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Ka Mua, Ka Muri: A New Transformative Leadership Theory Based on a Prophecy by Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki

Abstract

In this paper, I will argue that for Māori - for whom time is cyclical - looking back and developing leadership models based on the leadership traits and achievements of our ancestors is imperative. Indeed, for Māori, ka mua, ka muri - we walk backwards into the future. This paper will present a new transformative leadership theory based on a prophecy by the Māori prophet Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Tūruki gifted to the Patuheuheu sub-tribe of Aotearoa New Zealand in 1886.

Key words

Transformative leadership; Māori prophecy.

Introduction

This article will begin by providing a brief history of the life of the Māori prophet Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki. This article will then explain the emergence of Te Kooti's Te Umutaoroa prophecy. Lastly, this article will present a new theory of transformative leadership based on Te Kooti's prophecy.

Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki

Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki's life and ministry lay the foundation for the prophecies that he left behind for his followers and sets the historical context for this paper. Indeed, Te Kooti's birth in 1832 was itself a visionary matter, because it had been foreseen in prophecy by the matakite (seer, clairvoyant) Toiroa (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995; Elsmore, 2000; Tarei, 2011). Toiroa associated Te Kooti's (known at this time as Arikirangi) birth with darkness, which he expressed in the following waiata (song):

Tiwha tiwha te pō.
Ko te Pakerewhā
Ko Arikirangi tenei ra te haere nei.
Dark, dark is the night.
There is the Pakerewhā
There is Arikirangi to come (Te Kooti, 1866-
1890, n.p.).

Te Kooti's name was also connected to a prediction of the impending arrival of Pākehā (Europeans), 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), a good God, however, the people will still be oppressed (Binney, 1995, p. 12).

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

Te Kooti had a troublesome childhood, during which his father attempted to kill him many times (Binney, 1995). On one occasion, his father buried him alive in a kumara pit, but Arikirangi escaped, claiming that a spirit appeared and saved his life (Mackay, 1949). Binney (1995) opines that Te Kooti's ability to escape death was to be one of his most enduring traits. Dedicated to Tūmatauenga, the Atua (God) of war, Te Kooti received the education of the whare wānanga – the ancient Māori institution of higher knowledge; and he attained Pākehā education and gained an intimate knowledge of the Bible through the Anglican Church, into which he was baptised (Binney, 1995; Elsmore, 2000; Greenwood, 1942; Tarei, 2011). 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 (tribe) launched an attack on Te Kooti's pā (fortified village); 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 iwi and Ngāti Maru hapū (sub-tribe) (Binney, 1995). In return, these leaders would come to play a significant part in sending Te Kooti to prison on the Chatham Islands in 1866, which corresponded with the desires of both government officials and traders alike (Binney, 1995). From the time of Te Kooti's escape from Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki's attack, he seems to have disappeared. Binney (1995) notes that his name is absent from the records of the land disputes of this time up until 1865-66 when his name reappears. Te Kooti claims to have been visited by the Archangel Michael in the 1850s, who predicted civil war and gave him a white lunar rainbow as protection (Binney, 1995).

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

In 1865, Te Ua Haumēne's Hauhau or Pai Mārire religious movement spread to Tūranga (Binney, 1995; Salmond, 1976). The Pai Mārire claimed to come in peace and that they intended to unite Māori under one authority (Binney, 1995). The conversion rates of Māori to the Pai Mārire faith in Tūranga was 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). Also, the Crown provided arms to those Ngāti Porou who

opposed the Hauhau; the war could not be contained, and the Tūranga tribes became involved (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti claimed to have fought against the Pai Mārire and also to have fought alongside the government troops at Waerenga-a-Hika; but there are other accounts that accuse him of conspiring with the Hauhau and providing gunpowder to his brother Komene, who fought with the Pai Mārire (Elsmore, 2000; Binney, 1995; Shortland, 1889; Tarei, 2011). What seems likely though, is that Te Kooti acted out of concern for land at Tūranga (Binney, 1995).

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

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

The conditions on the island were harsh and intolerably cold, and the prisoners’ workloads were heavy, all of which contributed significantly to the rates of illness and death

amongst the captives (Binney, 1995). According to Belich, “Te Kooti and his fellow exiles found life on the Chathams hard and cold... but abuse and beatings were common, and the guards spent most of their time drunk” (McRae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.). Also, Greenwood (1942) states:

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

The inmates grew much of their food, supplemented with government rations; they were not sufficiently resourced, however, and ploughs had to be pulled by prisoners, including women and children (Binney, 1995). Under these conditions, Te Kooti became unwell and was treated for chronic asthma and declared by a doctor to be unfit for work (“Medical report for the month ending 31 March 1867”, 1867, March 31). Te Kooti was very familiar with the Bible (Davidson, 2004) and during his sickness, he specifically studied the books of Joshua, Judges and the Psalms (Greenwood, 1942). From December 1866 to May 1867, Te Kooti suffered 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 ō tēnei whakapono. E ki ā nei, engari me whakamāori a rātou, whakamāoringia, ka noho tēnei whakapono, Māori tūturu (McCrae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.).

