visit New Zealand, it is just and reasonable that New Zealanders should be permitted to visit England. (*The note has the following statement, which is crossed out*). Shunghee wishes to take a Lion with him to New Zealand. (*The note continues*)
The natives wish to take with them a large dog each.
(Webster Māori Letters MS Papers 1009-2/+6) (My italics)

Hongi's himself had stated his intentions for visiting England before departure. He goes he said, "to see King George and bring back missionaries, carpenters, blacksmiths, Europeans, and twenty soldiers" (Thomson 1859 Vol. 1:254). This statement he reiterated when readying to return to Nu Tireni in December. In an interview with the *Cambridge Chronicle* (2nd December 1820, p.4) under a heading "New Zealand Chiefs" the reporter noted:

The views and wishes, with which Shungee and Whykato have visited England will be best conveyed by themselves, as Mr Kendall wrote them down from their mouths, without any prompting on his part:-

They wish to see King George – the multitude of his people – what they are doing – and the goodness of the land. Their desire is to stay in England one month then return. They wish for at least 100 people to go with them. They are in want of a party to dig the ground, in search of iron – an additional number of blacksmiths - an additional number of preachers, who will speak in the New Zealand tongue, in order that they may understand them. They wish also twenty soldiers, to protect their own countrymen, the settlers; and three officers, to keep the soldiers in order.

There is no mention of arms purchases in England. Neither does Rev William Yate (1835:169) who is a contemporary of Kendall's, mention the purchase of arms in his description of Hongi's and Waikato's visit to England but rather refers to their return loaded with valuable supplies gathered during the trip. The medical doctor Arthur Thomson in his two-volume work, *The Story of New Zealand* (1859) makes no assertion of Hongi's alleged desire to go to England to acquire weapons. Rather Thomson, who interviewed the aging Waikato sometime in the late 1840s or early 1850s, wrote that upon Hongi and Waikato's return to New Zealand via Sydney:

...a New Zealander informed him that during his absence his son-in-law had fallen in battle on the banks of the river Thames. From the grief this news produced he soon recovered, and immediately commenced collecting guns and powder."

However, Thomson (1859 Vol. I:265) claims that Hongi sold all the valuable presents collected on the trip and immediately purchased some 300 muskets. This is at variance with Yate, who recorded that Hongi returned to the Bay of Islands loaded with valuable

supplies. Working on 1832 prices for the purchase of guns in Sydney the 300 muskets might have cost about £45, each musket costing three shillings each (Belich 1986:22). Until there is more evidence, there is no way of knowing the true value of the gifts.

In brief, Hongi decided to sell some of his gifts to purchase new weapons in Sydney. It seems that this was an after-thought; when an opportunity arose and he made a decision to sell gifts and purchase guns. This does not mean that he went to England with this objective mind. My view is that upon his arrival in Sydney on the return from England something triggered his decision to sell some of the gifts and purchase weapons. Percy Smith follows Thomson suggesting that after meeting with Te Hinaki of Ngāti Paoa from Mokoia (Panmure) and Te Horeta of Ngāti Maru, Hauraki, Hongi realised that he had an opportunity to punish these people for present and past misdeeds by them on Ngāpuhi (Smith 1910:181 – 182).

Hongi and Waikato were shown every consideration during their sojourn in England meeting with academics, gentry, ladies and Bishops of English society. One highlight for the rangatira was the visit to the House of Lords on the 21st October, where they observed first hand a meeting of leaders. This is significant because Samuel Marsden and others had already sowed the seeds of the idea of a parliament for Māori as a new way of settling inter and intra tribal disputes. The oral memory of this part of the visit remains today.

A lengthy report of their visit to England appeared in *The Times* of London (2nd November 1820, p.3) under a heading "London Auxiliary Bible Society." The newspaper reported the eighth Anniversary meeting of the City of London Auxiliary Bible Society held at the Egyptian Hall, Mansion House, which met from 11.00am to 4.00pm. In two and a quarter full page columns, an extensive report of proceedings followed. In introducing the report, *The Times* says, the hall was packed to excess and included dignitaries such as Lord Gambier, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Digby Mackworth, Mr Sheriff Williams, the Lord Mayor of London and several Clergymen of the Church of England. Then it introduces the two New Zealanders who had caused a stir in their recent visit to the House of Lords:

> The two New Zealanders who, a few days ago, attracted so much attention in the House of Lords, were also present, and greatly excited the curiosity of the assembly.

Later after the Secretary of the Society had read the annual report, the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and moved that the report be received and adopted. He then spoke to the meeting praising the endeavours of the Society and the breadth and success of English missionary work observing, to much applause:

> Indeed their exertions embraced not only India and Africa, but New Zealand, and the remotest regions of the globe. The name of England would, therefore, in future times, be hailed as a blessing to the people of those countries for the advantages which the British Bible Societies had spread amongst them (Applause).

Later, another speaker, The Reverend Mr Owen, directed the attention of the company to the two New Zealand chiefs who:

> Had come over to this country to implore religious instructions for the people of the uncultivated regions over which they ruled (Applause).

The final reference to New Zealand and the two rangatira is as follows in a report of comments from the Rev. D. Wilson who said:

> ...before the New Zealand chiefs retired, he wished to introduce them more particularly to the meeting and to state that they came here from the Antipodes to learn the books, manners, religion, habits, and improvements of the English; and they hoped for the aid of this Society in the attainment of their object. (Applause.) They had been in Cambridge with Mr Lee, the Professor of Arabic, in order to reduce for the first time, their language to a grammatical scale; and he (Mr Wilson) hoped that these New Zealanders would shortly be able to carry back to their country men a Bible printed in their own language. (Applause.)
>
> The two chieftains, at the conclusion of Mr Wilson's speech bowed to the assembly, and immediately withdrew.

However, soon after the triumphant visit to the House of Lords, the public approbation accorded them at the London Society meeting and in the pre-eminent newspaper of London, Hongi's major ambition was achieved when he and Waikato were presented to King George IV on Monday 13th November. The *Cambridge Chronicle* (24th November 1820, p.3) under a heading "University Intelligence" recorded the occasion as follows:

> On Monday the 13th inst. The two New Zealand chiefs, Shunghee and Whykato, who were for a short time resident in this university, were presented to his Majesty; a circumstance which will give great satisfaction to their friends here, as one of them, Shunghee, so much respected by all who knew him, had earnestly and frequently expressed a desire to have a personal interview with "King George." His Majesty shewed to them his armoury and treated them with the greatest condescension and affability. They received also upon this occasion from his Majesty some valuable presents, with which, as with the reception they experienced, these chiefs are highly delighted. They are now about to return to New Zealand, accompanied by the Rev. Thomas Kendall, one of the Church Missionaries.

One of Hongi's principle objectives for the visit to England was met. In his mind, he now had a personal reciprocal relationship with King George. The personally led tour of the Tower of London and the exchange of gifts, which included a musket and a suit of armour from the Tower, put him in a higher category of mana than the likes of his confreres Titore and Patuone who had also exchanged gifts with the King but from afar. The tone of the encounter was such that Hongi did not seem overawed by the experience but rather considered the whole affair as a meeting of equals, of rangatira.

Although desperately ill Hongi, Kendall and party left England for Australia in the convict ship *Speke*. In Sydney, Hongi now recovered encountered Te Hinaki and Te Horeta. He informed them that in response for the Ngāpuhi defeats at Waiwhariki (Bay of Islands) and other battles, the destruction of their people was imminent. On 11th July 1821, Kendall and friends arrived at the Bay of Islands on board the *Westmoreland*.

Hongi's triumphant meeting with important dignitaries in England, highlighted by the meeting with King George IV and the visit to the House of Lords are in his eyes, recognition of mana, which was the principle reason for his visit. The mana was not just accorded to himself, Waikato and Ngāpuhi, but to Māori people, as he was already thinking past the limits of his own kinship framework of whānau-hapū. He returned home both as a proto nationalist and with something of an outlook of an internationalist and informed all those who would listen of his undoubted success in gaining such mana. His mana among others increased further in light of the success of the visit. In his mind, he had secured a new long-term relationship with the King and with England and some concessions. One concession sought was that in return for allowing the King's people to live in Nu Tireni in peace Māori would be treated like a British subject when in Australia and England.

Upon his return Kendall resumed his trade in arms. In June 1821, Marsden charged Kendall over his arms dealings (Lee 1983:104 – 105). Kendall estimated that there were now 2000 arms in the Bay, an increase on an earlier estimate of 500, some twelve months before.

Finally, mention has been made of the beginnings and the early impact of literacy among Māori with reference to letters of 1825 and 1837. These are examples of the force of the visit of Hongi, Waikato and Kendall to Cambridge University. There were others to follow,

whereby Māori used written texts as instruments for trade and political action, and the spread of ideas and information. The letters become historical artefacts, taonga tuku iho, and are new ways of informing the generations yet to be born of their ancestors' deeds.

The Rangatira Letter to King William IV, 1831

The phenomenon of nation making is found in the second of the events. In 1831, thirteen rangatira – Warerahi, Rewa, Patuone, Nene, Kekeao, Titore, Tamoranga (Te Morenga), Ripi (Ripa), Hara (Haara), Atuahaere, Moetara, Matangi and Taunui (Taonui) - all belonging to the Hokianga-Bay of Islands axis put their moko marks, facial tattoo marks, to a letter personally addressed to King William IV of England. Composed and written in Māori the letter went together with an English translation to London via Sydney (See Appendix VI; NA CO 201/221). William Yate, the scribe for the rangatira, sent the original letter to the Executive Council who met in Government House in Sydney. The Council consisted of three British Crown appointed officials – The Governor Richard Bourke, the Colonial Secretary, and Colonial Treasurer. An Archdeacon of the Anglican Church and the Honorable Colonel Lindsay were also in attendance. The Governor presented papers and the proposal of his predecessor, Governor Darling, who first considered placing a resident at the Bay of Islands or any other suitable place for the purpose of protecting and promoting the commercial intercourse between Australia and New Zealand.

According to Bourke, the duty of the Resident should be to "conciliate the goodwill of the Chiefs and to encourage the production of those articles of commerce of which Great Britain and the Colony stand in need". In addition, he said, the proposed Resident should "endeavour to protect the Natives from ill treatment by all lawful means, and to procure the surrender of the fugitive convicts who are lurking in those Islands" (NA C0 201/221:389 – 390). The Council discussed the proposal including who ought to bear the expense of establishing the office of Resident. On the question of the perceived French threat to claim the Islands for France, the Council put that aside. The point was raised in the rangatira letter:

> Kua rongo mātou ko te Iwi o Marion tēnei me ake ū mai ki te tango i tō mātou kainga, koia mātou ka inoi ai kia meinga koe hei hoa mo mātou hei kai tiaki i ēnei motu (NA CO 201/221:387).
>
> We have heard that the tribe of Marion* is at hand coming to take away our land, therefore we pray thee to become our friend and guardian of these Islands (Yate translation NA CO 201/221:385)

For good measure, and by a convenient coincidence it seems, the French naval ship *La Favorite* anchored the day after the letter was signed, a point added to Yate's translation as he explained the reference to Marion de Fresne who was in Nu Tireni in June 1772 (NA CO 201/221:385; Salmond 1991:394 - 395). The French are coming fear is an alarm device used by the missionaries for their own ends. Despite the fact that Yate and Rewa had two weeks earlier returned from a visit to Sydney apparently with the rumour that the French warship was to annex Nu Tireni to France (Orange 1987:11). I am not convinced that Rewa, Taiwhanga or other rangatira were driven by such anxiety. Northern Māori oral tradition certainly records de Fresne's visit and his mistake that led to his death. However, the tradition does not record any alarmist tendency from among Māori about French intentions to take over the country or that they harboured the anxiety for 59 years until English missionaries arrived to help them. Claudia Orange observes that the French threat was harmless but rumour served a missionary agenda for a modicum of official British intervention.

Yate adding a note to the letter the day after the rangatira had put their moko marks to it. The Council read a report from the case for the appointment of a Resident and discussed the appeal to King William. The request received the support of the Council who recommended the appointment of a Resident at New Zealand" (NA C0 201/221).

For a number of years, only the English translation was available to historians to study (cf. Buick 1976 [1914]:11) but more recently, a copy of the original Māori language letter, including the moko marks of the rangatira is available. Few historians if any have seen the letter, which is now accessible at National Archives, in Wellington. The genesis of key ideas and some resultant themes are identified. First, is the way that many rangatira began to speak to an outside world in written form. At the same time, through literacy they progressed the identification of themselves and their people as a people in a wider world. This is seen in the opening statement of the letter, when after addressing King Wiremu, they identify themselves and their country by writing, "Ko mātou ko ngā rangatira o Nu Tireni" rendered as, we the leaders of Nu Tireni. This was to be a standard way of rangatira addressing others in the world. The word kainga is used to identify two different types of settlements, "Tēnei kainga ki te Kerikeri" – This place called Kerikeri. A second use of kainga is seen in "tou kainga anake" – it is only your land; here kainga refers to a country. A third use of kainga in the letter is "Tou mātou kainga", which refers to our country. The letter also lists what they consider their taonga, which are valuables or

commodities available for trade. Finally, the moko marks are used as signatures. The above phrases and the Māori terms used to express and elaboration of meanings are a feature of this and other letters of this period.

1831 Letter to King William IV The Gracious Chief of England
(See also Appendix VI)

Ki a Kingi Wiremu te Rangatira atawai o Ingarangi

E Kingi Wiremu. Ko mātou ko ngā Rangatira o Niu Tireni e huihuia nei ki tēnei kainga ki te Kerikeri, e tuhituhi atu nei ki a koe; e rongo ana hoki mātou ko koe te Rangatira nui o tarawahi, nōu hoki ngā kaipuke maha e ū mai nei ki tō mātou wenua.

He hunga rawa kore mātou he oi anō ō mātou taonga he rakau, he muka, he poaka, he kapena he oi ka hokona ēnei mea ki ōu tangata, ka kite mātou i te taonga o te Pākehā. Ko tou kainga anake te atawhai ana ki a mātou nōu anō hoki ngā Mihaneri e ako nei i a mātou ki te wakapono ki a Ihowa te Atua ki a Ihu Karaite anō hoki tana tamaiti.

Kua rongo mātou ko te Iwi o Marion tēnei me ake ū mai ki te tango i tō mātou kainga, koia mātou ka inoi ai kia meinga koe hei hoa mo mātou nei kai tiaki i ēnei motu kei tata mai te wakatoi o ngā tau iwi kei haere mai ngā tāngata kē ki te tango i tō mātou wenua. A ki te mea ka tutu e tahi o ōu tāngata ki a mātou, ka noho nei hoki he hinu ki te wenua nei he mea oma mai i runga i te kaipuke mau ra pea rātou e riri kia rongo ai, kei hō noa te riri o te tangata Māori.

Nō mātou tēnei pukapuka nō ngā Rangatira o te Iwi Māori o Niu Tireni.

No. 1 Warerahi	No. 2 Rewa
No. 3 Patuone	No. 4 Nene
No. 5 Kekeao	No. 6 Titore
No. 7 Tamoranga *(Te Morenga)*	No. 8 Ripi *(Ripa)*
No. 9 Hara *(Haara)*	No. 10 Atuahaere
No. 11 Moetara	No. 12 Matangi
No. 13 Taunui *(Taonui)*	

Signed in the presence of the Committee of Missionaries at Kerikeri, Oct 5, 1831.
William Yate
Rangatira Letter to King William IV, 5th October 1831, NA CO201/221, pp.387 – 388.

The English Translation, 1831 Letter (William Yate)

To King William, The Gracious Chief of England

King William. We, the chiefs of New Zealand assembled at this place, called the Kerikeri, write to thee, for we hear that thou art the great Chief of the other side of the water, since the many ships which come to our land are from thee.

We are a people without possessions. We have nothing but timber, flax, pork and potatoes. We sell these things, however, to your people, and then we see the property of Europeans. It is only thy land which is liberal towards us. From thee also come the Missionaries who teach us to believe on Jehovah God, and on Jesus Christ His Son.

We have heard that the tribe of Marion* is at hand coming to take away our land, therefore we pray thee to become our friend and guardian of these Islands, lest through the teazing of other tribes should come war to us, and lest strangers should come and take away our land.

And if any of thy people should be troublesome or vicious towards us (for some persons are living here who have run away from ships) we pray thee to be angry with them that they may be obedient, lest the anger of the people of this land fall upon them.

* The French Ship "La Favorite" anchored the day after the document was signed. The Natives call the French Marion from the name of the Captain who was cut off in June 1772.

This letter is from us the chiefs of the natives of New Zealand:

The foregoing is a literal translation of the accompanying document.

William Yate
Secretary to the Church Missionary Society,
New Zealand

Wharerahi, chief of Paroa
Rewa, chief of Waimate
Patuone, chief of Hokianga
Nënë, chief of Hokianga
Kekeao, chief of Ahuahu
Titore, chief of kororareka
Te Morenga, chief of Taiamai
Ripa, chief of Mapere
Haara, chief of Ohaewai
Atuahaere, chief of Kaikohe
Moetara, chief of Pakanae
Matangi, chief of Waima
Taonui, chief of Utakura

(NA CO201/221, pp.385 – 387; cf. . Buick 1936:11).

The Appointment of a British Resident for Nu Tireni

The third component of the phenomenon of the articulation of a Māori nation starts in Sydney in 1831 and culminates with the appointment of the first British Resident to be located in Nu Tireni. Partly in response to the rangatira letter and due to representations of the missionaries and others, the Executive Council met in Sydney on 22nd December 1831. The Council consisted of three British Crown appointed officials - Colonial Secretary, Attorney General and Public Treasurer – who discussed the appeal to King William. However, in reaching a recommendation they considered other relevant information such as

representations of the New Zealand missionaries and traders, and in particular the trade figures for the same year between Sydney and New Zealand.

The trade figures were impressive and seemed healthy. New Zealand exports to Sydney, 1st January 1831 to 8th December 1831 were valued at £34,282 and consisted of 1182 tons of flax, 277,600 feet of planks and timber, 597 handcrafted spars, 26 tons of potatoes and 45 tons of whale oil and 7.13 tons of whale bones. The flax represented 71% of the value of the exports, timber products 15%, and whale and seal products 11% a total of 97%. The 1831 imports from Sydney to Nu Tireni were also healthy leaving a balance of trade in Nu Tireni's favour. However, the imported products point to the political priorities of the time. The Sydney arms dealers sold 5,888 muskets, 61,453 lbs in gunpowder and 39 cwt in shot and balls and other accessories. Weapons accounted for 38% of the exports, whaling gear and casks 20%, groceries, clothes and other provisions for missionaries and other Pākehā inhabitants 23%, and spirits and tobacco 9% (NA Minute no. 66, Executive Council, 22nd December 1831). There was indeed a healthy trade surplus in favour of Nu Tireni in 1831, a trend noticeable since 1826 when British official records began for Nu Tireni.

There is irony in the fact that while Pākehā missionaries were writing to their respective Church agencies and government officials expressing concern about Māori fighting between themselves, Māori were arming themselves with guns purchased for them by Pākehā arms traders in Sydney. Further, some of the gun runners in Nu Tireni were missionaries like Thomas Kendall and possibly Samuel Marsden as well as traders.

Dorothy Urlich's (1969:75 - 79) study of the diffusion of arms within Māori society suggests that the Bay of Islands were already close to saturation point during the late 1820s, that Taranaki had entered the arms race in 1828, and that Ngai Tuhoe received their first bulk supply of weapons in 1831. Waikato, the East Coast Ngāti Porou, the inland Te Arawa and others reached saturation point about 1835. Urlich's pattern of three stages from 1800 – 1840 is relevant; from 1807 to 1820 is the "primary stage" of firearms diffusion where arms are introduced to Nu Tireni through the top parts of North Auckland. The primary centre is the Bay of Islands. The second stage, "the proper diffusion stage," is 1821 to 1830 where new centres of innovation and diffusion are established first as subordinate centres but quickly become innovation centres in there own right. They overtake the original primary centre, the Bay of Islands. Urlich's third stage of dissemination is the "condensing stage" 1830 to 1835 where firearms are "commonly known." 1835 represents a saturation point for

the North Island where there is "an equalisation in the possession of firearms" (1969:80, Apptendix I, A Correlation between Migrations and the Dissemination of Firearms, 1800 - 1840).

On the bases of these representations, the British government in London decided to appoint a British Resident, considered one of the lower levels of diplomatic appointments. However, it was evidence that Māori of Nu Tireni had continued moving ever more closely into a British sphere of political and economic influence. For many North Auckland Māori this was considered progress, and consistent with the vision of Hongi Hika and others.

The British Resident Arrives, 1833

James Busby arrived in 1833 to establish his office in the Bay of Islands. James Busby is the son Sarah Kennedy (1768 – 1842), a Scottish woman and a member of the Kennedy Clan of Culzean Castle, Ayrshire, where, according to Busby family tradition, she was born (A.D.M. Busby 1994 Vol. I:42 – 45 Ramsden 1942:27 – 28; cf. Fergusson 1958). The Castle and estates are on the southern Scottish coastal area overlooking the Irish Sea. Sarah had what the Scottish refer to as 'second sight', which is the special gift of foresight. Māori know this power as matekite. James' father was John Busby (1765 – 1857) an Englishman from Alnwick, Northumberland in Northern England. He was a mineral surveyor and mining engineer and developed an aptitude in surveying from minerals and water.

John and Sarah married in 1798 in Tyningham Village, near Haddington in Scotland, which was the seat of the 9th Earl of Haddington. The Earl later became the patron of the Busby family and was most helpful in lobbying Lord Bathurst, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, supporting the family's emigration to Australia in 1823. He later assisted in James' application as the first British Resident of New Zealand.

The Busby family shifted from Haddington to Edinburgh where James was born in Thistle Street on 7th February 1801. Except for short period as a ten year old in Morne, Northern Ireland, all his schooling was in Scotland. In 1816-1817, James followed his older George to the University of Edinburgh. George finished his medical degree but James was able to complete only one year as a student in the faculty of medicine because of the financial difficulties of his parents. However, in the context of the time one year at university was considered a significant achievement and one in which the parents were justifiably proud.

Edinburgh was a major influence in shaping the mind of young James. Ged Martin's informative review of James' early years in Edinburgh emphasises the significance of the cultural and intellectual milieu of the time. It was a city in which the "written word, the bond, the act of parliament was held in special reverence" and was the centre of Scotland's unique legal system. James, says Martin, would have studied Scottish history, particularly two documents that shaped Scotland's past that have an "uncanny" similarity to the Treaty of Waitangi. The first document is the National Covenant of 1638 signed in Greyfriars, Edinburgh. The second, the 1706 Treaty of Union with England, this led twelve months later to the Union of the parliaments. Martin speculates that the Treaty of Waitangi as a covenant idea may have derived from the national Covenant of Scotland (Martin 1999:17, 20 - 21). He refers to Hone Heke and Patuone's famous reference to the treaty as "he kawenata hou", rendered as a new covenant but more on this in Chapter 4. However, the Act of Union of 1707, says Martin, would have won the approval of James because it led to the extinction of one party, namely the independent kingdom of Scotland. Martin's view is that a similar extinction occurred to the United Tribes of New Zealand at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. While I agree with the contextual discussion on historical and constitutional influences on James Busby's upbringing, and accept that Busby changed his mind about Māori independence sometime after 1838, it cannot be assumed that Māori leaders followed Busby's change of heart and mind on mana Nu Tireni or sovereignty cession.

Finally, to treat Busby as if he was an Englishman who embodied English qualities is a mistake. So too are the severe criticisms of Claudia Orange, Keith Sinclair, William Pember Reeves and Peter Adams about his character (cited in Martin 1992:14, 21 – 22). Busby is born and raised as a Scot, and when considered in this light some of his advice to Māori from 1833 to about 1838 makes sense. His proposals to Māori on independence, law making, working together in a collective capacity all seemed to be underpinned by current legal and constitutional principles more closely associated with Scottish jurisprudence, which derives many of its principles from continental Europe, and international law espoused by Emerich de Vattel. According to Lord Thomas Mackay Cooper, Lord President of the Scottish Court of Session the principle of the "unlimited sovereignty of Parliament is a distinctively English principle which has no counterpart in Scottish constitutional law" (Cooper 1991:98). Significantly, Busby, or Puhipi as Māori in the Bay of Islands knew him, was a widely respected authority figure among many of the leaders of the time. Evidence of the respect is seen in the regularity of the meetings with rangatira at

his house at Waitangi. In the introduction to this chapter I suggested that the Busby residence functioned in the Māori mind like a marae, which explained why many rangatira from all over the country were comfortable meeting in the space in which they were able to encounter, kanohi ki te kanohi – face to face the new world of Europe.

From the Flag of the Independent Tribes 1834 to the Flag of Independence

The fourth component of the phenomenon of nation making began in March 1834. In response to long standing problems of Māori and Pākehā owned shipping on the high seas, including the dangers of piracy and with clashes with customs officers in Sydney (Orange 1987:19), James Busby convened a gathering on his front lawn. I referred to this meeting in the introduction of this chapter at which a flag of convenience was selected by a group of Northern rangatira. The significance of the choice of flag, including the British ritual, pomp and civility associated with the day, meant that Nu Tireni and New Zealand was entitled too and in time received a modicum of international recognition, including an international personality. Nu Tireni and Māori up to this moment had no international status.

They met under a specially constructed awning near Busby's house in front of which the British Ensign was flown on the first flagstaff, which was erected by Captain Lambert of His Majesty's ship *Alligator*. These, said Busby in his report to the Colonial Secretary of new South Wales, emphasised the importance of the occasion (Letter to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, 22nd March 1834, NA CO 209/1, pp.234 – 236).

The flag, initially known as the Flag of the Independent Tribes, and the international recognition accorded to it, enabled Māori and Pākehā traders based in Nu Tireni to sail the open seas guaranteed of protection by the recently established (1816) East Indies and China Command (McLintoch 1996 Vol. I:694) and the later Pacific Command established in 1819 under Commodore Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy. From the 1820s British Navy ships visited Nu Tireni to be a presence and enforce, if necessary, law and order in the Bay of Islands (Waters 1956). However, over the longer term the flag was to become a symbol and metaphor of Māori independence, a flag for the Māori monarchy and Māori identity during the remainder of the nineteenth century.

In his speech in Māori to the gathered meeting, Busby explained that King William IV of England considers himself and Māori as friends, "Kua wakaae te Kīngi o Ingarani ki a koutou, hei hoa mōna." Further, the King hopes that settlers and Māori would continue to

live in peace. For the Northern Māori, William was simply restating and reaffirming understandings reached between King George IV, Hongi Hika and Waikato in 1820 whereby such a mutually beneficial relationship was established.

