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The critical theory of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki

Introduction

Inscribed in an autograph book in 1949, Sir Āpirana Ngata's¹ celebrated ōhāki, or parting/death speech, encourages Māori to understand introduced Pākehā knowledge and technologies, while maintaining the knowledge and traditions of their ancestors as a two-pronged approach for Māori progression. He states:

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

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

Grow up oh tender plant
To fulfil the needs of your generation;

¹ Walker (2001) writes that Sir Āpirana Ngata was "...one of the most illustrious New Zealanders of the twentieth century" (p. 11). Ngata spent his life pursuing the emancipation of the Māori people as a politician and as a prominent leader in the Māori world. Walker (2001) argues that Ngata was "...a man of such extraordinary gifts of intelligence, energy and foresight that among his own Ngāti Porou people he was esteemed as a god among men" (p. 11).

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

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

Tipene Tihema-Biddle, a healer from the Waiōhau community in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, states that there needs to be a balance between the whare Māori and the whare Pākehā – the Māori and Pākehā paradigms:

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

The emphasis above relates to collaboration between the Māori and Pākehā ways of knowing and being. However, in order to achieve this, an acute awareness of how the two paradigms interact historically and politically in relation to colonisation and oppression is required. Thus, a considered and

critical approach to Western knowledge is necessary. When used critically, Western knowledge is not only useful to colonised people but can be used to transform communities. Royal (1992) states:

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

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

This article is about emancipation; it is about the critical use of Māori and Western theory together as a strategy for decolonisation and transformation. This article will define critical theory from a Horkheimeran perspective. A biography of Te Kooti’s life is provided to attempt to understand the critical nature of his spiritual and political agenda, and the social, historical, political and religious context from which his ministry emerged.

Critical theory: A Horkheimeran definition

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

Te Kooti: Prophet, revolutionary and critical theorist

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

spiritual nature of his messages resound with Māori spirituality (Milroy, 2006, cited in Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010), while the deeply political quality of his expressions urge Māori to hold on to their land – the source of their identity – in order to resist colonisation and oppression.

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

In order to 'deliver' Māori to the Promised Land, Te Kooti required that Māori hold on to their land and resist Pākehā attempts to take it in the first place. Te Kooti's political resistance started early in his life when he resisted Pākehā settlement in his home area. However, Te Kooti was accused of conspiring with an Indigenous political and religious movement and as a result was incarcerated. It was during his imprisonment that he had visions and declared himself a prophet. Te Kooti and his supporters escaped captivity, exacted revenge and engaged in raids to rally support and gather supplies. Te Kooti and his adherents were hunted mercilessly by the Crown, but they fought back constantly.

Don Tamihere states that the followers of the Māori prophets were militant in their dedication to their leaders and the philosophies of the prophetic movements to which they

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

Te Kooti’s biography

Te Kooti’s birth in 1832 had been foreseen in prophecy by the matakite, Toiroa² (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Elsmore, 2000; Tarei, 2011).³ Toiroa associated Arikirangi’s birth with darkness, which he expressed in the following waiata:

Tiwha tiwha te pō.
Ko te Pakerewhā
Ko Arikirangi tenei ra te haere nei.
Dark, dark is the night.
There is the Pakerewhā

² According to Binney (1995), Te Kooti claimed that Toiroa was his ancestor.

³ Elsmore (2000) claims that Te Kooti was born in 1830, while an account from Delamere found in Binney (1995, p. 16) asserts that Te Kooti was born in 1814, a date which coincides with the arrival of Christianity through the Anglicans. Tarei (2011) claims that there is dispute about the year of Te Kooti’s birth and states that he may have been born in 1812, 1814 or 1830.

There is Arikirangi to come (Te Kooti, 1866-1890, n.p.).

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

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

The name of their God will be Tama-i-rorokutia (Son-who-was-killed),⁴ a good God, however the people will still be oppressed (Binney, 1995, p. 12).