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

Within the framework of his new faith, Te Kooti instructed the people to discard their old beliefs and look directly to the scriptures for inspiration; they identified with the bondage suffered by the ancient Israelites under Egyptian rule (Binney, 1995; Greenwood, 1942) and embraced the history of the Book

of Exodus, which categorically promised 'the return' (Walzer, 1985). According to Webster (1979):

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

Belich contends that the "...prisoners had been told that their exile was temporary and were promised a fair trial. When nothing happened, they began to lose hope; they feared they would never see their homes again" (McCrae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.). Subsequently, Te Kooti's teachings were absorbed more readily by many of the prisoners when they realised that their imprisonment was not temporary and that their lands were under threat of government confiscation; it was this realisation which accelerated the growth of the Ringatū following (Binney, 1995).

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

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

for their services, and received a letter of exoneration from Te Kooti (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995).

On 9 July 1868, the 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).

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). During this sacrifice, Te Kooti's adherents were seen to be standing in prayer, rather than kneeling, with their right hands raised in praise to God – a physical gesture which would remain entrenched in Te Kooti's Ringatū faith (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti had instructed:

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

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

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

come, as to their fate, from the government (Belich, 1968; Binney, 1995). 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). Te Kooti intended to challenge the authority of King Tāwhiao – the political and spiritual leader of the Kingitanga 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 [collaborators with the Crown] troops to chase and capture the escaped prisoners (McRae & Stephens, 1998, n.p.).

Te Kooti's war started on 20 July 1868 when government troops and Māori were defeated at Pāparatū (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). Te Kooti possessed some advantages that added to his success. His efficacious escape from Wharekauri was proof to his followers – some of whom were consummate warriors – that he wielded authority and power from God (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti had an exhaustive knowledge 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, in Te Urewera, joined by a few Tūhoe from Te Whāiti (Binney, 1995).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Te Kooti's desire to seek utu (a process of restoring balance) against those who had wronged him, both Māori and Pākehā, is reflected in the Old Testament and in particular, in the actions of King Saul (Winiata, 1967) who was fuelled by rage, jealousy and revenge in his pursuit of David (Comay, 2002; 1 Samuel 23, KJV). Te Kooti was very precise about who he attacked (Fowler Papers; Porter, 1870). The Māori concept of utu already justified taking the necessary action to restore balance; Old Testament law merely proposed another perspective, and further validation for reprisal, in the name of Jehovah (Elsmore, 2000). The Old Testament 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. KJV).

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

women and children, including a fighting force of about 200 (Binney, 1995).

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). My 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, 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:

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

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

You are the people of the covenant (Binney, 1995, p. 154).

On 10 April 1869, Te Kooti carried out attacks on Mōhaka, in the northern Hawke’s Bay area (Belich, 1986; Binney, 1995). Painted on a rafter inside Tama-ki-Hikurangi wharenuī (ancestral house) at Patuheuheu marae (traditional Māori gathering site) in Waiōhau, in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, 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 1: Bayonet scene on heke (rafter) inside Tama-ki-Hikurangi wharenui, Patuheuheu marae, Waiōhau



(Rangiwai, 2013, personal collection)

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 the Pākehā psyche, 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, 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).

Te Kooti lived in Te Kuiti from 1873 to 1883, where he developed the liturgies and festivals – which communicate the history of the people – of the Ringatū faith, including the dedication of 1 January and 1 July as holy days and the addition of planting and harvesting rites (Binney, 1995). In 1888 Te Kooti added the twelfth day of each month as sacred days and the Saturday of each week as the Sabbath (Binney, 1995). Along with his teachings, news of Te Kooti's abilities as a healer and prophet spread from the late 1870s, with people from the Bay of Plenty

and East Coast being some of the first to receive instruction and healing (Binney, 1995).

From 1877, Te Kooti introduced a sequence of prophecies about his successor, who was to arrive within the area of the people of the Mātaatua confederation of iwi in the Bay of Plenty (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti's predictions produced some claimants, one of the most famous being the prophet Rua Kēnana, who claimed to be the brother of Christ and set up a New Jerusalem at the foot of Maungapōhatu in the early twentieth century (Binney, Chaplin & Wallace, 1979). 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 Kīngitanga (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti negotiated with the Crown for land on which to establish a settlement for him and his followers; in 1891, he was given 600 acres at Wainui, on the Ōhiwa Harbour, for this purpose (Binney, 1995). In February 1893, Te Kooti travelled to his new settlement, but on the way had an accident which, as he prophesied, would be the cause of his death; on 28 February, the cart under which he rested fell on top of him (Binney, 1995; Tarei, 2011). Despite his injuries, Te Kooti continued to travel; he made it to Rūātoki on 29 March, where Tūhoe chiefs were attempting to block the surveying of their land (Binney, 1995). Te Kooti died on 17 April 1893, but the location of his burial is unknown because his body was hidden by his faithful followers (Binney, 1995; Greenwood, 1942; Williams, 1999). From a turbulent youth, through a political and blood-drenched war

phase, Te Kooti spent the final two decades of his life devoted to peace, the law and the gospel (Binney, 1995).