For the remainder of Busby's address he explained that three flags had been bought to them for their consideration and told them the procedure for the selection of one flag from the three on display. An unambiguous offer of protection is made in the King's name should William approve the flag chosen by them and in future flown on their trading ships. The King's offer is his tapu and mana, which means that their individual and collective mana is enhanced. In going along with the Busby plan the rangatira enhanced the mana given to King George IV by Hongi and Waikato. Busby explained it as follows:

> A ko te kara e tangohia e te tokomaha o ngā Rangatira ko tō kara tērā mo Nu Tirani a he oi anō hoki te mea e tangohia –
>
> Anō ka wiriwiria te kara, ka kawea e te Rangatira o te puke (ship) tana a ka wakatakoria ki ngā waewae o te Kīngi – a ki te painga te kara e ia ko ngā kaipuke e wakatare ana i taua kara e kore e tangohia, otirā ka tukua ki ngā tūranga kaipuke o Kīngi Wiremu, hohoko ai.
> (NA, BR 1/1 p.139)

The attendance of Māori leaders and their entourages at the somewhat hastily arranged gathering, signifies the importance of the occasion itself and the outcome being an agreement over the selection of a flag. Busby records that 25 rangatira with a "considerable number of followers," attended the one day meeting on Thursday 20th March 1834. One witness, Von Hügel (CTL, Rev. Lochore Papers) suggests that some 750 Māori attended of which about one third were women. It was the season of Ngahuru, the time of autumn to Pākehā, which was the best time to convene such a gathering. Te ngahuru was the harvesting time when bird life was plentiful, especially kukupa and kuaka and the seafood was fat. Politically, it was the time of least fighting because of the needs of harvesting before the makariri, the colder winter.

The Māori text of Busby's address has the term "kaipuke" used frequently throughout, and the term became a powerful metaphor for the nation and the state. My point is that not only have Māori observed the floating mountains moving in and out of the Bay, but they have shrewdly seen what they are; self-contained units with living communities on board and a helmsmen or captain in charge.

Another Māori term comes to the fore in light of the flag selection ritual. Te kara, the Northern Māori word for a flag is a transliteration of the word colours associated with flags

on trading and military ships. Another Māori term for a flag is haki, which is a transliteration that refers to 'Jack' as in the Union Jack. The haki has an early usage and sometimes refers to the kaitaka, or a woven flax mat that was used as a type of flag on the masthead of the *Sir George Murray*, in Sydney Harbour in 1834 (Sutherland 1958). This ship was built at Horeke in Hokianga and was linked to Patuone and Taonui who were on board it in November 1830 when it was seized in Sydney and the cargo impounded because it did not have an acknowledged national flag (Orange 1987:19). These incidents led to the gathering convened by Busby.

Responding to the phenomenon before them, the rangatira observed that foreign flags with icons and symbols evoked a certain human behaviour of respect linked to the phenomenon. The colours were more than pieces of cloth to Māori who found meaning in the colours and symbols on the material recognising the tapu, mana, mauri and wairua imbued in te kara.

Henry Williams, who, before becoming a missionary was a lieutenant in the British Navy, designed the iconography of the kara before them. He designed the chosen flag (Busby to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, 13th January 1834, NA CO 209/1 No. 33, pp.224 – 225). He knew of Māori interest in iconography, symbols and metaphor and therefore the need for the correct choice of colours and symbols in order to gain the result required for the purposes of the gathering.

Bay of Islands Māori already identified the large red cross on a white background as the St George Cross of the Church Missionary Society. Henry Williams increased the size of the red cross to meet Ngāpuhi and other Māori affection for red, which is a sign of mana and rank and a mark of tapu objects (Busby to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, 13th January 1834, NA CO 209/1 No. 33, p.224; see Binney 1968:88 Note 16). In the top left hand corner, he added four white eight-pointed stars; each placed on a deep blue coloured background and divided into four quarters demarcated by a red cross (Dimensions, National Flag, NA CO 209/1, p.124).

According to a New Zealand Navy historian, Peter Dennerly (1995; see Royal New Zealand Navy n.d.), the flag design was not the standard British Navy pattern of the time. Stars were not yet on British Navy flags and the white ensign was still some twenty years away from becoming an official Navy flag. Further, the stars may be of Polynesian derivation and the black fimbriation may well be a thick line of the design page. The

fimbriation was normally white. Fimbriations are, in heraldic design, used for the demarcation of colours. The stars probably represents the ancient Polynesian sailing symbols for the South Pacific (cf. Best 1978 [1955]:28, 79 – 80), namely the constellation of the Southern Cross known by Māori as Te Pūtea-iti-ā-Reti (Tamarēreti) or Te Kāhui Rua-māahu (Hare Hongi 1911:202).

The eight points have people puzzled, and as can be seen in the examples of other imitation flags, variations of the eight pointed stars have been made. In heralding terms, points on a flag are important. For instance, the stars on the Australian flag have seven points representing the seven states. The eight pointed stars are likely to be a reference to the Southern Cross (cf. Sutherland 1958:). According to Bruce Biggs (1990:32 – 37), eight occurs with better than chance frequency with obvious symbolic overtones. While he found no mention of the special significance of the numeral, it possesses great power and cultural significance for Māori. Furthermore, he demonstrates the cultural significance of eight entities. All of which leads me to speculate that Henry Williams may have known of this aspect of Māori belief and cultural significance and included it in his design. Dennerly considers that the blue background to the stars represents the blue of the Pacific Ocean, but again this is intelligent speculation as the records are not clear on these details.

Te kara is a very good example of the cultural appropriation of symbols. Over time, it became a potent metaphor of the nineteenth century and a symbol, sometimes in war a prize, used by tribes as a sign of their tribal mana and Māori sovereignty. As mentioned above te kara was chosen by Te Heuheu Iwikau as the flag to be flown at Pukawa for the selection of Te Wherowhero as first Māori King.

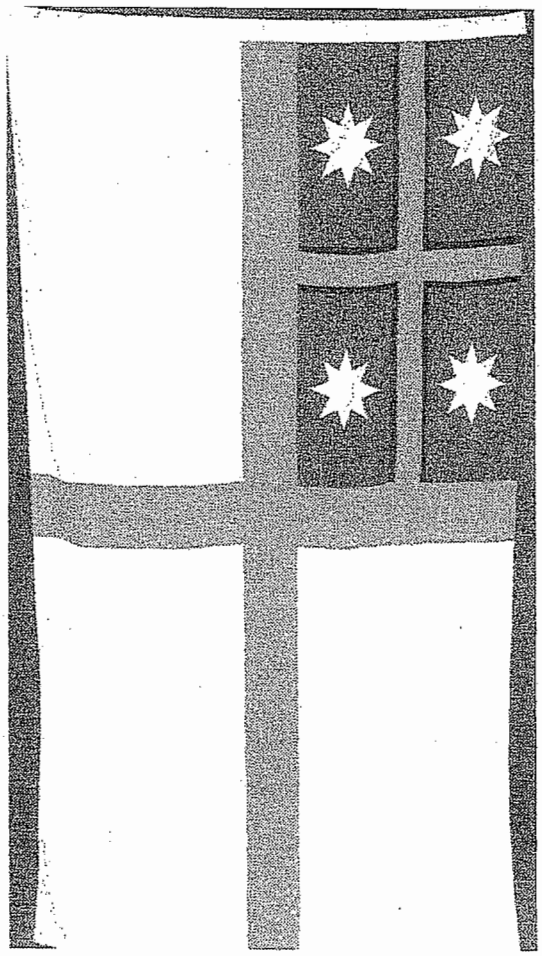
There is no evidence that in incorporating te kara as part of their symbolic systems and inclusion in any matrix of tikanga that Māori were, "making a sign of deference to the English" as Greg Denning has described the utilisation of flags in the Polynesian Wallis Islands. According to Denning, the Wallis people "see it as a sign of overarching sovereignty that was outside and above local politics but was imbued with all their metaphors" (1992:280; cf. Sahlins 1994:80). I suggest that this is true also for Māori Polynesians with the incorporation of moko (facial tattoo symbols) scrolls used as signatures on letters, colours on flags plus stars of significance. Symbols and metaphors were not signs of deference to the Pākehā power. In reality, they were the opposite.

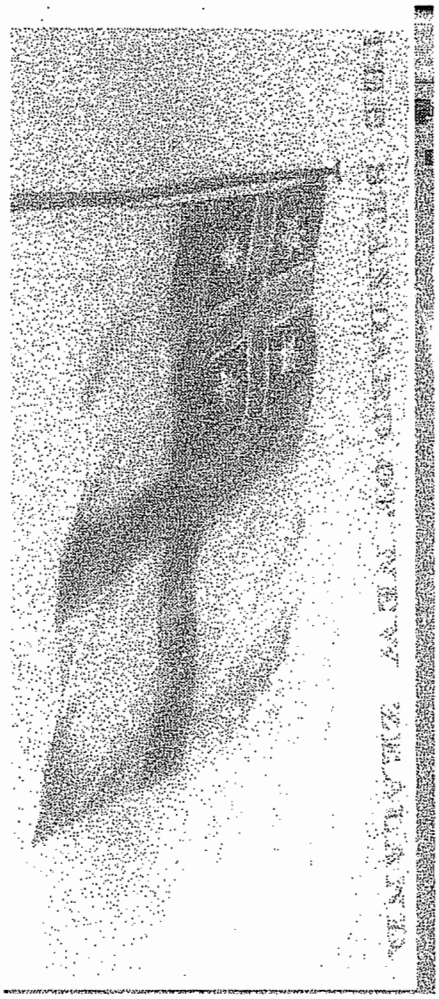
Acceptance of the moko as signatures and other Māori symbols was a case of English deference and recognition of another cultural system (cf. Denning 1994:470).

After the close voting for one of the three possibilities, in Busby's Scottish terms, the early expression of a Māori parliament had selected a national flag. Busby reported that a son of one of the rangatira assisted in recording the votes. The assistant was likely to be Eruera Pare Hongi who by now was a very polished interpreter, writer and commentator for his many relatives. After the business proceedings, Busby offered a hakari, a closing feast acknowledging his role as host for his visitors. Some 584 pounds of flour and 100 pounds of sugar were consumed (Busby to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, 22nd March 1834, NA CO 209/1, p236). The new delicacy named as korori by Māori, consisted of a porridge of boiled flour, water and sugar, which eagerly consumed.

In Figure 3.1 Te Kara – The Flag of 1834 is a photo of an exact replication of the original flag (A) followed by photos of variations of it – (B) Rev. W. Yate's version, (C) the Shaw Savill and Albion Shipping Company 1858, (D) Ngai Tahu flag, Tuahiwi Marae, Rangiora, (E) Te Rarawa ki Hokianga flag, Tamatea Marae, Panguru. Note the variations in star points, the changes of fimbriation colours from black to white.

Figure 3.1
Te Kara – From the Flag of the Independent Tribes, 1834, and derivations

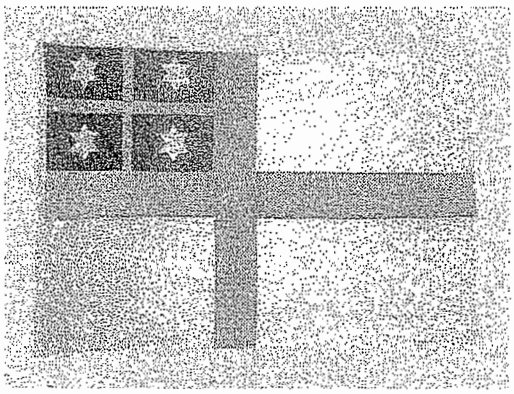




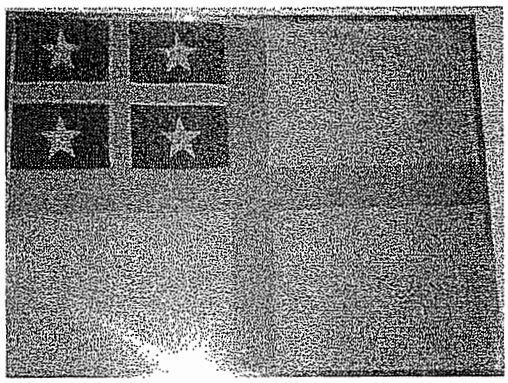
A.) Replica of 1834 Flag
Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington
8 pointed stars, black fimbriation

B.) Rev. W.Yate's Version of the
Standard of New Zealand (1835:22).
6 pointed stars, white fimbriation

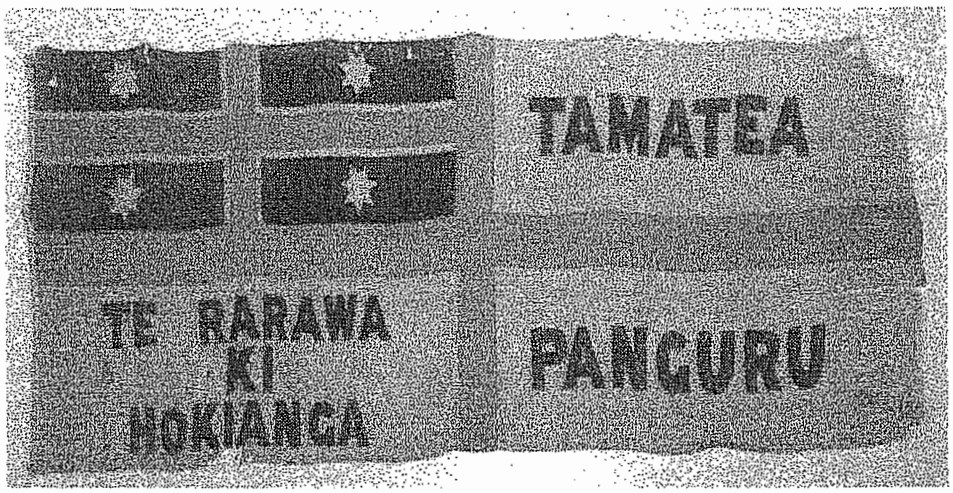
Figure 3.1
Te Kara - Flag of the Independent Tribes, 1834 and derivations



C.) Shaw Savill and Albion Shipping, 1858.
Photograph by Irihapeti Ramsden
6 pointed stars, no fimbriation



D.) Ngai Tahu Flag, 1890s
Tuahiwi Marae, Rangiora.
Photograph by Amiria Rereti
5 pointed stars, white fimbriation



E). Te Rarawa ki Hokianga Flag, 1890s
Tamatea Marae, Panguru.
Photograph by Manuka Henare
7 pointed stars, white fimbriation

James Busby's 1834 Address to the Chiefs on the Occasion of the Adoption of a Flag (Māori Text)

17th March 1834
E aku hoa,

Kua wakaae te Kīngi o Ingarani ki a koutou hei hoa mōna, nā ka tonoa mai hoki hau, tana Retuirenete, kia noho ki Nu Tirani, ā e hiahia ana hoki ia kia hohoko ōna tāngata ki a koutou, a kia mahi tika rātou; kia kaua e riri ki a koutou, me koutou anō hoki ki a rātou. – Otirā kāhore he kara mo ngā kaipuke i hangā ki Nu Tirani, hei puke hohoko mea, a ko ngā kaipuke kara kore e tangohia. – A he mea tika ma ngā rangatira e wiriwiri tētahi kara mo Nu Tirani. – A ko ngā kaipuke hoki e hangā ki konei ka tukua kia hohoko ngā tūranga kaipuke o te Kingi o Ingarani – koia rā ko tēnei, ko te mea i tuhituhi ai hau mo ngā rangatira o Nu Tirani. Ā e te toru ēnei kara kua oti te kawe mai e te Rangatira o tētahi o ngā kaipuke taua o Kīngi Wiremu, - koia hoki ka wakaminea nei e hau ngā Rangatira kia wiriwiri ai e koutou tētahi kara mo Nu Tirani – ma ngā rangatira nunui anake, e wiriwiri te kara – no te mea ko ētahi pea e hiahia ki tētahi kara, ko ētahi e hiahia ki tētahi atu. Otirā ma te Rangatira anō e mea ki a ia anō te kara e tino pai, a ko te kara e tangohia e te tokomaha o ngā Rangatira ko tō kara tērā mo Nu Tirani ā he io anō hoki te mea e tangohia –

Anō ka wiriwiri te kara, ka kawea e te Rangatira o te puke taua ā ka wakatakoria ki ngā waewae o te Kīngi – ā ki te paingia te kara e ia ko ngā kaipuke e wakatare ana i taua kara e kore e tangohia, otirā ka tukua ki ngā tūranga kaipuke o Kīngi Wiremu, hohoko ai. –

Ā kia wakāro ngā Rangatira o Nu Tirani ki tēnei ki te aroha nui o te Kīngi o Ingarani ki a rātou, a kia atawai rātou ki ōna tāngata.
NA, BR 1/1 p.139

Address to the Chiefs on the Occasion of the Adoption of a Flag (English Text)

17th March 1834
The King of England has graciously taken you the representatives of the Māori people to be his friends and has sent me his representative to reside here in New Zealand. He desires me to express to you his desire that you and I are to long continue to be friends and work together for the good of everybody. He hopes that you will live in peace with the new settlers. He realizes that the ships that have been built in New Zealand have no flags of their own and therefore desires you the chiefs to accept this flag as a pattern for the flags for such ships so that such ships sailing the seas in flying for trade would fly the flag of the King of England, and on your behalf I would like to write to the King of England to signify your acceptance of the flag. Three flags have been delivered to me by the Captain of one of the ships of his Majesty King William and I desire that you as chiefs choose one of these flags to be the flag for New Zealand. I want you to consult with chiefs of other parts of New Zealand so that your decision would be the decision of the majority, for I visualise that many would prefer one and others would prefer another. When you have made your decision the Captain of the ship will bear your choice to the King of England signifying that the particular flag is the one you have chosen as the flag for New Zealand and such a flag will then be flown on the ships of New Zealand serving under His Majesty King William. Please give this matter your due consideration. I send you the greetings of King William of England.

Yours faithfully

(Sgd.) James Busby

He W[h]akaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni 1835 - 1839

The fifth component of the phenomenon of nation making was the formation of a Whakaminenga o ngā hapū, a sacred assembly of leaders, and the formal public declaration of independence on the 28th October 1835. The influential gathering on James Busby's lawn was introduced in the opening paragraph of this chapter to set the foundation for the chapter on the phenomenon of the Māori nation and the critical role of the declaration in nation identification. The rangatira had arrived sometime on the 26th and 27th of October in response to Busby's invitation. Discussions took place during the 27th until late in the afternoon of 28th October, when the rangatira made their decisions in favour of two proposals put to them. During the lengthy debate, James was closely questioned about the full implications of what he had advised them to follow.

However, before exploring the process further some comment on the language of the discussions is warranted. The rangatira discussion was in Māori language, and in recognition of this Busby followed his usual practice with a prepared opening statement in Māori. He started this practice in 1833 upon his arrival and continued it in the flag selection ceremony in 1834. A reading out loud of a prepared written draft declaration followed, which was then opened for comment and debate. While a written document is significant, 1820s - 1840s Māori public debate was based primarily on the spoken word. Therefore, the signing of the document such as a letter or declaration would have been understood as a way of concluding substantive agreements reached orally. So, to understand and interpret the actions of rangatira signatories to the declaration, the Māori text rather than any English translation or explanation best captures the mind of the signatories (cf. McKenzie 1985:35).

The draft was rewritten and would have been read out again to the Whakaminenga and discussion continued until the declaration's contents were agreed too. The rangatira were invited forward to add their moko marks or crosses as signatures, alongside their hand written names. A small number - Hoane Wiremu Heke of Ngāpuhi and Te Wherowhero of Ngāti Mahuta, Waikato – either signed their names or they had requested someone to sign on their behalf. Busby and other Pākehā witnesses added their signatures to verify the process and to confirm the Māori signatories. The Māori scribe, the kai tuhituhi in the declaration, was the now mature adult Eruera Pare Hongi who was acting as an assistant to Busby and Henry Williams.

Busby had discerned that Māori social organisation was similar to that of Scottish clans and quite shrewdly reckoned that as each hapū had a high level of autonomy Māori political systems and processes constituted a confederation. This would explain why he proposed a confederation as a basis for tribal solidarity and designated it "Ko te w[h]akaminenga o ngā Hapū o Nu Tireni". He and Henry Williams rendered the phrase as the United Tribes of New Zealand. They glossed "te rangatiratanga tō mātou w(h)enua", and, "he w(h)enua rangatira" (Clause 1) as the independence of our country and an independent State.[1] The Māori language used is resonant with metaphor, analogy and symbolic meaning and easily understood. Ideas such as "country", "common land" and "state" represent the beginnings of important developments in Māori political thought.

The jurisprudential nature of the proclamation of independence, based is it was on de Vattel's principles and Scottish philosophy and jurisprudence, suggests that it is consistent with Māori metaphysics and philosophy of vitalism and cosmos and world view, as discussed in Chapter Two. Te Whakaputanga represents a natural law and natural justice claim for political rights and nationhood. This is a more appropriate framework than English and Anglo-American positivism, legal positivism and utilitarian doctrines of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (see Fuller 1963; Hacker and J. Raz 1977; Winston 1981; Hart 1983; Hackshaw 1989:93 - 94, 100 – 101). It is not argued that the rangatira were conscious of distinctions over nineteenth century natural law and positive law but like the American Declaration of Independence of 1776, the approach removed the basis of the declaration from the sphere of a solely constitutional legal claim (Keir 1969:363). The rangatira appeal to political rights was not based on any such rights as British subjects because they were not British subjects in 1835. At this time, they had no recourse to any such positive law. Busby offered them a basis for making and invoking new law, or ture as Māori termed the notion of law, drawing on their understandings of Old Testament law as expressed in the body of Jewish teaching known in Hebrew as the *tōrāh*. These biblical laws of which some rangatira were already familiar, included the Law of Moses. The Māori term ture for law is, according to the *Dictionary of Māori Language* (1975:Appendix), derived from *tōrāh* and was adopted from the Tahitian missionaries, who formed it by altering the vowels to avoid any unpleasant suggestions.

[1] The hand written copy of the declaration follows the conventions of the period, namely the exclusion of the 'h' with the 'w' in words such as 'wakaputanga', 'wakaminenga', wakaoranga, 'wakarite' and 'wenua'. See "He Wakaminenga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni" *in Facsimiles of the Treaty of Waitangi* (1976). I have included the 'h' where necessary to follow the conventions of today.

The claim is fundamentally a moral one, which they as rangatira made on behalf of their kinsfolk and all Māori. It was based on traditional philosophical and religious thought (tikanga and ritenga) which, despite the ranking system in place in the early-mid nineteenth century, recognised that all Māori are born with mana, tapu, mauri and hau. These would in rapid time and influenced by an emergent Māori Christianity constitute the fundamentals of contemporary Māori rights and obligations. These are taonga tuku iho from human and spiritual ancestors, namely from Rangi and Papa and their atua children, and ultimately, from the source of life and creation itself, the primary life source, Io Matua Kore. Clearly, the principles of natural law were taken as the basis of the new state and that it was to be independent of any other state, including the British Crown. By coming together to establish a tribal social compact and declaring to their own people and the world at large the freedom of Māori from any intended political and economic domination, the rangatira were giving birth to a constitutional basis for Māori law making. Māori New Zealand in 1835 was acknowledged as a "sovereign and independent state" (Orange 1987:30) and mana Nu Tireni was proclaimed.

Busby understood what was happening (Letter to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, 16th June 1837), as did the rangatira involved in the discussions. I have already shown how the idea for a national political forum and consensus has its roots from 1820 and is traced through the four previous components of the phenomenon of nation building. Busby had established some principles in his discussion on the implications of individual authority merging in the greater whole in his Address to the rangatira and supporters in March 1834 (see Glue 1965:5 – 11). In other words, the power of comparative observation and the flexibility of Māori philosophical and religious thought were the internal impulses informed of Māori towards certain conclusions about their social, economic and political condition. External economic, political and moral forces were also contributing factors.

As a descendent of rangatira who signed on behalf of their people, Te Rarawa, this history and reflection on history is very much an insider's view of cultural, economic and political change. These tribal co-founders of the Māori nation were Papahia, Te Huhu, Te Morenga and Panakareao. The issues facing Māori society in the 1820s - 1830s were extensive. Technological and economic changes and transformations, debilitating civil type wars of hapū on hapū and internal migrations had taken place and their residual consequences continued. Yet, the lack of peaceful security weighed heavily on rangatira and their peoples' minds. The phenomenon of rising expectations are apparent as many hapū sought the new fruits of a

rapidly changing Māori economy, where earning cash and foreign exchange enabled them to acquire new tools and produce. These contributed to the desired change in the quality of Māori lifestyles (Letter of R. Davis to James Busby, 29th June 1839, MS 46).

The desire for an enhanced lifestyle is noteworthy. Many rangatira were alarmed at the relatively high death rate among newborn Māori children. They observed the lifestyle of Pākehā families who lived in Māori communities (Busby Letter to Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, 16th June 1837, MS 46.). They contrasted their children's mortality rate with that of newborn Pākehā children. Why, they asked, do more Pākehā babies remain alive than ours? was a typical question put to James Busby and missionaries. It seems that Māori leadership had reached a conclusion that new food, new types of clothing, new types of living conditions, new knowledge had something to do with helping babies stay alive longer (Wright 1959:57 – 80).

Two other issues worried both Busby and some rangatira. First, was the troublesome behaviour of the whalers, traders and missionaries from England. Second, prompted by missionaries and Busby, they thought French nationals might gain a hold in their islands. Given the developing relationship of many hapū with the British Crown the latter preoccupation was important. These international dimensions were also part of the drama of the times. However, as stated elsewhere in the thesis I think these aspects have been overstated and reflect British, early settler and missionary world-views and priorities.

While all these complex issues were significant factors in the actions of the rangatira, I argue that they are all manifestations of the primary concern of the leaders, which was the well being of their people, particularly the children. The ethics of whānaungatanga, manaaki, kotahitanga and mana are at work. The responsibilities of Māori leadership, expressed as rangatiratanga and tohungatanga, demands that the kinship group provide for the necessities of life, namely good food, shelter, security, peace and stability in society. The emphasis on a performing economy for the whānau and hapū was the fundamental preoccupation of the rangatira and tohunga of the period. The significant new developments in local and international trade and its benefits to prosperity was the impetus needed for rangatira to think in new ways for dealing with old problems of maintaining self-sustaining communities.

Internal and external political security, peace and the promises of economic prosperity seem to have been priorities among Māori of the time. Together these factors motivated rangatira to consider establishing a new Māori political framework for maintaining law and order among hapū. The goal was to introduce new systems and procedures for ensuring peace and stability, and these were linked to the desire for a greater range of economic activity. The greater activity indicates a substantial movement away from the traditional subsistence economy.