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

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

Consecrated to Tūmatauenga, the atua of war, Arikirangi received the education of the whare wānanga; he attained Christian learning through the Anglican Church,⁵ into which he was baptised with the name Te Kooti;⁶ he also obtained Pākehā

⁴ This probably refers to the crucifixion of Christ.

⁵ By the early 1850s Te Kooti had been exposed to three major Christian churches: Anglican, Catholic and Wesleyan (Binney, 1995).

⁶ A transliteration of the name 'Coates', after the lay secretary of the Church Mission Society, C. Dande(r)son Coates (Binney, 1995; Mackay, 1949), a name which Te Kooti had seen on official notices whilst on a trading trip to Auckland (Cowan, 1938). However,

education through the Anglican mission and gained an intimate knowledge of the Bible (Binney, 1995; Elsmore, 2000; Greenwood, 1942; Tarei, 2011).⁷ According to Tarei (2011):

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

Te Kooti had aspired to be an Anglican clergyman. However, by 1852 he had become infamous in the Tūranga tribal area for his participation in a group of young Māori who engaged in protesting over land rights, looting and charging pasturage and anchorage to settlers (Binney, 1995) whose goal it was to attain as much land as possible without concern for Māori interests (Grace, 1853). In 1853 the government requested that the Tūranga tribes work towards settling disputes with settlers, but the pillaging continued until Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki iwi launched an attack on Te Kooti's pā;⁸ those captured in the attack were handed over to Rongowhakaata iwi, but Te Kooti escaped and swam across the river (Binney, 1995).

Te Kooti's involvement in the land politics of the 1850s and early 1860s at Tūranga not only hindered the progress of the settlers, but also challenged the presiding chiefs of Rongowhakaata and Ngāti Maru (a hapū of Rongowhakaata); in return, these leaders would come to play a significant part

Williams (1999) states that Te Kooti told James Cowan that: "Te Kooti was the transliteration of 'By Order of the Court'. The irony of the appellation must have amused Te Kooti" (p. 76).

⁷ According to Mackay (1949), Te Kooti was an established horseman and engaged in various occupations including farm and bush work, and work out at sea on a number of schooners. The skills Te Kooti gained through his work at sea would be beneficial in the future, when Te Kooti and many others escaped imprisonment on a remote outer island on a schooner (Binney, 1995).

⁸ Fortified village (Moorfield, 2011).

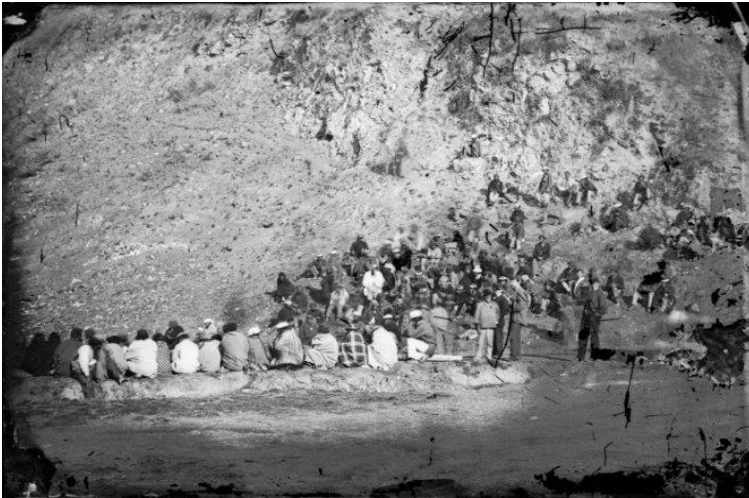
in sending Te Kooti to prison on the Chatham Islands in 1866, which corresponded with the desires of both government officials and traders alike (Binney, 1995). From the time of Te Kooti's escape from Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki's attack, he seems to have disappeared. Binney (1995) notes that his name is absent from the records of the land disputes of this time up until 1865-66, when his name reappears. Te Kooti claims to have been visited by the Archangel Michael in the 1850s, who predicted the Poverty Bay civil war and gave him a white lunar rainbow as protection (Binney, 1995).