Te Umutaoroa: Te Kooti's Slow Cooking Earth Oven prophecy

Patuheuheu is a hapū or sub-tribe of the Ngāi Tūhoe tribe located in Waiōhau in the Eastern Bay of Plenty of Aotearoa New Zealand. In 1886, following Patuheuheu's loss of their main homeland due to the fraudulent activities of a Pākehā, or European, a man named Harry Burt, the Māori prophet, Te Kooti left behind a prophecy of hope that promised the return and restoration of the land. The name of his prophecy was Te Umutaoroa - the slow cooking earth oven.

As in other parts of the Pacific, Māori in Aotearoa traditionally cooked food using an umu, or earth oven. A pit is dug in the earth, in which a fire is burned for some hours to heat stones. Once these stones are hot, food in woven baskets is placed on top, covered in leaves and then soil. After the required cooking time, the soil and leaves are removed, and the food is ready to be served. Te Umutaoroa refers metaphorically to this process of cooking and, as the name suggests, this particular umu requires a long cooking time.

Within this umu Te Kooti placed eight mauri (life force) stones to be uncovered by a future leader, his child or son, to restore all that Patuheuheu had lost. The late Reverend Hieke Tupe gave the following meanings of the mauri of Te Umutaoroa:

te mauri atua: the essence of spirituality; the belief in God

te mauri whenua: the life force of the land

te mauri tangata: the life force of the people

te mauri whakapono: the power of belief, or faith

te mauri whakaora i nga iwi: the
power to heal the people
te mauri hohonu: the mauri [life force]
of hidden wealth – minerals, gold,
diamonds and oil (perhaps), which lie
underground
te mauri arai atu i nga pakanga: the
power to return war from this land to
other countries
te mauri whakahoki i nga iwi: the
power to return people to their land
(Binney, 2001, p. 158).

The uncovering of these eight stones guarantees for Patuheuheu, spiritual and physical renewal, regeneration, reuniting of people and land, and economic security. In 1892 Te Kooti clarified his vision further and said:

Te kupu ki te Umutaoroa
Ka taona e ahau tenei hangi ma taku
tamaiti e hura
Tenei mea te hangi, ko nga kai o roto
hei ora mo te tangata

The word concerning Te Umutaoroa
I am preparing this hangi (earth oven)
for my child to unearth.
The food inside this hangi will be for
the salvation of the people (Binney,
2009, p. 494).

To this day Te Umutaoroa remains unfulfilled. It is, however, a discourse which is in a constant state of flux, shifting from the past to the present, subjected to discursive modification, shaping the prophecy for the particular contexts in which it is used to inspire and give hope. According to Binney (2007):

Te Umutaoroa has become an unfulfilled quest-narrative. It is unfulfilled because the land is lost; indeed, it is now drowned beneath the waters of a hydro-electric dam, built in 1980. Little islands dot the lake where Te Umutaoroa once was. Once again new meanings are being wrought from this changed landscape (p. 154).

Te Kooti's leadership and the transformative leadership model

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

Burns (1978) maintains that transformative leaders ask followers to rise above their own interests for the sake of collective ones, and to focus on the development and

implementation of long-term 'future' goals and ambitions, to work towards transformation (Gardner & Avolio, 1998, cited in Punj & Krishnan, 2006; Punj & Krishnan, 2006; Shamir, House & Arthur, 1993). Transformative leaders construct the vision, while empowering their followers to hold fast to a 'body of ideals' (Bass, 1981, cited in Grint, 1995; Burns, 1978; Grint, 1995). Links can be drawn between charismatic transformative leaders and their followers' levels of self-efficacy (House & Shamir, 1993; Shamir, House & Arthur, 1993), or in other words, the followers' beliefs in their collective abilities to enact the leaders' vision' (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Jung & Sosik, 2002; Podsakoff, McKenzie, Moorman & Fetter, 1990). A powerful example of Te Kooti's influential charisma as a transformative leader is given by the historian James Belich (1986):

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

The followers' self-efficacy informs their thinking, feelings and behaviours (Bandura, 1997), so if they are inspired by their leader and have an adamant belief in the vision, transformation can be the result (Bottum & Lenz, 1998; Clawson, 1999; Field & Van Seters, 1988), and in Te Kooti's case, the fact that some

of his followers 'outranked' him genealogically, did not inhibit his ability to inspire them to follow him (Belich, 1986).

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

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

Figure 1: Transformative Leadership Model**Atua: Spirit**

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

Tangata: People

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

Whenua: Land

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

Whakapono: Faith

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

Whakaora: Healing

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

Hōhonu: Deep reflection

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

Pakanga: Struggle

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

Whakahoki: Restoration

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

Conclusion

This article provided a brief history of the life of the Māori prophet Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki. This article also explained the emergence of Te Kooti's Te Umutaoroa prophecy. A new theory of transformative leadership based on Te Kooti's prophecy was presented. This model may be used in a range of transformative indigenous contexts and may be adapted to suit

the needs of those who wish to use the model in various fields of practice.

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