This framework was to have at its heart a Māori Congress, a parliament, in which laws were to be passed, laws that were to apply to all that lived here. The idea that Māori would pass legislative law and that it was to apply to all Māori represented a radical development in Māori custom law and practice.

Busby had earlier prepared a passport written in Māori, for Europeans living here. It was to provide a legal basis for their presence and enabled undesirable Pākehā to be expelled. It would also have acknowledged Māori as the source of legal authority (Letter to Alexander Busby, 22nd June 1833. MS 46; see Ramsden 1949:64; Orange 1987:19 – 20). The rangatira recognised the problem of some hapū not accepting the new laws promulgated in Congress (Letter to Earl of Haddington, 28th October 1836, MS 46). They wanted to establish a "Supreme Court" (Letter to Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, 16th June 1837. MS 46) and in their minds it was to mediate between hapū and hapū when there were disputes over tikanga and law. In the 1830s, tikanga and ritenga (custom law) applied to hapū only, namely, to those people who belonged to particular kinship groups. In this context, no single rangatira or tohunga could assert, except through the ringa kaha principle, an overarching set of tikanga or ritenga that applied across tribal boundaries. However, should a new level of rangatira and tohunga authority be established and accepted on a wide basis then perhaps a transformation in cultural terms might be possible. The Biblical notion of new laws, ngā ture, began to gain some credibility.

A Rangatira Executive Council was established, and included Busby as its adviser. Despite all kinds of expected difficulties, it functioned for a period up to 1840. While little is known about the Council, Pākehā historians have been generally dismissive of it and its importance. I would observe that five years is too short a time to reasonably assess the performance of such a new institution in the establishment phase of the new nation.

The establishment of a nation and a new state is a long-term task. It is useful to recall other histories and note the lengthy period required before new ideas, values and institutions became embedded in revolutionised societies. President Abraham Lincoln's Gettesburg oration was the first public assertions of the United States of America constitution, which had lay dormant for generations. I have already alluded to Italy, Germany and India as not yet declaring themselves free and independent as a nation. Neither are their similar movement throughout the islands of the Pacific Ocean. In England, The Magna Carta itself was ineffective for generations before it gained force and a wider acceptance as something foundational to a new English society.

James Busby referred to He Whakaputanga as both a "social compact" and the "Magna Carta of New Zealand independence" (Letters, MS 46). However He Whakaputanga as the Magna Carta of New Zealand has little traction in settler historiography (see Ramsden 1949:64; Orange 1987:17). The Magna Carta was the Great Charter obtained from King John, 1215 A.D., and is said to be the basis of English political and personal liberty. It has interesting twist on historical understanding when he referred to the Treaty of Waitangi as the "Māori Magna Carta" (1976 [1914]:110), which may be his way of deflecting attention away from He Whakaputanga and Māori independence and directing attention towards the settler myth that Māori ceded sovereignty in perpetuity. Further, in times that are more contemporary Paul McHugh has referred to the Treaty in terms of a Māori Magna Carta (1991). I found no evidence that James Busby regarded the Treaty of Waitangi as the Māori Magna Carta.

The assertion that the Treaty of Waitangi was the basis of Māori rights is an assertion of the English idea that power to claim rights comes from a sovereign parliament. Further, the parliament gives its citizens the rights. I have referred earlier to the Scottish jurisprudential view of Lord Cooper and his observation that the principle of unlimited sovereignty of parliament is a distinctively English principle and it is not that of Scottish jurisprudence. Similarly, Māori would I think hold the same view as the Scots in that in 1835 the understanding of responsibilities and exercise of power is found in a tikanga tapu-tikanga mana-tikanga tika matrix. Mana, as the locus of power, comes from the people, the land, Rangi and Papa, and ultimately Io matua kore. James Busby was partly right when he observed that a social compact existed but wrong when he thought that the right to law and justice came from the something equivalent to a King and Lords.

In other words both the processes of confederation, and making the declaration, are the bases for the claim of fundamental rights of Māori and the establishment of new political institutions to proclaim and enforce the rights. Clauses 2 and 3 of the declaration includes statements that they, the rangatira in te whakaminenga alone, will have the responsibility of making law (whakarite ture) for justice, peace and trade in their proposed huihuinga/rūnanga (formal assembly). These were founded and guaranteed in He Whakaputanga. At the same time, the rangatira had introduced the possibility of the parliamentary democratic tradition as part of Māoritanga (see Wilson n.d.:178 - 179, cited in Rogers 1973:164).

Some comment on the public profile of the document is necessary. Convention suggests it is a two-language declaration. It is not. It is a one-language proclamation in Māori language only to which Māori signatories have signed as have a small number of English witnesses. A missionary translation in English has been widely published, republished and often quoted.[2] However, it is not strictly a translation of the Māori text. Rather, it is an explanation of what Busby and the missionary translator hoped the rangatira were intending and doing. Busby's insistence about the accuracy of the translation is not correct (Letter to the Under Secretary of State, 2nd November 1835, in *Facsimiles of the Treaty of Waitangi* 1976).

The Māori text therefore requires not only very careful reading but also careful listening. I would suggest that the declaration is not for reading silently but it is to be heard as in a gathering. I turn now to the American Declaration of Independence where Jay Fliegelman (1993:24, 3) makes a case for better understanding of the intent and passion implicit in the theatrical dimension to publicly declaring independence. Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence in the context of a revolutionary America. In this context, Jefferson wrote the declaration to be read out to the citizens. The declaration was meant to be oratory in writing and a therefore was a rhetorical problem.

Busby and Williams faced a similar problem in that the intended Māori audience did not read and therefore the grand ideas to be promoted needed to be spoken to them. This was how Busby conducted his business with them since 1833. Māori was the primary language and the entry point into Māori world-views and behaviour of the period. So, on such occasions as this gathering Busby's and the missionaries' translations of texts in Māori, the text needs to be

[2] See *Facsimiles of the Treaty of Waitangi* 1976 [1877]: [Translation] Declaration of Independence of New Zealand; Buick 1976 [1914]; Orange 1987: Appendix 1, 255 - 256; Williams 1975: Nos. 20, 21a. 100 copies of the Māori text (no. 21) were printed on 26th April 1837. See Colenso, "Day and Waste Book", AIM MS 76; Trimble1912: M. 5, p.361, Var. 4/2, Var. 21/II).

heard or listened too. In this way understandings, interpretations and translations of discussions and events can help make clear Māori motivations and understandings. However, a sole reliance on the text elevates it to that of a primary source, and as Don McKenzie (1985) argues, they ought to be recognised as secondary sources because that is how Māori may have considered them.

The rangatira and Busby recognised that He Whakaputanga needed to involve more Māori leaders in te Whakaminenga o ngā hapū as signatories and a provision was made in Clause Three for this to be actioned. From October 1835 to 1839, other rangatira joined the te Whakaminenga and became adherents to the intentions of the declaration. Two very important new signatories were Te Hapuku of Ngāti Kahungunu and Te Wherowhero of Waikato. The involvement of these ariki ensured He Whakaputanga was much more than a Tai Tokerau agenda.

The dominant view of historians and ethnographers about He Whakaputanga is largely negative or derisive of Busby and Māori and dismissive arguing that it was never truly representative being a Northern programme only. However, little regard has been given to the close kinship and political relationships between many ariki and rangatira, throughout the North Island. Nor is there an appreciation of the relative hapū and later iwi population, political and military strengths. For instance, Te Tai Tokerau, Waikato, Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Kahungunu were known as very powerful hapū and later iwi regions. Claudia Orange (1987:22), comments on both Te Hapuku and Te Wherowhero as signatories and Buick (1976 [1914]) lists the two ariki without comment. Eric Ramsden (1949) refers neither to Te Hapuku nor Te Wherowhero as signatories while McLintock (1958:23 – 25) describes "the gathering of a few chiefs" and the establishment of a Māori sovereign authority as "fiction", "fantastic", and "mawkish sentiment". Ian Wards (1968) describes the Colonial Office as "unthinking in accepting the confederation".

A closer, scrutiny points to other hapū later adopting and associating themselves with the vision of He Whakaputanga and associating themselves with it (Orange 1987:233- 234). Te Wherowhero had made a peace pact, a tatau pounamu, with Ngāpuhi and other associated hapū like Te Rarawa in 1822 or 1823. After Ngāpuhi returned some women to Waikato, Te Wherowhero arranged the marriage of a close teina, Kati, to Matire Toha the daughter of Rewa. Rewa, also known as Maanu, a Ngāpuhi of Rawhiti, was a confidante of Hongi Hika and a signatory to te 1831 letter, attended the flag selection ritual and signed He

Whakaputanga on 28th October (see Kelly 1986 [1949]:365 - 367; Rogers 1973:118, n.23; Ramsden 1936:citesKelly 1986 [1949]:24 n.11, 203 n.15).

In the early 1830s, possibly earlier, Ngāti Kahungunu, one of the largest and a growing powerful people, had a base in the Bay of Islands at Otuihi, which was the base of Pomare. Te Hapuku was frequent visitor to Waitangi and was closely allied to Pomare and Kawiti. He was close to Te Haara, a Ngāpuhi of Ohaeawai who was also a signatory to the letter of 1831 and probably at the flag ritual and signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi (see Ramsden 1936:212, 221; Mitchell 1944:7; Orange 1987:81 – 82). Te Haara was later influential in encouraging Te Hapuku to sign Te Tiriti o Waitangi after the latter had thrice refused to do so.

Within the context of Māori political and economic development from the early-mid nineteenth-century till today, Te Whakaputanga, together with the Flag of Independence provides a framework within which to interpret Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Together the Declaration and the Treaty have served as standards against which generations of Māori have measured the gap between their achievements and professions of basic political beliefs (cf. Greene *Encyclopaedia Americana*, Vol. 8:589).

It is argued that He Whakaputanga was a Māori initiative in as much that many senior rangatira had already recognised the need for political changes and they needed to function nationally in solidarity or in their collective capacity as Busby explained it to them. There is evidence of Māori agency as well as that of Busby who must be credited with giving quality advice that made sense to Māori leaders. Later in 1837, Busby and the missionaries had a change of mind convinced that Māori could not govern (Busby to Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, 16th June 1837, MS 46; cited also in Wards 1968:19 - 20). However, as I have said earlier it cannot be presumed however, that Māori had changed their mind or lost their vision. The evidence suggests otherwise.

When the flag and the declaration gained the support of British authorities a new Māori programme of political and economic reform was recognised and underway, apparently with limited support of one of the major political and economic powers in the world.

Historically speaking, He Whakaputanga marked not only the end of a long process that began in before the 1820s with the overseas travels of rangatira and the stunning work of

Hongi Hika and Waikato in England and the formal beginnings of the political relationship with British royalty. In addition, the take-off of Māori literacy was to radically transform social arena with the transmission of old and new knowledge to all levels of Māori society enabling the taurekareka (slaves) and the rangatira to be on an equal footing. The influence of Christianity and its dedication to literacy, ritual and knowledge transmission contributed also to the new egalitarianism. Māori esoteric knowledge became, over time, public knowledge. Transformations in the economy driven by new technology led to rapid adaptations in social organisation and the way that communities organised themselves to benefit from rapidly expanding benefits.

The declaration represents also a beginning of a process of political, economic and social transformations that would permeate the remainder of the nineteenth century. It marked the end of tribal only political, economic and social agenda and represents embryonic political and economic reforms within Māori tribal society. The changes inaugurated the transformation of the culture and its tribal society, and a noticeable shift occurs involving a trend from tribes to nation, society with an identifiable ethnic group who called themselves tangata Māori. These beginnings of nation building started with the active co-operation with England in which a protectorate relationship, underpinned by international law, was its basis.

However, things dramatically changed when British authorities, with the encouragement of New Zealand based missionaries, settlers and the Resident changed their mind about Māori sovereignty and actively sought direct British intervention in favour of colonisation including massive emigration from Great Britain to New Zealand. This change led to the British Queen Victoria seeking a treaty of cession of sovereignty in 1840. However, Māori were not privy to the finer points of the treaty and British intentions believing that they were engaged in a treaty that established a firm protectorate relationship in which Britain was to continue its assistance in Māori nation building. The active Māori involvement in treaty making is the sixth component in the phenomenon of nation formation as is discussed in the next chapter, Chapter 4.

I have earlier referred to the Palestinian academic, Edward Said, and his description on how imperialism and colonialism were impelled by ideological formations that include the idea that certain peoples "require and beseech domination". A mana Māori historian would agree with Said because since He Whakaputanga most Pākehā administrators, politicians, missionaries, traders and judges subsequently believed in their hearts that Māori required and

beseeched domination. The idea that a free people would cede their sovereignty and want to be governed by the others forever more goes against post nineteenth-century history. The twentieth-century descendants of the makers of the Māori nation state have not yet given due weight to the beginnings that the 28th of October 1835 represents. The silencing of history is a consequence of colonising and imperial design in which anthropology, history and Māori Studies have contributed to the silencing of the ancestors.

Addendum to Chapter 3 – Full Māori Text and Translation in English of He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni

Following is the full text in Māori, with a semantic-historical translation of the declaration. Copied from the original Māori text, there was a draft prepared and changes made although no record of the preparation of the draft have been found. Busby with Williams prepared a text in English, which was then translated in Māori. It is likely that Eruera Pare, played a key role in the translation. From his first known letter of 1825 and evidence of letter writing in subsequent years, Eruera Pare was very competent in written Māori and fluent in spoken English. However, if the current practice of the time was followed the draft was read to the gathered rangatira and followers, who debated the text. In the context of the discussion, any necessary changes were made.

Māori text	**Historical-Semantic Translation by Manuka Henare, 2001**	**Busby's Explanation, 1835**
1. Ko mātou, ko ngā Tino Rangatira o ngā iwi o Nu Tireni i raro mai o Hauraki, kua oti nei te huihui i Waitangi, i Tokerau, i te rā 28 o Oketopa, 1835.	We, the absolute leaders of the tribes (iwi) of New Zealand (Nu Tireni) to the north of Hauraki (Thames) having assembled in the Bay of Islands (Tokerau) on 28th October 1835.	We, the hereditary chiefs and heads of the tribes of the Northern parts of New Zealand, being assembled at Waitangi, in the Bay of Islands, on this 28th day of October 1835,
Ka wakaputa i te Rangatiratanga o tō mātou wenua; a ka meatia ka wakaputaia e mātou he Wenua Rangatira, kia huaina, "Ko te Wakaminenga o ngā Hapū o Nu Tireni".	[We] declare the authority and leadership of our country and say and declare them to be chiefly country (Wenua Rangatira) under the title of 'Te Wakaminenga o ngā Hapū o Nu Tireni' (The sacred Confederation of the Tribes of New Zealand).	declare the independence of our country, which is hereby constituted and declared to be an Independent State, under the designation of the United Tribes of New Zealand.

2. Ko te Kīngitanga, ko te mana i te wenua o te wakaminenga o Nu Tireni, ka meatia nei kei ngā Tino Rangatira anake i tō mātou huihuinga; a ka mea hoki, e kore e tukua e mātou te wakarite ture ki tētahi hunga ke atu, me tētahi Kawanatanga hoki kia meatia i te wenua o te wakaminenga o Nu Tireni,	The sovereignty/kingship (Kīngitanga) and the mana from the land of the Confederation of New Zealand are here declared to belong solely to the true leaders (Tino Rangatira) of our gathering, and we also declare that we will not allow (tukua) any other group to frame laws (wakarite ture), nor any Governorship (Kawanatanga) to be established in the lands of the Confederation,	All sovereign power and authority within the territories of the United Tribes of New Zealand is hereby declared to reside entirely and exclusively in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes in their collective capacity, who also declared they will not permit any legislative authority separate from themselves in their collective capacity to exist,
ko ngā tāngata anake e meatia nei e mātou, e wakarite ana ki te ritenga o ō mātou ture e meatia nei e mātou i tō mātou huihuinga.	unless (by persons) appointed by us to carry out (wakarite) the laws (ture) we have enacted in our assembly (huihuinga).	nor any function of government to be exercised within the said territories, unless by persons appointed by them, and acting under the authority of laws regularly enacted by them in Congress assembled.
3. Ko mātou, ko ngā Tino Rangatira, ka mea nei, kia huihui ki te rūnanga ki Waitangi a te Ngahuru i tēnei tau, i tēnei tau, ki te wakarite ture, kia tika ai te wakawakanga, kia mau pū te rongo, kia mutu te hē, kia tika te hokohoko.	We, the true leaders have agreed to meet in a formal gathering (rūnanga) at Waitangi in the autumn (Ngahuru) of each year to enact laws (wakarite ture) that justice may be done (kia tika ai te wakawakanga), so that peace may prevail and wrong-doing cease and trade (hokohoko) be fair.	The hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes agree to meet in Congress at Waitangi in the autumn of each year, for the purpose of framing laws for the dispensation of justice, the preservation of peace and good order, and the regulation of trade,
A ka mea hoki ki nga tauiwi o runga, kia wakarerea te wawai, kia mahara ai ki te wakaoranga o tō mātou wenua, a kia uru rātou kia te wakaminenga o Nu Tireni.	[We] invite the southern tribes to set aside their animosities, consider the well-being of our land and enter into the sacred Confederation of New Zealand.	and they cordially invite the Southern Tribes to lay aside their private animosities and to consult the safety and welfare of our common country, by joining the Confederation of the United Tribes.
4. Ka mea mātou, kia tuhituhia he pukapuka, ki te ritenga o tēnei o tō mātou wakaputanga nei, ki te Kīngi o Ingarani, hei kawe atu i tō mātou aroha; nāna hoki i wakaae ki te Kara mo mātou.	We agree that a copy of our declaration should be written and sent to the King of England to express our appreciation (aroha) for this approval of our flag.	They also agree to send a copy of this Declaration to His Majesty the King of England, to thank him for his acknowledgment of their flag;
A no te mea, ka atawai mātou, ka tiaki i ngā pākehā e noho nei i uta, e rere mai ana ki te hokohoko, koia ka mea ai mātou ki te Kīngi kia waiho hei matua ki a mātou i tō mātou Tamarikitanga, kei wakakahoretia tō mātou	And because we are showing friendship and care for the Pākehā who live on our shores, who have come here to trade (hokohoko), we ask the King to remain as a protector (matua) for us in our inexperienced statehood	and in return for the friendship and protection they have shown, and are prepared to show, to such of is subjects as have settled in their country, or resorted to its shores for the purposes of trade, they entreat that he will continue to be the

Rangatiratanga.	(tamarikitanga), lest our authority and leadership be ended (kei whakakahoretia tō mātou Rangatiratanga).	parent of their infant State, and that he will becomes its Protector from all attempts upon its independence.
Kua wakaaetia katoatia e mātou i tēnei rā, i te 28 Oketopa 1835, ki te aroaro o te Rehirenete o te Kīngi o Ingarani.	We have agreed to all of this on this day 28th October 1835, in the presence of the Resident (Reireneti) of the King of England.	Agreed to unanimously on this 28th day of October, 1835, in the presence of His Britannic Majesty's Resident.
28 Oketopa 1835 34 Māori signatories – 23 with moko marks, 7 cross marks and 3 written signatures Kai tuhituhi 4 English witnesses		
The following sentence was added to the declaration probably in January 1836 by George Clark CMS.		
Ko mātou, ko ngā Rangatira, ahakoa kihai i tae ki te huihuinga nei, no te nuinga o te Waipuke, no te aha rānei, ka wakaae katoa ki te wakaputanga Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni, a ka uru ki roto ki te wakaminenga.	We, the rangatira, although not able to attend the great gathering (huihuinga), because of floods and for what ever other reasons, we all fully support (wakaae) the declaration of authority (independence) over Nu Tirene, and we now enter into the sacred confederation (wakaminenga).	**Busby offered no translation of this additional paragraph, neither did George Clark.**
A further 18 rangatira signatories were gathered - 11 moko marks, 4 cross marks, 2 signatures and Te Kahawai signed on behalf of Te Werowero - were gathered from 13th January 1836 to 22nd July 1839.		

He Wakaputanga O Te Rangatiratanga O Nu Tireni

1. Ko mātou, ko ngā Tino Rangatira o ngā iwi o Nu Tireni i raro mai o Hauraki, kua oti nei te huihui i Waitangi, i Tokerau, i te rā 28 o Oketopa, 1835. Ka wakaputa i te Rangatiratanga o tō mātou wenua; a ka meatia ka wakaputaia e mātou he Wenua Rangatira, kia huaina, "Ko te Wakaminenga o ngā Hapū o Nu Tireni".

2. Ko te Kīngitanga, ko te mana i te wenua o te wakaminenga o Nu Tireni, ka meatia nei kei ngā Tino Rangatira anake i tō mātou huihuinga; a ka mea hoki, e kore e tukua e mātou te wakarite ture ki tētahi hunga ke atu, me tētahi Kawanatanga hoki kia meatia i te wenua o te wakaminenga o Nu Tireni, ko ngā tāngata anake e meatia nei e mātou, e wakarite ana ki te ritenga o ō mātou ture e meatia nei e mātou i tō mātou huihuinga.

3. Ko mātou, ko ngā Tino Rangatira, ka mea nei, kia huihui ki te rūnanga ki Waitangi a te Ngahuru i tēnei tau, i tēnei tau, ki te wakarite ture, kia tika ai te wakawakanga, kia mau pū te rongo, kia mutu te hē, kia tika te hokohoko. A ka mea hoki ki nga tauiwi o runga, kia wakarerea te wawai, kia mahara ai ki te wakaoranga o tō mātou wenua, a kia uru rātou kia te wakaminenga o Nu Tireni.

4. Ka mea mātou, kia tuhituhia he pukapuka, ki te ritenga o tēnei o tō mātou wakaputanga nei, ki te Kīngi o Ingarani, hei kawe atu i tō mātou aroha; nāna hoki i wakaae ki te Kara mo mātou. A no te mea, ka atawai mātou, ka tiaki i ngā pākehā e noho nei i uta, e rere mai ana ki te hokohoko, koia ka mea ai mātou ki te Kīngi kia waiho hei matua ki a mātou i tō mātou Tamarikitanga, kei wakakahoretia tō mātou Rangatiratanga.

Kua wakaaetia katoatia e mātou i tēnei rā, i te 28 Oketopa 1835, ki te aroaro o te Rehirenete o te Kīngi o Ingarani.

Ko **te Paerata**, (no te Patu Koraha)
Ko **Ururoa**, (no te Taha Wai)
Ko **Hare Hongi**
Ko **Hemi Kepa Tupe**, (no te Uri Putete)
Ko **te Kekeao,** (no Ngāti Matakiri)
Ko **te Warepoaka**, (no te Hikutu)
Ko **Titore**, (no Ngāti Nanenane)
Ko **Moka**, (no te Patu Heka)
Ko **te Warerahi**
Ko **Rewa**
Ko **Wai,** (no Ngaitawake)
Ko **te Reweti Atua haere**, (no Ngāti Tau Tahi)
Ko **te Awa**
Ko **Wiremu Taunui**, (no te Wiu)
Ko **Tenana**, (no Ngāti Kuta)
Ko **Pï**, (no te Mahurehure)

Ko **Kaua,** (no te Herepaka)
Ko **Waikato**

Ko **Tareha**, (no Ngāti Rehia)
Ko **Kawiti**, (no Ngāti Hine)
Ko **Pumuka**, (no te Roroa)

Ko **te Kamara**, (no Ngāti Kawa)
Ko **Pomare**, (no Ngāti Manu)
Ko **Wiwia**, (no te Kapo Tai)
Ko **te Tao**, (no te Kai Mata)
Ko **Marupö**, (no te Wanau Rara)
Ko **te Kopiri**, (no te Uri Taniwha)
Ko **Warau**, (no te Wanau Horo)

Ko **te Ngere**, (no te Uri Kapana)
Ko **Moetara**, (no Ngāti Korokoro)
Ko **te Hiamoe**, (no te Uri a Ngonga)
Ko **Tamati Pukututu**, (no te Uri o te Hawato)
Ko **Hoane Wiremu Heke**
Ko **Te Peha**

Eruera Pare, te kai tuhituhi

English witnesses:
Henry Williams, Missionary CMS
George Clark, CMS
James C Clendon, Merchant
Gilbert Mair, Merchant

Note: After October 1835, other rangatira joined the confederation of tribes (te wakaminenga) and supported the Declaration (te Wakaputanga Rangatiratanga). The following paragraph was added to the document in January 1836, most probably by George Clark who was the English witness to other signatories.

Ko mātou, ko ngā Rangatira, ahakoa kihai i tae ki te huihuinga nei, no te nuinga o te Waipuke, no te aha rānei, ka wakaae katoa ki te wakaputanga Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni, a ka uru ki roto ki te wakaminenga.

13th January 1836
Ko **Tamati Waka Nene**
Ko **Huhu**
Ko **Tona**
Ko **Panakareao**
Ko **Kiwikiwi**

9th February 1836
Ko **Tirarau**

29th March 1836
Ko **Hamuera Pita Matangi**, (no te Popoto)
Ko **Tawai**, (no te Mahurehure)
Ko **Mate**, (no na te Moe)
Ko **Patuone**, (no ngati Rangi)

25th June 1837
Ko **Parore**, (no te ngati Apa)
Ko **Kaha**, (no ngati Tautahi)

12th July 1837
Ko **Te Morenga**, (no te Rarawa)
Ko **Mahia**, (no te Hapouri)

16th January 1838
Ko **Taonui**, (no te Popoto)

24th September 1838
Ko **Päpähia,** no te Rarawa,

25th September 1838
Ko **te Häpuku,** (no Nati Apiti) (Hawkes Bay)

22nd July 1839
Ko **te Werowero,** (no Ngati Mahuta), - Ko Kahawai, te Kai tuhituhi

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PHENOMENON OF TE TIRITI O WAITANGI

Introduction

Throughout this thesis, I have used a Heideggerian approach to examine, understand and interpret the evidence of the period 1820 to 1840. One feature of the approach is its proximity to Māori thought and ways of understanding and interpreting the past, present and the future. Second, is the dynamic between the philosophy of tapu, which is being with potentiality for mana, and *dasein*, rendered as being-in-the-world. Since this chapter discusses my main argument, namely that Māori did not intend to cede sovereignty in perpetuity by signing the Māori text of the Treaty of Waitangi, known in Māori as Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Heiddegger's methodology becomes even more important. Therefore, in this chapter I use a Heideggerian phenomenological approach to divine intentionality, that is, to find those factors that informed the agency of those involved in the phenomenon of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. This chapter is a discussion on the sixth and concluding component of the phenomenon of the Māori nation and follows the previous five events discussed in Chapter 3.