From 1860 the iwi of the Waikato and Taranaki areas were at war with the Crown. However, the Tūranga chiefs made it their policy to remain neutral in order to maintain control over their lands and affairs (Binney, 1995). The determined independence displayed by the Tūranga chiefs ensured two things: that they would not join the Kīngitanga movement – a Māori political institution founded in 1858 which sought to unify Māori under one native sovereign – and that they would continue to regulate European settlement in the area (Binney, 1995).

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

to his brother Komene, who fought with the Pai Mārire (Elsmore, 2000; Binney, 1995; Shortland, 1889; Tarei, 2011). What seems likely though, is that Te Kooti acted out of concern for land at Tūranga (Binney, 1995).

Image 1: Māori Hauhau prisoners on Napier foreshore



(Coxhead, 1866, Alexander Turnbull Library, 1/2-118691-G)
Māori Hauhau prisoners wait on the Napier foreshore to board the ship St. Kilda for Wharekauri (Chatham Island). Te Kooti is believed to be amongst this group.

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

(Binney, 1995; Davidson, 2004; Elsmore, 2000; Tarei, 2011; Walker, 2004).

When the prisoners – men, women and children – arrived at Wharekauri they were posted at Waitangi, where there was no housing; each party was responsible for building its own compound out of native materials (Binney, 1995; “Prisoners’ Work List 1”, March 1866-March 1867; Russell, 1866). The prisoners were considered to be political offenders or whakarau and were incarcerated without trial (Rolleston, 1868; Wellington Independent, 1869, October 2). They were drawn mainly from the East Coast iwi of Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Hineuru and Ngāti Kahungunu; many of them had been supporters of and believers in Pai Mārire (Binney, 1995).

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

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

The inmates grew much of their own food, supplemented with government rations; they were not sufficiently resourced however, and ploughs had to be pulled by prisoners, including women and children (Binney, 1995). Under these conditions, Te Kooti became unwell and was treated for chronic asthma

and declared by a doctor to be unfit for work (“Medical report for the month ending 31 March 1867”, 1867, March 31). Te Kooti was very familiar with the Bible (Davidson, 2004) and during his sickness he specifically studied the books of Joshua, Judges and the Psalms (Greenwood, 1942). From December 1866 to May 1867, Te Kooti suffered serious illness, probably tuberculosis; it was during this period that Te Kooti experienced prophetic visions and revelations that he recorded in his diary (Binney, 1995; Davidson, 2004; Elsmore, 2000; Tarei, 2011; Walker, 2004).

While ill, Te Kooti claims that the Spirit told him to “Rise! Come forth! You are spared to be made well, to be the founder of a new church and religion, to be the salvation of the Maori people and to release them from bondage” (Ross, 1966, p. 30). Like the Old Testament prophet Moses, who was also called to free his people, Te Kooti had been called to liberate his followers from oppression. These events were the beginnings of a new Māori faith (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Elsmore, 2000; Ross, 1966; Salmond, 1976; Walker, 2004). Belich claims that “[i]t was Te Kooti who restored their hope. While sick with tuberculosis he saw a vision of the archangel Michael, and experienced a religious awakening. He began preaching a new religion, called Ringatū – the upraised hand” (McCrae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.). According to Te Wharekaihua Coates from Ngāti Awa, a sacred angel gave Te Kooti the Ringatū faith, informing him that he would be the means through which an authentic Māori faith would be expressed:

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

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

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

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

Belich contends that the “...prisoners had been told that their exile was temporary and were promised a fair trial. When nothing happened, they began to lose hope; they feared they would never see their homes again” (McCrae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.). Subsequently, Te Kooti’s teachings were absorbed more readily by many of the prisoners when they realised that their imprisonment was not temporary and that their lands were under threat of government confiscation; it was this

realisation which accelerated the growth of the Ringatū following (Binney, 1995).

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

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

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

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

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

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

His followers were instructed to fast until the ship was unloaded and a pig and chicken were sacrificed as a burnt offering to the Lord, much like those offered to Jehovah in the Old Testament (Binney, 1995).⁹ During this sacrifice, Te Kooti's adherents were seen to be standing in prayer, rather than kneeling, with their right hands raised in praise to God – a physical gesture which would remain entrenched in Te Kooti's Ringatū faith (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti had instructed:

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

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

On 12 July three emissaries, all Māori, sent by the Poverty Bay resident magistrate Major Reginald Biggs, arrived at Whareongaonga to instruct Te Kooti and his followers that they were to surrender their weapons and wait for a decision to

⁹ Although Te Kooti had initially instructed his followers to bind their new born babies to the firewood in preparation for sacrifice, this was, like the story of Abraham's sacrifice, a test; so the chicken and pig were sacrificed instead (Binney, 1995).

come, as to their fate, from the government; Te Kooti responded by stating that he and his adherents desired to be left alone (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). On 14 July, Te Kooti and his followers left Whareongaonga on a slow and arduous journey, heading for the King Country (Waikato), to bring about a new prophetic order (Binney, 1995). It was Te Kooti's intention to challenge the authority of King Tāwhiao – the political and spiritual leader of the Kīngitanga movement who also claimed to be a mouthpiece of God (Auckland Star, 1914, March 28). Te Kooti wanted to make his way to the Waikato in peace, stating that he would only fight if attacked (Kempthorne, 1868; Williams, 1868). Belich argues that:

Before leaving Whareongaonga, Te Kooti had tried to persuade the government to leave him alone, promising peace in return for freedom. But the government would have none of this and ordered colonial and kūpapa troops to chase and capture the escaped prisoners (McRae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.).

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

was shot in the ankle and so retired to Puketapu, the Holy Mountain, near Lake Waikaremoana, joined by a few Tūhoe from Te Whāiti (Binney, 1995).

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

Before midnight on 9 November 1868, Te Kooti and about 100 men attacked Matawhero and a neighbouring village, purposefully killing approximately 50-60 people, both Pākehā and Māori (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Walker, 2004). Te Kooti was exact in selecting those to be killed; Biggs and Captain James Wilson, for example, were described as being 'Pharaoh's overseers' (Binney, 1995). Biggs, his wife, child and nurse, were hauled out of their home, killed and bayoneted, and their house, along with Wilson's, were amongst the first to be burned; over the next two days and nights, most of the dwellings and sheds at Matawhero (and north Mākaraka) were set alight (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti sought to destroy anyone who had wronged him. According to Binney (1995), all those who were killed, Pākehā and Māori, men, women and children, were either shot or bludgeoned and then impaled with a sword or bayonet; the use of the sword was intentional and referred to passages in the Book of Psalms, which Te Kooti had instructed his men to sing:

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

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

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

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

Te Kooti's desire to seek utu¹⁰ against those who had wronged him, both Māori and Pākehā, is reflected in the Old Testament and in particular, in the actions of King Saul (Winiata, 1967) who was fuelled by rage, jealousy and revenge in his pursuit of David (Comay, 2002; 1 Samuel 23). Te Kooti was very precise about who he attacked (Fowler Papers; Porter, 1870). The Māori concept of utu already provided the justification for taking the necessary action to restore balance; Old Testament law merely proposed another perspective, and further validation for reprisal, in the name of Jehovah (Elsmore, 2000). The Old Testament clearly demonstrates that revenge was justified: "...thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe" (Exodus 21:23-25).

¹⁰ Translated sometimes very simply as revenge, utu is the process of restoring balance between groups where social relations have been disturbed (Moorfield, 2011).