In the above sense, I use Heidegger's approach in two ways; first as a philosophical description of agency in time, second as a methodology of textual interpretation. The first point links the preceding chapters to this chapter. Following Heidegger's notion of temporal structure, the preceding chapters have described a continuum of Māori thought and action which informed the thought and action of those rangatira involved in the phenomenon of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The second point refers to my exegesis of early nineteenth-century Māori language texts, primarily to textual recordings of the korero (rendered as discourse) of rangatira at three signing venues, as well as recordings of the words of several Pākehā also present at the same venues. It is argued that in the analysis of these texts it is possible to find the intentionality of the speakers.

Continuing the discussion in Chapter 3 about the necessity to listen carefully to the spoken word imbued in early Māori written texts such as He W[h]akaputanga and letters, I apply the same approach to the treaty. James Busby and Henry Williams in translating the English version of the Treaty into a Tiriti Māori, a Māori treaty did not adequately translate notions of cession or the English notion of sovereignty rather deciding to fudge the real intention of the British Queen. The Tiriti Māori demands to be spoken out loud at a

gathering of hundreds of Māori, rather than to be read slowly and cautiously, as lawyers are wont to do. The exercise whereby the British are surreptitiously acquiring sovereignty on the cheap is English rhetoric and the rangatira engage them in the drama with Māori rhetoric. Like the declaration, the treaty is a rhetorical problem for both sides.

In this chapter, I will first discuss Heideggerian methodology and philosophy more closely. Secondly, I will discuss the cultural milieu, and imperatives, that informed early-mid nineteenth-century rangatira. In this sense, the discussion will not be one of historical events. Rather, building on the earlier dialogues about Māori metaphysics and society, I will focus on Māori ideals of leadership implicit in rangatiratanga and tohungatanga. This is relevant to this chapter because it shows the ethical milieu that guided the agency of the rangatira and tohunga.

Thirdly, I will discuss Heidegger's ideas about "preunderstandings" that rangatira and their Pākehā counterparts brought to the phenomenon of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Finally, I shall analyse the textual recording of the korero of rangatira at the three venues and offer a retranslation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi using a historical semantic reworking. This last point is intended to suggest what it was that early nineteenth-century rangatira thought they were agreeing to. Charles Taylor (1995:69) defines the notion of "preunderstanding" in this way:

> ..."preunderstanding" in Heidegger's term...is...the idea of making the background completely explicit...the background is what arises with engaged agency. It is the context of intelligibility of experience.... If a given kind of agency is engaged in this sense, then its experience is not intelligible outside this context.

Through the textual analysis of the kōrero of the rangatira, I continue the discourse of the earlier chapters that Māori notions of mana and Pākehā notions of sovereignty are, philosophically speaking, about the locus of power. In recognising the sovereignty of Queen Victoria, Māori were simply recognising that Victoria herself was the centre of power under the English system and that she ought to exercise it over her own people, not Māori people. In this framework of understanding, the rangatira would exercise their mana over Māori people and not Pākehā. This framework was expressed in 1820 at the meeting with King George, contained in the 1831 letter to King William, it is implicit in the flag ceremony and expressed clearly in the declaration of 1835. With this appreciation of what they had to offer many rangatira were more than happy to be engaged in and with her empire, but on Māori terms. There were no assumptions of deference to a superior being or

culture but rather an expectation of an enduring relationship based on tikanga whānaungatanga and tikanga hau, of belonging to an empire based on reciprocity at political, social and economic levels.

Heidegger (Taylor 1995:69) points out that choices may be limited by lived context, which includes "preunderstandings". In this sense, it is argued that the choices of nineteenth-century Māori were limited. For example, Māori recognised the Queen, not her parliament, as the locus of English power. However wrong this understanding might have been in the minds Pākehā missionaries, traders, the Resident and Governors and others in the English political and jurisprudential discourse, it does not change the intentionality of Māori in their conversation. Furthermore, the recognition of the English Queen's sovereignty did not necessarily mean that they were ceding their mana as may be implied in English rhetoric. Rather, according to Māori "preunderstandings", they believed, in a spirit of tikanga kotahitanga and tikanga hau, of solidarity and reciprocity, that she was willing to help them develop theirs and they hers. This thematic can be seen right through the remainder of the 19th Century and into the 20th when generations of Māori challenged the notion that mana-sovereignty was gifted or ceded to the Queen and her descendants in perpetuity.

Phenomenology, Heidegger and the Essence of Being

As mentioned earlier Heidegger's approach uses two complementary means to divine intentionality, one philosophical and the other methodological. The first is his philosophical notion of temporal structure and the location of agency within time. The second is his phenomenological approach to textual analysis, which I use in my exegesis of early-mid nineteenth-century Māori language texts. Heidegger argues that his work does not constitute a philosophy but rather is a method. However, while I appreciate the spirit of his denial of philosophical competence I am not convinced it is so, and would suggest his self-evaluation is harsh and in keeping with the man. Rather, I have an alternative view and consider his approach eminently philosophical. Aspects of his philosophical position are similar or close to that of Māori for instance, the synergy with i ngā wā o mua discussed in the Introduction of this thesis. Moreover, Heidegger takes the unique human person as his point of reference and uses his methodology to explicate the role of the human person in the world, which is agency. In Māori philosophy of humanism and cosmos, the human person is located in the group and the cosmos therefore in a Māori understanding of Heidegger's work, the methodology flows from, and is a reflection of, the philosophy. In

focussing on agency, Heidegger's approach fits well with the various views of Kant and Mondini, in their philosophical anthropology, and Amartya Sen in his reiteration of the older classical Greek notion of human agency. Ronald Inden (1990:1) draws on Hindu and broader Indian anthropology in concluding that "human agency is about the capacity of people to order their world". Let me continue my discussion of Heidegger's methodology first by reference to the methodological aspect and then by reference to the philosophical aspect.

To begin this discussion on hermeneutic phenomenology I refer to Husserl (1939:43) who said that phenomenology invites us to:

> ...set aside all previous habits of thought, see through and break down the mental barriers, which these habits have set along horizons of our thinking...To learn to see what stands before our eyes.

Speigelberg (1982:680, 717) has described phenomenology as "a return to the unadulterated phenomena", an "unusually obstinate attempt to look at the phenomena and remain faithful to them before even thinking of them".

According to Heidegger, phenomenology is a "concept of method", where phenomenon is "what shows itself in itself, what is manifest" (1996 [1953]:24, 29). Phenomenology therefore studies the revelation of things in appearance. The phenomenology of appearances focuses attention on the phenomenon as it unfolds through dwelling with the data. In addition, the phenomenology of appearances "can heighten the sense with inexhaustibility of the perspectives through which our world is given" (Speigelberg 1975:70). The phenomenon of mana Nu Tireni, an indigenous nation of the Pacific, has so far been considered in terms of five events of significance. I turn now to the 1840 treaty it being the sixth aspect of the phenomenon, which elucidates Māori intentionality and perspectives.

In the thesis, I look for the appearances, the assumptions made by the parties involved with the Tiriti o Waitangi process. This understanding begs the question; did the various parties to the process understand each other's thinking? In dwelling with the data is understanding revealed and is the understanding the same for both groups? In responding to these questions, the various intentionality's of the participating agents will be shown. In accordance with the Māori historical approach of this thesis, the primary focus of the second point will be to ascertain the intentionality of rangatira. However the intentionality

of several of the main Pākehā players will also be discussed in order to illustrate how much of the confusion surrounding Te Tiriti stems from an initial 'talking past each other' (Metge and Kinloch 1984). To refer to the point about Māori intentionality I made in the introduction to this chapter, I assert that one of the initial misunderstandings is based in the fact that for Māori the locus of power was located in the person of the Queen whereas to the English it was located in the institution of parliament, of which the Queen is a figurehead and a symbol of sovereignty and power. Therefore, there is a philosophical clash between Māori personalism and English institutionalism.

I turn now to the philosophical aspect of Heidegger's approach. The discussion of intentionality is linked with the discussion of time. Heidegger's study of the temporal structure of the world, i.e. the time structure of being-in-the-world, is a crucial and significant part of understanding Māori intentions because in the discussion of time is found the power of agency. According to Heidegger, there are three dimensions to time. The first dimension is the past, which involves all that has gone before. The present is the second dimension of time – what he refers to as now, as already. His third dimension of time involves the future, which he describes as all that is yet to come, or the potentiality for future action (see Figure 4.1 Heidegger's being-in-the-world, *dasein*).

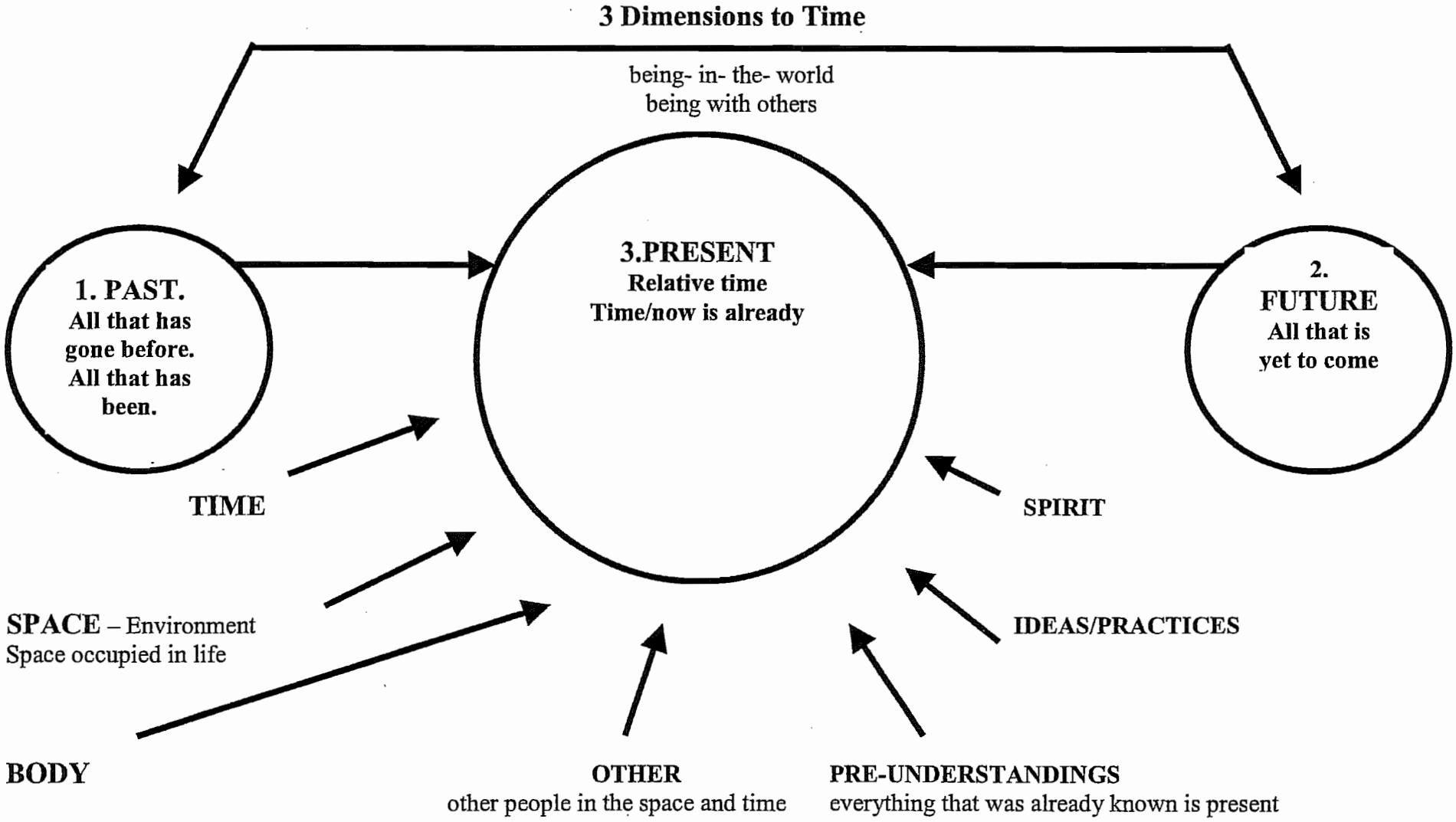
The present is where agency takes place. This view is encapsulated in Heidegger's notion of *dasein* or being-in-the-world. *Dasein* is the essence of existence and meaning, the *what is* (1999 [1953]:5). Existence is a specifically human quality, as distinct from other things and creatures, which may be said to exist. Furthermore, *dasein* is temporally situated, that is it exists within the relationship between past, present and future (1999 [1953]:126). An important quality of *dasein* is its "everydayness", which refers to the quality of always being in the present, with both past and future, and therefore always exercising ones agency (Hughes-Warrington 2000:144). In order to be, one must embody one's being, that is, being entails conscious action. To be, one must act. However, in order to act one must choose one's actions, and choice is always necessarily limited. Limitations occur in all three temporal spheres. The past limits one's knowledge to what one knows and has known. The future is limited by what one wants, understands, or understands as possible. It is important to note that this is not a deterministic model of action rather it means to say that choice exists but is not unlimited.

To summarise Heidegger's model, it is argued that the present contains both the sum of the past and the potentiality for future action (Hughes-Warrington 2000:146). The present is an eternally dynamic state because existence, a quality of being human, demands action. Action is the dynamic state of the fulfilment of potentials. The fulfilment of action potential is agency. Agency is expressly future oriented, that is, agency is about making the present and in doing so, forming the future. However, we look to the past to understand the nature of the present and this informs our agency, since agency occurs in the present. Additionally, in the past, and particularly through histories, we seek models of agency, 'heroes' and 'heroines' as Heidegger puts it (Hughes-Warrington 2000:147), and indications of possible outcomes. This understanding links back into the phenomenological methodology, for in studying historical texts, in uncovering intentionality, one discovers meaning.

However, more than simply pointing out the fact of agency as a quality of human existence Heidegger points out motivators for agency. As described earlier, in Heidegger's view agency, or choice, or action, is a quality of existence. An additional concept associated with *dasein* is 'throwness' (Gewerfenheit). *Dasein* is thrown into a world or a situation, or a scenario already constituted (Hoy 1997:179). It is already constituted in the sense that it exists in the matrix of the limited past, present and future, and in that, it is not created entirely by one human. In this sense, it is a matrix of past, present and future and a matrix of different agency. Being arises from the 'throwness' of things, being are dumped also in the world without an explanation. There is no being outside the world. *Dasein* is always thrown into the world of cultured and historical meanings, which make up the horizons in which everything is intelligible. Heidegger makes the point that a certain anxiety arises from the experience of throwness. Therefore, anxiety becomes a major motivator in the agency that arises from being. In this sense, anxiety is a major creative force. Heidegger concludes that overcoming anxiety involves an attitude of 'care' (*sorge*) (1999 [1953]:169).

Figure 4.1

HEIDEGGER'S BEING–IN–THE-WORLD



Based on Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, (1996 [1953]) (My thanks to Dr Elizabeth Smythe, Auckland University of Technology)

In terms of Māori metaphysics and ethics, it would be appropriate to consider tikanga manaaki as a fundamental preoccupation of early-mid nineteenth-century rangatira who must show love and honour to his or her people and they to each other. In these ways, mana endures within a renewed tikanga kotahitanga, solidarity of the kinship group. Further, in this way does manaaki create mana and whānaungatanga, which is the ethic and practice of belonging. Thus, to manaaki, to show care to others is to "give out of one's own life" (Johansen 1954:91). And in so doing one's tapu is enhanced, revitalised and fulfilled. To be anxious on the other hand is to be āwangawanga, which is described as being uneasy, or disturbed or undecided and can refer to condition of distress (H. Williams 1975:23). It is these two human attributes that are can be noted in the debates over the treaty signings.

Rangatira as Engaged Agents

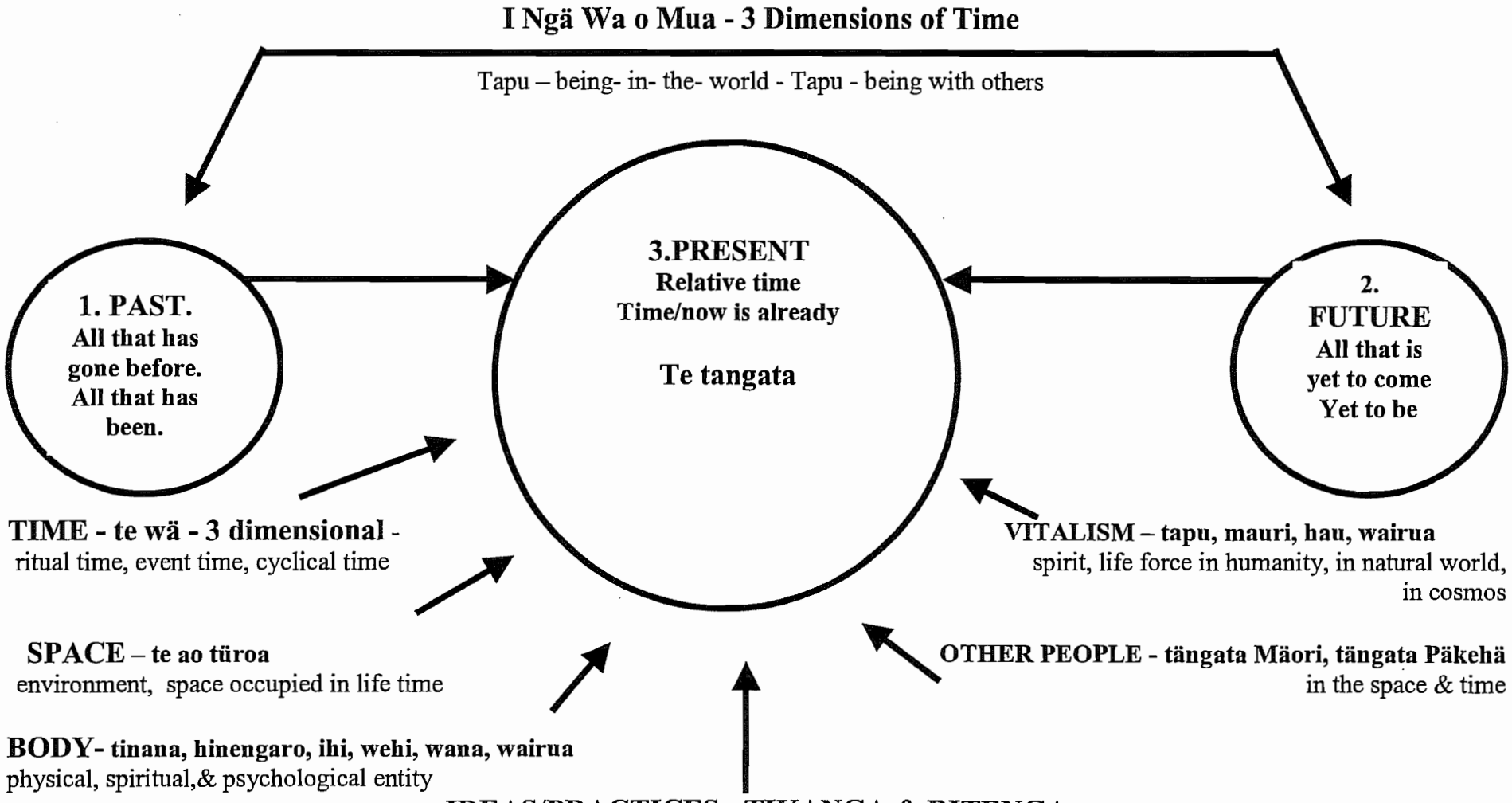
Following Heidegger, Charles Taylor (1995) discusses "engaged agency", a notion that addresses the problem that is central to this thesis, namely, the problem of New Zealand settler historiography, its logical rationalism and its mechanistic explanation of Māori thinking and actions. It argues, based on one-sided historical evidence that Māori leaders ceded in perpetuity their mana-sovereignty and the mana-sovereignty of future descendants yet to be born. A Māori historical and philosophical interpretation presents a view of "engaged agency" and a view of rangatira as engaged agents. Following Taylor, "engaged agency," means that the form of life, the history and bodily existence, shaped the world of the Māori agent, the rangatira of the 1820s – 1840s. Māori leaders in 1840 were not disengaged thinkers who like children awaited the parental advice of a visiting sailor. The discussion of Māori society in Chapter 3 described the milieu in which the rangatira acted as engaged agents. Following this, I will now discuss the way in which rangatira acted as agents (See Figure 4.2 Māori Temporal Structure in the World).

In the early-mid nineteenth century, there were criteria for leadership but as will be explained the role of leadership exercise was not static. All rangatira of quality possessed attributes, talents and qualities some of which were said to be inherited, almost in a genetic sense, some were ascribed upon performance and some gained through tribal schools of learning and experience. According to Johansen, such tikanga is about the true nature of leadership. However, in early-mid nineteenth century thinking the differences between the ordinary person or a slave, and a rangatira, were birthright and the history that goes with ones whakapapa (genealogy), for without this history there is no tikanga. Johansen

Figure 4.2

Mäori temporal structure in the world

Everything that was already known by Mäori is present before the encounter with Päkehä.
Pre-understandings.



Based on Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, (1996 [1953]).

observes that while reality is more flexible and that there are exceptions, according to Māori thought as expressed in the phrase "e waru ngā pumanawa," which is glossed as the eight sources of the heart, instances of rangatira-like attributes found in the common person or slave are just exceptions. In this frame of thinking, only a well-bred rangatira is able to achieve the reality of a person's possibilities (Johansen 1954:178 f & Note 159, 56 f.).

What can be observed during the nineteenth century are the sometimes subtle some times dramatic changes of the leadership role and the changes in priorities of matters to be addressed in a leadership function. One late nineteenth-century source, Tikitu, speaks of the "e waru pumanawa," the eight talents or qualities of the rangatira leadership (cf. Best 1898: 242; Firth, 1972:106, 107 & Note No. 2, 108), which were required in the post - Te Tiriti o Waitangi period, which included the sovereignty and land wars with the settler governments. A new type of defensive war was engaged in with the government's Māori Land Courts legislation the effects of which was the alienation of Māori land. Leaders were expected to represent their people in court hearings and have a sound background in tribal land boundaries, the history of battles and details of the significant blocks of land such as burial, forest and water harvesting sites.

An earlier listing of leadership talents were identified by Wiremu Te Rangikaheke of Ngāti Rangiwewehi (Curnow 1990:494 – 495), who demonstrates that traditional values of the 1850s were consistent with those described later by Tikitu. While the context had changed, from that of mana Māori embodied in te kara and Te Whakaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni to post-Tiriti o Waitangi and colonisation, the fundamental values of and expectations on leadership had remained constant. Each context was informed by the worldview, the matrix of ethics and dominant values of traditional religion. These fundamentals, which for many in leadership roles were enhanced by some elements of Christian morals, assisted tribes on the selection of their rangatira for the particular times.

According to Tikitu (cited in Grove 1985:6 – 7; see Ngā Tuara n.d.) the leadership talents required of his time were as follows:

> He kaha ki te mahi kai.
> Has the knowledge of and is industrious in obtaining or cultivating food.
>
> He kaha ki te whakahaere i ngā raruraru.
> Able to mediate, manage and settle disputes.

He toa.
Is courageous in war.

He kaha ki te whakahaere i te riri.
A good strategist and leader in war.

He mōhio ki te whakairo.
Has knowledge of the arts of carving.

He atawhai tangata.
Knows how to look after people.

Te hanga whare nunui, waka rānei.
Has command of the knowledge and the technology to build large houses or canoes.

He mōhio ki ngā rohe whenua.
Has a sound knowledge of the boundaries of tribal lands.

Te Rangikaheke's list of six qualities was compiled in the 1840's and published in the 1850's at a time in which the values are closer to the earlier period under study. The full impact of colonisation was about to be experienced together with the debilitating land wars and confiscations. In his attributes the rangatira:

He mōhio ki te whakahaere i ngā kōrero o te mahi kai.
Has command of the knowledge, science and technology of food acquisition and production.

...o te tangohanga whare, waka, pataka, hereimu.
Has command of the knowledge, technology, rituals and traditions pertaining to the construction and acquisition of houses, canoes, and storehouses and cooking sheds.

Ka mōhio ia ki te whakahaere i ngā kōrero mō te whawhai, toa tonu ki te riri, hopu tūpāpaku tonu atu, whati rawa mai ka riri, nana anō i whakahoki atu te whati.
Has knowledge on how to conduct discussions on the strategies of warfare and he is courageous in battle, is not afraid to kill, and can turn adversities into victories.

Ko te kōrero manuhiri anō tētahi.
Is competent at inviting and welcoming visitors.

Ko te kōrero rūnanga anō tētahi.
Is able to conduct meetings of the people to discuss important issues.

Ko te atawhai anō tētahi.
Is able to offer hospitality and to take care of people.

Like Tikitu, Te Rangikaheke also emphasises the importance of the leader as a fighter as well as strategist and manager of war (cited in Ngā Tuara n.d.:15 – 16). However, the times were changing and the fighting contexts were significantly different. Te Rangikāheke's

context is largely pre-Treaty of Waitangi where the fighting was in the inter-hapū and intra-hapū wars and includes the period of major internal migrations of communities and economic changes. Tikitu's leadership qualities refer to a largely colonial context in which the government is at war with Māori.

The Māori proverbs utilised many metaphors, which articulated the significance of the rangatira in the group (cited in Ngā Tuara n.d.:20)

> Te tumu herenga waka – the anchor post for canoes
> Te rata whakaruruhau – the sheltering rata tree
> Te ta kōtuku – the white heron feather

In early nineteenth-century thinking, a hapū without a leader was considered to be in great danger, like a drifting abandoned canoe. This is emphasised in another proverb that again draws on the metaphor of the kōtuku, the white heron, considered in Māori thought one of the most sacred of birds:

> Kia ai he tā kōtuku ki roto o te nohoanga pahī, kia tau ai.
> Let there be a plume of white heron feather in the assembly so the people are settled (Williams, H. 1975:354).

Johansen's perceptive analysis of the nature of leadership in the early nineteenth century is relevant to an understanding of the role and behaviour of the signatories to the Letter to King William IV, the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Waitangi. It was this ethos of relationships, hospitality and ultimately mana that was present in the rangatira involved in each of these events including the treaty signing encounters with Hobson and his delegations. They were fulfilling their obligations as rangatira to their kinship group and to the broader Māori community.

On the other hand, there is the matter of personal agency to be considered. To what extent did rangatira believe they were free to make decisions in terms of an internal self-conviction that they were in control of key aspects of community life? A personality researcher, Julian Rotter (Kreitner and Kinicki 2000:150) in the 1960s, studied this type of question. He identified a dimension of personality, which he called the "locus of control" where people often attributed the causes of their behaviour to either themselves or to environmental factors. Social-psychological studies shows how individuals can vary in terms of how much personal responsibility they take for their behaviour and its consequences. In general, there are two broad traits, an internal locus of control and an external locus. The internal locus trait is when outcomes are attributed to a person's own

actions. The external locus of control trait is when outcomes to circumstances are attributed to circumstances beyond their control. In functionalist cultural frameworks on Māori leadership, the impression is made that somehow rangatira were objects of the culture and that they conformed to the cultural norms or forms of behaviour in the cultural environment. Sometimes in the functionalist framework, there is little or no recognition of the role of individual agency.

The nineteenth-century Māori leadership style points to an external locus of control as the dominant modus operandi of rangatira in their whānau-hapū, and later iwi, and Māori contexts. This is evidenced in the attributes and qualities amplified by Tikitu and Te Rangikaheke and discussed earlier. However, there is also evidence that an internal locus of control was also operating that enabled rangatira to believe that they were in control of certain events that affected both their own and their peoples lives. The competitive elements involved in the quest for mana tangata and mana hapū would require high levels of flexibility in approaches to decision-making and organisation (Parsonson 1981:140 – 167; 1992:176 – 198; Belich 1996:81 – 83).

Rangatira were not disengaged thinkers and passive actors. They were leaders knowledgeable in food acquisition and production, the art of woodcarving, the technology to build large houses and canoes and the boundaries of tribal estates, and they were the guardians of the environment. Rangatira were also mediators, and managers of people's affairs, and were expected to settle disputes on behalf of the people. They were recognised as strategists in war, either in defence or attack, and expected to show courage in battle. On public occasions, they were often the chosen spokespersons and were counted upon to ensure the formal welcoming of visitors and arranging the hospitality appropriate for the occasion occurred.

This latter attribute of formally welcoming important visitors and travellers, and providing a suitable level of hospitality is seen to be as important as the qualities of fighting and acquiring food for the community. While the leaders' kinship group may make decisions on behalf of the community about relations with other tribes or groups of people, it was the rangatira who visited the tribes and made the relations with them. Finally, it was the leader who invited important guests to the community. Their acts of generosity and forgiveness towards those less powerful than themselves are "connected with the fact that he lives the life of the whole tribe." The greatness of the leader enables the taking of a wider view of

things and as the leader gathers the relationship to other tribes to their person, he or she stands security for the keeping of promises and agreements made. What is at stake is their mana tangata in terms of any external obligations (Johansen 1954:180). Their understanding of obligations would have been present when they met with Hobson in 1840. They expected him to be consistent in his thinking and have the same understanding as them, but because of Hobson's own worldview and his different horizons, this was not the case. Ultimately, the rangatira were also tangata, individuals who were capable of making their own considered decisions in terms of their belief that they were in control of events and consequences.

Rangatira were agents engaged in a culture and in a world already changing in which they were principle actors. When they arrived at Waitangi, or at any signing site for that matter, they represented the aspirations and anxieties of their people. At the same time, they came with their own particular view of themselves, their people and their way of life and their everyday experience of the world, as they knew it. Hobson, Williams, Busby, Colenso, Shortland, Taylor and other eyewitnesses had their own "preunderstandings" of what was intended, namely colonisation and the acquisition of Māori land for emigration purposes. In other words, all the leading characters involved in the signings had their "preunderstandings", as Heidegger has called it or a kind of explicit understanding as Taylor describes it.

Preunderstandings

Following on from the preliminary discussion in the introduction to this chapter, I turn now to further comment about Heidegger's notion of "preunderstanding," which derives from his notion of *dasein*. I have already discussed agency as necessarily limited by context, but as Charles Taylor points out (1997:69) it is the contextual limitation which makes agency both engaged and intelligible. In this meaning, it can be said that "preunderstandings" are sourced from cultural, educational, national and individual experience. The preceding chapters have described a background of metaphysical and social experience, which constitute Māori "preunderstanding" during the phenomenon of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. In this way, the context of early 1840 makes intelligible the experience of the Rangatira as agent. This is contrasted with the normative New Zealand historiography that emphasises a Māori agency, but one that is disengaged from their "preunderstandings". The disengaged view of Māori involvement in the treaty is in effect the mechanist theory.

I argue that Māori endeavours between 1820-1840 constituted an effort to maintain their cultural integrity and to locate their centre of power, so that continued self-determination and independence could be maintained and organised. There are two issues be considered; the cultural integrity issue of being a Māori; and the issue of political and economic power. What can be observed is that the Māori integrity of the culture is maintained but the control of power, both political and economic, is lost. As will be shown later in the chapter, an analysis of a selection of the korero of Māori leaders involved in three signing venues indicates a high level of anxiety related to the question of cultural integrity and the locus of power.

For the rangatira, the past involved a long slow process of encounter with whalers, traders, and missionaries and in 1833 with James Busby, other Māori tribal groups, Māori and Pākehā and knowledge of a relationship between Hongi Hika and Waikato and King George IV. And, in the 1849 the tense relationship by correspondence between Hone Heke and Queen Victoria and her government. Other dimensions to this past was the extensive travel of Māori leaders to Sydney, London and other parts of the Pacific where they experienced life in other countries, different forms of leadership and exercising of mana.

Māori "preunderstandings" of their leadership responsibilities in a Māori society involved an expectation of operating according to a set of ethics, such as those in the korunga of tikanga identified in Chapter 2, plus a complex set of complimentary values. These ethics and values guided their behaviour within their kinship groups, between other Māori from other tribal areas, and with the foreigners. For example, rangatira exercised manaaki through their hospitality, and their tiaki role in terms of protecting the missionaries and other Pākehā traders. All these concerned the exercise of mana and the maintenance of the groups that they led.

The living environment occupied by Māori leaders in February 1840 was one of considerable instability. Many were recovering from the long-term effects of inter and intra hapū fighting. Many experienced dramatic fluctuations in their involvement in international trade as markets waxed and waned. Many travelled extensively throughout the North Island on diplomatic, military and political agenda. The Māori flow of information throughout the two islands ensured that before British emissaries arrived for signing's, many areas had a reasonably good idea as to what had transpired in the North. In one famous incident, Te Hapuku of Ahuriri (Napier) and a close ally of Pomare in the Bay

of Islands refused to sign the Treaty because he was not fully conversant with the thinking of his friends and colleagues among the Ngāpuhi leaders. He was also sceptical about any relationship with the British Queen that had her in a position superior to that of himself and other rangatira. He was eventually persuaded when Governor Hobson sent a ship from Napier to the Bay of Islands to bring Te Haara to Napier. Te Haara was to persuade his colleague, Te Hapuku, to sign (Orange 1987:81, 82), both rangatira had signed Te W[h]akaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni.

Upon debating the pros and cons of a treaty relationship with the British Queen, 540 rangatira signed in favour of the relationship. They were attempting to bind each other for peace and security among themselves and their people, and to implement a relationship with the British Crown and the settlers. Upon agreeing to sign the rangatira were committed to a future in which the short term and long-term outcomes were not very clear to them. What they were projecting to become, what their agency was intended to achieve, was based in good faith and the limited encounter experience of the past. Evidence points to hundreds of other leaders who for diverse reasons refused to sign or were not invited.

The anxieties and the fears of the period appeared to affect many rangatira. Prominent among the many hundreds of rangatira who refused to sign were the higher ranking ones such as Te Heu Heu Mananui of Ngāti Tuwharetoa in the centre of the North Island (1992:237 – 239), Te Wherowhero of Ngāti Mahuta (Orange 1987:68 – 69), Tupaea of Ngai Te Rangi in Tauranga (Orange 1987:71, 77) and nearly all the Te Arawa rangatira, except for Timoti, who was closely connected to the Amohau family (Stafford 1967:347). They were anxious about an unknown future and chose not to be immediately engaged in such a formal relationship. They could not see any immediate benefits for Māori in such a Treaty and sought to maintain the status quo, in which relationships with the British were moving slowly and surely at a pace, which they believed they could control. It was after all a question of equality and mana and for Te Wherowhero, Te Hapuku, and Te Heuheu their mana was equal to that of the Queen in England. The anxiety for the future of Te Wherowhero, Te Heuheu and Tupaea and the state of tension was a creative moment in which they decided not to sign (Heidegger 1999 [1953]:169). On the other hand, the 540, including Te Hapuku, who signed found that in their anxiety for the future, the state of tension was a creative moment.

The Pākehā protagonists in the phenomenon also had "preunderstandings". According to English history and worldview, ruling colonies and the sending of its migrants was an integral part of its society and way of life. In this way, English Imperialism both described a past and prescribed a desired course for the future. The representatives of English society understood this agenda as they stood at Waitangi, Kaitaia and the Hokianga and every other signing place. Their engaged agency was the manner in which they sought to extend the influence and power of England.

William Hobson, James Busby and Henry Williams were the Pākehā *dramatis personae* of the Treaty proceedings. For Hobson, Busby and Williams, their past as a governor, a retiring British Resident and a leading missionary involved a background in public service, either for the British Government or the Church. These three were conversant with a proud colonial tradition of Great Britain and with the immediate and long-term intentions of the British Government, which involved a programme of immigration and full control over all the affairs of the New Zealand of the future. They were aware of the fact that hundreds of thousands of British citizens were emigrating to the North Americas, and Australia, and that many desired to come to New Zealand. Hobson had no knowledge of Māori, and no knowledge of Busby and his Scottish background. In effect, his context was extremely limited given the situation he was in. The missionaries were helping Hobson achieve his objective of cession, and Williams and his son were responsible for the translations of the English treaty. James Busby, a Scot raised in Scotland, educated in the Scottish education system but also a scholar who liked to think in terms of principles rather than the pragmatics of things.

In his preparation to become the first British Resident, Busby had likely very carefully studied Emmerich de Vattel's principles and the law of nations. The study of de Vattel was a standard reference for all budding British Residents and other officials entering the Foreign Service. One of de Vattel's core principles under the new emerging international law stated that where a new emerging nation wished to be established, the people could ask an existing well-established state to assist them in a protectorate relationship. Cession of sovereignty was not a necessary requirement. According to the *Law of Nations* (de Vattel Vol. 3:para. 192):

> § 192 Protection
> When a Nation is unable to protect itself from insult and oppression, it may obtain for itself the protection of a more powerful State. If this protection is obtained by a promise to do certain definite things, such as to pay tribute in acknowledgement of

> the protection granted, or to furnish the protecting State with troops, or even to make common cause with it in all its wars, provided the contracting State reserves the right of governing itself, the treaty is merely one of protection, which is not in derogation of sovereignty, and which is distinguished from ordinary treaties of alliance only by the difference which it creates in the standing of the contracting parties.

Based on his many letters to family and to officials and other documentation, Busby appears to have explained the above principle of protection to Māori leaders from 1833 to 1835. In a letter to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales on 16th June 1837, Busby re-iterated a suggestion made in an earlier Despatch dated 26th January 1836, explaining the core principle relative to the recently announced Māori declaration of independence. He wrote:

> It is founded upon the principle of the protecting state, administering in chief the affairs of another state in trust for the inhabitants, as sanctioned by the treaty of Paris, in the instance of Great Britain and the Ionian Islands, and as applied, I believe, in various instances, on the borders of our Indian possessions (NLS Copy of Despatch from Governor Sir R. Bourke to Lord Glenelg, 9th September 1837, relative to the Affairs of New Zealand; with four enclosures).

Busby explained the principles to the rangatira when they were choosing te kara, the flag of independence and in the making the He W[h]akaputanga o te Rangatiratanga, the Declaration of Independence and illustrated the principles with the example of the Ionian Islands who through the Treaty of Paris 1815 (see Appendix VIII) entered into a protectorate relationship with Great Britain and one in which Ionian sovereignty remained with Ionia. Busby may not necessarily have talked about de Vattel's principles of international law directly to the rangatira, I found no record of it, but they appeared to have an understanding of the principles and practicalities of a protectorate administration. This is demonstrated in the Declaration itself and in the Treaty of Waitangi. From a Māori view, the principles of international law underpinned their willingness to enter into a treaty protection and not cession. The later expressions of the metaphor of the ship asserted by Panakareao at the Kaitaia signings of the Treaty and recorded in Pompallier's report to the Vatican on Ngapuhi understanding of the treaty. The metaphor of the kaipuke and the gaining of a captain to help sail the ship is consistent with the principles of protection. The rangatira understood the difference between the owner of a ship and the captain who was a hired hand.

The encounter of Māori with the British in the negotiations of the Treaty was not a meeting of equals in terms of their respective experiences with each other and their experience of

other countries. The contact with new countries was for Māori an experience of very recent origins whereas the British experience had been accumulated over hundreds of years of colonising, and the building of a nascent empire. This meant that the horizons of the two parties were vastly different. The horizons represented the limits of a future that was yet to come in terms of the signing of the Treaty.

The Māori horizon, based on their experiences in the past with a colonial power had a horizon in which they were offered assistance to build a civil society and, the protection of their culture and ways of life. Māori did not know, nor could they be expected to know, the full force of British intentions. For Māori the horizon and the future were based on both the trust and the hope for a future in which they would prosper in their relationship with the British Government and Queen. Māori had little experience of colonisation, though they had observed some of its negative effects in Australia and Tahiti. It was part of British people's lived experience. The British future was a well thought out and pragmatic plan of colonisation and control and the exercise of political, social and economic power. Traditional settler historiography would have us accept that Māori willingly submitted themselves to domination, albeit to domination of a different kind to that which many had witnessed in Australia and Tahiti. I argue that a Māori interpretation of evidence points to something quite different they sought to pursue a relationship that was the opposite of domination.

I have earlier in the Introduction of the thesis and Chapter 1 discussed aspects of Māori notions of time, event, place and the past, present and future as expressed as i ngā wā o mua. In 1840, Māori were not yet living according to lineal time or chronology. Their notion of time was governed by "regularly recurring phenomena" whether they be tides or the song of the birds in the morning, "Kiore ano kia ko te manu ka haere mātou" – Ere the birds began to sing we departed (Best 1922:42). In addition, time was considered in the tradition of events of significance, or following earlier events of significance. Their world and view of time was cyclical, where it was important to complete one set of actions and relationships to the best of their ability, before moving on the next. Hobson, Busby and Williams' view of time was preoccupied with dates and targets to be met and goals based on lineal time frames. This involved external pressure from their respective headquarters in London and Sydney to achieve their quest for cession of sovereignty so as to meet the demands from their own communities for immigration and law and order in what they considered to be a wild west New Zealand. For Māori what constituted the appropriate

time to move from one event to another was likely to be based on the sets of relationships to be established in the present.

An interesting question arises in light of this understanding of the Māori view of time. The discussions just before the signings took place over a very short time considering the significance of the event. Why take two days to cede sovereignty just after you have spent twenty years engaging in a relationship with Great Britain to maintain mana? A contrast can be made with the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1815 over the Ionian Islands when the European countries talked for weeks to negotiate before signatures were gathered. What Māori would have found adequate was a much longer time for discussion with the possibility of an ongoing dialogue before a cautious agreement by some to establish a formal relationship was reached. Māori had come in large numbers, but with limited supplies, they were running out of food at the Hui, and so there was some urgency to get back to tribal areas.

Conditions of intelligibility were not available to Māori, a point that Colenso himself was to make and which Hobson abruptly swept aside. Māori would also have been looking for the condition of possibilities (see Taylor 1995:73). Ceding their mana-sovereignty in this context seems an improbable task, yet according to mechanistic explanations, it was done and would hardly have met Wittgenstein's criteria or requirement of intelligibility (Taylor 1995:75).

Rangatira of Tai Tokerau, Waikato and Tūwharetoa and other regions had an appreciation of the kind of role that they wanted the British Queen and her other government officials to play, which was that of a captain or helmsman. The metaphor of the kaipuke, namely that New Zealand was like a ship, which they owned was dominant idea of the weeks during the signings. The first Bishop of Nu Tireni Bishop Jean Baptiste Pompallier reported this analogy in his diary on 19th January 1845 after an urgent conversations with Catholic Māori leaders when he was prevailed upon to intervene with his friend Hone Heke who was considering challenging the British Crown over their abuse of the Treaty (McKeefrey 1938:115). It was very apt in terms of explaining or describing Māori attitudes. Māori knew that people who were governors ran parts of Australia. From the late eighteenth century to the early part of the nineteenth century, dozens of Māori leaders travelled to Sydney and lived with the various Governors particularly Governor King and a number of others. There they were able to observe and experience what a Governor did and how they

operated and it is in this sense that they knew what the role of the Governor was. The Governor was not the owner but was like the captain of the ship. All power ultimately lay somewhere else and in terms of their personalist philosophy they recognised that political mana was vested in the Queen not fully comprehending that in English mechanistic philosophy mana was vested in an institution, namely parliament in Westminster, London. However as Claudia Orange (1987 46) has shown this did not stop Henry Williams and Hobson from playing on Māori personalism by "representing the Crown through the person of the Queen." Thus softening she says, the "full import of the loss of sovereignty."

A second source of information on the role of governorship came from the New Testament of the Bible where many of there Māori leaders while they were not professed Christians at this stage were already students of the Bible. Many of them knew of the story of the Roman Governor, Pontius Pilate and his administration in Israel. They knew from those studies that Pontius Pilate was not the owner of Israel, only the Governor and that Israel had a relationship with Rome. Israel was ostensibly a free country but under the tutorage of Rome (cf. D. Williams 1985:161 – 170). They had two sources of information to form their understandings from; something they had experienced and something they were reading, studying and debating. Additionally, the Ionian principle, as told by Busby, showed that governorship, or protectorate status, was not necessarily permanent.

Māori had a "preunderstanding" that they could consolidate the locus of power within their own group. It was an understanding based in the experience of Te Wakaminenga o ngā hapū o Nu Tirani. When they met in Waitangi, Hawkes Bay, Waikato and possibly Taupo to discuss the business of declaring independence, many of them from the far north were already aware of some British thinking such as the role of a parliament in providing consistent rules and laws that could then be applied to moderate across the board certain forms of behaviour. As early as 1820 Samuel Marsden had written in his diaries that Māori leaders in Thames were considering establishing a parliament wherein all the Māori leaders could meet to pass common laws that would then be applied to all the various tribal groupings throughout the country to get some sort of consistency in behaviour. It is important to note that Māori were not discussing centralising the locus of power, rather the parliament was to be a forum for standardising certain ritenga.

Māori, and particularly Northland Māori, also had a "preunderstanding" of a relationship with the British Crown. Claudia Orange (1987:10, 11, 12) has described the event in which

Hongi Hika and Waikato shook hands with the King George IV, and where the King urged asked that Māori and Pākehā were not to kill each other. Based on that shaking of hands the North Auckland Māori believe a relationship with the British Crown was established. In terms of the oral tradition of North Auckland Māori, the shaking of hands was seen as extremely significant with the two leaders shaking hands and agreeing on some general common understandings to do with relationships. In the North Auckland Māori mind, every subsequent event is an affirmation of the handshake. This is significant because the political and constitutional changes being proposed are all coming from the north. It is valid to keep the focus on the North at this time because that was the source of these ideas for Māori society. Hongi Hika's 1820 journey with Waikato and Kendall is central to the "preunderstandings" of North Auckland Māori because not only did it signal the beginning of the relationship, but also it was a source of new ideas, especially regarding parliament and the trading and military power of the British.

On the British side archival materials of the British officials in London, show recognition that a relationship was established before 1840 but the relationship was established through letters and formal functions rather than a handshake. The recognition of a relationship with Māori certainly predates 1840. Besides the handshake, there is the letter of 1831, in which Māori leaders from the Bay of Islands wrote to King William IV and formally, asked for a relationship to be continued. The King responded with gifts, which in the Māori mind would have been interpreted as an acceptance of their proposal on the principles of gift exchange. That letter plus other petitions from other sources that were not Māori, led to the appointment of the first British Resident, James Busby. He was dispatched to look after the British, interests particularly trade, and secondly to advise Māori in terms of reorganising themselves to some form of constitutional arrangement.

The idea of a Māori Parliament was an embryonic idea only. There is little available evidence, which describes in any way a parliament actually working. Some commentators particularly the Scots recognised that the choosing of a flag in 1834 was in Scottish terms a parliament, in Scotland when the King of Scotland met the Lords it was a parliament (Busby, Scottish newspaper). Parliament was not seen as a building or a place but anywhere where these people came together and made decisions for the common good for all the people of Scotland. Therefore, Scottish newspapers were recording that a Māori parliament had met. I have pointed out that Busby was a Scot. In my view when he was advising Māori, he was thinking of the processes in Scotland. This is seen in the First

Article of the Declaration of Independence where he advised them to form Confederation of Māori leaders. In this way their individual leadership, responsibilities and powers are recognised and when they come together to act in a collective capacity. They acquire a collective leadership set of responsibilities, but is does not in any way diminish their individual responsibilities. That is written in the first article. In their collective capacity, they would meet in parliament or in a Congress and pass laws for justice, peace and trade. And that is the commitment. Did this Congress actually meet? It depends on your view of the notion of parliament whether it is a Scottish view or an English view. If you follow a Scottish mindset then there is some evidence that the Māori leaders did meet with Busby from time to time in the period before 1840.

By contrast, in England the idea of parliament was quite different. Their idea was that the parliament was at Westminster in London. It was a formal constitutional body with elections. Therefore taking English view of parliament there was no such meeting in Nu Tireni because a building was never built (Orange 1987). The timber was bought but the building was not built. It was not formalised. So, there are two different perspectives. I argue that if the Māori leaders were meeting with someone like Busby they might not have called it a parliament in the English sense, but they would act as if it was a parliament the many meetings with Busby in front of his home are a testament to this emergent practice. There is some evidence that they did meet and that Busby called them together from time to time to discuss issues relative to problems that they were facing such as crime and the lack of law to govern behaviour between tribal groupings. These differing views of time show that a significant divergence in "preunderstanding" existed between Māori and the British.

The problem for the English, both in London and the early settlers, was that they had their own view of what constitutes a nation and a state and failed to recognised that Māori not only had their own view but those views were valid and met any criteria of nation and state. Some historians, in writing about settler history, are quite damning of Busby and the value of Busby's work. These matters were discussed in Chapter 3. They are highly critical of the kind of advice he gave to Māori leaders. They concede also that The Declaration of Independence was recognised by London but argue that the congress never met as a parliament and therefore nothing happened. However, Māori evidence does not support that particular view and so there appears to be a lack of understanding from the settler and the Crown side.

Busby had a very clear idea on two matters. First, that Māori were capable of leading the country but did not have the knowledge or the type of institutions necessary for the running of a state. Secondly, that the British would be the best people to help Māori establish themselves as an independent state and in this way the British interests, trading interests and political interests and Māori interests would be combined. While initially Busby was convinced that Māori were capable of leading their own country, he was later to change his mind when by 1839 he had already concluded that Māori were incapable at their existing level of competence of running a country. He had swung to the view already promoted by Hobson that the British needed to move in and make New Zealand a colony. Busby went along with this view. What the historians have done is taken for granted that because Busby changed his mind about Māori competence in running the country therefore Māori leaders were thinking like that. However there is no evidence of this. Busby had changed his mind about Māori competence but that does not indicate that Māori were in agreement that they were incompetent. There is no evidence that they unlearned what they had already been taught

There is some evidence to show that Māori continued thinking and acting on all these issues and working out the details in establishing parliament and running the country by themselves this time without Busby's advice. What New Zealand historiographers have done is continue to track Busby. However, when Busby changed his mind in 1838 there is an assumption that Māori leaders had changed their minds also and were now in agreement with Busby that they needed to cede their sovereignty.

A consensus was emerging among Māori leaders that something else needed to happen. The Treaty is an initiative of the British Queen and the British Government and is seen by some Māori as an offer, which could be accepted. The offer, as they understood it, was that the British Queen, Queen Victoria and her government would continue to help Māori set up a civil society. This is stated in the preamble of the Treaty itself. When they went into the Treaty signings, given all that I have described earlier, it becomes easy to understand that in less than 8 months 540 Māori leaders had signed this Treaty with the British Queen. In the preamble and in the articles of Te Tiriti are many ideas Māori had discussed with Busby and others in the period before.

Māori wanted a civil government and they desired to have laws that would govern the behaviour amongst Māori, and between Māori and Pākehā. If the British helped Māori do

this, in return Māori would allow British people to live here in peace. Therefore, the trade between Britain and New Zealand would continue for the benefit of both sides. That is what Māori understood was being proposed in the Treaty of Waitangi, certainly in the Māori text. All these things had been discussed in the years beforehand. Many of these ideas were already written up in the letter of 1831 from the Māori leaders to King William, the Declaration of Independence where we find in one of the articles there a request to the British King – Help us establish our country and in return, your people can live here in peace. Be our friend. I argue that these are the reasons why Māori found the Treaty relatively easy to agree to. So, a consensus, as I have called it, emerged because Māori thrashed out all these ideas among themselves in the intervening 20 years.

However, we do know from non-Māori sources, that Hobson and the British Government had different ideas, which they had not fully explained to Māori leaders. It could be that the missionaries did not realise the full extent of the proposed immigration schemes, but certainly, Hobson knew. In 1837 when he was on an earlier tour of duty in New Zealand he wrote a letter to his wife in which he told her that because of the capital invested in fisheries and British labour already in the country that we, meaning the British, would in time occupy new Zealand entirely (Orange 1987:28; 1989:14).

The New Zealand Company and the New Zealand Association were pushing for greater emigration from Great Britain through an immigration scheme but were seen as extremists (Burns 1989:16, 120, 130). Now we are reasonably clear that it was in the minds of the British government who had basically taken on board the key ideas from the New Zealand Association and Wakefield's group and it was taken on now as official policy. The view was that instead of the private sector doing it the government would do it better. This was one of the key pieces of information that was withheld in all of the Treaty discussions. The second thing was the extent of the effect of the article, the proposed article on Māori lands sales having to be made to the British Crown in the first instance. If they had known the full extent of the British thinking it is highly unlikely they would have signed the treaty on that basis alone. The British intention was that by having the sole option to purchase land from the Māori they would be able to on-sell the land making huge profits on British Policy on immigration and land. The two are linked. This is a crucial part of the Treaty discussion.

Māori were beguiled into signing the Treaty based on these pre understandings and this is how the myth of the cession of sovereignty came into being. The record that Māori ceded sovereignty forever more is written only in the English text and the English text is the one that very few Māori noted and signed. In fact, there are only 40 signatures attached to the English text. The other 500 signatures are attached to the Māori text. The English text was taken to the Waikato area by mistake and they were never meant to sign the English. In their trusting of missionaries, Busby and Hobson they were signing a document with certain understandings in their head of what they are doing but not necessarily agreeing with the English language on this text. All of the conversations at the Treaty of Waitangi signings were in Māori not in English. It is reasonable to assume that Māori were operating in a Māori language worldview.