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

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

After the battle at Ngātapa, Te Kooti and his followers took refuge in the Te Urewera area (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Walker, 2004). Looking for supplies, ammunition and supporters, Te Kooti launched a raid on Rauporoa pā – a Ngāti Pūkeko stronghold on the west bank of the Whakatāne river – on 9 March 1869 (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). The researcher's ancestor, Mēhaka Tokopounamu, fighting for Te Kooti, played a part in this attack. As Cowan (1922) notes: "He

[Tamihana Tahawera] was struggling with the foolish old man [Hori Tunui] when a young Urewera warrior named Mehaka Toko-pounamu fired at him at a range of a few paces” (p. 321).

At Tāwhana, in the Waimana Valley, Ngāi Tūhoe sealed a pact with Te Kooti on 20 March 1869,¹¹ which strengthened his resolve in his prophetic mission (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). According to Binney (1995) Tūhoe “...gave him their land and their loyalty” (p. 154). The land was probably offered symbolically, as a token of their link with him. In return, Te Kooti made a covenant with Tūhoe, similar to the promises made between Jehovah and Moses in the Old Testament:¹²

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

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

¹¹ Binney (1995) disputes this date. By her historical calculation, the date of this event is more likely to have been 2 March as Te Kooti was at Tāwhana at this time, but was elsewhere on 20 March.

¹² The biblical similarity Binney (1995) refers to is probably that found in the Book of Exodus: “And I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God: and ye shall know that I am the LORD your God, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians” (Exodus 6:7).

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

Image 2: Bayonet scene on heke inside Tama-ki-Hikurangi wharenuī, Patuheuheu marae, Waiōhau



(Rangiwai, 2013, personal collection)

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

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

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

From Te Potere, Te Kooti and 200 followers vacated into the King Country where he was invited to Tokangamutu by King Tāwhiao; Te Kooti was still in war mode and so declined the invitation and went instead to Te Tapapa – the village of the

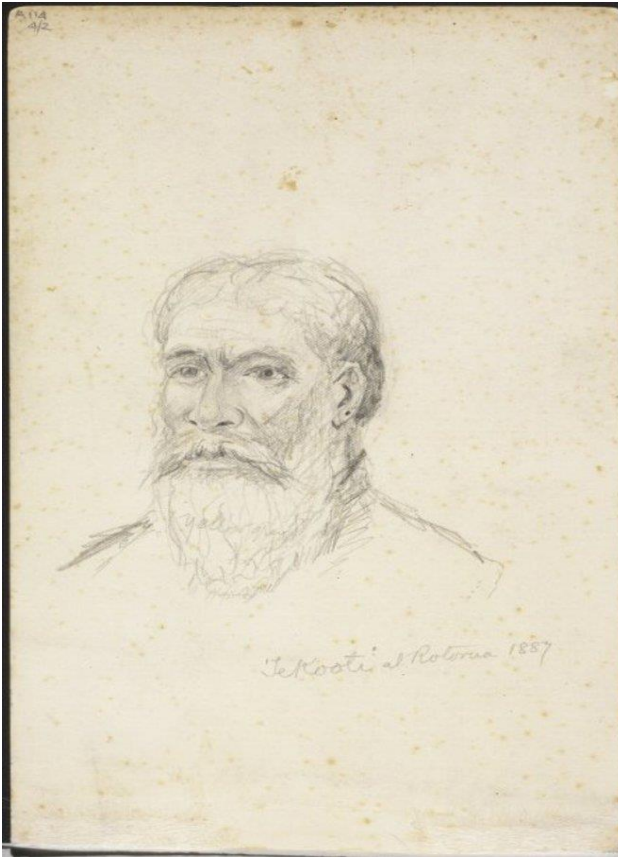
Waitaha prophet, Hakaraia Mahika (Binney, 1995). From Te Tapapa, Te Kooti proceeded into Te Arawa country where he attempted to negotiate with the chief Petera Te Pukuatua for unhindered passage back to Te Urewera; however, Gilbert Mair and his Te Arawa affiliates attacked Te Kooti on 7 February 1870 as negotiations were taking place (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995).