In Article 1 of the English text the language there is very explicit and that is Māori agreed to cede to the British queen forever more their sovereignty. I have earlier argued that this a major moral issue for a people. Philosophers usually concede that people do not cede sovereignty unless they are under duress and are forced to. There is no basis for Māori to cede sovereignty. There is no point to it, because they understood they were already getting assistance to set themselves up. The ceding of sovereignty idea is only important for the British government and its immigration intentions. To this extent, the ceding of sovereignty is a myth created by British officials missionary witnesses and traders and many others who were a party to this idea that Māori had to cede sovereignty. What we have in terms of archival material is all the Pākehā writing to each other saying that they have ceded sovereignty but when you look for evidence in 1840 of Māori saying yes we have ceded sovereignty it is virtually impossible to find any. There is none in the treaty discourse tom be discussed in the following section.

Te Tiriti

I will use an informative historical and anthropological analysis of the Treaty transactions at Waitangi, Mangungu and Kaitaia in 1840 prepared by Anne Salmond (n.d. *Treaty Understandings*) for the Waitangi Tribunal, in which she studied the known surviving records of the transactions. This with particular reference to the accounts of statements made by various Māori leaders but recorded by people who were not Māori and who had a second language knowledge of Māori. The knowledge and experience of Māori language usage varied from reasonably fluent orallcy to limited to little knowledge and experience.

According to Anne Salmond (n.d. *Treaty Understandings*), the only Māori language record that seems to have survived of the treaty transactions at Waitangi, Mangungu and Kaitaia in 1840 is the parchment version of the Māori language text of the Treaty. The Māori text is a translation of an original English language version, which is now lost, but there are five different English language versions said to approximate the original (cf. Ross 1972). It is the parchment in Māori that various rangatira and Pākehā signed at Waitangi, Waimate, Mangungu, Kaitaia, Waitemata and Okiato. This Māori language text is used in this thesis as follows (see Orange 1987:257, Appendix 2).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Ko Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarani i tana mahara atawai ki ngā Rangatira me ngā Hapū o Nu Tirani i tana hiahia hoki kia tōhungia ki a rātou ō rātou rangatiratanga me tō rātou wenua, a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a rātou me te Ātanoho hoki kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tētahi Rangatira – hei kai wakarite ki ngā Tāngata māori o Nu Tirani – kia wakaaetia e ngā Rangatira māori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini ki ngā wāhikatoa o te wenua nei me ngā motu – na te mea hoki he tokomaha kē ngā tangata o tona Iwi Kua noho ki tēnei wenua, a e haere mai nei.

Nā ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawanatanga kia kaua ai ngkino e puta mai ki te tangata māori ki te Pākehā e noho ture kore ana.

Nā kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi hei Kawana mo ngā wāhi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua aianei amua atu ki te Kuini, e mea atu ana ia ki ngā Rangatira o te wakaminenga o ngā hapū o Nu Tirani me ērā Rangatira atu ēnei ture ka kōrerotia nei.

Ko te tuatahi
Ko ngā Rangatira o te wakaminenga me ngā Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu – te Kawanatanga katoa o ō rātou wenua.

Ko te tuarua
Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki ngā Rangatira ki ngā hapū – ki ngā tāngata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o ō rātou wenua ō rātou kainga me ō rātou taonga katoa. Otiia ko ngā Rangatira o te wakaminenga me ngā Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o ērā wāhi wenua e pai ai te tangata Nona te wenua – ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e rātou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.

Ko te tuatoru
Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tēnei mo te wakaaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini – Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani ngā tāngata māori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a rātou ngā tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki ngā tāngata o Ingarani.

[signed] W. Hobson Consul & Lieutenant Governor.

Nā ko mātou ko ngā Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o ngā hapū o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko mātou hoki ko ngā Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o ēnei kupu. Ka tangohia ka wakaaetia katoatia e mātou, koia ka tōhungia ai ō mātou ingoa ō mātou tohu.

Ka meatia tēnei ki Waitangi i te ono o ngā rā o Pepueri i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e wa te kau o tō tātou Ariki.

Ko ngā Rangatira o te Whakaminenga
Followed by the names of signatories and/or tohu marks

An Historical-Semantic Translation

Following is a historical-semantic translation into English of the Māori text of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in which I have drawn on a number of earlier translations. The literal translation done in 1865 by Mr T. E. Young of the Native Department (Orange 1987: Appendices 2 & 5), a historical-semantic translation of Professor Dame Anne Salmond and Merimeri Penfold (in Salmond n.d.:5), a taped interview of Sir James Henare recorded by Denise Henare (1987) and a taped interview of Rob Cooper recorded by Denise Henare (1987). Other English translations of the Māori version were also considered namely that of Professor Sir Hugh Kawharu (1984) and Sir Apirana Ngata (1922, 1963). However as far as I am aware of these sources only James Henare and Rob Cooper would have had in their mind Hongi Hika's visit to London, the letter to King William IV, the flag of 1834 and Te Whakaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni and the social context as the backdrop for understanding the Māori Tiriti o Waitangi. Anne Salmond acknowledged the declaration of independence as part of her backdrop for a translation of the Māori text.

My translation is as follows. First, I translate line by line and second I bring together only the England translation of the Māori text into a single uncluttered statement.

Ko Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarani i tana mahara atawai ki ngā Rangatira me ngā hapū o Nu Tirani
Victoria, the Queen of England, in her kind thoughtfulness (caring concern) for the chiefs (Rangatira) and tribes (ngā hapū) of New Zealand

i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a rātou ō rātou rangatiratanga me tō rātou wenua, a kia mau
and in her desire to preserve to them their full authority as leaders (rangatiratanga) and their country (tō rātou wenua), and

tonu hoki te Rongo ki a rātou me te Ātanoho hoki kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai
that lasting peace may always be kept with them and continued life as Māori people (Ātanoho hoki), she has thought it right

tetahi Rangatira – hei kai wakarite ki ngā Tāngata Māori o Nu Tirani – kia wakaaetia e ngā
that a chief (Rangatira) should be sent (tukua) here as a negotiator or adjudicator (kaiwakarite) with the Māori i people (pl) of New Zealand – that the

Rangatira māori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini ki ngā wāhikatoa o te wenua nei me ngā motu – nā te
Māori chiefs of New Zealand may consent to the governorship (Kawanatanga) of the Queen over all parts of this country and the Islands,

mea hoki he tokomaha kē ngā tāngata o tona iwi Kua noho ki tēnei wenua, a e haere mai nei.
because many of her people (iwi) have already settled on this land and others are coming hither.

Nā ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawanatanga kia kaua ai ngā kino e puta mai
Now the Queen wishes to establish Governorship, that evil may not come to

ki te tangata māori ki te Pākehā e noho ture kore ana.
the Māori people (pl) and the Pākehā living here without English law (ture).

Nā kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi
Now the Queen has been pleased to send (tukua) me William Hobson, a Captain of the Royal Navy,

hei Kawana mo ngā wāhi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua aianei amua atu ki te Kuini, e mea atu ana ia
to be Governor (Kawana) for all those places of New Zealand which may be given up (tukua) now to the Queen; and she declares

ki ngā Rangatira o te wakaminenga o ngā hapū o Nu Tirani me ērā Rangatira atu ēnei ture ka
to the chiefs of the Confederation of the tribes of New Zealand (Te wakaminenga o ngā hapū o Nu Tireni), and other chiefs, the following laws

kōrerotia nei.
which are spoken here.

Ko te tuatahi
The First

Ko ngā Rangatira o te wakaminenga me ngā Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua
The Chiefs of the Confederation and also all the Leaders who have not entered into the

wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu – te Kawanatanga katoa o ō
Confederation, give completely (tuku rawa atu) to the Queen of England for ever all the Governorship of

rātou wenua.
their country (ō rātou wenua).

Ko te tuarua
The Second

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki ngā Rangatira ki ngā hapū – ki ngā
The Queen of England will put in place (wakarite) and agrees (wakaae) that the Chiefs, the tribes,

tāngata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o ō rātou wenua ō rātou kainga me ō rātou
and all the People of New Zealand have full (absolute) authority and power (chieftainship) of their lands (pl) (ō rātou wenua), their settlements and surrounding environs (kainga), and all their

taonga katoa. Otiia ko ngā Rangatira o te wakaminenga me ngā Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te
valuables (property) (taonga). But the Chiefs of the Confederation, and all other Chiefs, offer (tuku) to the

Kuini te hokonga o ērā wāhi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te wenua – ki te ritenga o te utu e
Queen the exchange (hokonga) of those small pieces of land (wahi wenua), which the proprietors of the land may wish to make available according to the custom of the exchange of equivalence (ritenga o te utu)

wakaritea ai e rātou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.
agreed upon by them and the agent (kai hoko) who is now appointed by the Queen to be her trading agent (kai hoko).

Ko te tuatoru
The Third

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tēnei mo te wakaaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini – Ka
In recognition of this agreement to the Governorship of the Queen. The

tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani ngā tāngata Māori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a rātou ngā tikanga
Queen of England will protect (tiaki) all the Māori people (pl) of New Zealand and offers (tukua) all the same English customary rights (tikanga)

katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki ngā tāngata o Ingarani.
she offers her people of England.

[signed] W. Hobson Consul & Lieutenant Governor.

Nā ko mātou ko ngā Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o ngā hapū o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei
Now, we, the Leaders (Chiefs) of the Confederation of the Tribes of New Zealand, now assemble at

ki Waitangi ko mātou hoki ko ngā Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o ēnei kupu. Ka
Waitangi, and also we the Chiefs of New Zealand, see the meaning of these words.

tangohia ka wakaaetia katoatia e mātou, koia ka tohungia ai ō mātou ingoa o mātou tohu.
We accept and agree to all of this, and so we affix our names and our moko marks (tohu).

Ka meatia tēnei ki Waitangi i te ono o ngā rā o Pepueri i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e
This is done at Waitangi on the sixth day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred

wa te kau o tō tātou Ariki.
and forty of our Lord (Ariki).

The additional clause:

E mea ana te Kawana, ko ngā whakapono katoa, o Ingarangi o ngā Weteriana, o Roma, me te
The Governor says that the many faiths (whakapono) of England, of the Wesleyans (Methodist) and of Rome and also

ritenga Māori hoki, e tiakina ngatahitia e ia.
Māori custom, shall be alike protected by him.

Following is my historical-semantic translation of the Māori text of the treaty:

Victoria, the Queen of England, in her kind thoughtfulness (caring concern) for the Chiefs (Rangatira) and tribes of New Zealand and in her desire to preserve (guarantee) to them their full authority as chiefs (rangatiratanga) and their country, and that lasting peace may always be kept with them and continued life as Māori people (Ātanoho hoki), she has thought it right that a chief (Rangatira) should be sent (tukua) here as a negotiator or adjudicator (kaiwakarite) with the Māori people (pl) of New Zealand – that the Māori chiefs of New Zealand may consent to the governorship (Kawanatanga) of the Queen over all parts of this country and the Islands, because many of her people (iwi) have already settled on this land and others are coming hither.

Now the Queen wishes to establish Governorship, that evil may not come to the Māori people (pl) and the Pākehā living here without English law (ture).

Now the Queen has been pleased to send (tukua) me William Hobson, a Captain of the Royal Navy, to be Governor (Kawana) for all those places of New Zealand which may be given up (tukua) now to the Queen; and she declares to the chiefs of the Confederation of the tribes of New Zealand (Te wakaminenga o ngā hapū o Nu Tireni), and other chiefs, the following laws which are spoken here.

The First
The Chiefs of the Confederation and also all the Chiefs who have not entered into that Confederation, give completely (tuku rawa atu) to the Queen of England for ever all the Governorship of their lands.

The Second
The Queen of England will put in place (wakarite) and agrees (wakaae) that the Chiefs, the tribes, and all the People of New Zealand, have full (absolute) authority and power (chieftainship) of their lands, their settlements and surrounding environs (kainga), and all their valuables (property) (taonga). But the Chiefs of the Confederation, and all other Chiefs, offer (tuku) to the Queen the exchange (hokonga) of those small pieces of land (wāhi wenua), which the proprietors of the land may wish to make available according to the custom of the exchange of equivalence (ritenga o te utu) agreed upon by them and the agent (kai hoko) who is now appointed by the Queen to be her trading agent (kai hoko).

The Third
In recognition of this agreement to the Governorship of the Queen. The Queen of England will protect (tiaki) all the Māori people (pl) of New Zealand and offers (tukua) all the same English customary rights (tikanga) she offers her people of England.

The Unwritten Fourth
The Governor says that the many faiths (whakapono) of England, of the Wesleyans (Methodist) and of Rome and also Māori custom , shall be alike protected by him.

[signed] W. Hobson Consul & Lieutenant Governor.

Now, we, the Chiefs of the Confederation of the Tribes of New Zealand, now assemble at Waitangi, and also we the Chiefs of New Zealand, see the meaning of these words:

We accept and agree to all of this, and so we affix our names and our moko marks (tohu).

This is done at Waitangi on the sixth day of February, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty of our Lord (Ariki).

The Treaty Discourse

I intend to analyse the recorded discourse of the treaty signings bearing in mind that the translations were done by people not necessarily fluent in Māori or aware of the nuances of metaphorical expression frequently used by rangatira during formal gatherings such as this.

Waitangi Signings, 5th & 6th February 1840 (Colenso 1890)

If we first examine the words of the Governor, Hobson as he is reported to have spoken first to the 'whites' gathered at Waitangi and then to the 'Natives'. He informed the people of the purpose of the gathering and introduced the Queen's wishes. And reminded Māori of their request for protection (Colenso 1890:16):

> wishing to do good to the chiefs and people of New Zealand, and for the welfare of her subjects living among you, has sent me to this place as Governor.
>
> But, as the law of England gives no civil powers to Her Majesty out of her dominions, her efforts to do you good will be futile unless you consent.
>
> You yourselves have often asked the King of England to extend his protection unto you. Her Majesty now offers you that protection in this treaty...

He seems to be saying that he wishes to gain their consent to the Treaty. He represents the Queen and she has no jurisdiction outside of England without the consent of the people here. He reports that she wishes to be helpful to the chiefs and to look after the English settlers who are free to travel where they please. He comments that at this time the Queen has no power over the settler visitors but will have if the chiefs sign. He indicates that Māori have previously sought protection from the Queen and she now offers it. He mentions that land has been sold to some of these people and the Māori have encouraged them to stay.

Rev. H. Williams read the Māori translation to the gathering. Busby also addressed Māori telling them that the governor was not come to take away their land, but to secure them in the possession of what they had not sold. In reply, to Hobson and Busby there are a range of responses from the chiefs present that day.

Some chiefs expressed words of welcome extending the chiefly ethic of manaakitanga towards the visitors. Tamati Pukututu, chief of Te Uri-o-te-hawato Tribe, rose and said,

> ... Remain here, a father for us, Etc. These chiefs say, 'Don't sit', because they have sold all their possessions and they are filled with foreign property, and they have also no more to sell. But I say, what of that? Sit, Governor, sit. You two stay here, you and Busby - you two, and they also, the missionaries.

He is welcoming the Governor but commenting on those who have already sold their lands and are now regretting it. He would appear to believe that the problem is with the chiefs who have sold. Another welcoming chief is Matiu, a chief of the Uri-o-ngongo Tribe.

> Do not go back, but sit here, a Governor, a father for us, that good may increase, may become large to us. (1890:22).

He is welcoming and expecting good to come from the encounter. as does Warerahi (George King), a chief of the Ngaitawake Tribe,

> Yes! What else? Stay, sit; if not, what? Sit; if not, how? Is it not good to be in peace? We will have this man as our Governor. What! Turn him away! Say to this man of the Queen, Go back! No, no.

Pumuka, chief of the Roroa Tribe, is also positive when he spoke. He uses the idea of father, foster father perhaps as an image of protector. Others also used the metaphor of father for the Governor. This idea was reiterated by Rawiri, a chief of the Ngatitautahi Tribe.

Hoani Heke, a chief of the Matarahurahu Tribe, also said,

> To raise up, or to bring down? To raise up, or to bring down? Which? Which? Who knows? Sit, Governor, sit. If thou shouldst return, we Natives are gone, utterly gone, nothing, extinct. What, then, shall we do? Who are we? Remain, Governor, a father for us. If thou goest away, what then? We do not know. This, my friends," addressing the Natives around him, "is a good thing. It is even as the word of God" (the New Testament, lately printed in Māori at Paihia, and circulated among the Native). "Thou to go away! No, no, no! For then the French people or the rum-sellers will have us Natives. Remain, remain; sit, sit here; you with the missionaries, all as one. But we Natives are children - yes, mere children. Yes; it is not for us, but for you, our fathers – you missionaries - it is for you to say, to decide, what it shall be. It is for you to choose. For we are only Natives. Who and what are we? Children - yes, children solely. We do not know: do you then choose for us. You, our fathers you missionaries. Sit, I say, governor, *sit*! A father, a Governor for us. (Pronounced with remarkably strong and solemn emphasis, well supported both by gesture and manner.)

Hoani Heke seems to be expressing interest in having access to the experience of the English by comparing Māori as children to the governor as father or matua. This term was used in the Declaration of Independence. He is identifying a preference for the English over others such as the French and seems to be indicating that Māori would be under threat of extinction if they did not welcome the governor and the Treaty.

Hakitara, a chief of the Rarawa Tribe spoke in favour of the Governor's remaining as does another influential chief of the time, Tamati Waka Nene, chief of the Ngatihao Tribe. He speaks like Hoani Heke but adds that he thinks it is too late to go back on the idea of allowing settlers into New Zealand. He is aware that land has already been lost control of and that in such instances the chiefs have lost status and mana. He too uses the reference to

father as protector. The Māori word used was matua. It was also used in the Declaration of Independence and is really referring to the experience of the father and the inexperience of Māori in this area of government. It should not be translated as the paternalistic meaning of father.

Tamati Waka Nene said:

> ...Is not the land already gone? Is it not covered, all covered, with men, with strangers, foreigners - even as the grass and herbage- over whom we have no power? We, the chiefs and Natives of this land, are down low; they are up high, exalted. (1890: 26)

Other chiefs seemed to take a very opposite view of what was about to happen. Many of these chiefs would appear to have already had negative encounters in relation to their land ownership and were beginning to see that selling land meant a loss of identity and mana. They speak passionately against the Treaty and make many references to the Governor returning home. They begin to be aware of issues of inequality, which are also about loss of dignity, chieftainship, mana, and independence. They were beginning to mistrust the words of the visitors.

Te Kemara a chief of the Ngatikawa:

> .... 'Yes;' but for the Governor to be up and Te Kemara down - Governor high up, up, up, and Te Kemara down low, small, a worm, a crawler - No, no, no. O Governor! This is mine to thee. O Governor! My land is gone, gone, all gone. The inheritance of my ancestors, fathers, relatives, all gone, stolen, gone with the missionaries. I do not wish thee to stay. You English are not kind to us like other foreigners. You do not give us good things. I say, Go back, go back, Governor, we do not want thee here in this country. (1890:17 - 18)

Te Kemara has clearly had negative experiences with regard to his land and now having lost his land sees the implications for his mana. He appears to trust Busby and Williams but not the Governor and what the Governor represents. He is also worried about mana and equality. He repeats his concerns with a second speech, and then shakes hands with the Governor. Rewa's experience is the same. He feels his loss of mana with the loss of his land. It raises a question whether chiefs like him were attracted by the promise of what they received in payment for their land or whether the concept of selling was so foreign that, they did not realise until too late what the process was about. It was outside of the realm of their experience at that time. He had become aware of the loss of equality and mana too late realising that the loss of land is the loss of identity. He only has his name left but not his land. He arose, and said (his first short sentence being in English

> .... I have no lands now - only a name, only a name! Foreigners come; they know Mr. Rewa, but this is all I have left - a name!

Moka, chief of the Patuheka Tribe, arose and said:

> Let the Governor return to his own country: let us remain as we were. Let my lands be returned to me - all of them - those that are gone with Baker. Do not say, 'The lands will be returned to you.' Who will listen to thee, O Governor? Who will obey thee? Where is Clendon? Where is Mair? Gone to buy our lands notwithstanding the book [Proclamation] of the Governor.

Hakiro is concerned with a possible loss of freedom if the governor stays. He can see no advantage in the idea but is happy for Busby and the missionaries to stay. While Tareha was adamant that nothing was to be given away. He was clear that he was not going to lose his mana to the English. He is distressed by the alienation from the land and the loss of all but name. He sees no good in the encounter.

Tareha, chief of the Ngatirehia Tribe, spoke:

> ... We, we only are the chiefs, rulers. We will not be ruled over. What! thou a foreigner, up, and I down! Thou high, and I Tareha, the great chief of the Ngapuhi tribes, low! No, no; never, never. Our lands are already all gone....Yes, it is so, but our names remain. Never mind; what of that the lands of our fathers alienated? Dost thou think we are poor, indigent, poverty- stricken that we really need thy foreign garments, thy food? ....If all were to be alike, all equal in rank with thee - but thou, the governor up high - up, up, as this tall paddle" (here he held up a common canoe paddle), " and I down, under, beneath! No, no, no. I will never say, 'Yes, stay.' Go back, return; make haste away.

He created a striking effect, which was unmistakably visible on the whole audience of Natives. Another group of chiefs express concern about the behaviour of the whites when trading and are developing a strong mistrust because of their experiences. They see themselves being in danger from encounters with the soldiers and settlers and do not see the Governor as having the necessary influence over those who are exploiting them.

Kawiti, chief of the Ngatihine Tribe, is anxious about the behaviour of the soldiers:

> ....We do not want to be tied up and trodden down. We are free. What! to be fired at in our boats and canoes by night! What! To be fired at when quietly paddling our canoes by night! I, even I, Kawiti, must not paddle this way, nor paddle that way, because the Governor said 'No' because of the Governor, his soldiers, and his guns! No, no, no. Go back, go back; there is no place here for the Governor.

The governor attempted to persuade them that lands that had not been purchased fairly would be returned but this was not easily believed because of past experience. During the

proceedings it Pākehā pointed out to the governor that some of the translations being offered to him were not accurate and inferred that Williams was not interpreting all that was happening, particularly things against the missionaries. The discourse of the missionaries particularly that of Williams seemed to become an exercise in justifying their behaviour, firstly to justify their acquisition of land and then to justify the fairness and honesty of their acquisitions.

Reverend Henry Williams, having obtained permission of His Excellency, addressed the whites in English, and said:

> A great deal has been said about the missionaries holding land, and their farming, and what not; but the Commissioners who are about to sit will examine into the lands held by the missionaries, and their titles thereto, as strictly as into any other. I wish for this to be done, and I have already applied to His Excellency for the lands in the possession of the missionaries to be first brought before the Commissioners. People should recollect that were it not for the missionaries they would not be here this day nor be in possession of a foot of land in New Zealand. If any one person has a prior claim to land in this country, that person must be the missionary, who had laboured for so many years in this land when others were afraid to show their noses. I have a large family - a family of eleven children - more, probably, than any one present; and what are they to do when I am taken from them if they are not to have some land? Much has been said about my land, but I believe that when it is seen and known, and shared up between my children, no one will say that I have been over the mark, but, on the contrary, under. All I can say at present is, I hope that all who hold lands obtained from the Natives will be able to show as good and as honest titles to the same as the missionaries can to do to theirs (1890:20 - 21)

Busby also seems to feel obliged to justify his purchases and to highlight that he continues to allow use of the land he has bought. Again, several others called for the interpretation to be correct.

The second day of discussions is much the same as the first with Hobson proposing that the Rev. H. Williams should read the treaty to Māori from the parchment. At this time Bishop Pompallier, the Catholic Bishop made some remarks to the Governor in an undertone about safeguarding religious practices therefore the fourth article was then written down by Williams and approved by the Bishop. The words added on piece of paper were:

> E mea ana te Kawana, ko ngā whakapono katoa, o Ingarangi o ngā Weteriana, o Roma, me te ritenga Māori hoki, e tiakina ngatahitia e ia.
>
> The Governor says the several faiths (Beliefs) of England, of the Wesleyans, (Methodist), and of Rome, and also the Māori custom, shall be alike protected by him.

Returning to the discourse of the Treaty partners Colenso clearly has concern that the Māori chiefs do not fully understand what is about to happen and what they are giving their names and mana to. He tries several times to raise the concern of Hobson using the metaphor that Māori had used – children – meaning inexperienced in such matters. Hobson wants the process moved on. Colenso again expresses concern and the possibility of problems coming back to face the missionaries who Māori are seen to trust.

It was after this discussion that Hoani Heke signed the treaty. Marupo, chief of the Wanaurara Tribe, Ruhe, chief of the Ngatihineira Tribe made long speeches against. signing of the same.
They subsequently signed and others came to the table and signed. Forty-five chiefs signed the treaty at this second day of meeting. As each chief signed the Governor said "He iwi tahi tātou". (Colenso 1890:35).

Hokianga Signings, 12th February 1840 (Buick 1976 [1914])

12th of February, the chiefs of Hokianga assembled to debate the treaty and all that its acceptance or rejection implied. There were about 3,000, with 400 or so chiefs of varying rank and importance. Reverend John Hobbs, Wesleyan Mission, was the interpreter. Again, Hobson spoke added there was discussion from the chiefs. The arguments used were similar to those that had been presented by those chiefs who were opposed to the arrival of the governor and had experienced loss of mana and independence. There was a greater level of mistrust in the words spoken at the beginning of the meeting. Again, concern about dishonourable behaviour was expressed.

Aperahama Taonui opened the debate with words of welcome but with concerns about being governed:

> ....We are glad to see the Governor. Let him come to be a Governor to the *Pakehas*. As for us, we want no Governor.

Papahia expressed the concerns of inequality and loss of mana that have been a prevalent theme throughout the discourse.

> What is the Governor come for? He, indeed! He to be high, very high, like Maungataniwha (a high hill of the district), and we low on the ground – nothing but little hills. No, no, no. Let us be equal; why should one hill be high and another low? This is bad.

The Governor had to struggle to gain their interest and did so by raising the idea of settlers without government being even worse to deal with. Taonui called for his Pākehā adviser. Several chiefs sprang up actively in his support, and greatly changed the tenor of the debate. Their comments were more in line with the chiefs at the Waitangi discussions where welcome was again part of the chiefly role. However, there was still concern about retaining mana and about fair trade practices.

Mohi (Moses) Tawhai:

> Where does the Governor get his authority? Is it from the Queen? Let him come; what power has he? Well, let him come, let him stop all the lands from falling into the hands of the *Pakehas*

Papahia asked whether it was right that two men should have all the land from the North Cape to Hokianga. About 56 signed at Hokianga.