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

Te Kooti continued to evade his pursuers and on 15 May 1872, he arrived in the King Country, beyond the reach of the Crown,¹³ where he asked for refuge at Tokangamutu (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). Te Kooti's request was at first refused by King Tāwhiao; however, when Te Kooti accepted Tāwhiao's policy of peace (except if under attack), he was granted protection in September 1873 (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). At Tokangamutu, Te Kooti supervised the carving of a whareniui that was later moved and renamed Te Tokanga-nui-a-noho (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Mair, 1873).

¹³ The King Country, ruled by the Kingitanga or King movement, was off limits to the government and settlers at this time.

Image 3: Te Kooti at Rotorua 1887



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

Te Kooti lived in Te Kuiti from 1873 to 1883, where he developed the rituals, festivals, texts, prayers and waiata – which communicate the history of the people – of the Ringatū faith, including the dedication of 1 January and 1 July as holy days and the addition of planting and harvesting rites; in 1888 Te Kooti added the twelfth day of each month as sacred days and the Saturday of each week as the Sabbath (Binney, 1995).

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

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

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

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

Te Kooti's critical theory

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

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

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

One of the most significant of Te Kooti's waiata related to the topic of this thesis is Kāore te pō nei mōrikarika noa. According to McLean and Orbell (2004), Te Kooti visited Tūhoe and composed and performed this waiata tohutohu, or song of instruction, in 1883 in support of the iwi's stand against aggressive land surveying by Pākehā. However, Binney (2009) argues that after 1872 Te Kooti did not revisit Te Urewera until 1884. She assigns the performance of his prophetic waiata to the opening of the Marakoko whareniui – built in Te Kooti's honour by Ngāti Whare and Tūhoe at Te Murumurunga near Te Whaiti – in January 1884. In his prophetic fashion though, Te Kooti changed the name of the whareniui to Eripitana¹⁴ (Binney, 2009).

Image 4 Eripitana whareniui, 1891



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

¹⁴ The name Eripitana is known in Te Kooti's secret glossolalic language as te reo kē. In one interpretation from 1883 this name meant: "The Prediction of One to Follow" (Binney, 1995, p. 612, n. 59). In a much earlier 1869 prophecy, the name referred to the promise of the salvation of the people (Binney, 1995).

As Te Kooti approached the wharenuī his horse shied and he noticed the inverted carved figure¹⁵ on the pou mua,¹⁶ “...its wide mouth turned upside-down, ready to devour everything around it” (Binney, 1995, p. 326). Te Kooti then uttered a prophecy of destruction:

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

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

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

...it’s well documented about the prophecy of Te Kooti on how he came up in here and when his horse shied at seeing this tekoteko¹⁷ here and then he came out with the prophecy about Ngāti Whare: “Your lands will be lost to foreigners” - which was the Crown (Douglas et al., 2013, n.p.).

¹⁵ Salmond (1976) claims that the carver of Eripitana had “...accidentally inverted a carving motif” (p. 67). Salmond (1976) implies that it was due to the error of the inverted carving that Te Kooti expressed his prophetic words.

¹⁶ Front post of the wharenuī (Moorfield, 2011).

¹⁷ Carved figure on the gable of a meeting house (Moorfield, 2011).

Image 5: Inverted pou mua of Eripitana whareniui, 1970

(Mead, 1970, University of Auckland, PID374126)

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

Kāore te pō nei mōrikarika noa!¹⁸
Te ohonga ki te ao, rapu kau noa ahau.
Ko te mana tuatahi ko te Tiriti o Waitangi,
Ko te mana tuarua ko te Kooti¹⁹ Whenua,
Ko te mana tuatoru ko te Mana Motuhake,
Ka kiia²⁰ i reira ko te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe,
He rongō ka houhia ki a Ngāti Awa.
He kino anō rā ka āta kitea iho
Ngā mana Māori ka mahue kei muri! (Binney,
2009, p. 269)

Alas for this troubled night!
Waking to the world I search about in vain.
The first authority is the Treaty of Waitangi,
The second authority is the Land Court,
The third authority is the Separate Mana,
Hence the Rohe Pōtae (Encircling Borders) of
Tūhoe.

¹⁸ Binney (2009) takes this waiata from McLean and Orbell (1975) but makes some changes in line with her analysis of Tūhoe history.

¹⁹ Kōti, a transliteration for court (Moorfield, 2011), would be the more orthographically correct way of spelling this word. However, I have purposely left the spelling as Kooti, in the old-fashioned orthographic style, found in both Binney (2009) and McLean and Orbell (2004), for two reasons. The first reason is because of the point made by McLean and Orbell (2004), supported by Binney (2009), that the word Kootitia (passive verb referring to Tūhoe's lands being taken over by the Courts) which is featured further on in the waiata, could be a play on Te Kooti's name; for this reason the double-vowelled, unmacronised spelling is visually closer to the prophet's name. This point could be a likely one, as Binney (1995) claims that there had been requests for Te Kooti to protect Tūhoe lands under his spiritual authority. The second reason is because Te Kooti Whenua Māori (the Māori Land Court) continues to use the double-vowelled spelling of the older orthographic order. Te Kooti's name, according to Cowan (1938), is a name which Te Kooti took on himself after a trip to Auckland where he read the name 'Coates' in its Māori form. This latter point is also noted by Binney (1995).

²⁰ Changed from *kīa* to *kiia* as found in Ka'ai-Mahuta (2010, p. 204) and also in Moorfield (2011).

A peace made with Ngāti Awa.
 It would indeed be an evil thing
 To abandon the mana of Māori! (Binney, 2009,
 p. 269)

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

In the line, “He rongo ka houhia ki a Ngāti Awa”, Te Kooti reminds Tūhoe of the 1830s tatau pounamu, or ensuring peace agreement, between Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa. This peace treaty was negotiated by the researcher’s ancestor, the Ngāti Rongo and Patuheuheu chief, Koura (see Figure 1), representing Tūhoe, and the Ngāti Pahipoto chief Hātua, representing Ngāti Awa (Mead & Phillis, 1982; Waitangi Tribunal, 2002). Te Kooti’s reminder to Tūhoe could be interpreted as a political strategy, suggesting that continued peace between the tribes should be maintained in order to channel collective strength against the forces of colonisation. Te Kooti’s waiata tohutohu continues:

Ka uru nei au ki te ture Kaunihera,
 E rua aku mahi e noho nei au:

Ko te hanga i ngā rori,²¹ ko te hanga i ngā tiriti!
Pūkohu tāiri ki Pōneke rā,
Ki te kāinga rā i noho ai te Minita (Binney, 2009,
p. 269).

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

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

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

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

²¹ Changed from rōri to rori (road), without the macron as found in Moorfield (2011).

Here, Te Kooti warns Tūhoe about the government boards that sought power over Māori lands (Binney, 2009). In the 1884 historical context, Binney (2009) maintains that this is probably a reference to the waste land boards that were established in 1876, with the power to control Māori lands that were leased, purchased, or confiscated by the Crown. However, Binney (2009) also contends that the meanings extrapolated from Te Kooti's waiata "...present to different times different premonitions" (p. 27). So when the reference to the boards is interpreted from a future perspective, it can be associated with the Māori land boards (Binney, 2009). The Māori land boards were designed to oversee extensive land acquisition for the Crown and were established under the Maori Land Settlement Act, passed in 1905, when it was realised that voluntary leasing of Māori land was not meeting Crown targets (Hill, 2004). According to Binney (2009) these boards were "[p]owerful and bureaucratic" taking land away from Māori "through partition, vestments, and piecemeal purchase" (p. 270).