Kaitaia Signings, 28th April 1840

The Kaitaia gathering was attended by about four hundred and was opened by Mr Shortland. Again the speeches were in the same vane. Wero said:

> We do not want a shepherd. Our ancestors were gentlemen many generations back you find us so now, you may be a good master but shall we not be stopped by you from getting our firewood. Formerly we cleared any spot we liked and burned the wood from it but then perhaps some one else came and liked the spot and said this spot will do for me to build a house upon then there a quarrel took place.

He raises some anxieties about what may happen in the future as do other speakers at this gathering. There are anxieties about the possible behaviour of the soldiers and traders. But there is trust in the missionaries and again signs of welcome for the governor and what he represents and belief in his role as protector. The themes of the earlier discussions are all present in these discussions.

Wiremu Wiriana Kupa follows with his concerns:

> They tell us you are come to murder us all but if it were such as were taught it will be to save us. If your actions were like those of the missionaries I should not fear but I fear the soldiers I am afraid of that man (pointing to the soldiers) and that man …

Panakareao, who was the last speaker, gave a measured speech and advocated for the governor advising the others not to listen to Pākehā who warned of trouble. He saw some of the good things that had happened because of contact with Pākehā traders. He expected the Governor to be fair and just. He said:

> Hear all of you both white men and natives, this is what I like, my desire is that we should be of one heart that you should speak your words openly as you would act and not say one thing and mean another. I am at your head I wish you to have the governor, this will be our defence we must all hang together let everyone say yes, as I do, we have now supporters to look up to. I am jealous of the speeches of the Pākehā Māori be careful and don't listen to the speeches of bad white men. Many of the Māori say white men will begin to quarrel. I say no, it will be the natives. It was my great grand father who first brought the white men to this land, not very far off from where we are now sitting even to this identical spot. All the chiefs then agreed to what my grand father did. Some went on board. He got much trade and many fine things from this ship, which he distributed through the land, Let us act right. Let the Ngapuhi do as they like let us do no harm to the white men let us imitate my grand father who did right. What have we to say against the governor the shadow of the land will go to him but the substance will remain with us. He will not deprive us of our potatoes by force. It will be as it is now, we shall bring our produce for sale and receive a just and equitable price for it. Let young and old have one mind and leave the Ngapuhi alone (alluding to their endeavours to get him to join in a conspiracy against the whites) if they do evil they will suffer for it. They took the white men to the bay where they killed and eat them and plundered their ship. We have never gone to Port Jackson to get arms to destroy our countrymen with the people of this part have always been peaceable they never injured the white man. The natives of Hokianga have gone to cut off the governor. They will suffer for it, if you want to be killed go and fight the governor. We have now a man at the helm. Before everyone wanted to steer. First one said let me steer and then another said let me steer but we never went straight – now we have got a steersman. Be jealous look well into your heart and do no evil. The natives in the bay did wrong and they suffered for it. The whites won't commence the evil ct will be from us. What man in his senses ever said we should have to take our food to the governor who would appropriate a portion of it for his own use without paying for it. He will buy it the same as for others. If you have got no more to say now, conclude and say yes altogether.

He spoke with considerable dignity and 60 chiefs signed following him he was immediately obeyed the chiefs rushed forward crying yes and signed their names after him.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi was a British Crown initiative, which many Māori signed, however, just as many did not sign. Its aim was a Crown programme of peaceful European settlement in partnership with Māori. Te Tiriti o Waitangi was therefore a treaty between two sovereign states, not between one state and a motley group of autonomous tribes. The subsequent fact of the Crown's usurpation of cultural and political power does not extinguish the original vision and agenda of Māori.

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSION

Māori agency is the significant factor in the nineteenth century when changes were bought about by a combination of internal and external factors to which Māori leaders and their people responded, largely in a positive state of mind. Change was induced by human and intellectual factors as well as by a willingness and openness to utilise and diffuse new technology, which led to innovations in economic and military activity. Butterfield's critique of the whig interpretation of history makes a compelling point that there is a certain creativity in the clash of cultures and competing ideas. Furthermore, historians should to beware of the tendency to write history in terms of winners and losers; for example, where it is asserted, more often in hindsight than not, that the English Protestants won Great Britain and the Catholics lost. These attitudes are a feature of New Zealand's settler history where Pākehā, through the British Crown, acquired dominance in New Zealand - at first peacefully through a treaty, then by military and legal-political aggression supported by an emigration scheme, which guaranteed a flow of new emigrants from Great Britain and eventual numerical domination.

In order to sustain the interpretation, agency is denied to Māori, rather it is claimed, as Edward Said has put it, that Māori as other colonised peoples, "beseeched" the Crown for domination. New Zealand historiography is therefore written in terms of the conclusion that Māori requested a paternal domination – that what the missionaries and settlers faced in their encounter with nineteenth-century Māori were struggles of modernity over tradition, rationalism over tribal religious interpretation, the separation of religion and society, society and economy. Yet none of these things is an integral part of Māori worldview and cultural practice.

In a mana Māori history *He Whakaputanga o Ngā Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni 1835* is an event of historical significance for Māori and for other indigenous peoples in the Pacific and elsewhere around the world. The inability of New Zealand mainstream historians to accept the Declaration's part in Nu Tireni's history, except in relationship to the 1840 act of cession of sovereignty in perpetuity is challenged in this new interpretation. In particular, to credit Māori for the move towards nationhood even before more supposedly advanced groups such as Italy, Germany, India and Japan, is a sign that Māori are not credited with any agency in constitutional development for themselves.

Following the narrative of six significant events discussed in this thesis, a perceptible phenomenon is identified. This web of proceedings constitutes identity making through nation building. The number of rangatira, who are the embodiments of their people, involved in each event grew within a remarkably short passage of time, which suggests a conjuncture of coherence of ideas and aspiration. A metaphorical conversation, as Hone Heke described it, began with small beginnings in 1820 when two rangatira travelled to England intent on meeting the British King, George IV, and reached a zenith in 1840 when 540 tribal leaders signed a formal treaty with Queen Victoria, the young grand daughter of George IV. A national identity was forged within twenty years, less than a generation in Māori genealogical terms. In addition, a Māori society identified itself to itself and to a globalising world. In so doing, many tribes decided to confederate and be a Māori nation, if not in substance certainly in embryonic form. Following Hongi Hika and Waikato's spectacular sojourn in England, thirteen leaders signed a letter to King William IV in 1831 followed by some 25 associated with choosing the national flag in 1834. At the 1835 - 1839 signings of He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni the numbers grew to 56 Rangatira who joined the confederation of hapū called te Whakaminenga and declared their authority over the land of Nu Tireni. Finally, at the instigation of the British Crown and not Māori, 540 rangatira signed, in a short seven months period in 1840, a treaty with the British.

There are four intellectual stimuli within Māori society, that made possible a dynamic response to changing circumstances. One stimulus was at the religious and metaphysical level and involved both an internal and an external inspiration. It has been established that Māori traditional metaphysics demands that the events of 1800-1840 be interpreted as purposive and intentional. Such a view is consistent with agency, freedom of thought and intellectual sovereignty and is an internal inspiration.

A second inspiration is seen in the encounter with the metaphysics of an Anglo-European Christianity that arrived in five forms. The first form is the awakening to potency of a Supreme Being and its spirit that moves in mysterious ways and as it will. Human beings, known as foreign missionaries, are the second form. They came as messengers of God but believed themselves to be the message. They brought their past, their cultures, ideologies, technologies and enthusiasm. Christianity consisting of its Bible, catechisms and its diverse religious rituals was a decisive third form. Christianity also came as institutions

and hierarchy, the fourth and fifth forms. I argue that Māori were the primary agents in the introduction of Christianity when they sought the missionaries who thus became the means to alternative sources of knowledge, codes of ethics and methods of judgement and making choices.

The third powerful stimuli were the political ideas of nationhood and social organisation at a higher level of sophistication introduced by James Busby and the missionaries. However, these ideas accorded with a latent tendency in Māori worldview, as in any worldview, to both identify with a group and to consolidate power within that group with a view to managing the culture and destiny of the group.

The fourth stimuli were new ideas associated with the use of technology and economics. Changes in the means of food production and the distribution of the surplus production were as much a consequence of intellectual capabilities as they were of the pragmatics of growing more food. The readiness with which Māori were able to adopt new technologies and adapt their social structures to take advantage of new opportunities points to a high level of cultural adaptability.

However, fundamental to the success of this opening of the mind and the horizons was Māori willingness and acceptance of literacy as a means of learning and doing business. Together, all these things provided Māori with new ways of looking at reality, of making choices and of exercising freedom of choice. Māori metaphysics remained central to the maintenance of the existing worldview but showed coherence and flexibility that enabled Māori both to adapt to, and to shape changes in one of the most revolutionary eras of Māori history. It is no exaggeration to suggest that the early nineteenth century was the second most extraordinary period after the initial discovery and settlement of Aotearoa.

This thesis is a Māori history in which I have established a distinction between at least four types of Māori history. First there is the tribal history; generally these are hapü histories, and they are a significant aspect of whänau-hapü-iwi identity. They are kinship-specific. Second, there is Māori history, which is a history of Māori people and their nation. The third history is encounter history such as that written by Salmond, and Belich. A fourth, though it is not discussed in this thesis, is New Zealand history, which is generally a settler history in which Māori are part players. Each one of these represents distinct histories with their respective audiences and perspectives.

A framework of cardinal virtues and ethics has been identified as the intellectual and moral foundation to the worldview that has enabled the culture to change when required. In areas such as values and ethics associated with economics, the pluralism of Māori ethics encountered the monism of English rationalism.

Principles of tapu-mana are shown to endure throughout the nineteenth century, but to be particularly strong in the early nineteenth century - from the period of mana whānau - mana hapū to mana-hapū - mana Māori of the 1840s, and then to mana Māori in the later nineteenth century. It is an enduring mana and while structures may have changed dramatically, or come and gone, the substance of mana has remained.

Finally, the nineteenth century was a century of openness to the world at large and to the establishment of and sustenance of mana Māori. It was a century of extraordinary achievement in cultural and ethnic identity and survival terms. The openness to-the-world-at-large orientation of the nineteenth century can be contrasted with the Māori-tribal history approaches so dominant throughout the twentieth century, but particularly in the second half of the century, which I believe is a century of introspection.

Finally, a series of events through the latter half of the nineteenth century combined with the continuum of six events in the period 1820 to 1840 demand a reappraisal of the historical meaning of the Treaty of Waitangi. Hone Heke's letter of 1847 refers to the conversation begun in 1820. He was referring to Hongi Hika's journey to England. In this Māori understanding of the events of 1820 to 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi becomes part of a negotiated relationship and not the beginning of European power and the end of Māori sovereignty. Events such as the 1860 Kohimarama Conference and the 1892 Waitangi hui, where the Declaration was resurrected indicate a continuing struggle by Māori to maintain mana Nu Tireni and mana Aotearoa.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

I. Migrations of the North Island Māoris 1800 - 1840 by D. Urlich (1968).

II. Distribution of Māori Population in the North Island 1800 by D. Urlich (1968).

III. Distribution of Māori Population in the North Island 1840 by D. Urlich (1968).

IV. The Introduction and Diffusion of Firearms in New Zealand 1800 - 1840 by D. Urlich (1970).

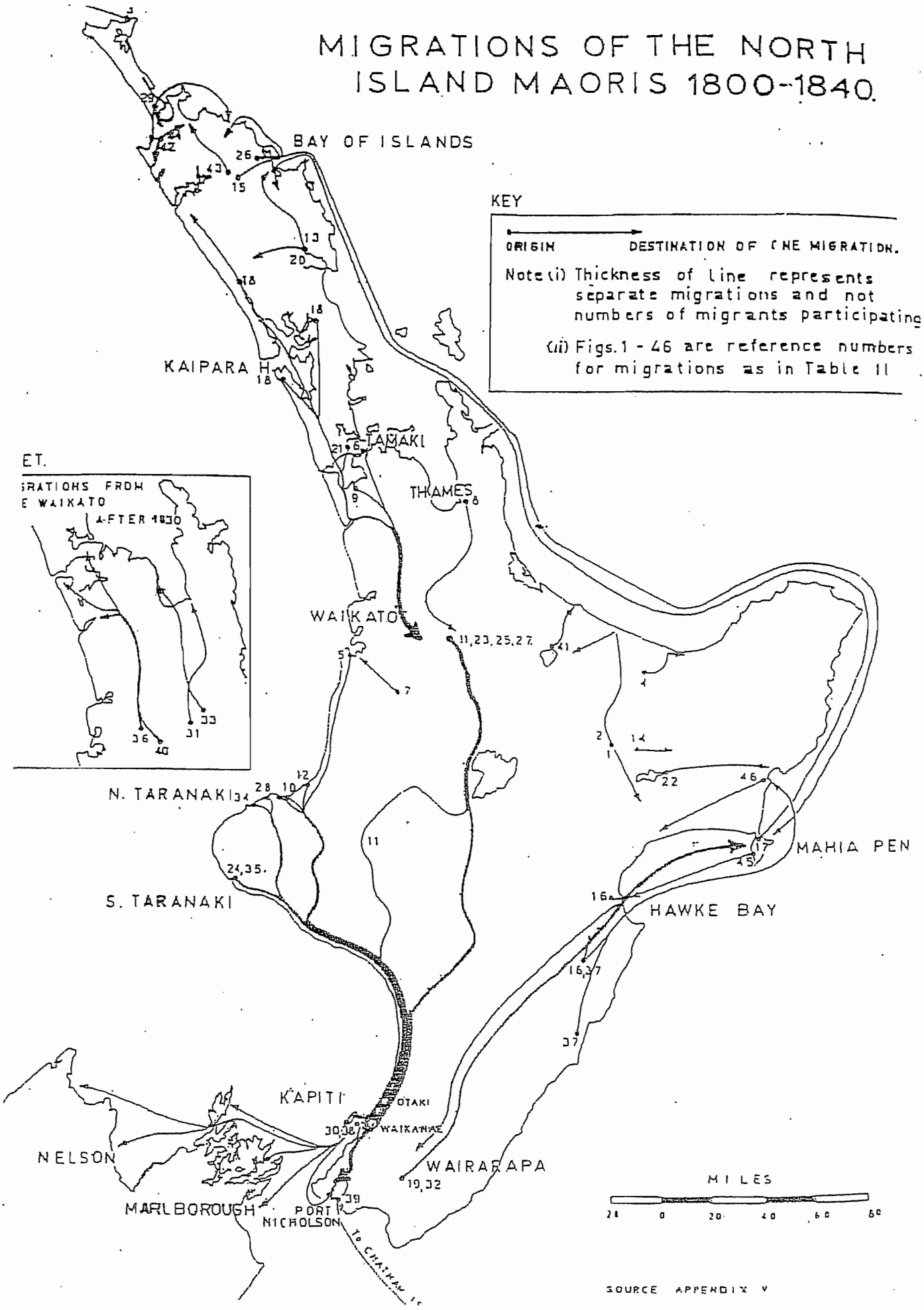
V. Letter of Eruera Pare Hongi, 20th June 1825.

VI. Rangatira Letter to King William IV, 5th October 1831.

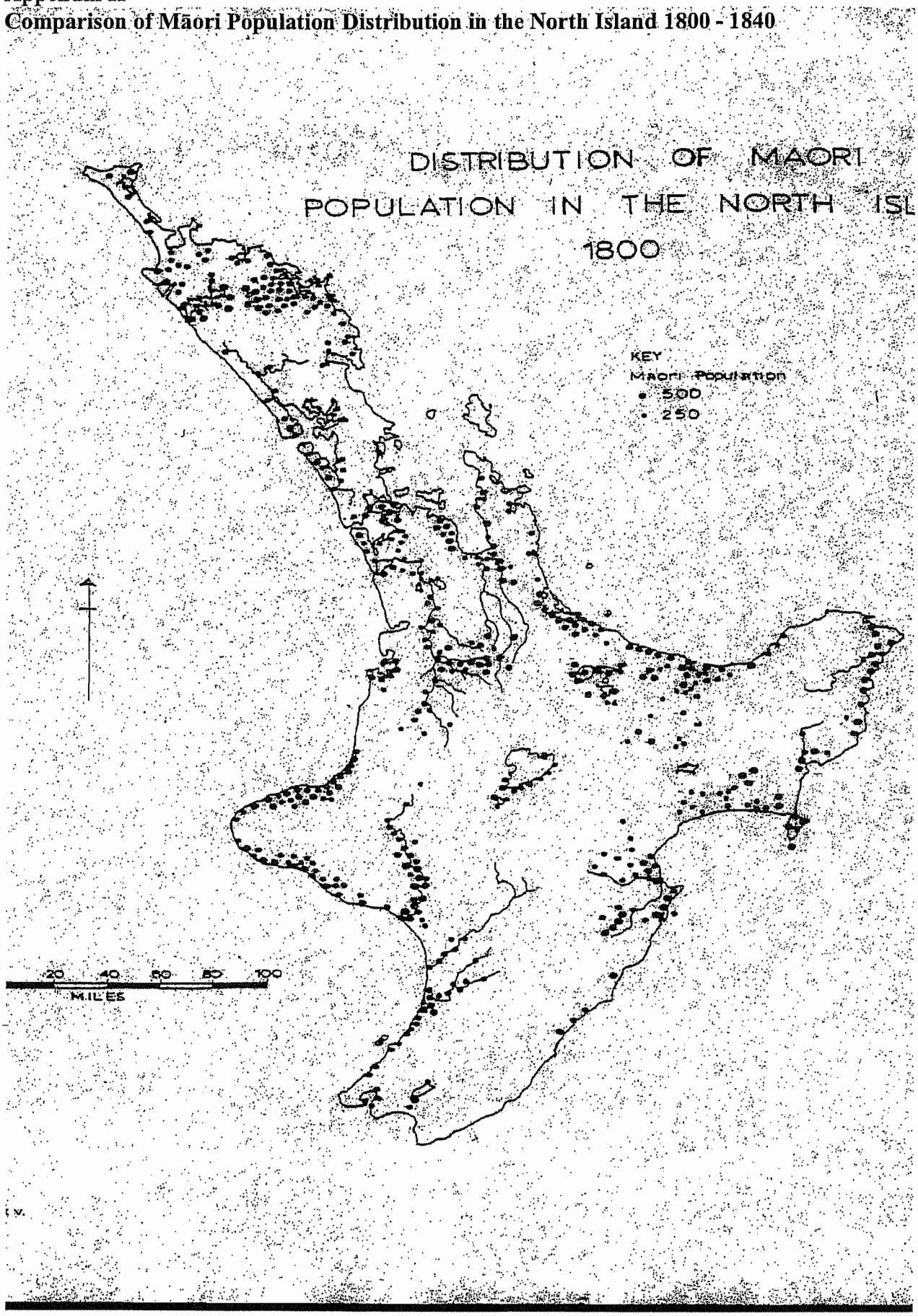
VII. He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni, 28th October 1835.

VIII. Le Traité de Paris 1815 (Treaty of Paris 1815) French text and English translation.

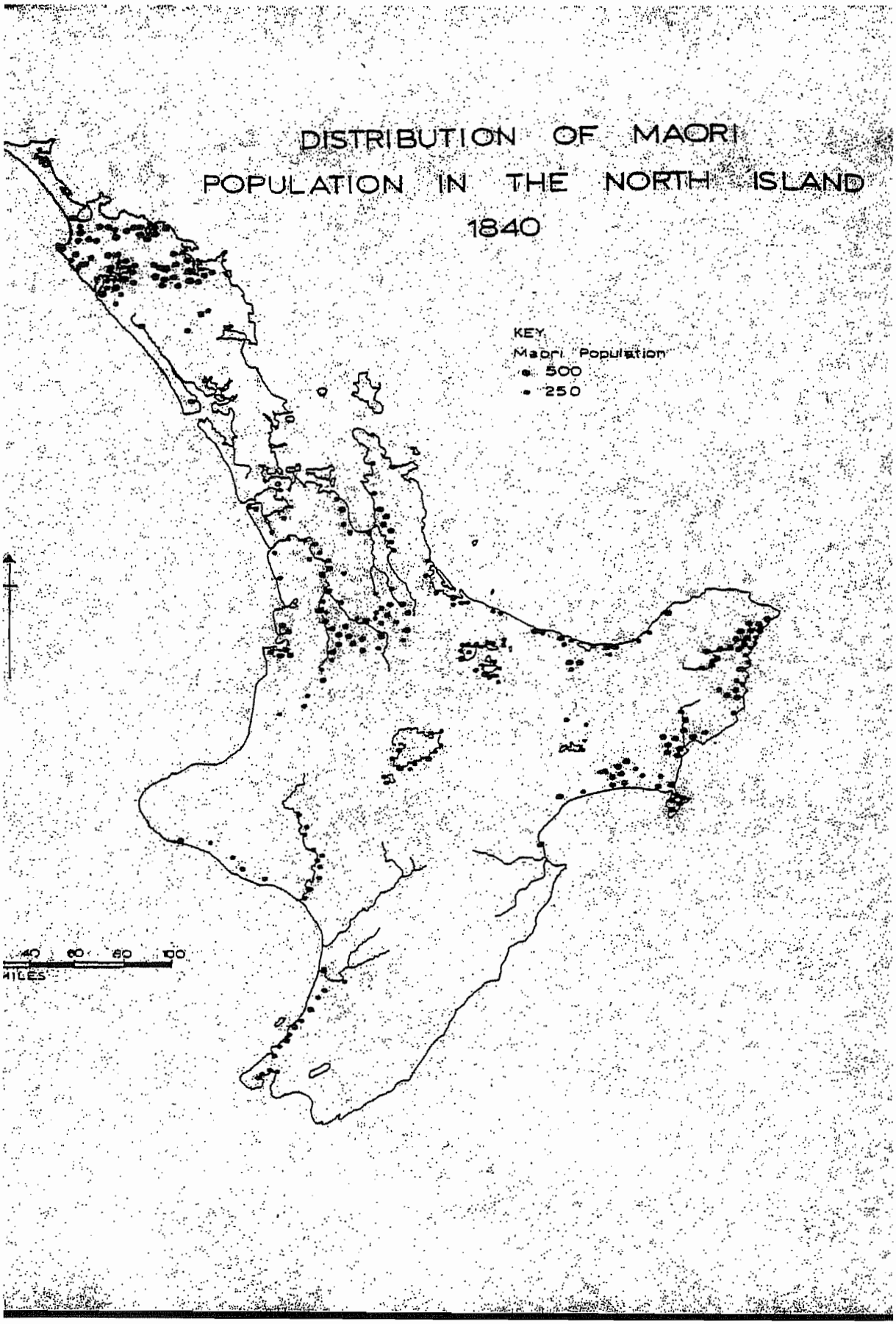
Appendix I


MIGRATIONS OF THE NORTH ISLAND MAORIS 1800-1840.
BAY OF ISLANDS
KEY
ORIGIN
DESTINATION OF THE MIGRATION.
Note (i) Thickness of line represents separate migrations and not numbers of migrants participating
(ii) Figs. 1 - 46 are reference numbers for migrations as in Table II
KAIPARA H
TAMAKI
THAMES
WAIKATO
N. TARANAKI
S. TARANAKI
MAHIA PEN
HAWKE BAY
KAPITI
OTAKI
WAIKANAE
NELSON
MARLBOROUGH
PORT NICHOLSON
WAIRARAPA
MILES
SOURCE APPENDIX V

Appendix II
Comparison of Māori Population Distribution in the North Island 1800 - 1840



Appendix III
Comparison of Māori Population Distribution in the North Island 1800 - 1840



Appendix IV

Dorothy Urlich. The Introduction and Diffusion of Firearms in New Zealand 1800-1840 in *JPS*, 79, No.4. (1970): 399-409.