In a line to follow, "Nā taku ngākau i kimi ai ki te Ture", Te Kooti claims to have examined the "Law"²² with his ngākau or mind-heart²³, finding that it was iniquitous for the land to be sold (Binney, 1995). Instead, in concluding his waiata tohutohu, he advises the people not to sell, but to remain on their lands:

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

I say to you, 'Stay, Stay!'

²² McLean and Orbell (2004) claim that Te Kooti's use of the word ture, or law, refers to his religious beliefs and teachings.

²³ Salmond's (1985) definition of ngākau as mind-heart or the entrails where thought and feeling are manifested is used here.

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

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

The preceding waiata is but one of many examples of Te Kooti's critical theory. Another example relevant to this work is the emergence of the Te Kooti-style wharenuī in the nineteenth century. The Te Kooti-style wharenuī can be viewed as the physical expression of the merging of Māori knowledge and Pākehā knowledge. In the nineteenth century, Te Kooti amalgamated Māori and biblical knowledge to create the Ringatū faith, which combined politics and spirituality as a strategy for resisting colonisation and oppression. Āpriana Ngata also encouraged Māori to use Pākehā knowledge and technologies in ways that complemented Māori knowledge and advanced Māori society. The key to blending Māori and Pākehā knowledge is to remain critical about what knowledge is used and how it is used.

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

Image 6: Two whare

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

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

The New Zealand Wars of 1845-1872 was a time of great turmoil for many North Island Māori. For some Māori leaders, it was an opportune time, both during and after the fighting, to display the prestige, spirituality and authority of the people by erecting radically different new buildings that incorporated European technologies, techniques and materials; these buildings became considerably larger than earlier Māori buildings (Brown, 2009). Some Māori discarded the teachings of the missions and developed their own faiths, which were reflected in the biblical ideas and colonial materials upon which

these new whareniui were built (Brown, 2009). These buildings did not, however:

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

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

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

These whare featured polychromatic painted carvings and motifs – some of them in European artistic style – depicting historical events (Brown, 2009; Paama-Pengelly, 2010). Te Kooti’s whareniui express a formidable critical theory that represents the power of his leadership, his beliefs in social justice in the face of land loss and death, as well as spiritual

salvation. Indeed, “[b]y combining the functions of religious worship and political debate, Te Kooti and his followers created an architecture that was in sympathy with the needs and outlook of its users” (Brown, 2009, p. 60). According to Sissons (1998):

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

Image 7: Tama-ki-Hikurangi



(Mead, ca. 1970-72, University of Auckland, ID530310)

Tama-ki-Hikurangi wharehau at Patuheuheu marae, demonstrating the polychromatic nature of the

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

The prophet Te Kooti was able to take concepts and materials imported into Aotearoa New Zealand by Europeans and indigenise them into the local cultural, political, religious and social context of the nineteenth century. Mkhize (2004) argues that indigenisation is the “[a]ttempt to blend imported theoretical and methodological frameworks with the unique elements of the culture in question. Indigenisation aims to transform foreign models to make them suitable to local cultural contexts” (p. 29). Thus, the hybridisation of religious, cultural and political elements by Te Kooti and other Māori prophets was not an indication of submissiveness, but was a form of political resistance. According to Higgins (2012):

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

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

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

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

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

Summary

This article examined the critical use of Māori and Western theory together as a method for decolonisation and transformation. Sir Āpirana Ngata's counsel that Māori advantageously use Pākehā knowledge and technologies set the tone for this article; and Horkheimer's broad definition of critical theory as any theory which aims to liberate people from oppression contextualised Te Kooti's role as a critical theorist.

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

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²⁴ Written and presented by New Zealand historian, James Belich.

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