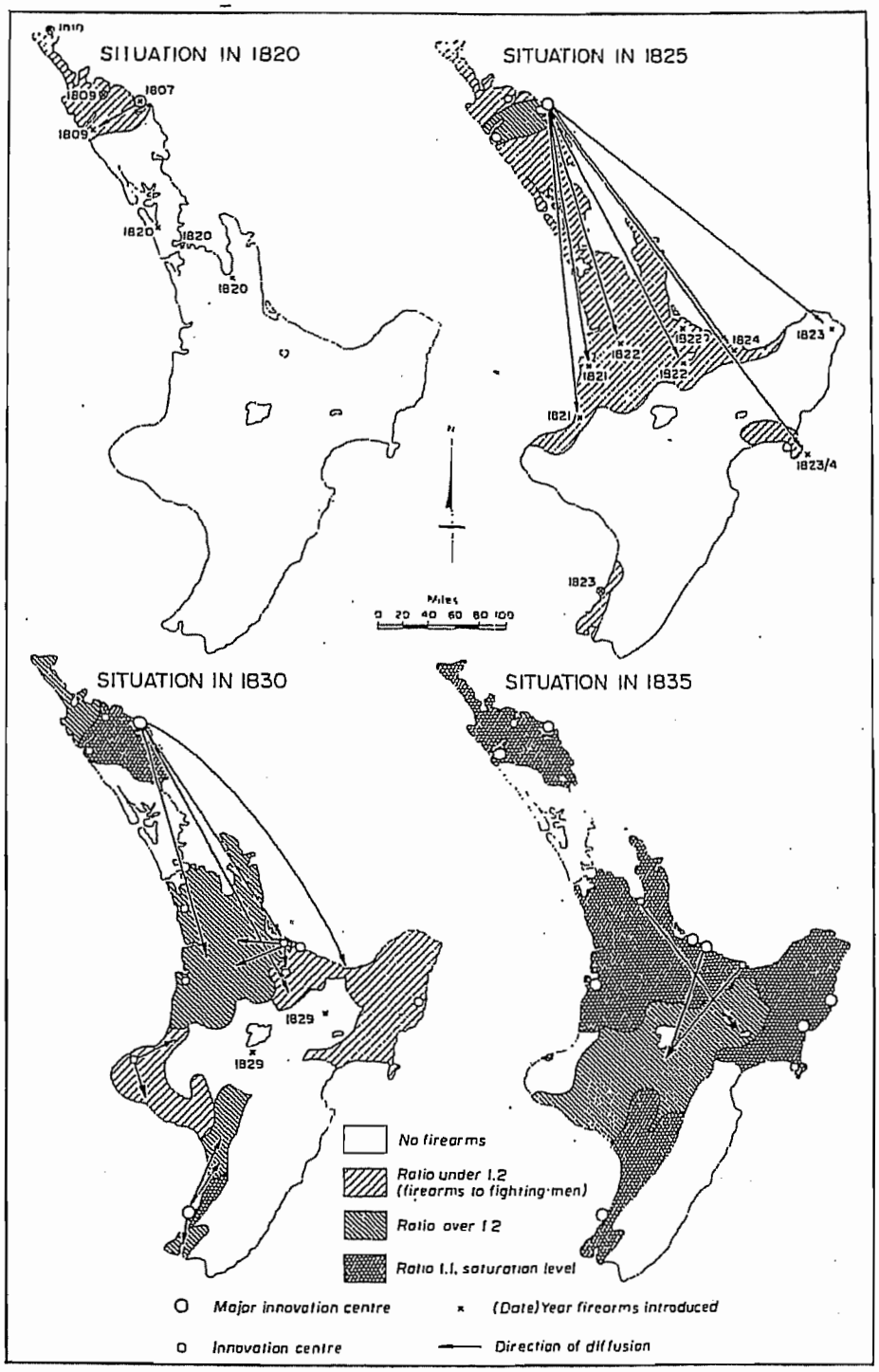
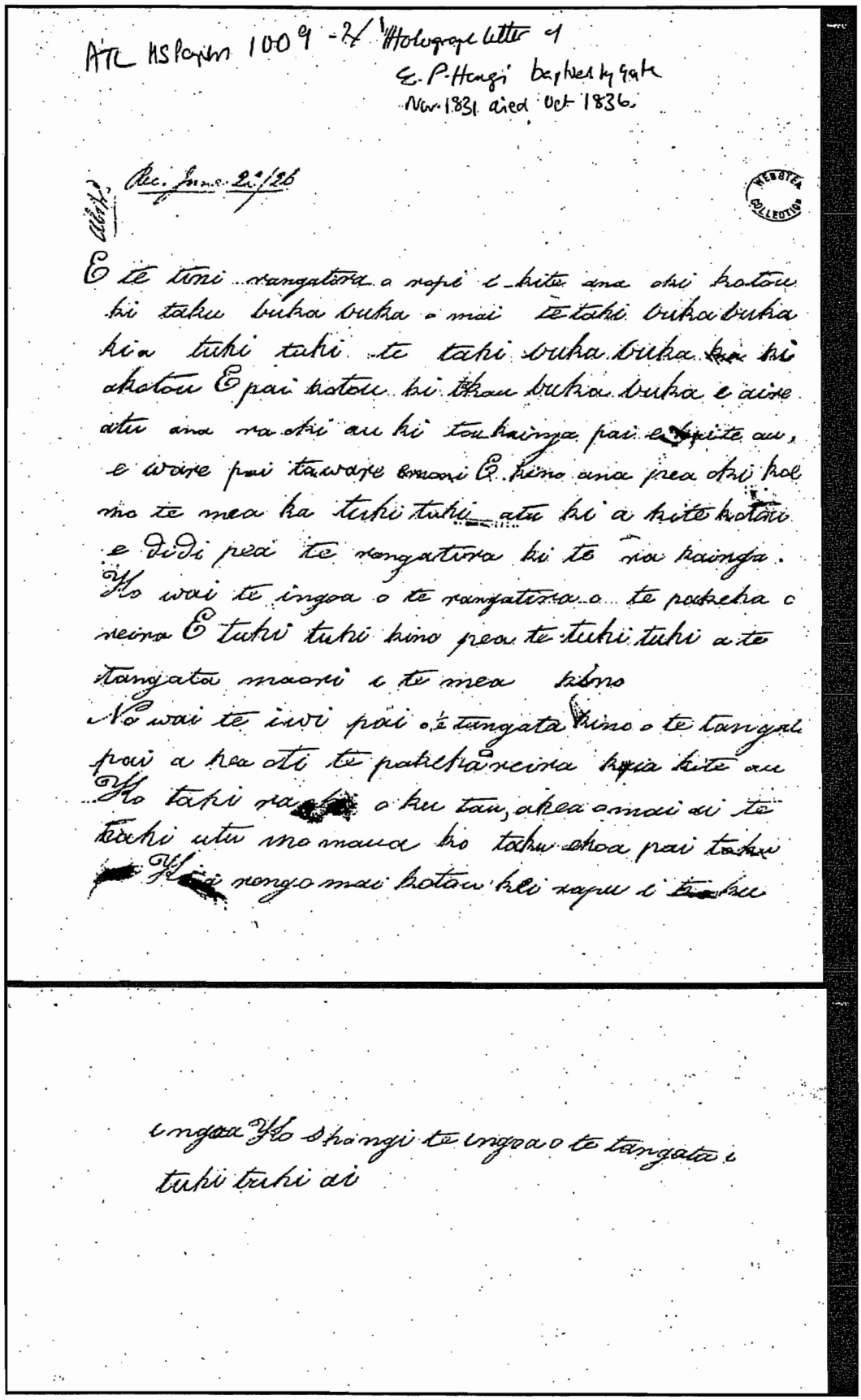


FIGURE 1

Stages in the diffusion of firearms in the North Island, New Zealand

Appendix V
Letter of Eruera Pare Hongi 1825.
(ATL MS Papers 1009-2, holograph letter, 1825)



ATL MS Papers 1009-2/1 Holograph letter of
E. P. Hongi baptised by Yate
Nov 1831 died Oct 1836.

Rec. June 2. 1826

E te toni rangatira o nopi e hiti ana ahi hatou
hi taku buka buka o mai te taki buka buka
hi a tuki taki te taki buka buka hi
ahatou E pai hatou hi tikau buka buka e aiwe
atu ana ra ahi au hi tou hainga pai e hiti au,
e ware pai tawaye maori E. hino ana pea ahi hoe
mo te mea ka tuki tuki atu hi a hiti hatou
e didi pea te rangatira hi te ŋa hainga.
Ko wai te ingoa o te rangatira o te pakeha o
neina E tuki tuki hino pea te tuki tuki a te
tangata maori o te mea hino
Ko wai te iwi pai o te tangata hino o te tangata
pai a hea ati te pakeha neina kapia hiti au
Ko taki ra [redacted] o hu tau, akea anai ai te
taki atu ma mana hi taku ahoa pai taku
[redacted] ia rongo mai hatou hei ngaue i [redacted]

ingoa Ko Hongi te ingoa o te tangata o
tuki tuki ai

Appendix VI

Source:
Rangatira Letter to King William IV, 5 October 1831. National Archives CO201/221.

Ki a Kingi Wiremu te Kanpatira
atawai o Ingarangi

Ec Kingi Wiremu ; Ko matou ko
nga Rangatira o Nu Tirene e puritia
nei Ki te tenei kainga Ki te Kerikeri, e
tu ititenei atu nei Ki a Koe ; e mea ana
kia matou Ko Koe te Kanpatira mu
o tatawahi, mou kia nga kaipuke
hara e u mai nei Ki to matou wenua.

Ec kunga o nga Kore matou ke
oi ano o matou tonga ke takau, he
muka, he koaka, he kapana, he oi-ka
kokowai enei mea Ki au tangata. Ka kite
matou i te taonga o te Pakeha. Ko tou
kainga anake te atawai ana ki a matou
mou. ano kia nga Mihanere e ako nei
i a matou Ki te wakapono Ki a Ihowa

te

te Atua ki a Ihu Karaiti ano hoki tana tamaiti.

Kia rongo matou ko te Iwi o Maniou tenei me ake a mai ki te tango i to matou kainga, koia matou ka inoi ai kia meinga koe nei hoa mo matou nei kai taki i enei motu Ku tata mai te wakatoi o nga tau iwi, Ku kau mai nga tangata ke ki te tango i to matou wenua. A ki te mea ka tutu e taki o ou tangata ki a matou, ka noho nei hoki ke tino ki te wenua. nei he mea oma mai i runga i te kaipuke mai ka pica matou e nui kia rongo ai, kei ngo noa e iri o te tangata maori

No matou tenei pukapuka no nga Rangatira o te Iwi Maori o Niu Tireni.

No 1

Wairarahi

Kuwa

No 4

Tahuone

Nene

No 5

Kekeao

No 6

Titore

Kepe

Tamoanga

No 10

Hura

Hiamaere

No 12

Noetara

Matangi

Taunui

Signed in the presence of the Committee of Missionaries at Kerikeri this [illegible]

Appendix VII
Facsimile of He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni - Declaration of Independence (1976) First Reprint 1877. Wellington: Government Printer

Source:
Facsimiles of the Declaration of Independence and Treaty of Waitangi (1976). First Reprint 1877. Government Printer, Wellington.

He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nū Tīreni.

1 Ko matou ko nga Tino Rangatira o nga iwi o Nū Tīre. i raro mai o Hauraki kua oti nei te huihui i Waitangi i Tokerau i te 28 o Oketopa 1835. ka wakaputa i te Rangatiratanga o to matou whenua a ka meatia ka wakaputa ia e matou he Wēnua Rangatira. hei tuaina ki Ko te wakaminenga o nga Hapu o Nū Tīreni.

2. Ko te Kingitanga ko te mana i te whenua o te wakaminenga o Nū Tīreni ka meatia nei kei nga Tino Rangatira anake i to matou huihuinga. a ka mea hoki e kore e tukua e matou te wakarite turu kei te tahi hunga kē atu, me te tahi Kawanatanga hoki hei meatia i te whenua o te wakaminenga o Nū Tīreni. ko nga tangata anake e meatia nei e matou e wakarite ana kei te wahanga o o matou turu e meatia nei e matou i to matou huihuinga.

3 Ko matou ko nga tino Rangatira ka mea nei hei huihui kei te runanga kei Waitangi a te 5 Arahoura i tenei tau i tenei tau kei te wakarite turu hei tuku ai te wakawakanga hei mau pu te rongo hei meatia te he hei titiro tika hoki. a ka mea hoki kei nga Tauiwi o runga hei wakarere te wawai. hei mahara ai kei te wakaeatanga o to matou whenua. a kia mau katoa ki te wakaminenga o Nū Tīreni.

4 Ka mea matou kia kaua rawa e pukapuka ki te whenua o tenei o to matou wakaputanga nei kei te Kingi o Ingarani hei tuku atu i to matou whenua mana hoki i wakaae kei te Kara mo matou. a no te mea ka atawai

matou, Kaitiaki i nga pukapuka e noho nei i reira. e ore mai ano hei te Mokoroko, kaua hoki nga mea ki matou hei te Kingi hoki, kaitiki hei matua hei a matou i to matou Tamaiti Rangatiratanga hei wahakaharuru to matou Rangatiratanga.

Kua wakaaetia katoatia e matou i timi na i te 28. o Oketopa. 1835 ki te aroaro o te Residente o te Kingi o Ingarani

Paerata

Waipoa
Hare Hongi Hare Kingi
Hemi Kepa Pepe
Wai Bakia
Waikato
Pitone
Mokia
Wanganui
Rewa
Wai
Rewiti Atuahaere
Awa
Wairoa Teti Tamiu
Te mana
Pi
Kawa
Taraka
Kawiti
Pumuka
Kekeao
Te Kawaka
Pomare
Waitia
Te Tao
Marupio
Hapuku
Matara
Nene
Moetara
Hiamoe
Putuatua
Te Peha
Koroki Kuini Reke Rora Wiremu

Eng. Wiliamu Henare Williams Arch.d Jamuera Clendon Mr
Jorge Rikihana Gilbert

– Ko Matou ko nga Rangatira. ahakoa kihai i tu
ki te huihuinga nei no te mangō o te Wairua
no te aha rānei – ka whakaae katoa. ki te whaka
tuturu a Rangatiratanga. o Nu Tirene a ka uru
ki i roto ki te Wakaminenga

English Version
Hēnare — Henare
Hēhua — Hēhua
Tōua — Tōua
Panakareao
13 July 1836 – Kiwi Kiwi
9 Feby. Tirarau –
29 March. Hamuera Pita – Matangi
Tuwai – Ko te Makoare hoa

Mate ko ha te Pihi

Patuone me nō te nga te Tangi
25 June 1837 Paora Pāpā nō te nga tiaha
" Kuku nō nga te tau tāhi
12 July Timoti nō te Ruaraua
1838 Wiremu nō te Kapowai
Jany 16 Taonui nō te pihoihoi
Septr 24 Papahia nō te Ruaraua
1839 25 Hapuku nō te Wahapu ki Hawkes Bay
July 22 – Ko te Wiremu Pukuto nakonga ati mehua ia – Ko Pakaraka
Ko Rei i
tuhi

Photo-lithographed on the 16th Printing of the Millington Ltd. Wellington

(Fac simile)

Appendix VIII
Le Traité De Paris 1815 (Treaty Of Paris 1815)
(French Text and English Text/Translation)

Convention entre les Cours de Vienne, de Saint-Pétersbourg, de Londres et Berlin, pour fixer le sort des sept îles Ioniennes, signée à Paris, le novembre 1815.

Au nom de la très-sainte et indivisible Trinité,
Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohême, Sa Majesté le roi du royaume-uni de la Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande. Sa Majesté l'Empereur de toutes les Russies, et Sa Majesté le roi de Prusse, animés du désir de donner siute aux négociationes ajournées lors du Congrès de Vienne, afin de fixer le sort des sept îles Ioniennes, et d'assurer l'indépendance, la liberté et le bonheur des habitants de ces îles, en les plaçant, eux et leur constitution, sous la protection immédiate d'une des grandes Puissances de l'Europe, sont convenus de régler définitivement tout ce qui a rapport à cet objet par un acte spécial, lequel étant fondé sur les droits résultant du Traité de Paris, du 30 mai 1814, ainsi que sur les déclarations britanniques à l'époque où les armes de l'Angleterre ont délivré Cerigo, Zante, Céphalonie, Sainte-Maure, Ithaque et Paxo, sera envisagé comme faisante partie du Traité général signé à Vienne, le 9 juin 1815, à la suite du Congrès; et pour arrêter et signer ledit acte, les hautes parties contractantes ont nommé plénipotentiaires, savoir:

Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bôheme; le sieur Clément Venceslas lothaire, prince de Metternich – Winnebourg – Ochsenhausen, chevalier de la toison-d'Or, grand-croix de l'ordre royal de Saint-Etienne, chevalier des ordres de Saint-André, de Sainte-Alexandre-Newsky et de Sainte-Anne de la première classe, grand-cordon de la Légion d'honneur, chevalier de l'ordre de l'Éléphant, de l'ordre suprême du l'Aigle noire et de l'Aigle rouge, des Séraphins, de Sainte-Joseph de Toscane, de Saint-Hubert, de l'Aigle d'or de Wurtemberg, de la Fidélité de Bade, de Sainte-Jean de Jérusalem et de plusieurs autres, chancelier de l'ordre militaire de Marie-Thérèse, curateur de l'académie des beaux-arts, chambellan, conseiller intime actuel de Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohême, son ministre d'État, des conférences et des affaires étrangères; - et le sieur Jean philippe, baron de Wessenberg, grand-croix de l'ordre royal de Sainte-Etienne, chevalier grand-croix de l'ordre militaire et religieux des Saintes Maurice et Lazare, grand-croix de l'ordre de l'Aigle rouge de Prusse et de celui de la couronne de Bavière, de Saint-Joseph de Toscane et de la Fidélité de bade, chambellan et conseiller intime actuel de Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, Roi de Hongrie et de Bohême;

Et Sa Majesté le Roi du Royaume-Uni de la Grande-Bretagne de l'Irlande les très-honorables Robert Stweart, vicomte Castlereagh, chevalier de l'ordre très-noble de la Jarretière, conseiller de Sadite Majesté et son conseil privé, membre du parlement, colonel du régiment de milice de Londonderry et son principal secrétaire d'État ayant le département des affaires étrangéres, - et le très-illustre et très-noble signeur Arthur, duc, marquis et comte Wellington de Talavera et de Wellington, et baron Douro de Wellesley, conseiller de Sa dite Majesté et son conseil privé, Feld-Maréchal de ses armées, colonel du régiment royal des gardes à cheval, chevalier du très-noble ordre de la Jarretière, chevalier grand-croix du très-noble ordre du Bain, prince de Waterloo, duc de Ciudad-Rodrigo et grand d'Espagne de première classe, duc de

Vittoria, marquis de Torres-Vedras, comte de Vimeira en Portugal, chevalier de l'ordre très-illustre de la Toison-d'Or, de l'ordre militaire d'Espagne de Saint-Ferdinand, chevalier grand-croix de l'ordre impérial militaire de Marie-Thérèse, chevalier grand-croix de l'ordre imperial de Saint-Georges de Russie, chevalier grand-croix de l'Aigle-Noir de Prusse, chevalier grand-croix de l'ordre royal militaire de Portugal de la Tour et de l'Épée, chevalier grand-croix de l'ordre militaire de Suède de l'Épée, chevalier grand-croix des ordres de l'Éléphant de Danemark, de Guillaume des Pays-Bass, de l'Anonciade de Sardaigne, de Maximilien Joseph de Bavière, et de plusieurs autres, commandant en chef les armées britanniques en France et celles de Sa Majesté le Roi des Pays-Bas.

Lesquels, après avoir échangé leurs pleins pouvoirs, trouvés en bonne et due forme, sont convenus des articles siuvants:

ARTICLE Ier

Les îles de Corfou, Céphanlonie, Zante, Sainte-Maure, Ithaque, cerigo et Paxo, avec leurs dépendances, telles qu'elles sont désignées dans le Traité entre Sa Majesté l'Emperuer de toutes les russies et la Porte-Ottomane du 21 mars 1800, formeront un seul État libre et indépendant, sous la dénomination d'États-Unis des Ioniennes.

ART. II.

Cet État sera placé sous la protection immédiate et exclusive de Sa Majesté le roi du Royaume-Uni de la Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande, et de ses héritiers et successeurs. En conséquence, les autres Piussances contractantes renoncent à tout droit et prétention particulière qu'elle auraient pu former à cet égard, et garantissent formellement toutes les dispositions du présent Traité.

ART. III.

Les États-Unis des Iles Ioniennes régleront, avec l'approbation de la puissance protectrice, leur organisation intérrieure: et pour donner à toutes les parties de cette organisation la consistance et l'action nécessaire, Sa Majesté Britannique vouera une sollicitude particulière à la législation et à l'administration générale de ces États. En conséquence Sa Majesté nommera pour y résider un Lord Commissaire Supérieur qui sera investi de toute l'autorité nécessaire à cet effet.

ART. IV.

Afin de mettre en exécution sans délai les stipulations consignées dans les articles précédents, et fonder la réorganisation politique des États-Unis sur cette organisation qui est actuellement en vigueur, le Lord Commissaire Supérieur de la Puissance protectrice régler les formes de convocation d'une assemblée législative, don't il dirigera les opérations, à l'effet de rédiger pour cet État une nouvelle charte constitutionnelle que Sa Majesté Britannique sers priée de ratifier. Jusqu'au moment où une pareille charte constitutionnelle sera rédigée et dûment ratifiée, les constitutions existantes resteront en vigueur dans les différentes îles, et aucun changement ne pourra y être fait que par Sa Majesté Britannique dans son Conseil.

ART. V.

Pour assurer sans restriction aux habitants des États-Unis des Iles Ioniennes les avantages résultant de la haute protection sous laquelle ils sont placés, ainsi que pour l'exercice des droits inhérents à cette protection, Sa Majesté Britannique aura celui d'occuper les forteresses et places de ces États et d'y tenir garnison. La force militaire desdits États-Unis sera de même sous les ordres du commandant des troupes de Sa Majesté Britannique.

ART. VI.

Sa Majesté Britannique consent à ce qu'une convention particulière avec le gouvernement desdits États-Unis règle d'après les revenus de l'État tous les objets relatifs au maintien des forteresses actuellement existantes, ainsi qu'à l'entretien et au payement des garnisons britanniques et au nombre d'hommes qui les composent en temps de paix. La même convention fixera en outre les rapports qui devront avoir lieu cette force armée et le gouvernement ionien.

ART. VII.

Le pavillon marchand des États-Unis des Iles Ioniennes sera reconnu par toutes les parties contractantes comme pavillon d'un État libre et indépendant. Il portera, avec les couleurs et au-dessus des armoiries qu'il a déployées avant 1807, celles que Sa Majesté Britannique pourra juger à propos de lui accorder en signe de la protection sous laquelle lesdits États-Unis Ioniens sont placés; et, pour donner plus de poids encore à cette protection, tous les ports desdits États sont déclarés être, quant aux droits honorifiques et militaires, sous la juridiction britannique.

Le commerce entre les États-Unis Ioniens et les États de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique, jouira des même avantages et facilités que celui de la Grande-Bretagne avec lesdits États-Unis.

Il ne sera accrédité aux États-Unis des Iles Ioniennes que des agents commerciaux ou consuls chargés uniquement de la gestion des relations commerciales, et assujettis aux règlements auxquels les agents commerciaux ou consuls sont soumis dans les autres États indépendants.

ART. VIII.

Toutes les Puissances qui ont signé le Traité de Paris du 30 mai 1814 et l'Acte du Congrès de Vienne du 9 juin 1815, et, en outre, Sa Majesté le roi des Deux-Siciles et la Porte-Ottomane, seront invités à accéder à la présente convention.

ART. IX.

Le présent acte sera ratifié, et les deux ratifications seront échangées dans deux mois, ou plus tôt, si faire se peut.

En foi de quoi les plénipotentiaires respectifs l'ont signé et y ont apposé le cachet de leurs armes.

Fait à Paris le cinq novembre mil-huit-cent-quinze.

(L.S.) *Le prince de* **METTERNICH**.
(L.S.) *Le baron de* **WESSEMBERG**.
(L.S.) **CASTLEREAGH**.
(L.S.) **WELLINGTON**.
(L.S.) *Le Conte* **CAPODISTRIAS**.
(L.S.) *Le Prince de* **RASOUMOUFFSKY**.*

* The author is not able to give all the signatures to the Treaty, but the above are sufficient for historical purposes.

Orkney (George W.H. Fitzmaurice, Earl of...) known earlier as Viscount Kirkwall (ed.) (1864) "Appendix B. Convention entre les Cours de Vienne, de Saint-Pétersbourg, de Londres et Berlin, pour fixer le sort des sept îles Ioniennes, signée à Paris, le novembre 1815." *Four Years in the Ionian Islands. Their Political and Social Condition. With a History of the British Protectorate.* Vol. I. Chapman and Hall, London, pp 293-298.

Treaty Of Paris, 1815
(English Translation)

Treaty between the Allied Powers respecting the Ionian Islands. 1815

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity, his Majesty of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of bohemia and Hungary, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, animated by a desire of prosecuting the negotiations adjourned at the Congress of Vienna, in order to fix the destiny of the seven Ionian Islands, and to insure the independence, liberty and happiness of the inhabitants of those islands, by placing them and their Constitution under the immediate protection of one of the great powers of Europe, have agreed to settle definitively, by special act, whatever relates to this object, which, grounded upon the rights resulting from the Treaty of Paris, of the 30th May, 1814, and likewise upon the British declarations at the period when the British arms liberated Cerigo, Zante, Cephalonia, Santa Maura, Ithaca, and Paxo, shall be considered as forming part of the general treaty, concluded at Vienna on the 9th of June, 1815, on the termination of the Congress; and in order to settle and sign the said act, the high contracting powers have nominated their Plenipotentiaries; that is to say, his Majesty the King of the United kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, &c., and the most Illustrious and most Noble Lord Arthur, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Wellington, Marquis of Douro, &c.; and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur André, Prince of Rasoumoffsky, &c., and the Sieur John, Count Capodistria, &c., who, after having exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following terms:

ARTICLE I.

The islands of Corfú, Cephalonia, Zante, Santa Maura, Ithaca, Cerigo, and Paxo, with their dependencies, such as they are described in the treaty between his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and the Ottoman Porte, of the 21st of March, 1800, shall form a single, free and independent State, under the denomination of the United States of the Ionian Islands.

ARTICLE II.

This State shall be placed under the immediate and exclusive protection of his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors. The other contracting powers do consequently renounce every right or particular pretensions which they might have formed in respect to them, and formally guarantee all the dispositions of the treaty.

ARTICLE III.

The United States of the Ionian Islands shall, with the approbation of the protecting power, regulate their internal organization: and in order to give all the parts of this organization the necessary consistency and action, his Britannic Majesty will employ a particular solicitude with regard to the legislation and the general administration of

those States, his Majesty will therefore appoint a Lord High Commissioner to reside there, invested with all the necessary power and authority for this purpose.

ARTICLE IV.

In order to carry into execution without delay the stipulations mentioned in the articles preceding, and to ground the political re-organization which is actually in force, the Lord High Commissioner of the protecting power shall regulate the forms of convocation of a Legislative Assembly, of which he shall direct the proceedings, in order to draw up a new Constitutional Charter for the States, which his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland shall be requested to ratify.

Until such Constitutional Order shall have been so drawn up, and duly ratified, the existing Constitution shall remain in force in the different islands, and no alteration shall be made in them, except by his Britannic Majesty in Council.

ARTICLE V.

In order to ensure without restriction to the inhabitants of the United States of the Ionian Islands the advantages resulting from the high protection under which these States are placed, as well as for the exercise of the rights inherent in the said protection, his Britannic Majesty shall have the right to occupy the fortresses and places of those States, and to maintain garrisons in the same. The military force of the said United States shall also be under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the troops of his Britannic Majesty.

ARTICLE VI.

His Britannic Majesty consents, that a particular convention with the Government of the said United States shall regulate, according to the revenues of those States, everything which may relate to the maintenance of the fortresses already existing, as well as the subsistence and payment of the British garrisons, and the number of men of which they shall be composed in time of peace.

The same convention shall likewise fix the relations which are to exist between the said armed force and the Ionian Government.

ARTICLE VII.

The trading flag of the United States of the Ionian Islands shall be acknowledged by all the contracting parties, as the flag of a free and independent State. It shall carry with the colours, and above the armorial bearings thereon displayed before the year 1807,such other as his Britannic Majesty may think proper to grant, as a mark of the protection under which the said Ionian States are placed; and for the more effectual furtherance of this protection, all the ports and harbours of the said States are hereby declared to be, with respect to the honorary and military rights, within British jurisdiction. The commerce between the United Ionian States and the dominions of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty shall enjoy the same advantages and facilities as that of Great Britain with the said United States. None but commercial agents or Consuls charged solely with the carrying on commercial arrangements, and

subject to the regulations which commercial agents or Consuls are subject to in other independent States, shall be accredited to the United States of the Ionian Islands.

ARTICLE VIII.

All the powers which signed the Treaty of Paris of the 30th May, 1814, and the Act of the Congress of Vienna of the 9th June, 1815; and also his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, and the Ottoman Porte, shall be invited to accede to the present Convention.

ARTICLE IX.

The present Act shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in two months, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and have affixed thereunto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 5th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1815.

Signed (L.S.) **CASTLEREAGH.**
(L.S.) **WELLINGTON**
Signed (L.S.) Le Prince de **RASOUMOFFSKY**
(L.S.) Le Compte **CAPODISTRIA**

Jervis, Henry Jervis-White (1852) "Appendix F. Treaty between the Allied Powers respecting the Ionian Islands." *History of the Island of Corfú, and the Republic of the Ionian Islands.* Colburn, London, pp 291-295. (Ad.6.23)